Constructional Polysemy and Concordance Lines: A Cognitive Semantic Perspective

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Symbols and abbreviations

A ─ Agentive case and Adverbial
Abbreviations and Symbols
agt ─ Agent (semantic role)
AntConc ─ a "freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis" developed by Laurence Anthony
aux ─ auxiliary verb
BNC ─ British National Corpus
C ─ Contact in Lakoff's schema
cf. ─ compare (used to reference other studies for contrast or comparison)
CG ─ Cognitive Grammar
COCA ─ Corpus of Contemporary American English
D ─ Dative case
e.g. ─ for example (from Latin *exempli gratia*)
F ─ Factitive case
Fig. ─ Figure
Figs. ─ Figures
I ─ Instrumental
ibid ─ in the same place (used for repeating the last source cited)
INF ─ infinitive
KWIC ─ *Key-Word-In-Context*
Loc ─ Locative case
lm / LM ─ landmark
NC ─ No Contact in Lakoff's schema
NSM ─ *Natural Semantic Metalanguage*
O ─ Objective case
O / Obj ─ Object
Obl ─ Oblique (a directional phrase)
p. ─ page
pat ─ Patient (semantic role)
POSS ─ the possessive pronoun
PP ─ Prepositional phrase
PredicateAP ─ Predicative Adjective Phrase
sth ─ *something*
S / Subj ─ Subject
SVO ─ Subject-Verb-Object
SVOA ─ Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial
SVOC ─ Subject-Verb-Object-Complement

SVOO ─ Subject-Verb-Indirect Object-Direct Object
TR ─ trajector
Vols. ─ Volumes
W_ac_humanities_arts ─ "academic prose: humanities" (David Lee's classification)
W_biography ─ "biographies/autobiographies" (David Lee's classification)
W_email ─ "e-mail sports discussion list" (David Lee's classification)
W_fict_prose ─ *novels and short stories* (David Lee's classification)
W_news_script ─ *TV autocue data* (David Lee's classification)
W_newsp_tabloid ─ *tabloid newspapers* (David Lee's classification)
W_newsp_brdsht_nat_arts ─ "broadsheet national newspapers: arts/cultural material" (David Lee's classification)
W_non_ac_polit_law_edu ─ "non-academic: politics, law, education" (David Lee's classification)
W_non_ac_soc_science ─ "non-academic: social & behavioural sciences" (David Lee's classification)
V ─ Verb, also Vertical in Lakoff's schema
v.tr. ─ *transitive verb*
VOL ─ Verb-Object-Locative element, i.e., Adverbial of place
VOR ─ Verb-Object-Result (the Resultative Construction)
VP-INF─ Verb Phrase-Infinitive construction
VP ─ Verb phrase
X ─ extended in Lakoff's schema
* ─ Incorrect usage

Introduction

This book examines English polysemous lexico-grammatical constructions (Langacker, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1988; Goldberg, 1995; Croft, 2001; Gibbs, Jr., 2017), which are organised into families according to a prototype-plus-extensions model (Goddard, 2010, p. 461). As William Croft (2001, p. 27) explains, constructions share key characteristics with lexical items, including polysemy and metaphorical extensions. Similarly, Raymond Gibbs Jr. (2017, p. 41) states that "Metaphor and polysemy are related because many words with multiple linked meanings include conventional metaphorical senses". These constructions are analysed using excerpts from concordance lines depicting situations in both literal and metaphorical ways, drawn from linguistic corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC).

In Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (CG) (see e.g., Langacker, 1987, 1991), constructions consist of linguistic units that function as "symbolic units". CG conceptualizes grammatical structure as form-meaning pairings - that is, "…pairings of grammatical form and the corresponding meaning of SEMANTIC STRUCTURE" (Croft, 2001, p. 21). These pairings are linked through correspondences between the *trajector* and its reference *landmark*, forming *symbolic assemblies* of increasing complexity (Langacker, 1987).

As Langacker (1987, p. 76) states, "Grammatical structure is claimed to be symbolic in character: it consists in the conventional symbolization of semantic structure and forms a continuum with lexicon". This perspective aligns with a functional approach to grammar, in which 'lexical bundles' are considered fundamental for conveying meaning (Conrad & Biber, 2005). Langacker's framework underscores the symbolic nature of grammatical structures, emphasizing the integral role of lexicon and meaning in linguistic analysis.

Anna Wierzbicka's approach to meaning also contributes to this discussion, particularly in relation to semantic metalanguage. Wierzbicka (1988, p. 7) emphasizes that lexical bundles embody certain meanings due to the presence of an appropriate semantic metalanguage. In her view, meaning encompasses several interrelated domains, including grammatical semantics, lexical semantics, and illocutionary semantics. She asserts that there are no "sharp dividing lines between the three domains" (Wierzbicka, 1988, p. 8). Furthermore, she argues that "every grammatical construction is a vehicle of a certain semantic structure", and that this semantic structure is "the criterion determining its range of use" (Wierzbicka, 1988, p. 3).

This synthesis highlights the convergence between Langacker's symbolic approach to grammar and Wierzbicka's emphasis on the fluidity and

interconnectedness of semantic domains, underlining the integral relationship between grammar and meaning.

Part I, Basic Terms, provides an overview of the aforementioned approaches to linguistic constructions and their meanings. In the following sections, the book aims to highlight certain polysemous constructions in English, which can be identified through numerous concordance lines. This process is *intended* to raise the awareness of learners of English regarding specific linguistic constructions, helping them to distinguish these from unrelated examples that might otherwise lead to confusion. For instance, the verb *take* functions as the core of a construction where it acts as a delexicalized polysemous e lement. This is illustrated by the following concordance lines from the BNC, presented in (1), each exemplifying a different constructional pattern:

(1)	**Constructional and Delexical Patterns of *Take* in the BNC**
a.	*take this opportunity* – **Idiomatic/Delexicalized** "440 HHV W_hansard ... Will he therefore **[take]**[1] this opportunity to emphasise..." (BNC)[2]
b.	*take part* – **Fixed idiom** "439 KA1 W_essay_school ... he was unable to **[take]** part in the afternoon»s activities..." (BNC)
c.	*take account of* – **Prepositional Construction** "441 HHV W_hansard ... will **[take]** account of the report in monitoring..." (BNC)
d.	*take place* – **Lexicalized construction** "442 HHV W_hansard ... if such a reduction were to **[take]** place..." (BNC)
e.	*take cash* – **Literal transfer** "438 J7E W_commerce ... who wish to **[take]** cash for all or a proportion..." (BNC)
f.	*take this further* – **Delexicalized/modifier** "443 HHW W_hansard ... how we propose to **[take]** this further..." (BNC)
g.	*take it up* – **Phrasal verb (aspectual)** "444 HHX W_hansard ... claimants who **[take]** it up moving from income support..." (BNC)

Table 1. Concordance Examples of Delexical and Constructional Uses of *Take* (BNC)

1 The elements in bold in the concordance lines in this book are confined by square brackets to signal that the bold print is not used in the original cited fragment of discourse or text.

2 The abbreviation (BNC) indicates that The British National Corpus is the source of the cited concordance line.

Other delexical verbs, such as *give*, *have*, and *make*, which together with *take* "are most commonly used" (Lock, 1996, p. 81), and whose meaning "has been in some sense reduced at the expense of nouns with which they are combined" (Repka, 2022, p. 18), also manifest polysemy in various uses. For example, "the English *have a VP-INF* construction (*have a chat*, *have a look*, etc.)" (Goddard, 2010, p. 480). Consequently, these delexical verbs will be presented in extracts of BNC concordance lines as polysemous in different uses. In addition, whole clauses will be analysed as polysemous, based on various analyses by Adele Goldberg (1995, 2006, 2019). Initially, concordance lines will be presented that illustrate the 'VOL' pattern (Verb-Object-Locative element, i.e., Adverbial of place). This pattern can then be contrasted with the 'caused-motion' construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 3). It is illustrated below by the predicate "put it through her door" in concordance line (2), which contains the motion verb *put*[3], and by the predicate "threw it in the fire" in line (3)[4], which uses the motion verb *threw*, the past tense of *throw*.

(2)

"13 KBR S_conv ... Oh, if you like I can **[put]** it through her door... she must be about..." (BNC)

(3)

"19 KSS S_conv ... So of course our Emma got it and tore it up and **[threw]** it in the fire. And then he said..." (BNC)

The verb *threw*[5] is also used in the predicate "threw a stone - then two, then three" in (4), which represents (that is, lexicalizes) the transitive construction (SVO). Additionally, in the predicate "threw Lindsey a look of admiration and curiosity" in (5), *threw* lexicalizes the ditransitive construction SVOO (Subject-Verb-Indirect Object-Direct Object), which indicates a type of transfer.

(4)

"477 J0W W_biography ... someone **[threw]** a stone — then two, then three. A gang of boys were using..." (BNC)

3 The verb *put* is associated with the construction "X causes Y to move Zloc" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 88) and with the formal pattern "Subj V Obj Oblpath/loc" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 88). In this pattern, "Subj" stands for Subject, "V" means Verb, "Obj" signals Object, and "Obl" represents an Oblique, which is a prepositional phrase indicating "path" or "localization", shown as a subscript next to Obl as "path/loc": Oblpath/loc.

4 The verb *threw* (preterit *throw*) occurs in "Pat threw the key onto the roof" classified as "(VOL) i.e. Caused Motion (Goldberg 2006, p. 114, Table 6.6, sentence c).

5 The verb *threw* is used by Goldberg (2006, p. 114, Table 6.6, sentences from 1a to 1d).

(5)

"293 JXW W_fict_prose ... Jill **[threw]** Lindsey a look of curiosity and admiration. 'That's right.'" (BNC)

Moreover, the verb *threw* occurs in the lexicalization[6] of the 'Resultative Construction'[7], symbolized as 'VOR' (Verb-Object-Result) by Goldberg (2006, p. 14). This is illustrated by the predicate "threw the subject open for discussion" in concordance line (6), where the "R" element is realized by an adjective phrase, functioning as an Object predicative.

(6)

"41 AC2 W_fict_prose ... the Chairman **[threw]** the subject open for discussion. But, before doing so, he asked..." (BNC)

Finally, the 'Way Construction', as described by Goldberg (1995, 2006) and exemplified by the predicate "worked our way into the nineteen sixties" in the concordance line in (7), is another example of the polysemous clause patterns discussed here. These constructions are often lexicalized with similar verbs, as observed in BNC concordance lines. In (7), the predicate expresses nonliteral motion, illustrating the use of this construction. The clause "we gradually erm worked our way into the nineteen sixties" describes a metaphorical progression through time rather than physical movement. Here, the *motion* is conceptual, representing a gradual transition or journey into a new decade.

(7)

"31 GYV S_interview_oral_history ... as we gradually erm **[worked our way into the nineteen sixties,]** er..." (BNC)

Goldberg (1995, p. 75) distinguishes 'inheritance links' and points out their four major types: "polysemy links, metaphorical extension links, subpart links, and instance links". She further explains that "Polysemy links and instance links are relevantly like Langacker's <extension> and <elaboration> links respectively..." (Goldberg, 1995, p. 233). The scholar argues that "*Polysemy links* capture the nature of the semantic relations between a particular sense of a construction and any extensions from this sense" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 75). Apart from the previously mentioned delexical verbs, the constructions presented in examples (2) to (7) will be shown in selected extracts of concordance lines excerpted from BNC

6 The verb *threw* is used by Goldberg in "Lyn threw the box apart" (2006, p. 114, Table 6.6, sentence 1d).

7 Jane Simpson's (1983) paper, *Resultatives*, explores the syntactic and semantic properties of resultative constructions in English. She examines how resultatives interact with different verb types and their implications for lexical-functional grammar (LFG).

to sensitize non-native users of English to checking meaning via patterns of use offered by extensive concordance lines of English language corpora. The issue of 'constructive polysemy' is raised in this book to familiarize the prospective reader whose first language is not English with the misleading similarities and numerous differences between the specific uses of the same lexical elements, such as *threw*, in different linguistic constructions. Linguistic corpora are extensive sources of data on various linguistic constructions elicited by delving patiently into the concordance lines in order to identify correct uses of a particular construction and thus acquire the correct usage.

Consequently, while Part I introduces the reader to foundational issues that establish the framework for analysing selected polysemous constructions - which will be examined in concordance lines in Part III - Part II provides an overview of the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm, where 'polysemy' is a key aspect of language. This concept will be explored further in Part IV in the discussion and conclusions.

Part I

Part I
Understanding Constructions: Theoretical Perspectives and Methodological Framework

This section provides an overview of key approaches within Cognitive Linguistics, particularly semantic theories of natural language, which form the foundation for the subsequent analysis. Specifically, it examines linguistic and grammatical constructions within Construction Grammar, along with the methodologies employed to analyse them. The discussion then turns to constructional polysemy, with particular attention paid to the linguistic patterns found in concordance outputs.

A foundational perspective in this field is Ronald Langacker's (1987) Cognitive Grammar, which conceptualizes constructions as symbolic units that form semantic networks through extension or elaboration. Similarly, Adele Goldberg (1995, 2006, 2019) expands on these ideas by focusing on argument structure constructions, highlighting their dependence on semantic roles (cf. Fillmore, 1968, 1977a). In contrast, Anna Wierzbicka's (1972) Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) theory diverges from these perspectives by examining constructions in relation to universal semantic primes.

Further extending these perspectives, Aneider Iza Erviti (2021) explores Croft's (2003) argument that constructions form a taxonomic network that is structured into prototype-based categories, which in turn allow for polysemy (cf. Croft, 2001, pp. 27–28, 59).

Building on these theoretical foundations in Construction Grammar, this book employs corpus-based tools to examine constructional networks in greater detail. Concordance lines extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC), accessed via its web interface, serve as the primary data source for linguistic exploration. These lines are processed using the AntConc toolkit, which organises the data into analysable concordance lists. By prioritizing qualitative over quantitative analysis, this approach examines how polysemous constructions function across different registers, focusing on their contextual and semantic nuances.

Using these theoretical perspe ctives, this study identifies constructions and their core elements in linguistic corpora such as the BNC, which provides the primary source of examples. Overall, this section provides an overview of the linguistic foundations that shape the analysis in the following chapters, including constructions, the polysemy of constructions, and specific networks of constructions, illustrated through examples of constructional polysemy in concordance lines. Together, these form the methodological foundations of this book.

1.1 What are constructions from the perspective of Semantics: constructions in Cognitive Linguistics and Semantic Primes in NSM (Natural Semantic Metalanguage)?

Alongside the constructionist approaches to grammar adopted by Cognitive Linguists (e.g., Langacker, 1987, 1991; Goldberg, 1995, 2006, 2019; Croft, 2001, 2003; Bergen & Chang, 2005), Fillmore (2013, p. 111) notes that "grammatical studies in Berkeley in the 1980s and 1990s … were centred on discovering the idiomatic and 'irregular' parts of language". This focus led to landmark studies on idiomatic constructions, such as "*The Case of Let Alone*" (Fillmore, Kay, & O'Connor, 1988) and "*The What's X Doing Y? Construction*" (Fillmore & Kay, 1999).

Since the development of Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, other cognitive linguistic approaches have emphasized that all meaningful linguistic units - ranging from morphemes to complex syntactic patterns - are *symbolic*. According to Langacker (1987, p. 56), grammar is nongenerative and inherently symbolic, shaped through usage as an "established linguistic convention" that is continuously "maintained and modified" (Langacker, 1987, p. 57). He defines *symbolization* as a "relation between a structure in semantic space and one in phonological space" (Langacker, 1987, p. 493). This concept extends beyond individual phonemes to larger linguistic units, including syllables, words, familiar phrases, and even longer sequences (Langacker, 1987, pp. 57–58).

Adele Goldberg's Construction Grammar builds on these principles, arguing that a construction exists in grammar if its meaning or form cannot be compositionally derived from other constructions in the language (Goldberg, 1995, p. 4). Her work (1995, 2006, 2019) has focused on argument structure constructions at the clause level, further reinforcing the symbolic and usage-based nature of linguistic patterns.

While Goldberg emphasizes argument structure, William Croft takes a slightly different approach. In his Radical Construction Grammar, Croft (2001, p. 18) adheres to standard construction grammar terminology, such as "syntactic constructions", but also asserts that all constructions - no matter how general - are fundamentally symbolic. He further explains that Radical Construction Grammar allows for polysemy, metaphorical extensions, and a usage-based model of grammatical representation (Croft, 2001, p. 59). Despite its radical stance, Croft acknowledges that his framework retains the symbolic relations found in other constructionist models, particularly Cognitive Grammar (Croft, 2001, p. 59).

The symbolic nature of linguistic expressions in Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987) also finds parallels in Embodied Construction Grammar, developed by Benjamin Bergen and Nancy Chang (2005). This approach emphasizes

context-dependent meaning construction, highlighting how linguistic structures are conceptualized through embodied experience. In this sense, it aligns with Langacker's (1987, p. 46) assertion that Cognitive Grammar is "a usage-based theory", where meaning emerges dynamically through interaction and cognitive processes.

Moreover, Cliff Goddard asserts that "… Wierzbicka deserves to be seen as one of the precursors of construction grammar" (2010, p. 480), emphasizing Anna Wierzbicka's *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM) approach to grammatical semantics, as well as her concept of *ethnosyntax* (Wierzbicka, 1979), which "refers to inquiry into phenomena at the intersection of grammar, semantics, and culture" (Goddard, 2010, p. 480).

Following a brief overview of Langacker's approach to constructions as *symbolic* units or assemblies, Goldberg's perspective on argument constructions will be introduced. Finally, Wierzbicka's Semantic Primes in NSM will be discussed in relation to constructions and polysemy so as to offer an alternative semantic view on these issues. The analysis will conclude with a discussion of constructions in terms of polysemy, focusing on the concordance lines in which they appear.

1.1.1 Langacker's constructions: symbolic unit/assembly and valency factors

Langacker (2001, p. 143) argues that his objective "… is to elucidate the connection between the expressions in a discourse, on the one hand, and their structures as described in Cognitive Grammar, on the other". Being usage-based (see, e.g., Bybee, 2001, 2010; Tomasello, 2003), Langacker's approach to grammar "... makes contact with discourse through the basic claim that all linguistic units are abstracted from *usage events*, i.e., actual instances of language use" (Langacker, 2001, p. 144). Langacker postulates that "Each such event consists of a comprehensive conceptualization, comprising an expression's full contextual understanding, paired with an elaborate vocalization in all its phonetic detail" (2001, p. 144), which corresponds to the symbolic status of linguistic structures, i.e., "symbolic units" that vary in complexity and determine the schematic character of grammar as a whole.

Langacker distinguishes two "fundamental classes of predicates" (1987, p. 183): *nominal predications*, i.e., symbolic structures designating things categorized as nouns, and *relational predications*, which profile either *atemporal relations*, such as in prepositional phrases, or *processes*, between verbs and their arguments (cf. Langacker, 1987, pp. 491−492). Langacker claims that "A predication always has a certain scope …, and within that scope it selects a particular substructure for designation" (1987, p. 183). He refers to the scope of a predication as the *base* and its designatum as the *profile* (Langacker, 1987, p. 183). Langacker postulates that all lexical categories can be defined semantically (cf. 1987, p. 189). He posits that

"The entities referred to as nouns, verbs, etc. are symbolic units, each with a semantic and a phonological pole, but it is the former that determines the categorization" (Langacker, 1987, p. 189).

Symbolic units or symbolic assemblies constitute *constructions* that differ in their scope and intricacy (Goldberg, 2006, p. 5). They range from morphemes, both bound (e.g., "pre-", "-ing") and free (i.e., simple words, e.g., "*avocado*, *anaconda*, *and*"), through complex words (e.g., "*daredevil*, *shoo-in*") and partially filled complex words (e.g., "[N-s]" for regular plurals), to idioms (filled), e.g., "*jog* [someone's] *memory*", "*send* [someone] *to the cleaner's*". They also include linguistic realizations of the 'covariational conditional' construction, "The Xer the Yer" (e.g., "the more you think about it, the less you understand"), also called the *comparative conditional* construction, "The X-er, the Y-er" (Croft, 2001, p. 16), and clauses constituting complete sentences with one predicate, such as the Passive construction, "Subj aux VP (PP by)" (e.g., "the armadillo was hit by a car") (the examples of constructions and their lexicalizations are borrowed from Goldberg, 2006, p. 5, Table 1.1).

Langacker explains the combination of constituent elements forming increasingly complex constructions through *valency* (see also e.g., Tesnière, 1959), and by the semantic and phonological correspondences established between given constituents. For example, while "*happy child* is unproblematic … *[8]*happy molecule* and **happy brick* are anomalous (assuming that the component words are interpreted with their normal value)" (Langacker, 1987, p. 142).

A grammatical valence relation is said to exist between each combination of two or more symbolic structures which "… form a more elaborate expression …" (Langacker, 1987, p. 277). Langacker distinguishes "four primary valence factors: (1) correspondence; (2) profile determinacy; (3) conceptual (as well as phonological) autonomy and dependence; and (4) constituency" (1987, p. 277), which together constitute a new cognitive approach to valency.

Langacker argues that '*correspondences*' are established between *shared substructures* "… at both the semantic and the phonological poles …" (Langacker, 1987, p. 287). Therefore, while "happy child" is characterized by a correspondence between *happy* and *child*, understood in normal circumstances, "happy molecule" does not involve semantic correspondence between the two elements. Moreover, multiple correspondences between more than two elements make unified conceptualizations of novel expressions possible (cf. Langacker, 1987, p. 285), based on the *trajector-landmark* opposition, as in the expression "under the table," which is "a composite structure" (cf. 1987, p. 280, Fig. 8.1), a prepositional phrase

8 In linguistic notation, *an asterisk* (*) before a sentence or phrase signifies that the structure is ungrammatical or unaccepted in the standard form of the language. This convention helps distinguish incorrect forms from grammatical examples and is commonly used in syntactic, morphological, and phonological analyses (Khalifa, 2018, p. 18).

in formal terms. According to Langacker, "a composite structure is formed by superimposing corresponding entities and merging their specifications" (1987, p. 280).

The factor of correspondences enables not only novel but also alternate expressions, such as "big elephant" compared to "happy child", since "the profile of *elephant* is placed in correspondence with the trajector of *big*, under either interpretation of *big elephant*" (Langacker, 1987, p. 285). *Profiling* and *trajector/landmark organisation* are the "two kinds of prominence" distinguished by Langacker (2009, p. 7). He argues that "Every expression evokes some conception - simple or complex - as the basis for its meaning. Within its conceptual **base**, an expression singles out a particular substructure as a kind of focus of attention" (Langacker, 2009, p. 7). The substructure in the focus of attention constitutes the *profile* designated by the given expression, its conceptual referent (Langacker, 2009, p. 7).

Langacker (2009, p. 108) also claims that "a shift in profile is simply metonymy", a common linguistic phenomenon. For example, the metonymic concept THE PART FOR THE WHOLE is specified as THE FACE FOR THE PERSON in expressions such as "She's just a *pretty face*" (cf. Lakoff, & Johnson, 1980, p. 37). While a *profile* requires a specific *base*, the other dichotomy - trajector/landmark - replaces the profile with another "…**primary focal participant**[9], called the trajector (tr). This is the participant the expression is concerned with or characterizing" (Langacker, 2009, p. 8). The concept of a *base* also includes a "…**secondary focal participant**, called a **landmark** (lm)" (Langacker, 2009, pp. 8–9). Both kinds of prominence - profile/base and trajector/landmark - respectively establish correspondences between the two participants, whose structure can also be complex. As Langacker (2009, p. 9) explains, "The constructs profile, trajector, and landmark are justified for purposes of semantic description but also prove essential to grammar". For instance, expressions designating processes - such as action predicates like *throw* - involve "one participant" who "exerts force", filling the role of *trajector* (tr) (e.g., "a stick" in (8)), and "the other participant" at whom the force is directed, realizing the *landmark* (lm) (e.g., "the river" in (8)). This applies to literal situations, such as those depicted in (8) below (cf. Figure 1.7(d), *throw*, in Langacker, 2009, p. 8).

(8)

"170 G0Y W_fict_prose ... He **[threw]** a stick into the river and the dog went after it in a flying leap..." (BNC)

Consequently, the established correspondences between the tr and the lm account for the combinations of clause elements at different levels, not only at the phrase level but also between the verb and its arguments (cf. Langacker, 1987, pp. 285–288), in a "relational predication", which is also influenced by other factors of valency.

9 All terms originally written in bold in the cited sources are retained in bold in the quoted extracts.

The second factor, '*profile determinacy*', accounts for establishing the profile of a given expression, i.e., the substructure in the focus of attention. Langacker (1987, p. 492) states that "In a construction, a component structure whose profile is inherited by the composite structure" constitutes the '*profile determinant*'. He continues, "the profile determinant is thus schematic for the composite structure. For example, in *The man is tall*, the unit *is tall* is the profile determinant; in *tall man*, *man* is the profile determinant" (Langacker, 1987, pp. 492, 289).

The third valence factor postulated by Langacker is the "distinction between **autonomous** and **dependent** elements" (Langacker, 1987, p. 298), a distinction that is "… applicable to both phonological and semantic structures, and to elements defined in either unipolar or bipolar terms" (p. 298). While *unipolar elements* are associated with autonomy in relation to the context of occurrence, *bipolar* ones are connected with dependence. Langacker explains that unipolar elements do not have symbolic significance on their own, as they are incorporated into larger structures such as segments, syllables, words, phonological phrases, and intonation groups in phonology. In contrast, morphemes "... are bipolar in nature, since a phonological sequence is accorded morphemic status only by virtue of its participation in a symbolic relationship" (Langacker, 1987, p. 298). Langacker further states that vowels are autonomous, as they can "stand alone as a syllable", whereas consonants are dependent.

Additionally, the English fricative alveolar lenis consonant "z" and the approximant bilabial semivowel "w" (cf. Roach, 2009, p. 52) both function as single-morpheme words in Polish (i.e., Polish *wyraz jednomorfemowy* (Nagórko, 1998, p. 69)). The Polish prepositions *z* and *w* can function as symbolic units in various contexts. For example, they appear in expressions such as *być z nią w Paryżu* (Pl), meaning *to be with her in Paris*; *pozdrowienia z Paryża w lipcu 2024 roku* (Pl), meaning *greetings from Paris in July 2024*; and *stół zrobiony z drewna/metalu w brązowym kolorze* (Pl), meaning *a table made of wood/metal in brown.* Langacker (1987, p. 299) states that in terms of meaning, English "... unipolar elements are natural conceptual units", while "bipolar elements are predications", regardless of whether the element in Polish is a vowel or consonant, or whether it is autonomous or dependent.

Langacker describes the dependence of one structure, "D", on another, "A", in terms of the "elaboration of a salient substructure" (1987, p. 300) of A within D. For example, in the prepositional phrase "under the table", *under* is dependent on *the table*, which serves as its landmark (cf. Langacker, 1987, p. 301). While *the table* is conceptually autonomous, *under* remains conceptually dependent. However, in the phrase "football under the table", *football* is conceptually autonomous, as it elaborates the trajector of "under the table", which remains conceptually dependent (cf. Langacker, 1987, p. 301).

In clauses that convey processes, Langacker provides an example in which a motion verb like *crawls* occurs with a directional expression, such as the prepositional phrase "through a tunnel", which specifies the path of the trajector in "The little girl crawled through a tunnel" (Langacker, 1987, p. 305, (10)). In other examples, such as "The verdict rendered him speechless" (Langacker, 1987, p. 308, (11a)) and "I put the sweater in a box" (Langacker, 1987, p. 308, (11b)), Langacker states that the verb functions as the dependent element. While *render* "describes a process including a change of state", the transfer verb *put* "implies a final destination for its primary landmark". The phrase "in a box" thus "elaborates a substructure already prominently introduced by *put*" (Langacker, 1987, p. 308). Accordingly, in educational grammar, *put* is classified as belonging to the SVOA[10] clause type (e.g., Quirk et al., 1985). In Goldberg's (2006, p. 6) argument structure grammar, *put* is classified as "a three-argument verb" that "requires an agent, a theme, and a location, and appears with the corresponding three complements". An example of this structure is found in the clause "I put your stuff out there..." (example 9).

(9)

"8 KBF S_conv ... I **[put]** your stuff out there 'cause I thought it'd be a bit cooler out there..." (BNC)

In Langacker's approach to argument structure, which is defined in terms of valency factors, the fourth and final factor, constituency, "pertains to the order in which component structures are successively combined to form progressively more elaborate composite structures" (Langacker, 1987, p. 310). Consequently, the constituents give rise to constructions of varying complexity, which are explained by correspondences between them based on profile determinacy and the distinction between autonomous and dependent elements.

In Langacker's Cognitive Grammar, the concept of '*valency*' plays a fundamental role in shaping linguistic constructions and explaining argument structure - the combination of linguistic entities that form a 'relational predication' involving a verb and its arguments. Conceptualization plays a central role in meaning construction, as it relies on linguistic expressions known as symbolic units - form-meaning pairings that, in Langacker's framework, are hierarchically structured with varying degrees of specificity. Goldberg builds on Langacker's view of constructions as form-meaning pairings, but focuses more specifically on the clause level in linguistic analysis.

10 The symbols SVOA represent the Subject, Verb, Object, and Adverbial elements of a sentence.

1.1.2 Goldberg's Argument Constructions: Thematic Roles and Deep Structure Cases

Adele Goldberg examines argument structure constructions, including *phrasal constructions* (Goldberg, 2006, p. 39), and analyses clauses with a single predicate within a formal grammatical framework. Goldberg (2006, p. 39) explains that these constructions capture argument structure generalizations and are associated with specific argument roles. These roles correspond "roughly to traditional thematic roles such as agent, patient, instrument, source, theme, location, etc." and also include "recipient" in the case of the ditransitive construction (Goldberg, 2006, p. 125).

Before exploring the various types of argument structure constructions identified by Goldberg, it is useful to first provide an overview of the thematic roles that play a central role in these constructions. This discussion considers Martin Hilpert's (2014) perspective on Goldberg's approach to grammar, which builds on Charles Fillmore's (1968) concept of 'deep structure cases' and adapts them to thematic roles. Hilpert (2014, p. 26) argues that valency and argument structure are closely related concepts, explaining that "… argument structure and valency, as used in linguistics, refer to a relationship that holds between a **predicate** denoting an activity, state, or event and the respective participants, which are called arguments" (Hilpert, 2014, pp. 26–27).

Fillmore (1968) originally introduced the concept of deep structure cases in earlier linguistic research. Goldberg, however, shifts the focus to thematic roles, applying them specifically to clause constituents in her study of argument constructions. Goldberg's thematic roles share similarities with Fillmore's deep structure cases, as both frameworks aim to capture the relationship between predicates and their arguments within clause structures.

Fillmore (1968, pp. 24–25) proposed the following deep structure cases for nominal elements that serve as verb arguments: *Agentive* (A), *Instrumental* (I), *Dative* (D), *Factitive* (F), *Locative* (L), and *Objective* (O). He emphasizes that "none of these cases can be interpreted as matched by the surface-structure relations, subject and object, in any particular language" (Fillmore, 1968, p. 25).

The examples in (10)–(20) presented here correspond to sentences (29)–(38) in Fillmore's text (1968, p. 25). Each deep structure case is highlighted in bold and labelled with its corresponding initial (as indicated in brackets above). These labels follow the cases identified in Fillmore's sentences (29)–(38) (1968, p. 25).

10. **Eva** cut the salmon. (**Eva** → A)
11. The salmon was cut by **Eva**. (**Eva** → A)
12. **The knife** cut the salmon. (**The knife** → I)
13. Eva cut the salmon with **the knife**. (**the knife** → I)
14. Eva used **the knife** to cut the salmon. (**the knife** → I)

15. **Eva** believed that she would succeed. (**Eva** → D)
16. Tom convinced **Eva** that she would succeed. (**Eva** → D)
17. It was obvious **to Eva** that she would succeed. (**Eva** → D)
18. **The city of Athens** is hot. (**The city of Athens** → L)
19. It is hot in **the city of Athens**. (**the city of Athens** → L)

Regarding the two cases not illustrated in examples (10)–(19), Fillmore (1968, p. 25) explains that the case category *Factitive* (F) designates "... the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as a part of the meaning of the verb". This category was later reclassified as GOAL (G), as in "Pat threw it into the fire" (Hilpert, 2014, p. 27, Table 2.1), which illustrates a movement toward a destination, or as the result of an action, as in "The letter was torn" (cf. Fillmore, 1968, 1971).

Finally, Fillmore (1968, p. 25) describes the Objective (O) case as "... semantically the most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself". For example, in "The window broke" and "John broke the window", *the window* functions as an instance of the *Objective* (O) case category (cf. Kós-Dienes, 1985, p. 3).

Fillmore's (1968) case categories apply to nominal expressions, which function as participants in clause structure (see also Goldberg, 1995). However, he later revised aspects of his original theory in 1971.

For further discussions on Fillmore's case categories and their applications, see Talbot Platt (1972), Lipka (1976), Kós-Dienes (1985), Anderson (1998), Farrell (2005), and Syukri Nst (2022).

Goldberg (1995, 2006) replaced Fillmore's (1968, 1971) deep structure cases with eleven thematic roles. Martin Hilpert (2014, p. 27, Table 2.1) later presented these roles in a compact version, which has been adapted and revised, as shown in Table 2 below.

Role	Definition	Example
AGENT	"the initiator of an action"	**Tom** drank some water.
PATIENT	"the participant undergoing an action or a change of state"	Tom drank **some water**.
THEME	"the participant which is moving"	Tom threw **the ball** high.
EXPERIENCER	"the participant who is aware of a stimulus"	**Tom** smelt the fire.
STIMULUS	"the participant that is experienced"	Tom smelt **the fire**.

Role	Definition	Example
BENEFICIARY	"the participant who benefits from an action"	Tom played for **us**.
RECIPIENT	"the participant receiving an item"	Tom gave **us** jobs.
INSTRUMENT	"the participant serving as a means to an action"	Tom closed it with **a key**.
LOCATION	"the place of an event"	They were married in **Dublin**.
GOAL	"the end point of a movement"	Tom drove to **the city centre**.
SOURCE	"the starting point of a movement"	Tom returned from **his office**.

Table 2. Thematic roles (adapted and reformulated from Hilpert, 2014, p. 27, Table 2.1)

Goldberg expanded on Fillmore's (1968) original deep structure case categories - A, I, D, F, L, and O - by replacing D with roles such as EXPERIENCER, BENEFICIARY and RECIPIENT. These roles, like D, refer to "animate beings affected by the state or action identified by the verb" (Fillmore, 1968, p. 24). Additionally, O was replaced with more specific thematic roles, such as PATIENT and THEME, which, like O, denote entities "affected by the action or state identified by the verb" (Fillmore, 1968, p. 25). The thematic roles GOAL and SOURCE correspond to Fillmore's F deep structure case category. These thematic roles function as nominal constituents - i.e., participants - in the argument structure constructions elaborated and studied by Goldberg (1995, 2006).

Goldberg (1995, p. 32) argues that constructions "should have polysemous senses", using the ditransitive construction as a central example. She explains that "ditransitive expressions in English typically imply that the agent" causes the transfer of an object to a recipient, which represents "the *basic sense* of the construction" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 32).

In addition to the English ditransitive construction (see, e.g., Mukherjee, 2005; Hoffmann & Mukherjee, 2007; Malchukov, Haspelmath, & Comrie (eds.), 2010; Beavers, 2011; Siemund, 2013; Haspelmath, 2015; Jurotich, 2023; Bakshi, 2024), illustrated by sentences like "Chris baked Jan a cake" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 32), Goldberg (1995) also examines other "Argument Structure Constructions," such as the English Caused-Motion Construction, the English Resultative Construction, and the Way Construction. These constructions are analysed as polysemous within the concordance lines from the BNC, which is the focus of this study.

Building on her earlier work, Goldberg (2006, 2019) expanded her analysis to encompass a broader range of English constructions, including the causative construction, the cleft construction, the cognate object construction, the copular construction, and the communication conative construction. These constructions are exemplified by sentences like "She yelled at the duck" ("Subj, V, Oblique$_{at}$"), which follows the pattern "X directs forceful action at Y" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 35, Table 3.1).

This broadening of scope underscores the versatility of her theory, demonstrating how different sentence patterns can be polysemous, with each construction conveying distinct yet related meanings depending on the context.

Many of the construction labels Goldberg uses in *Constructions at Work* (2006) align with traditional linguistic terms found in grammar textbooks (see, e.g., Quirk et al., 1985). However, this book focuses specifically on the four constructions examined in her earlier work (Goldberg, 1995): the English Ditransitive Construction, the English Caused-Motion Construction, the English Resultative Construction, and the Way Construction. These constructions are central to Goldberg's analysis of how polysemy operates in argument structure constructions.

1. The English Caused-Motion Construction, whose '*basic semantics*' is schematically represented as "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 152), requires a non-stative verb (cf. ibid.), as in "Sam helped him into the car" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 152, (5)). The verb *laughed* appears in the first example illustrating this construction, along with other verbs such as *sneezed, urged, let,* and *sprayed*, as provided by Goldberg. The example in (20) is cited from the BNC.

(20)

"9 HHX W_hansard ... Instead of doing that, **[the Minister kicked the ball into the long grass].** She has been pressurised by the big companies..." (BNC)

The clause "The Minister kicked the ball into the long grass" exemplifies the Caused-Motion Construction as analysed by Goldberg. This structure follows the typical pattern of the Caused-Motion Construction, in which an agent causes an object to move to a new location or position: Subject (*the Minister*) + Verb (*kicked*) + Object (*the ball*) + Prepositional Phrase (*into the long grass*).

In this example, the verb *kicked* represents the action of causing motion, *the ball* is the object being moved, and "into the long grass" indicates the destination or final location. This sentence aligns with the framework of the Caused-Motion Construction, in which an agent's action results in a physical object being displaced to a specific location.

2. The English Resultative Construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 180), structurally represented as "Subj V Obj RP" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 73, Table 4.1), conveys the meaning "X causes Y to become Zstate" - that is, someone (X) causes something

(Y) to change state *(Zstate)* (cf. Goldberg, 2006, p. 7). Goldberg (1995, p. 181) notes that resultatives apply to the direct objects of some, but not all, transitive verbs and are typically followed by adjectival resultatives.

For example, the original clause "You killed it stone-dead" is replaced in concordance line (21) by the predicate "should have got us all lined up single file". In this construction, the verb *got* causes a result, expressed by the phrase "lined up single file". The structure follows the typical resultative pattern: "got us all lined up single file", which can be schematically represented as Verb (*got*) + Object (*us all*) + Resultative phrase (*lined up single file*).

Here, the verb *got* signifies the action, while "lined up single file" indicates the resulting state of the object (*us all*). This is a defining feature of the Resultative Construction, in which an action leads to a specific outcome or state.

(21)

"112 KDB S_conv ... They **[should have got us all lined up single file]** and alphabetical order, taking them in..." (BNC)

The clause "They should have got us all lined up single file" in (21) exemplifies the Resultative Construction as analysed by Goldberg. In this construction, an action causes an object to reach a particular state or condition. The typical structure follows this pattern:

Subject (causer) + Verb (causing action) + Object (affected entity) + Resultative phrase (describing the new state or condition). In this clause, the structure is as follows: (a) Subject (*They*) - the causer of the action; (b) Verb (*should have got*) - the action that brings about the result; (c) Object (*us all*) - the entities affected by the action; and (d) Resultative phrase (*lined up single file*) - the new state or condition resulting from the action.

Here, the verb *got* causes the result (*lining up single file*), and the resultative phrase "lined up single file" describes the new condition of the object (*us all*). This clause is a clear example of the Resultative Construction, in which an action leads to a specific outcome or state.

More examples of concordance lines illustrating the Resultative Construction appear in (22) through (26). The concordance lines in (22) and (23) feature the delexical verb *got*, similar to Goldberg's example "… got knocked silly for my pains", which is used in the passive voice (1995, p. 113, example 9; p. 181, example 3).

Examples (24) to (26) from the BNC concordance lines include transitive verbs - *knocked* in (24) and (25), and *brushed* in (26) - followed by resultative adjectives: *silly* in (24), *senseless* in (25), and *clean of lichen* in (26).

(22)

"380 JY1 W_fict_prose ... I've **[got an overnight bag packed]**, but before we go -" she took a hold..." (BNC)

In (22), the clause "I've got an overnight bag packed" exemplifies the English Resultative Construction as analysed by Goldberg. The structure follows the typical resultative pattern, in which an action leads to a particular state: Verb (*got*) + Object (*an overnight bag*) + Resultative phrase (*packed*).

Here, the verb *got* signifies the action, while *packed* describes the resulting state of the object (*an overnight bag*). This construction fits the Resultative pattern because the action of *got* results in the bag being *packed*, demonstrating the transition of the object into a specific condition.

(23)

"417 CEN W_newsp_other_report ... staff at the Victoria Gardens centre [...] **[got a back door unlocked]**. And Mayor Barbara Hillier declared the centre open..." (BNC)

The predicate "got a back door unlocked" in (23) exemplifies the English Resultative Construction, as analysed by Goldberg, following the typical pattern: Verb (*got*) + Object (*a back door*) + Resultative phrase (*unlocked*). In this case, the verb *got* represents the action, while *unlocked* describes the resulting state of the object (*a back door*).

This structure is characteristic of the Resultative Construction, in which the action (*getting*) leads to a specific state (*the door being unlocked*).

(24)

"134 CFY W_fict_prose ... It seemed that she had **[been knocked silly]** too. Mary described to Mick how the young girl had stood in the..." (BNC)

In (24), the clause "she had been knocked silly" illustrates the English Resultative Construction, as it follows the typical pattern: Verb (*knocked*) + Object (*she*) + Resultative phrase (*silly*). Here, the verb *knocked* represents the action, while *silly* expresses the resulting state of the object (*she*).

This structure fits the Resultative Construction, in which the action (*knocking*) causes the object (*the person*) to enter a specific state (*silly*), meaning dazed or disoriented.

(25)

"458 EDA W_biography ... men held and **[knocked senseless]** by Blackshirt stewards, filled the press in the days and weeks that followed..." (BNC)

In (25), the predicate "held and knocked senseless by Blackshirt stewards" demonstrates the English Resultative Construction because the expression "knocked

senseless" follows the typical resultative pattern: Verb (*knocked*) + Object (implicit "*someone*") + Resultative phrase (*senseless*). Here, the verb *knocked* indicates the action, while *senseless* conveys the resulting state of the object (the person being knocked).

This structure is characteristic of the Resultative Construction, in which an action (*knocking*) causes the object to enter a specific state (*being senseless*). While the phrase (*held*) does not directly contribute to the resultative construction, "knocked senseless" clearly follows the pattern analysed by Goldberg.

(26)

"404 CG2 W_pop_lore ... patches **[brushed clean of lichen]** told him where to place his feet. Ed's heart..." (BNC)

Finally, in (26), the phrase "patches brushed clean of lichen" reflects the English Resultative Construction. The structure follows the typical resultative pattern: Verb (*brushed*) + Object (*patches*) + Resultative phrase (*clean of lichen*).

Here, the verb *brushed* denotes the action, while "clean of lichen" reflects the resulting state of the object (*patches*). This structure aligns with the Resultative Construction, in which the action (*brushing*) leads to a specific result (the patches becoming *clean of lichen*).

Regarding passives, Goldberg (1995, p. 181 (3)) acknowledges that "Resultatives apply to subjects of passives which correspond to acceptable actives", as in the example "*it's … polished ready for Aintree*" in (27), cited from the BNC.

(27)

"22 KRM S_brdcast_news ... and **[it's already polished ready for Aintree]** on Saturday. So let's hope it's raised in..." (BNC)

The clause "it's already polished ready for Aintree" in (27) exemplifies the passive form of the English Resultative Construction, as analysed by Goldberg. The structure follows the typical resultative pattern: Verb (*polished*) + Object (*it*) + Resultative phrase (*ready for Aintree*).

In this example, the verb *polished* depicts the action, while "ready for Aintree" reflects the resulting state of the object (*it*). This structure follows the Resultative Construction, in which the action (*polishing*) causes the object to reach a specific state (being *ready for Aintree*).

The concordance lines from (21) to (27) illustrate linguistic realizations, or lexicalizations, of the English Resultative Construction as used across various contexts and situations, as indicated by different genre codes. The letter 'W' represents *written texts*, while the symbol 'S' denotes *spoken texts*, following

Jean Mark Gawron's[11] compilation of codes, published as *David Lee's Genre Classification Scheme* [12].

3. The Way Construction is structurally represented as "[SUBJi [V [POSSi way] OBL]]" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 199), where the lowercase *i* indicates that the subject (SUBJ) and the possessive pronoun (POSS) are co-referential, meaning they refer to the same entity. In this schema, **V** represents a non-stative verb (Goldberg, 1995), and OBL denotes an oblique object - specifically, a nominal complement governed by a preposition.

Consequently, the prepositional phrase takes on a "directional" meaning (Goldberg, 1995, p. 199). What stands out is not only the construction itself but also the verb, which is not necessarily a motion verb (cf. Talmy, 1972, 1985, 2000a, b) - such as *push* in (28) - but can also include verbs representing various non-stative processes, such as *talk* in (29), *eat* in (30), or even *worm* in (31).

The *Cambridge Dictionary* (online) defines "worm your way into sth" as "to gradually get into a situation by making people like you and trust you, especially by deceiving them."[13] The abbreviation 'sth' stands for *something.* Another source, *The Free Dictionary*, provides several definitions for the verb *worm*. The second definition, labelled 'v.tr.' (*verb transitive*), corresponds to the educational lexicon in the previous entry: "To work (one's way or oneself) subtly or gradually; insinuate: *She wormed her way into his confidence*"[14].

As a result, the expression "worm [one's] way into sth" may be classified as an *idiom*, similar to "jog [someone's] memory", which is among Goldberg's examples of constructions (cf. 2006, p. 5).

(28)

"87 CJF W_fict_prose ... As he **[pushed his way through the swing doors]**, he thought again how much he had preferred the Gothic splendour..." (BNC)

The clause "he pushed his way through the swing doors" in (28) exemplifies the Way Construction as analysed by Goldberg. In this construction, the verb typically describes motion or force, while 'way' serves as the object, implying that the subject creates a path or exerts effort to move through an obstacle.

The structure follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*he*) + Verb (*pushed*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way'+ Prepositional phrase (*through*

11 Gawron, J. M. (n.d.). Department of Linguistics and Asian/Middle Eastern Languages, San Diego State University. https://gawron.sdsu.edu/.

12 Gawron, J. M. (n.d.). David Lee's genre classification scheme. San Diego State University. https://gawron.sdsu.edu/functions_of_language/course_core/lectures/genres.html

13 Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). *Worm*. In *Cambridge English–Polish dictionary.* Cambridge University Press. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-polish/worm.

14 Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. (2016). *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). https://www.thefreedictionary.com/worm.

the swing doors). Here, the subject *he* performs the action of pushing, with *his way* indicating the effort or path created through the doors.

This structure corresponds to Goldberg's analysis of the Way Construction, in which an action verb combines with 'way' to imply movement or the act of overcoming an obstacle.

(29)

"22 CKC W_fict_prose ... One wonders how he'll **[talk his way out of this one]**. You're quite certain, of course?" (BNC)

In (29), the verb *talk* combines with *his way*, implying that the subject (*he*) creates a metaphorical path or manoeuvres to extricate himself from a difficult situation. The structure follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*he*) + Verb (*talk*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase (*out of this one*).

Here, the verb *talk* represents the action, while *his way* indicates that through talking, he will navigate his way out of the situation. This structure conforms to Goldberg's analysis of the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' together imply effort or action to achieve a specific outcome.

(30)

"52 BMS W_fict_prose ... **[Eating his way through our kitchen cupboards]**, probably. Honestly, Bina, what on earth did..." (BNC)

In (30), the non-finite clause "Eating his way through our kitchen cupboards" exemplifies the Way Construction as discussed in Goldberg's analysis. In this construction, the verb *eating* combines with *his way*, implying that the subject (*he*) is metaphorically creating a path or making progress through the kitchen cupboards by eating.

The structure similarly follows the standard pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (implicit "*he*") + Verb (*eating*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase (*through our kitchen cupboards*). Here, *eating* represents the action, while *his way* indicates that the subject is making progress or movement through the cupboards by eating.

This structure aligns with Goldberg's analysis of the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' together imply effort or action leading to a specific outcome.

(31)

"85 CH0 W_fict_prose ... Somehow, he had **[wormed his way into her private self]**, the place where she lived. And he had done..." (BNC)

The sentence "he had wormed his way into her private self" in (31) represents the Way Construction as demonstrated in Goldberg's work. In this construction,

the verb *wormed* combines with *his way*, implying that the subject (*he*) gradually and metaphorically created a path into her private self.

The structure likewise follows the typical Way Construction: Subject (*he*) + Verb (*wormed*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase (*into her private self*). In this context, *wormed* describes the action, while *his way* indicates the effort or gradual process by which the subject gained access to her private self. This structure adheres to the Way Construction as it conveys movement or progress, often involving effort or manipulation, to achieve a specific outcome.

Moreover, the concordance lines from (28) to (31) all carry the genre code 'W_fict_prose', indicating a written text categorized as fiction/prose, specifically *novels and short stories*, according to David Lee's *Genre Classification Scheme*. In contrast, the concordance lines from (32) to (40) feature other codes for written texts, representing a variety of genres. This range of genre codes suggests that the Way Construction is not confined to literary language. The codes correspond to David Lee's *Genre Classification Scheme*, which categorizes 46 genres of written texts.

(32)

"287 K1L W_news_script ... Her attacker **[forced his way in]** while she was alone, and the college is now reviewing security..." (BNC)

In (32), the clause "Her attacker forced his way in while she was alone" displays the Way Construction. In this construction, the verb *forced* combines with *his way*, indicating that the subject (*her attacker*) exerted effort to create a path or gain entry.

The structure once again follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*her attacker*) + Verb (*forced*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase (*in*). Here, *forced* signifies the action, while *his way* suggests the effort or force used to enter.

This structure aligns with Goldberg's analysis of the Way Construction as it conveys movement or progress, often involving effort or overcoming resistance, to achieve a particular outcome.

(33)

"298 CH7 W_newsp_tabloid ... The Chelsea midfielder **[picked his way through a bewildered Sheffield Wednesday]** rearguard and rolled the ball past Chris Woods..." (BNC)

The sentence "The Chelsea midfielder picked his way through a bewildered Sheffield Wednesday rearguard and rolled the ball past Chris Woods to produce" in (33) similarly illustrates the Way Construction as analysed in Goldberg's work. In this construction, the verb *picked* combines with *his way*, indicating that the subject (*the Chelsea midfielder*) carefully or skilfully manoeuvred through the opposing team's defence.

The structure correspondingly follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*The Chelsea midfielder*) + Verb (*picked*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("through a bewildered Sheffield Wednesday rearguard"). Here, *picked* depicts a careful, deliberate action, while *his way* indicates the effort or navigation required to move through the defence. This structure aligns with the Way Construction, where the verb and 'way' together imply movement or progress, often requiring skill or effort, to achieve a specific outcome - in this case, rolling the ball past the goalkeeper.

(34)

"309 AJ8 W_newsp_brdsht_nat_arts ... and simply **[strummed his way through]** While My Guitar Gently Weeps as Moore's Les Paul sobbed inconsolably..." (BNC)

In (34), the predicate "strummed his way through While My Guitar Gently Weeps" also exemplifies the Way Construction as examined by Goldberg. In this construction, the verb *strummed* combines with *his way*, indicating that the subject (*he*) made progress or completed the action of playing the song through strumming.

The structure, in the same way, exhibits the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*he*) + Verb (*strummed*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("through While My Guitar Gently Weeps"). In this instance, *strummed* denotes the action, while *his way* conveys the manner in which he played the song - by strumming the guitar.

This structure corresponds to the Way Construction, where the verb and 'way' together imply effort or action leading to the completion of an activity - in this case, performing the song.

The concordance lines from (32) to (34) reflect different situational usage events and genres. The code in concordance line (32), 'W_news_script', refers to *TV autocue data*, while 'W_newsp_tabloid', meaning *tabloid newspapers*, appears in concordance line (33). In contrast, 'W_newsp_brdsht_nat_arts', which pertains to "broadsheet national newspapers: arts/cultural material", is used in example (34).

Furthermore, examples (35) to (40) demonstrate that the Way Construction is ubiquitous in communication, spanning various spheres of life.

(35)

"351 CD5 W_pop_lore ... before long he'll be **[deadpanning his way through an entire history of his dog's cousin Spot's last tail operation]**." (BNC)

The code 'W_pop_lore' in (35) refers to lines excerpted from *popular magazines*. The dependent clause "before long he'll be deadpanning his way through an entire history of his dog's cousin Spot's last tail operation" exemplifies the Way Construction as outlined by Goldberg.

In this construction, the verb *deadpanning* combines with *his way*, indicating that the subject (*he*) will navigate or progress through the recounting of a detailed and likely tedious story in a deadpan manner. The structure likewise follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*he*) + Verb (*deadpanning*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("through an entire history of his dog's cousin Spot's last tail operation").

Here, *deadpanning* describes the action, while *his way* suggests the manner in which he moves through the recounting of the story. Together, the verb (*deadpanning*) and 'way' convey the process of progressing through the narrative in a specific style. This structure aligns with the typical configuration of the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' combine to express movement or progress through an activity - often requiring effort or characterized by a distinctive manner.

(36)

"384 H7S W_ac_humanities_arts ... and subsequently **[worked his way up to the Suleymaniye Darulhadis]** --probably by this time the premier medrese in the..." (BNC)

The genre code 'W_ac_humanities_arts' in (36) appears at the beginning of David Lee's compilation of genre codes, which he describes as "academic prose: humanities". The phrase "the medrese system in which he was given a 40-akce medrese and subsequently worked his way up to the Suleymaniye Darulhadis" also exemplifies the Way Construction as analysed by Goldberg.

In this construction, the verb *worked* combines with *his way*, implying that the subject made gradual progress through effort to reach a higher position or status. The structure follows the standard pattern of the Way Construction in a similar manner: Subject (implicit *he* in *his*) + Verb (*worked*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("up to the Suleymaniye Darulhadis").

Here, *worked* denotes effort or action, while *his way* implies gradual progress through the system to attain a higher rank or position. This structure aligns with Goldberg's analysis of the Way Construction, where the verb and 'way' together express movement or progress - often involving effort or persistence - to achieve a specific outcome, in this case, reaching the *Suleymaniye Darulhadis*.

(37)

"410 HLF W_non_ac_polit_law_edu ... and he **[made his way to Idzhevan]** in north-eastern Armenia, whose government had offered him temporary asylum..." (BNC)

The concordance line in (37) contains the genre code 'W_non_ac_polit_law_edu', designating text lines labelled as "non-academic: politics, law, education" in David Lee's classification. The clause "he made his way to Idzhevan in north-eastern Armenia" illustrates the Way Construction in this sentence.

In this construction, the verb *made* combines with *his way*, signifying that the subject (*he*) travelled or progressed to a destination, suggesting effort or intention in reaching Idzhevan. The structure also follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (implicit *he* in *his*) + Verb (*made*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("to Idzhevan in northeastern Armenia").

Here, *made* represents the action of travelling, while *his way* suggests the effort or path involved in reaching the destination. This structure matches the standard pattern of the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' together express movement or progress toward a goal, often implying effort or purpose.

(38)

"414 B10 W_non_ac_soc_science ... A father who **[elbows his way to the front of a queue]**, dragging his toddler behind him, is likely..." (BNC)

In (38), the code 'W_non_ac_soc_science' refers to "non-academic: social & behavioural sciences", according to David Lee. In this example, the phrase "A father who elbows his way to the front of a queue" likewise exemplifies the Way Construction as analysed by Goldberg.

In this construction, the verb *elbows* combines with *his way*, signifying that the subject (*the father*) exerts effort - forcefully in this case - to make progress through the crowd or line.

The structure likewise follows the characteristic pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*A father*) + Verb (*elbows*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("to the front of a queue").

Here, *elbows* denotes the action of using one's elbows to push through, while *his way* conveys the manner or effort involved in reaching the front of the queue. This structure conforms to the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' together express movement or progress - often involving effort or force - toward a specific outcome or goal.

(39)

"434 ASC W_biography ... John **[cajoled his way into being allowed to dance it at three performances]**. The dance is a comic..." (BNC)

The code in (39), 'W_biography,' signals "biographies/autobiographies" as the sources of the concordance lines studied. The clause "John cajoled his way into being allowed to dance it at three performances" similarly reflects the Way Construction, as analysed by Goldberg.

In this construction, the verb *cajoled* combines with *his way*, indicating that the subject (*John*) used persuasion or manipulation to gain permission to dance in the performances. The structure once again follows the characteristic pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (*John*) + Verb (*cajoled*) + Possessive determiner

(*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("into being allowed to dance it at three performances").

Here, *cajoled* conveys the action of persuading or convincing, while *his way* suggests the manner or effort John employed to achieve his goal. This structure aligns with the Way Construction, in which the verb and 'way' together express movement or progress - often involving effort, strategy, or persistence - toward a specific outcome, in this case, securing permission to perform.

(40)

"458 J1G W_email ... and **[chuffed his way around the back]** right like a horse that was due for the knackers yard." (BNC)

Finally, in (40), the code 'W_email' refers to "e-mail sports discussion list", as described in David Lee's list of genre codes, compiled by Jean Mark Gawron.[15] The predicate "chuffed his way around the back" in the third clause furthermore exemplifies the Way Construction as analysed in Goldberg's work.

In this construction, the verb *chuffed* combines with *his way*, signifying that the subject (*he*) progressed or moved around the back, possibly with effort or in a particular manner.

The structure similarly follows the typical pattern of the Way Construction: Subject (implicit *he* in *his*) + Verb (*chuffed*) + Possessive determiner (*his*) + 'way' + Prepositional phrase ("around the back").

Here, *chuffed* describes the action of moving, while *his way* suggests the effort or distinctive manner in which he navigated around the back. This structure aligns with the Way Construction, where the verb and 'way' together imply movement or progress toward a goal or location - often involving some degree of effort or a particular style of movement.

It can be observed that concordance lines lexicalizing the Way Construction occur frequently in English, not only due to the wide variety of genres in which such expressions appear, but also because of the semantics of the verbs found in these utterances. These include not only motion verbs but also verbs that indicate ongoing situations.

Both the Resultative Construction and the Way Construction, as analysed by Goldberg, are well-represented in the concordance lines above, demonstrating how these constructions function across different linguistic contexts.

The Resultative Construction illustrates how an action leads to a resulting state or condition (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 80). For instance, concordance lines such as "she had been knocked silly" in (24) or "I've got an overnight bag packed" in

15 Gawron, J. M. (n.d.). Department of Linguistics and Asian/Middle Eastern Languages, San Diego State University. https://gawron.sdsu.edu/.

(22) demonstrate this pattern. In these cases, the verb (e.g., *knocked*, *got*) causes a change in an entity (e.g., *she*, *bag*), resulting in a new state (e.g., *silly*, *packed*).

In contrast, the Way Construction emphasizes movement along a particular path, often requiring effort or manipulation (cf. Goldberg, 1995, pp. 199–218). Examples such as "he made his way to Idzhevan" in (37) or "A father who elbows his way to the front of the queue" in (38) illustrate this pattern, where the subject performs an action (e.g., *made*, *elbows*) that involves progressing toward a goal. This construction typically includes a possessive determiner (e.g., *his*) and a prepositional phrase that specifies the path or destination.

Goldberg acknowledges that "Marantz (1992) points out that the way construction bears a certain similarity to the so-called fake object resultatives" (1995, p. 215). However, she argues that "differences between the two constructions remain; these differences prevent us from claiming that the two are actually the same construction" (1995, p. 217). While both constructions emphasize the dynamic relationship between actions and outcomes, the Resultative Construction focuses on a change of state, whereas the Way Construction highlights progress through space or along an abstract path. These examples illustrate how Goldberg's construction grammar theory sheds light on the ways English speakers express complex meanings across genres and contexts.

Goldberg (1995, 2006) examines the English language through the lens of argument structure constructions, using thematic roles to explain valency processes. These thematic roles originate in Fillmore's concept of deep structure cases in syntactic structure. However, her framework also integrates Langacker's view of the symbolic nature of linguistic expressions. While Goldberg (e.g., 2006) identifies a variety of argument structure constructions in English - corresponding to syntactic structures in formal grammar (e.g., Quirk et al., 1985) - the previous section focused on the four constructions discussed in her earlier work (1995).

These constructions will be further analysed in this study as examples of 'polysemous' constructions within BNC concordance lines, alongside the use of delexical verbs in polysemous utterances. Specifically, the English delexical verb *throw* will be explored in 3.1, *The Way Construction* in 3.2, *The English Resultative Construction* in 3.3, *The English Caused-Motion Construction* in 3.3 and 4.2, and *The Ditransitive Construction* in 4.1. This analysis aims to demonstrate how polysemy is manifested in both constructional and lexical patterns, underscoring the dynamic interplay between form and meaning in English argument structure.

1.1.3 Reference to 'constructions' and 'grammatical polysemy' in Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) (Wierzbicka 1972)

While Goldberg's work focuses on argument structure constructions and the polysemy of grammatical forms in English, drawing on thematic roles and symbolic representations, Anna Wierzbicka's *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM) theory (Wierzbicka, 1972) offers a complementary yet distinct approach to analysing meaning through universal semantic primitives. In this approach, constructions are fixed, culturally embedded forms that convey specific meanings, while 'grammatical polysemy' arises when a single construction or linguistic form is associated with multiple related meanings. Wierzbicka's work emphasizes the importance of universal elements of meaning, which are central to NSM, while also acknowledging that grammatical constructions can be both culturally specific and polysemous. Thus, Wierzbicka's perspective on grammar and meaning complements other constructionist approaches, such as those of Langacker and Goldberg, by highlighting the intersection between universal semantics and the variability of linguistic constructions across languages.

Focusing on prior research by Wierzbicka (see, e.g., 1972, 1979, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2006),[16] Goddard (e.g., 2003a, b, c), and Peeters (ed. 2006), as well as Goddard and Wierzbicka's joint study (2002, 2014), Goddard describes the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) as "a decompositional system of meaning representation based on empirically established universal semantic primes, i.e., simple indefinable meanings which appear to be present as word-meanings in all languages ..." (2010, p. 459). Discussing Anna Wierzbicka's theory on NSM, Cliff Goddard (2010, p. 480) highlights *grammatical polysemy* as a key concept, stating that "Within a single language, NSM research indicates that any given grammatical construction is likely to be polysemous ..." (2010, p. 461). The English grammatical construction "have a VP-INF", found in expressions such as *have a chat*, *have a look*, etc., was studied by Wierzbicka (1988) and, according to Goddard, exhibits the grammatical polysemy of *have*, which functions as a *delexical* verb. Therefore, in this work, other delexical verbs are considered to be *polysemous* when used to describe different situations, such as *take a chance* vs. *take a look* in examples (41) and (42), respectively.

(41)

"29 F9C W_fict_prose ... Sometimes you've just got to **[take a chance]** and dive in. 'Like you?' Preston thought, crabbily..." (BNC)

16 Wierzbicka, A. (2024, March 18). List of publications. Australian National University. https://researchers.anu.edu.au/researchers/wierzbicka-a.

(42)

"117 K1L W_news_script ... And next week, we'll **[take a look]** back at the highlights of the Central South soccer season..." (BNC)

While in (41) a dynamic situation is depicted by *take a chance*, involving a physical activity of diving in, the expression *take a look* in (42) evokes a stative situation connected with the sense of vision. A range of concordance lines will display the full spectrum of circumstances described by the "take a VP-INF" construction, modelled after the one for the delexical *have* discussed earlier. Since the polysemy of constructions based on English delexical verbs, i.e., grammatical polysemy, pertains to the NSM theory, a brief overview of the main ideas of NSM is presented below.

Wierzbicka (1996, p. 22) argues that there is a "…language-like innate conceptual system" that underlies languages and cultures, functioning as their "working tool" (see, e.g., the term *case frame* in Fillmore, 1977b; *Idealized Cognitive Model* (ICM) in Lakoff, 1987; *Cognitive Grammar* in Langacker, 1987; *Mental Spaces* in Fauconnier, 1994; *Cognitive Semantics* in Talmy, 2000, Vols. 1 & 2). According to Wierzbicka, the language of NSM theory represents this innate conceptual system, serving as a *tertium comparationis* - a common platform of reference (cf. Krzeszowski, 1990) - which she refers to as a "common measure" across different cultures and languages (Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 22).

Wierzbicka posits that by comparing and "investigating" a large number of languages, it is possible to establish a "hypothetical shared core of all natural languages", which can be treated as a "language-independent metalanguage for the description and comparison of all languages and cultures" (1996, p. 22). This shared language, or "natural semantic metalanguage", enables us to describe meanings communicated in any natural language using our first language, which, even "if at times unidiomatic", remains "directly intelligible" (Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 22).

Wierzbicka suggests that this shared core of natural languages can be viewed as a collection of "isomorphic minilanguages", functioning as specific versions of the same universal Natural Semantic Metalanguage (cf. Wierzbicka, 1996, pp. 22–23). She asserts, "To investigate the meaning of individual words, we need to have a set of indefinable - semantic primes - in terms of which all the other words can be defined" (2006, pp. 249–250). As an example of a "universal word", Wierzbicka (2014, p. 33) proposes the English word *see*, though she acknowledges that it is a "handy abbreviation", as words can also be "culture-specific".

Furthermore, Wierzbicka emphasizes the importance of not only words but also the grammatical patterns in which these words appear (2014, p. 33). In NSM theory, Wierzbicka argues that "... all languages share not only a lexical core but also a grammatical one" (ibid.). While constructing NSM, she encountered

methodological challenges, such as polysemy, which she describes as "extremely widespread in natural language" (Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 25). According to Wierzbicka, each semantic primitive has a corresponding word in a particular language, provided that "a given primitive can be convincingly explained (in a principled and coherent way) in terms of polysemy" (1996, p. 26).

The notion of grammatical frames, also known as *grammatical constructions*, plays a crucial role in this regard. For example, the English word *want* exhibits polysemy in two grammatical patterns: "WANT somebody to do something", as in concordance lines (43) and (44), and "Subject wants V+ing", as in examples (45) and (46) (cf. Wierzbicka, 1996, p. 25). These two patterns are illustrated by the sentences "(A) I want you to do something" and "(B) This house wants painting" (1996, p. 25), demonstrating how grammatical frames contribute to polysemy.

(43)

"400 HH3 W_non_ac_polit_law_edu ... they **[want grandchildren to look after them when they get old]**. They tell him to take..." (BNC)

(44)

"130 ASS W_fict_prose ... doing what some woman **[wants them to do]**. And you know the weapon she uses? She uses Tenderness..." (BNC)

(45)

"0 KCH S_conv ... So **[it wants using]**. I'm doing my best, you know ma—" (BNC)

(46)

"82 JP1 S_meeting ... then **[the end date wants changing]** as well. There's a letter in with that one..." (BNC)

In examples (47) to (50), the verb *want* is used in various grammatical patterns. The concordance lines in (47), (48) and (49) illustrate the SVOC clause type, where *C* represents the Complement of the Object - infinitival in (47) and (48), and adjectival in (49). In (50), *wants* appears in the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) pattern, where the *V+ing* constituent is replaced with a nominal phrase, expressed as "development proposals".

(47)

"419 FU1 W_non_ac_soc_science ... saying, 'Do you **[want me to sign for anything]**?' I had this idea they had booked me..." (BNC)

(48)

"425 ADE W_religion ... and do not **[want them to suffer harm]**. But unfortunately, in our wish to be protective..." (BNC)

(49)

"423 CSY W_non_ac_tech_engin ... part of the difficulty is that **[potential customers want the stuff customized]** and 88open won't do that for them..." (BNC)

(50)

"246 AJ6 W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc ... **[The society wants development proposals]**, such as the building of 10,000 new houses in west Swindon..." (BNC)

When analysing the occurrences of *want* and *wants* in concordance lines, one may observe that the verb appears in various patterns. However, this book does not primarily focus on the polysemy of *want*. Instead, *want* exemplifies how any linguistic element can exhibit polysemy in use (cf. Goddard, 2010, p. 461).

Grammatical polysemy is a meaning-related phenomenon within the NSM framework (cf. Goddard, 2010, p. 483) developed by Anna Wierzbicka. She examined this phenomenon - often in collaboration with Cliff Goddard (see, e.g., Goddard & Wierzbicka, 1997, 2007, 2014) - within linguistic patterns known as "lexico-grammatical constructions", which form an "interrelated family" (Goddard, 2010, p. 461).

Summary

Linguistic constructions, such as the idiomatic expressions *let alone*, studied by Charles Fillmore, Paul Kay, and Catherine O'Connor (1988), and *What's X doing Y*, studied by Kay and Fillmore (1999), have greatly inspired constructional approaches to grammatical structures in cognitive linguistics. Ronald Langacker's (1987) concept of the *symbolic assembly*, a progressively more complex grammatical construction, has also significantly contributed to this movement. The first section of this book focuses on these constructions within the broader framework of cognitive linguistics. Specifically, it examines Langacker's view of constructions as form-meaning pairings, ranging from single morphemes, whether free or bound, to phrases and clauses of increasing complexity. These constructions are shaped by valency factors, which govern how linguistic constituents combine and interact.

At the level of grammatical structure, Adele Goldberg has studied argument structure constructions, focusing on how verbs and their arguments form constructions that convey specific meanings. Her work analyses numerous English constructions, including the Caused-Motion Construction, the Resultative Construction, and the Way Construction, which exemplify the relationship between syntactic patterns and argument structure.

Finally, Anna Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach brings a cross-linguistic dimension to the study of constructions, emphasizing the universal nature of semantic primitives while recognizing the polysemy

present across different languages. Her work complements other constructionist approaches by highlighting the interplay between universal semantic elements and culturally embedded grammatical forms.

Having examined the role of constructions in cognitive linguistics, particularly through the work of scholars such as Langacker, Goldberg, and Wierzbicka, it becomes clear that constructions themselves are often polysemous. The phenomenon of polysemy is essential for understanding how a single linguistic form can convey multiple related meanings, extending beyond individual words to include grammatical constructions. This framework sets the stage for the next section, which delves into polysemy in linguistic constructions, exploring how polysemous forms shape meaning across contexts.

1.2 Key Approaches to Polysemy: Lakoff, Langacker, and Tyler & Evans Based on BNC Concordance Lines

Polysemy is defined as the "... phenomenon whereby a linguistic unit exhibits multiple distinct yet related meanings" (Evans, 2007, p. 163; Kovács, 2011, p. 3). Although, as Kazimierz Polański (2003, pp. 447, 712) notes, the term *polysemy* was coined long ago by Michel Bréal, who used it in his *Essai de sémantique* (Paris, 1897), its traditional association with words has expanded to include grammatical constructions. This extension has been explored not only by Anna Wierzbicka in NSM theory but also in cognitive semantics, particularly by Adele Goldberg (1995, 2006) in her work on *Argument Structure Constructions*.

Constructional polysemy can also be observed in the interpretation of so-called "chained concepts" (Jackendoff, 2002, p. 340), such as the related senses of *open* in different contexts, illustrated by the following clauses: a. "The window is open"; b. "The window opened"; c. "Tom opened the window" (cf. Jackendoff, 2002, p. 340). These clauses represent different formal patterns: SVC (Subject-Verb-Complement) in (a), with the adjective *open*; SV (Subject-Verb) in (b), an intransitive verb form; and SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) in (c), with a monotransitive verb. Ray Jackendoff argues that "This chaining... is semantically transparent, in that the original concept is contained in both the derivative concepts" (2002, p. 341), even as *open* shifts from an adjective to a verb. He considers this transparent chaining to be "a standard case of polysemy" (Jackendoff, 2002, p. 341).

George Lakoff (1987, p. 20) introduced the expression "chaining within a category", stating that "Complex categories are structured by chaining; central members are linked to other members, which are linked to other members, and so on ..." (1987, p. 95). Lakoff (1987, p. 416) addressed the lexical polysemy of words like *open*, whose polysemous nature is realized through use in constructions. His analysis of *over* exemplifies "Chaining within Categories" (1987, pp. 418–436), which he

termed "a full-specification model" of polysemy (Evans 2007, p. 87) or "the full specification interpretation" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 422). Furthermore, the "Relations among the schemas" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 436, Fig. 27) of *over* demonstrate what is meant by a "radial structure" (1987, p. 435), presenting another framework for understanding polysemy. Croft (2001, p. 116) explains, "Polysemy analyses play a central role in cognitive linguistics; Lakoff (1987) … discusses them in detail, calling them radial categories".

Other theoretical perspectives on polysemy, such as Langacker's (1987) "Network Model", Claudia Brugman's (1981, 1988) 'motivated polysemy' approach - analysing *over* as a "single category of related or polysemous senses" (Evans, 2007, p.156) - and the "Principled Polysemy" model by Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans (2003), have all been developed within cognitive semantics. While Lakoff (1987, pp. 435−445) also discusses the metaphorical senses of *over* within his approach, Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner explore polysemy in relation to "the operation of conceptual blending, a major cognitive resource for creativity" (2003, p. 80).

Additionally, Vyvyan Evans (2015) examines lexical polysemy within the framework of LCCM Theory[17] (Evans, 2009), where meaning construction is based on specific cognitive models accessed via lexical concepts.

Agustin Vicente (2018),[18] addressed polysemy from a psycholinguistic perspective, aiming to show how our understanding of the representation and storage of polysemous senses influences the models we have of lexical meaning.

The study of polysemy, whether at the lexical or constructional level, continues to be a central topic in cognitive linguistics and semantic theory (Gries, 2019). As research has shown, polysemy is not merely a byproduct of lexical expansion but a fundamental aspect of how language structures and conveys meaning (see also Haber & Poesio, 2024). The interplay between lexical polysemy and grammatical constructions highlights the dynamic and flexible nature of linguistic representation, with models such as Lakoff's radial categories, Langacker's network model, and Evans' LCCM Theory all contributing to a more nuanced understanding of meaning. Theoretical advances in cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches suggest that polysemy is an essential cognitive mechanism, reflecting the way speakers categorize and conceptualize experience (e.g., Fauconnier & Turner, 2011). As linguistic research evolves, further exploration of how polysemous structures emerge, are processed, and influence communication will remain crucial for understanding both language and cognition (Pleyer & Hartmann, 2024; Fitch, Huber, & Bugnyar, 2010; Beckner et al., 2009). Among the various theoretical perspectives on polysemy,

17 LCCM Theory (Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models Theory) in Evans, 2009, p. 212.

18 See https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Polysemy-and-word-meaning%3A-an-account-of-lexical-of-Vicente/04a76c90621e806d5a6287ea6df763820bad0560.

three key approaches have played a particularly influential role in shaping our understanding of its mechanisms. This section focuses on Lakoff's model (1987), Langacker's approach (1987), and Tyler and Evans's view (2003), with the aim of highlighting constructional polysemy through lexical polysemy.

1.2.1 Lakoff's Full-Specification Model and the Representation of Polysemy

Lakoff's *radial category* model organizes meanings around a *central prototype* with various extensions forming a network of related senses (Lakoff, 1987, p. 65). Within this framework, he distinguishes between 'minimal specification' and 'full specification' interpretations of a polysemous word like *over*. The *minimal specification* interpretation considers a general, underspecified schema, which can be shaped by contextual factors, such as the surrounding verb and object. Conversely, the *full specification* interpretation treats polysemy as a structured set of highly detailed senses, where each meaning arises as a fully specified schema derived from a more abstract representation. In the case of *over*, Lakoff describes how a generalized spatial sense (schema 1) generates more specific, context-dependent meanings (schemas 2–7), each incorporating additional conceptual features such as verticality, extension, and contact (Lakoff, 1987, p. 420). This approach aligns with his radial category model, in which polysemous meanings are interconnected through a structured network rather than existing as isolated, unrelated senses - such as the English radial category that includes extensions of *mother* (Lakoff, 1987, p. 205).

Building on this structured model of meaning extension, Lakoff further developed the full-specification approach to polysemy, proposing a highly detailed inventory of senses stored in semantic memory. In this full-specification model, Lakoff (1987, pp. 422−424) argued for a highly detailed inventory of senses stored in semantic memory by the language user (Evans, 2007, p. 87). Lakoff presented "a handful of the senses of *over*" (1987, pp. 418−419), beginning with the central sense, "The Above-Across Sense" (1987, p. 419), illustrated by Schema 1 in the clause "The plane flew over" (1987, p. 419, Fig. 1). The instances of this schema are exemplified in sentences shown in Figures 1 to 7 (1987, pp. 421−422). Schema 1, which corresponds to the central sense in Lakoff's study, aligns with the concept of the proto-scene as described in Tyler and Evans (2003), where the TR (*trajector*) is positioned higher than the LM (*landmark*) but may still be in contact with it. According to their analysis, the TR is close enough to the LM that, under certain conditions, contact could occur (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 65).

This conceptualization of TR and LM in Lakoff's model is closely related to the broader Figure-Ground distinction, a fundamental cognitive mechanism in spatial reasoning. Lakoff states that TR and LM are generalizations of Figure and Ground (Langacker, 1986; Lakoff, 1987, p. 419). The concepts of Figure and Ground, as

constituents of a Motion Event, were first introduced by Leonard Talmy in his PhD thesis (Winter, 1972) and were extensively studied in his later works (e.g., Talmy, 1985, 2000a, 2000b).

In Lakoff's Schema 1, this Figure-Ground relationship plays a crucial role in defining the spatial configuration between TR and LM. As evoked by the sentence "The plane flew over" (1987, p. 419), the LM serves as an unspecified reference point, but its specific contextual instances contain more defined LMs. Lakoff uses specific abbreviations to describe each instance of Schema 1, such as "X" for extended, "V" for vertical, "C" for contact, and "NC" for no contact (1987, p. 420). In the first three cases, the TR (the smaller, moving entity) is higher than the LM, whereas in the next three instances, the TR is in contact with the LM.

The first instance of Schema 1 underlies the clause "The bird flew over the yard" (Lakoff 1987, p. 421, Fig. 2), where the LM is depicted as "X.NC". The second instance is represented by "The plane flew over the hill" (1987, p. 421, Fig. 3), where the LM is "VX.NC". The third instance is linked to the sentence "The bird flew over the wall" (1987, p. 421, Fig. 4), with the LM symbolized by "V.NC". In the next three instances, the TR is a human figure, Sam, moving in contact with various LMs. In "Sam drove over the bridge" (1987, p. 422, Fig. 5), the LM is "X.C". In "Sam walked over the hill" (1987, p. 422, Fig. 6), the LM is "VX.C". Finally, in "Sam climbed over the wall" (1987, p. 422, Fig. 7), the LM is "V.C".

Lakoff argues that "the senses of *over* form a chain, with Schema 1 at the center" (1987, p. 422). He further explains that "the schemas in Figures 2–7 are part of that chain", with some serving as links to other senses, connected by *similarity* relations (cf. Lakoff, 1987, p. 424). Lakoff identifies five main schemas, emphasizing the numerous *similarity links* between different senses of *over*, which he considers instances of polysemy (Lakoff, 1987, p. 416). Schema 6 (Lakoff, 1987, p. 436, Fig. 27) exemplifies a radial structure, mapping out the interconnected senses of *over* in his approach to polysemy (Lakoff, 1987, p. 435). He concludes that "Schema 1 occupies a central position" within this radial structure of *over* (ibid.).

The instances of polysemy related to Schema 1 can be identified in concordance lines (51) to (56), which display *over* in predicates with the same motion verb as *flew over*, the key expression in the BNC corpus search. In these examples, the LM was unspecified or variable. Thus, it can be described using Lakoff's symbolization as *X*, *V*, *C*, or *NC*.

The first three concordance lines, (51) to (53), use *over* in situations similar to those in Lakoff's first three instances of Schema 1. Therefore, the same symbols are used for the LM in examples (51) to (53) as in Lakoff's first three instances of Schema 1 (1987, p. 421, Figures 2 to 4).

In (51), the landmark (LM) occurs in the predicate "flew over Bali" and is classified as "X.NC", meaning that the LM "extends over a distance or area" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 420, (2)) without making contact with it.

(51)

"50 BNV W_pop_lore ... We **[flew over Bali]**, with its temples and beautiful beaches, before being slowed by head-winds..." (BNC)

In (52), *Mount Everest* is classified as "VX.NC", meaning that the "LM is vertical, as it extends upward (e.g., a fence or a hill)" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 420, (3)).

(52)

"46 CF9 W_newsp_other_sports ... she **[flew over Mount Everest]** in a helicopter, 40 years after a British-sponsored expedition became the..." (BNC)

In (53), the landmark (LM) *wall* in the predicate "flew over the wall" can be symbolically labelled as "V.NC", meaning that it is vertical and does not make contact with the trajector (TR).

(53)

"69 B22 W_biography ... 'Can I help it if it **[flew over the wall]**?' At this, Dad lost his temper..." (BNC)

The concordance lines from (54) to (56) illustrate situations where the trajector (TR) is in contact with the landmark (LM). These cases can be symbolically represented as corresponding to Lakoff's examples in Figures 5 to 7 (1987, p. 422).

In (54), the trajector (TR) is represented by a human, labelled as *She*, similar to *Sam* in Lakoff's schemas. Consequently, the landmark (LM) *lawn* can be labelled as "X.C", meaning that it is extended and in contact with the TR.

(54)

"24 HGF W_fict_prose ... She locked the door and **[flew over the lawn]** to the house and shrilling telephone..." (BNC)

In (55), *the boat* serves as the trajector (TR), which is in contact with its landmark (LM), *the waves*. The waves, resembling bumpy, small hills, can be symbolized as "VX.C", meaning that they are vertical, extended, and in contact with the TR.

(55)

"19 FUB W_fict_prose ... the boat **[flew over the waves]**, faster than the sea-people could follow..." (BNC)

In (56), the trajector (TR) is represented by *their car*, which reached the other side of *a hedge* functioning as the landmark (LM). The hedge can be visualized

as being in contact with the car and symbolically represented as "V.C", meaning that the landmark is vertical and in contact with the TR.

(56)

"34 K1C W_news_script ... their car hit a motorway crash barrier and **[flew over a hedge]**. The accident happened on the M-Five near the Haresfield turnoff..." (BNC)

The concordance lines from (51) to (56) illustrate *over* as a polysemous element across different constructions, all linked to the central sense in Schema 1.

In Schema 2, Lakoff (1987, p. 425) illustrates *over* in "The Above Sense", a stative sense with no PATH, as in "Hang the painting over the fireplace" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 425, Fig. 13). Schema 2, which indicates no contact between the one-dimensional trajector (TR) and the landmark (LM) and lacks an "across" sense, can be applied to *over* in (57), comparable to "The helicopter is hovering over the hill" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 425). The scene in (57) appears static, as *a pencil hovering over the ballot paper* similarly implies no motion.

(57)

"30 AK9 W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc ... As I stood there with **[the pencil hovering over the ballot paper]**, the child's voice echoed in my ear..." (BNC)

Schema 2 is also presented as a related *subschema*, illustrated by "The power line stretches over the yard" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 426, Fig. 14, Schema 2.1DTR). This schema involves "an extended path (X.P) and a one-dimensional trajector (1DTR)" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 425), linked by a transformational link between schemas (Lakoff, 1987, p. 425).

In concordance line (58), *over* occurs with the landmark (LM), "the city of Glasgow", while the trajector (TR) is interpreted as one-dimensional, with no clear path element. The TR is identified as "a rainbow" based on the preceding context of this concordance line, available on the BNC: "He had never seen anything like the night rainbow". Clicking on the code '51 ALL W_misc' under "CLICK FOR MORE CONTEXT" provides access to a longer discourse fragment, including both the preceding and following text.

(58)

"51 ALL W_misc ... **[the bridge of colour stretched over the city of Glasgow]**. Tenement rooftops like giant steps climbed the hills..." (BNC)

While Schema 2 and its related schemas are organized in a grid (Lakoff, 1987, p. 427, Fig. 15), Lakoff explains that Schema 3 represents a "group of schemas for *over*", specifically related to covering (Lakoff, 1987, p. 426). Schema 3 is linked to the grid, connecting Schema 1 and Schema 2, along with their subschemas, including the transformation of Schema 2 ("2.1DTR") and eight instances of Schema 1.

The "Covering Senses" of *over* (Lakoff, 1987, p. 426) are instantiated in Schema 3, as exemplified in the clause "The board is over the hole" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 427, Fig. 16). Here, the trajector (TR) "is at least two-dimensional and extends across the boundaries of the LM" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 426).

In concordance line (59), *over* appears in the covering sense corresponding to Schema 3, where it refers to someone's stomach, as in "the jumper stretched over" his stomach[19].

(59)

"4 C8E W_fict_prose ... with **[a dark-red stringy knitted jumper stretched over it]**. The hair that God had left him was sparse, dry and..." (BNC)

Various covering schemas exhibit distinct characteristics. For example, "Schema 3.P.E". encodes the path (P) of the trajector (TR) and emphasizes the end-point, indicating that "the final state is that of Schema 3" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 427), as in "The city clouded over" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 427, Fig. 17).

This pattern aligns with concordance line (60), where the adverb *abruptly* highlights the dynamic nature of *The blue skies clouded over*.

(60)

"4 AT4 W_fict_prose ... **[The blue skies clouded over abruptly]**. 'If it means that, I'd rather do all that..." (BNC)

Concordance line (61) contains the word *over* in the expression "all over the place", which aligns with Schema 3.MX (Lakoff, 1987, p. 428). This schema describes a "relationship between a continuous region (or mass) and a multiplex entity" (ibid.). The trajector (TR), represented by *they* in the phrase "if you got them", refers to a multiplex entity that is distributed across a continuous region - in other words, scattered "all over the place".

(61)

"5 KBB S_conv ... you can never find anything if you got them **[all over the place]**! Ah, this is it!" (BNC)

Lakoff characterizes Schema 4 as "a transform of Schema 1, with Schema 4 adding the condition TR = LM" (1987, p. 432). This condition manifests through the action of *over* tracing "a semicircle above and across other parts of the thing being moved", a motion that Lakoff refers to as a reflexive path. This pattern appears in clauses such as "The syrup spread out and Roll the log over" (1987, pp. 432–433, Figs. 23–24). Another example is "The fence fell over", where the

19 Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). *Stomach*. In *Cambridge English–Polish dictionary*. Cambridge University Press. https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-polish/stomach.

trajector (TR) follows the second half of the reflexive path (1987, p. 433, Fig. 25). This instance of Schema 4 is symbolically represented as "4.REP", with "REP" indicating a reflexive path. Another case involves a *wall* that "is initially vertical and moves so as to follow the last half of a reflexive path" (1987, p. 433), as seen in concordance line (62).

(62)

"18 KCY S_conv ... a double decker bus with all its front smashed in, **[the wall fell over]**. Apparently the guy that was driving it had overalls on..." (BNC)

Lakoff (1987, pp. 433−434) defines "The Excess Schema", which is triggered by *over* as a prefix to indicate excess, as in "The bathtub *over*flowed." He also examines "The Repetition Schema" (*Schema 5*), which builds on Schema 1.XC and incorporates two metaphors (1987, pp. 434−435). In this schema, the path metaphorically represents an activity, aligning with the "ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY" metaphor. The landmark metaphorically signifies a prior instance of the activity. In the clause "Do it *over*", the adverb *over* conveys repetition. Similarly, in concordance line (63), "over and over" exemplifies repetition in the context of "adding up all the factors".

(63)

"97 G3G W_fict_prose ... adding up all the factors **[over and over]**, getting the same answer, while Posi took us up into Highlight..." (BNC)

Beyond detailing the various senses of *over* and their connections, Lakoff also introduces metaphorical mappings that apply to its four schemas. These mappings appear in concordance lines (57)–(59), which feature the search expression *flew over*, linked to Schema 3.

An example of this occurs in "Schema 3.MXP" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 428, Fig. 19). Here, "M" denotes both a continuous region or mass and a 'multiplex entity', "X" represents an extended landmark, and "P" signifies the path. Lakoff explains that the trajector follows the path, progressively covering the extended landmark as it moves (1987, p. 429).

In (64), the landmark (LM) is represented as "MX.P", where "MX" denotes a multiplex entity - a complex structure made up of multiple parts - and "P" signifies the path. Her *gaze*, functioning as the trajector (TR), moves over *him*, conceptualizing him as a multiplex entity.

(64)

"32 JY7 W_fict_prose ... **[Her gaze flew over him]**. He was still barefoot, but he had put on a shirt..." (BNC)

In example (65), the *information* functions as the trajector (TR), moving over the *Normandy beaches*, which serve as the landmark (LM). This LM can also be

labelled as "MX.P", where "MX" denotes a multiplex entity and "P" represents a path. This is analogous to the LM in example (64), where her gaze moved over him.

(65)

"87 CLV W_misc ... **[The information flew over the Normandy beaches]** and as they approached the town of Caen, a wing..." (BNC)

In example (66), the Manner of motion is metaphorical. This term is capitalized as the co-event in Talmy's Motion Event framework (1972; 2000b). In this case, the *pen* (TR) *flew*, indicating Manner, while *over* represents the Path - the core event in Talmy's framework - as the pen moves over *the paper* (LM).

(66)

"21 GUD W_fict_prose ... **[Pascoe's pen flew over the paper]** as he took shorthand notes. He was so occupied with the..." (BNC)

Lakoff (1987, p. 439) also accounts for the adjectival use of *over* in clauses like "The play is over". According to Lakoff, this usage exemplifies "Schema 1.X.C.E", where "E" refers to the end-point focus, signalling the completion of an activity understood metaphorically as an extended landmark (1987, pp. 423, 440). Lakoff explains that performing an activity is metaphorically conceptualized as traveling along a path *over* the landmark, with the activity deemed complete upon reaching the end (1987, p. 440).

The concordance lines in (67) and (68) illustrate this adjectival use of *over*, where it functions not as a preposition or adverb but as an adjective indicating that the activity has ended. According to the *Collins Online Dictionary*, "If an activity is over or all over, it is completely finished"[20].

(67)

"121 CEH W_fict_prose ... and not open them again **[until it was all over]**. The first of the sirens sounded distantly and she ran to the kitchen..." (BNC)

(68)

"287 CBF W_newsp_other_report ... **[It was all over in 45 minutes]**, but it seemed an eternity,' said Colin..." (BNC)

Each schema of a single word, such as *over* in the five schemas, is evoked based on the clause and its predicate.[21] These schemas represent different trajector (TR) and landmark (LM) configurations, as illustrated in examples like "drove over

20 Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). *Over*. In *Collins English dictionary*. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/over.

21 The examples are cited from Lakoff (1987, pp. 420−435).

the bridge" (Schema 1.X.C), "flew over the hill" (Schema 1.VX.NC), "stretches over the yard" (Schema 2.1DTR), and "The city clouded over" (Schema 3.P.E.).

Although Schema 1 serves as a foundation for other schemas, each schema evokes a distinct trajector-landmark (TR/LM) relationship. These schemas can describe both real-world situations and metaphorical expressions. For example, the idiomatic phrase *all over the moon*[22] (example 69) uses the schema metaphorically to convey an emotional state.

(69)

"500 KAF W_misc ... we were **[all over the moon]**! Our Workshop Day at Marlow was well attended too..." (BNC)

Lakoff's full-specification model of polysemy illustrates how different senses of a word are organized and related. It emphasizes the process of chaining through the transformational links between the five schemas, forming a radial category. In this model, Schema 1, located at the centre, represents the core meaning, while Schemas 2 to 5, along with their numerous instances, extend from this core, forming peripheral senses (cf. Fig. 27. *Relations among the schemas* in Lakoff 1987, p. 436).

However, Lakoff's approach to polysemy has been criticized. Dominiek Sandra (cited in Evans, 2007) argues that viewing all context-bound usages of a particular lexical item as instances of polysemy leads to the 'polysemy fallacy' - the assumption that every contextual variation reflects a separate meaning (Evans, 2007, p. 164).

Despite certain criticisms, scholars widely acknowledge that context and usage play a crucial role in understanding polysemy. Researchers such as Nunberg (1979) and Recanati (2004) argue that the processes involved in polysemy are pragmatic (Grudzińska, 2011, p. 279). This pragmatic perspective is further supported by corpus-based evidence. For instance, concordance lines from the British National Corpus (BNC) illustrate how the same key expression is used in different contexts, revealing recurring patterns that shape meaning and grammatical constructions. Such findings align with Langacker's (1987) view that "linguistic semantics is held to be **encyclopedic**" (p. 63), emphasizing that meanings are not isolated but interconnected within broader conceptual structures.

Building on this perspective, Langacker's Network Model extends this idea by proposing that meaning emerges gradually through cognitive associations, rather than being based on fixed category membership. While Lakoff's (1987) model highlights transformational links between schemas, Langacker's (1987) Network Model provides an alternative perspective, focusing on the gradual emergence of meaning through cognitive associations rather than fixed category membership.

22 Cf. "If you say that you are **over the moon**, you mean that you are very pleased about something." At: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/over-the-moon.

Unlike Lakoff's radial model, which relies on a core-periphery structure, Langacker's network-based approach suggests that meanings form a continuum, shaped by both conceptual and grammatical relationships (Langacker, 2013, pp. 224–227; Langacker, 2017, pp. 30–31). The following section explores Langacker's framework in more detail, demonstrating how polysemy can be understood as a dynamic, context-sensitive phenomenon.

1.2.2 Langacker's Network Model and Schematic Representations of Polysemy

An alternative to Lakoff's radial category theory - which explains the structure of grammatical categories (Evans, 2007, p. 150) - is Ronald Langacker's Network Model, a key component of his Cognitive Grammar framework (e.g., Langacker, 1987, 1991). While both models emphasize that categories can have multiple meanings, Langacker's network model offers greater flexibility. Unlike Lakoff's radial category model, where all peripheral senses are linked to a central schema (*Schema 1*), Langacker's approach organizes categories in a web-like structure, allowing meanings to emerge through multiple conceptual connections rather than being tied to a single core meaning.

Despite their differences, both models share a foundational principle: meaning is not isolated but connected to broader cognitive structures. Langacker's network model reflects the principle of *encyclopaedic semantics*, where an expression's meaning spans multiple cognitive domains, some more central to its interpretation than others (Langacker, 1987, p. 63).

Building on Lakoff's radial category model, Langacker's network model further emphasizes flexibility in categorization. Instead of a fixed hierarchical structure, it allows for dynamic interconnections among meanings, reflecting the complex interactions between cognitive domains. This web-like organization highlights the continuous nature of meaning extension and adaptation across different linguistic and conceptual contexts.

Further insight into Langacker's model is provided in Elżbieta Tabakowska's *Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (1995, pp. 50–55), in which she describes the structure of conceptual categories as viewed by Langacker (1987), as more complex than Lakoff's radial model. According to Tabakowska, Langacker's model resembles a network of nodes and interconnections, emphasizing that categorization is not static but a dynamic, evolving - or 'diachronic' - process.

This categorization occurs in two distinct ways. Firstly, in the *vertical* dimension, categories are structured with varying degrees of detail above and below the *basic* level. Secondly, in the *horizontal* dimension, metaphorical and metonymic extensions create long chains of semantic connections, linking concepts across the category. These existing concepts can serve as starting points for further extensions,

gradually evolving into new *prototypes* - central members of their respective categories. Over time, a single category may expand into an entire network of radial categories, forming a complex web of interconnections known as the network model.

In Langacker's theory (1987), a *prototype* is defined as a typical instance of a category, aiding in categorization through extension (1987, p. 371). In contrast, a *schema* is a generalized structure that captures the commonalities among its members - more specific conceptions that elaborate on the schema in different ways (cf. Langacker, 1987, p. 68).

Langacker (1987, p. 374) illustrates this distinction using the concept of [TREE], as understood by a child. At this stage, the child's understanding of "tree" is neither the schematic [TREE'] nor the prototype [TREE], but rather any point within "the entire schematic network" accessible through "the phonological unit [tree]" (ibid.).

When someone refers to "an instance of the *tree* category", such as *a pine tree*, the usage [[PINE]/[tree]] is "derived by extension from the original [[TREE]/[tree]]" (ibid.). This process demonstrates how specific concepts are categorized by extending from the general [TREE] category.

Langacker (1987, p. 374, Fig. 10.2 (a)) uses a schematic network to illustrate how instances such as "pine" and "oak" are interconnected through extensions from the general [TREE] category. Figure 1, adapted from Langacker's original diagram, represents this schematic network.

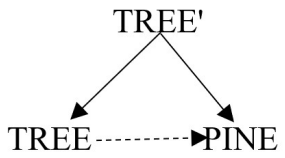

Figure 1

In relation to Langacker's network model of polysemy, Tabakowska (1995, p. 51, Fig. 2) presents the diachronic development of the category [KEY][23]. At its most schematic level, this category encompasses two core concepts: [CURVATURE] and [CURVED OBJECT/HOOK], along with [LOOP]. Each of these core entities extends into more specific meanings.

The first concept, [HOOK], gives rise to several extensions, one of which is [A TOOL FOR CLOSING SOMETHING] - eventually leading to [KEY] as a tool for locking or unlocking padlocks. Similarly, [LOOP] develops its own set of extensions. These meanings often interweave, forming a network of related senses.

23 Tabakowska (1995, p. 50) discusses the Polish lexeme *klucz*, which means *key* in English.

Different senses of the noun *key* are illustrated in concordance lines (70) to (76), where the term takes on various meanings depending on the context.

(70) "10 KE3 S_conv the aerial up after all that I (unclear). I was trying to get the [**key**] out the aerial and it wouldn't come out. Funny. (SP:PS0V4) (laugh) Yeah" (BNC)

(70)
"10 KE3 S_conv ... I was trying to get the **[key]** out the aerial and it wouldn't come out. Funny..." (BNC)

(71)
"417 AM5 W_instructional ... Third is the radiator bleed **[key]** used to open the air vent on water-filled radiators..." (BNC)

(72)
"43 A0N W_fict_prose ... expecting the handle to turn or a **[key]** to rattle in the lock. It was perfectly quiet..." (BNC)

(73)
"62 G0M W_fict_prose ... and kept the **[key]** of the coffer safe, but they threw him off the cart..." (BNC)

(74)
"20 J44 S_meeting ... it is the **[key]** to the whole scheme and er although I'm quite happy to move..." (BNC)

(75)
"146 C9K W_pop_lore ... write out all the harmonies, in every **[key]**, making sure that you put in all the correct sharps and flats..." (BNC)

(76)
"75 HGU W_fict_prose ... Paul hears the **[key]** in the door and greets Keith with a big silly smile..." (BNC)

Studying the uses of the noun *key* in examples (70) to (76), we can observe multiple meanings depending on the context. In (70), it appears as "a key in an aerial", while in (71), it refers to a "radiator bleed key". Example (72) shows "a key to rattle in the door", and in (73), it refers to "the key of the coffer safe". In (74), the noun takes on a metaphorical sense as "the key to the whole scheme", referring to an essential part of a plan[24]. In (75), *key* is related to musical notation: "writing out all the harmonies, in every key". Finally, in (76), it returns to its function as an opening device in "the key in the door".

24 Cf. https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/scheme.

The meaning of *key* varies based on context, denoting different types of physical objects, such as opening devices in examples (70), (71), (72), (73), and (76), as well as abstract uses, such as referring to a crucial part of a plan in (74) or musical notation in (75). The specific meaning of the noun *key* is shaped by the context in which it occurs.

Tabakowska (1995, p. 52) explains that within complex categories like [KEY], the elements are referred to as *nodes*. These nodes represent various senses or interpretations of the word, linked through relationships such as taxonomic hierarchies, metaphorical extensions, or metonymic shifts. A basic relationship between these nodes is taxonomic, where broader, more general concepts, such as [CURVED OBJECT], lead to more specific ones. For example, "the key of the coffer safe" in concordance line (73) represents a specific type of key that belongs to the broader category of [KEY].

Beyond taxonomic relationships, the meanings of [KEY] also expand through metaphorical and metonymic extensions, further enriching the category's network of meanings. These extensions are directional, meaning that concrete, basic meanings often serve as starting points for more abstract ones. For example, in concordance line (74), "the key to the whole scheme" uses the metaphorical extension of *key* to refer to an essential component of a plan.

Tabakowska (1995, pp. 52−53) observes that the network model sheds new light on several phenomena in natural language. For instance, the model helps explain the phenomenon of *vagueness* in concepts, which highlights the most salient features within taxonomic categorization. This contrasts with *ambiguity*, which involves different senses of a particular category. According to Tabakowska (1995, p. 53), adopting the network model enables a better understanding of the role of context, a fundamental aspect of cognitive grammar. Linguistic units derive their meaning only from the specific context in which they appear, and their correctness or appropriateness can only be evaluated within that context.

Tabakowska (1995, p. 54) illustrates this point with the semantic extensions of the category [KEY]. For instance, the Polish phrase *klucz do konserw* (which literally translates as 'key for tins') actually refers to a tin opener in English, highlighting how meaning is context-dependent rather than directly translatable. Another example of the importance of context is the grammatical construction "the key to", which requires a noun phrase as the complement of the preposition *to*.

Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 146) explain that the preposition "to" directs attention to a trajector (TR) oriented toward a landmark (LM). In the construction "the key to the N", where "N" represents a noun, *the key* functions as the TR, while "the N" serves as the LM.

Among the examples provided in (70) to (80), both constituents (*the key* and "the N") have concrete referents only in (76) and in the final concordance line (80).

In these instances, *the key* refers to an actual physical key, and *the door* is a tangible object, making them the only fully literal uses of the construction.

(77)
"9 K6E S_brdcast_news ... the Queen was presented with **[the key to]** the city by the Mayor of Nicosia..." (BNC)

(78)
"93 CEK W_newsp_other_social ... it is possible for a candidate to win **[the key to]** the White House even if he loses in most of the states..." (BNC)

(79)
"125 K4T W_newsp_other_sports ... is **[the key to the]** Premier League door. Boro can take pride in being the sole North-East..." (BNC)

(80)
"62 HGT W_fict_prose ... busied herself with finding **[the key to the]** door. And then, just when she felt compelled to look once..." (BNC)

The search expression *the key to* is followed by an Oblique object, symbolized as "the N", a noun phrase functioning as the complement of the preposition *to*. This structure appears in phrases such as "the key to the city" in (77), "the key to the White House" in (78), "the key to the Premier League door" in (79), and "the key to the door" in (80). Notably, only in (80) do both *key* and *door* refer to concrete, physical entities.

In contrast, in examples (77) to (79), the context of "the key to LM" is metaphorical. While *key* denotes a literal object in (80), in these earlier cases, it functions abstractly as a metaphorical [OPENING DEVICE], applied to non-physical landmarks (LMs) such as "the city" in (77) or "the Premier League" in (79). Langacker (1987, p. 73) states that his framework "… offers a unified account of grammatical productivity, lexical extension, usage, and figurative language".

Lakoff and Johnson ([1980] 2003, p. 56) explain that "… most of our normal conceptual system is metaphorically structured; that is, most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts". This is evident in the metaphorical use of "the key to LM" in examples (77) to (79), where "cross-domain mappings or correspondences between conceptual domains" occur (Evans, 2007, p. 35). In these instances, an abstract key serves as a metaphorical [OPENING DEVICE] applied to various abstract landmarks.

For instance, in (77), "the city" fills the LM, while in (78), "the White House" is metaphorically used to represent the position of the U.S. President. Lakoff and Johnson (2003, pp. 19–20) assert that metaphors have experiential bases, meaning abstract concepts are often understood through real-world experiences. In examples

(77) to (79), cross-domain mappings rely on the *source domain* - real-world experiences like "opening and closing" - being projected onto abstract concepts in the *target domain*. While in (80), "the key to the door" refers to a real key and door, in (77) to (79), the *key* metaphorically unlocks an abstract concept, such as access to the city, the presidency, or the Premier League.

Tabakowska (1995, p. 54) states that to understand the concept of *key*, i.e. *klucz*, in the Polish phrase "klucz do konserw" (*a tin opener* in English), we do not use all our knowledge about keys in every phrase, such as in "klucz do obudowy filtra oleju" (which is *an oil filter housing wrench* in English)[25], because we are dealing with the problem of limiting the context to what is essential for understanding a given linguistic unit. While the Polish word *klucz* (*key*) appears in various contexts in which the term *wrench* would be used in English - e.g., referring to technical devices that form a single node in the network polysemy model, such as "klucz do nakrętek samochodów" (*a lug wrench*), "klucz do świec zapłonowych" (*a spark plug wrench*), "klucz płaski" (*a flat wrench*), and "klucz do rur" (*a pipe wrench*), among others - the English word "key" occurs mostly in metaphorical expressions, aside from describing real situations.

Similarly, the English term *the line* can be used in various contexts, to which Langacker's network polysemy model could be applied. This model explains how a single word can have multiple related meanings through a network of extensions. For example, in mathematics, [LINE] is a schematic concept referring to a geometric figure formed by a point moving in a fixed direction and its reverse[26]. From this concept, an instance of [LINE/*line*] appears in example (81), with further extensions to different types of lines in examples (82) to (91). These distinct senses are derived by extension and can be understood using the *Principled Polysemy* model by Tyler and Evans (2003), which describes how core meanings extend into related senses.

(81)

"10 J44 S_meeting ... they were opposed to **[the line]** of the road or even that the road should go there..." (BNC)

(82)

"36 KS7 S_brdcast_discussn ... shot goalbound shot on **[the line]**, but then United scored..." (BNC)

(83)

"66 C86 W_fict_prose ... **[The line]** wasn't used much any more, Wayne had told him..." (BNC)

25 The example of the Polish phrase "klucz do obudowy filtra oleju" has been introduced by the author of this book.

26 Farlex. (n.d.). *Line*. In *The Free Dictionary*. https://www.thefreedictionary.com/line.

(84)
"13 JP3 S_meeting ... select from the end of **[the line]** of standard production. They don't select on every feature..." (BNC)

(85)
"91 FPF W_fict_prose ... indicating **[the line]** of machinery outside. 'And the white sacks in there?'" (BNC)

(86)
"69 CEB W_fict_prose ... Markby nodded towards **[the line]** of people ahead of them on the flagged pathway to the church door..." (BNC)

A physical instance of a *line*, such as "a thin continuous mark, as… made by a pen, pencil, or brush applied to a surface"[27], appears in "the line of the road" in example (81). An extension of this concept is seen in example (82), where *the line* in "shot on the line" refers to a line used in a rugby match. Further extensions connect to other nodes within the network of the schematic [LINE], such as *railway line* in "railway tracks beyond" in example (83), "the line of standard production" in (84), "the line of machinery" in (85), or "the line of people" in (86).

(87)
"31 KRL S_brdcast_discussn ... who's just waiting on **[the line]**, so if we can go to that caller yet, we can't just..." (BNC)

(88)
"50 AC2 W_fict_prose ... Muldoon spun **[the line]** that the deteriorating situation in Turkey was clearly more important..." (BNC)

(89)
"187 A9F W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report ... they took **[the line]** that they did by seeking to say it was the Prime Minister who should apologise..." (BNC)

In example (87), "waiting on the line", the speaker uses the noun phrase *the line* in a grammatical construction that implies waiting for something abstract. In examples (88) and (89), *the line* appears in distinct constructions: "spun the line that" in (88) and "took the line that" in (89). Both follow the pattern "V the line that", where "V" represents a verb, illustrating the flexibility of *the line* across different contexts.

(90)
"112 G1X W_fict_prose ... he altered **[the line]** to the more logical 'We must love one another and die'..." (BNC)

27 Farlex. (n.d.). Line 2 (sense a). In *The Free Dictionary*. Retrieved February 16, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/line

(91)

"93 FP1 W_fict_prose ... Hope bowed more elegantly, muttered **[the line]** about being her servant but concentrated all his will..." (BNC)

In examples (90) and (91), *the line* takes on different meanings that further demonstrate its semantic range. In (90), it refers to "a horizontal row of printed or written words or symbols"[28], while in (91), it means "*Informal*, glib or insincere talk, usually intended to deceive or impress"[29].

The entry for the word *line* in the online *American Heritage Dictionary*[30] corresponds to the schematic [LINE'] in Langacker's network model of polysemy. The dictionary lists 34 senses of *line*, each aligning with various nodes in Langacker's model - appearing both independently and within phrasal verbs or idioms. Many of these senses can be interpreted through context, which is particularly crucial for non-native English speakers who often rely on contextual cues to determine the intended meaning of *line* in different situations.

These senses are structured based on a user's experience with the term, allowing for flexible interpretation and usage. Langacker (2002, p. 272) argues that the network model of polysemy views the prototype as a special case within a broader system of taxonomic relationships, achieved through schematization. Similarly, Tyler and Evans' *Principled Polysemy* model offers an alternative framework for understanding how meanings extend from core senses within a structured category.

1.2.3 Tyler and Evans's Principled Polysemy Approach and Semantic Motivation

The Principled Polysemy model, developed by Tyler and Evans (2003), helps language users identify the primary sense of a lexical item by analysing its frequency of occurrence and dominant contextual usage. While many context-dependent senses can be inferred directly from discourse, more distinct meanings may require dictionary consultation and subsequent storage in the user's semantic memory.

This model is particularly useful for analysing closed-class lexical items in English, such as spatial particles like *over*, *up*, *down*, *in*, and *out* (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 2). These particles function across categories, including prepositions, verbal particles (e.g., adverbs in phrasal verbs), and *adpreps* or *satpreps*, as described in Leonard

28 Farlex. (n.d.). Line (Sense 21). In *The Free Dictionary*. Retrieved February 16, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/line

29 Farlex. (n.d.). Line (Sense 25). In *The Free Dictionary*. Retrieved February 16, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/line

30 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved February 16, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/line.

Talmy's bi-categorial typology of natural languages (1972, 1985, 2000b). Elizabeth O'Dowd (1998) refers to these forms as "P-forms", emphasizing their systematically motivated meanings (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 2).

Tyler and Evans propose that the distinct yet related senses of a single spatial particle form a semantic network centred around a primary sense (2003, pp. 2–3). Although spatial particles belong to the closed-class, they exhibit rich networks of meanings accessible through dictionary entries. Closed-class lexical items, like spatial particles, function as the grammatical elements of language, while open-class items include *content words* such as nouns and verbs (see, e.g., Talmy, 2000a). Despite being part of the closed-class, spatial particles maintain robust semantic networks.

Tyler and Evans assert that "lexical items, in general, and spatial particles, in particular, do contribute meaning. For instance, *The cat jumped over the wall* is regularly assigned a different interpretation from *The cat jumped beside the wall*" (2003, p. 16).

They further argue that spatial particles, such as *over*, "…prompt for a complex conceptual elaboration" (ibid.). Their primary senses are rooted in proto-scenes, which represent basic spatial-physical interactions in the world. These proto-scenes serve as the conceptual foundation for interpreting spatial particles in both literal and metaphorical contexts. Tyler and Evans introduce the term *proto-scene*, asserting that it

> … is an idealized mental representation across the recurring spatial scenes associated with a particular spatial particle; hence it is an abstraction across many similar spatial scenes. It combines idealized elements of real-world experience (objects in the guise of TRs and LMs) and a conceptual relation (a conceptualization of a particular configuration between the objects). Proto-scenes are instantiated in memory due to their frequency and utility in human interaction with the world. (2003, p. 52)

Thus, the term *proto-scene* describes the foundational or primary sense of the most frequent spatial particles in English, serving as the starting point within their semantic networks. These proto-scenes are distinct from other senses that have developed diachronically from the central sense. The proto-scenes and basic senses of English spatial particles, such as *over* (see, e.g., Brugman, 1981, 1988; Lakoff, 1987), reveal that these categories evolve over time, leading to senses with blurred boundaries rather than rigid definitions. Dictionary entries for words like *over* illustrate this fluidity, listing multiple senses that demonstrate how the term has expanded into a network of polysemous meanings. For instance, an online semasiological dictionary provides definitions capturing different senses of specific lexical items, showing how meanings shift and overlap.

The *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*[31] lists 15 basic senses for the preposition *over*, with numerous sub-senses, and 14 basic senses for the adverb *over*, also with multiple sub-senses. The central sense of the preposition over - "1. In or at a position above or higher than: a sign over the door; a hawk gliding over the hills" - aligns with the central sense of the adverb *over* in the same dictionary entry - "1. Above the top or surface: climbed the ladder and peered over". The central sense attributed to a given spatial particle, such as *over* in this dictionary entry, corresponds to the notion of the *primary sense* in the study by Tyler and Evans (2003).

The Principled Polysemy model establishes rigorous criteria for identifying the primary sense of a spatial particle. It also seeks to distinguish between instances where a particle represents an independent sense within the semantic network and where it is interpreted contextually for immediate understanding (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 62). Additionally, Tyler and Evans propose several general principles guiding the systematic extension of new senses from the proto-scene. These principles operate alongside five linguistic criteria, which help determine the primary sense within a semantic network, as demonstrated with the spatial particle *over* (2003, p. 64).

The first criterion focuses on the "diachronically earliest meaning associated with a particular spatial particle" (2003, p. 64). For *over*, this earliest meaning is associated with *above*, which "may constitute the primary sense" (cf. 2003, p. 65). The first sense of *over* cited in *The American Heritage Dictionary* exemplifies this criterion, as it demonstrates the primary *above* sense of the particle. This *above* sense is further illustrated in examples (92) and (93) below.

(92)

"50 ADM W_non_ac_soc_science ... A straw St Bridget's Cross hung **[over]** the door of the dark little room in which I was eating my breakfast..." (BNC)

(93)

"4 FP3 W_fict_prose ... the eagle soared high **[over]** the park and set course north, towards Scotland..." (BNC)

In example (92), "A straw St Bridget's Cross hung over the door", and in example (93), "the eagle soared high over the park", both instances illustrate the primary sense of the preposition *over* as defined in *The American Heritage Dictionary* - the sense of being *above* something. The other four criteria proposed by Tyler and

31 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 8, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

Evans for determining the primary sense of a spatial particle also support this central sense of *over* seen in examples (92) and (93).

Tyler and Evans refer to the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* as a key lexical reference, which ranks *over* diachronically. The OED presents "I. In the sense *above*"[32] as the first and, therefore, central meaning of *over* in Old English. This reinforces the idea that the primary sense of *over* has historically been the sense of *above*. According to the OED, in this primary sense, *over* is used "irrespective of whether the lower object is immediately adjacent or distinctly separate", though it generally implies closer proximity than "above"[33].

The second criterion is the 'criterion of predominance' (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 65), which refers to the most frequent use of a given spatial particle in a particular sense. Tyler and Evans further propose that the remaining criteria - namely, "the criterion of use in composite forms (criterion 3), the criterion of relations to other spatial particles (criterion 4), and the criterion of grammatical predictions (criterion 5)" - are particularly useful in refining the identification of a primary sense (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 65).

Tyler and Evans argue that, given the usage-based nature of meaning, particularly "at the conceptual level", the primary sense of a spatial particle is "represented in terms of abstracting away from specific spatial scenes" (2003, p. 65). This abstracted conceptual representation, which corresponds to the primary sense, is referred to as the 'proto-scene' by Tyler and Evans (ibid.). The concept of the *proto-scene* aligns with the prototype theory (e.g., Rosch, 1973; Rosch & Mervis, 1975) and with the notion of 'prototypical effects', as seen in the *Idealized Cognitive Model* (ICM) (Lakoff, 1987).

Since "…we do not have the rich details apparent in the individual spatial scenes" in the proto-scene (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 65), it can also be linked to the concept of the *image schema* as developed by Mark Johnson (1987). An image schema is defined as "…a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience" (Johnson, [1987] 1992, p. xiv). Johnson refers to these as *image schemata* or *embodied schemata* (1992, p. 23), emphasizing that they are continuously absorbed through our bodily interactions in space.

According to Johnson, "…*image schemata are not rich, concrete images or mental pictures*". Instead, they function as abstract "structures that organize

32 Oxford English Dictionary. (n.d.). *Over*. In *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved September 8, 2024, from https://www.oed.com/dictionary/over_prep?tab=meaning_and_use#32866496.

33 Oxford English Dictionary. (n.d.). *Over*. In *Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press. Retrieved September 8, 2024, from https://www.oed.com/dictionary/over_prep?tab=meaning_and_use#32866496.

our mental representations" at a more general level than specific mental images (1992, pp. 23−24).

While image schemata are considered preconceptual and can be "metaphorically projected and propositionally elaborated to form our network of meanings" (Johnson, 1992, p. xvi), Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs) function as "idealized models used by perceivers" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 130). Unlike image schemata, ICMs "do not have to fit the world and can be used by speakers" to shape how a situation should or should not be understood (Lakoff, 1987, p. 132).

In contrast, a proto-scene is defined as "an idealized mental representation across recurring spatial scenes associated with a particular spatial particle; hence, it is an abstraction across many similar spatial scenes" (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 52).

In their Principled Polysemy model, Tyler and Evans argue that "non-arbitrary, motivated connections exist between the primary sense and the distinct senses within a semantic polysemy network" (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 32). For instance, *The American Heritage Dictionary* presents a network of senses for *over* when used as a preposition with a complement, illustrating varying degrees of connection to the central, or primary, sense. This primary sense suggests a closer proximity of the Trajector (TR) to the Landmark (LM) than *above*. One dictionary example is:

> "1. In or at a position above or higher than: a sign over the door; a hawk gliding over the hills."[34]

The definitions of different senses of *over* from examples (94) to (106) are taken from the same dictionary cited in concordance line (94).

Tyler and Evans also propose a "methodology for determining distinct senses" (2003, pp. 42–45), based on two key criteria:

1. The distinctiveness of a sense
2. Its relation to the primary sense.

These criteria help determine when a new meaning of a spatial particle has emerged and how it connects to the central, or primary, sense within a polysemy network.

Using this methodology, we can identify the meanings of *over* in concordance lines (94) to (101) that show connections either to the central sense or to a specific sense within the network.

(94)

"38 CBG W_newsp_other_sports ... before clipping it **[over his head]** and into the net. But Kiwomya had the last word..." (BNC)

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34 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 11, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

As observed in example (94), the predicate "clipping it over his head" encodes an active situation through the prepositional phrase *over his head*, where *over* is used in the sense of 2a: "Above and across from one end or side to the other". In this context, the preposition *over* is context-dependent, as the sense in 2a relates to the central sense in 1: "In or at a position above or higher than".

This central sense also appears in a stative configuration in example (95), where the Landmark (LM), *the ocean*, and the Trajector (TR), *clouds*, are involved in the predicate "create clouds over the ocean".

(95)

"346 C9A W_non_ac_nat_science ... it can create clouds **[over the ocean]** and can determine how much solar heat reaches the surface..." (BNC)

In the next concordance line, example (96), the prepositional phrase "over the towel" conveys the meaning in sense 5a: "Through the extent of; all through: "walked over the grounds; looked over the report". This is seen in the predicate "sprinkled water over the towel", where *over* refers to water being distributed across the towel.

(96)

"58 ASN W_fict_prose ... He sprinkled water **[over the towel]** and then went into a paroxysm of agony, nursing the injured arm..." (BNC)

The sense of *over* in example (96) can be compared to its uses in (94) and (95), as well as to the sense in (97), which corresponds to the meaning of *over* in sense 10a: "In superiority to: *won a narrow victory over her rival*; *a distinct advantage over our competitors*". This sense is related to the central sense of *over* in 1, specifically "higher than", particularly in the context of competition or superiority in a game.

(97)

"193 AHC W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc ... a superb two sets to nothing nine-end victory **[over Jersey's Sue Dingle]**. Gourley and Letham hold top spots in their respective sections..." (BNC)

In example (98), the expression "control over where its residents may be treated" conveys the sense found in definition 11: "In a position to rule or control... ". This use may also be considered context-dependent, as it relates to the sense of superiority or dominance, similar to its usage in example (96).

(98)

"366 B2A W_non_ac_soc_science ... and control **[over where its residents may be treated]**. Type I systems give the home authority the..." (BNC)

Moreover, the concordance lines in examples (99) and (100) feature *over* used in two senses that are less directly related to the previous meanings. In example (99),

its sense corresponds to definition 14: "While occupied with or engaged in: *a chat over coffee*", where *over* in *over lunch* means "during lunch". In example (100), *over* corresponds to definition 15: "With reference to; concerning: *an argument over methods*", as seen in the phrase *the dispute over fox hunting.*

(99)

"48 AB9 W_fict_prose ... Angela got up my nose as usual on this point **[over lunch]**, banging on about the importance of seeing that Ministers were properly informed..." (BNC)

(100)

"316 CS2 W_ac_humanities_arts ... Consider the dispute **[over fox hunting]** and suppose it agreed that the pleasure of men, hounds and perhaps..." (BNC)

The dictionary entry for the spatial particle *over* lists 14 definitions for its use as an adverb. Of these, five distinct senses (definitions 10 to 14) are cited below.

3.

[…]

10. Another time; again: *counted his cards over; had to do it over.*

11. In repetition: *made me write it ten times over.*

12. In addition or excess; in surplus: *lots of food left over.*

13. Beyond or until a specified time: *stay a day over.*

14. At an end: *Summer is over.*[35]

In discussing the different senses of *over*, used multiple times in a short text to illustrate its meanings, Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 4) explain that:

"*over* has four distinct interpretations - $over_A$ can be paraphrased as 'again', $over_B$ as 'above', $over_C$ as 'finished', and $over_D$ as 'in some other place'".

These senses correspond to specific dictionary definitions of *over*:

(c) The adverb $over_A$ (meaning "again") is reflected in definition 10.

(d) $Over_B$ corresponds to definition 1 of *over* as a preposition (meaning "above").

(e) $Over_C$ aligns with *over* as an adverb in definition 14 (meaning "finished").

(f) $Over_D$ appears in definition 3a:

3a. Across a distance in a particular direction or at a location: *lives over in England*.[36]

35 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 11, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

36 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 11, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

According to Tyler and Evans (2003, p. 32), although these senses may seem unrelated, they are motivated by the primary sense through patterns of usage. The scholars argue:

"The central issues facing a principled theory of polysemy networks, then, are to model (1) the appropriate representation of the primary sense and (2) the relationships among the elements in the network" (ibid.).

The uses of *over*A, *over*B, *over*C, and *over*D in Tyler and Evans's (2003, p. 4) definitions are exemplified in concordance lines (101) to (104). The use of *over*A, meaning "again", corresponds to definition 10 in the cited online lexicon:

"Another time; again: counted his cards over; had to do it over."

This sense is illustrated in line (101) by the phrase "over and over again".

(101)

"9 ABW W_fict_prose ... each repeating, **[over and over again]**, the sentence he or she had been saying at the moment..." (BNC)

The term $over_B$, meaning "above", corresponds to the preposition *over* in definition 1 of the lexicon, specifically:

"In or at a position above or higher than…."

This sense is illustrated by the phrase "over the heads of the labouring women" in line (102).

(102)

"432 HRB W_biography ... and **[over the heads of the labouring workmen]** rose clouds of parakeets and honey-eaters searching for food..." (BNC)

In contrast, $over_C$, meaning "finished", corresponds to the final definition of *over* as an adverb (definition 14):

"At an end: Summer is over."

This sense is illustrated by the predicate *is over* in line (103).

(103)

"38 EA8 W_commerce ... the basic growth in the demand for them **[is over]**. There is never a situation in which there is simultaneously a demand..." (BNC)

Meanwhile, $over_D$, meaning "in some other place", corresponds to *over* as an adverb in definition 3a:

"Across a distance in a particular direction or at a location: lives over in England."

This sense is illustrated by "over there" in line (104), which describes a static situation, and by "over to someone else" in line (105), which conveys a dynamic action.

(104)

"11 KD0 S_conv ... Sorry about that **[over there]**. I know, I know..." (BNC)

(105)

"154 K8R W_fict_prose ... so that it could be handed **[over to someone else]**. He had the unfinished nocturne and the portrait..." (BNC)

Additionally, concordance line (106) presents *over* as an adverb in sense 11:

"In repetition: made me write it ten times over."

This usage is cited from the above-mentioned dictionary entry.

(106)

"334 CB1 W_non_ac_humanities_arts ... that we have only to learn the same lesson **[over again]**? Without perception and inclination, reason has nothing to engage with..." (BNC)

Finally, *over* as an adverb in sense 12 -

"In addition or excess; in surplus…"

- is illustrated by *left over* in the phrase "an enormous slice of quiche that was left over from Friday" in line (107).

(107)

"70 AB9 W_fict_prose ... I had an enormous slice of quiche that was **[left over]** from Friday. I felt afterwards it would have been better not to make..." (BNC)

The concordance lines (101) to (107) illustrate how the spatial particle *over*, functioning as either an adverb or a preposition, manifests itself in various senses that remain systematically related to the primary sense. As Tyler and Evans explain, these distinct senses did not arise randomly - such as from speakers simply lacking alternative phonological expressions to represent different concepts (2003, p. 32). They further assert that "non-arbitrary, motivated connections exist between the primary sense and the distinct senses within a semantic polysemy network" (ibid.).

These findings support the idea that polysemy is not a random accumulation of meanings but rather a structured cognitive process guided by systematic patterns of extension (Langacker, 1987, p. 73). For instance, Langacker (1987, p. 92) treats figurative language as a form of extension, while Lakoff (1987, p. 91) describes "the structure of radial categories" as being governed by "general principles of extension" and conceptual motivation, which he considers "a central phenomenon in cognition" (Lakoff, 1987, p. 346).

The different senses of *over* - whether indicating physical position, repetition, completion, or metaphorical transfer - all originate from a core spatial concept, reinforcing key principles of cognitive linguistics. The semantic network of *over* exemplifies how language evolves dynamically, with meanings expanding and adapting while maintaining an underlying conceptual coherence. This systematic polysemy allows speakers to navigate effortlessly between distinct senses, demonstrating how language users rely on conceptual relationships rather than merely memorizing isolated meanings.

Summary

Cognitive linguists view polysemy as both a linguistic and conceptual issue. According to Evans (2009, p. 98), patterns of linguistic polysemy reveal systematic differences and similarities in how linguistic units are organized in the human mind. As a result, the study of polysemy has become a central focus for cognitive lexical semanticists, leading to numerous analyses of various linguistic units, including the well-known series of studies on the English preposition *over*.

The subsections on polysemy, from 1.2.1 to 1.2.3, address three models: the full-specification model by Lakoff (1987), which builds on Claudia M. Brugman's (1981) M.A. thesis *The Story of* '*Over*', supervised by George Lakoff. This model expands on Brugman's work on prepositions and spatial relations. The second model is Langacker's (1987) network model, and the third is Tyler and Evans's (2003) Principled Polysemy model.

The full-specification model concerns the preposition *over* and, according to Lakoff, stores meanings as a highly detailed inventory in the semantic memory of language users. Subsection 1.2.1 illustrates Lakoff's approach to polysemy through selected concordance lines containing *over* in various senses, though it represents only a sample of the model, not the full inventory.

Subsection 1.2.2 provides an overview of the network model, based on Elżbieta Tabakowska's interpretation, where the term *key* is used as a token in concordance lines. In Langacker's model, the elements of a particular category are portrayed as nodes in a complex network.

Finally, subsection 1.2.3 outlines the Principled Polysemy model developed by Tyler and Evans (2003), which accounts for the context-dependent and distinct senses of lexical items, such as the preposition *over*, as well as those that seem unrelated to the central sense. Typically listed at the top of a dictionary entry, the central sense corresponds to the concept of a prototype as described by Eleanor Rosch.

The polysemy models outlined above, supported by usage examples from the BNC, demonstrate that meaning is inherently context-dependent. As Langacker (1987, p. 157) argues, "Contextual meaning is clearly encyclopaedic in scope …". Concordance lines further illustrate authentic occurrences of specific linguistic expressions, providing concrete evidence of how meaning is realized across different contexts.

1.3 Concordance Lines as a Tool for Linguistic Analysis in Corpus Studies

Concordance lines are an essential resource in corpus linguistics, used to examine the usage of specific linguistic units across various contexts. They present a word or phrase - known as the "node" or "key word in context" (Mittelberg, Farmer,

and Waugh 2007, p. 39) - centred within a line of text and surrounded by its immediate context, typically extracted from a large corpus such as the British National Corpus (BNC). By analysing multiple concordance lines for a given word, phrase, or construction, by means of searching for "collocational patterns" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 2013) of a particular "key word", linguists can observe usage patterns, identify polysemy, and investigate grammatical constructions within natural language data.

In this study, concordance lines are used to demonstrate how specific constructions - such as those analysed by Goldberg, Langacker, or Wierzbicka - appear across different genres and usage contexts (see, e.g., *cognitive corpus linguistics* in fostering language system development in learners, as discussed by Gilquin, 2022). For instance, examining concordance lines for the Way Construction or for polysemous delexical verbs like *get* allows learners of English as a foreign language to observe how these forms function in various communicative settings, including written genres (e.g., newspapers, academic writing) and spoken genres (e.g., conversations, broadcast dialogue).

Concordance lines are especially valuable because they reveal both syntactic structures and semantic variations within linguistic forms (cf. Mittelberg, Farmer, and Waugh, 2007). They enable the analysis of language not only as isolated instances but also as dynamic forms whose meanings shift with context, offering a detailed view of polysemy in actual use. As Stefan Th. Gries (2009, p. 1229) explains, "some corpora come with linked audio files or sophisticated retrieval software, allowing users to instantly locate an utterance within an audio file or search for precisely defined syntactic or lexical patterns". This capability supports investigations into how specific constructions - such as the Caused-Motion Construction, the Resultative Construction, and the Way Construction - display varying meanings and functions across different genres and registers.

1.4 Methodology: Using Corpus Tools for Linguistic Analysis

The **British National Corpus (BNC)**, described as "… related to other corpora from English-Corpora.org, which are the most widely used corpora of English, and which offer unparalleled insight into variation in English"[37], serves as a primary resource for this study. According to the "Five minute tour"[38] on the BNC website, the web interface provides a robust platform for linguistic exploration. It offers a variety of search options for analysing words, phrases, lemmas, wildcards, and

37 English-Corpora.org. (n.d.). *British National Corpus (BNC)*. Retrieved March 18, 2024, from https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/.

38 English-Corpora.org. *British National Corpus (BNC)*.

complex syntactic patterns. Results can be retrieved in list or chart format, allowing for detailed frequency analysis across five primary registers (spoken, fiction, magazines, newspapers, and academic texts) and their sub-registers. Additionally, the interface supports collocate searches, enabling the investigation of semantic and contextual nuances, and facilitates comparative analyses across registers. Advanced features such as synonym frequency and distribution studies further enhance the tool's functionality, making the BNC an invaluable resource for corpus-based linguistic research.

While the BNC provides the data, the results cannot be used directly from the website. To process the concordance samples and generate desired concordance lines, this study employs **AntConc**, a "freeware corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis"[39] developed by Laurence Anthony. AntConc allows for the creation of concordance lists focused on key terms, which form the basis of the constructions under analysis.

In this methodology, the **BNC website** serves as the primary data source, providing concordance lines, while **AntConc** acts as the tool for organizing and processing this data into analysable material. The qualitative analysis prioritizes the types of constructions identified in the concordance lists rather than their frequency, focusing specifically on the polysemous constructions under study. This approach emphasizes the qualitative dimension of linguistic inquiry, ensuring that attention is given to the contextual and semantic nuances of the data extracted from the BNC.

Part I Summary

The first part of this book examines how cognitive linguistics and corpus linguistics intersect in the study of linguistic constructions, polysemy, and concordance lines. It begins with an exploration of constructions - ranging from simple morphemes to complex phrases - as form-meaning pairings shaped by valency, with scholars such as Langacker, Goldberg, and Wierzbicka providing foundational insights into argument structures and cross-linguistic semantic primitives.

The second section focuses on polysemy, presenting models such as Lakoff's full-specification model, Langacker's network model, and Tyler and Evans's principled polysemy, which collectively illustrate how lexical items acquire context-specific meanings, as demonstrated in analyses of the preposition *over*.

The third section highlights the utility of concordance lines in corpus linguistics, emphasizing how linguistic corpora such as the British National Corpus (BNC) provide a rich resource for identifying constructional patterns and polysemous

39 Anthony, L. (n.d.). *AntConc (Version AntConc 3x series)* [Computer software]. Retrieved March 18, 2024, from https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/.

nuances. To analyse this data, concordance lines are processed using AntConc, a freeware toolkit that organizes and refines the results into usable datasets. This methodological approach prioritizes qualitative analysis, focusing on context and semantic nuances rather than frequency alone. By combining theoretical insights with corpus-based methods, the analysis bridges the gap between cognitive linguistics and real-world language data.

Together, these sections underscore the intricate relationship between form, meaning, and context, establishing a comprehensive framework for studying language use and development, while grounding the research in both theoretical and methodological rigor. This framework sets the stage for a deeper exploration of the dynamic link between constructions and polysemy in cognitive linguistics, particularly through the lens of concordance lines. By connecting cognitive semantics to real-world usage patterns, the next chapter delves into the key commitments and core theories of cognitive semantics, demonstrating how concordance lines provide empirical evidence of the flexibility and complexity inherent in language.

Part II

Part II
Polysemy, Cognitive Commitments, and Corpus Insights: A Path to Encyclopaedic Semantics

This chapter explores how cognitive linguistics connects linguistic constructions and polysemy to the complexity of human thought, highlighting the dynamic relationship between form and meaning. Using corpus linguistics, concordance lines reveal real-world usage patterns, offering empirical insights into how meanings shift across contexts.

This chapter examines two foundational commitments in cognitive linguistics: the *cognitive commitment* (Evans, 2007, p. 19), which grounds linguistic analysis in human cognition - exemplified by Langacker's approach to grammar, where "meaning equates with conceptualization (explicated as cognitive processing)" (Langacker, 1987, p. 5) - and the *generalization commitment* (Evans, 2007, p. 88), which seeks broad patterns in language use.

Langacker (1987, p. 141) argues that "transformations pertaining to level of schematicity are implicated in the process of capturing generalizations, which is analysed as the extraction of schemas". These commitments emphasize that meaning is "encyclopaedic" as Langacker (1987, p. 63) states, "linguistic semantics is held to be **encyclopedic** …", meaning it is shaped by world knowledge, experience, and context. Furthermore, meaning is *usage-based* (Langacker, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987; Bybee, 2010; Coussé & von Mengden, 2014; Gries, 2020).

Building on these foundations, this chapter demonstrates how concordance lines - derived from actual instances of language use - serve as a practical tool for investigating *encyclopaedic semantics* (Langacker, 1987, pp. 155−158, 161; Evans, 2007, pp. 72−73), in which words function as access points to dynamic knowledge networks. By analysing examples such as the polysemous word *head*, researchers uncover how language adapts meaning in response to situational cues.

This approach highlights the fluid, context-sensitive nature of meaning (Pagin, 2007), deepening our understanding of how language reflects cognitive and experiential realities (Langacker, 1987; Talmy, 2000a, 2000b).

2.1 Setting the Stage: Cognitive Semantics and Concordance-Based Analysis

In cognitive linguistics, the intricate relationship between constructions and polysemy reflects the complexity and adaptability of human thought (Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Tyler & Evans, 2003; Kovács, 2011; Gries, 2019; Haber & Poesio, 2024),

highlighting the dynamic interplay between linguistic form and meaning (Rosch, 1975, 1978; Fillmore, 1976, 1982; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987; Fillmore & Baker, 2009; Talmy, 2017). This perspective is further enriched by corpus linguistics, where concordance lines serve as a powerful tool for analysing real-world usage patterns (Biber, Conrad, & Reppen, 1998; Conrad & Biber, 2005; Biber & Reppen, Eds., 2011; Egorova et al., 2019; Gries, 2009, 2020; Mittelberg et al., 2007; Gilquin, 2022; Molés-Cases, 2020; Verde, 2023; Csomay & Crawford, 2024). By examining cognitive linguistic constructions - particularly polysemous terms - corpus-based research provides empirical evidence of how meanings shift, overlap, and adapt across diverse contexts.

This chapter delves into the connection between linguistic constructions and their multifaceted meanings, deepening our understanding of two foundational commitments in cognitive linguistics: the **cognitive commitment** and the **generalization commitment**. The cognitive commitment (Lakoff, 1990) emphasizes grounding linguistic analysis in our understanding of human cognition, while the generalization commitment seeks to uncover broad, recurring patterns in language use. These commitments highlight the encyclopaedic nature of meaning, which ties linguistic understanding to world knowledge and its embodied nature, rooted in physical experiences (Johnson, 1987). Additionally, they reflect the symbolic essence of linguistic constructions, where form and meaning are inherently interconnected in a non-arbitrary way (Langacker, 1987).

Building on these theoretical commitments, this chapter explores how concordance lines provide a practical lens for investigating *encyclopaedic semantics* - a view that blurs the line between semantics and pragmatics. Words are understood not merely as carriers of fixed meanings but as access points to an expansive, structured inventory of knowledge. This perspective recognizes that while a word's core meaning may remain stable, its encyclopaedic associations are dynamic, shaped by cultural, situational, and experiential factors (Evans, 2007). By analysing concordance lines for specific constructions, researchers can uncover how linguistic forms activate these associations in varying contexts, offering valuable insights into the fluid and context-sensitive nature of meaning.

Through examples such as the polysemous word *head*, concordance lines reveal how different contexts emphasize various facets of shared knowledge - whether anatomical, organizational, or directional - thus illustrating the intricate network of meanings that language draws upon. By uncovering these connections, this chapter argues that studying concordance lines not only deepens our understanding of encyclopaedic semantics but also highlights the cognitive and experiential foundations of language.

The discussion begins by examining the cognitive and generalization commitments in cognitive linguistics, and proceeds to explore key cognitive semantics theories that draw on the principles of encyclopaedic semantics.

2.2 The Two Guiding Commitments in Cognitive Linguistics

In Lakoff's view (1990, p. 40), cognitive linguistics rests on two core commitments: the **Generalization Commitment** and the **Cognitive Commitment**. The Generalization Commitment involves identifying overarching principles that govern all aspects of human language, ensuring that linguistic inquiry aligns with the rigor of scientific investigation. This commitment requires examining generalizations across subfields such as syntax (patterns in grammatical elements), semantics (the structure and relationships of meaning), and pragmatics (contextual language use), without treating these domains as separate; rather, they are empirically interrelated.

The Cognitive Commitment obliges linguists to develop theories of language that are consistent with established knowledge about the mind and brain, integrating insights from various disciplines. Together, these commitments shape the interdisciplinary foundation of cognitive linguistics, fostering a more comprehensive understanding of language.

2.2.1 The Generalization Commitment: Summary Based on Evans (2019)

Evans (2019, pp. 26–37) expands on Lakoff's (1990) concept of the Generalization Commitment, linking it to common organizational features in categorization, polysemy, and metaphor. Drawing on Eleanor Rosch's research on natural categories (see, e.g., Rosch, 1975, 1977, 1978; Rosch & Mervis, 1975), Evans notes that "human categories often appear to be fuzzy in nature, with some members of a category appearing to be more central and others more peripheral" (Evans, 2019, p. 26). Categories that are more representative, like *CUP*, exhibit a higher degree of centrality. These categories display *family resemblance* - members resemble each other to varying degrees rather than sharing a single defining trait - a concept introduced by Wittgenstein (1953) (Evans, 2019, p. 27). Evans further notes that all linguistic categories demonstrate these characteristics, including those in phonology, syntax, and morphology (ibid.).

As far as polysemy is concerned, Evans argues that it "reveals important, and fundamental commonalities between lexical, morphological and syntactic organisation[40]" (2019, p. 33). Addressing lexical polysemy, the case of the preposition *over* functions as an example. Syntactic polysemy aligns with what we name *constructional polysemy* in this book. It is illustrated by the ditransitive construction that "has a range of conventional abstract meanings associated with it …" (Evans, 2019, p. 34). The concept of *fuzzy* categories also pertains to constructional polysemy.

40 The original spelling has been maintained.

Evans identifies metaphor as a "central feature of human language" (2019, p. 35) within the Generalization Commitment, focusing on how conceptual metaphor drives meaning extension and contributes to polysemy. He illustrates this with Lakoff's (1987) analysis of the preposition *over*, whose *CONTROL* meaning derives from its *ABOVE* meaning through the conceptual metaphor *CONTROL IS UP* (Evans, 2019, p. 36). This metaphorical mapping enables *over* to display polysemy, with related meanings arising from an underlying conceptual structure that reflects how abstract concepts, such as control, are often metaphorically linked to spatial orientations. Furthermore, metaphor in syntax is exemplified by the ditransitive construction, as analysed by Goldberg (e.g., 1995). Evans cites Goldberg's argument that sentences such as "She gave me a headache" represent extensions of the ditransitive construction, motivated by the conceptual metaphor *CAUSAL EVENTS ARE PHYSICAL TRANSFERS* (Evans, 2019, p. 37), as the construction conveys a sense of "*intentional* transfer" (Evans, 2019, p. 36).

In summary, this subsection has introduced the cognitive linguistics perspective that fundamental organizational principles are shared across different aspects of human language. This perspective, embodied in the Generalization Commitment, has played a crucial role in unifying lexical and grammatical systems within a cohesive framework. Rather than treating lexicon and syntax as separate entities, cognitive linguistics views them as forming a continuum. While significant progress has been made in integrating grammar and lexicon, cognitive approaches to phonology's relationship with other areas of language are relatively recent. Foundational contributions in this area have been made by Nathan (2008) and Nesset (2008), as Evans (2019, p. 37) notes.

2.2.2 The Cognitive Commitment: Summary Based on Evans (2019)

Evans elaborates that the Generalization Commitment drives the search for overarching principles that apply universally across all areas of language structure. Similarly, the Cognitive Commitment asserts that linguistic principles should align with insights from broader cognitive sciences, including philosophy, psychology, artificial intelligence, and neuroscience. This commitment suggests that language and its organization reflect general cognitive principles rather than being governed by rules unique to language alone (Evans, 2019, pp. 37–38). Evans identifies three key areas - attention, categorization, and metaphor - which, according to cognitive linguists, support the view that linguistic organization mirrors "more general aspects of cognitive function" (Evans, 2019, p. 38).

Evans (2019, p. 39) notes that a "very general cognitive ability that human beings possess is attention", along with "the ability to shift attention from one aspect of a scene to another". He connects this to Langacker's (1987) concept of *profiling* in language (see, e.g., Part I, 1a), as well as to Leonard Talmy's (2000a, 2000b)

Concept Structuring Systems approach to grammar. In Talmy's framework, the attentional system includes *attentional windowing*, which organizes elements such as Figure and Ground, alongside Path (the core event) and Manner/Cause (the co-event) - all fundamental to the Motion event. Talmy has explored these components extensively since his 1972 doctoral dissertation, later published as a chapter in 1985 (see, e.g., Talmy, 1985, 2000b).

Evans (2019, p. 38, example (27a−d)) further illustrates attentional profiling with a scene that can be described through four different sentences, each highlighting distinct elements: (a) the active sentence "The boy kicks over the vase", (b) the passive form "The vase is kicked over", (c) "The vase smashes into bits", and (d) "The vase is in bits", which is a "subject-copula-complement" construction (Evans, 2019, p. 39). Evans argues that "each of the constructions - active, passive, subject-verb-complement, and subject-copula-complement - is specialized for profiling a particular aspect of an action chain" (2019, p. 40). In this way, linguistic expressions mirror our ability to focus on distinct aspects of a scene, showcasing a broader cognitive capacity: attention.

Additionally, beyond attentional profiling, entities like cups are understood to form fuzzy categories, where some members are more typical or representative than others. Instead of being defined by a single essential feature, these members share a family resemblance that connects them without a strict set of defining traits (Evans, 2019, p. 40). Evans also points out that fuzzy categorization is present in language, where members of linguistic categories may share key similarities but still display distinct behaviours. From a cognitive linguistics viewpoint, the general principles of categorization apply equally to linguistic categorization.

Finally, Evans highlights that, in cognitive linguistics, metaphor is viewed as a conceptual phenomenon rather than a strictly linguistic one (2019, p. 40). He illustrates this with the way we conceptualize institutions like governments, universities, and businesses in terms of hierarchy, often depicting leaders at the "top" and lower-ranking individuals at the "bottom". This reflects the conceptual metaphor *CONTROL/POWER IS UP*, which extends beyond language into areas like organizational diagrams and gestures. Similarly, in language, this metaphor manifests itself in expressions such as the English preposition *over*, which conventionally conveys a sense of control, arising from the metaphorical link between control and an elevated position (Evans, 2019, p. 41).

In summary, this subsection has introduced the Cognitive Commitment in cognitive linguistics, which emphasizes the alignment of linguistic principles with general cognitive functions. Attention, a core cognitive ability, plays a crucial role in shaping linguistic structures, as reflected in Langacker's profiling and Talmy's Concept Structuring Systems. Similarly, categorization follows fuzzy boundaries, demonstrating that linguistic categories, like cognitive ones, lack strict definitions.

Lastly, metaphor extends beyond language, structuring thought and perception, as seen in the *CONTROL/POWER IS UP* metaphor. Together, these elements highlight the deep integration of language with human cognition.

2.2.3 Summary of the Two Commitments in Cognitive Linguistics

This section has presented Evans's discussion of the Generalization Commitment, a guiding principle in cognitive linguistics that seeks universal principles in language structure, and the Cognitive Commitment, which aligns linguistic principles with insights from broader cognitive sciences such as psychology and neuroscience. These commitments suggest that language reflects general cognitive functions rather than language-specific ones. Evans identifies attention, categorization, and metaphor as key areas where cognitive principles shape linguistic structure.

To illustrate attention, Evans draws on Langacker's *profiling* and Talmy's *Concept Structuring Systems*, particularly the attentional system, where elements like *Figure* and *Ground* shape how language profiles scenes. He provides examples of various sentence constructions to demonstrate how language emphasizes different aspects of a scene, reflecting our capacity to shift focus.

Evans also explores fuzzy categorization, where categories, such as *cups*, consist of members connected by a family resemblance rather than strict defining traits - a concept extended to linguistic categories. Finally, he discusses metaphor as a conceptual tool, not limited to language but also fundamental to organizing ideas, such as hierarchies understood through *CONTROL/POWER IS UP*, evident in expressions like the English preposition *over*.

The *Generalization Commitment* in cognitive linguistics is presented as a guiding principle aimed at uncovering universal principles in language structure. In contrast, the *Cognitive Commitment* holds that language and its organization reflect general cognitive rules rather than principles specific to language alone (Evans, 2007, p. 101).

2.3 Core Theories in Cognitive Semantics and Their Intersection with Concordance Lines

The two commitments in cognitive linguistics encompass the primary ideas that form its core theses. Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green (2006, pp. 243–244) discuss these extensively, emphasizing that a central concept in cognitive linguistics is the inherently encyclopaedic nature of meaning. According to this view, the meaning of a word cannot be fully understood without considering the extensive network of encyclopaedic knowledge to which it connects. Words, therefore, selectively provide access to specific parts of a broad semantic potential within this knowledge - an approach explored in theories like Frame Semantics by Charles

Fillmore (1976, 1977b) and the Theory of Domains by Ronald Langacker (1987). Evans and Green further explain that cognitive semanticists, such as Mark Johnson (1987) in *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*, argue that semantic knowledge is rooted in social interactions and our physical engagement with the world. In his book, Johnson explores "some of the more important ways in which structures of our bodily experience work their way up into abstract meanings and patterns of inference" (1987, p. xix). The concept of embodied cognition, foundational to cognitive linguistics, suggests that mental representations are inherently perceptual. In this light, concordance lines from authentic language use offer valuable insights, capturing the primary meanings of words and phrases while also revealing polysemous uses across diverse situational contexts.

This section begins by examining key theories in cognitive semantics, including Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1976, 1982) and the Theory of Domains (Langacker, 1987), to emphasize the encyclopaedic nature of meaning. It then discusses Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Blending Theory as they relate to polysemy. The discussion then focuses on Leonard Talmy's concept of a *Motion event* as depicted in the English language, examining its literal and figurative *Path*, the core event, and the co-event - represented as the *Manner* or *Cause* of motion undertaken by the *Figure* in relation to the *Ground* element (see, e.g., Talmy [1985] 2007, pp. 70–72). These elements are observed in the concordance lines that code the linguistic constructions analysed in this book, such as the Way Construction. Finally, this section explores potential intersections between these theories and empirical data on word and phrase usage drawn from concordance lines.

2.3.1 Selected Theories in Cognitive Semantics Leading to Encyclopaedic Semantics

Cognitive semantics, a branch of cognitive linguistics, explores the relationships between human experience, conceptual systems, and the semantic structures encoded in language (Evans, 2007, pp. 141–142). This broad research framework includes foundational theories such as Frame Semantics (see, e.g., Fillmore, 1976, 1982), the Theory of Domains (Langacker, 1987), Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1987), Conceptual Blending (see, e.g., Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002; Coulson, 2001), and theories of polysemy (see, e.g., Brugman, 1981; Lakoff, 1987; Langacker, 1987). Evans also highlights the Principled Polysemy model, developed with Andrea Tyler (Tyler & Evans, 2003). The main approaches within cognitive semantics, as noted by Evans (2007, p. 142), include cognitive lexical semantics and encyclopaedic semantics, with Leonard Talmy's *Toward Cognitive Semantics* volumes (2000a, 2000b) being a significant contribution.

Talmy's work on real and figurative motion within the "Motion event" theory provides insights into how language encodes spatial and dynamic relationships, often illustrated by constructions such as the 'Way Construction.'

Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1976, 1982; Fillmore & Baker, 2012) and the Theory of Domains (Langacker, 1987) emphasize that word meanings are not isolated but are understood within broader conceptual structures. In Frame Semantics, words evoke *frames* - structured knowledge about specific situations - while in the Theory of Domains, words are grounded in *domains* or areas of background knowledge. Together, these theories suggest that understanding a word involves accessing a network of related concepts and experiences, demonstrating how deeply intertwined language and cognition are.

In his landmark 1976 paper, Charles Fillmore introduced *framing*[41] as a way to interpret experiences, marking it as central to understanding communication. His 1982 article expanded this view with the *scenes and frames* concept, where *scenes* represent real-world situations and *frames* are conceptual structures providing context. Fillmore's work advanced cognitive linguistics by advocating for the integration of case semantics with grammar to analyse the structure, context, and function of language.

George Lakoff[42] honours Fillmore as the founder of frame semantics, recognizing his influence beyond linguistics into social and political discourse. Concerning conceptual domains (Langacker, 1987), Clausner and Croft's (1999) article *Domains and Image Schemas* defines concepts as fundamental mental units, with domains as structures of background knowledge, and image schemas as schematic patterns organizing cognitive structures. They distinguish between configurational and locational domains and propose that concrete domains like *SPACE* and *TIME*, as well as abstract types like *TEMPERATURE*, form complex matrices within which concepts are situated.

Theories of Conceptual Blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, 2002; Sweetser, 2000; Coulson, 2001) and Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) explore how abstract ideas are understood by linking them to more familiar concepts through mental mappings (Fauconnier, 1997). Both theories emphasize that meaning often emerges from the integration of mental spaces (Fauconnier, 1994).

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41 In his article "A Framework for Representing Knowledge", Marvin Minsky (1974) introduces "frames" as data structures for modeling stereotypical situations, facilitating efficient knowledge representation and aiding the analysis of thought, language, and perception in artificial intelligence and psychology. See https://courses.media.mit.edu/2004spring/mas966/Minsky%20 1974%20Framework%20for%20knowledge.pdf, accessed November 1, 2024.

42 George Lakoff, "He Figured Out How Framing Works", The Blog of the International Computer Science Institute, February 18, 2014, https://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/icsi/blog/chuck-fillmore-dies-at-84 (accessed November 1, 2024).

For instance, the statement "Paris is the heart of France"[43] illustrates conceptual blending, as it conveys centrality by integrating multiple conceptual inputs (see *Polysemy and Conceptual Blending* in Fauconnier & Turner, 2003). In contrast, "Paris is introducing longer skirts this season" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1987, p. 38; Hilpert, 2006, p. 127) exemplifies metonymy, where a location stands for an institution. While Conceptual Metaphor Theory focuses on systematic mappings between two conceptual domains (see *Conceptual Mappings* in Sweetser, 2017), Conceptual Blending Theory involves the integration of multiple mental spaces, allowing for the creation of novel meanings through the combination of different conceptual elements.

Fauconnier and Turner (2003 [2002], p. 21) state that "Many blends are not only possible but also so compelling that they come to represent, mentally, a new reality, in culture, action, and science".

A key focus of Fauconnier and Turner's (2003) work on Conceptual Blending is polysemy, which they view as a reflection of language's adaptability and cognitive creativity. They illustrate this with examples such as *father* in "George Washington is the father of our country" (p. 141), where meaning depends on cultural and social context. This example blends elements of authority, responsibility, and causality within different conceptual frames.

Leonard Talmy's *Toward Cognitive Semantics* volumes (2000a, 2000b) encapsulate decades of research on how language structures conceptual understanding, including his influential theory of the *Motion event*. This theory, which complements metaphor and blending theories, explains how language encodes both literal and figurative motion. Talmy's framework identifies core components within motion events - such as *Motion*, *Path*, *Figure*, and *Ground* - and examines how they interact in English, where verbs convey either the *Manner* or *Cause* of motion. Additionally, verbal particles, termed *satellite* elements (Talmy, 1972), along with prepositions, encode the semantic *Path* of motion, representing dynamic and locational aspects (Talmy, 1985, pp. 70–71). Talmy's adaptation of terms from Gestalt psychology[44], such as *Figure* and *Ground*, is central to his theory, illustrating how language organizes spatial and dynamic relationships. For further perspectives on literal versus figurative motion, see, for example, Giora (1997), Coulson & Oakley (2005), Turner (2005), Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006), Littlemore & Low (2006), Ruiz de Mendoza-Ibáñez & Luzondo-Oyón (2016), Egorova et al. (2019), and Duong & van de Weijer (2021).

Although various theories contribute to Cognitive Semantics, certain ones stand out due to their foundational influence. For instance, William Croft's *Explaining*

43 We find that Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte declared, "Paris is the heart of France. …" in "an 1852 speech" (Mestre, 2022). Retrieved from https://oldworldvoyages.com/the-rebirth-of-paris/

44 Edgar Rubin initially introduced the 'Figure' and 'Ground' contrast in *Figure-Ground Perception* ([1915] 1958).

Language Change: An Evolutionary Perspective (2000) addresses the usage-based theory of linguistic change, stating that it "emerges from language use among all members of the speech community ..." (Croft, 2003 [1990], p. 287). Gilles Fauconnier's work, particularly *Mental Spaces* (1994), is foundational to Blending Theory, in which integrated spaces (Generic, Input 1, Input 2, and the Blended space) play a crucial role. His later work, *Mappings in Thought and Language* (1997), builds on *Mental Spaces Theory*, incorporating further research on conceptual blending in collaboration with Mark Turner. Additionally, Leonard Talmy's two-volume *Toward Cognitive Semantics* (2000a, 2000b) explores language as a system for structuring concepts, detailing how language encodes aspects of conceptual structure (see, e.g., Evans, 2007, pp. 187–199). These theories collectively emphasize that meaning extends beyond dictionary-like definitions, forming a broader conceptual framework - an approach central to encyclopaedic semantics, which views word meanings as deeply embedded in vast networks of world knowledge.

Summary

Cognitive semantics explores how human experience, conceptual systems, and language are interconnected, emphasizing that word meanings are grounded in broader conceptual structures. Foundational theories include Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1976, 1977b, 1982), the Theory of Domains (Langacker, 1987), Conceptual Metaphor and Metonymy (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and Conceptual Blending (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). These approaches show that meaning arises from mental mappings and the integration of conceptual elements. Leonard Talmy's (1972, 1985, 2000b) *Motion event* theory further illustrates how language encodes spatial and dynamic relationships. Collectively, these theories highlight the cognitive basis of meaning, demonstrating that language reflects complex conceptual networks rather than isolated definitions.

2.3.2 Potential Intersections Between Cognitive Semantics and Knowledge from Concordance Lines

Encyclopaedic semantics, a branch of cognitive semantics, views word meaning as intricately connected to a vast network of world knowledge (Langacker, 1987; Evans, 2009; Taylor, 2018; Kecskes, 2023). Rather than consisting of isolated definitions, meanings serve as access points to culturally and experientially grounded information.

Cognitive semantics emphasizes that our understanding of meaning is shaped by human cognition, including social and physical experiences (Johnson, 1987). Encyclopaedic semantics, more specifically, examines how this knowledge network enriches and contextualizes meaning (Evans, 2007, pp. 72–73).

Concordance lines provide explicit representations of word and phrase usage, illustrating their meanings across diverse linguistic patterns (Biber et al., 1998).

As Patsala and Michali (2020) define, a concordance line is a listing of each occurrence of a word or phrase in a corpus, along with the surrounding text, revealing its collocations and broader language patterns. The term is also used to refer to *Key-Word-In-Context* (KWIC) results, retrieved through corpus linguistics software tools.

Concordance lines, which display words and phrases in authentic usage contexts, align closely with theories in cognitive semantics, particularly from the perspective of encyclopaedic semantics. By examining concordance lines, researchers can observe how words activate various aspects of background knowledge and conceptual structures in real-world usage.

For instance, following Frame Semantics (Fillmore, 1977b, 1982), concordance lines reveal how specific words evoke broader situational frames, demonstrating how meaning extends beyond isolated definitions. They also illustrate the workings of Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003), where blended meanings and polysemy emerge through context-dependent patterns of use. Additionally, concordance lines support the Principled Polysemy model (Tyler & Evans, 2003), showing the flexible yet structured nature of word meanings across different contexts.

In the context of Talmy's *Motion event* theory (1972, 1985, 2000b), concordance lines depicting motion predicates provide a vivid illustration of how language encodes dynamic relationships. Talmy's framework posits that motion events contain core elements like *Motion*, *Path*, *Figure*, and *Ground*, describing an object (the *Figure*) moving or being located with respect to a reference object (the *Ground*). Concordance lines featuring motion-related constructions, such as the Way Construction, showcase how different verbs and phrases express these components. For example, motion verbs combined with directional particles or prepositions (e.g., *roll off*, *move toward*) can highlight how language specifies Path and Figure relationships. In these contexts, concordance data reveals both literal and figurative uses of motion, underscoring the nuanced ways in which language encodes spatial and dynamic relations. This examination aligns with encyclopaedic semantics by illustrating how the Motion event framework and concordance lines together expose layers of contextual and experiential knowledge tied to spatial and movement-based expressions.

Viewed through the lens of encyclopaedic semantics, these insights from concordance lines emphasize that meaning is not fixed but deeply connected to a wide network of cultural, experiential, and situational knowledge. They illustrate the dynamic interplay between words, conceptual structures, and context, shedding light on how cognitive frameworks like Talmy's Motion event, Frame Semantics, and Conceptual Blending Theory manifest themselves in authentic language use.

Summary

Encyclopaedic semantics, a branch of cognitive semantics, views word meaning as interconnected with a vast network of cultural, experiential, and situational knowledge. Unlike isolated definitions, meanings serve as access points to broader conceptual structures (Langacker, 1987; Evans, 2009; Taylor, 2018; Kecskes, 2023). Concordance lines, which show words in authentic usage contexts, illustrate this by revealing patterns of meaning influenced by background knowledge (Biber et al., 1998). They also demonstrate how words evoke situational frames (Frame Semantics), blend meanings (Conceptual Blending), and encode dynamic spatial relations (Talmy's *Motion event* theory). This approach highlights the fluid, context-dependent nature of meaning, rooted in human cognition and experience.

Part II Summary

This chapter explores key theories in cognitive semantics, including Conceptual Frames and the Theory of Domains, which emphasize the knowledge structures underlying word meanings; Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Conceptual Blending Theory, which describe how abstract and complex ideas are understood through mental mappings; and polysemy, as seen in Blending Theory, which is illustrated by diverse linguistic expressions shaped by cultural and contextual influences. The chapter also highlights Leonard Talmy's Motion event theory, which offers a detailed framework for understanding how language encodes spatial and dynamic relationships, such as movement and location. Talmy's theory identifies core elements within motion events - *Motion*, *Path*, *Figure*, and *Ground* - that define relationships between objects in motion or in spatial positions, with *Manner* and *Cause* as additional elements contextualizing how motion occurs.

Finally, the chapter emphasizes how concordance lines intersect with these theories by providing real-world insights into how language activates and contextualizes meanings across varied usage patterns. For example, concordance lines featuring motion predicates reveal both literal and figurative uses of movement-related expressions, showcasing how language reflects nuanced relationships between Figures and Grounds. These authentic language examples support Talmy's Motion event theory by illustrating how words and phrases encode various components of motion, enriching our understanding of the dynamic interplay between language, conceptual structures, and contextual knowledge.

Part III

Part III
Examples of constructions exhibiting polysemy in the context of concordance lines

This chapter investigates constructional polysemy - the coexistence of multiple meanings within a single grammatical construction - as revealed through concordance lines in authentic language data. By examining how different meanings are contextually activated, the chapter highlights the flexibility and nuance of polysemous constructions, demonstrating the dynamic interplay between form, meaning, and context in real-world communication.

The analysis begins with the English delexical verb *throw* (Repka, 2022), focusing on its polysemous uses as observed in BNC (British National Corpus) concordance lines. This exploration builds on previous studies of delexical verbs such as *have* (e.g., *have a chat*, *have a look*) by Wierzbicka (1988) and Goddard (2003c), extending the discussion to uncover patterns specific to *throw*. The chapter then compares canonical constructions with those defined by Goldberg's construction grammar framework, identifying and analysing instances of constructional polysemy.

Goldberg (1995) explored constructional polysemy, analysing relationships among constructions that "recur in grammar" (p. 75). She attempted to "explicitly notate inheritance links as being of specific types" (p. 75) and identified "polysemy links" among these inheritance types. For example, the ditransitive syntactic pattern, such as "X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z", is illustrated by sentences like "Joe gave Sally the ball" (Example 1, p. 75). Goldberg (1995) identified five additional patterns derived through inheritance links. These include "Conditions of satisfaction", illustrated by "Joe promised Bob a car" (Example 2), and "X ENABLES Y TO RECEIVE Z", exemplified by "Joe permitted Chris an apple" (Example 3). Another pattern, "X CAUSES Y not to RECEIVE Z", is expressed by "Joe refused Bob a cookie" (Example 4), while "X INTENDS TO CAUSE Y TO RECEIVE Z" is lexicalized by "Joe baked Bob a cake" (Example 5). Finally, "X ACTS to CAUSE Y to RECEIVE Z at some future point in time" is demonstrated by "Joe bequeathed Bob a future" (Example 6, Goldberg, 1995, p. 75).

Subsequently, Goldberg addressed the "caused-motion construction", stating that it "has a strikingly similar pattern of polysemy" (1995, p. 76). The central sense of this pattern is "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z", as exemplified by the sentence "Pat pushed the piano into the room" (Example 1, Goldberg, 1995, p. 76). Related constructions involve schematic variations of this pattern. For instance, "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is also expressed with different verbs, such as in "Pat ordered him into the room" (Example 2). Other variations include "X ENABLES Y to MOVE Z",

illustrated by "Pat allowed Chris into the room" (Example 3); "X CAUSES Y not to MOVE FROM Z", exemplified by "Pat locked Chris into the room" (Example 4); and "X HELPS Y to MOVE Z", demonstrated by "Pat assisted Chris into the room" (Example 5).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999) further illuminate the nature of constructional polysemy by demonstrating how a grammatical construction can form a radial category of systematically related meanings. They illustrate this with the caused-motion construction, where its core meaning - physical movement caused by an external force - extends metaphorically to abstract domains through the Event-Structure metaphor. In this framework, causation is conceptualized as exerting force, and changes of state are mapped onto movement. For instance, the sentence "Bill talked Harriet into a state of bliss" (p. 503) exemplifies how the construction extends beyond its central motion-based meaning to express causation in an abstract, psychological domain. This perspective reinforces the idea that constructional meanings are not fixed but dynamically expand through systematic metaphorical extensions.

Goldberg connects both the ditransitive pattern and the caused-motion construction to the causal relations outlined in Talmy's force dynamics system of language (see, e.g., Talmy, 1976, 1985, 2000a, b). This chapter explores constructions central to Goldberg's approach, employing concordance lines to demonstrate how they function in authentic usage and reveal their layered meanings. In its final section, the chapter extends the analysis to Goldberg's constructions that go beyond traditional grammar frameworks, such as those proposed by Quirk et al. (1985). These innovative constructions, often overlooked in conventional frameworks, highlight the critical role of polysemy in shaping linguistic understanding.

By tracing this progression - from individual verbs, such as the delexical verb *throw*, to broader analyses of canonical and argument structure constructions, and finally to Goldberg's unique contributions - this chapter provides a thorough exploration of constructional polysemy, highlighting its significance for both linguistic theory and pedagogical practice.

3.1 The Polysemy of the Delexical Verb *throw* Across Constructions

Linguists from various backgrounds have conducted research on delexical verbs such as *take* (see, e.g., Wang, 2016; Kimsesiz, 2023; Chung & Lee, 2024). For instance, Chung and Lee's (2024) study examines how Korean EFL learners use *take* in noun collocations, revealing that learners across proficiency levels often misuse *take* due to limited L2 knowledge. Common errors include substituting *take* for other delexical verbs (e.g., "take a meal" instead of "have a meal") and pairing it incorrectly with nouns (e.g., "take a profit" instead of "make a profit"). These findings

highlight the importance of L2 knowledge in mastering accurate verb-noun collocations. English frequently uses verbs like *put*, *set*, or *throw* in a delexical manner to convey a general action that depends on the meaning of the following noun or phrase (e.g., "put into motion", "set in place", "threw into confusion"). The verb *throw* is initially examined in BNC concordance lines, with its delexical uses excerpted and compared to other uses to assess whether its polysemy relates to different constructions. In her study *Shedding Light on SHED, CAST and THROW as Nodes of Extended Lexical Units*, Maria Verde (2003) analyses *throw* in a linguistic corpus, focusing on delexical uses (where the verb adds minimal meaning) and contrasting them with other uses. Verde finds that although *throw* functions delexically in only 5% of instances, it frequently combines with a wide range of noun complements. Verde identifies several recurring collocations that form semantic sets, such as "throw light" (with nouns like *light*, *shadow*, and *glow* related to brightness), "throw look" (including *look*, *glance*, *smile* related to communication), and "throw utterance" (with nouns like *question*, *accusation*, *expression* linked to interpersonal interaction). Additional sets include "throw party" (party-related terms), "throw doubt" (with *doubt* and *suspicion*), and "throw attack" (with *punches* and *broadside*). Some nouns, such as *spell*, *lock*, and *ball*, do not fit these groups and lack sufficient routinization to form distinct units. Verde's study also examines other delexicalized verbs, such as *shed* and *cast*, analysing their use as lexical units in phraseological structures. She conducts a detailed analysis of the syntactic and semantic patterns of these verbs in the corpus, focusing on the collocations and semantic preferences that shape their use and meaning. These studies provide a foundation for further examination of delexicalized verbs, particularly how "throw" manifests polysemy across various constructions.

In examples (108) to (113), the verb *throw* is used as a delexical verb in the phrase *throw a party*. In this expression, *throw* does not convey its literal meaning (as in physically throwing something) but instead functions in a supportive role, contributing minimal meaning by implying the act of hosting or organizing. The focus is on the noun *party*, which carries the primary meaning, while *throw* simply frames the action in a colloquial way. In all instances, *threw* is delexical, meaning it serves primarily as a grammatical tool rather than contributing literal meaning. The verb *throw* depends entirely on the noun *party* to convey the actual idea of hosting or organizing a gathering.

Each line has unique contextual details that shape the meaning, tone, and scale of the phrase *threw a party*. In concordance lines (108) and (109), "threw a party" is associated with purpose and emotion, highlighting personal milestones and meaningful celebrations. In concordance lines (110) and (111), the phrase emphasizes audience and scale, distinguishing between intimate gatherings and large, public

events. Lastly, as seen in lines (112) and (113), "threw a party" reflects a contrast between casual, potentially chaotic occasions and more formal or high-profile social gatherings. Thus, in concordance lines (108) to (113), the purpose and tone of "threw a party" depend on the context of occurrence.

(108)

"225 HA5 W_fict_prose ... I met her at the party I **[threw]** to celebrate taking over control of the company. I was elated with the thrill..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

As evidenced in concordance line (108), the clause "I threw to celebrate taking over control of the company" indicates that the party marks a personal milestone (career achievement), and the context (*I was elated with the thrill*) suggests a celebratory and joyful tone.

(109)

"406 AS0 W_non_ac_medicine ... for his twenty-first birthday, five years after his accident, his parents **[threw]** a large party to celebrate his continuing enjoyment of life..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

Concordance line (109) illustrates that the party is a celebration of life and resilience, marking a significant personal milestone (21st birthday) after overcoming hardship. The tone is positive and heartfelt, highlighting the parents' joy in their son's recovery and well-being.

(110)

"327 K45 W_newsp_other_social ... IRELAND'S newest millionaire **[threw]** a party for his four-year-old son yesterday. Unemployed roadsweeper Mickey Reid, 39..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

In concordance line (110), the party is hosted for the millionaire's young son, giving it a light-hearted, family-focused purpose. The tone likely conveys joy and pride, especially given the father's newfound wealth, which enables him to host a special event for his child.

(111)

"474 GU9 W_biography ... sorry to lose its famous customers with their constant stream of visitors, **[threw]** a huge farewell party for them..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

The purpose in concordance line (111) is a *farewell*, organized by a hotel for valued guests. This gives the party a more formal tone, as it is hosted by an establishment to honour its guests, suggesting appreciation and a sense of occasion.

(112)

"447 CDG W_biography ... when the film's director, Alfred Hitchcock, **[threw]** a party at his house, Clift became so drunk that his co-star Karl Malden..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

In concordance line (112), the phrase refers to a social gathering hosted by the famous director Alfred Hitchcock, giving it a high-profile, celebrity context. The tone suggests a casual, lively affair, perhaps one where guests let their guard down, leading to incidents like intoxication.

(113)

"454 CDG W_biography ... the night he **[threw]** a party and the police turned up. They had received complaints from neighbours..." (BNC) *(throw a party – delexical use)*

Finally, in concordance line (113), the purpose appears to be a casual social gathering, but the tone shifts when police intervention is mentioned, indicating the party might have been noisy or disruptive. This adds an element of chaos or humour to the situation.

In each case, "threw a party" conveys the organization of a social gathering, but the context introduces different *purposes* (personal milestone, child's birthday, farewell), *scales* (small family gathering vs. huge party), and *tones* (joyful, heartfelt, formal, or even chaotic). These nuances illustrate how the delexical verb form *threw* relies on the surrounding context to determine the party's nature and significance.

In concordance lines (114) to (128), the verb form *threw* is used both delexically and non-delexically, depending on the context. When *threw* initiates or causes a figurative action or state, it functions as a delexical verb. Examples of this usage include:

(a) (114): "threw the milk distribution system into some disarray"
(b) (117): "threw its influence against militancy"
(c) (118): "threw a man who is by nature unflappable"
(d) (126): "threw the North Hants Premier League division one championship wide open"
(e) (127): "threw open the doors of THORP."

The argument structure of *threw* in lines (114) to (128) varies based on usage rather than its delexical meaning.

(114)

"395 HP2 W_ac_soc_science ... evacuation, the closure of schools and other disruptions **[threw]** the milk distribution system into some disarray..." (BNC)

In concordance line (114), the use of *threw* represents a Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial (SVOA) type of clause. Here is how it breaks down: "evacuation, the closure of schools and other disruptions" (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *the milk distribution system* (Object) + *into some disarray* (Adverbial). The phrase *into some disarray* acts as an adverbial, describing the resulting state or condition of the object (*the milk distribution system*) as caused by the action. In this case, the adverbial "into some disarray" provides essential information about the effect of the action, fitting the SVOA structure (cf. Table 10.2, "Major clause types" in Quirk et al., 1985, p. 721).

(115)

"309 K1B W_news_script ... Two up, but they **[threw]** it away. Oxford United still fighting relegation..." (BNC)

Also in concordance line (115), the use of "threw it away" represents the Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial (SVOA) clause structure since "threw it away" functions as a phrasal verb where *away* acts as an adverbial particle, modifying the verb *threw* to give it the idiomatic meaning of losing or wasting an opportunity. The clause structure is as follows: *They* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *it* (Object) + *away* (Adverbial/Particle). In this structure, *away* completes the meaning of the phrasal verb *throw away*, making it an essential part of the verb phrase and forming an SVOA structure.

(116)

"422 CA5 W_non_ac_soc_science ... She took the phone off the hook, and **[threw]** herself into her hurt. She wept and sobbed..." (BNC)

Additionally, in concordance line (116), the use of *threw* illustrates the Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial (SVOA) type of clause. The clause structure is this: *She* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *herself* (Object) + *into her hurt* (Adverbial). The phrase "into her hurt" acts as an adverbial, describing the state or condition into which she "threw herself". This phrase provides important context for understanding the emotional action being described. In this sentence, "into her hurt" completes the action by specifying the figurative space or state in which the action takes place, thus completing the SVOA structure.

(117)

"386 A66 W_ac_humanities_arts ... Len Murray repeatedly **[threw]** its influence, such as it was, against militancy and against challenging the government..." (BNC)

Finally, in concordance line (117), the use of *threw* represents a straightforward Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) clause. It fits a Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial (SVOA) structure. The clause structure breakdown is as follows: "The TUC itself,

and especially Len Murray" (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *its influence* (Object) + *against militancy and against challenging the government* (Adverbial). The phrase "against militancy and against challenging the government" acts as an adverbial, describing the direction or target of the action (where or against what the influence was directed). In this context, *threw* is used delexically to indicate directing influence toward a particular stance or action, completing an SVOA structure. The adverbial phrase provides essential context for understanding the action's purpose or target.

(118)

"362 CKA W_pop_lore ... That **[threw]** a man who is by nature unflappable: 'I don't remember what I..."' (BNC)

As observed in concordance line (118), the use of *threw* also illustrates the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) type of clause. It has the following clause structure: *That* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *a man who is by nature unflappable* (Object). The phrase "a man who is by nature unflappable" functions as the direct object of the verb *threw*, indicating the person affected by the action. In this context, *threw* is used delexically, meaning it figuratively suggests that the interviewer's question unsettled or surprised the man. This completes the SVO structure without any additional adverbial information.

(119)

"387 BMV W_ac_humanities_arts ... a prince might well take careful thought before he **[threw]** the dice, just as, even then, a prudent man might spend many..." (BNC)

In concordance line (119), the use of *threw* reflects the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) clause structure, which follows this pattern: *He* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *the dice* (Object). The phrase *the dice* functions as the direct object of the verb *threw*, indicating what was thrown. In this context, *threw* is used in a literal sense, with *the dice* serving as the straightforward object of the action. No additional adverbial information is needed to complete the meaning, making this an example of an SVO structure.

(120)

"391 G1H W_ac_soc_science ... someone from the Cardiff side **[threw]** the first stone, then the bricks started flying..." (BNC)

Furthermore, in concordance line (120), the use of *threw* follows the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) clause structure, which is as follows: *Someone from the Cardiff side* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *the first stone* (Object). The phrase "the first stone" functions as the direct object of the verb *threw*, indicating what was thrown. In this sentence, *threw* is also used in a literal sense, with "the first stone" acting as the object of the action. No additional adverbial or contextual information is needed, making this an example of an SVO structure.

(121)

"146 FPP W_fict_prose ... She pulled hard on the oars, and **[threw]** a rope to a man on the rock. Then her father got into the..." (BNC)

In concordance line (121), the use of *threw* also demonstrates the Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Prepositional Indirect Object (SVOO) clause structure, which can be represented as follows: *She* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *a rope* (Direct Object) + *to a man on the rock* (Prepositional Indirect Object). The phrase "to a man on the rock" specifies the recipient of the action, clarifying to whom the rope was thrown. In this sentence, *threw* is used in a literal sense, with *a rope* as the direct object and "to a man on the rock" as the prepositional phrase functioning as the indirect object. This structure aligns with the SVOO pattern.

(122)

"300 JY7 W_fict_prose ... He **[threw]** her a cold look. 'You would not believe how many Bishops there are...'" (BNC)

In addition, in concordance line (122), the use of *threw* depicts the Subject-Verb-Indirect Object-Direct Object (SVOO) clause structure, whose breakdown is as follows: *He* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *her* (Indirect Object) + *a cold look* (Direct Object). The personal pronoun *her* functions as the indirect object, designating the person to whom the look was directed. The phrase "a cold look" is the direct object, representing what was thrown or given. In this sentence, *threw* is used figuratively (delexically) to mean "gave" or "directed", with "a cold look" as the direct object and *her* as the indirect object. This follows the SVOO structure.

(123)

"289 JXS W_fict_prose ... he deliberately **[threw]** her a frosty glance. 'But don't ever try a trick like that...'" (BNC)

Similarly, in concordance line (123), the use of *threw* reflects the Subject-Verb-Indirect Object-Direct Object (SVOO) clause structure, which can be presented as follows: *he* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *her* (Indirect Object) + *a frosty glance* (Direct Object). While the pronoun *her* takes the role of the indirect object, denoting the person to whom the glance was directed, the phrase "a frosty glance" functions as the direct object, representing what was thrown or given. In this sentence also, *threw* is used figuratively (delexically) to mean "gave" or "directed", with "a frosty glance" as the direct object and *her* as the indirect object. This aligns with the SVOO structure.

(124)

"209 H97 W_fict_prose ... He **[threw]** her a smile. 'I'm sorry you got involved. I apologise for...'" (BNC)

In addition, in concordance line (124), the use of *threw* exemplifies the Subject-Verb-Indirect Object-Direct Object (SVOO) clause structure, as follows: *He* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *her* (Indirect Object) + *a smile* (Direct Object). The personal pronoun *her* functions as the indirect object, designating the person to whom the smile was directed. The phrase "a smile" serves as the direct object, representing what was thrown or given. In this context, *threw* is also used figuratively (delexically) to mean "gave" or "directed", with "a smile" as the direct object and *her* as the indirect object. This conforms to the SVOO structure.

(125)

"87 CEU W_fict_prose ... Masklin darted between two seats, around a pair of giant shoes, and **[threw]** himself flat on the carpet. The others hurled themselves down behind him..." (BNC)

In concordance line (125), the use of *threw* also represents the Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Object Complement (SVOC) clause structure, which follows this pattern: *(he)* (implicit) (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *himself* (Direct Object) + *flat on the carpet* (Object Complement). The complement flat on the carpet describes the resulting state of *himself* after the action of *throwing*. In this sentence, *threw* is used in a figurative or reflexive sense, meaning that he quickly positioned or laid himself down. The phrase "flat on the carpet" complements the direct object by specifying the manner or state in which he ended up, aligning with the SVOC structure.

(126)

"330 BM4 W_newsp_other_report ... Rebels (Alton) **[threw]** the North Hants Premier League division one championship wide open by beating leaders Zodiacs 35–30..." (BNC)

Furthermore, in concordance line (126), the use of *threw* exemplifies the Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Object Complement (SVOC) clause structure, as follows: *Rebels* (*Alton*) (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *the North Hants Premier League Division One championship* (Direct Object) + *wide open* (Object Complement). The phrase "wide open" functions as an object complement, describing the resulting state of "the North Hants Premier League Division One championship" after the action of *throwing*. In this context, *threw* is used figuratively to suggest that the Rebels' actions made the championship more competitive or unpredictable. The phrase "wide open" complements the direct object by specifying the outcome or state caused by the action, aligning with the SVOC structure.

(127)

"499 HPA W_misc ... BNFL **[threw]** open the doors of THORP to members of the press earlier this month..." (BNC)

Similarly, in concordance line (127), the use of *threw* illustrates the Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Object Complement (SVOC) clause structure, but with the elements in reversed order. Here is the breakdown of this reversed structure: *BNFL* (Subject) + *threw* (Verb) + *open* (Object Complement) + *the doors of THORP* (Direct Object). The adjective *open* functions as the object complement, describing the state of "the doors of THORP" as a result of the action. In this sentence, *threw* is used delexically, meaning "made available" or "allowed access to". The object complement *open* precedes the direct object "the doors of THORP", reversing the usual order while still conforming to the SVOC structure.

(128)

"31 K5A W_newsp_other_social ... Milne, who had to deal with the vagaries of a vicious swirl when he **[threw in]** at the lineout, thought that the Hastings' boot was the big difference..." (BNC)

Finally, in concordance line (128), the clause with *threw* follows an SV (Subject-Verb) structure, with *in* functioning as a phrasal verb particle rather than a standalone adverbial or prepositional phrase. The clause follows this structure: *he* (Subject) + *threw in* (Verb). The predicate "threw in at the lineout" uses *threw in* as a phrasal verb, commonly found in sports terminology - particularly in rugby[45] - meaning to make a throw into play during a lineout. Here, *in* is part of the verb itself (forming a phrasal verb) and does not function as a separate adverbial element.

This usage differs from other meanings of *threw*, both literal (e.g., physically throwing an object) and figurative (e.g., "threw his support behind"[46]). In a sports-specific context, *threw in* acquires a specialized meaning related to rugby rules, distinct from other interpretations. This example highlights the polysemous nature of *threw*, demonstrating how its meaning shifts based on context.

The phenomenon of constructional polysemy with the verb *threw* from lines (108) to (128) arises because the verb can take on multiple figurative or idiomatic meanings, depending on the surrounding construction and the type of clause. This polysemy is especially prominent in delexical uses, where the verb's meaning relies heavily on the object and context, as well as in diverse structural types of clauses.

In lines (108) to (113), *threw* operates in a delexicalized manner, depending on the following noun phrase to convey meaning. For instance, in *threw a party*,

45 See Rugby Union news, analysis and opinions. (n.d.). Hooker throwing in at the lineout [Online forum post]. Reddit. Retrieved February 15, 2025, from https://www.reddit.com/r/rugbyunion/comments/p6mcph/hooker_throwing_in_at_the_lineout/.

46 "The former Texas congressman, who failed to qualify for two presidential debates, threw his support behind Nikki Haley". Svitek, P. (2023, October 9). Will Hurd drops out of 2024 presidential race. The Texas Tribune. https://www.texastribune.org/2023/10/09/texas-will-hurd-2024-presidential-race/

it delexically means "hosted" or "organized", with *a party* providing the primary meaning. This pattern continues in examples like "threw a party at his house" (112) and "threw a party and the police turned up" (113), where *threw* consistently indicates organizing or hosting an event. These delexical uses reveal a polysemous pattern where the verb signifies causing an outcome, organizing an event, or creating a condition, with its meaning entirely dependent on the object.

Constructional polysemy also emerges in lines (114) to (128) through various clause structures (SVO, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA, and SV), which influence the nuanced meanings of *threw*. For example, in line (115), *threw it away* follows the Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial (SVOA) structure, where *away* acts as an adverbial particle, giving the idiomatic sense of wasting an opportunity. Similarly, in line (116), "threw herself into her hurt" demonstrates the SVOA pattern, with *into her hurt* describing an emotional state, contributing to a figurative meaning.

In line (117), "threw its influence … against militancy" fits an SVOA structure, with *against militancy* specifying the direction of influence, illustrating a delexical use of *threw*. Conversely, line (118) uses the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) structure in "threw a man who is by nature unflappable", where *threw* figuratively means "unsettled" or "surprised", relying on the object for context.

Literal uses of *threw* appear in lines (119) and (120) with straightforward SVO structures: "threw the dice" (119) and "threw the first stone" (120), where *the dice* and *the first stone* are direct objects, needing no additional context. In line (121), the Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Prepositional Indirect Object (SVOO) structure is illustrated by "threw a rope to a man on the rock", where *to a man on the rock* indicates the recipient of the action.

Figurative meanings are also conveyed through the SVOO structure, as seen in lines (122) to (124): "threw her a cold look" (122), "threw her a frosty glance" (123), and "threw her a smile" (124). In these cases, *threw* delexically means "gave" or "directed", with the indirect object (*her*) and the direct object (e.g., *a cold look*) determining the meaning.

The Subject-Verb-Direct Object-Object Complement (SVOC) structure is evident in lines (125) and (126). In "threw himself flat on the carpet" (125), the complement *flat on the carpet* describes his resulting state, implying a reflexive action. Likewise, "threw the … championship wide open" (126) uses *wide open* as an object complement, figuratively meaning "made more competitive or unpredictable".

In line (127), "threw open the doors of THORP" illustrates an SVOC structure with a reversed order, where *open* (Object Complement) precedes *the doors of THORP* (Direct Object). Here, *threw* means "made available" or "allowed access to", demonstrating the flexibility of the SVOC pattern while maintaining its constructional integrity.

Finally, in line (128), *threw in* follows an SV (Subject-Verb) structure as a phrasal verb in the context of sports terminology. In "threw in at the lineout", *in* is part of the verb itself, reflecting a specialized meaning in rugby for making a throw into play. This usage exemplifies the polysemous nature of *threw* and its adaptability to different contexts.

Through these varied clause structures and delexical uses, *threw* demonstrates a rich polysemy, taking on different meanings depending on context, object, and syntactic configuration. This complexity underscores the dynamic interaction between verb meaning and constructional patterns, highlighting the verb's adaptability in conveying both literal and figurative senses.

Building on this, in concordance lines (114) to (128), *threw* appears in various structural types of clauses (SVO, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA, and SV), further contributing to its constructional polysemy. The different structures shape the specific nuance of *threw* and determine how it functions within each sentence, particularly in conveying figurative or extended meanings.

For example, in the SVOA structure observed in lines (114) to (117), *threw* adopts figurative meanings that express causation or transformation by combining with an adverbial phrase. These structural patterns illustrate how *threw* flexibly adapts its meaning through interaction with different clause elements, emphasizing its polysemous nature.

(a) (114): "threw the milk distribution system into some disarray" ─ Here, *threw* means "disrupted" or "caused disarray in", with *into some disarray* as an adverbial indicating the resulting state.
(b) (115): "threw it away"─ The predicate *threw it away* (containing a phrasal verb) means "lost" or "wasted", with *away* functioning as an adverbial particle completing the meaning of *threw.*
(c) (116): "threw herself into her hurt" ─ *Threw* figuratively suggests "immersed herself", with *into her hurt* as an adverbial of emotional state.
(d) In line (117), *threw* contributes to the polysemous nature of the verb by using it in a figurative, non-literal sense to indicate exerting influence or taking a stance. This example highlights how *threw* can convey both physical actions and abstract applications (such as influence or support), depending on the structure and context, thus enriching the verb's range of meanings within various clause types.

In SVOA clauses, the adverbial (e.g., "into disarray", "into her hurt") helps specify the figurative meaning of *threw*, transforming it into an expression of causation or immersion.

In the SVO structure, *threw* usually retains a literal or slightly figurative meaning, with a direct object completing the action.

(a) (118): "threw a man who is by nature unflappable" — In this case, *threw* takes on a figurative sense of "unsettled" or "discomposed".
(b) (119): "threw the dice" — *Threw* retains a literal sense, meaning "rolled" or "cast", with "the dice" as the direct object.
(c) (120): "threw the first stone" — This is a literal use where *threw* means "hurled" with *the first stone* as the object.

SVO clauses with *threw* generally retain more literal meanings (e.g., *threw the dice*) but can take on a slight figurative dimension when impacting a person or situation (e.g., *threw a man who is by nature unflappable*).

In the SVOO structure, *threw* figuratively means "gave" or "directed" something toward someone, often with gestures or expressions.

(a) (122): "threw her a cold look" — *Threw* in this context means "gave" or "cast", with *her* as the indirect object (recipient) and *a cold look* as the direct object.
(b) (123): "threw her a frosty glance" — Similar to (122), *threw* in this instance means "gave" or "directed", with *her* as the recipient.
(c) (124): "threw her a smile" — In this instance, *threw* also means "gave" or "offered", with *her* as the indirect object.
(d) In line (121), *threw* contributes to the verb's polysemy by maintaining its literal meaning of physically tossing or transferring something (*the rope*) while using a structure (SVOO) that is also seen in figurative or idiomatic uses (e.g., *threw her a look* in (122)). This example emphasizes *threw* as a verb capable of expressing both physical and abstract transfers, adding another dimension to its polysemous nature across different contexts.

In SVOO constructions, *threw* gains a delexical, idiomatic meaning related to giving or directing expressions or gestures toward someone.

In the SVOC structure, *threw* occurs with an object and complement, where the complement describes the resulting state of the object after the action.

(a) (125): "threw himself flat on the carpet" — *Threw* conveys "lay down quickly" or "flattened himself", with *flat on the carpet* as an object complement describing his position.
(b) (126): "threw the North Hants Premier League division one championship wide open" — *Threw* implies "opened up" or "made competitive", with *wide*

open as an object complement indicating the championship's new state.

(c) (127): "threw open the doors of THORP" ─ *Threw* signifies "opened", with *open* as an object complement describing the new state of *the doors*.

In SVOC clauses, *threw* acquires meanings associated with causing a change, where the object complement provides a specific description of the new state, producing a more figurative or idiomatic sense.

While none of the examples provided strictly fit an SVA structure, line (115) with *threw it away* (SVOA) is close, as *away* serves as an adverbial particle, shifting *threw* into the phrasal verb *throw away*, meaning "to lose or waste".

Finally, in (128) *threw* occurs in the SV structure and thus contributes to the polysemy of the verb. In this context, *threw in* functions as a phrasal verb specific to sports (in this case, rugby), where it means to make a throw into play during a lineout.[47] This is a distinct meaning compared to other uses of *threw* in both literal senses (e.g., physically throwing an object) and figurative senses (e.g., *threw his support behind*). This sports-related use of *threw in* differs from figurative uses, such as *threw herself into her hurt* in (116) (meaning she immersed herself completely in her emotional pain), and from literal uses, such as *threw the dice* in (119). Instead, it conveys a precise, rule-based action within a specific setting.

The polysemy of *threw* in these examples arises from its ability to adapt to different clause structures, with each type (SV, SVO, SVOO, SVOC, SVOA) (cf. Table 10.2, "Major clause types" in Quirk et al., 1985, p. 721) yielding a unique interpretation:

(a) Causation or Transformation[48] (SVOA): In SVOA, *threw* often conveys the idea of causing a state or effect (e.g., "threw into some disarray" (114)).

(b) State Change[49] (SVOC): In SVOC clauses, *threw* suggests putting something or someone into a particular state or condition (e.g., "threw the North Hants Premier League division one championship wide open" (126)).

47 Net World Sports. (2025, January 24). *Rugby explained: Line-outs.* Retrieved from https://blog.networldsports.co.uk/rugby-explained-line-outs/

48 See Nugraha, D. S. (2024). *A morphological analysis of the Indonesian suffixation: A look at the different types of affixes and their semantic changes. GEMA Online® Journal of Language Studies, 24*(4), p. 119. https://doi.org/10.17576/gema-2024-2404-07.

49 See Berzin, R. (2022). *State change: End anxiety, beat burnout, and ignite a new baseline of energy and flow.* S&S/Simon Element.

(c) Literal Action or Slight Figurative Use[50] (SVO): In SVO, *threw* can retain its literal meaning but can also imply slight figurative nuances.
(d) Transfer or Gesture (SVOO): In SVOO, *threw* takes on a delexicalized meaning, equivalent to "gave" or "directed", particularly in the context of expressions or looks. See Footnote 3 in Sha et al. (2018, p. 111:3), which refers to "Pose Transfer" or "Gesture-to-Gesture Translation" in other literature.

The flexibility of *threw* across these structures demonstrates how constructional polysemy enables the verb to convey a broad spectrum of meanings by interacting with objects, complements, and adverbials in each clause type.

Summary

The analyses of examples (108) to (128) illustrate the phenomenon of constructional polysemy in the verb *threw*, showcasing how its meaning shifts based on the clause structure and context. Across these lines, *threw* takes on various figurative, idiomatic, and literal meanings, shaped by the specific construction in which it appears. In SVOA structures, such as *threw the milk distribution system into disarray* in (114), *threw* gains a causative sense, indicating disruption or transformation. In SVOC constructions like "threw the … championship wide open" in (126), it conveys a change in state, with the complement specifying the result. SVOO structures introduce a relational aspect, where *threw* implies giving or directing an expression, as in "threw her a smile" in (124).

Additionally, specialized uses, such as "threw in at the lineout" (SV) in (128), highlight context-specific meanings, demonstrating how *threw* adapts to different domains, including sports terminology. The predicate "threw herself into her hurt" in (116) further exemplifies the verb's figurative potential, capturing an emotional immersion. Collectively, these examples reveal the versatile nature of *threw* as it interacts with different clause structures, producing a range of meanings and showcasing the richness of constructional polysemy within language.

3.2 Canonical Clauses and Argument Structure Constructions: Aligning Areas and Contrasts in the Manifestation of Polysemy

Single words, such as the noun *way*, can play a central role in shaping specific linguistic constructions. This is evident in the Way Construction, which Goldberg (1995, 2003) describes as "a kind of conventionalized amalgam that combines the

50 See Carston, R. (2012). Metaphor and the literal/non-literal distinction. In K. Allan & K. M. Jaszczolt (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 469–492). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139022453.025

syntax and semantics of creation expressions" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 207). Goldberg illustrates this with two examples: "He made a path" (Example 28), which involves two arguments - a creator and a "create-way", and "He moved into the room" (Example 29), representing an intransitive motion construction with two arguments - a mover (theme) and a path (Goldberg, 1995, p. 207).

A similar interaction between syntax and lexical meaning can be observed in constructions like the SVOA structure with the verb *threw*. Just as the Way Construction blends motion and creation semantics, *threw* in an SVOA frame integrates force dynamics and path information. For instance, in the sentence "He threw the ball into the net"[51], the verb encodes both an exertion of force and a directed motion. Similarly, in (114) "the closure of schools and other disruptions threw the milk distribution system into some disarray", the verb *threw* metaphorically imposes force on the system, leading to a resultant state of disorder. These examples illustrate how individual lexical items - whether a noun like *way* or a verb like *threw* - shape constructional meaning by encoding both syntactic structure and conceptual content. Such words often appear in linguistic data as concordance lines, enabling comparisons with canonical constructions to investigate constructional polysemy.

This subsection begins by examining the Way Construction and the SVOA complex transitive structure. It then explores English resultative clauses in comparison with SVOC complex transitive constructions, drawing on examples from BNC concordance lines. Finally, it highlights contrasts between the caused-motion construction in English clauses and the SVOA complex transitive pattern as coded in concordance lines, emphasizing potential instances of constructional polysemy.

3.2.1 Constructional Polysemy in the Way Construction

The Way Construction in English shares structural similarities with complex transitive clauses, as both involve a verb followed by an object (or object-like phrase) and a complement. However, they differ in meaning and complement type. Goldberg (1995) references prior research (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1992; Marantz, 1992), which suggests that the Way Construction typically pairs with unergative[52] verbs, whereas verbs of directed motion are generally unaccusative.[53] Nevertheless, Goldberg

51 See, e.g., DJ Cash Money – 1988 DMC World Champion (DJ Battle, n.d.)

52 In English grammar, unergative verbs are intransitive verbs describing actions initiated or controlled by the subject, as in "run," "talk," "laugh," or "work." Examples include: "She runs every morning," "They laughed loudly," and "He talks too much." Here, the subjects actively perform the actions depicted by the verbs. See, e.g., Dąbrowska, A. (2016). *Unaccusative or unergative: The case of the English verb to die*. *Roczniki Humanistyczne, 64*(11), 25–39. https://doi.org/10.18290/rh.2016.64.11-2 or Van Gelderen, E. (2019). *Stability and change in intransitive argument structure*. *Open Linguistics, 5*(1), 217–232. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2019-0013.

53 In contrast, unaccusative verbs describe events that happen to the subject, often without their control, such as "fall," "die," or "melt" (e.g., "The ice melted," where

highlights that examples from the *Oxford University Press corpus* include only manner-of-motion verbs, not means of motion (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 62).

Furthermore, she argues that "… attested way construction examples seem to span the spectrum of semantic space, given the general constraints imposed by the construction. Since the construction has such a high type frequency of attested verbs, novel verbs are freely used in it" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 138).

Goldberg (1995, p. 199) presents a skeletal representation of the Way Construction as: [SUBJi [V [POSSi way] OBL]],[54] where "V" represents a non-stative verb and "OBL" indicates a directional phrase. This structure implies that the subject moves along a path indicated by the prepositional phrase, and that the construction's meaning cannot be derived solely from its constituent parts. Concordance lines (129) to (152) demonstrate this construction through various verbs and arguments that embody its unique semantics. The examples in (153) to (155) reflect a similar pattern, though it remains uncertain whether they represent the Way Construction.

(129)

"15 A0D W_fict_prose ... The tartan-socked tout positively **[scuttled his way to the vessel's stem]**. By the time the boat reached the island Sven..." (BNC)

In concordance line (129), the predicate "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" illustrates the Way Construction as defined by Adele Goldberg (1995), where meaning arises from the construction as a whole rather than individual words. In this instance, the subject "The tartan-socked tout" initiates the action, the verb *scuttled* implies a quick, scrambling movement, and the possessive phrase *his way* denotes intentional, controlled motion. The prepositional phrase *to the vessel's stem* completes the directional aspect, highlighting a goal-oriented path. Together, these elements create a composite meaning, aligning with Goldberg's model by conveying purposive, manner-driven movement toward a specified destination.

(130)

"76 CD2 W_fict_prose ... and Nathan Holland appeared, **[having thrust his way past the servant]**. His face was chalk-white. He went straight to her..." (BNC)

As seen in concordance line (130), the non-finite clause "having thrust his way past the servant" exemplifies the Way Construction as outlined by Adele

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the ice undergoes change rather than performing an action). See, e.g., Dąbrowska (2016) or Narasimhan, B., Tomaso, V., & Verspoor, K. (1970). *Unaccusative or unergative? Verbs of manner of motion*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/2592837_Unaccusative_or_Unergative_Verbs_of_Manner_of_Motion.

54 In the construction "[SUBJ$_i$ [V [POSS$_i$ way] OBL]]", the lowercase letter "i" is a subscript that indicates coreference. This means that the "i" in both SUBJi and POSSi signals that the subject (SUBJ) and the possessive element (POSS) refer to the same entity.

Goldberg (1995), where meaning is derived from the combined structure rather than individual words. In this case, *Nathan Holland* acts as the subject initiating the action, while the verb *thrust* suggests a forceful, determined movement. The possessive *his way* indicates control and intentional motion, while *past the servant* provides directional context, representing an obstacle he overcomes. This construction encapsulates Holland's deliberate navigation through an impediment, aligning with Goldberg's framework by illustrating purposeful, manner-driven motion along a defined path.

(131)

"209 HHC W_fict_prose ... he watched Tom **[fight his way through the snow]** in the farmyard, and he thought of how close he and..." (BNC)

As observed in concordance line (131), the predicate "fight his way through the snow" demonstrates Goldberg's Way Construction, where the combined structure conveys purposeful, challenging movement rather than isolated word meanings. In this context, *Tom* is the subject engaging in action with *fight*, depicting laborious motion against resistance. The possessive *his way* emphasizes Tom's control over his path, while *through the snow* indicates the challenging medium. This construction portrays Tom's determined progress despite obstacles, aligning with Goldberg's model by illustrating intentional, effortful movement through resistance, highlighting the subject's agency and persistence.

(132)

"13 KS7 S_brdcast_discussn ... Steve Foster was desperately unlucky not to score when he'd **[bludgeoned his way through]**, right on the stroke of half time..." (BNC)

As demonstrated in concordance line (132), the predicate "bludgeoned his way through" also exemplifies Goldberg's Way Construction, where the meaning of forceful, determined progression comes from the entire structure rather than individual words. In this example, *Steve Foster* (implicitly the subject) initiates the action, with *bludgeoned* suggesting intense, combative movement. The possessive *his way* emphasizes his control, while *through* specifies an obstacle he pushes through. This construction portrays Steve's resolute effort to overcome resistance, aligning with Goldberg's model by illustrating purposeful, vigorous navigation through a challenging medium, highlighting determination and agency.

(133)

"67 CA0 W_fict_prose ... he slowly **[worked his way up]**, starting as a groom and finally getting his own yard..." (BNC)

In addition, evidence from concordance line (133) suggests that the predicate *worked his way up* manifests Goldberg's Way Construction, where

unified meaning arises from the entire structure rather than individual words. Here, *he* is the subject undertaking the action, with *worked* implying consistent, effortful advancement. The possessive *his way* indicates control over the path, while *up* indicates upward progression. This construction conveys steady, determined advancement, reflecting persistence and effort, aligning with Goldberg's model by illustrating purposeful, gradual movement along a metaphorical path, such as a career or personal growth, driven by agency and resilience.

(134)

"18 AB9 W_fict_prose ... McLeish thought, **[working his way through the letter]**. 'Is this a copy?' 'No, no...'" (BNC)

In concordance line (134) also, the non-finite predicate "working his way through the letter" illustrates Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure rather than individual words. As Goldberg (1995, p. 207) explains, the Way Construction syntactically and semantically integrates elements from the creation and motion constructions, combining the creation of a path with movement along it. At this point, the verb *working* directly aligns with the construction's semantics, encoding deliberate and incremental progress. The implied subject, *McLeish*, undertakes the action, with *working* signalling sustained, purposeful effort. The possessive *his way* emphasizes McLeish's control, while *through the letter* specifies the medium he engages with. This construction conveys a focused, methodical progression, highlighting McLeish's active engagement with the letter's content. In line with Goldberg's model, it encapsulates purposeful advancement along a structured "path", driven by persistence and agency

(135)

"21 ACB W_fict_prose ... pushing the handle down and **[edging his way round the door]**. 'I'm off then. I'm off round...'" (BNC)

Similarly, in concordance line (135), the non-finite predicate "edging his way round the door" exemplifies Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the interaction of its structural elements. In this instance, an implied subject performs the action, with *edging* suggesting a slow, cautious movement. The possessive *his way* emphasizes the subject's control, while *round the door* designates the path or obstacle. This construction conveys deliberate, meticulous progression, as the subject carefully manoeuvres around a barrier. Aligning with Goldberg's model, it captures intentional, cautious movement along a defined route, highlighting controlled navigation.

(136)

"28 ACW W_fict_prose ... he **[inched his way along the threadbare strip of carpet]**. A smell peculiar to that place assailed his..." (BNC)

Based on concordance line (136), the predicate "inched his way along the threadbare strip of carpet" demonstrates Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure. In this context, the implied subject (*he*) initiates the action, with *inched* indicating an extremely slow, careful movement. The possessive *his way* highlights control over the path, while *along the threadbare strip of carpet* specifies the defined, narrow route. This construction conveys deliberate, measured progression, suggesting cautious navigation along a worn path. Consistent with Goldberg's model, it captures a purposeful, controlled advance along a specified route, emphasizing the subject's intentional pace and spatial awareness.

(137)

"29 ACW W_fict_prose ... Frankie clung as **[he inched his way upward]**, making tortuously slow progress away from the slippery edges of the beck..." (BNC)

As reflected in concordance line (137), the predicate "inched his way upward" embodies Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure. In this example, *Frankie* appears as the subject, initiating a controlled action, with *inched* indicating slow, cautious progress. The possessive *his way* emphasizes Frankie's active role in the movement, while *upward* specifies a vertical trajectory. This construction conveys a deliberate, measured ascent, aligning with Goldberg's model by depicting an intentional, steady journey along a defined path, capturing the essence of a gradual, purposeful upward motion.

(138)

"30 AMU W_fict_prose ... **[Making his way forward]**, he dragged sailbags out until he found the huge, feather-light balloon spinnaker..." (BNC)

In addition, analysis of concordance line (138) reveals that the non-finite predicate *Making his way forward* illustrates Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning arises from the combined structure. In this case, the implied subject (*he*) actively undertakes the action, with *making* suggesting deliberate effort and intention. The possessive *his way* highlights his control over the path, while *forward* defines the trajectory toward a goal. This construction conveys purposeful, directed movement, aligning with Goldberg's model by capturing a focused, intentional advancement along a defined route.

(139)

"31 AMU W_fict_prose ... he **[squeezed his way round the motor cycle]** to join Mariana on the settee. From the galley he..." (BNC)

As seen in concordance line (139), the predicate "squeezed his way round the motor cycle" reflects Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning derives from the integrated structure. In this example, *he* is the subject, performing the action, with *squeezed* suggesting a careful, constrained movement through limited space. The possessive *his way* emphasizes his control over the path, while *round the motor cycle* indicates the obstacle being navigated. This construction conveys a calculated, deliberate movement, aligning with Goldberg's model by portraying intentional, effortful navigation around a constraint, capturing both care and agency in the subject's motion.

(140)

"32 ANL W_fict_prose ... Strange...' He **[thumbed his way back to the private accounts]**. 'Yes. In that month, forty thousand..." (BNC)

In concordance line (140), the predicate "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" depicts Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure. In this instance, *he* is the subject performing the action, with *thumbed* suggesting a deliberate, tactile motion through pages. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the movement, while *back to the private accounts* specifies the intended destination. This construction conveys focused, goal-oriented navigation, consistent with Goldberg's model by depicting an intentional path through records toward a particular endpoint, highlighting deliberate engagement and direction.

(141)

"48 B3J W_fict_prose ... and began **[squelching his way across the boggy field]**. After climbing the ancient fence which bordered the pub's..." (BNC)

The data in concordance line (141) also suggests that the non-finite predicate "squelching his way across the boggy field" conforms with Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure. Here, *he* serves as the subject performing the action, with *squelching* evoking a sensory, effortful movement through muddy terrain. The possessive *his way* highlights control over the path, while *across the boggy field* describes a challenging route. This construction conveys slow, laboured progression through difficult ground, aligning with Goldberg's model by depicting intentional, effortful navigation through resistant terrain, emphasizing the subject's deliberate engagement with the environment.

(142)

"70 CAB W_fict_prose ... He stepped back into the hall and **[felt his way back to the living room]**. In front of the range stood the large copper..." (BNC)

Based on concordance line (142), the predicate "felt his way back to the living room" also follows the characteristic pattern of Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure. In this context, *he* is the subject engaging in the action, with *felt* indicating movement guided by touch, suggesting careful navigation due to limited visibility or need for precision. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the path, while *back to the living room* specifies the destination. This construction conveys sensory-driven, intentional navigation, as Goldberg's model portrays deliberate, tactile-guided movement toward a specific location, emphasizing caution and agency.

(143)

"87 CJF W_fict_prose ... As he **[pushed his way through the swing doors]**, he thought again how much he had preferred the Gothic splendour..." (BNC)

Likewise, in concordance line (143), the predicate "pushed his way through the swing doors" reflects the standard configuration of Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning is derived from the integrated structure. Here, *he* is the subject performing the action, with *pushed* indicating a forceful, physical effort to move forward. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the path, while *through the swing doors* conveys the obstacle navigated. This construction conveys deliberate, effortful movement through a barrier, consistent with Goldberg's model in portraying intentional, obstacle-oriented progression, highlighting the subject's agency and exertion in navigating the path.

(144)

"90 CJJ W_fict_prose ... Swallowing his pride, Lexandro inveigled, connived, and **[bribed his way]** as a junior shrimp **[into the very Ducas clan gang]** which his father had heard..." (BNC)

Similarly, as demonstrated in concordance line (144), the predicate "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" exemplifies Goldberg's Way Construction, where figurative movement into a social domain emerges from the integrated structure. In this instance, *Lexandro* is the subject, using *bribed* to indicate strategic, non-physical advancement. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the method, while *into the very Ducas clan gang* reflects the social goal. This construction represents intentional, resourceful entry through financial influence and reflects Goldberg's model by depicting a purposeful, non-physical progression into a defined social sphere.

(145)

"94 CMP W_fict_prose ... Sharpe, suddenly feeling exhausted, and reluctant **[to force his way through the crowd]**, paused on the landing..." (BNC)

As observed in concordance line (145), the non-finite complement "to force his way through the crowd" follows the usual pattern of Goldberg's Way Construction, where assertive, effortful movement emerges from the integrated structure. Here, the implied subject *Sharpe* initiates the action, with *force* indicating a strong, determined push. The possessive *his way* emphasizes Sharpe's control over the path, while *through the crowd* highlights the challenging space he navigates. This construction demonstrates deliberate, forceful movement through resistance, consistent with Goldberg's model in depicting an intentional, labour-intensive progression through a crowded barrier.

(146)

"95 CS4 W_fict_prose ... so he would need a very special round today **[to force his way back among the leaders]**. I was ruminating on his chances when my phone rang..." (BNC)

In concordance line (146) the phrase "to force his way back among the leaders" adheres to the usual configuration found in Goldberg's Way Construction, where a figurative, effortful return to a competitive position is conveyed through the combined structure. In this example, *he* represents the subject, with *force* indicating a vigorous, determined attempt. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the pursuit, while *back among the leaders* specifies a desired, elite position. This construction portrays an intentional struggle to regain status, harmonizing with Goldberg's model by depicting resolute, goal-oriented movement toward a figurative goal within a competitive field.

(147)

"97 CS4 W_fict_prose ... Jack still seemed to be **[sleep-walking his way around the course]**, and I was not surprised when he visited the water a couple..." (BNC)

Analysis of concordance line (147) also reveals that the non-finite predicate "sleep-walking his way around the course" reflects the typical structure of Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure. Here, *Jack* is the implied subject, with *sleep-walking* suggesting a detached, semi-automatic progression. The possessive *his way* implies minimal but present control, while *around the course* defines the path. This construction reflects a passive, unfocused movement through a specific route, echoing Goldberg's model by presenting Jack's disengaged, almost automatic navigation within a defined space, highlighting a unique, detached manner of movement.

(148)

"99 EEW W_fict_prose ... by the young Stanhope-Murray boy as he tried **[to thrust his way past her]**, jumping a hedge and instantly breaking her neck..." (BNC)

As observed in concordance line (148), the predicate "to thrust his way past her" mirrors the typical pattern of the Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure. In this case, "the young Stanhope-Murray boy" serves as the subject, with *thrust* indicating a strong, assertive push forward. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the movement, while *past her* defines the obstacle he aims to bypass. This construction conveys determined, forceful navigation past a barrier, aligning with Goldberg's model by illustrating intentional, effortful progression through an impediment.

(149)

"114 FNU W_fict_prose ... Then Bunny, **[battling his way against the flow of the children]**, appeared in the hall and halted for a..." (BNC)

As indicated by concordance line (149), the non-finite clause "battling his way against the flow of the children" also demonstrates the usual pattern linked to the Way Construction, where meaning derives from the integrated structure. In this instance, *Bunny* is the subject, with *battling* indicating a strenuous, determined effort against resistance. The possessive *his way* emphasizes Bunny's control over his path, while *against the flow of the children* illustrates the opposing force he navigates. This construction demonstrates deliberate, forceful movement along a challenging path, corresponding to Goldberg's model by illustrating intentional, effortful progress against an obstacle.

(150)

"184 H8H W_fict_prose ... he had sunk in, **[wormed his way into her mind]** with his disturbing home truths. What would he think of Jonathan..." (BNC)

In addition, in concordance line (150), the predicate "wormed his way into her mind" exemplifies Goldberg's Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 201, on the verb *worm* encoding metaphorical motion within the Way Construction). In this example, *he* is the subject initiating a gradual, subtle infiltration, while *wormed* suggests a slow, understated approach. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the method, while *into her mind* points to the figurative target. This construction represents a quiet, persistent mental influence, fitting Goldberg's model by portraying a nuanced, figurative movement toward a psychological space, highlighting subtlety and persistence.

(151)

"356 CHB W_pop_lore ... who couldn't outrage a paper bag, let alone **[dance his way out of one]**. How apt. Next up, and light years away from..." (BNC)

Based on concordance line (151), the predicate "dance his way out of one" conforms to the standard configuration of the Way Construction, where meaning arises from the integrated structure. Here, *the dancer* is the implied subject, with *dance* suggesting a playful, stylized movement. The possessive *his way* emphasizes personal control and a unique approach, while *out of one* (likely metaphorical for *a paper bag*) specifies the figurative obstacle. This construction conveys a humorous, expressive escape from a constraint, matching Goldberg's model by portraying intentional, rhythmic movement to transcend a limitation, highlighting creativity and individuality in the action.

(152)

"422 HRM W_non_ac_soc_science ... the archetypal 'little man' **[had clawed his way to success]** through clinging to such beliefs. He was a boss, not of..." (BNC)

As demonstrated in concordance line (152), the predicate "had clawed his way to success" illustrates the typical structure of the Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure. In this instance, "'the archetypal 'little man'" is the subject, with *clawed* suggesting a tenacious, labour-intensive struggle. The possessive *his way* emphasizes personal effort and control, while *to success* denotes the figurative goal. This construction conveys a challenging, resilient journey toward achievement, conforming to Goldberg's model by portraying determined, effort-laden progress toward a symbolic goal, highlighting grit and persistence.

(153)

"121 FP3 W_fict_prose ... he **[found his way to Britain]** in 1945. Helmut Wolski? No, not his name at all..." (BNC)

Similarly, concordance line (153) illustrates that the predicate "found his way to Britain" adheres to the conventional framework of the Way Construction, where meaning emerges from the integrated structure (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 199, on the verb *found* in the Way Construction). In this example, *he* is the subject, with *found* implying purposeful navigation and successful arrival. The possessive *his way* emphasizes control over the journey, while *to Britain* identifies the destination. This construction conveys intentional, directed movement toward a goal, paralleling Goldberg's model by depicting a determined journey to a specific location, highlighting agency and achievement in reaching the destination.

(154)

"123 FP3 W_fict_prose ... eagle whose name he did not know was Minch that he began **[to see his way towards them]**. His first step towards that freedom was to tell the Zoo authorities..." (BNC)

Data from concordance line (154) reveals that the predicate "to see his way towards them" does not meet Goldberg's Way Construction criteria, as it uses *see* metaphorically to indicate mental clarity or intent rather than physical movement. Although it includes *his way* in a possessive form and *towards them* as a directional phrase, these elements do not imply concrete or effortful progression. Instead, the phrase reflects a conceptual understanding or willingness, lacking the purposeful, physical motion and directed effort typical of the Way Construction.

(155)

"201 HGY W_fict_prose ... he **[knew his way around the world]** both backwards and forwards, including the inside of a lady's..." (BNC)

Illustrative of this is also concordance line (155), where the predicate "knew his way around the world" does not meet Goldberg's criteria for the Way Construction, as it employs *knew* to signify familiarity or expertise rather than directed physical movement (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 200, on the verb *know* in the Way Construction). While it includes *his way* in a possessive form, *knew* implies a static state of knowledge rather than dynamic, effort-driven progression. The phrase reflects understanding and breadth of knowledge, lacking the purposeful motion and effort characteristic of the Way Construction.

Summary

Concordance lines (129) to (155) showcase a range of expressions using the Way Construction, as analysed in Goldberg's work (1995), where meaning arises from integrated structural components rather than isolated words. Typical examples align with Goldberg's criteria, featuring subjects who actively engage in "effortful"[55], "purposeful"[56] movement toward a goal or through an obstacle. Verbs such as *scuttled* (129), *thrust* (130), and *clawed* (152) convey manner or intensity of action, while directional phrases define physical or figurative paths, reinforcing the subject's agency and control in navigating challenges.

However, some expressions diverge from the prototypical Way Construction. Predicates like "to see his way towards them" in (154) and "knew his way around

55 See Morel, Ulbrich, and Gail (2017) for a discussion on effortful movement and minimization principles in decision-making and motor control (Morel, Ulbrich, & Gail, 2017).

56 See Severson (2024) for insights on the significance of movement in daily life (Severson, 2024).

the world" in (155) contain *his way* but lack physical movement or effort-driven progression. Instead, they convey mental states or "familiarity"[57], emphasizing understanding rather than goal-oriented motion. These exceptions highlight that the Way Construction, as defined by Goldberg (1995, 2006), typically requires verbs suggesting movement, resistance, or a method of progression, capturing intentional, often challenging journeys that integrate action, control, and a defined path.

These variations indicate a form of constructional polysemy, where expressions diverging from the prototypical pattern extend the construction's use to abstract domains such as familiarity, intention, or cognitive processes. This expansion broadens the Way Construction's interpretive potential, demonstrating its adaptability across different contexts.

3.2.2 Constructional Polysemy in the Way Construction: An Overview of Concordance Lines (129) to (153)

Constructional polysemy occurs when a single construction conveys "different but related senses" or functions depending on the context (see Goldberg, 1995, p. 33). In the concordance lines from (129) to (153), various examples demonstrate this polysemy within the Way Construction as explored by Adele Goldberg (1995). In *Blending and coded meaning: Literal and figurative meaning in cognitive semantics* (2005), Coulson and Oakley investigate how literal and metaphorical meanings interact within the framework of mental spaces and conceptual blending. They highlight the fluid boundary between literal and non-literal meanings, showing how coded meaning and context significantly influence interpretation. Through examples such as metaphors, fictitious movement, and role-mixing (e.g., *zoo parent*), the authors illustrate how conceptual blending integrates structures from multiple domains to generate nuanced meanings. This approach exemplifies how context and pre-existing mental models shape the process of meaning-making.

The types of motion examined in the Way Construction in concordance lines 129 to153 have been classified into distinct polysemy areas based on the concept of motion. These classifications include: (1) *literal* vs. *figurative* motion (see, e.g., Jackendoff, 1983; Talmy, 2000a); (2) *effortful* or *challenging* motion vs. *simple* or *normal* motion (see, e.g., Jackendoff, 1983; Talmy, 2000a; Molés-Cases, 2020; Cohn & Maher, 2015); (3) *mental* or *emotional progress* vs. *physical progress* (see, e.g., *emanation paths* in Talmy, 2000b; Boogaart, Colleman, & Rutten, 2014; Dancygier & Sweetser, Eve, 2014; Goldberg, 2019; Steen, 2024); and (4) *path to a goal* vs. *descriptive manner* of movement (see, e.g., Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Jackendoff, 1983; Alexiadou et al., (eds.), 2002; Dehé et al., (Eds.), 2002). Each classification

57 See Fenk-Oczlon (2001) for a discussion on familiarity, information flow, and linguistic form (Fenk-Oczlon, 2001), p. 434.

distinguishes different dimensions of motion, whether literal or metaphorical, easy or challenging, internal or external, goal-oriented or style-focused.

Literal motion (classification 1a) refers to physical movement through space (e.g., "She walked to the store"[58]), while figurative motion (classification 1b) uses the concept of motion metaphorically in language to describe abstract ideas or processes (e.g., "He climbed the corporate ladder"[59]).

1. Literal vs. Figurative Motion

a. Literal Motion: Some examples depict literal, physical movement along a path:

(a) (129) "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" indicates physical movement to a specific location without particular resistance.

(b) (135) "edging his way round the door" ─ suggests navigating a literal obstacle, requiring careful, deliberate progress around the door.

(c) (141) "squelching his way across the boggy field" ─ describes movement through challenging terrain, implying physical effort due to the boggy conditions.

b. Figurative Motion or Mental/Emotional Progress (reflecting persistence and effort in achieving a goal): Some examples employ the Way Construction metaphorically to indicate progress toward achievement, social advancement, or internal development:

(a) (133) "worked his way up" ─ indicates a hierarchical ascent, suggesting gradual progress, with implications of career or status advancement.

(b) (144) "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" ─ implies gaining social entry through bribery, suggesting strategic social manoeuvring.

(c) (152) "clawed his way to success" ─ indicates achieving success through persistent effort, implying a difficult, hard-fought journey.

(d) (153) "found his way to Britain" ─ potentially suggests a life journey or navigational success, indicating a figurative path toward a significant destination (also relates to classification 4).

Polysemy Area: The Way Construction accommodates both literal and figurative paths, indicating physical and abstract types of movement.

As for (1) Literal vs. Figurative Motion, Jackendoff (1983) and Talmy (2000a) provide theoretical foundations that align with the dual usage of the Way

58 See *University of Vermont Graduate Writing Center. (n.d.).* Sentence types: Sentence structure and clauses. Retrieved from https://www.uvm.edu/sites/default/files/Graduate-Writing-Center/GWC%20Guides/Revising/Sentences_Handout_Final.pdf.

59 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 8, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

Construction - literal physical movement along a path and metaphorical extensions indicating abstract progress, such as achievement, social advancement, or internal development.

Regarding Literal Movement, Jackendoff (*Semantics and Cognition*, 1983) discusses *spatial schemas*, mental representations of physical space and movement. The Way Construction in expressions like "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (example 129) aligns with his analysis of how syntactic and semantic structures encode literal spatial movement. Here, *scuttled* specifies the manner of movement, while "to the vessel's stem" defines the path and goal, fitting into Jackendoff's spatial conceptualization framework.

Similarly, Talmy (*Toward a Cognitive Semantics, Volume I*, 2000) analyses motion events, which consist of elements such as the Figure (the moving entity), the Path (the trajectory), and the Manner (how the movement occurs). The literal use of the Way Construction - e.g., "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (example 129) - directly corresponds to Talmy's model: the verb *scuttled* encodes Manner, while the prepositional phrase *to the vessel's stem* encodes Path and Goal.

Additionally, Molés-Cases (2020) highlights how expressions like "scuttled his way" (129) exemplify highly specific manner-of-motion within the Way Construction. This construction encodes dynamic, purposeful movement, combining vividness and intent, which distinguishes it from neutral motion. The verb *scuttled* adds nuance and richness to the motion description, demonstrating the flexibility of satellite-framed languages (Talmy, 1972, 1985, 2000b), such as English, in encoding such details. The Way Construction's ability to integrate these elements underscores the cognitive basis of how motion events are linguistically represented.

Regarding Metaphorical Usage, Jackendoff (1983) explores how spatial schemas extend metaphorically into abstract domains such as mental or social progress. For example, in *worked his way up* (example 133), the metaphorical *up* aligns with Jackendoff's analysis of verticality metaphors (e.g., *MORE IS UP*, *STATUS IS UP*), which structure our understanding of abstract progress. The Way Construction acts as a linguistic vehicle that blends the spatial schema of path with the abstract concept of achievement or advancement.

Similarly, Talmy (2000) examines how motion event schemas are metaphorically extended into abstract domains, a process he terms fictive motion or metaphoric motion. In expressions like *worked his way up*, the abstract Path (e.g., *up*) and Goal (e.g., achieving higher status) are mapped onto the same cognitive framework used for physical movement. Additionally, Talmy's force dynamics provide further insight into metaphorical progress, highlighting how it involves overcoming resistance or exerting effort, as implied in *worked*.

In summary, Jackendoff's spatial schemas and Talmy's motion events framework converge to explain the dual role of the Way Construction in encoding both literal paths and metaphorical progress. These theories underscore how language leverages embodied experiences of physical movement to structure abstract thought.

In classification (2), effortful or challenging motion implies difficulty or struggle in movement, often highlighting obstacles or exertion (e.g., "She struggled up the hill through the snow"[60]). In contrast, simple or normal motion suggests ease, with no particular challenge or effort required (e.g., "He strolled along/down/across the street looking in the store windows"[61]).

2. Effortful or Challenging Motion vs. Simple Motion

Effortful/Challenging Motion: Certain concordance lines emphasize struggle or difficulty in reaching a goal:

(a) (130) "having thrust his way past the servant" ─ suggests a deliberate and forceful action, indicating resistance or challenge in moving past the servant.
(b) (131) "fight his way through the snow" ─ implies considerable effort and struggle, as Tom must overcome the resistance of the snow.
(c) (132) "bludgeoned his way through" ─ indicates forceful, almost violent movement, suggesting that Steve Foster applied significant strength or aggression to move forward, likely facing obstacles.
(d) (135) "edging his way round the door" ─ suggests a careful, gradual movement, implying that the action is constrained and requires caution or effort to navigate a limited or awkward space (also relates to classification 1a).
(e) (139) "squeezed his way round the motorcycle" ─ indicates movement through a constrained or tight space, requiring physical effort or manoeuvring to move around the motorcycle.
(f) (142) "felt his way back to the living room" ─ emphasizes slow, deliberate progress, suggesting that he moved cautiously due to limited visibility or an unfamiliar environment, relying on touch or intuition.
(g) (143) "pushed his way through the swing doors" ─ suggests that he had to exert physical effort to move through the doors, likely due to their weight or resistance.
(h) (144) "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" ─ implies social manoeuvring, suggesting that he used bribery as a figurative "path" to gain entry.

60 The Britannica Dictionary. (2021, November 1). *Word of the day: Struggle*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/eb/word-of-the-day/2021/11/01.
61 The Britannica Dictionary. (n.d.). *Stroll*. Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/stroll.

(i) (145) "to force his way through the crowd" — indicates that he needed to apply considerable effort to move through the crowd, facing resistance from its density.
(j) (148) "to thrust his way past her" — suggests a forceful and deliberate movement, indicating that he used significant physical effort to move past her.
(k) (149) "battling his way against the flow of the children" — implies physical obstruction, as he overcomes the movement of children going in the opposite direction.
(l) (152) "clawed his way to success" — suggests a hard-fought path to achievement, indicating persistent effort to reach a figurative goal (also relates to classification 1b).

Simple Motion: Another instance describes more straightforward or unchallenged movement:

> (137) "inched his way upward" — suggests slow, steady progress, indicating movement without significant obstacles.

The verb *inched* conveys gradual movement, often implying caution or care. While it does not explicitly suggest significant obstacles, the slowness could indicate either a lack of urgency or minor difficulty in the progress. This predicate can reasonably be classified as straightforward or relatively unchallenged motion.

Polysemy Area: The Way Construction can signal either straightforward or effortful movement, depending on the verb and context.

Regarding (2) Effortful vs. Simple Motion, the works of Jackendoff (1983), Talmy (2000a), Molés-Cases (2020), and Cohn & Maher (2015) provide theoretical and empirical foundations for analysing how *effortful* or *challenging motion* contrasts with *simple* or *normal motion* in linguistic constructions like the Way Construction.

While Molés-Cases (2020) primarily focuses on manner-of-motion verbs in translation contexts, her insights remain highly relevant. Similarly, Cohn and Maher's (2015) article, *The Notion of the Motion: The Neurocognition of Motion Lines in Visual Narratives*, offers a perspective that complements the theoretical and empirical analysis of motion in linguistic constructions. Although their study primarily examines the visual representation of motion in narratives (e.g., motion lines in comics), it also engages with the cognitive foundations of how motion is encoded and interpreted, which indirectly informs the study of linguistic constructions.

Cohn and Maher (2015) explore how motion is visually represented using motion lines and other graphical elements, drawing a parallel to linguistic strategies. For instance, effortful or challenging motion is often depicted with bold, dynamic

lines, whereas simple or smooth motion tends to be represented with subtler lines. These graphical distinctions provide a theoretical framework for understanding how different types of motion are conceptually encoded, which in turn informs analogous linguistic representations.

In the Way Construction, verbs like *thrust* or *pushed* may linguistically encode resistance or effort, much like the visual representation of challenging motion. Conversely, verbs such as *walked* or *moved*, as well as *inched* in "inched his way upward" (example 137), align with simpler, less dynamic visual representations. The verb *inched* effectively conveys slow, steady, and relatively unchallenged movement, emphasizing deliberate and incremental progress, while encoding "literal or metaphorical motion" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 201).

Thus, Effortful Motion is exemplified by "having thrust his way past the servant" (example 130), while Simple Motion is illustrated by "inched his way upward" (example 137).

What is more, Molés-Cases (2020) conducts a corpus-based study examining translations of comics between typologically distinct languages. Her data reveals patterns in how effortful motion (e.g., overcoming obstacles) and simple motion (e.g., unopposed progress) are translated, highlighting linguistic strategies for encoding or omitting such distinctions. While Molés-Cases does not explicitly focus on the Way Construction, her study supports the analysis of how effortful and simple motions are encoded in such constructions.

Verbs like *thrust* in (130) or *pushed* in (143) within the Way Construction encode resistance or struggle, as seen in examples like "pushed his way through" (28, 143). This aligns with her findings on the linguistic prioritization of manner in S-languages. According to Talmy (1972, 1985, 2000b), S-languages (satellite-framed languages) encode the path of motion (e.g., direction, trajectory, or endpoint) primarily in a satellite accompanying the main verb, rather than within the verb itself. Satellites - such as particles or prefixes (e.g., *up, out, into*) - convey the path of motion. Although prepositions can also encode path information in motion events, they are typically considered separate from satellites.

Simple Motion: Verbs like *inched* (in 137) or *walked* encode slower or smoother progress, corresponding to less effort, which is often preserved in both linguistic and visual representations in comics.

As for Effortful or Challenging Motion, Jackendoff's (1983) spatial schemas account for varying degrees of force and resistance in motion. In "having thrust his way past the servant" (138), the verb *thrust* specifies intense effort and overcomes an implied obstacle (*the servant*). Jackendoff's framework explains how verbs encode manner and degree of physical force within motion events, reflecting effort and challenge.

Similarly, Talmy's (2000a) concept of force dynamics directly explains effortful motion. In "having thrust his way past the servant", force dynamics involve the

Figure (the subject) exerting force to overcome an Antagonist (*the servant*), illustrating physical struggle or resistance. The verb *thrust* encodes this exertion and intensity.

Additionally, Molés-Cases (2020) examines how languages encode manner of motion, and highlights the role of verbs in specifying effort or difficulty. Her study explores how languages express qualitative details of motion (e.g., *thrust*, *inched*, *sauntered*), each conveying different levels of effort, intensity, or resistance. This distinction is directly relevant to how effortful motion (*thrust his way*) contrasts with simple or unopposed motion (*walked his way*). In "having thrust his way past the servant", the verb *thrust* explicitly encodes forceful, resistant motion, emphasizing significant physical effort.

Furthermore, Cohn and Maher (2015) examine how motion is metaphorically represented and how effort is visually and linguistically encoded. "Having thrust his way past the servant" portrays physical motion while also carrying a metaphorical extension of force, suggesting a struggle against resistance - which may represent psychological or social conflict.

As for Simple or Normal Motion, exemplified by the predicate "inched his way upward" in (137), the verb *inched* conveys deliberate yet unchallenged motion - slow and unimpeded by external forces. Jackendoff's (1983) analysis of verb semantics explains how the Way Construction employs verb choice to specify the ease or difficulty of motion along a path.

Considering Talmy's (2000a) framework, in "inched his way upward", force dynamics are minimal, as the motion is self-driven and not opposed by external resistance. Talmy's model illustrates how such movements involve weaker force interactions, with the Path (*upward*) being achieved without conflict. The verb *inched* in "inched his way upward" functions as a manner verb, specifying slow but steady progress, with no resistance implied.

Molés-Cases (2020) discusses how such verbs contribute to fine-grained distinctions in describing motion events. Similarly, drawing on Cohn and Maher's (2015) analysis, in "inched his way upward", the motion remains metaphorical (e.g., *upward* as progress or achievement) but lacks the element of resistance. This slow, deliberate movement aligns with typical representations of self-propelled yet uncomplicated progress.

All in all, regarding Effortful or Challenging Motion, Jackendoff (1983) and Talmy (2000a) focus on the semantic and dynamic properties of verbs encoding effort or resistance, supported by manner and force dynamics. While Molés-Cases (2020) highlights the role of fine-grained verb selection to denote degrees of effort, Cohn and Maher (2015) connect the physical struggle to metaphorical or visual domains, enriching the interpretation of resistance.

However, in focusing on Simple or Normal Motion, Jackendoff (1983) and Talmy (2000a) emphasize how minimal force dynamics and manner of motion are represented linguistically, where the motion is unopposed. Molés-Cases (2020)

demonstrates the specificity of manner verbs in expressing slow but unobstructed motion, while Cohn and Maher (2015) connect such motion to broader metaphors of deliberate but uncomplicated progress.

These analyses collectively show that the encoding of effort or challenge in the Way Construction depends on the interaction of verb semantics (manner, force, and path), resistance dynamics, and metaphorical extensions, all supported by these theoretical frameworks. Together, these works provide a comprehensive framework for understanding:

(a) How spatial schemas (Jackendoff, 1983) and motion event typologies (Talmy, 2000b) shape the encoding of motion.
(b) How cross-linguistic patterns and translation challenges (Molés-Cases, 2020) reveal typological differences in expressing effort or simplicity.
(c) How cognitive and perceptual processes (Cohn & Maher, 2015) underlie our understanding of motion, whether linguistic or visual.

These works can be synthesized to analyse the full spectrum of motion in the Way Construction, from the straightforward to the effortful and challenging, across both linguistic and multimodal representations.

In classification (3), mental or emotional progress describes movement in terms of internal change or development (e.g., "She moved past her fears"[62]), whereas physical progress refers to tangible, spatial movement from one place to another (e.g., "He moved forward in the line"[63]).

3. Mental/Emotional Progress vs. Physical Progress

The distinction between Mental or Emotional Progress and Physical Progress, as reflected in expressions following the Way Construction (Goldberg, 1995), can be connected to Leonard Talmy's concept of *emanation paths*, as presented in Volume II of his work (2000). Numerous recent studies in cognitive linguistics, construction grammar, and metaphor theory (e.g., Colleman & Rutten, 2014; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014; Goldberg, 2019; Steen, 2024) further support this connection.

Mental/Emotional Progress: Some examples refer to psychological or emotional advancement:

(a) (134) "working his way through the letter" — indicates a process of mentally engaging with and making sense of the letter's content, reflecting cognitive effort rather than physical movement.

62 Keener, P. (2022, April 29). *The indefatigable Eleanor. Austin Daily Herald.* Retrieved from https://www.austindailyherald.com/2022/04/peggy-keener-the-indefatigable-eleanor/.

63 Frost, E. (2013, February 8). *Upper West Siders stock up on food and warm clothes as storm approaches. DNAinfo.* Retrieved from https://www.dnainfo.com/new-york/20130208/upper-west-side/upper-west-siders-line-up-snow-stock-up-on-food-warm-clothes/.

(b) (140) "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" ─ suggests progress through a task, as he reviews accounts, emphasizing mental rather than physical motion.
(c) (146) "to force his way back among the leaders" ─ implies cognitive or strategic effort, involving mental resolve to regain a leading position and overcome challenges.
(d) (150) "wormed his way into her mind" ─ suggests a gradual infiltration into someone's thoughts, indicating psychological influence or persuasion.

Physical Progress: One example focuses on movement through physical space:

(136) "inched his way along the threadbare strip of carpet" ─ describes literal, slow movement across space, emphasizing careful progress along a narrow path.

Polysemy Area: The Way Construction captures both mental/emotional and physical paths, demonstrating its adaptability to external and internal forms of progress. Focusing on examples (134), (140), (146), and (150), which depict mental rather than physical effort, the works of Talmy (2000b), Boogaart, Colleman, and Rutten (2014), Steen (2024), Goldberg (2019), and Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) can be linked to the distinction between Mental/Emotional Progress and Physical Progress as illustrated in concordance lines reflecting the Way Construction.

These connections are established by integrating their theoretical frameworks and findings with the dual representation of progress in both physical and metaphorical domains.

The examples of the Way Construction - "working his way through the letter" (134), "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" (140), "to force his way back among the leaders" (146), and "wormed his way into her mind" (150) - all metaphorically represent mental or emotional progress mapped through the physical motion schema inherent in the Way Construction. Each example aligns with the theoretical insights provided by Talmy (2000a), Boogaart et al. (2014), Goldberg (2019), Steen (2024), and Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) as follows:

Talmy's framework (2000a) of Conceptual Mapping and Force Dynamics explains how physical motion schemas (path, goal, and manner) are metaphorically extended to describe mental and emotional progress. Each example employs the motion schema of overcoming obstacles or navigating paths to convey abstract efforts or challenges. *Force dynamics* are particularly relevant in examples like "to force his way back among the leaders" (146), where overcoming resistance is metaphorically expressed through a physical struggle. Other examples include:

(a) "working his way through the letter" (134): suggesting a gradual, effortful process of understanding or engagement, mapped from the physical act of progressing along a path.
(b) "wormed his way into her mind" (150): implying a surreptitious, intricate process akin to physical intrusion.

Talmy's concept of *emanation paths* explains how motion extends from a source to a goal in both physical and abstract domains. This framework maps physical paths (e.g., "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" in (129)) onto metaphorical paths that represent mental or emotional progress (e.g., "worked his way up" in (133)). In the Way Construction, physical progress corresponds to literal emanation paths, while mental and emotional progress reflects fictive or metaphorical emanation paths.

For example, the predicate "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" (144) aligns well with Talmy's concept of an emanation path. It describes the projection of influence or effort (bribery) from the subject to achieve a goal (joining the gang). The act of bribing represents an emanation of influence (via money or favours) that metaphorically "travels" along a conceptual path to overcome barriers and gain entry into the *Ducas clan gang*. The phrase explicitly describes a path (*into the very Ducas clan gang*), with the verb *bribed* indicating the means or *emanation* used to achieve the goal.

Additionally, Talmy's *force dynamics* complements this analysis: the subject exerts force (through bribery) to overcome resistance, likely the exclusivity or conditions for joining the gang. Although there is no literal physical movement, the metaphorical motion along a conceptual path aligns with Talmy's model of abstract emanation paths.

Boogaart et al. (2014) explore the flexibility and extensibility of construction grammar, particularly how constructions like the Way Construction operate across different semantic domains. The Way Construction's capacity to encode both physical motion and mental or emotional progress highlights its polysemous nature. Their work emphasizes how constructions shift and adapt to various contexts, enabling metaphorical extensions from physical paths to abstract achievements. For example, the predicate "working his way through the letter" in (134) illustrates how the Way Construction extends beyond literal paths to metaphorical domains. Drawing on the conceptual metaphor *ACHIEVEMENT IS A JOURNEY* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), it frames cognitive effort as deliberate progress along a metaphorical path. This versatility highlights the construction's capacity to represent abstract processes using the same linguistic structure that conveys physical motion.

Steen's (2014) discussion of *metaphor ambiguity* highlights how polysemy allows metaphors to operate across multiple interpretations and domains, such as physical, mental, and emotional progress. In the Way Construction, the ambiguity of motion-related expressions (e.g., "worked his way up" in (133)) enables readers to interpret progress as physical or metaphorical depending on the context. Steen's framework explains how such constructions afford multivalent meanings. For example, "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" in (140) encodes ambiguity, as it can be interpreted in multiple ways depending on context. The ambiguity arises from how the Way Construction integrates literal and metaphorical meanings, as well as how the verb *thumbed* interacts with the construction. The predicate "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" encodes ambiguity by simultaneously suggesting both literal physical motion (flipping pages) and metaphorical progress (navigating a conceptual or procedural path). This duality reflects the versatility of the Way Construction and its ability to blend Manner, Path, and Goal across literal and abstract domains.

Goldberg's (2019) analysis of construction productivity and creativity highlights how the Way Construction remains flexible and partially productive across both physical and metaphorical domains. This construction enables creative interpretations of mental and emotional progress by mapping physical schemas of paths and motion onto abstract domains, showcasing its inherent adaptability. For instance, "wormed his way into her mind" (150) extends the construction metaphorically (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 201, on the verb *worm*), employing physical motion as a conceptual framework to describe mental progress.

Dancygier and Sweetser's (2014) exploration of figurative language provides insights into how physical concepts, such as motion and paths, are systematically mapped onto abstract domains in metaphorical expressions. The Way Construction provides a linguistic bridge between literal physical motion (e.g., "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (129)) and abstract emotional or mental paths (e.g., "working his way through the letter" (134)). Their framework explains how these mappings enhance cognitive and communicative efficiency. For instance, "to force his way back among the leaders" (146) metaphorically represents physical effort as a symbol of overcoming social barriers, while "wormed his way into her mind" (150) illustrates intricate mental or emotional manipulation. These examples highlight how physical effort is metaphorically extended to represent emotional struggle and progress.

Example (136) - "inched his way along the threadbare strip of carpet" - illustrates *physical progress* in the Way Construction and aligns with the theories of Talmy (2000), Boogaart et al. (2014), Goldberg (2019), Steen (2024), and Dancygier & Sweetser (2014). These frameworks collectively provide insights into how the construction encodes slow, deliberate physical motion, highlighting the interplay

of manner, path, and intention in linguistic representations of progress.
Turning to classification (4), while *path to a goal* focuses on the trajectory or direction toward an endpoint or purpose (e.g., "She advanced toward the finish line"[64]), *descriptive manner of movement* emphasizes how the movement occurs, highlighting characteristics or style (e.g., "They danced their way across the room"[65]).

4. Path to a Goal vs. Descriptive Manner of Movement

a. Path to a Goal: Certain lines emphasize reaching a destination or goal:

(a) (138) "making his way forward" ─ suggests purposeful movement in a specific direction, with an implied endpoint or goal, in this case, moving forward to locate the spinnaker.

(b) (153) "found his way to Britain" ─ implies the end goal of arriving at a specific location, also relating to figurative motion in indicating a life journey or significant destination.

(c) (144) "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" ─ emphasizes social access as a goal, achieved through bribery, also relating to figurative motion by indicating social advancement (which corresponds to classifications 1 and 2).

b. Manner of Movement: In certain instances, the focus is on the style or characteristics of movement:

(a) (129) "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" ─ describes a quick, scurrying motion, indicating rapid movement without resistance (and its relation to classification 1a).

(b) (141) "squelching his way across the boggy field" ─ emphasizes the sound and physical sensation of moving through mud, suggesting effortful movement through challenging terrain (and its connection to classification 2).

(c) (147) "sleep-walking his way around the course" ─ conveys a sluggish, detached manner of movement, suggesting that Jack is moving automatically or without full awareness or energy.

(d) (151) "dance his way out of one" ─ emphasizes the style of movement, in this case suggesting an exaggerated or ineffective attempt to escape, as "dancing" implies a playful, stylized motion that lacks force.

Polysemy Area: The Way Construction can emphasize either the method or style of movement or the goal itself, allowing for diverse interpretations based on context.

64 See Chrissie Wellington, *To the Finish Line: A World Champion Triathlete's Guide to Your Perfect Race* (Hardcover, October 3, 2017), Center Street.

65 See Bastille Day: A Great French Novel. (*Clothes In Books*, July 14, 2014). Retrieved from https://clothesinbooks.blogspot.com/2014/07/bastille-day-great-french-novel.html

In regard to (4) Path to a Goal vs. Descriptive Manner of Movement, the works of Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983) align with the analysis of these dimensions in the Way Construction through their respective contributions to syntactic, semantic, and cognitive analyses of motion events.

a. Path to a Goal

In examples such as (138) "making his way forward", (153) "found his way to Britain", and (144) "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang", the Way Construction emphasizes the Path and Goal, with less focus on the Manner of movement.

Alexiadou et al. (2002) discuss the syntax and semantics of movement, particularly how linguistic features encode paths and goals. For example:

> (153) "found his way to Britain" describes a completed path, emphasizing goal achievement;
> (144) "bribed his way ... into the very Ducas clan gang" metaphorically extends the concept of a path into a social or political domain, aligning with Alexiadou et al.'s analysis of abstract motion encoding.

Dehé et al. (2002) analyse how particles and prepositions encode paths and goals in verb-particle constructions. In the examples, particles and prepositions (e.g., *forward*, *to Britain*, *into the gang*) define the path and goal, reflecting the central role of directional elements in the Way Construction.

Jackendoff (1983) provides a cognitive framework for understanding paths and goals in both spatial and metaphorical contexts. Examples like (153) "found his way to Britain" (literal path) and (144) "bribed his way ... into the gang" (metaphorical path) align with Jackendoff's conceptual structure, which integrates Figure (agent), Ground (goal), and Path (trajectory). Jackendoff's framework further explains how manner-of-motion verbs combine with path structures to create detailed conceptual representations.

b. Descriptive Manner of Movement

In examples such as (129) "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem", (141) "squelching his way across the boggy field", (147) "sleep-walking his way around the course", and (151) "dance his way out of one", the Way Construction highlights the Manner of movement, enriching the description of the motion.

Alexiadou et al. (2002) explore how manner and path interact in complex predicates. These examples emphasize manner verbs (e.g., *scuttled*, *squelching*, *dance*) to describe how motion occurs. For instance: "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" in (129) integrates a rapid, skittering manner with a specified path (*to the vessel's stem*), illustrating the syntactic integration of manner and path.

Dehé et al. (2002) examine the interaction between *manner verbs* and *particles*

in describing motion. Particles like *across* or *out* (as in *out of*) combine with manner verbs (e.g., *squelching*, *dance*) to encode movement along specific paths. For example, *dance his way out of one* in (151) combines an *expressive* manner (*dance*) with a path that metaphorically signifies escape, illustrating how the Way Construction integrates manner and path both cognitively and **s**yntactically.

Building on the analyses of motion events presented by Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983), the following table summarizes how these studies align with the dimensions of the Way Construction, particularly regarding syntactic, semantic, and cognitive perspectives.

Path to a Goal	**Descriptive Manner of Movement**
Alexiadou et al. (2002): Focus on paths and goals as essential components of motion, both literal and abstract.	**Alexiadou et al. (2002):** Interaction of manner and path in complex predicates.
Dehé et al. (2002): How particles define paths/goals (*to Britain*, *into the gang*).	**Dehé et al. (2002):** Particle-verb combinations encode manner and trajectory (*squelching across*).
Jackendoff (1983): Cognitive integration of path and goal in conceptual motion schemas.	**Jackendoff (1983):** Rich cognitive representations of manner and path in motion events.

Table 3. Summary of Alignment

The Way Construction exemplifies linguistic versatility, bridging physical and abstract domains through its ability to encode both literal paths and metaphorical processes. Across the works of Talmy (2000a, 2000b), Boogaart et al. (2014), Goldberg (2019), Steen (2024), Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983), a cohesive understanding emerges: this construction relies on physical motion schemas, enriched by cognitive and syntactic frameworks, to express concepts ranging from concrete movement to emotional and mental progress.

Conclusion: Path to a Goal vs. Descriptive Manner of Movement

In 'Path to a Goal' examples like "bribed his way into the Ducas clan gang" (144) or "found his way to Britain" (153), the emphasis lies on achieving a target, with paths and goals encoded by particles and prepositions, as analysed by Alexiadou et al. (2002) and Duhe et al. (2002). Cognitive frameworks from Talmy (2000a, 2000b) and Jackendoff (1983) explain how literal and metaphorical trajectories integrate agent, path, and goal.

In Descriptive Manner of Movement examples like "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (129) or "dance his way out of one" (151), the construction highlights how manner verbs interact with paths to create rich, dynamic descriptions of movement. This integration of manner and path reflects findings by Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Goldberg (2019), who underscore the construction's adaptability and creativity.

Furthermore, the polysemy of the Way Construction emerges through its ambiguity between literal and metaphorical meanings, as Steen's (2024) exploration of metaphor and Talmy's (2000a) emanation paths reveal how influence, effort, or cognition can metaphorically "travel" along a conceptual path. Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) show how these mappings enhance communicative efficiency, making physical motion a foundation for abstract thought.

Together, these works illustrate the Way Construction's central role in human language, as it leverages embodied experience to encode a spectrum of meanings, from physical actions to emotional struggles, social ascents, and cognitive efforts, demonstrating its significance in both linguistic theory and everyday communication.

These works collectively explain how the Way Construction encodes both paths to a goal and descriptive manners of movement, providing a theoretical and cognitive foundation for analysing these distinctions. The constructions combine manner and path dynamically, allowing for both literal and metaphorical extensions of motion.

Summary of Polysemy Areas from 1 to 4

The analysed concordance lines reveal that polysemy in the Way Construction manifests itself across four primary dimensions:

(a) *Literal* vs. *Figurative Motion* — shifting between actual physical paths and metaphorical progress.
(b) *Effortful* vs. *Simple Motion* — ranging from straightforward movement to challenging paths.
(c) *Mental/Emotional* vs. *Physical Progress* — enabling both cognitive/emotional and physical movement.
(d) *Path to a Goal* vs. *Manner of Movement* — allowing flexibility in emphasizing either the outcome or the style of movement.

These polysemous uses demonstrate the flexibility of the Way Construction, showing its capacity to accommodate a wide range of meanings and functions based on context.

Summary

The analyses of the Way Construction across the works of Talmy (2000a, 2000b), Boogaart et al. (2014), Goldberg (2019), Steen (2024), Dancygier and Sweetser (2014), Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983) collectively reveal its remarkable flexibility and richness. These authors provide complementary insights into how the Way Construction encodes both literal and metaphorical motion, bridging physical paths and abstract domains like mental or emotional progress.

Talmy's (2000a) framework of Conceptual Mapping and Force Dynamics underpins the cognitive mechanisms that allow physical motion schemas to extend metaphorically into abstract domains. His concept of *emanation paths* elucidates how influence, effort, and mental processes are projected as motion along a path, as seen in examples like (144) "bribed his way ... into the Ducas clan gang".

Boogaart et al. (2014) emphasize the adaptability of constructions, showing how the Way Construction seamlessly transitions across semantic domains, encoding both physical progress and metaphorical achievement. Goldberg (1995, 2006, 2019) highlights the construction's creativity and productivity, explaining how examples like (150) "wormed his way into her mind" extend the structure to novel and imaginative contexts. Steen's (2014) exploration of metaphor *ambiguity* underscores the polysemy inherent in the Way Construction, allowing for interpretations that straddle literal and figurative meanings.

Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) connect these insights to the role of *figurative language*, demonstrating how embodied schemas of motion are systematically mapped onto abstract concepts to enhance cognitive and communicative efficiency. Their framework captures how examples like (146) "to force his way back among the leaders" reflect metaphorical effort in overcoming social barriers.

Finally, Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983) provide structural and syntactic perspectives, demonstrating how particles, verbs, and paths interact to encode manner, trajectory, and goals. Jackendoff's (1983) cognitive approach links these linguistic features to mental representations, while Alexiadou et al. (2002) and Dehé et al. (2002) examine how complex predicates combine to describe nuanced motions, both literal and metaphorical. Ambiguity in the Way Construction often arises when motion can be interpreted as either literal/physical or metaphorical/abstract progress, depending on context. This ambiguity underscores the construction's versatility and its reliance on the interaction between linguistic and conceptual cues.

Together, these works highlight the Way Construction as a powerful linguistic tool that encodes not only physical paths but also metaphorically represents abstract processes, such as emotional struggles, social ascents, and cognitive efforts. This synthesis of cognitive, syntactic, and semantic insights underscores the

construction's central role in human communication, where physical experiences shape our understanding of abstract domains.

3.2.3 Polysemy and Flexibility in the Way Construction: Bridging Literal and Metaphorical Domains

The discussion of the Way Construction, described as "… almost entirely productive" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 137), highlights its polysemy - its capacity to convey multiple related meanings - by demonstrating how this construction functions across both literal and metaphorical domains, encoding various forms of progress, effort, and motion. The following theories and examples illustrate how this construction's polysemy is understood:

1. **Literal vs. Metaphorical Motion**

Literal Motion: Examples such as "inched his way along the threadbare strip of carpet" (136) illustrate how the verb *inch* conveys "literal or metaphorical motion" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 201). The Way Construction encodes motion along a defined path, emphasizing both manner of movement - as discussed in Goldberg (1995, pp. 202–203) and exemplified by *scuttle* in "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (129) - and the trajectory toward a specific goal.

As Goldberg (1995, p. 205) notes, "the construction entails that a path is created to effect motion". This aligns with her description of "an instigator moving despite difficulty" (1995, p. 39).

Metaphorical Motion: In examples such as "working his way through the letter" (134) or "wormed his way into her mind" (150), the construction extends to describe non-physical domains such as emotional progress or cognitive processes. Here, physical schemas of motion are metaphorically mapped onto abstract concepts, showcasing how the construction shifts between literal and metaphorical meanings (see Goldberg, 1995, pp. 201, 207, 213).

This dual use creates *polysemy*, as the construction's meaning depends on whether it refers to actual movement or abstract progress.

2. **Cognitive Basis for Polysemy**

Talmy's (2000a) **Conceptual Mapping** and **Force Dynamics**:

Polysemy - the phenomenon in which a single word has multiple related meanings (Kovács, 2001, p. 3) - is deeply embedded in cognitive structures. As Langacker (1991, p. 4) notes, "an expression used with any frequency is typically **polysemous** - it has not just one meaning but a variety of related senses, each comprising a matrix with multiple domains". One influential framework for understanding this process is Conceptual Mappings (Fauconnier, 1997;

Sweetser, 2017) and Talmy's (2000a) Force Dynamics, which explains "how entities interact with respect to force" (Talmy, 2000a, p. 409). Talmy elaborates: "Included here is exertion of force, resistance to such force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage, and the like" (p. 409). This framework highlights how physical motion schemas provide the foundation for metaphorical extensions in language.

For instance, many expressions related to social or abstract struggles originate from physical motion and resistance. Consider the phrase "to force his way back among the leaders" (example 146). Here, a physical schema - overcoming resistance in motion - is mapped onto a social or hierarchical struggle, where effort is required to regain a prominent position.

A key cognitive mechanism underlying such metaphorical extensions is *force dynamics*, which structures interactions in terms of effort, opposition, and causation. This conceptual mapping maintains the link between physical and abstract domains: just as overcoming a physical obstacle demands exertion, achieving a difficult goal in a non-physical context also requires effort. By drawing on these embodied experiences (Johnson, 1987), language develops rich polysemy, allowing speakers to express abstract struggles through familiar, physical terms.

Talmy's (2000a) **Emanation Paths**:

Talmy (2000a, p. 105) identifies the category of *emanation*, which is realized as emanation paths in language. He explains that "**emanation** is basically the fictive motion of something intangible emerging from a source" (p. 105). Talmy's concept of *emanation paths* (2000a, pp. 105−122) describes how influence, effort, or cognition extends along a conceptual trajectory. For example, in "bribed his way ... into the Ducas clan gang" (example 144), the construction's literal meaning - a physical path - shifts to represent abstract processes such as influence or manipulation.

3. Ambiguity and Contextual Flexibility

As Steen (2024) discusses, *ambiguity* arises in polysemous constructions because they allow for multiple interpretations. For example:

"Thumbed his way back to the private accounts" (140) can refer to literal physical motion (flipping through pages) or metaphorical cognitive navigation (retracing steps to locate information).

This ambiguity highlights the Way Construction's *versatility* and its ability to adapt to different contexts while retaining its core structure, enabling both literal and metaphorical uses.

4. Linguistic Creativity and Productivity

Goldberg (2019) emphasizes the construction's *creativity* and *partial productivity*, allowing speakers to generate novel uses within the framework of the Way Construction. For instance: "dance his way out of one" (151) blends the literal action of dancing with the metaphorical goal of escaping a situation, extending the construction's polysemy.

This productive blending of manner, path, and goal enables the construction to encode a wide range of meanings while maintaining its basic structure.

5. Figurative Language and Embodied Experience

Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) explain how polysemy arises from the systematic mapping of physical experiences onto abstract domains. The Way Construction exemplifies this:

(a) Physical effort ("inched his way" (136)) translates into cognitive or emotional effort ("working his way through the letter" (134)).
(b) This figurative extension builds on embodied schemas, maintaining a conceptual connection between meanings and contributing to the construction's polysemous nature.

6. Structural and Syntactic Perspectives

Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983) show how particles, verbs, and paths interact to encode various meanings. This structural flexibility supports polysemy by allowing the construction to describe both literal scenarios (e.g., motion along a physical path) and metaphorical scenarios (e.g., progress toward an abstract goal).

For example, the same structure can describe:

(a) Literal motion ("scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (129));
(b) Abstract achievement ("worked his way up" [examples 36 and 133]).

Conclusion

The polysemy of the Way Construction emerges from its ability to operate in both literal and metaphorical domains, relying on physical motion schemas to encode abstract processes. This versatility is supported by:

1. *Cognitive grounding* — Metaphorical extensions of motion schemas allow speakers to conceptualize abstract processes through physical movement (Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Dancygier & Sweetser, 2014; Johnson, 1987; Cohn & Maher, 2015).
2. *Structural flexibility* — The Way Construction integrates syntactic and semantic elements, balancing manner, path, and goal features to form context-dependent meanings (Alexiadou, 2002; Dehé, 2002; Jackendoff, 1983).

3. *Context-driven ambiguity* ─ Its inherent polysemy allows for multiple interpretations, with meaning shaped by surrounding linguistic and pragmatic cues (Langacker, 1991; Croft, 2001; Steen, 2024; Goldberg, 1995, 2003, 2019; Molés-Cases, 2020).
4. *Dual-domain encoding* ─ It functions across both *literal* (physical paths) and *metaphorical* (abstract progress) domains, making it a cognitively intuitive and communicatively efficient construction (Goldberg, 1995; Talmy, 2000a, 2000b; Alexiadou et al., 2002; Boogaart et al., 2014; Steen, 2024).

These characteristics position the Way Construction as a model of constructional polysemy, illustrating how a single linguistic structure can convey a spectrum of related meanings across diverse contexts. Through its cognitive, syntactic, and semantic adaptability, the construction exemplifies how language encodes both embodied experiences and abstract reasoning, reinforcing the dynamic nature of linguistic meaning.

3.2.4 The Way Construction and the SVOA Structure from the Perspective of Constructional Polysemy

It is possible to analyse the Way Construction examples within the SVOA (Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial**)** pattern, as outlined in educational grammar resources such as *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* by Quirk et al. (1985, p. 721). In this pattern, the construction involves: (a) Subject (S) - the person or entity performing the action; (b) Verb (V) - an action verb indicating movement or effort; (c) Object (O) - often "his/her way", serving as a direct object and indicating the "path" or "means" of movement; and (d) Adverbial (A) - specifying the direction, destination, or manner, as in "to the vessel's stem" in (129), "through the crowd" in (145), "to success" in (152), or "through the letter" in (134).

The Way Construction typically follows an SVOA pattern, as 'way' functions as the object of the verb, while the adverbial component completes the expression by specifying the direction or purpose of the action. The following points (a) to (d) present examples excerpted from the concordance lines, illustrating the Way Construction as analysed in this study.

Application of SVOA to Examples Encoding the Way Construction:

(a) **Literal Motion:** "He (S) scuttled (V) his way (O) to the vessel's stem (A)" (cf. example (129)) ─ describes straightforward physical movement.
(b) **Effortful/Challenging Motion:** "He (S) forced (V) his way (O) through the crowd (A)" (cf. example (145)) ─ emphasizes struggle against a physical obstacle.

(c) **Figurative Motion:** "He (S) clawed (V) his way (O) to success (A)" (cf. example (152)) ─ represents a metaphorical journey toward an abstract goal.
(d) **Mental/Emotional Progress:** "He (S) worked (V) his way (O) through the letter (A)" (cf. example (134)) ─ signifies internal processing, where *through the letter* acts as a metaphorical path.

By interpreting 'way' as a direct object and the goal or direction as an adverbial, we can classify these examples within the SVOA pattern, as outlined in Quirk et al.'s framework (1985).

Although Quirk et al. (1985) may treat these types of sentences as regular transitive structures with adverbials, Goldberg (1995) identifies them as a distinct construction in which the phrase *one's way* and the directional complement play a crucial role in conveying a sense of effortful progression or overcoming obstacles.

This analysis highlights how the Way Construction functions consistently within this grammatical structure while allowing for a range of interpretations through constructional polysemy. The complexities of the Way Construction and its connection to constructional polysemy and grammatical patterns remain open to further exploration.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Way Construction demonstrates remarkable flexibility and semantic richness within the SVOA (Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial) pattern, effectively conveying a range of meanings from literal motion to metaphorical and emotional progression. By interpreting 'way' as a direct object that represents a path or means of movement, and the adverbial as indicating direction or purpose, this construction consistently maintains its grammatical structure while allowing for diverse interpretations.

Goldberg's (1995) perspective distinguishes the Way Construction as a unique linguistic form that encapsulates effortful progression or the overcoming of obstacles, contrasting with the traditional grammar view of these sentences as merely transitive structures with adverbials. This analysis underscores the construction's polysemy and its capacity to capture complex semantic scenarios, highlighting its significance within both cognitive linguistics and grammatical theory.

3.2.5 Contrasting Polysemy: The Way Construction vs. SVOA Clauses

The polysemy of the Way Construction can be contrasted with SVOA (Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial) clauses, such as "You can put the dish on the table" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 721), by examining differences in (1) semantic flexibility, (2) syntactic structure, and (3) interpretative range.

While both constructions involve motion and spatial elements, they differ in how meaning is encoded and in their potential for polysemy.

1. Semantic Flexibility and Polysemy

Way Construction:

The Way Construction is inherently polysemous, capable of encoding both literal motion (e.g., "scuttled his way to the vessel's stem" (129)) and metaphorical processes (e.g., "working his way through the letter" (134)).

It allows for creative and metaphorical extensions, such as expressing emotional, mental, or social progress, which makes it highly adaptable across physical and abstract domains.

SVOA Clauses:

SVOA clauses, such as "You can put the dish on the table" (cf. Quirk et al., 1985, p. 721) or "John put the book on the table" (this author), are more semantically constrained. They primarily encode literal physical actions involving an agent (e.g., *You* or *John*), an object (e.g., *the dish* or *the book*), and a spatial goal (*on the table*). The adverbial (*on the table*) specifies the spatial endpoint of the action, leaving little room for metaphorical interpretation. Consequently, these constructions lack the metaphorical and conceptual flexibility characteristic of the Way Construction.

Contrast:

The Way Construction's polysemy arises from its ability to map physical motion schemas onto abstract domains, while SVOA clauses are predominantly tied to concrete spatial relations and literal actions.

2. Syntactic Structure

Way Construction:

The Way Construction involves the idiomatic use of 'way' as an object, combined with a motion verb (e.g., "scuttled" (129), "worked" (134), "forced" (32)) and often accompanied by a prepositional phrase describing the path or goal (e.g., "to the vessel's stem" (129), "into the gang" (144)). Its structure inherently supports the encoding of manner, path, and goal, enabling rich descriptive detail.

Furthermore, Goldberg observes that the Way Construction "… tends to be used with pure manner verbs only when the manner is particularly salient and emphasized" (1995, p. 63).

SVOA Clauses:

The SVOA structure explicitly separates the object (what is acted upon) from the adverbial (where or how the action occurs). For example, in *John put the book* (object) *on the table* (adverbial), the object and adverbial are distinctly defined. While precise and direct, this structure focuses on physical placement or transfer and does not inherently encode the manner of motion or allow for metaphorical extensions.

Contrast:

The Way Construction integrates manner, path, and goal within a single framework, allowing for nuanced and polysemous meanings. SVOA clauses, on the other hand, delineate roles more rigidly, resulting in less interpretative flexibility.

3. Interpretative Range

Way Construction:

Examples such as "thumbed his way back to the private accounts" (140) or "danced their way across the room"[66] demonstrate the context-dependent interpretations of the Way Construction, where meaning shifts between literal and metaphorical domains depending on usage. Its polysemy allows for ambiguity (e.g., the literal flipping of pages vs. metaphorical navigation) and necessitates contextual cues for full interpretation.

SVOA Clauses:

The SVOA structure is highly literal and unambiguous, typically describing concrete, observable actions. For example, *John put the book on the table* can only be interpreted as a physical action with a clear goal. It does not allow for the kind of creative or metaphorical extensions seen in the Way Construction.

Contrast:

The Way Construction thrives on ambiguity and context to create layered meanings, whereas SVOA clauses prioritize precision and clarity, leaving little room for polysemy.

66 Bastille Day: A Great French Novel. (*Clothes In Books*, July 14, 2014). Retrieved from https://clothesinbooks.blogspot.com/2014/07/bastille-day-great-french-novel.html

4. Cognitive Basis

Way Construction:

Rooted in embodied schemas, the Way Construction builds on the cognitive link between physical motion and abstract domains. It draws on metaphors such as *ACHIEVEMENT IS A JOURNEY* (e.g., "worked his way up" [examples 36 and 133]) to create rich, conceptual meanings.

SVOA Clauses:

SVOA clauses, while also rooted in cognitive schemas of action and space, primarily encode concrete interactions within the physical world. Their role is to describe spatial relationships and outcomes explicitly rather than to blend literal and metaphorical domains.

Contrast:

The Way Construction operates at the intersection of physical experience and metaphorical thought, whereas SVOA clauses prioritize the direct representation of physical reality.

Summary

The polysemy of the Way Construction contrasts sharply with the relative rigidity of SVOA clauses. While SVOA clauses, such as *John put the book on the table*, excel at encoding concrete, unambiguous physical actions, the Way Construction draws on its structural and semantic flexibility to encode both literal motion and abstract processes.

This makes the Way Construction a versatile tool for creative and metaphorical expression, highlighting its adaptability and conceptual richness in contrast to the more constrained SVOA structure.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Way Construction highlights its remarkable polysemy and flexibility, bridging literal and metaphorical domains through shared cognitive and linguistic foundations. By encoding both physical motion and abstract processes, the construction demonstrates how embodied schemas underpin meaning extension across diverse contexts. The interplay of manner, path, and goal allows for nuanced interpretations that adapt to contextual demands, supported by theoretical frameworks such as Talmy's (2000a) force dynamics, Goldberg's (1995, 2006, 2019) construction grammar, and Dancygier and Sweetser's (2014) metaphor theory.

In contrast, SVOA clauses, such as *John put the book on the table*, are more semantically constrained, primarily encoding literal physical actions with clearly

defined spatial endpoints. However, both constructions share a common reliance on embodied experience as a cognitive foundation for meaning-making. Whereas SVOA clauses capture concrete, tangible interactions, the Way Construction extends these embodied principles into abstract and metaphorical domains, showcasing its unique capacity for semantic flexibility.

The ambiguity and creativity of the Way Construction exemplify its role as a powerful linguistic tool, capable of expressing effort, progress, and movement in both tangible and abstract realms. Its structural adaptability, as emphasized by Alexiadou et al. (2002), Dehé et al. (2002), and Jackendoff (1983), underscores its productivity in natural language, making it a compelling case for studying polysemy within constructional grammar. Together, these findings position the Way Construction as a central example of how language draws on embodied experience to create versatile, contextually rich expressions.

3.3 Polysemy in Resultative and Complex Transitive Constructions: A Concordance-Based Approach

Goldberg explores "argument structure constructions", including the resultative construction, which she defines as "X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z" (e.g., Subj V Obj Xcomp). She characterizes this as "a special subclass of constructions that provides the basic means of clausal expression in a language" (1995, p. 3). To illustrate the resultative construction, Goldberg provides the example clause "She kissed him unconscious" (1995, p. 3, example 3; 2006, p. 73). In this structure, the Subject (Subj) *She*, Verb (V) *kissed*, Object (Obj) *him*, and Xcomp *unconscious* collectively fulfil the construction's roles. The term "Xcomp" refers to an open clausal complement that shares a subject with its governing verb, marking a resultant state or action.

Semantic interpretations of the resultative construction depend on the meaning of the verbs used. For example, the verb *drive*, when combined with the result-goal *crazy*, exemplifies the "CAUSE-BECOME" semantic framework of the resultative construction. This framework is represented as "CAUSE-BECOME < agt result-goal pat >", where "agt" (Agent) corresponds to the Subject (Subj), "$OBL_{PP/adj}$" represents the result-goal, and "OBJ" aligns with "pat", symbolizing the Patient semantic role (Goldberg, 1995, pp. 79−80). Goldberg explores the syntactic variability of resultative constructions by mapping roles such as "result-goal" to different syntactic forms, such as oblique prepositional phrases (PP) or adjectives (adj).

Furthermore, in her earlier study (1991b), Goldberg argues that the resultative construction crucially involves a metaphorical interpretation of the result phrase as a type of goal. She illustrates this with the clause "Pat hammered the metal flat" (1995, p. 81, example 3). Structurally, this metaphorical interpretation of the

result phrase parallels the English complex transitive (SVOC) clause type. For example, "Most students have found her reasonably helpful" (Quirk et al., 2007 [1985], p. 721) can be analysed as Subject (S) "Most students", Verb (V) "have found", Object (O) "her", and Complement (C) "reasonably helpful" (Quirk et al., 2007 [1985], p. 721).

Finally, Goldberg's approach to "polysemy links" (1995, p. 75) highlights the semantic relationships between a construction's specific sense and its extensions. This subsection juxtaposes the resultative construction, which involves various verbs (e.g., *baked*, *burned/burnt*, *cut*, *got*, *kicked*, *knocked*, *made*, *painted*, *pushed*, *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *shook*, *sliced*, *threw*, *tore*, *washed*, *wiped*), with the complex transitive (SVOC) construction. For a detailed discussion of the semantics associated with the resultative construction, see Goldberg (1995, pp. 40, 97, 182, 188, 189, 194, 197). This comparison explores the similarities and contrasts between the two constructions to examine polysemy.

3.3.1 Polysemy and Verb Behaviour in Resultative Constructions

Goldberg explains that the resultative construction (e.g., "She drove him crazy") can be understood as a metaphorical extension of the caused-motion construction (e.g., "She drove him to Chicago"). Additionally, she argues that the Way Construction (e.g., "She drove her way across the country") is simultaneously linked to both the intransitive motion construction and the caused-motion construction (Goldberg, 1995, as cited in 2019, p. 36).

The examples with *drove* illustrate how a single verb can occur in various constructions, as commonly noted in educational grammar books. For instance, the verb *get* is highlighted in "Multiple class membership of verbs" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720; Greenbaum & Quirk, 2007 [1990], p. 204), while *make* appears in "Same verb, different patterns" (Verspoor & Sauter, 2000, p. 28; Verspoor et al., 2022, pp. 27–28). Regarding the SVOC clause type, Greenbaum and Quirk illustrate it with "He got his shoes and socks wet" (2007[1990], p. 204), while Verspoor et al. provide "We made her president" (2022, p. 28). Quirk et al. also discuss "resultative complements" that express the result of an action, as in "The revolver made him afraid" (2007 [1985], p. 754). These constructions, where verbs are followed by an adjective or noun phrase describing the result, are traditionally labelled as "complex transitive verbs" (e.g., "The sun turned it yellow"; "He declared her the winner" (Quirk et al., 2007 [1985], p. 754)).

Goldberg, however, focuses on the resultative construction, as exemplified by "He made her crazy" and "She kissed him unconscious". Both examples share the syntactic structure "Subj, V, Obj, PredicateAP" and the semantic formulation "X causes Y to become Z" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 35; cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 3, 2006, p. 78). Here, the subject's action causes a change in the state of the object, which

is reflected in the resultative phrase (e.g., "crazy", "unconscious"). As Goldberg (2006, p. 7) explains, "It is the argument structure constructions that provide the direct link between surface form and general aspects of the interpretation, such as … someone causing something to change state …", a point she first addressed in her earlier work (1995).

This relationship between syntax and semantics allows verbs that do not inherently imply a result to participate in resultative constructions (e.g., "Joe kicked Bob black and blue", illustrating the 'Resultative Construction' next to Figure 3.6 in Goldberg, 1995, p. 88). While "kicking" does not inherently suggest an "end-of-scale" result, the construction's syntax imbues the event with a resultant state ("black and blue"), as Goldberg notes (1995, p. 88).

The examples with *drive*, *get*, *make*, and *kick* highlight how the resultative construction encodes a cause-and-effect relationship. The object undergoes a change of state, explicitly indicated by the resultative phrase.

This subsection first presents concordance lines for the individual verbs *baked* and *burned/burnt*. It then examines the verbs *cut*, *got*, *kicked*, *knocked*, *made*, *painted*, *pushed*, *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *shook*, *sliced*, *threw*, *tore*, *washed*, and *wiped* in resultative constructions. These verbs are grouped based on the typical event structures and semantic roles they adopt within the construction.

Next, the analysis explores how these verbs function in the complex transitive (SVOC) pattern. The objective is to identify instances of polysemy within the resultative construction and contrast them with SVOC clauses.

3.3.1.1 Insights from BNC Concordance Lines: Analysing baked and burned/burnt in Resultative Constructions

The Verb *Baked* in Resultative Constructions

(156)

"169 HGM W_fict_prose ... The long hot Spanish summer **[had baked the earth into a hard and unyielding soil that reminded her of her father]**..." (BNC)

The verb *baked* in (156) exemplifies a resultative construction, following Goldberg's framework in both structure and semantics. It demonstrates how the subject (*the summer*) induces a change in the state of the object (*the earth*), with the resultant state (*a hard and unyielding soil*) explicitly expressed. While concordance lines (162) and (163) are cited from the BNC - the primary source of examples in this book - additional examples from COCA[67] (157–161) with the

67 The abbreviation "COCA" refers to examples taken from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), available at https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/.

verb *bake* further reinforce this pattern, showing how different subjects and objects contribute to various resultative interpretations.

(157)

"106 2002 FIC Ploughshares ... Sun **[baked the mud to dirt]**. Shirts fluttered brightly on laundry lines, and kids kicked..." (COCA)

The predicate "baked the mud to dirt" in (157) also follows the canonical structure of a resultative construction. It aligns with Goldberg's framework, illustrating how the subject (*Sun*) causes a change in the state of the object (*the mud*), with the result (*to dirt*) explicitly expressed in the resultative phrase.

(158)

"113 2000 NEWS AssocPress ... The sun **[has baked the plowed land into a cracked, gray mass]**. The dried grass is gray..." (COCA)

In sentence (158), the verb *baked* in "The sun has baked the plowed land into a cracked, gray mass" serves as another clear example of a resultative construction. Its structure and semantics correspond to Goldberg's framework, illustrating how the subject (*The sun*) induces a change in the state of the object (*the plowed land*), with the result (*into a cracked*, *gray mass*) explicitly expressed.

(159)

"118 1998 FIC Bk:BigFish Was Born ... The sun **[baked the fine red Alabama clay to a grainy dust]**, and there was no water..." (COCA)

The structure and semantics of the clause "The sun baked the fine red Alabama clay to a grainy dust" in (159) likewise conform to Goldberg's framework, as the subject (*The sun*) causes the object (*the fine red Alabama clay*) to undergo a transformation, resulting in the state described by the phrase *to a grainy dust.*

(160)

"121 1997 FIC Triquarterly ... It **[had baked the camp to a hard, desert crust]**. This heat made you feel like..." (COCA)

The verb *baked* in the sentence "It had baked the camp to a hard, desert crust" also serves as an example of a resultative construction, as analysed by Goldberg (1995). Its structure and semantics are consistent with Goldberg's framework, illustrating how the subject (*It*, referring to the sun) causes the object (*the camp*) to undergo a transformation, with the resulting state (*to a hard, desert crust*) explicitly expressed.

(161)

"125 1996 MAG Skiing ... The sun **[had baked the snow into exquisite corn]**, perfect for setting an edge, soft enough so..." (COCA)

The verb *baked* in the sentence "The sun had baked the snow into exquisite corn" similarly represents a resultative construction as analysed by Goldberg (1995), as the phrase *into exquisite corn* explicitly describes the result of the action on the object (*the snow*). The transformation from snow to the specific state of exquisite corn is a clear marker of a resultative construction.

(162)

"335 CJ3 W_non_ac_nat_science ... The soil **[is baked dry]** by the fierce heat of the sun; there are no trees to provide..." (BNC)

The verb *baked* in (162) likewise follows Goldberg's syntactic framework: Subject + Verb + Object + Resultative Phrase. In this case, the subject is also the object due to the passive voice. The agent of the action (*the fierce heat of the sun*) causes the soil to dry as a result of being baked. This transformation exemplifies the prototypical resultative construction: "X causes Y to become Z".

Although the sentence is in the passive voice (*is baked dry*), its resultative nature remains intact. The resultative phrase *dry* explicitly indicates the resultant state caused by the action.

(163)

"336 F9F W_non_ac_nat_science ... where the surface **[has been baked into a crust]** by the harsh sun. She breaks through it by using her..." (BNC)

The verb *baked* in the clause "where the surface has been baked into a crust by the harsh sun" also represents a resultative construction, as analysed by Goldberg (1995). Although the sentence is in the passive voice, it aligns with Goldberg's framework, which allows for highlighting the object of the action. Here, *the harsh sun* (the implicit subject) performs the action of baking, causing *the surface* (the object) to transform into *a crust* (the result). The resultative phrase *into a crust* explicitly indicates the state change caused by the action, reinforcing the resultative nature of the construction.

Corpus-Based Evidence of *baked* in Resultative Constructions

The verb *baked* consistently exemplifies a resultative construction, aligning with Goldberg's (1995) framework in both structure and semantics. Across multiple examples, *baked* illustrates how a subject - such as "the sun" (157–161, 163), "summer" (156), or "heat" (162) - induces a state change in an object ("earth" (156), "mud" (157), "plowed land" (158), "clay" (159), "camp" (160), "snow" (161)). The resultant state is explicitly expressed in a resultative phrase: "to dirt" (157), "into a cracked, gray mass" (158), "to a grainy dust" (159), "into a crust" (160), "into exquisite corn" (161).

Corpus-based evidence from COCA and the BNC reinforces this pattern, demonstrating variation in subjects, objects, and resultant states while maintaining

the core structure of a resultative construction: Subject + Verb + Object + Resultative Phrase. Even in passive constructions, such as "the surface has been baked into a crust by the harsh sun" (163), the resultative meaning remains intact, highlighting the transformation of the object. The passive voice shifts focus to the affected entity while preserving the causal relationship between the agent (e.g., "heat" (162), "the sun" (163)) and the transformation of the object.

Overall, these examples confirm *baked* as a prototypical resultative verb, demonstrating how external forces induce a change of state in an object, with the final state explicitly marked.

Observing Constructional Polysemy in the Resultative Uses of *baked*

While the previous examples illustrate the consistent structural pattern of *baked* in resultative constructions, further analysis reveals variation in its syntactic and semantic behaviour. This variation aligns with Boas's (2003) framework, which examines constructional polysemy and the different syntactic forms that resultative phrases can take.

Boas (2003) aims to develop an analysis that effectively captures the syntactic and semantic distribution of resultative constructions in English. According to his usage-based model, each distinct sense of a verb functions as a conventionalized mini-construction. He identifies the syntactic status of the resultative phrase as one of three types: an adjective phrase (AP), a noun phrase (NP), or a prepositional phrase (PP) (Boas, 2003, p. 8).

In the concordance lines featuring the verb *baked* (156–163), most examples (156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163) contain prepositional phrases (PPs), supporting Boas's (2003) observation that PPs frequently express resultant states in resultative constructions. Only one example (162) demonstrates an adjective phrase (AP), which Boas (2003) also identifies as a common syntactic realization. None of these examples, however, include a noun phrase (NP) as the resultative phrase, despite Boas noting it as a possible option.

The resultative uses of *baked* predominantly involve PPs, reinforcing Boas's claim that PPs are the most common syntactic realization of resultative phrases. The single instance of an AP in (162) highlights the flexibility of resultative constructions while underscoring the overall prominence of PPs in expressing resultant states (cf. Simpson, 1983).

Semantically, the resultative phrases exhibit a range of resultant states, demonstrating flexibility in how outcomes are conveyed. They often emphasize:

(a) **Physical transformation:** Most examples (156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163) describe changes in physical state due to external forces (e.g., hardening, cracking, crusting).

(b) **Functional desirability:** Example (161) emphasizes the utility of the result (e.g., "exquisite corn" as ideal skiing conditions).

The constructional polysemy of the verb *baked* in these resultative phrases (156–163) may be associated with the following factors:

1. **Variability in the resultative phrase:** Differences in syntactic realization, such as APs, PPs, or potential NPs (Boas, 2003; Simpson, 1983).
2. **Object material properties:** The objects undergoing transformation vary significantly (e.g., *snow* (131), *earth* (156), *mud* (157), *land* (158), *clay* (159), *camp* (160), *surface* (163)), influencing the type of resultant state.
3. **Active vs. passive voice** (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 181):

(a) **Active resultatives** (e.g., 157, 159) feature an active subject causing the transformation.
(b) **Passive resultatives** (e.g., 162, 163) shift the focus to the affected object, reducing the prominence of the agent while maintaining the resultative construction.

4. **Context-specific interpretations:** These range from natural inevitability (e.g., environmental effects)[68] to functional desirability (e.g., ideal conditions for skiing).[69]

Each resultative use retains the canonical structure (Subject + Verb + Object + Resultative Phrase), but nuanced variations in semantics and syntax illustrate the polysemy inherent in the resultative construction framework (e.g., Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Croft, 2001; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004). Boas (2003) focuses specifically on resultative constructions, examining their cross-linguistic variations and polysemy. Goldberg (2006) extends this discussion by exploring generalization patterns and polysemy across constructions. Croft (2001), on the other hand, provides a typological perspective on construction grammar, addressing argument structure and polysemy. Additionally, Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) investigate resultative constructions in depth, highlighting their family-like variations and polysemy.

68 See *Environmental Effects.* (*Journal of Pollution Effects & Control*). Retrieved from https://www.longdom.org/scholarly/environmental-effects-journals-articles-ppts-list-3397.html.

69 See Haugom, E., & Malasevska, I. (2019). The relative importance of ski resort- and weather-related characteristics when going alpine skiing. *Cogent Social Sciences, 5*(1). Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/336797981.

The Verb *burned/burnt* in Resultative Constructions

Having analysed the polysemy of resultative constructions with *baked*, we now turn to the verb *burned*/*burnt* as it appears in resultative constructions within BNC concordance lines. Like *baked*, the verb *burned*/*burnt* demonstrates constructional polysemy, with variations in the syntactic and semantic realizations of its resultative phrases. By examining its usage in different contexts, this section aims to uncover patterns and distinctions that further illustrate the flexibility and nuances of resultative constructions in English.

(164)

"7 APR W_fict_prose ... he piled up brushwood and **[burned the whole thing down]**, monks and Fromont and all. And when this was..." (BNC)

The verb *burned* in the clause "he piled up brushwood and burned the whole thing down" (164) exemplifies a resultative construction (cf. "burned her *alive*" as a "depictive predicate" in Goldberg, 1995, p. 156). The structure and semantics of "burned the whole thing down" align with Goldberg's framework, illustrating how the subject's action (burning) transforms the object into a specific resultant state, conveyed by *down* (destruction).

(165)

"17 FUB W_fict_prose ... the fire from its eyes darted out and **[burned the stepmother and step sisters to cinders]**. Then Vasilissa buried the skull in the..." (BNC)

In (165), the action of *burning* transforms "the stepmother and stepsisters" into the state described by the resultative phrase *to cinders*, which explicitly indicates the object's new state after the action. This phrase clearly marks the transformation into ash or complete destruction. Consequently, the verb *burned* in this clause serves as a prototypical example of a resultative construction. Its structure and semantics align with Goldberg's framework, illustrating how the subject's action (*the fire*) causes the object (*the stepmother and stepsisters*) to undergo a specific transformation (*to cinders*), as indicated by the resultative phrase.

(166)

"39 ARP W_non_ac_soc_science ... They **[burned the place down]**. One member of the 4-Skins, protesting his innocence of any..." (BNC)

The verb *burned* in the predicate "burned the place down" in (166) likewise exemplifies a resultative construction. Its structure and semantics adhere to Goldberg's framework, showing how the subject's action (burning) brings about a specific resultant state for the object (*the place*), indicated by the phrase *down*.

(167)

"43 H89 W_misc ... a mob came in the night and **[burned the house down]**. We learned later that the traitor was a neighbour of my..." (BNC)

Similarly, the verb *burned* in "a mob came in the night and burned the house down" in (167) also represents a resultative construction, paralleling the predicate in (166). The structure and semantics, consistent with Goldberg's framework, demonstrate how the subject's action (burning) causes the object (*the house*) to reach the resultant state described by *down*.

(168)

"2 KBW S_conv ... It **[burnt the whole factory down for some reason]**. Oh dear. Wonder what it..." (BNC)

The verb *burnt* in the predicate "burnt the whole factory down for some reason" in (168) also exemplifies a resultative construction. Its structure and semantics conform to Goldberg's framework, demonstrating how the subject's action (burning) transforms the object (*the whole factory*) into the resultant state (*down*).

(169)

"26 ABK W_pop_lore ... Nazi soldiers **[burnt the city to the ground in 1944]**, and it had the bad luck to..." (BNC)

In a similar manner, in (169), the resultative phrase "to the ground" explicitly indicates the resultant state of the object (*the city*) after the action, fulfilling the criteria for a resultative construction. The verb *burnt* in the predicate "burnt the city to the ground in 1944" reflects this construction. Its structure and semantics align with Goldberg's framework, demonstrating how the subject's action (*burning*) transforms the object (*the city*) into its resultant state (*to the ground*).

(170)

"34 ADM W_non_ac_soc_science ... the woman from the first House went out at night and **[burnt the rival House to the ground]**. No one was hurt, but she went..." (BNC)

Similarly, in (170), the verb *burnt* in the predicate "burnt the rival House to the ground" is another instance of a resultative construction. Its structure and semantics align with Goldberg's framework, demonstrating how the subject's action (burning) results in the object (*the rival House*) reaching the state described by the phrase "to the ground".

(171)

"38 ANB W_misc ... in 1776 a fire **[burnt the theatre to the ground]**, and with the building of La Scala it was..." (BNC)

In (171), the action of *burning* causes the theatre to reach the state described by "to the ground", indicating total destruction. The phrase "to the ground" appears once again, explicitly marking the resultant state of the object (*the theatre*) after the action and fulfilling the criteria for a resultative construction. The verb *burnt* again reflects this construction, with its structure and semantics conforming to Goldberg's framework. It demonstrates how the subject's action (burning) transforms the object (*the theatre*) into a specific resultant state (*to the ground*).

(172)

"41 FA2 W_misc ... when invading Spaniards **[burnt the whole place down]**. But there is an old part to the town..." (BNC)

Finally, the verb *burnt* in the predicate "burnt the whole place down" in (172), like "burned the place down" in (166), exemplifies a prototypical resultative construction. Its structure and semantics align with Goldberg's framework, demonstrating how the subject's action (burning) transforms the object (*the whole place*) into the resultant state (*down*).

Corpus-Based Evidence of *burned/burnt* in Resultative Constructions

The verb *burned/burnt* consistently appears in resultative constructions, aligning with Goldberg's (1995) framework in both structure and semantics. Across multiple examples, it illustrates how a subject - such as "fire" (165, 171), "a mob" (167), or *an agent* (164, 166, 169, 170, 172) - induces a transformation in an object (e.g., "a house" (167), "a factory" (168), "a city" (169)), with the resultant state explicitly expressed by a resultative phrase such as "down" (164, 166, 167, 168, 172) or "to the ground" (169, 170, 171).

Examples such as "burned the whole thing down" (164), "burned the place down" (166), "burned the house down" (167), and "burnt the whole place down" (172) demonstrate a consistent pattern where *down* conveys destruction as the resultant state. Similarly, "burnt the city to the ground" (169), "burnt the rival House to the ground" (170), and "burnt the theatre to the ground" (171) illustrate how *to the ground* explicitly marks total destruction as the final state of the object. Additionally, in "burned the stepmother and stepsisters to cinders" (165), the resultative phrase *to cinders* signals a transformation into ash.

Corpus evidence underscores the productive use of *burned/burnt* in resultative constructions, with *down* and *to the ground* being the dominant resultative phrases. The repeated occurrence of these patterns supports Goldberg's framework, demonstrating that *burned/burnt* is a prototypical resultative verb, systematically encoding a causal relationship between the subject's action and the object's transformation into a specific resultant state.

Observing Constructional Polysemy in the Resultative Uses of *burned/burnt*

While the previous analysis highlights the consistent structural patterns of *burned/burnt* in resultative constructions, further examination reveals variations in meaning and usage. These variations align with broader discussions on polysemy and argument structure, as explored in the following research.

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2001) examine resultative constructions from an event-structure perspective, emphasizing their relationship to causation and state changes. Earlier, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) investigated verbs with multiple meanings, situating resultative constructions within the broader framework of argument structure and lexical semantics. Boas (2011) further explored coercion and polysemy in resultative constructions through detailed case studies.

Building on these studies - particularly Boas' (2003) work on resultative constructions and polysemy - the examples featuring *burned/burnt* illustrate constructional polysemy, where the verb flexibly combines with resultative phrases to express varied resultant states (see Goldberg, 1995, p. 181). Across the concordance lines, resultative phrases fall into two primary categories:

1. **Directional/Locative Resultative Phrases**

Examples: "burned the whole thing down" (164), "burned the place down" (166), "burned the house down" (167), "burnt the whole factory down" (168), "burnt the whole place down" (172). In these cases, the phrase *down* emphasizes physical collapse or destruction of the object due to burning. The resultative phrase highlights the endpoint of the action, aligning with Goldberg's framework of Subject + Verb + Object + Resultative Phrase.

2. **Transformative Resultative Phrases**

Examples: "burned the stepmother and stepsisters to cinders" (165), "burnt the city to the ground" (169), "burnt the rival House to the ground" (170), "burnt the theatre to the ground" (171). These examples focus on the transformation of the object into a new state, such as *cinders* or *to the ground*, explicitly marking the resultant condition. The semantic shift from intact to destroyed is clearly articulated by the resultative phrases.

Key Observations:

(a) **Flexibility in Resultative Phrases:** The verb *burned*/*burnt* pairs with prepositional phrases (e.g., *to the ground*) or adverbial phrases (e.g., *down*) to encode the outcome of the action (cf. Simpson, 1983).

(b) **Consistency Across Contexts:** Despite variations in objects (e.g., *house*, *factory*, *theatre*), the constructions consistently encode causation and resultant states (cf. Boas, 2003, pp. 77, 306; Goldberg, 1995, p. 81), illustrating the

verb's adaptability. As Boas (2003, p. 177) explains, "In a prototypical causation event, the agent is stronger than the patient, meaning that the latter will either move or rest as a result of the interaction".

(c) **Polysemy Within Resultatives:** The constructions alternate between emphasizing physical outcomes (collapse/destruction) and transformational outcomes (reduction to a specific state, like *ashes* or *cinders*), often referred to as "change-of-state" resultatives (Goldberg, 1995, p. 83). Goldberg (1995, p. 84) further explains that "resultatives … can occur with motion verbs when those verbs are used to imply a change of state, by postulating that the resultative is a metaphorically interpreted goal phrase".

These examples demonstrate the semantic richness and syntactic flexibility of *burned*/*burnt* in resultative constructions, highlighting its ability to encode nuanced changes in the state of its objects (cf. Simpson, 1983).

The verb *burned*/*burnt* indicates that the object is charred or damaged by fire, while other verbs, such as *cut*, *sliced*, and *tore*, imply physical alteration to the object. Together, these verbs form a group that conveys changes in the physical state of the object, either through damage (*burned*/*burnt*) or alteration (*cut*, *sliced*, *tore*).

The following subsections group verbs used in the resultative construction, illustrating how polysemy emerges at the constructional level. Each group shares a consistent cause-effect schema, underscoring that constructions - rather than individual verbs - encode semantic generalizations.

This perspective aligns with Goldberg's (1995, 2006) view that constructions serve as carriers of semantic patterns, particularly as outlined in her *Surface Generalization Hypothesis* (2006, p. 25). Regarding constructional polysemy, Goldberg (1995) argues that the multiple meanings associated with constructions exist independently of how verb meanings are represented. Rather than being a byproduct of lexical representation, this polysemy emerges across different '*outputs*' of what traditional accounts consider a single lexical rule (p. 37).

3.3.1.2 Grouping Verbs in Resultative Constructions: Event Structures and Semantic Roles

To group these verbs - *cut*, *got*, *kicked*, *knocked*, *painted*, *pushed*, *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *shook*, *sliced*, *threw*, *tore*, *washed*, and *wiped* - in line with Goldberg's (1995) notion of constructional polysemy, the typical event structures and semantic roles that these verbs adopt within the resultative construction should be considered. Resultative constructions often encode a cause-effect relationship where an action leads to a state or result. Verbs can be grouped based on the type of result they imply or the semantic class they belong to.

The grouping is as follows:

1. **Verbs Indicating a Change in Physical State** (Transformation or Damage) (Levin, 1993): This group contains verbs such as *cut*, *sliced*, and *tore*, which imply a physical alteration to the object. The verb *burned/burnt*, which causes the object to be charred or damaged by fire, is excluded here as it has already been discussed in examples (164) to (172). According to Goldberg, "each of the basic clause-level constructions … can be seen to designate a humanly relevant scene, for example, … an instigator causing something to change state (the resultative construction)" (1995, p. 39). This central sense of the resultative construction aligns closely with the verbs in this group (see also Goldberg's *Scene Encoding Hypothesis*, 1995, p. 39; "the change-of-state resultative", 1995, p. 83; and "the Unique Change of State Constraint", 1995, p. 84). Similarly, in *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*, Levin (1993) examines verb classes related to physical state changes, such as *cut* (p. 156).
2. **Verbs Denoting Physical Impact or Force**: Verbs denoting physical impact or force (Levin, 1993) include terms such as *kicked*, *knocked*, *pushed*, and *threw*. These verbs encode the application of force that moves, displaces, or impacts an object (cf. Goldberg, 2006, p. 114). Goldberg (1995) identifies eight distinct argument structures for the verb *kicked*, including "Pat kicked Bob black and blue" (p. 11). She also categorizes *pushed* as both a "verb of continuous causation of accompanied motion" (p. 128) and an "activity verb", exemplified by "Terry pushed the door shut" (p. 188).
   Building on this, Levin (1993) classifies *kick* and *push* as "verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion" (p. 46), emphasizing their shared semantic properties. In a more recent analysis, Levin (2009) introduces the broader label "verbs of exerting force"[70] to describe verbs like *push* (p. 5). Talmy (2000b) extends these findings by exploring force dynamics and the cognitive and linguistic encoding of impact events.
3. **Verbs of Surface Contact and Modification**: This group includes verbs such as *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *painted* (cf. Simpson, 1983), *wiped*, and *washed*, which involve surface-level actions (Levin, 1993) that clean, colour, or otherwise modify the object's surface. Levin (1993, p. 53), in *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*, identifies a class of verbs she terms "WIPE VERBS", including examples such as "rub, ... scrape, scratch, scrub, shave, ... sweep, trim, wash,

70 Levin, B. (2009). *Lexical semantics of verbs III: Causal approaches to lexical semantic representation.* Written for Course LSA 116, UC Berkeley. Retrieved from https://web.stanford.edu/~bclevin/lsa09causapp.pdf

... wipe". These verbs encompass surface actions like rubbing and scrubbing, as well as modifications such as trimming. Goldberg (1995, p. 176) categorizes the verb *rub* in the "Slather-class", defined by simultaneous forceful contact and motion of a mass against a surface, as initially proposed by Rappaport and Levin (1985) and cited in Pinker (1989, pp. 126–127).

4. **Verbs Indicating Physical Movement or Agitation:** The verb *shook* in this group describes an object being shaken or agitated, resulting in its movement. Goldberg argues that "the resultative construction itself … can be seen to be a metaphorical extension of the caused-motion construction …" (1995, p. 81). Talmy (2000b) relates to action involving "immersion and agitation" discussing *wash* (p. 270). He discusses motion and agitation in the context of force dynamics. Levin includes *shake* in the group of verbs which "describe gestures or signs made with specific body parts" (1993, p. 221). She classifies verbs like *shake* under motion and change-of-state alternations.
5. **Causative Verbs of Obtaining or Indirect Causation**: This group includes verbs such as *get* (cf. Goldberg, 1995, pp. 32, 126), which signify the creation of a new state or a result where an object transitions into a specific state or is effectively "created" anew. Goldberg (2006, p. 114, Table 6.6.d) examines how these verbs convey resultative states, as illustrated in "Dana got the mattress inflated"[71] (see also Martínez Vázquez, 2008, p. 45). The category *Causative Verbs of Obtaining or Indirect Causation* builds on Goldberg's (1995) exploration of resultative constructions, where verbs like *get* facilitate a resultant state without directly performing the action. This concept aligns with Levin's (1993) classification of causative verbs and Shibatani's (1976) distinction between direct and indirect causation.

In her 1993 study, Levin categorizes over 3,000 English verbs based on shared meanings and syntactic behaviours. She demonstrates that a verb's meaning influences its syntactic patterns, using this relationship to identify semantically cohesive verb classes. Through an analysis of diverse syntactic alternations, Levin provides a systematic framework for understanding the English verb lexicon. These insights support the categorization of resultative verbs discussed above, as they highlight the semantic and constructional properties that unify these groups. Referring to such foundational works ensures alignment with established linguistic research and reinforces the robustness of this analysis.

71 See Bencini, G., & Goldberg, A. E. (2000). *The contribution of argument structure constructions to sentence meaning. Journal of Memory and Language, 43*(4), 640–651. https://doi.org/10.1006/jmla.2000.2757

Levin's systematic categorization of verbs, grounded in shared meanings and syntactic behaviours, provides a foundational framework for examining resultative constructions. Her insights into verb classes and syntactic alternations complement Goldberg's argument (1995) that constructional meaning is generalized across verb classes rather than tied to individual verbs. Building on this perspective, the next section explores how constructional polysemy arises through semantic generalizations, demonstrating the connection between verb behaviour and the broader patterns of meaning encoded in constructions.

Application of Constructional Polysemy

Goldberg (1995) highlights that resultative constructions are semantically predictable, as they can only apply to arguments capable of undergoing a change of state due to the action expressed by the verb. In this framework, the argument must be identifiable as a type of patient. She further clarifies that the predicate itself does not need to explicitly encode a change of state; rather, it must have the potential to cause one (pp. 188–189).

Building on Goldberg's focus on semantic predictability, Langacker (2009) provides a complementary perspective within the framework of Cognitive Grammar (CG). He explains, "In CG, grammatical patterns are represented by means of schemas. A construction is defined as either an expression (of any size), or else a schema abstracted from expressions to capture their commonality (at any level of specificity)" (p. 2). Langacker further elaborates: "Each schema represents a recurring commonality in regard to some facet of their structure: their global organization, more local structural properties, typical content, specific expressions employed, matters of style and register, etc." (p. 478).

We propose that the five verb groups (Groups 1–5) correspond to distinct resultative schemas, linking the resultative construction to specific schema types. Specifically, each verb group aligns with a schema characterizing the nature of its resultative outcome:

(a) Group 1: "Result-as-Damage" schema (see Levin, *in press*; Levin, 1993).
(b) Group 2: "Result-as-Displacement" schema (Levin, 1993; *in press*; Simpson, 1983)
(c) Group 3: "Result-as-Surface-Change" schema (see Levin, 2023, slide 13; Levin, 1993; Simpson, 1983)
(d) Group 4: "Result-as-Movement" schema (see Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998)
(e) Group 5: "Resultative-Causation" schema (see Levin, 2020).

This alignment illustrates how constructional polysemy enables diverse semantic interpretations of resultative constructions, rooted in both the properties of the

verb and the broader grammatical schema. According to Goldberg (1995, 2006), resultative constructions involve an action or causation that brings about a change of state, typically expressed through a complement such as an adjective, participle, or prepositional phrase (cf. Simpson, 1983; Levin, 1993).

(a) **Group 1: "Result-as-Damage" Schema** – Verbs Indicating a Change in Physical State (e.g., *Cut*, *Sliced*, and *Tore*)

CUT

(173)

"85 EEW W_fict_prose ... but even before he had finished, **[Artemis's father cut him short]**. 'Thank you!' he called. 'That will do...'" (BNC)

The usage of *cut* in (173) aligns with a resultative construction, as the phrase *short* indicates the resultant state or condition of the object (*him*). This suggests that the father's action caused him to stop speaking or act abruptly. In Goldberg's terms, "cut him short" exemplifies a causative-resultative relationship.

(174)

"89 FPK W_fict_prose ... I think **[we'll cut short Richard's lessons]** and I'll take him out in the sunshine..." (BNC)

The verb *cut* in concordance line (174) similarly represents a resultative construction, as defined by Goldberg (1995). It demonstrates a causative-resultative relationship in which the action (cutting) leads to a specific outcome (shortening the lessons).

(175)

"90 FPM W_fict_prose ... then **[cut them up small enough for Eb to eat with a fork]**. Generally, he..." (BNC)

In (175), the verb *cut* likewise exemplifies a resultative construction, as defined by Goldberg (1995). The action of *cutting* directly results in the food being reduced to a size suitable for its intended purpose.

(176)

"99 G0P W_fict_prose ... **[He was cut short]** by a shove in the back that nearly made him overbalance and fall down..." (BNC)

In (176), the verb *cut* appears in the passive voice (*was cut short*) and also functions as a resultative construction, as defined by Goldberg (1995). The phrase *cut short* conveys a causative-resultative relationship, in which an external force (the shove) causes the abrupt cessation of the subject's speech or action.

(177)

"123 HH5 W_fict_prose ... **[To cut a long story short]**, drunk as a bishop, I sprang to my feet..." (BNC)

In (177), the verb *cut* takes the metaphorical phrase *a long story* as its object. The word *short* indicates the resultant state of the object, implying that the story is intentionally shortened or summarized. Although the usage is metaphorical, the construction retains the causative-resultative pattern. The action of "cutting" leads to the result of the story becoming shorter or condensed.

(178)

"130 HNJ W_fict_prose ... **[She cut short the stumbling thanks]** and put down the phone. So much for her intentions..." (BNC)

In (178), the subject (*She*) performs the action (*cut*), causing the state of the object (*the thanks*) to become short (abruptly ended). Once again, the phrase *cut short* exemplifies a causative-resultative relationship, in which the act of interruption results in the thanks being abruptly terminated.

(179)

"225 CBG W_newsp_other_sports ... leg injury that **[cut short his two-goal display against Leeds]** on Boxing Day. The Premier League's leading..." (BNC)

In (179), the phrase *short* describes the resultant state of the object (*his two-goal display*), indicating that it was prematurely ended. The leg injury (external cause) performs the action (*cut*), resulting in the display being truncated. Thus, *cut short* demonstrates a causative-resultative relationship, in which the injury causes the premature termination of Alan Shearer's two-goal display.

(180)

"390 GT4 W_biography ... **[the manuscript containing her biography is cut short]**, but we know from other sources that a priory for her was built..." (BNC)

In (180), the verb *cut* appears in the passive voice (*is cut short*) and takes *the manuscript* as its implied object. The phrase *short* describes the resultant state of the object, signalling that it was prematurely truncated. This usage represents a resultative construction, as *cut short* reflects a causative-resultative relationship in which the action (*cutting*) results in the manuscript being abruptly ended.

Group 1: Analysis of *cut* – Summary

In examples (173) to (180), the verb *cut* consistently exemplifies a resultative construction, as defined by Goldberg (1995). In each case, *cut* denotes an action

that causes a change in the state of the object, with the resultant state explicitly marked by the complement *short*. Whether used literally (e.g., cutting something into smaller pieces (175)) or metaphorically (e.g., interrupting speech (173) or summarizing a story (177)), the causative-resultative relationship remains clear: the action of *cutting* brings about a specific, often abrupt, outcome. Collectively, these examples highlight the versatility of resultative constructions in conveying both physical and abstract changes.

SLICED

(181)

"17 KDP S_conv ... **[they were nice and big, fat and sliced open]**, grilled... nice." (BNC)

The verb *sliced* in (181) exemplifies a resultative construction (cf. *slice* as a "Change-of-State Verb" in Goldberg, 1995, p. 171) in the same way. The phrase *sliced open* directly links the action (slicing) to the resulting state (*open*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) criteria (cf. *sliced* in the resultative construction (VOR) in Goldberg, 2006, p. 114, Table 6.6, 3a.d., "Nancy sliced the tire open").

(182)

"128 HJD W_fict_prose ... Each whirring stroke of the razor-edged steel **[would have sliced clean]** through a human limb with almost as much ease as it cut the air..." (BNC)

Similar to (181), the verb *sliced* in (182) expresses a resultative construction, with the complement "clean through" specifying the outcome of the slicing action. This phrase directly links the action (slicing) to its result (complete severance), aligning with Goldberg's (1995) analysis of resultative constructions.

(183)

"328 ADX W_ac_humanities_arts ... The cone **[can be sliced lengthwise by two planes at right angles]**, offering a vertical-horizontal cross like a gunsight..." (BNC)

Additionally, the verb *sliced* in concordance line (183) expresses a resultative construction in a passive form (*can be sliced*). The complement *lengthwise* explicitly links the slicing action to its resulting state, aligning with Goldberg's (1995) analysis of resultative constructions.

Group 1: Analysis of *sliced* – Summary

The verb *sliced* exemplifies resultative constructions in concordance lines (181), (182), and (183), reflecting Goldberg's (1995) analysis. In each instance, the slicing action is explicitly linked to a resulting state: *open* (181), *clean through* (182), and *lengthwise* (183). These complements specify the resultant states, illustrating the action-result relationship central to resultative constructions.

TORE

(184)

"11 ALJ W_fict_prose ... Amelia **[tore the envelope open]** and laughed. In the den, Clive calmed down and practised..." (BNC)

The verb *tore* in concordance line (183) demonstrates a resultative construction, as the complement *open* explicitly links the action of tearing to the resultant state of the envelope, consistent with Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

(185)

"39 H92 W_fict_prose ... He **[tore the envelope open]**, his mind full of various pleasing conjectures. The letter lived..." (BNC)

In (185), the verb *tore* represents the action of tearing performed by the subject in the predicate "tore the envelope open". The complement *open* describes the resulting state of the envelope after the tearing action. Similarly, the verb *tore* realizes a resultative construction, as the complement *open* distinctly links the action of tearing to the resulting state of the envelope, according to Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

(186)

"15 B0B W_fict_prose ... When the twig **[tore the pocket open]**, the letter had dropped out. It twirled down through the branches..." (BNC)

In (186), the verb *tore* also exemplifies a resultative construction, with the complement *open* explicitly linking the tearing action to the resulting state of *the pocket*, consistent with Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

(187)

"21 CJJ W_fict_prose ... Juron **[tore the panel open]**. Behind, lay a pile of chained human bones..." (BNC)

In (187), the verb *tore* represents the action performed by *Juron* in the predicate "tore the panel open". The complement *open* likewise describes the resultant state of the panel following the tearing action. Consequently, the verb *tore* realizes a resultative construction, as the complement *open* explicitly links the tearing action to the resulting state of the panel, in accordance with Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

(188)

"22 CM4 W_fict_prose ... she **[tore the door open]** and resumed her journey through the obscure, sombre entrails of Vasilariov..." (BNC)

In (188), the verb *tore* describes the action performed by the subject (*she*) in the predicate "tore the door open". The complement *open* specifies the resulting

state of the door following the tearing action. Hence, the verb *tore* exemplifies a resultative construction, as the complement *open* directly links the tearing action to the resulting state of the door, in line with Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

(189)

"35 G0L W_fict_prose ... Then the grenade exploded, **[tore the doors apart some two metres]**, enough for a man to get through..." (BNC)

Finally, in (189), the verb *tore* represents the action of tearing caused by the grenade in the predicate "tore the doors apart". The complement *apart* denotes the resultant state of the doors, indicating that they were separated or pulled apart by the action. Therefore, the verb *tore* exemplifies a resultative construction, as the complement *apart* explicitly links the tearing action to the resulting state of the doors, fitting Goldberg's (1995) analysis.

Group 1: Analysis of *tore* – Summary

The verb *tore* exemplifies a resultative construction in concordance lines (184)–(189), following Goldberg's (1995) framework. The complements *open* (184–188) and *apart* (189) explicitly link the tearing action to a resulting state, such as objects becoming open or doors being separated. These examples highlight a clear action-result relationship, illustrating the syntactic and semantic features of resultative constructions.

Group 1: Constructional Polysemy in *cut*, *sliced*, and *tore* – Summary

The verbs *cut*, *sliced*, and *tore* in Group 1 exemplify constructional polysemy within the "Result-as-Damage" schema through their use in resultative constructions. Each verb denotes an action that induces a physical change in the state of the object (cf. Levin, in press, p. 8; Levin, 1993), with resultative complements (e.g., *short*, *open*, *apart*) specifying the resultant condition. These examples highlight the flexibility of the schema in expressing both literal and metaphorical outcomes, following Goldberg's (1995) framework, by demonstrating the consistent integration of action and result.

(b) **Group 2: "Result-as-Displacement" Schema** – Verbs Denoting Physical Impact or Force (e.g., Kicked, Knocked (Simpson, 1983), Pushed, and Threw)

KICKED

(190)

"25 EDJ W_fict_prose ... I **[kicked the car door shut]**, put down a bag, locked the car, picked..." (BNC)

The predicate "kicked the car door shut" in (190) exemplifies a resultative construction, as it combines an action (*kicked*) with an explicit description of the resultant state (*shut*) of the direct object (*the car door*). This aligns seamlessly with Goldberg's (1995) framework for resultative constructions.

(191)

"51 HA6 W_fict_prose ... Rourke **[kicked the door shut with the heel of his shoe]**. Lissa jumped, shocked to..." (BNC)

In (191), the predicate "kicked the door shut with the heel of his shoe" provides another example of a resultative construction. The verb *kicked* indicates the action, while *shut* describes the resultant state of the direct object (*the door*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction.

(192)

"49 H9C W_fict_prose ... Corbett dragged Ranulf inside, turned and **[kicked the gate shut]**. 'Secure it, man!' he roared..." (BNC)

Additionally**,** in (192), the predicate "kicked the gate shut" demonstrates a resultative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995). The verb *kicked* conveys the action, while *shut* specifies the resultant state of the gate, in accordance with the framework of resultative constructions.

Group 2: Analysis of *kicked* – Summary

The predicates "kicked the car door shut" (190), "kicked the door shut with the heel of his shoe" (191), and "kicked the gate shut" (192) all exemplify resultative constructions as defined by Goldberg (1995). In each case, the verb *kicked* denotes the action, and the word *shut* specifies the resultant state of the direct object, illustrating constructional polysemy by combining action and outcome within a single syntactic pattern.

KNOCKED

(193)

"20 ABX W_fict_prose ... **[He'd knocked the pictures crooked]** and now he was fiddling with the things on Philip's desk..." (BNC)

In (193), the verb *knocked* demonstrates a resultative construction in the clause "He'd knocked the pictures crooked". The action (*knocked*) and the resultative complement (*crooked*) together express the effect on the direct object (*the pictures*), consistent with Goldberg's framework (cf. *knock* as a verb of "physical injury" in Goldberg, 1995, p. 67, and in "caused-motion constructions" in Goldberg, 2006, p. 100).

(194)

"39 G1M W_fict_prose ... thought she'd been rumbled, **[knocked the girl senseless]** and deleted the message..." (BNC)

In (194), the verb *knocked* in the predicate "knocked the girl senseless" likewise exemplifies a resultative construction. The verb *knocked* denotes the action, while the resultative complement (*senseless*) specifies the resultant state of the direct object (*the girl*), in accordance with Goldberg's definition of resultative constructions.

(195)

"54 CH7 W_newsp_tabloid ... He should have **[knocked the guy cold]** and not let him go on to the fourth round..." (BNC)

Furthermore, in (195), the verb *knocked* also demonstrates a resultative construction, as it conveys the action, while the resultative complement (*cold*) specifies the resultant state of the direct object (*the guy*), consistent with Goldberg's definition of resultative constructions.

Group 2: Analysis of *knocked* – Summary

In (193), (194), and (195), the verb *knocked* exemplifies constructional polysemy through its use in resultative constructions. In each case, *knocked* conveys the action, while the resultative complement ("crooked" (193), "senseless" (194), "cold" (195)) indicates the resulting condition of the direct object ("the pictures" (193), "the girl" (194), "the guy" (195)). This variation exemplifies Goldberg's framework, showing how a single verb can combine with different resultative complements to express diverse meanings.

PUSHED

(196)

"35 ACB W_fict_prose ... It had fallen down when she **[had pushed the door open]**. She leapt down, carefully shook the sand off it and..." (BNC)

Similarly, in (196), the verb *pushed* represents a resultative construction in the predicate "had pushed the door open". The action (*pushed*) and the resultative complement (*open*) together indicate the resulting state of the direct object (*the door*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) interpretation of resultative constructions (cf. *push* with a resultative in Goldberg, 1995, p. 188, as studied by Van Valin, 1990).

(197)

"50 CKE W_fict_prose ... He **[pushed the door open]**. He stood for a moment, looking up and down the..." (BNC)

In (197), the verb *pushed* in the predicate "pushed the door open" likewise illustrates a resultative construction. The verb conveys the action, while the resultative complement (*open*) denotes the resulting state of the direct object (*the door*), in line with Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction.

(198)

"78 BMW W_fict_prose ... Harriet **[pushed the door ajar]** and removed the keys from the lock. 'If you'l..."" (BNC)

Additionally, in (198), the verb *pushed* clearly demonstrates a resultative construction in the predicate "pushed the door ajar". The action (*pushed*) and the resultative complement (*ajar*) indicate the resultant state of the direct object (*the door*), corresponding to Goldberg's (1995) analysis of resultative constructions.

Group 2: Analysis of *pushed* – Summary

In (196), (197), and (198), the verb *pushed* exemplifies constructional polysemy through its use in resultative constructions. In each instance, *pushed* conveys the action, while the resultative complements ("open" (196, 197), "ajar" (198)) specify different resultant states of the direct object (*the door*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) framework.

THREW

(199)

"14 AC2 W_fict_prose ... before the Chairman **[threw the subject open for discussion]**. But, before doing so, he asked the..." (BNC)

In (199), the verb *threw* represents a resultative construction in the predicate "threw the subject open for discussion". The verb expresses the action, while the resultative complement (*open*) denotes the resulting state of the direct object (*the subject*). Although this usage is figurative (*threw* does not imply physical tossing), the structural and semantic relationship between the verb and the resultative complement aligns with Goldberg's framework (cf. *threw* in the resultative construction (VOR) in Goldberg, 2006, p. 114, Table 6.6, 1a.d., "Lyn threw the box apart").

(200)

"199 FEM W_misc ... The bus driver **[threw the door open]** and a stream of passengers leapt down to give chase on foot..." (BNC)

In (200), the verb *threw* demonstrates a resultative construction in the predicate *threw the door open*, as it describes the act of forcefully causing the door to move. The action (*threw*) and the resultative complement (*open*) together

convey the resulting condition of the direct object (*the door*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

(201)

"283 HWC W_fict_prose ... waved my hands high over my head and **[threw myself flat]**. While I was lying there, waiting, I realised that I..." (BNC)

In (201), the verb *threw* exemplifies a resultative construction in the predicate "threw myself flat". The action (*threw*) and the resultative complement (*flat*) together describe the resulting condition of the direct object (*myself*), aligning with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

Group 2: Analysis of *threw* – Summary

In (199), (200), and (201), the verb *threw* illustrates constructional polysemy through its use in resultative constructions. In each case, *threw* conveys the action, while the resultative complements ("open" (199, 200), "flat" (201)) specify different resultant states of the direct objects ("the subject" (199), "the door" (200), "myself" (201)). These examples highlight both literal and figurative uses of *threw*, falling within Goldberg's (1995) framework.

Group 2: Constructional Polysemy in *kicked*, *knocked*, *pushed*, and *threw* – Summary

The verbs *kicked*, *knocked*, *pushed*, and *threw* in Group 2 illustrate constructional polysemy within the "Result-as-Displacement" schema through their use in resultative constructions (Levin, 1993; Levin, in press; Simpson, 1983). Each verb conveys an action while its resultative complement specifies a resultant state of the direct object (e.g., *shut*, *crooked*, *ajar*, *flat*), demonstrating a consistent pattern of combining physical impact or force with diverse outcomes. These examples highlight the flexibility of the schema in accommodating both literal and figurative interpretations, aligning with Goldberg's (1995) framework.

(c) **Group 3: "Result-as-Surface-Change" Schema –** Verbs of Surface Contact and Modification (e.g., Rubbed, Scrubbed, Painted (Simpson, 1983), Wiped, and Washed)

RUBBED

(202)

"8 ACV W_fict_prose ... By the time he **[had rubbed the surface smooth]**, stopping periodically for a chat with Jos, his shoulder was..." (BNC)

In (202), the verb *rubbed* describes the act of applying repeated friction to the surface. The adjective *smooth* specifies the resultant state of the direct object

(*the surface*), showing that the rubbing action caused it to become smooth. This causal relationship between the action (*rubbed*) and the resultant state (*smooth*) satisfies the criteria for a resultative construction.

(203)

"92 BNC W_fict_prose ... The insistent, pressing cock. It **[rubbed his lips apart]** -- he had the crazy thought (it flashed through his head...)" (BNC)

In (203), the verb *rubbed* conveys the action of applying friction to the direct object (*his lips*). The resultant state (*apart*) directly follows the action (*rubbed*), fulfilling the causal relationship central to Goldberg's framework for resultative constructions.

(204)

"103 C85 W_fict_prose ... When she **[rubbed them clear]**, he was no longer there. Good riddance, she thought, scowling..." (BNC)

In (204), the verb *rubbed* describes the act of applying friction to the direct object (*them*, referring to her eyes). The resultant state (*clear*) directly follows from the action, establishing a causal relationship. Thus, the action (*rubbed*) and the resultative complement (*clear*) together describe the final condition of the direct object, consistent with Goldberg's (1995) framework.

Group 3: Analysis of *rubbed* – Summary

In (202), (203), and (204), the verb *rubbed* illustrates constructional polysemy through its use in resultative constructions. In each instance, *rubbed* denotes the action of applying friction, while the resultative complements ("smooth" (202), "apart" (203), "clear" (204)) specify distinct resultant states of the direct objects ("the surface" (202), "his lips" (203), "them" (204)). These examples highlight the integration of action and outcome, aligning with Goldberg's (1995) framework for resultative constructions.

SCRUBBED

(205)

"14 HSA W_fict_prose ... Mum filled the basin with hot soapy water and **[scrubbed the driving wheel clean]**. Then Pete sat and polished it dry with a soft..." (BNC)

In (205), the verb *scrubbed* describes the act of vigorously cleaning the direct object (*the driving wheel*). The resultant state (*clean*) directly follows the action (*scrubbed*), illustrating the causal relationship central to Goldberg's framework for resultative constructions.

(206)

"22 H07 W_non_ac_soc_science ... After you've **[scrubbed the dolls clean]**, do their laundry..." (BNC)

In (206), the verb *scrubbed* likewise refers to the act of thoroughly washing the direct object (*the dolls*). The action (*scrubbed*) and the resultative complement (*clean*) together describe the resulting condition of the direct object, consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

(207)

"30 ABW W_fict_prose ... The roads **[were all scrubbed clean]** by the frost and the snow. When she got back they were getting..." (BNC)

Similarly, in (207), the verb *scrubbed* describes the cleaning action performed on the direct object (*the roads*). The resultant state (*clean*) directly follows the action (*scrubbed*), illustrating the action-result relationship central to Goldberg's framework.

Group 3: Analysis of *scrubbed* – Summary

In (205), (206), and (207), the verb *scrubbed* exemplifies constructional polysemy within resultative constructions. In each case, *scrubbed* conveys an intensive cleaning action, while the resultative complement (*clean*) specifies the resultant state of the direct objects ("the driving wheel" (205), "the dolls" (206), "the roads" (207)). These examples highlight the consistent action-result relationship that is central to Goldberg's (1995) framework.

PAINTED

(208)

"26 AC5 W_fict_prose ... except it **[was painted dark brown]** like the corridors. The porter recognized Gloria and leaned out of his..." (BNC)

In (208), The verb *painted* represents a resultative construction in "it was painted dark brown". The action (*painted*) and the resultative complement (*dark brown*) together describe the resulting condition of the direct object (*it*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

(209)

"28 ACW W_fict_prose ... The ceiling **[was painted a dark maroon]**, with tiny pin-points of light set here and there in the..." (BNC)

In (209), the verb *painted* conveys the act of applying paint to the direct object (*the ceiling*). The resultant state (*a dark maroon)* directly follows from this action,

illustrating the action-result relationship central to Goldberg's framework for resultative constructions.

(210)

"41 BNC W_fict_prose ... It was a red machine that he **[had painted blue]**; and summertime mornings, early July, he would wheel on his quest..." (BNC)

In (210), *painted* similarly denotes the application of paint to the direct object (*it*, referring to the *machine*). This action leads to a resultant state (*blue*), exemplifying the causal link between action and outcome as outlined in Goldberg's model for resultative constructions.

Group 3: Analysis of *painted* – Summary

In (208), (209), and (210), the verb *painted* illustrates constructional polysemy within resultative constructions. In each instance, *painted* represents the action of applying paint, while the resultative complements - "dark brown" (208), "a dark maroon" (209), and "blue" (210) - specify the varied resultant states of the direct objects. These examples demonstrate the consistent action-result relationship fundamental to Goldberg's (1995) framework.

WIPED

(211)

"44 FR0 W_fict_prose ... **[He wiped the blade clean on his skin coat]** and walked out. Rodomonte hovered nervously on..." (BNC)

In (211), the verb *wiped* exemplifies a resultative construction in the clause "He wiped the blade clean on his skin coat". The action (*wiped*) and the resultative complement (*clean*) together describe the resulting condition of the direct object (*the blade*), aligning with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions (cf. *wipe* in the resultative construction in Goldberg, 1995, p. 189, (51)a, "He wiped the table clean").

(212)

"62 H7W W_fict_prose ... Polly carefully **[wiped the area dry]**. Nathan's face tightened in a wince and he muttered something..." (BNC)

In (212), the verb *wiped* describes the action of applying friction to the direct object (*the area*). The resultant state (*dry*) directly follows from this action, illustrating the action-result relationship central to Goldberg's framework.

(213)

"92 HPY W_ac_soc_science ... Wendy **[wiped the floor dry]**. Apart from these change-of-state verbs, are there any others which could..." (BNC)

In (213), *wiped* similarly conveys the act of removing moisture from the direct object (*the floor*). This action leads to the resultant state (*dry*), exemplifying the causal connection characteristic of resultative constructions.

Group 3: Analysis of *wiped* – Summary

In (211), (212), and (213), the verb *wiped* exemplifies constructional polysemy within resultative constructions. In each instance, *wiped* conveys an action involving friction, while the resultative complements - "clean" (211), "dry" (212), and "dry" (213) - specify the resultant states of the direct objects ("the blade" (211), "the area" (212), and "the floor" (213)). These examples highlight the consistent action-result relationship fundamental to Goldberg's (1995) framework.

WASHED

(214)

"30 CR6 W_fict_prose ... he **[washed the podger clean]** and put it back where he'd found it, against the..." (BNC)

In (214), the action (*washed*) and the resultative complement (*clean*) together describe the resultant condition of the direct object (*the podger*) in the clause *he washed the podger clean*, consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

(215)

"147 G3E W_fict_prose ... You'll probably find **[the walls washed clean]**, but there may be some evidence that he got out through one of..." (BNC)

In (215), the verb *washed* conveys the action of the rain cleaning the direct object (*the walls*). The resultant state (*clean*) directly follows the action (*washed*) in the phrase "the walls washed clean", fulfilling the causal relationship central to Goldberg's framework.

(216)

"237 2008 MAG TechReview ... and allows it **[to be washed clean between reactions]**: residual fluorescent bases would make it more difficult to accurately detect..." (COCA)

In (216), the verb *washed* denotes the cleaning action applied to the direct object (*it*, referring to the flow cell). The adjective *clean* specifies the resultant state of the flow cell, indicating it becomes free of contaminants, thereby fulfilling the action-result relationship central to Goldberg's framework.

Group 3: Analysis of *washed* – Summary

In (214), (215), and (216), the verb *washed* exemplifies constructional polysemy within resultative constructions. In each instance, *washed* conveys a cleaning action, while the resultative complement (*clean*) specifies the resultant state of the direct objects - "the podger" (214), "the walls" (215), and "the flow cell" (216). These examples highlight the consistent action-result relationship fundamental to Goldberg's (1995) framework.

Group 3: Constructional Polysemy in Rubbed, Scrubbed, Painted, Wiped, and Washed – Summary

The verbs *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *painted*, *wiped*, and *washed* in Group 3 exemplify constructional polysemy within the "Result-as-Surface-Change" schema through resultative constructions (see Levin, 2023, slide 13; Simpson, 1983). Each verb conveys a surface-modifying action (e.g., friction, cleaning, or application), while the resultative complements (e.g., *smooth*, *clean*, *dark brown*, *dry*) specify diverse resultant states of the direct objects. These examples illustrate the consistent integration of action and outcome, demonstrating the flexibility of Goldberg's (1995) framework for encoding surface changes.

(d) **Group 4: "Result-as-Movement" Schema** – Verbs Indicating Physical Movement or Agitation (e.g., Shook)

SHOOK

(217)

"39 CMP W_fict_prose ... Sharpe **[shook the bundle loose]** to reveal that it was a dark blue woollen cloak lined with..." (BNC)

In (217), the verb *shook* describes the physical action performed on the direct object (*the bundle*). The resultant state (*loose*) arises from this action in the predicate "shook the bundle loose", illustrating the action-result relationship fundamental to Goldberg's framework for resultative constructions.

(218)

"87 AE8 W_biography ... What finally **[shook the edifice apart]** were not so much domestic events as Gorbachev's abandonment of the..." (BNC)

In (218), the verb *shook* conveys the action performed on the direct object (*the edifice*). The resultant state (*apart*) results from the action (*shook*) in the predicate "shook the edifice apart", fulfilling the action-result relationship central to Goldberg's framework for resultative constructions.

(219)

"32 ACW W_fict_prose ... sleep until she **[shook him awake]** shortly before the second feature came to an end..." (BNC)

In (219), the verb *shook* represents a resultative construction in the predicate "shook him awake". The action (*shook*) and the resultative complement (*awake*) together describe the resultant condition of the direct object (*him*), consistent with Goldberg's (1995) definition of resultative constructions.

Group 4: Analysis of *shook* – Summary

In (217), (218), and (219), the verb *shook* demonstrates constructional polysemy within resultative constructions. In each instance, *shook* expresses a physical action, while the resultative complements - "loose" (217), "apart" (218), and "awake" (219) - specify diverse resultant states of the direct objects ("the bundle" (217), "the edifice" (218), and "him" (219)). These examples highlight the consistent action-result relationship integral to Goldberg's (1995) framework.

(e) **Group 5: "Resultative-Causation" Schema** – Causative Verbs of Enablement or Indirect Causation (e.g., Got)

GOT

(220)

"63 KCP S_conv ... round the sides **[where they've got the drunks tucked up]** old steel rails all around..." (BNC)

The verb *got* in "where they've got the drunks tucked up" (220) aligns with Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction, as it causatively links the action to the resultant state of the drunks being *tucked up.*

(221)

"158 FLS S_meeting ... Well you've **[got the doors open]** (pause) presumably!..." (BNC)

The predicate "got the door open" (221) describes a state change caused by or facilitated through the action of *got*. In this context, *got* expresses causation that results in the doors being *open*. Consequently, it aligns with Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction.

(222)

"348 HUA W_fict_prose ... Karen shouted anxiously, 'You two better get on deck, I've **[got the liferaft loose]**.' Gerry called back, 'Just one more try...'" (BNC)

In (222), the verb *got* fits Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction in the clause "I've got the liferaft loose". The construction causatively links the action (*got*) to the resultant state (*loose*) of the object (*the liferaft*).

Group 5: Analysis of *got* – Summary

The verb *got* in Goldberg's (1995) resultative construction consistently expresses causation leading to a resultant state (see also Levin, 2020). In "where they've got the drunks tucked up" (220), it links the action to the drunks being tucked up. In "got the doors open" (221), it signifies a state change resulting in the door being open. Similarly, in "I've got the liferaft loose" (222), it connects the action to the liferaft becoming *loose*.

3.3.1.3 Exploring Constructional Polysemy Across Resultative Schemas: A Synthesis of Action-Result Relationships

The five groups of verbs collectively highlight **constructional polysemy** through distinct resultative schemas within Goldberg's (1995) framework, capturing diverse action-result relationships:

1. **Verbs Indicating a Change in Physical State:** Verbs like *cut*, *sliced*, and *tore* exemplify the "Result-as-Damage" schema, where actions cause physical changes in an object's state. Resultative complements (e.g., *short*, *open*, *apart*) specify these resultant conditions, demonstrating the schema's versatility in expressing both literal and metaphorical outcomes (Levin, 1993, p. 113; Goldberg, 1995, pp. 63, 196).
2. **Verbs Denoting Physical Impact or Force:** Verbs such as *kicked*, *knocked*, *pushed*, and *threw* illustrate the "Result-as-Displacement" schema, combining physical force with resultant states of displacement (e.g., *shut*, *crooked*, *ajar*, *flat*). These examples showcase the schema's flexibility in accommodating both literal and figurative interpretations of force-induced outcomes (Levin, 1993, pp. 12, 100–101, 137; Goldberg, 1995, pp. 63, 155).
3. **Verbs of Surface Contact and Modification:** Verbs like *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *painted*, *wiped*, and *washed* operate within the "Result-as-Surface-Change" schema, where actions modify an object's surface. Resultative complements (e.g., *smooth*, *clean*, *dark brown*, *dry*) specify diverse surface changes, emphasizing the integration of action and result in encoding transformations (Goldberg, 1995, pp. 63, 81, 176; Levin, 1993, pp. 111–112; Croft, 2001, p. 131).
4. **Verbs Indicating Physical Movement or Agitation:** The verb *shook* represents the "Result-as-Agitation" schema, where physical actions induce resultant states (e.g., *loose*, *apart*, *awake*) in direct objects like *the bundle*, *the edifice*, and *him*. These examples highlight the robust action-result relationship inherent to this schema (Shibatani, 1976, p. 10; Goldberg, 1995, p. 63, p. 225).

5. **Causative Verbs of Obtaining or Indirect Causation:** Verbs like *got* exemplify the "Resultative-Causation" schema, where the action facilitates or causes a resultant state. For instance, in "where they've got the drunks tucked up" (220), *got* causatively links to the state of being *tucked up*. Similarly, in "got the door open" (221), it expresses a state change resulting in *open*, and in "I've got the liferaft loose" (222), it connects the action to *loose*. This schema highlights *got* as a verb that enables diverse resultative outcomes (Goldberg, 1995, pp. 32, 230; Levin, 1993, p. 115).

Together, these groups demonstrate the flexibility of resultative constructions in capturing a wide range of action-result relationships, from physical transformations to states induced through indirect causation. This constructional polysemy underscores the adaptability of Goldberg's framework (1995, 2006) in accommodating varied semantic and syntactic patterns, enriched by Levin's (1993) classifications and Shibatani's (1976) insights on causative structures.

3.3.2 Analysing the Resultative, Caused-Motion, and Way Constructions in Relation to the Verb *make*

Goldberg (1995, p. 88) explains that the resultative construction, exemplified by clauses such as "Joe kicked Bob black and blue", represents a metaphorical adaptation of the caused-motion construction, as seen in examples like "Joe kicked the bottle into the yard". In the caused-motion construction, the verb is non-stative and the oblique (OBL) functions as a directional phrase (Goldberg, 1995, p. 152), following the structural pattern "[SUBJ [V OBJ OBL]]" (idem.). An example of this pattern is "Mary urged Bill into the house" (1995, example (3), p. 152), which illustrates metaphorical motion, whereas "They sprayed the paint onto the wall" (idem., example (6)) demonstrates literal caused-motion.

In a later work (2019, p. 36; originally introduced in 1995), Goldberg discusses the Way Construction, illustrated by sentences like "She drove her way across the country", highlighting its connection to both the intransitive motion construction and the caused-motion construction. She also notes that the verb *make*, the most frequent verb in the resultative construction, is particularly productive in this context. Specifically, *make* allows for a wide range of adjectival complements, as shown in examples like "The soup made him sick/ill/crazy/happy/funny/tall/healthy/greenish" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 69).

Goldberg lists *make* among the verbs in the table "Main verbs and the constructional meanings they correspond to" (2006, p. 78, Table 4.3), linking it to the pattern "X causes Y to become Z", consistent with the previously discussed examples.

Goldberg (1995) argues that although the resultative and caused-motion constructions are related, they should be treated as distinct due to differences in

verb compatibility. For example, certain verbs, such as *make*, occur exclusively in the resultative construction, as illustrated by "It made him sick" and "It made him into a better man" (p. 87). She further explains that resultatives are restricted to arguments capable of undergoing a change of state as a consequence of the verb's action. This constraint confines resultatives to arguments functioning as 'patient' arguments, distinguishing them from caused-motion constructions (1995, p. 87).

Goldberg concludes that systematically related forms and meanings are connected through *inheritance links*. These links account for relationships between causative and inchoative versions of constructions, traditionally explained by lexical rules. Moreover, inheritance links also connect cases not typically addressed by such rules. For instance, the caused-motion construction is linked to the resultative construction via an "IM-link", grounded in the metaphor "Change of State as Change of Location". This metaphor establishes a systematic relationship between form and meaning, showing that the resultative construction is derived from and motivated by the caused-motion construction (1995, pp. 99–100).

For illustration, example (223) demonstrates the verb *drive* in the resultative construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 79, Example (2a): "Chris drove Pat mad..."), while example (224) features *make* in the resultative construction, and example (225) shows *make* in the Way Construction.

(223)

"170 G36 W_pop_lore ... I was particularly sensitive to the vibrations and eventually **[they drove me mad]**. So for the last three years she's lived alone..." (BNC)

According to Goldberg (1995), the resultative construction involves: a Subject performing an action (e.g., *they*, the causers of the action); an Object (e.g., *me*, the entity affected by the action) that undergoes a change of state or condition as a result of the action; and a Resultative Complement (e.g., *mad*) that specifies the resulting state of the object. Goldberg notes that the verb *drove* functions as an action verb indicating causation in this construction. For example, in her 1995 work, Goldberg provides "Chris drove Pat mad", which directly parallels *They drove me mad* in both structure and meaning. Thus, the verb *drove* in example (223) clearly depicts causation leading to a resultant state, fulfilling the criteria of the resultative construction. Moreover, Goldberg categorizes the semantics of *drive* as an instance of the *CAUSE-BECOME* pattern typical of the resultative construction (1995, p. 80).

(224)

"9 A0D W_fict_prose ... Of course he did: **[it made him more important]**. But, although it was something to tell the others at..." (BNC)

In (224), the clause *it made him more important* fits the resultative construction because: *it* (Subject) performs the action of making; *him* (Object) undergoes a change;

and *more important* (Resultative Complement) describes the resulting state of *him*. The verb *made* in this example conforms to the resultative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995), as her example "It made him sick" (p. 87) is structurally identical to *it made him more important* in (224). Both examples feature a subject, a causative verb (*made*), an object, and a resultative complement.

(225)

"27 CKD W_fict_prose ... William insisted on accompanying Hari as she left the house and **[made her way towards the docks]**. It was not yet dark but soon it would..." (BNC)

In (225), the Subject (e.g., *she*, implied through *Hari*) performs an action involving physical movement; the Object is typically 'way', often possessed by the subject or another entity (e.g., *her way*); and a Directional Complement (e.g., *towards the docks*) specifies the direction, path, or goal of the movement. Goldberg (1995) explicitly discusses examples like "They made their weary way home" (p. 215), which are structurally and semantically similar to "made her way towards the docks". Thus, (225) captures the deliberate movement of the subject (*Hari*) through the use of *her way* and the directional goal (*towards the docks*).

Summary

Goldberg (1995, 2019, p. 36) explains that the resultative construction, exemplified by clauses like "She drove him crazy" (concordance line 223: "They drove me mad", cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 79, Example (2a): "Chris drove Pat mad…"), represents a metaphorical adaptation (Goldberg, 1995, p. 99) of the caused-motion construction, as in "She drove him to Chicago" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 36).

Building on this connection, Goldberg further argues that the Way Construction, illustrated by "She drove her way across the country" (2019, p. 36) (concordance line 225: "made her way towards the docks"), is linked to both the intransitive motion construction and the caused-motion construction. This connection underscores the fluid relationship between motion and resultative meanings within her framework.

In examining the verb *make*, Goldberg highlights its frequent use in resultative constructions and its exceptional productivity, allowing a wide range of adjectival complements (e.g., "The soup made him sick/ill/crazy/happy/funny/tall/healthy/greenish"). Example (224: "It made him more important") demonstrates *make* in the resultative construction, adhering to the pattern "X causes Y to become Z". Importantly, Goldberg emphasizes that resultatives are limited to arguments capable of undergoing a change of state, thereby distinguishing them from caused-motion constructions.

Connecting these observations, Goldberg concludes that the resultative construction is systematically linked to the caused-motion construction through an "inheritance metaphor link" (cf. Goldberg, 1995, pp. 98–100), grounded in the

metaphor "Change of State as Change of Location" (1995, p. 88). This conceptual link illustrates that the resultative construction is both derived from and motivated by the caused-motion construction, revealing a broader relationship between form and meaning that extends across construction types.

3.3.3 Constructional Polysemy: A Comparison of Resultative and Caused-Motion Constructions with Complex Transitive Clauses

Building on Goldberg's (1995, 2019) insights into the interconnectedness of the resultative and caused-motion constructions (see also Goldberg, 1995, p. 180; 2006, p. 114), this section examines their constructional polysemy by comparing their usage with that of the complex transitive construction. Goldberg's analysis highlights the metaphorical links unifying these constructions, particularly the resultative's adaptation from the caused-motion construction through the metaphor "Change of State as Change of Location" (1995, p. 88). For example, the resultative construction ("Pat hammered the metal flat" [Goldberg, 1995, p. 81, (3)]) reflects a change of state, while the caused-motion construction ("Pat threw the metal off the table" [p. 81, (4)]) emphasizes movement through space.

This chapter contrasts resultative constructions with the SVOC pattern, exemplified by "He got his shoes and socks wet" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720), where the complement (C) describes the state or attribute of the direct object. It then compares caused-motion constructions with the SVOA clause type, as in "He got himself into trouble" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720), where the adverbial (A) indicates direction or resulting state. Both patterns represent instances of complex transitive complementation (Quirk et al., 1985, Chapter 10, p. 721).

Through these examples, the analysis uncovers how distinct constructions share overlapping formal and semantic properties while retaining unique functional roles. This highlights the dynamic interplay between syntax and meaning.

Specifically, the section begins by contrasting resultative constructions with English complex transitive clauses of the SVOC type, where the complement (C) describes a resultant state of the direct object. It then examines caused-motion constructions in relation to complex transitive clauses of the SVOA type, focusing on the adverbial (A) that specifies a location or direction linked to the action. This comparison emphasizes the shared formal structures and semantic parallels between the two clause types while clearly distinguishing the roles of the complement (C) and adverbial (A) in conveying result and motion.

The examples illustrating each clause type contain the verb *got*, which, according to Quirk et al., "can belong, in its various senses, to multiple classes …, and hence enter into various clause types" (1985, p. 720).

The verb *get* occurs in the clause "I need to get an early start" (Lock, 1996, p. 81), where it "has almost no experiential meaning". Consequently, it is classified

as a delexical verb by Lock, alongside other common verbs like *give*, *have*, *make*, and *take*, which are also discussed by Repka (2023).

3.3.3.1 Resultative Constructions and Complex Transitive Clauses (SVOC): A Comparison

Resultative clauses (Simpson, 1983; Goldberg, 1991, 1995; Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2001; Boas, 2003; Goldberg & Jackendoff, 2004; Levin, 2020, 2023; Katz, 2021) and English complex transitive clauses (Quirk et al., 1985) share a common structure in which a verb is followed by a direct object and an additional element that completes the sentence's meaning. In resultative clauses, this additional element describes the state or condition of the object, whereas in complex transitive clauses, it functions as a complement that further specifies or qualifies the object.

Both constructions share an Object + Complement structure, where the verb is followed by a direct object and a complement - often an adjective or prepositional phrase - that provides additional information about the object. This structural similarity highlights their shared formal properties while preserving their distinct semantic roles.

In resultative clauses, the complement depicts a change in the object's state caused by the verb's action. As Goldberg (1995, p. 39) explains, such clauses involve "an instigator causing something to change state". In contrast, in complex transitive clauses (SVOC), the complement typically describes a characteristic or condition of the object without necessarily implying change. According to Quirk et al. (1985, p. 741), "The typical semantic role of … an object complement is that of ATTRIBUTE". They identify two subtypes of this role: "identification" and "characterization". For example, "I made Maurice *my assistant*" illustrates identification, while "The teacher called their daughter *a good student*" exemplifies characterization (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 742).

Resultative clauses typically suggest that the subject's action causes a change in the object. Conversely, complex transitive clauses may describe an effect on the object or its state without implying causation.

The key distinction lies in focus: in resultative clauses, the complement always signifies a change of state or result caused by the action, whereas in complex transitive clauses, it may simply describe or modify the object without implying change.

Examples of Resultative Clauses

Goldberg (1995) defines resultative constructions as those in which the action of the verb brings about a new state or result, and this result is typically expressed by an additional complement. Resultatives follow this pattern: Subject + Verb + Object + Resultative Phrase (or Complement), as in (226), (227), and (228).

(226)

"51 KCA S_conv ... Lyn she's er **[got it all wrong]** I think, she thinks she wins men's affections like by..." (BNC)

In (226), the object *it* undergoes a change of state, becoming *all wrong* due to the action of *got*. The phrase *all wrong* serves as a resultative complement, specifying this new state. Thus, the verb *got* in "she's er got it all wrong" constitutes a resultative construction, as it expresses an action culminating in a specific state, as defined by Goldberg (1995).

(227)

"121 KDN S_conv ... Yeah, **[I've just got it going]**, granddad..." (BNC)

In (227), the subject (*I*) performed the action (*got*), causing the object (*it*, the fire) to reach the resultant state described by the complement (*going*). This aligns with Goldberg's (1995) definition of a resultative construction, as the verb *got* expresses causation, and the complement specifies the resulting state. Thus, *got* in "I've just got it going" represents a resultative construction.

(228)

"233 FM5 S_classroom ... and **[you got that sorted out]**. Now how do you put it down on paper? What..." (BNC)

In (228), the verb *got* expresses an action by the subject (*you*) that causes the object (*that*) to reach the resultant state described by the complement (*sorted out*). As a resultative complement, *sorted out* specifies the object's achieved state. Thus, *got* in "you got that sorted out" exemplifies a resultative construction according to Goldberg (1995).

Summary

In examples (226), (227), and (228), the verb *got* consistently expresses a resultative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995). In (226), *got* causes the object (*it*) to undergo a change of state, with *all wrong* serving as a resultative complement that specifies the new state. Similarly, in (227), the subject (*I*) uses *got* to bring the object (*it*, referring to the fire) to the state described by the complement *going*. Finally, in (228), *got* expresses causation, with the object (*that*) achieving the resultant state specified by the complement *sorted out*.

Across these cases, the verb *got* consistently fulfils the key criteria of a resultative construction by expressing an action that leads to a specific state described by the complement. This highlights the verb's role in linking causation to resultant states within Goldberg's framework.

Examples of Complex Transitive Clauses (SVOC)

In complex transitive clauses, the complement describes the object's state (e.g., a title or descriptor) without necessarily implying a physical change. Both resultative and complex transitive clauses share the structure: [Subject] + [Verb] + [Object] + [Complement]. However, the complement differs in function: in resultative clauses, it indicates a change in the object's state; in complex transitive clauses, it describes or modifies the object without implying a change, as in (229), (230), and (231).

(229)

"345 H8J W_fict_prose ... 'I think it's time **[we got things straight between us]**,' he said grimly. Claudia shook her head in..." (BNC)

In (229), the complement "straight between us" specifies the new state of the object (*things*) caused by the action (*got*), indicating causation by the subject (*we*). Thus, *got* in "I think it's time we got things straight between us" represents an SVOC clause, with a subject, verb, object, and complement describing the resultant state.

(230)

"365 HUA W_fict_prose ... Karen shouted anxiously, 'You two better get on deck, **[I've got the liferaft loose]**.' Gerry called back, 'Just one more try...'" (BNC)

In (230), the complement *loose* describes the resultant state of the object (*the liferaft*) caused by the verb *got*, making it an SVOC clause with the structure: Subject (I) + Verb (*got*) + Object (*the liferaft*) + Complement (*loose*).

(231)

"376 JY1 W_fict_prose ... '**[I've got an overnight bag packed]**, but before we go --' she took a hold..." (BNC)

In (231), the complement *packed* describes the state of the object (*an overnight bag*) resulting from the action of *got*. This aligns with an SVOC structure: Subject (I) + Verb (*got*) + Object (*an overnight bag*) + Complement (*packed*). The verb *got* implies possession of the object in its current state, not causation, distinguishing it from a resultative construction. Therefore, *got* in "I've got an overnight bag packed" represents an SVOC construction.

Summary

In examples (229), (230), and (231), the verb *got* consistently represents an SVOC construction, as it includes a subject, verb, object, and complement describing the state of the object. In (229), *straight between us* specifies the resultant state of "things" caused by the action of *got*. In (230), *loose* describes

the state of *the liferaft* resulting from the action of *got*. In (231), *packed* indicates the state of *an overnight bag*, with *got* implying possession of the object in its current state rather than causation. All three cases align with the SVOC structure.

Constructional Polysemy of *got*: Resultative vs. SVOC Clauses

The verb *got* demonstrates constructional polysemy, manifesting itself in two distinct constructions: resultative clauses (examples 226, 227, and 228) and SVOC clauses (examples 229, 230, and 231).

In the resultative construction group, *got* exemplifies causation, where the complement explicitly describes a state resulting from the action. In (226), *all wrong* specifies the resultant state of *it* due to the subject's action. Similarly, in (227), the subject uses *got* to bring *it* (the fire) to the state described by the complement *going*. In (228), the verb expresses causation leading *that* to achieve the state described by *sorted out*. In all these cases, *got* fulfils Goldberg's (1995) criteria for resultative constructions by linking an action to a specific resultant state.

In contrast, the SVOC construction group reflects a different function of *got*, where the complement describes the state of the object but without necessarily implying causation. In (229), the complement *straight between us* specifies the resultant state of "things" caused by the action of *got*. In (230), *loose* describes the state of *the liferaft* following the action of *got*. However, in (231), *packed* indicates the state of *an overnight bag*, with *got* suggesting possession rather than causation. Unlike resultative constructions, these examples emphasize describing or attributing a state to the object, aligning with the SVOC pattern.

Thus, these two groups illustrate the polysemous nature of *got*, which can alternate between constructions emphasizing causation and those focusing on attributive or descriptive relationships, depending on the interaction between the verb, object, and complement.

3.3.3.2 Caused-Motion Constructions and Complex Transitive Clauses (SVOA): A Comparison

The difference between the Caused-Motion Construction (as described by Goldberg, 1995) and the SVOA complex transitive clause (as outlined by Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720) lies in the nature of the verb's semantics and the syntactic roles of the sentence elements.

According to Goldberg, the 'caused-motion construction' is exemplified by expressions such as "Joe squeezed the rubber ball inside the jar" (1995, p. 52, example (40)). This construction describes a scenario in which the subject causes an object to move to a specific location. The movement is explicitly induced by the subject, and the prepositional phrase indicates the endpoint or result of the motion (Goldberg, 1995, pp. 73, 174). In this framework, the verb *got* can be used

to express causation of motion, where the subject causes something or someone to move to a specific location. For example, in 'caused-motion constructions', the focus is on the physical movement initiated by the subject, with the prepositional phrase specifying the destination.

By contrast, the SVOA complex transitive structure describes situations in which the subject causes a state or condition to affect the object - often reflexively - rather than causing literal spatial movement. For instance, in "He got himself into trouble" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720), the adverbial phrase "into trouble" expresses the resulting state or condition, not a physical destination. Similarly, in examples like "You can put the dish on the table", the adverbial "on the table" functions as an object-related modifier rather than indicating caused motion (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 721). In these constructions, the emphasis is on the resulting state or condition of the object, with no spatial movement implied.

Examples of Caused Motion Clauses

(232)

"413 CBF W_newsp_other_report ... the manager picked her up and **[got her away]**. 'These people were trying to kill us. It's all..." (BNC)

In (232), the verb *got* in *got her away* represents the caused-motion construction because it describes the subject (*the manager*) causing the object (*her*) to move to a specific location or state (*away*). The focus is on the causation of physical motion, which is the hallmark of the caused-motion construction.

(233)

"417 K4M W_newsp_other_report ... She was very lucky in that **[she got her hands over her face in time]**. The man is described as white..." (BNC)

In (233), the verb *got* in "got her hands over her face" similarly exemplifies the 'caused-motion construction', as the subject (*she*) causes the object (*her hands*) to move to a specific location (*over her face*). This construction focuses on the causation of physical motion, which is explicitly conveyed by the verb.

(234)

"421 A6R W_pop_lore ... and by the time **[we got the fish to the deeper water]** the carp sacks were frozen,' added Ian..." (BNC)

In (234), the verb *got* in "got the fish to the deeper water" also represents the 'caused-motion construction', as it describes the subject causing the object (*the fish*) to move to a specific location (*to the deeper water*). The focus on physical motion and its endpoint is central to this construction.

Summary

In examples (232), (233), and (234), the verb *got* consistently represents the caused-motion construction, describing the subject causing the object to move to a specific location or state: "got her away" (motion to "away") in (232), "got her hands over her face" (motion to "over her face") in (233), and "got the fish to the deeper water" (motion to "to the deeper water") in (234). In each case, the construction emphasizes the causation of physical motion and its endpoint, a defining feature of the caused-motion construction.

Examples of Complex Transitive Clauses (SVOA)

(235)

"378 JY9 W_fict_prose ... their continual invasion of my privacy **[got me down]**. But the main reason for quitting was that I felt stale..." (BNC)

The verb *got* in "got me down" in (235) fits the SVOA complex transitive clause structure. The subject causes the object to enter a figurative state (*down*), with the adverbial *down* indicating the resultant condition. This is a canonical example of causation resulting in a state, aligning closely with the SVOA pattern described in frameworks such as Quirk et al. (1985).

(236)

"343 GVL W_fict_prose ... The lion fell in a heap, and she **[got a steel knee on top of it]**. Leaning down, she took its head..." (BNC)

The verb *got* in (236) occurs in the SVOA complex transitive clause structure. It describes the subject (*she*) causing the object (*a steel knee*) to enter a resulting state or position (*on top of it*). This is a clear example of causation resulting in a state or condition, which aligns with the SVOA pattern.

(237)

"477 ECM W_biography ... she accepted a challenge which nearly **[got her expelled]**. One evening her friends, reviewing the dwindling stocks of sweets in..." (BNC)

In (237), The verb *got* in "got her expelled" illustrates the SVOA complex transitive clause structure, as it describes causation resulting in a state or condition (being *expelled*) for the object (*her*). The focus is on the induced state rather than physical motion, which is characteristic of SVOA clauses.

(238)

"411 CBF W_newsp_other_report ... **[I got my own back on Terry]**. I sent him to the north of Scotland on..." (BNC)

In (238), the verb *got* in "I got my own back on Terry" aligns with the SVOA complex transitive clause structure, but it is part of an idiomatic expression meaning "I took revenge on Terry". The idiomatic nature of *got my own back* adds a layer of figurative meaning, but the structure adheres to the SVOA pattern.

Summary

In examples (235), (236), (237), and (238), the verb *got* consistently aligns with the SVOA complex transitive clause structure, where the subject causes the object to enter a resulting state or condition. These include: "got me down" (a figurative state, *down* (235)), "got a steel knee on top of it" (a positional state, *on top of it* (236)), "got her expelled" (a condition, *expelled* (237)), and "got my own back on Terry" (an idiomatic expression of revenge, *my own back* (238)). Although (238) carries idiomatic meaning, all four examples emphasize causation leading to a resultant state, consistently following the SVOA pattern.

Constructional Polysemy of *got*: Caused Motion vs. SVOA Clauses

The verb *got* demonstrates constructional polysemy, functioning across distinct constructions to convey nuanced meanings. In examples (232), (233), and (234), it represents the Caused-Motion Construction, where the subject causes the object to move to a specific physical location or state: "got her away" (232), "got her hands over her face" (233), and "got the fish to the deeper water" (234). These instances emphasize physical motion and its endpoint.

In contrast, in examples (235), (236), (237), and (238), *got* aligns with the SVOA complex transitive clause structure, where the subject causes the object to enter a resulting state or condition: "got me down" (figurative state, (235)), "got a steel knee on top of it" (positional state, (236)), "got her expelled" (condition, (237)), and "got my own back on Terry" (idiomatic revenge, (238)). Unlike the Caused-Motion examples, these SVOA instances emphasize causation leading to a resulting state rather than physical motion. This contrast showcases the verb's flexibility in spanning different constructions depending on context and semantics.

Conclusion

The verb *got* exemplifies constructional polysemy by operating across multiple constructions to convey diverse meanings, shaped by the interaction of the verb, object, and complement. This polysemy is evident in two primary groups: resultative and SVOC constructions and Caused-Motion and SVOA constructions.

In resultative constructions, *got* expresses causation, linking an action to a resultant state described by the complement, as seen in examples like "got it all wrong" (226) or "got the fire going" ("I've just got it going", where "it" represents "the fire") (227). Conversely, in the SVOC construction group, *got* shifts its function

to emphasize the attribution of a state to the object, as in "got the liferaft loose" (222) or "got things straight" (229), without always implying direct causation.

Similarly, in the Caused-Motion construction, *got* conveys physical motion and its endpoint, illustrated by examples like "got her away" (232) or "got the fish to the deeper water" (234). In contrast, in the SVOA construction, *got* emphasizes causation leading to a resulting state or condition, as seen in "got me down" (235) or "got her expelled" (237).

These examples illustrate the polysemous flexibility of *got*, which alternates between constructions to convey causation, motion, or descriptive relationships. This adaptability underscores the verb's nuanced role in capturing distinct semantic and syntactic relationships within contextually driven frameworks, highlighting its dynamic interaction with clause structures.

Part III Summary
Examples of Constructions Exhibiting Polysemy in the Context of Concordance Lines

This chapter investigates constructional polysemy - the coexistence of multiple meanings within a single grammatical construction - as revealed through concordance lines in authentic language data.

The analysis begins with a discussion of the polysemy of the delexical verb *throw* across constructions, based on examples (108) to (128) selected from concordance lines in the British National Corpus (BNC).

Following this, the chapter focuses on constructional polysemy within canonical clauses and argument structure constructions, examining the Way Construction, aligning areas of polysemy, and contrasting the manifestation of polysemy between selected argument constructions (as defined by Goldberg, 1995) and canonical clause patterns in educational grammar (e.g., Quirk et al., 1985).

The analysis begins with the Way Construction in English clauses, drawing on BNC concordance lines (examples 129–155). Structural similarities with complex transitive clauses are discussed, as both involve a verb followed by an object (or object-like phrase) and a complement. A detailed examination of concordance lines (129–153) reveals constructional polysemy within this construction, identifying four main classifications based on the literature:

1. Literal vs. Figurative Motion: Literal motion involves physical movement through space (e.g., "She walked to the store" [72]), whereas figurative motion

72 See *University of Vermont Graduate Writing Center. (n.d.).* Sentence types: Sentence structure and clauses. Retrieved from https://www.uvm.edu/sites/default/files/Graduate-Writing-Center/GWC%20Guides/Revising/Sentences_Handout_Final.pdf.

metaphorically represents abstract ideas or processes (e.g., "He climbed the corporate ladder"[73]).

2. Effortful/Challenging Motion vs. Simple Motion: This distinction contrasts motion requiring significant effort or challenge with straightforward, unimpeded movement.
3. Mental/Emotional Progress vs. Physical Progress: Compares progress in cognitive or emotional domains with literal, physical advancement.
4. Path to a Goal vs. Descriptive Manner of Movement: Differentiates between motion directed toward a specific goal and movement described in terms of its manner.

Specific examples from the concordance lines illustrate these contrasts, and polysemy areas are contextualized with reference to the subject literature. A subsection on polysemy and flexibility within the Way Construction bridges literal and metaphorical domains in six points, supported by examples from the concordance lines.

The chapter then contrasts the Way Construction with examples illustrating the SVOA (Subject-Verb-Object-Adverbial) pattern, focusing on four categories derived from the aforementioned contrasts: Literal Motion, Effortful/Challenging Motion, Figurative Motion, and Mental/Emotional Progress. The analysis notes that the *way* element functions as a direct object, while the goal or direction appears as an adverbial, allowing classification within the SVOA pattern as presented by Quirk et al. (1985). Finally, the Way Construction and the SVOA clause pattern are contrasted in terms of semantic flexibility, syntactic structure, interpretative range, and cognitive basis, emphasizing the link between physical motion and abstract domains in the Way Construction.

Subsequent sections of the chapter delve into constructional polysemy in resultative and complex transitive constructions, analysing specific verbs used in the resultative construction (e.g., *baked*, *burned/burnt*, *cut*, *got*, *kicked*, *knocked*, *made*, *painted*, *pushed*, *rubbed*, *scrubbed*, *shook*, *sliced*, *threw*, *tore*, *washed*, and *wiped*). The discussion distinguishes between directional/locative resultative phrases and transformative resultative phrases, referencing key literature (Goldberg, 1995; Boas, 2003). Polysemy in resultative phrases is analysed in terms of flexibility, contextual consistency, and semantic variation.

This chapter categorizes verbs in resultative constructions into five groups, drawing on prior research:

1. Verbs indicating a change in physical state (Goldberg, 1995; Levin, 1993).

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73 American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language. (2011). *Over*. In *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (5th ed.). Retrieved September 8, 2024, from https://www.thefreedictionary.com/over.

2. Verbs denoting physical impact or force (Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Levin, 1993, 2009; Talmy, 2000b).
3. Verbs of surface contact and modification (Levin, 1985, 1993; Goldberg, 1995; Pinker, 1989).
4. Verbs indicating physical movement or agitation (Talmy, 2000b; Levin, 1993).
5. Causative verbs of obtaining or indirect causation (Shibatani, 1976; Goldberg, 1995, 2006).

These verb groups correspond to distinct resultative schemas: *Result-as-Damage*, *Result-as-Displacement*, *Result-as-Surface-Change*, *Result-as-Movement*, and *Resultative-Causation*. The analysis highlights the constructional polysemy within and across these schemas, linking specific verb groups to their respective semantic and syntactic patterns.

The chapter concludes by examining resultative, caused-motion, and Way Constructions in relation to the delexical verb *got*, using examples from BNC concordance lines. After contrasting resultative and caused-motion constructions with complex transitive clauses (SVOC) as outlined by Quirk et al. (1985, p. 720), the discussion focuses on the caused-motion construction (Goldberg, 1995) and the SVOA complex transitive clause (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720). Constructional polysemy across these structures is analysed in depth, using examples up to (238) from the BNC.

Part IV

Part IV
Unique Contributions to Educational Grammar in Goldberg (1995): Polysemy in Constructions

Building on the analysis of constructional polysemy through concordance lines in the previous chapter, this chapter explores the theoretical and educational innovations introduced by Goldberg (1995) in her construction grammar framework. While the preceding discussion highlighted polysemous patterns in specific constructions such as resultative, caused-motion, and Way Constructions, the focus now shifts to Goldberg's unique perspective on polysemy as a cornerstone of constructional meaning.

Goldberg (1995, p. 4) emphasizes that "Several constructions can be shown to be associated with a family of distinct but related senses, much like the polysemy recognized in lexical items. Moreover, these constructions themselves are shown to be interrelated". Her analysis is grounded in extensive prior research in Construction Grammar, citing foundational works by scholars such as Fillmore, Kay, and Lakoff[74], and builds on these insights to propose a systematic approach to understanding the relationships between constructions.

Goldberg (1995, pp. 3−4) identifies five key argument structure constructions that illustrate her approach:

1. Ditransitive Construction: "X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z" (e.g., "Pat faxed Bill the letter").
2. Caused-Motion Construction: "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" (e.g., "Pat sneezed the napkin off the table").
3. Resultative Construction: "X CAUSES Y to BECOME Z" (e.g., "She kissed him unconscious").
4. Intransitive Motion Construction: "X MOVES Y" (e.g., "The fly buzzed into the room").
5. Conative Construction: "X DIRECTS ACTION at Y" (e.g., "Sam kicked at Bill").

These constructions, Goldberg argues, not only exhibit polysemy within their own semantic networks but are also interrelated in systematic ways. By framing polysemy within these constructions, she underscores its foundational role in understanding form-meaning pairings in language.

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74 "(cf. Fillmore 1985b, 1987, 1988, 1990; Fillmore & Kay 1993; Lakoff 1987; Fillmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988; Brugman 1988; Kay 1990; Lambrecht \990, 1994; Goldberg 1991a, 1992a; Michaelis 1993; Koenig 1993; Filip 1993)" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 4).

This chapter builds on Goldberg's categorization by examining the polysemy of "The English Caused-Motion Construction". Since "The Resultative Construction" was analysed in Section 3.3, it will not be revisited. The "Intransitive Motion Construction", aligned with the "SVA" (Subject-Verb-"subject-related adverbial") pattern (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 720), is assumed to be easily recognizable to the primary audience of this work - students of English grammar. Instead, the focus shifts to Goldberg's (1995) "Conative Construction" as represented in corpus data, with attention to the pedagogical implications of constructional polysemy. Section 4.1 explores central senses and variations in "Ditransitive Constructions" (Goldberg, 1995), Section 4.2 examines polysemy in "The Caused-Motion Construction" through concordance lines with selected verbs, and Section 4.3 investigates the "Conative Construction" (Goldberg, 1995, 2006, 2019) via concordance lines.

4.1 Exploring Central Senses and Variations in Ditransitive Constructions: Insights from Concordance Lines

Goldberg (1995, pp. 31–33) argues that constructions, like morphemes, often exhibit polysemy, being associated with a family of closely related senses rather than a single abstract meaning. This constructional polysemy is particularly evident in the English ditransitive construction. Typically, this construction conveys the notion of an agent causing the transfer of an object to a recipient. However, Goldberg highlights that this "successful transfer" meaning represents only the central sense of the construction.

Variations arise in cases where the transfer is suggested but not fully realized, such as with "verbs of creation" (e.g., "Chris baked Jan a cake", Goldberg, 1995, p. 32), "future having" (e.g., "Bill bequeathed his nephew a fortune", Goldberg, 1995, p. 32; cf. p. 75), or "obligation" (e.g., "Bill promised his son a car", Goldberg, 1995, p. 32). Additionally, some verbs, such as those of "permission" ("Joe allowed Billy a popsicle", Goldberg, 1995, p. 32) or "refusal" ("Joe refused Bob a raise in salary", Goldberg, 1995, p. 33), introduce nuances where the transfer is merely enabled, negated, or contingent.

Goldberg emphasizes that these variations are not random but systematically related, forming a coherent semantic network around the central sense. This polysemous structure allows the ditransitive construction to capture a broad range of meanings while preserving their interconnections. This approach offers a more natural explanation than positing separate rules for each variation.

Drawing on Traugott (1988), Sweetser (1990), and Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Goldberg (1995) identifies the central sense of the ditransitive construction as one involving concrete, rather than metaphorical or abstract (e.g., potential), transfer. She illustrates this with examples such as "Mary taught Bill French" (p. 33, example (8))

and "Mary showed her mother the photograph" (p. 33, example (10)), where, as she claims, "the metaphorical transfer was successful" (p. 33). These patterns are reflected in examples (239) and (240) below.

Goldberg contrasts these instances with prepositional variants of the indirect object, such as "Mary taught French to Bill" (p. 33, example (9)) and "Mary showed the photograph to her mother (but her nearsighted mother couldn't see it)" (p. 33, example (11)). These transformations, which highlight subtle shifts in meaning and focus, are exemplified in (241) and (242).

(239)

"58 EVC W_fict_prose ... as **[Oswin taught Topaz to play chess, throw the dice, and handle a pack of cards]**..." (BNC)

In (239), the use of *taught*, as in Goldberg's example, involves a metaphorical transfer of knowledge or skills. The context implies that *Oswin* successfully conveyed these abilities to Topaz, as evidenced by Topaz actively engaging in learning activities (e.g., *chess*, *dice* games). Additionally, the subsiding quarrels may indicate successful social interaction facilitated by this learning process.

Goldberg's construction often implies successful learning, and the concordance line similarly suggests that *Topaz* acquired and engaged with the skills Oswin taught. Both examples portray teaching as a dynamic process through which the recipient gains knowledge or skills. Thus, the verb *taught* in (239) aligns with Goldberg's (1995) usage, reflecting the ditransitive construction in which an agent transfers knowledge or skills to a recipient, with an implied sense of successful metaphorical transfer. This connection reinforces Goldberg's argument about the polysemous nature of the ditransitive construction and its central sense of successful transfer.

(240)

"106 HTG W_fict_prose ... **[One of my gentlemen taught it to me]**. It's by that Rochester bloke.' Amiss had a..." (BNC)

In (240), the act of teaching likely involves reciting, explaining, or interpreting the poem to the speaker. This reflects Goldberg's notion of metaphorical transfer, where knowledge or skills are conveyed from one person to another. Similar to "Mary taught French to Bill" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 33, example (9)), this sentence uses the prepositional construction (*taught it to me*), emphasizing the patient ("it", i.e., "the poem") being transferred, while the recipient (*me*) takes secondary focus.

The context suggests that the teaching was successful: the speaker understands the poem and credits the agent ("one of my gentlemen") for imparting it. This observation corresponds to Goldberg's insight that successful transfer is often implied in such constructions. Therefore, the verb *taught* in (240) closely parallels its usage in Goldberg's example, "Mary taught French to Bill" (1995, p. 33).

Both illustrate the prepositional ditransitive construction, involving metaphorical transfer of knowledge or content from an agent to a recipient, with an implied sense of successful transfer.

(241)

"3 KDJ S_conv ... I sort of went of that erm and I, **[I showed him a window]**, **[showed him a corner section]** erm, I didn't ask..." (BNC)

In (241), the verb *showed* in "I showed him a window, showed him a corner section" is analogous to Goldberg's (1995) example "Mary showed her mother the photograph" (p. 33, example (10)), though with subtle contextual differences.

Both share the typical ditransitive construction: Agent (*I*), Recipient (*him*), and Patient (the *window* and *corner section*). In both cases, "showing" involves the metaphorical transfer of visual or conceptual access to the patient, with an implied sense of successful transfer. This reflects Goldberg's observation about the success implied in such constructions, highlighting the correspondence between the concordance line and her example.

(242)

"72 HGM W_fict_prose ... 'Yes, yes, I did. **[He showed them to me]** in his flat.' 'How much for?'" (BNC)

The verb *showed* in "He showed them to me" (242) similarly follows Goldberg's (1995) example "Mary showed the photograph to her mother" (p. 33, example (11)). Both share the prepositional ditransitive construction, involving an agent (e.g., *He*, "Mary"), a patient (e.g., *the IOUs*, "the photograph"), and a recipient (e.g., *me*, "her mother"). In both cases, the agent facilitates the transfer of perceptual or conceptual access to the patient, with the prepositional construction emphasizing the patient while acknowledging the recipient. As such, *showed* in the concordance line mirrors Goldberg's example, highlighting successful metaphorical transfer.

Summary

Examples (239) and (240) with *taught* and (241) and (242) with *showed* illustrate the central senses of the ditransitive construction and its prepositional transformations, providing valuable material for students and further practice. In (239) and (240), *taught* reflects the transfer of knowledge or skills from an agent to a recipient, with an implied sense of successful metaphorical transfer. Similarly, in (241) and (242), *showed* involves the transfer of visual or conceptual access, emphasizing the patient while acknowledging the recipient.

The prepositional transformations, such as "taught French to Bill" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 33, example (9)) or "showed the IOUs to me" (example 242, where the pronoun *them* refers to *the IOUs*), shift focus to the patient, offering subtle variations

in meaning and emphasis. Concordance lines, as seen here, provide practical examples for students to explore these constructions, analyse their components, and practice identifying the nuances between central senses and their transformations.

4.1.1 Constructional Polysemy as a Unified Explanation for Variability in Meaning

Goldberg (1995, pp. 38–39) argues that constructional polysemy offers a more coherent explanation for the variability in meanings associated with the ditransitive construction compared to abstractionist or lexical rule accounts. She asserts that the metaphorical extensions of the ditransitive construction originate from its central sense of actual transfer ("X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z"), forming a network of related senses motivated by force-dynamic relations, as described by Talmy (1976, 1985) and others (Jackendoff, 1990).

Contrary to concerns that attributing polysemy to constructions adds complexity, Goldberg emphasizes that this polysemy exists independently of how verb meanings are represented. Traditional lexical rule accounts would require multiple rules to address variations in meaning (e.g., "intended transfer" in *leave*, *grant*; "conditions of satisfaction" in *promise*, *owe*; or "negated transfer" in *deny*, *refuse*). In contrast, a polysemous constructional approach captures these nuances without postulating numerous verb senses, offering a unified explanation of the interaction between verbs and constructions.

4.1.2 Inheritance Links and Patterns of Polysemy in the Ditransitive Construction

Goldberg (1995, p. 75) discusses 'inheritance links' as a means of capturing the relationships between the central sense of a construction and its extensions, particularly in the context of the ditransitive construction. She explains that the syntactic specifications of the central sense ("X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z") are inherited by its extensions, eliminating the need to restate syntactic realizations for each derived sense. This principle parallels the way morphological polysemy is represented in grammar.

The ditransitive construction exemplifies this pattern of polysemy, featuring a central sense and multiple extensions (see Goldberg, 1995, p. 75, examples 1–6, with alterations).

1. Central sense: *X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z* (e.g., "Joe gave Sally the ball").
2. Conditions of satisfaction imply transfer: "Joe promised Bob a car".
3. Enabling transfer: "Joe permitted Chris an apple".
4. Negation of transfer: "Joe refused Bob a cookie".
5. Intended transfer: "Joe baked Bob a cake".
6. Future transfer: "Joe bequeathed Bob a fortune".

Each extension is linked to the central sense through inheritance, maintaining semantic and syntactic coherence across variations.

Summary

Goldberg's (1995) analysis of the ditransitive construction shows how constructional polysemy offers a unified explanation for the variability in its meanings. Anchored in the central sense ("X CAUSES Y to RECEIVE Z"), metaphorical extensions form a network of related meanings motivated by force-dynamic relations (Talmy, 1972, 1985). Inheritance links ensure that syntactic structures are preserved across extensions, eliminating the need for multiple lexical rules.

This approach highlights the semantic flexibility of the ditransitive construction - encompassing notions such as transfer, intention, negation, and future causation - while demonstrating the efficiency of constructional polysemy. Goldberg's framework provides a compelling explanation for how meaning emerges from the dynamic interplay of constructions and their interconnections.

In contrast to models that prioritize abstract rules, Construction Grammar emphasizes context-sensitive, usage-based patterns. Goldberg underscores the inherent polysemy of constructions, where related senses form interconnected networks. Her work aligns with usage-based linguistics, as developed by scholars like Langacker (1987) and Bybee (1985, 2010).

4.2 Polysemy in Caused-Motion Constructions: Insights from Concordance Lines

Goldberg (1995, p. 76) explains that the caused-motion construction, for example, "*explain* …used in a caused-motion construction with a pronominal recipient and lexical theme (e.g., *Explain the story to me*)" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 87), with the form "NP [V NP PP]" (Goldberg, 2006, p. 125), exhibits a pattern of polysemy comparable to the ditransitive construction. Its central sense, "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z", as in:

1. "Pat pushed the piano into the room".

extends to several related meanings (cf. Goldberg, 1995, p. 76), such as:

2. Conditions of satisfaction: "Pat ordered him into the room".
3. Enabling: "Pat allowed Chris into the room".
4. Preventing motion: "Pat locked Chris into the room".
5. Helping: "Pat assisted Chris into the room".

These extensions suggest a family of causal relations, which can be further understood within Talmy's force dynamics framework (Talmy, 2000a, Chapter 7

Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition). Talmy's model provides a conceptual foundation for the various causal relationships at play in the caused-motion construction - capturing distinctions such as enablement, resistance, and aiding.

Talmy (2000a, p. 413) describes causation as occurring "in the realm of physical force". He introduces the concepts of an Agonist and an Antagonist, where the Agonist has an intrinsic tendency (e.g., to move or remain at rest), while the Antagonist opposes and overcomes this tendency, forcing a change in motion (Talmy, 2000a, p. 415). These terms, borrowed from physiology (where they describe opposing muscle pairs), allow for a structured understanding of causal interactions in language.

Talmy (2000a, 413−418) identifies four causative patterns, the most prototypical of which is onset causation of motion - a situation where an external force initiates movement. This model aligns with the caused-motion construction's central sense, *X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z*, and provides a framework for understanding how semantic extensions such as enabling ("Pat allowed Chris into the room"), preventing ("Pat locked Chris into the room"), and aiding ("Pat assisted Chris into the room") fit within a larger system of causal relations.

While the caused-motion and ditransitive constructions share some overlap in meaning, particularly in extensions 2, 3, and 4, they remain structurally distinct. For instance, the caused-motion construction allows for an interpretation of assistance, as in: "Pat assisted Chris into the room" [Example 5, Goldberg, 1995, p. 75]), whereas the ditransitive construction does not ("*She helped him the prize" [Goldberg, 1992, p. 110, Example 1]). The sentence "*She helped him the prize" is both ungrammatical and illogical in English. As Goldberg (1992, p. 110) notes, while the caused-motion construction can express an interpretation such as "X helps Y to move Z", the ditransitive construction does not allow for this meaning, making "*She helped him the prize" impossible. To convey the intended meaning, the sentence must be restructured with an infinitive phrase, as in Goldberg's example: "She helped him to get the prize" (p. 110).

Goldberg (2006, p. 9) later elaborates that the ditransitive construction evokes the notion of transfer or 'giving' and requires the goal argument to be an animate being capable of receiving the transferred item. For example, "Liza bought Zach a book" (Example 23, Goldberg, 2006, p. 9) illustrates an animate goal argument.

In contrast, the caused-motion construction entails motion toward a location, as in "Liza sent a book to storage" (Example 24), where the book is caused to move to storage (2006, p. 9). Goldberg (1995, p. 76) emphasizes that polysemous patterns must be learned individually for each construction. Each extension constitutes a distinct construction, minimally different from the central sense of either caused-motion or ditransitive constructions, but linked through specific semantic and syntactic relations.

To further illustrate the caused-motion construction and explore its polysemy, the following concordance lines provide examples of this construction in various contexts. These examples highlight how the central sense of "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 76) extends to related meanings, including **enabling** (*allowed* and *permitted*), **preventing motion** (*locked* and *hindered*), and **helping** (*assisted* and *helped*). Examining these lines sheds light on the diverse interpretations and nuances of the caused-motion construction, as well as its polysemous nature (Goldberg, 1995, p. 76).

Additional verbs such as *enabled* and *facilitated* (enabling), *blocked*, *restrained*, and *impeded* (preventing motion), as well as *guided* and *supported* (helping), further broaden the range of polysemous uses within the caused-motion construction. These verbs highlight its flexibility in capturing subtle distinctions across contexts, from facilitating movement to explicitly obstructing or aiding it. By incorporating this wider array of examples, we see how the construction adapts to diverse semantic and syntactic environments, enriching our understanding of its versatility and nuanced meanings.

4.2.1 Enabling: Facilitating Movement and Permission

This subsection explores the theme of enabling actions, focusing on how verbs such as *allowed*, *permitted*, *enabled*, and *facilitated*, as seen in BNC concordance lines, convey permission or assistance in causing movement.

ALLOWED

(243)

"97 GVL W_fict_prose ... **[Susan allowed the ship to drift down]**, and relaxed as the bulk settled into the receptive..." (BNC)

The verb *allowed* in concordance line (243) illustrates the caused-motion construction as defined by Goldberg (1995), provided the sentence meets the syntactic and semantic criteria. The structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized in "Susan allowed the ship to drift down" as follows: X (causer) is "Susan" (the agent initiating the action), Y (causee) is "the ship" (the entity being moved), and Z (goal/path) is "down" (the direction of motion). Susan's action of "allowing" indirectly causes the ship to move downward, aligning with Goldberg's broader definition of caused-motion, which includes indirect causation. Thus, the verb *allowed* fits the construction by describing Susan (X) enabling the ship (Y) to move downward (Z), where permission and directed motion satisfy the criteria.

PERMITTED

(244)

"473 HJB W_misc ... requesting that **[be permitted safe passage to Edinburgh]** to receive her award and also her **[safe return to Kenya]**..." (BNC)

In (244), the verb *permitted* fits Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction through indirect causation. In the sentence "...requesting that (-----) be permitted safe passage to Edinburgh to receive her award and also her safe return to Kenya", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is as follows: X (causer): the "Kenyan President" or authorities (granting permission), Y (causee): the individual (unspecified), Z (goal/path): "safe passage to Edinburgh" and "return to Kenya". The verb *permitted* describes an agent (X) enabling the movement of the individual (Y) to specific locations (Z) by granting permission. This indirect facilitation of motion corresponds to Goldberg's broader definition of the caused-motion construction, demonstrating the framework's flexibility in accounting for indirect causation.

ENABLED

(245)

"59 BM4 W_newsp_other_report ... but eventually **[a lucky deflection enabled the Otters centre-forward to score]**. This roused the Ruffians from their lethargy and they..." (BNC)

In (245), the verb *enabled* adheres to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, though it involves indirect causation. The context "a lucky deflection enabled the Otters centre-forward to score" realizes the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" as follows: X (causer): "a lucky deflection", Y (causee): "the Otters centre-forward", and Z (goal/path): "to score" (the metaphorical goal). The verb *enabled* describes an indirect causal relationship where the deflection (X) creates the conditions for the centre-forward (Y) to achieve the goal (Z). While the motion is metaphorical (scoring in sports), this usage illustrates Goldberg's framework, which accommodates indirect and abstract causation.

FACILITATED

(246)

"58 EBP W_ac_humanities_arts ... for example) **[may have facilitated his constant journeying to and fro]** by providing staging posts on the road to and..." (BNC)

In (246), the verb *facilitated* conforms to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, though it represents indirect causation. The context "may have facilitated his constant journeying to and fro by providing staging posts on the road to and [unspecified]" aligns with the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z"

as follows: X (causer): "Egerton, East Sutton, Sutton Valence and Wickham" (enabling entities), Y (causee): "his constant journeying" (the enabled activity), and Z (goal/path): "to and fro" (the directional motion). The verb describes an indirect causal relationship, where the staging posts (X) enable the journeying (Y) along the path (Z). This usage similarly aligns with Goldberg's framework, which accounts for indirect causation, satisfying its syntactic and semantic criteria.

Summary

The analysis of the verbs *allowed*, *permitted*, *enabled*, and *facilitated* highlights the constructional polysemy of the caused-motion construction with the semantics of *enabling* as defined by Goldberg (1995). Each verb illustrates how indirect causation can satisfy the construction's criteria, aligning with the broader pattern of "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z".

1. In (243), the verb *allowed* exemplifies indirect enabling, as Susan's action permits the ship to drift downward, satisfying the directional motion requirement.
2. In (244), the verb *permitted* describes an authority (X) granting safe passage (Y) to specific locations (Z), underscoring how permission can facilitate motion indirectly.
3. In (245), the verb *enabled* conveys how a lucky deflection (X) creates conditions for the Otters centre-forward (Y) to metaphorically achieve a goal (Z), extending the construction to abstract domains.
4. In (246), the verb *facilitated* reflects how staging posts (X) support journeying (Y) along a path (Z), showcasing the construction's flexibility in accommodating indirect causation within physical and directional contexts.

These examples demonstrate the versatility of the caused-motion construction in capturing nuanced meanings of enabling, with both concrete and metaphorical motion aligning with the framework's syntactic and semantic requirements.

4.2.2 Preventing Motion: Blocking and Restricting Movement

This subsection examines the semantic dimension of preventing motion, using verbs such as *locked*, *hindered*, *blocked*, *restrained*, and *impeded*, as found in BNC concordance lines, to illustrate obstruction or restriction within the caused-motion construction.

LOCKED

(247)

"1 KB1 S_conv ... He's been out the car and **[locked me in it]**. Yes, even if I go anywhere, if I..." (BNC)

In (247), the verb *locked* conforms to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction. In the context "He's been out the car and locked me in it", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized as follows: X (causer): "He" (the agent), Y (causee): "me" (the confined person), Z (goal/path): "in it" (the car as the spatial location). The verb *locked* describes a direct action where the agent ensures the causee remains in a specific location. While the motion is not physical, the construction accommodates states of confinement, fulfilling its syntactic and semantic requirements and demonstrating the flexibility of Goldberg's framework.

HINDERED

(248)

"54 H0B W_non_ac_humanities_arts ... hath **[hindered their digging of copper out of the entrails of the earth]**; looping these peaceable..." (BNC)

In (248), the verb *hindered* similarly falls under Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, representing an impediment within a motion-related event. In the context "hath hindered their digging of copper out of the entrails of the earth", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized as follows: X (causer): "so much steel in the bowels of men, during our Civil Wars" (hindering entity), Y (causee): "their digging of copper" (movement activity), Z (goal/path): "out of the entrails of the earth" (directional goal). The verb describes how the causer (X) obstructs the causee's (Y) ability to achieve motion toward the goal (Z), satisfying the spatial component of the construction. While the focus is on blocking rather than direct causation, this usage aligns with Goldberg's framework, which accommodates indirect and impeded motion.

BLOCKED

(249)

"36 KRT S_brdcast_news ... **[They've also blocked off the railway line]**, and British drivers say they've been threatened at knife..." (BNC)

In (249), the verb *blocked* also illustrates Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, as it involves preventing motion with a clear spatial component. In "They've also blocked off the railway line", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized as follows: X (causer): "They" (the agents), Y (causee): implicitly, entities like trains or vehicles, Z (goal/path): "off the railway line" (the blocked path). The verb denotes an action where the agents prevent motion along a specific path, consistent with Goldberg's framework, which accommodates the restriction or redirection of motion. This satisfies the syntactic and semantic requirements of the caused-motion construction.

RESTRAINED

(250)

"103 K1F W_news_script ... while **[he was being restrained by officers during a disturbance at the jail]**. Pratt denies assault causing actual bodily..." (BNC)

In (250), the verb *restrained* exemplifies Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, as it describes restricting motion with a spatial component. The clause "while he was being restrained by officers during a disturbance at the jail" realizes the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" as follows: X (causer): "officers" (the agents), Y (causee): "he" (the restrained individual), Z (goal/path): the implied prevention of movement, restricting free motion. The verb depicts the officers causing the individual to remain confined, satisfying the construction's requirements by accommodating motion prevention. This usage underscores the flexibility of Goldberg's framework in describing actions that impede motion rather than enabling it.

IMPEDED

(251)

"18 HJ3 W_newsp_other_report ... The letter claimed **[Edward's daffodils' impeded the visibility splays' on the carriageway]**. It ordered Edward to destroy what he..." (BNC)

In (251), the verb *impeded* conforms to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, as it describes an obstruction affecting the motion of vision along a path. The sentence "The letter claimed Edward's daffodils impeded the visibility splays on the carriageway" realizes the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" as follows: X (causer): "Edward's daffodils" (causing obstruction), Y (causee): "the visibility splays" (metaphorically, the area of visibility), Z (goal/path): "on the carriageway" (the spatial path). The verb describes how the daffodils (X) indirectly restrict the motion or extension of visibility (Y) along a defined path (Z), fulfilling the syntactic and semantic requirements of the construction.

Summary

The analysis of the verbs *locked*, *hindered*, *blocked*, *restrained*, and *impeded* demonstrates the versatility of Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction in capturing a range of actions, including motion prevention and obstruction, with both direct and indirect causation. Each verb aligns with the syntactic structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z", where X (causer) initiates or restricts motion, Y (causee) is the entity affected, and Z (goal/path) represents the spatial component.

1. In (247), the verb *locked* describes a direct action confining the causee (*me*) to a specific location (*in the car*), illustrating how the construction accommodates states of confinement rather than physical movement.

2. In (248), the verb *hindered* represents an impediment within a motion-related event, where the causer (*so much steel*) obstructs the causee's (*digging of copper*) ability to achieve motion toward a directional goal (*out of the entrails of the earth*).
3. In (249), the verb *blocked* involves preventing motion along a defined path (*off the railway line*) by restricting entities like trains or vehicles, demonstrating the framework's ability to account for actions that obstruct spatial motion.
4. In (250), the verb *restrained* exemplifies restricting motion, as officers prevent the individual from moving freely, satisfying the construction's requirements by accommodating motion prevention within a spatial context.
5. In (251), the verb *impeded* highlights an obstruction to motion, where daffodils hinder the extension of visibility (*the visibility splays*) along a path (*on the carriageway*), showing how the framework extends to abstract motion scenarios.

These examples showcase the flexibility of Goldberg's caused-motion construction in describing not only actions that cause movement but also those that block or prevent it, emphasizing the framework's ability to accommodate a variety of spatial and motion-related events.

4.2.3 Helping: Assisting and Supporting Movement

This subsection explores the category of aiding motion by using verbs such as *assisted*, *helped*, *guided*, and *supported*. It draws on examples from BNC concordance lines to demonstrate how the construction adapts to convey assistance.

ASSISTED

(252)

"24 H8A W_fict_prose ... **[Oliver, set-faced, assisted Angelina into the first victoria that returned]**. She thanked him composedly and made room..." (BNC)

In (252), the verb *assisted* demonstrates Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction by involving an agent facilitating motion with a clear spatial component. In "Oliver, set-faced, assisted Angelina into the first victoria that returned", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized in the following way: X (causer): "Oliver" (the agent), Y (causee): "Angelina" (the entity being moved), Z (goal/path): "into the first victoria" (the spatial goal). Although the causation is indirect, Oliver's assistance enables Angelina's movement to the *victoria*, satisfying the syntactic and semantic criteria of the construction.

HELPED

(253)

"24 CK0 W_fict_prose ... 'You know I will.' **[I helped him lie back]**. 'Have one little drink and then off to sleep.'" (BNC)

In (253), the verb *helped* conforms similarly to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, just as *assisted* does in (252). In "I helped him lie back", the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" is realized as demonstrated here: X (causer): "I" (the agent assisting), Y (causee): "him" (the person being moved), Z (goal/path): "lie back" (the directional motion). The verb describes an agent enabling a causee's movement to a specific physical position. While the causation is indirect, as the agent assists rather than fully performs the action, the motion is explicit and directional, fulfilling the syntactic and semantic requirements of the construction.

GUIDED

(254)

"2 KDM S_conv ... Well **[Margaret guided us to ruddy Conway]** in er, anyway, we got there and we had..." (BNC)

In (254), the verb *guided* also adheres to Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, as it involves an agent facilitating motion toward a specific goal. The clause "Margaret guided us to ruddy Conway" fits the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" as demonstrated here: X (causer): "Margaret" (the agent), Y (causee): "us" (the entities being guided), Z (goal/path): "to ruddy Conway" (the destination). While Margaret does not physically move the group, her guidance enables their motion to the goal, satisfying the syntactic and semantic criteria of the construction.

SUPPORTED

(255)

"31 CJT W_fict_prose ... who now hobbled on **[the built-up shoe that supported his club foot towards his filing cabinets]**. A building has been destroyed and..." (BNC)

In (255), the verb *supported* likewise falls under Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, as it involves enabling motion toward a goal. The clause "the built-up shoe that supported his club foot towards his filing cabinets" realizes the structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" as follows: X (causer): "the built-up shoe" (enabling entity), Y (causee): "his club foot" (the entity being supported), Z (goal/path): "towards his filing cabinets" (direction of movement). While the

person initiates the motion, the "shoe" facilitates it by supporting the "foot", demonstrating indirect causation. This aligns with Goldberg's framework, which accommodates enabling actions and satisfies the syntactic and semantic criteria of the construction.

Summary

The analysis of the verbs *assisted*, *helped*, *guided*, and *supported* highlights the constructional polysemy of Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction, illustrating how different verbs can convey indirect causation while maintaining the core syntactic structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z". These examples demonstrate the flexibility of the construction in capturing a range of motion-related actions.

1. In (252), the verb *assisted* involves an agent (*Oliver*) enabling another entity (*Angelina*) to reach a specific spatial goal (the *victoria*). Though causation is indirect, the motion is explicitly directional, satisfying the construction's criteria.
2. In (253) the verb *helped* similarly describes indirect causation, where the agent assists the causee (*him*) in achieving a directional motion (*lying back*). The motion is explicit and physical, fulfilling the framework's syntactic and semantic requirements.
3. In (254), the verb *guided* highlights an agent (*Margaret*) facilitating the motion of multiple entities (*us*) toward a goal (*ruddy Conway*). The motion, while guided rather than directly caused, aligns with the caused-motion construction's criteria.
4. In (255), the verb *supported* extends the construction to include physical facilitation, where the built-up shoe enables the motion of the causee (*his club foot*) toward a specific spatial goal (*his filing cabinets*). This example showcases how indirect causation can include physical assistance.

Each verb underscores the construction's ability to represent enabling actions where agents indirectly facilitate motion toward a spatial or directional goal. These cases reveal the polysemous nature of the caused-motion construction, accommodating diverse types of causation and motion across various contexts.

4.2.4 Constructional Polysemy in the Caused-Motion Construction: Enabling, Assisting, and Obstructing Motion

The analysis of various verbs within Goldberg's (1995) caused-motion construction demonstrates the framework's constructional polysemy and flexibility in capturing diverse meanings related to causation and motion. Across the examples, the syntactic structure "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" remains central, while the semantics of causation vary from enabling actions to motion prevention and facilitation.

1. **Enabling Verbs**: Verbs such as *allowed*, *permitted*, *enabled*, and *facilitated* in examples (243) to (246) illustrate how indirect causation satisfies the caused-motion construction. In these instances, agents enable entities to move toward specific goals. These examples highlight the construction's capacity to encode subtle distinctions in the semantics of assistance and permission.
2. **Preventing and Obstructing Verbs**: Verbs like *locked*, *hindered*, *blocked*, *restrained*, and *impeded* in examples (247) to (251) expand the construction to include actions that restrict or prevent motion. These examples demonstrate the construction's versatility in capturing both direct and indirect causation in contexts involving spatial components.
3. **Facilitating and Assisting Verbs**: Verbs such as *assisted*, *helped*, *guided*, and *supported* in examples (252) to (255) emphasize the role of agents in enabling motion through indirect causation rather than direct force. These verbs underscore the construction's ability to represent facilitating actions that result in motion toward spatial or directional goals.

Overall, the caused-motion construction's polysemy accommodates a broad range of verbs with diverse meanings, from enabling and assisting to restricting and obstructing motion. This versatility highlights the construction's adaptability in representing complex causation scenarios across different semantic domains.

Summary

The analysis of the caused-motion construction in Goldberg's (1995) framework highlights its polysemy and flexibility in capturing diverse causation and motion meanings. The syntactic pattern "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z" accommodates various types of causation, including verbs that enable motion (e.g., *allowed*, *permitted*, *enabled*), restrict or prevent it (e.g., *locked*, *hindered*, *blocked*), and facilitate or assist movement (e.g., *assisted*, *helped*, *guided*). This versatility allows the construction to effectively represent complex scenarios of causation, from enabling and assisting to obstructing motion, demonstrating its semantic adaptability.

4.3 Polysemy in Conative Constructions: Insights from Concordance Lines

Goldberg (1995, p. 4) defines the "Conative Construction" as "X DIRECTS ACTION at Y", represented structurally as "Subj V Obl_{at}". This construction is exemplified by sentences like "Sam kicked at Bill" (Example 5). Additional examples include "Ethel struck at Fred" and "Ethel shot at Fred" (p. 63, Examples (74a) and (74b)). According to Goldberg, the verb in this construction denotes the intended result of the action conveyed by the construction (1995, p. 63).

Addressing verb selection in the conative construction, Goldberg (1995, p. 63) cites earlier research, explaining that verbs must be "[+motion, +contact]", which permits forms such as "*shoot*, *hit*, *kick*, and *cut*" while excluding verbs like "**move* (no contact)" and "**touch* (no motion)" (Guerssel et al., 1985; Laughren, 1988). She further clarifies that this constraint is captured by restricting the class of verbs that can instantiate the predicate ("PRED") when the result relation ("R") involves an intended outcome (1995, p. 63).

Semantically, Goldberg's analysis shows that the intended-result relation ("R") requires verbs with the features "+motion" and "+contact". In this construction, the agent ("agt") corresponds to the Subject ("Subj"), while the theme aligns with the oblique argument ("OBL"), which is marked by "at" as in "$OBL_{\text{"at"}}$" (Obl-at). This syntactic relationship is illustrated in Figure 2.13 (Goldberg, 1995, p. 63).

Goldberg (1995, p. 64, Examples (75a) and (75b)) explains that the conative construction can accommodate expressions such as "Fred looked at Ethel" and "Ethel aimed at Fred." Although these are not [+motion, +contact] verbs, they share semantic similarities with typical conative examples like "Ethel struck at Fred" (p. 63, Example (74a)). In these cases, the verb's semantics aligns with the overarching meaning of the construction.

Verbs like *look* and *aim* represent instances of the "DIRECT-ACTION-AT" schema, where the verb's meaning integrates with the construction's semantics. Goldberg illustrates this integration through a diagram of the composite structure "Conative + *aim*" (1995, p. 64, Figure 2.14). In this structure, the intended result relation ("R") is defined as an "instance" of directed action. The verb *aim* signifies the act of aiming, with the subject ("SUBJ") corresponding to the "aimer" (agent, "agt"), and the oblique argument (Obl-at) representing the "target" (semantically, the "theme").

Goldberg emphasizes that the construction's core meaning remains consistent, regardless of whether the verb denotes an instance of the action or its intended outcome. What varies is the relationship between the verb's meaning and the construction's meaning, referred to as the "R-relation". To account for the "[+motion, +contact]" constraint in more typical conative examples, these R-relations must correspond to specific verb classes (1995, p. 64).

In her more recent work, Goldberg (2019) associates the conative construction with "communication", referring to it as the "Communication Conative Construction". Structurally represented as "Subj, V, $Oblique_{at}$", this construction is exemplified by sentences like "She yelled at the duck" and described as "X directs forceful action at Y" (Goldberg, 2019, p. 35, Table 3.1). Goldberg further identifies connections between the "Communication Conative Construction" and the "Intransitive Construction" (2019, p. 37, Figure 3.1).

4.3.1 Exploring the Conative Construction: Typical and Extended Applications Across Four Verbs

The following examples from concordance lines illustrate the central conative construction, featuring verbs such as *kicked* and *struck* followed by the preposition *at*. This is followed by examples showcasing verbs like *looked* and *aimed*, which also accommodate the preposition *at* in the conative construction.

KICKED

(256)

"3 ABX W_fict_prose ... **[Philip kicked at the pile of sticks he'd gathered for his trap]**, scattering them..." (BNC)

In (256), the verb *kicked* illustrates the conative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995). In the clause "Philip kicked at the pile of sticks he'd gathered for his trap, scattering them", the verb *kicked* denotes a forceful motion directed at a target (*the pile of sticks*). The preposition *at* marks the target, satisfying the syntactic requirements of the conative construction. Although the action results in scattering the sticks, indicating partial contact, the conative construction remains valid even when the result is incidental or unintended. As a "[+motion, +contact]" verb, *kicked* involves a physical action aimed at a specific target, aligning closely with Goldberg's semantic and syntactic framework. Thus, the verb *kicked* in this concordance line exemplifies the conative construction.

STRUCK

(257)

"5 EWC W_fict_prose ... **[The crow turned again, struck at Bigwig and missed]**. Hazel heard its beak hit a pebble in the grass..." (BNC)

In (257), the verb *struck* aligns with the conative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995), similarly to how *kicked* functions in (256). In the line "The crow turned again, struck at Bigwig and missed", *struck* denotes a forceful motion directed at a target (*Bigwig*), fulfilling the semantic and syntactic criteria of the conative construction. Notably, the clause *and missed* illustrates a key feature of this construction: the directed action does not necessarily achieve its intended outcome (i.e., actual contact).

The verb *struck* is "[+motion, +contact]", representing a physical action aimed at a target, with the preposition *at* marking the target and reinforcing the structural template of the conative construction. This use of *struck* in the concordance line conforms to Goldberg's (1995) definition of the conative construction, both syntactically and semantically.

LOOKED

(258)

"61 AB9 W_fict_prose ... **[The boy looked at her and uncontrollable tears suddenly filled his eyes]**. He was very nearly as..." (BNC)

In (258), the verb *looked* can also be interpreted as illustrating the conative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995), albeit as a non-typical example. This interpretation aligns with Goldberg's (1995, p. 64) expanded definition of the conative construction, which includes expressions like "Fred looked at Ethel" (Example (75a)) and "Ethel aimed at Fred" (Example (75b)), even though these verbs are not "[+motion, +contact]". In such cases, the construction is described as "X DIRECTS ACTION at Y", where the action involves directing attention or intent rather than physical force or motion.

In the sentence "The boy looked at her and uncontrollable tears suddenly filled his eyes", the verb *looked* represents an act of directing visual attention toward the referent (*her*). The preposition *at* marks the target of the action, fulfilling the syntactic pattern of the conative construction (Subj V Obl-at). Although *looked* lacks the "[+motion, +contact]" features typical of the conative construction, its inclusion fits within Goldberg's broader framework, where intentional direction (in this case, visual attention) connects semantically with the schema

As Goldberg explicitly identifies "looked at" as an example of the conative construction (1995, p. 64), this concordance line illustrates the construction under her expanded interpretation. While the verb is not "[+motion, +contact]", its structural and functional alignment with the schema qualifies it as part of the conative construction.

AIMED

(259)

"25 HGS W_fict_prose ... **[It had been aimed at my head]**, but I moved at the last second, prompted by some..." (BNC)

In (259), the verb *aimed* corresponds to the conative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995), similarly to *looked* in (258), albeit as a non-typical example. In the clause "It had been aimed at my head", the verb *aimed* denotes a deliberate, targeted action directed toward a specific target (*my head*), conforming semantically to the conative schema "X DIRECTS ACTION at Y". The preposition *at* marks the target, satisfying the syntactic pattern of the conative construction (Subj V Obl-at).

Although no physical contact occurs (the blow does not hit the head), the directed intention aligns with Goldberg's expanded definition of the conative construction.

Like *looked* in (258), *aimed* lacks the "[+motion, +contact]" features typical of prototypical conative verbs (e.g., *kick*, *strike*). However, within Goldberg's broader framework, intentionality and direction suffice to classify the verb as part of the construction.

Thus, with its structural (Subj V Obl-at) and semantic features (intentional direction toward a target), the verb aimed in this concordance line exemplifies the conative construction under Goldberg's (1995) expanded interpretation.

4.3.2 Constructional Polysemy in the Conative Construction: From Prototypical Actions to Extended Interpretations

The analysis of these four passages highlights the constructional polysemy of the conative construction as defined by Goldberg (1995). Typical examples, such as *kicked* in (256) and *struck* in (257), illustrate the prototypical conative construction, characterized by "[+motion, +contact]" verbs. These verbs denote physical, forceful actions directed at a target, marked syntactically by the preposition *at*. Crucially, the construction accommodates both successful and unsuccessful outcomes, maintaining its validity even when the intended result is not achieved.

In contrast, the verbs *looked* in (258) and *aimed* in (259) exemplify non-typical extensions of the conative construction. Goldberg's expanded framework allows for verbs that lack the "[+motion, +contact]" features to be included when they semantically align with the schema "X DIRECTS ACTION at Y". These cases emphasize intentional direction - such as visual attention in *looked* or targeted intent in *aimed* - rather than physical force. Structurally, they maintain the syntactic template (Subj V Obl-at), reinforcing their inclusion within the construction.

Together, these examples demonstrate the polysemous nature of the conative construction, spanning from prototypical physical actions to more abstract instances of directed intent, reflecting Goldberg's broader interpretive framework.

4.3.3 Exploring the Conative Construction: Applications Across Six Communication Verbs

Finally, the 'Communication Conative Construction', involving the verb *yelled*, is demonstrated through concordance line examples. Additional focus is placed on other verbs associated with the 'Communication Conative Construction'. According to Goldberg (2019, p. 35), this construction typically involves verbs of directed communication or expression, often conveying force or intensity. Examples include *shout*, *scream*, *call*, *bark*, and *holler*, all of which align with the construction's semantics of "X directs forceful action at Y". These verbs involve an agent performing a communicative act, marked by intensity, directed toward a target.

YELLED

(260)

"3 AC4 W_fict_prose ... **['Come on!' he yelled at the Woman]**. 'And bring the boy. We've got to get...'" (BNC)

In (260), the verb *yelled* exemplifies the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019, p. 35). This construction involves a subject (Subj) directing a forceful verbal action at a target (Oblique-at), structurally represented as "Subj, V, Oblique-at". Goldberg's example "She yelled at the duck" illustrates this schema, semantically described as "X directs forceful action at Y".

In the line "Come on!' he yelled at the woman", *yelled* denotes a forceful communicative act directed at a specific target ("the woman"). The preposition *at* marks the target, fulfilling the structural template of the construction. The semantics correspond to Goldberg's framework, as the subject ("he") performs a directed verbal action toward the target ("the woman").

Furthermore, the concordance line "Come on!' he yelled at the woman" corresponds to Goldberg's (2019, p. 35) definition of the "Communication Conative Construction", both structurally and semantically. Here, *yelled* effectively conveys the forceful communication characteristic of this construction, and the prepositional phrase "at the woman" specifies the recipient of the action.

SHOUTED

(261)

"22 ADS W_fict_prose ... and **[he shouted at her to be quick]**, that Ferdinando was waiting to take him rabbit-shooting..." (BNC)

In (261), the verb *shouted* aligns with the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019), similarly to *yelled* in (260). In the clause "he shouted at her to be quick", the verb *shouted* denotes a forceful verbal action directed toward a target (*her*), with the preposition *at* marking the target and fulfilling the syntactic structure of "Subj, V, Oblique-at". Semantically, the subject (*he*) performs a directed communicative act, consistent with the description "X directs forceful action at Y".

Similar to *yelled* in (260), *shouted* conveys loud, intentional communication directed at a recipient, satisfying the structural and semantic criteria of the construction. Thus, the verb *shouted* in this concordance line exemplifies Goldberg's (2019) 'Communication Conative Construction'.

SCREAMED

(262)

"22 CA0 W_fict_prose ... **['I don't want to play with kids,' she screamed at Luke]**. 'They're all laughing at me.'" (BNC)

In (262), the verb *screamed* fits the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019), similarly to *yelled* in (260) and *shouted* in (261). In the line "I don't want to play with kids,' she screamed at Luke", the verb *screamed* indicates a loud, forceful verbal action directed at a target (*Luke*). The preposition *at* marks the target, satisfying the syntactic structure of "Subj, V, Oblique-at".

Semantically, the subject (*she*) performs an intense communicative act (screaming) directed at the recipient (*Luke*), aligning with Goldberg's description of "X directs forceful action at Y". Like *yelled* and *shouted*, the verb *screamed* involves loud, forceful communication and fulfils both the structural (Subj, V, Oblique-at) and semantic (forceful communication directed at a target) requirements of the 'Communication Conative Construction'.

CALLED

(263)

"46 G3E W_fict_prose ... **[Moving to the door he called at the retreating back: "Lorrimer. I want a word with you]**." (BNC)

In (263), the verb *called* in this concordance line can fall under the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019), similarly to *yelled* in (260), *shouted* in (261), and *screamed* in (262). In the line "Moving to the door he called at the retreating back: 'Lorrimer. I want a word with you'", the verb *called* signifies a loud verbal action directed toward a target (*the retreating back*, metaphorically referring to the person addressed). The preposition *at* marks the recipient of the communication, satisfying the syntactic structure of the 'Communication Conative Construction' (Subj, V, Oblique-at).

Semantically, the subject (*he*) directs a loud communicative action (*called*) toward the recipient (*Lorrimer*), corresponding to the description of "X directs forceful action at Y". Like these verbs, *called* conveys a forceful, intentional communication directed at someone. While it is less intense than *screamed* or *shouted*, it still fits the broader criteria of the construction. The prepositional phrase "at the retreating back" emphasizes the directed nature of the communication, reinforcing its consistency with the 'Communication Conative Construction'.

The verb *called* in this concordance line corresponds to Goldberg's (2019) 'Communication Conative Construction', both syntactically and semantically.

Similar to *yelled* in (260), *shouted* in (261), and *screamed* in (262), it represents a loud, directed verbal action with the target marked by the preposition *at*.

BARKED

(264)

"20 AA8 W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc ... **[Then one barked at me: 'Hand over your revolver!]'** 'My what?'" (BNC)

In (264), the verb *barked* adheres to the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019), similarly to *yelled* in (260), *shouted* in (261), *screamed* in (262), and *called* in (263). In the sentence "Then one barked at me: 'Hand over your revolver!'", the verb *barked* metaphorically describes a sharp, forceful verbal command directed at a target (*me*). The preposition *at* marks the recipient of the communication, fulfilling the syntactic structure of "Subj, V, Oblique-at".

Semantically, *barked* aligns with the 'Communication Conative Construction' as it conveys a loud, intense verbal action resembling the communicative force of *yelled* or *shouted*. While *barked* carries a metaphorical tone (evoking a dog's bark), its use in human communication is consistent with Goldberg's framework for directed verbal actions. Like *yelled*, *shouted*, *screamed*, and *called*, the verb *barked* represents a loud, intentional verbal action directed at a target, with the preposition *at* marking the recipient.

HOLLERED

(265)

"1 KB7 S_conv ... **[Mm I really hollered at him]**. Shut your bloody gob (laughing) otherwise I'll shut..." (BNC)

In (265), the verb *hollered* demonstrates the 'Communication Conative Construction' as described by Goldberg (2019), similarly to *yelled* in (260), *shouted* in (261), *screamed* in (262), *called* in (263), and *barked* in (264). In the clause "Mm I really hollered at him", the verb *hollered* describes a loud, forceful verbal action directed at a target (*him*). The preposition *at* indicates the recipient of the communication, fulfilling the syntactic structure of "Subj, V, Oblique-at".

Semantically, *hollered* conveys a loud, intentional verbal act directed at a recipient, aligning with Goldberg's description of "X directs forceful action at Y". Like *yelled*, *shouted*, *screamed*, *called*, and *barked*, the verb *hollered* satisfies both the structural (Subj, V, Oblique-at) and semantic (loud communication directed at a target) criteria of the 'Communication Conative Construction'.

4.3.4 Conclusion: Constructional Polysemy in the Communication Conative Construction

The analysis of the six verbs (*yelled* (260), *shouted* (261), *screamed* (262), *called* (263), *barked* (264), and *hollered* (265)) demonstrates the constructional polysemy inherent in Goldberg's (2019) 'Communication Conative Construction'. This construction is characterized by a subject (Subj) performing a loud, forceful verbal action directed at a target (Oblique-at), adhering to the structural schema "Subj, V, Oblique-at" and the semantic description of "X directs forceful action at Y".

Prototypical examples, such as *yelled*, *shouted*, and *screamed*, in concordance lines from spoken or written English, highlight the core semantics of the construction - intense verbal communication aimed at a specific recipient. These verbs vividly illustrate the alignment between syntax (the preposition *at* marking the target) and the semantics of directed forceful actions.

Extended usages, such as *called*, *barked*, and *hollered*, demonstrate the construction's flexibility, where the intensity and tone of communication vary. *Called* conveys a less intense yet deliberate verbal action, *barked* introduces a metaphorical nuance by likening human speech to a dog's bark, and *hollered* retains the loud, intentional force. These variations showcase the construction's polysemy, extending its usage to verbs that express a range of communicative intensities and contexts while preserving its essential syntactic and semantic properties.

Across all six examples, the preposition *at* consistently marks the recipient, reinforcing the syntactic integrity of the construction. Semantically, the verbs demonstrate a continuum of intensity and intent, reflecting the adaptability of the 'Communication Conative Construction' within various communicative contexts. This analysis underscores the richness of constructional polysemy in language and its ability to encompass both prototypical and extended uses.

4.4 Summing Up: The English Conative Construction and the Communication Conative Construction

The analyses of Goldberg's (1995, 2019) frameworks on the English 'Conative Construction' and the 'Communication Conative Construction' reveal the richness of constructional polysemy, illustrating how these constructions accommodate both prototypical and extended usages across diverse verbs.

4.4.1 The English Conative Construction (Goldberg, 1995)

Goldberg's (1995) analysis of the conative construction illustrates its flexibility in capturing both physical and abstract actions directed at a target. Prototypical examples, such as *kicked* (256) and *struck* (257), embody the core features of the

construction, characterized by "[+motion, +contact]" verbs that denote forceful physical actions. These actions are syntactically marked by the preposition *at* and allow for outcomes where the intended result may or may not occur.

In contrast, non-typical extensions - such as *looked* (258) and *aimed* (259) - demonstrate how Goldberg's framework extends to verbs lacking "[+motion, +contact]" features. These verbs emphasize intentional direction, as seen in visual attention (*looked*) or targeted intent (*aimed*), while preserving the structural pattern (Subj, V, Obl-at). This polysemy enables the conative construction to span a continuum from concrete physical actions to abstract expressions of directed intent.

4.4.2 The Communication Conative Construction (Goldberg, 2019)

In Goldberg's (2019) 'Communication Conative Construction', the focus shifts to verbal actions that are loud, forceful, and directed toward a target. Prototypical verbs such as *yelled* (260), *shouted* (261), and *screamed* (262) illustrate the alignment of the syntactic structure (Subj, V, Oblique-at) with the semantic description of "X directs forceful action at Y". These verbs highlight the core function of the construction - intense verbal communication aimed at a recipient.

Extended examples, including *called* (262), *barked* (264), and *hollered* (265), showcase the construction's adaptability. While *called* conveys a deliberate but less intense verbal action, *barked* introduces metaphorical meaning, and *hollered* retains the loud, intentional force of prototypical cases. These extensions demonstrate the polysemy of the 'Communication Conative Construction' by encompassing variations in intensity, tone, and communicative context, while preserving its syntactic and semantic integrity.

4.4.3 Unifying Insights

Across both constructions, the preposition *at* consistently marks the target of the action, reinforcing the syntactic pattern and unifying prototypical and extended cases. These analyses highlight the adaptability of the constructions, enabling them to incorporate a wide range of verbs while preserving structural and semantic coherence. Goldberg's (1995, 2019) frameworks illuminate the dynamic interplay between syntax and semantics, demonstrating how constructions accommodate diverse verb classes while conveying nuanced shades of meaning. These findings underscore the significance of constructional polysemy in linguistic analysis, illustrating how the English 'Conative' and 'Communication Conative' constructions provide a unified yet flexible framework for understanding directed actions - whether physical, abstract, or verbal.

Part IV Summary

Chapter IV has provided an in-depth examination of the constructional polysemy inherent in several of Goldberg's (1995, 2006, 2019) constructions, focusing on the interaction between syntax, semantics, and context in shaping meaning. The analyses presented in Sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 collectively underscore the versatility and explanatory power of Goldberg's Construction Grammar framework. The findings can be summarized as follows:

Ditransitive Construction

Section 4.1 explored the central senses and variations of the ditransitive construction, highlighting how concordance lines with verbs like *taught* (239, 240) and *showed* (241, 242) illustrate the metaphorical and literal transfer of knowledge, skills, or access. These examples demonstrate the construction's flexibility, accommodating both direct and indirect transfers. The prepositional transformations (e.g., "… taught French to Bill" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 33, example 9)) shift focus between the patient and the recipient, revealing subtle semantic distinctions. This section also emphasized the pedagogical value of concordance lines as practical tools for learners to analyse and practice identifying constructional nuances.

Caused-Motion Construction

Section 4.2 explored the polysemy of the caused-motion construction through an analysis of verbs such as *allowed* (243), *permitted* (244), *enabled* (245), and *facilitated* (246), illustrating "Enabling: Facilitating Movement and Permission". Verbs like *locked* (247), *hindered* (248), *blocked* (249), *restrained* (250), and *impeded* (251) relate to "Preventing Motion: Blocking and Restricting Movement". Additionally, *assisted* (252), *helped* (253), *guided* (254), and *supported* (255) exemplify "Helping: Assisting and Supporting Movement".

The findings reveal that this construction accommodates both physical and metaphorical notions of causation and motion. By aligning these verbs with the syntactic schema "X CAUSES Y to MOVE Z", the analysis demonstrates the construction's capacity to capture a spectrum of actions, from enabling and obstructing to aiding motion. The examples highlight the construction's semantic richness, reflecting nuanced expressions of causation across diverse contexts.

Conative and Communication Conative Constructions

Section 4.3 investigated the English 'Conative Construction' and its extension into the 'Communication Conative Construction'. Prototypical examples such as

kicked (256) and *struck* (257) in the former (Goldberg, 1995) and *yelled* (260) in the latter (Goldberg, 2019) illustrate the core features of these constructions, where physical or verbal force is directed at a target. Extensions to less prototypical verbs, including *looked* (258) and *aimed* (259) in the 'Conative Construction', and *shouted* (261), *screamed* (262), *called* (263), *barked* (264), and *hollered* (265) in the 'Communication Conative Construction', demonstrate the adaptability of these constructions, spanning a continuum from concrete physical actions to abstract expressions of intent or communication. The analysis highlights the syntactic and semantic consistency of these constructions, with the preposition *at* uniting diverse verb classes while preserving structural integrity.

Constructional Polysemy in Context: A Synthesis

This book examines English polysemous lexico-grammatical constructions as structured prototype-plus-extension models (Langacker, 1987; Wierzbicka, 1988; Goddard, 2010). Using concordance lines from linguistic corpora like the British National Corpus (BNC), it synthesizes Langacker's symbolic grammar with Wierzbicka's emphasis on semantic fluidity, highlighting the deep interplay between grammar and meaning.

Chapter I introduces foundational concepts and methods for analysing polysemous constructions, focusing on Cognitive Linguistics approaches and semantic perspectives. It reviews Langacker's (1987) semantic networks, Goldberg's (1995, 2006, 2019) argument structure constructions, Wierzbicka's NSM theory on semantic primes (1972, 1996; Goddard & Wierzbicka, 2002, 2014), and Croft's prototype-based taxonomic networks (2001), all emphasizing polysemy.

Chapter II explores the relationship between linguistic constructions and human cognition, emphasizing the dynamic connection between form and meaning. It discusses key Cognitive Linguistics commitments - cognitive (grounding language in cognition) and generalization (identifying broad patterns) - and examines polysemy within frameworks such as Conceptual Frames (Fillmore, 1977b; Fillmore & Baker, [2009] 2012), Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), Conceptual Blending (Coulson, 2001; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002, 2003, 2011; Coulson & Oakley, 2005), and Talmy's Motion Event Theory (1972, 1985, 2000b). These theories explain how language encodes complex ideas and spatial relationships.

Chapter III investigates constructional polysemy - the coexistence of multiple meanings within a single construction - using concordance lines to demonstrate how contextual factors activate diverse meanings. It examines patterns ranging from specific verbs like the delexical *throw* to broader canonical and argument structure constructions, including Goldberg's Way Construction (1995). Concordance lines reveal meaning shifts influenced by syntax and context, such as literal vs. figurative motion or goal-oriented vs. descriptive movement.

Subsections 3.2–3.3 analyse resultative, caused-motion, and complex transitive constructions using BNC examples to illustrate how verbs like *make* and *got* express diverse meanings through different constructions. These sections highlight the role of verb-object-complement interactions in constructional polysemy.

Chapter IV examines Goldberg's (1995) theoretical contributions, focusing on constructions such as ditransitive (e.g., "Pat faxed Bill the letter", p. 3, Example 1), caused-motion (e.g., "Pat sneezed the napkin off the table", p. 3, Example 2), and conative (e.g., "Sam kicked at Bill", p. 4, Example 5). Concordance

lines illustrate nuanced meanings, emphasizing the pedagogical importance of understanding polysemy in English grammar.

Throughout, concordance lines provide empirical insights into real-world usage, illustrating how language shapes and contextualizes meaning across diverse contexts. They offer students a practical means to investigate constructions, analyse their components, and recognize subtle shifts between primary meanings and their variations. This hands-on engagement enables learners to deepen their understanding of linguistic patterns and appreciate the dynamic nature of meaning and usage.

Conclusion

This book has explored the role of constructions in cognitive linguistics, focusing on their polysemous nature through corpus-based analyses and theoretical perspectives. Drawing on the foundational works of Langacker (1987), Goldberg (1995, 2006, 2019), and Wierzbicka (1972, 1979, 1988, 1992, 1996, 2006, 2014), among others, it has demonstrated that meaning in linguistic constructions is deeply context-dependent. The corpus-driven approach, using concordance lines from the British National Corpus (BNC) and supplementary examples (157 through 161) from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), provides empirical evidence that constructions are not static 'templates' but dynamic forms encoding diverse meanings based on contextual usage.

Part I established the theoretical groundwork by emphasizing that constructions function as meaningful units in cognitive linguistics. It highlighted the encyclopaedic and usage-based nature of meaning, demonstrating that polysemy extends beyond lexical items to grammatical constructions. This framework laid the foundation for analysing polysemy in argument structures and clause-level patterns.

Parts II and III presented a corpus-based examination of key constructions - such as the delexical verb *throw* in various argument structures, the Way Construction, the Resultative Construction, and the Caused-Motion Construction - demonstrating how polysemy manifests itself across different syntactic patterns. The concordance data revealed that polysemous interpretations arise from the interaction between verb semantics and constructional templates (see Goldberg, 1995, pp. 202–212, on the "Semantics of the Way Construction").

The analysis also examined fixed schematic representations, such as "[SUBJi [V[POSS*i way*] OBL]" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 199), showing that these structures do not guarantee uniform meanings, as semantic constraints influence constructional realizations. This was particularly evident in the Way Construction, where only non-stative verbs align with the prototypical pattern (Goldberg, 1995, p. 200), reinforcing the importance of verb-construction compatibility.

The examination of the Resultative Construction focused on its interaction with different verb types, grouping verbs into event-structure schemas (e.g., "Result-as-Damage," "Result-as-Displacement," "Result-as-Surface-Change") so as to demonstrate how Goldberg's (1995) framework accommodates a wide range of action-result relationships. This analysis illustrated that constructional meaning is shaped not only by syntactic structure but also by the lexical-semantic properties of the verbs involved.

Part IV explored the polysemy of the Caused-Motion Construction, Conative Construction, and Ditransitive Construction, emphasizing how these constructions

capture a continuum of meanings through the dynamic interplay of syntax and semantics. The Caused-Motion Construction encodes both literal and metaphorical motion, accommodating verbs that express enabling (examples 243–246), obstructing (examples 247–251), or aiding (examples 252–255) movement. The Conative Construction illustrates how verbs with and without contact-motion features convey directed intent, ranging from physical actions to abstract communication. The Ditransitive Construction demonstrates flexible representations of transfer - both concrete (e.g., giving objects) and abstract (e.g., conveying information or emotions). The analysis shows that constructional polysemy arises from the integration of verb meanings with constructional templates, preserving syntactic integrity while expanding semantic potential.

This section also examined pedagogical implications, proposing that integrating Goldberg's construction grammar framework with traditional descriptive grammar enhances learners' understanding of English syntax and semantics. Concordance data revealed that examples of authentic usage help learners recognize constructional polysemy and contextual meaning shifts. By presenting constructional polysemy in an educational context, the study suggested that incorporating corpus data into grammar instruction bridges the gap between theoretical insights and practical language learning.

Overall, this book demonstrates that constructional polysemy is a pervasive and systematic phenomenon in English. The findings highlight the adaptability of constructional meanings across different contexts, supporting the view that grammar is not a rigid system of rules but a dynamic network of "form-meaning pairings" (Croft, 2001, p. 21) shaped by usage. By combining insights from cognitive semantics, construction grammar, and corpus linguistics, this research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of how language users generate and interpret meanings within the framework of constructional polysemy.

Taken together, the theoretical and corpus-based insights offered in this study highlight constructional polysemy as a powerful explanatory mechanism for understanding meaning variation in natural language. By integrating fine-grained concordance analysis with cognitive-semantic theory, this book advances the notion that constructions are not merely abstract constructional templates (Goldberg, 1995) but are actively involved in meaning creation - both in concrete and metaphorical domains. In particular, the analysis has shown that metaphorical extensions of constructions, such as in the Caused-Motion and Ditransitive Constructions, reveal systematic links between spatial schemas and abstract conceptualizations. This view is corroborated by learner corpus research such as Rosa (2023), who demonstrates that both literal and figurative uses of Caused-Motion Constructions display gradience in semantic complexity, with figurative variants posing greater challenges for EFL learners - reinforcing the idea that metaphorical extensions

are cognitively demanding but systematically patterned.

These findings suggest a promising direction for future research: tracing how metaphor functions not only at the lexical level but within constructional networks, thereby enriching our understanding of figurative language from a usage-based perspective. Furthermore, psycholinguistic research by Eddington and Ruiz de Mendoza (2010) provides evidence that argument constructions function as cognitive templates in language processing, supporting their theoretical relevance and confirming their psychological reality - which, in turn, strengthens their pedagogical applicability.

Equally significant are the pedagogical implications of constructional polysemy. This book has argued that increased awareness of polysemy in grammar instruction can deepen learners' understanding of syntactic variability and semantic flexibility. Rather than presenting constructions as fixed patterns, a polysemy-aware approach embraces the variability inherent in authentic language use. This pedagogical dimension deserves to be taken further - both empirically and didactically - by exploring how constructional polysemy can be systematically integrated into curricula, classroom materials, and learner corpora analysis. As Eddington and Ruiz de Mendoza (2010) argue, recognizing constructions as psychologically real entities has profound implications for instructional design, especially when such insights are grounded in both cognitive and empirical evidence. This aligns with broader research in the field that highlights the convergence of corpus-based analysis, construction grammar, and cognitive processing (Hampe & Flach, 2018), underscoring the methodological and theoretical cohesion of a usage-based, constructional approach. This is echoed in second language acquisition research by Zhao, Yau, Li, and Wong (2018), who demonstrate that a cognitive linguistics approach to vocabulary learning - one that emphasizes polysemy and conceptual metaphor - significantly enhances learners' depth of lexical understanding and semantic flexibility.

In conclusion, *Constructional Polysemy and Concordance Lines: A Cognitive Semantic Perspective* offers a comprehensive account of how grammatical constructions serve as dynamic sites of meaning negotiation. It provides empirical support for the cognitive linguistic claim that form and meaning are inseparably linked and context-sensitive. By bridging theory, data, and pedagogy, this book not only reaffirms the central role of constructions in language understanding but also opens new pathways for investigating how linguistic knowledge is structured, extended, and taught. Research in other languages further reinforces this view: Nikiforidou, Marmaridou, and Mikros (2014), for instance, demonstrate that discourse-level variation in Modern Greek can be modeled as a family of related constructions, showing how formal, semantic, and prosodic factors interact to shape polysemous meanings. This supports the claim that even interactional

and supra-sentential meanings are amenable to constructional analysis. Future studies might build on this foundation by examining cross-linguistic patterns of constructional polysemy, integrating multimodal data, or assessing the cognitive processing of polysemous constructions in real-time language use. In all cases, the central insight remains: constructions are meaning-bearing units whose interpretive richness emerges from their entrenchment in usage.

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