All-the-Way Construction in English, Japanese and Chinese*

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1. Introdution

Talmy（1985, 2000）has identified two types of languages, satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages, based on what element is encoded as path. Talmy classified English and Chinese as satellite-framed languages, in which the satellite is encoded as path, and Japanese as a verb-framed language, in which the main verb is encoded as path. Slobin （2004）, on the other hand, analyzes the usage rate of verbs of manner of motion in various languages, and classifies Chinese as what he calls an equipollently-framed language. They considered verbs of directed motion and verbs of manner of motion, but did not intensively examine verbs which do not express motion. Kageyama（2003, 2004, 2011, 2022）discusses what he calls all-the-way construction, which gives a movement meaning without motion verbs.

This paper will discuss is all-the-way construction whose main verb is *sleep*, *cry*, *die* and *kill*, and corresponding Japanese and Chinese constructions.

2. Comparison of the English all-the-way construction with the activity verb *sleep* and the corresponding Japanese and Chinese constructions

Kageyama discusses *made* in a sentence like *Tokyo made zutto neteita* "I slept all the way to Tokyo" （Kageyama 2003, 2004, 2011）. However, he does not discuss the adverb *zutto* often cooccurring with *made*. This section will focus on *zutto* and the corresponding Chinese adverbs *yilu* and *yizhi*.

2.1 *zutto* in Japanese corresponding to all the way in English

Kageyama （2011） analyzed a sentence like the following.

（1）　I slept all the way on Shinkansen. 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　（Kageyama 2011: 174）

According to Kageyama's explanation, this sentence expresses, the event of my sleeping as occurring all the way to Tokyo. This means that because of the movement of the Shinkansen, the subject of the sentence, *I*, who is on the train, is also moving. In (1), the activity verb *sleep* does not have the meaning of movement, but the whole sentence denotes movement of the subject. The same phenomenon can be seen in Japanese. Consider the following Japanese sentence now.

(2)   Taro   wa   zutto   neteita.
      Taro   TOP   all-the-time   was-sleeping
      "Taro was sleeping all the time."

In (2), the adverb zutto modifies the following verb, and there is no meaning of movement encoded in this sentence. Adding *Tokyo made* "to Tokyo" to (2) gives the following.

(3)   Taro   wa   Tokyo   made   zutto   neteita
      Taro   TOP   Tokyo   to   all-the-way   was-sleeping
      "Taro slept all the way to Tokyo."

The example (3) expresses a kind of movement, in contrast with (2). In fact, it is the subject of the main clause, *Taro*, that is moving to *Tokyo*. Using a subordinate clause like *Tokyo* ni *tsuku made zutto* "all the time until (he) arrived at Tokyo" instead of *Tokyo made zutto*, we obtain the following sentence.

(4)   Taro   wa   Tokyo   ni   tsuku   made   zutto   neteita.
      Taro   TOP   Tokyo   at   arrive   to   all-the-time   was -sleeping
      "Taro was sleeping all the time until (he) arrived at Tokyo."

The expression containing the subordinate clause, *Tokyo ni tsuku made zutto*, represents the duration time of the activity expressed by the main clause. It is necessary to distinguish *zutto* in (3) from *zutto* in (2) and (4): *zutto* in (3) is an adverb of the duration of *movement*, but *zutto* in (2) and (4) is an adverb of the duration of *time*.

    Note that *Taro* in (4), just as in (2), does not need to be moving to Tokyo. To see this, let us add a subject like *Hanako* to the subordinate clause, as in (5).

(5)   Taro   wa   Hanako   ga   Tokyo   ni   tsuku   made   zutto   neteita.
      Taro   TOP   Hanako   NOM   Tokyo   at   arrive   to   all-the-time   was-sleeping
      "Taro was sleeping all the time until Hanako arrived at Tokyo."

As shown in (5), *Taro*, which is the subject of the main clause, is not necessarily moving to Tokyo, while *Hanako*, which is the subject of the subordinate clause, is. In (4), unlike (5), the subject of the subordinate clause is a phonologically silent pronoun, *pro*, as shown in (6).

(6) Taro$_i$ wa   [pro$_i$ Tokyo ni tsuku made] zutto   neteita.
     Taro TOP   Tokyo at arrive to   all-the-time was-sleeping
     "Taro was sleeping all the time until (he) arrived at Tokyo."

In (6), *Taro* in the main clause is not moving to Tokyo but simply sleeping. It is the subject of the subordinate clause, *pro*, that is moving to Tokyo. Since the *pro* subject of a subordinate clause normally refers to the subject of the main clause, the sentence (6)=(4) tends to be interpreted as Taro moving to Tokyo. The similarity between (4) and (5) is that they both indicate movement of the subject of the subordinate clause, not the main clause.

We have seen that there are two types of movement: (A) movement of the subject of the main clause seen in (3), and (B) movement of the subject of the subordinate clause seen in (4) and (5).

2.2 *Yilu* and *yizhi* in Chinese corresponding to *zutto*

In Chinese, *Tokyo made* "to Tokyo" in (3) and *Tokyo ni tsuku made* "until (he) arrived at Tokyo" in (4) are both expressed as *dao le dongjing* "arrive(d) at Tokyo". To distinguish the two types of movement, (A) and (B) introduced above, Chinses uses *yilu* "all the way" for (A), and *yizhi* "all the time" for (B), both of which are expressed as *zutto* in Japanese.

The example (3), which includes the meaning of movement of the type (A), corresponds to the following Chinese sentence.

(7) Tailang yilu   shui   dao   le   dongjing.
     Tailang all-the-way sleep   arrive PFV   Tokyo
     "Tailang slept all the way to Tokyo."

This sentence uses the adverb *yilu*. *Yilu* is an adverb that expresses a long range of the *distance* of movement.

The example (4) corresponds to the following Chinese sentence.

(8) Tailang yizhi   shui   dao   le   dongjing.
     Tailang all-the-time sleep   arrive PFV   Tokyo
     "Tailang slept all the time until arrived (he) in Tokyo."

Yizhi is an adverb that express a long range of *time* of movement. Note that here we are observing the same phenomenon as (4): if we add *Huazi dao le* "Huazi arrive(d)" to (8) we obtain (9).

(9)   Tailang   yizhi   shui   dao   le   Huazi   dao   le   dongjing.
      Tailang   all-the-time   sleep   arrive   PFV   Huazi   arrive   PFV   Tokyo
      "Tailang slept all the time until Huazi arrived at Tokyo."

In (9), *Huazi*, which is the subject of the subordinate clause, is interpreted as moving to Tokyo, but *Tailang* does not need to be so interpreted. In other words, *Tailang* may be sleeping anywhere until *Huazi* arrived at Tokyo. If we assume that there is a silent *pro* subject and a silent predicate *dao le* in (8) as shown in (10) below, this *pro* refers to the subject of the main clause, *Tailang*.

(10)   Tailang$_i$ yizhi   shui   dao   le   pro$_i$ (dao   le)   dongjing.
       Tailang   all-the-time   sleep   arrive   PFV   arrive   PFV   Tokyo
       "Tailang slept all the time until Huazi arrived at Tokyo."

Just like the Japanese sentence (6)=(4), the Chinese sentence (10)=(8) tends to be interpreted as *Tailang* moving to Tokyo.

Zutto in Japanese does not distinguish between the two types of movement, (A) movement of the subject of the subordinate clause, and (B) movement of the subject of the subordinate clause. In other words, the non-clausal *made* PP in a sentence like (3) expresses the type A movement, and the *made* subordinate clause in sentences like (4) and (5) expresses the type B movement. On the other hand, in Chinese, the two types of movement (A) and (B) are distinguished by the two different adverbs, *yilu* and *yizhi*, respectively. These two adverbs both correspond to *zutto* in Japanese.

3. Comparison of the *all-the-way* construction with the activity verb *cry* and the corresponding Japanese and Chinese construction

In this section, we will examine sentences involving *cry* instead of *sleep* in English and it's Japanese and Chinese analogues.

3.1 *zutto* in Japanese corresponding to all the way in English

Consider first the following English sentence.

(11) The girl cried all the way home from school.

(12) *The girl cried home from school.

<div align="right">(Kageyama 2004: 266)</div>

As noted by Kageyama (2004), in (11), the verb *cry* does not convey a motion meaning but the whole sentence denotes movement of the subject. If we remove *all the way* from (11), the result is ungrammatical as shown in (12). But if we remove instead the start and destination phrase home from *school*, the result is grammatical as in (13).

(13) The girl cried all the way.

The Japanese sentences similar to (11) and (13) are (14a) and (14b), respectively.

(14) a. Taro   wa   eki   made   zutto   naiteita.
       Taro   TOP   station to   all-the-way cry
       "Taro cried all the way to the station."

    b. Taro   wa   zutto   naiteita.
       Taro   TOP   all-the-time cry
       "Taro cried all the time."

With the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station" in (14a), the sentence can represent movement of *Taro*: *Taro* is crying while he is moving to the station. When the sentence does not co-occur with the destination phrase as in (14b), it does not express movement see Kageyama (2022: 63–67) for a relevant discussion, and *zutto* simply represents continuation of time. The subject Taro is not moving, but only cries all the time. Chinese, however, is different as we will see in the next section.

3.2 *Yilu* in Chinese corresponding to *zutto*

Consider the following Chinese sentences.

(15) Tailang ku   le   yilu   qu chezhan。
     Tailang cry PFV all-the-way go station
     "Taro cried all the way to the station."

(16) Tailang ku   le   yilu。
     Tailang cry PFV all-the-way
     "Taro cried all the way."

With the destination phrase *qu chezhan* "go to the station" and *yilu*, the sentence (15) represents the movement of *Tailang*: *Tailang* was crying while he was moving to the station. In (16), the destination phrase does not appear, but it still can be interpreted as meaning that *Tailang* was crying while he was moving. Therefore, in Chinese, *yilu* presents the movement meaning. We have already seen the same phenomenon in (11) and (13) in English in 3.1.

To sum up, when there is no destination phrase, *zutto* represents only the continuation of time in Japanese, whereas *all the way* in English and *yilu* in Chinese create meaning of movement without a destination phrase.

4. Comparison of the *all-the-way* construction with the verb *die* and the corresponding Japanese and Chinese constructions

Kageyama (2004) suggested that instantaneous change-of-state verbs like *die* and *kill* are not compatible with *all the way* in English. However, we claim that they can co-occur with *all the way* under certain conditions. This section will explore the factors that make *all the way* and its apparent Japanese and Chinese counterparts, *zutto* and *yilu* or *yizhi*, compatible with *die* and their corresponding verbs in Japanese and Chinese.

4.1 *Die* co-occurring with *all the way* in English

According to Kageyama (2004), verbs like *die* do not express movement in themselves and therefore do not co-occur with *all the way*, as shown in (17).

(17) *The cat died all the way.   (Kageyama 2004: 279)

However, Kageyama (2004) does not deal with a grammatical sentence like (18).

(18) The cat was dying all the way.

This sentence has a continuation meaning (namely, approaching death), thanks to the progressive form, and the meaning of physical movement is created by *all the way*. The progressive form of an instantaneous, non-activity, verb like *die* creates the durativity shared by activity verbs like *sleep* and *cry* (see (1) and (11)) in the grammatical sentences. Therefore (18) is acceptable.

Consider now the following sentence.

(19) The cat sneezed all the way to the station.

The verb *sneeze* in (19) can express an iterative meaning may have the same duration property as activity verbs. Cooccurrence with *all the way* makes the sentence (19) mean that while sneezing, the cat moved to the station. Therefore, (19) is acceptable on this reading.

4.2 *Sinu* co-occurring with *zutto* in Japanese

Consider the following Japanese sentence.

(20) a. Neko   ga   zutto   neteita.
         cat   NOM   all-the-time   slept
         "A cat slept all the time."

    b. *Neko   ga   zutto   sindeita.
         cat   NOM   all-the-time   died

(20a) is acceptable just like (2), but (20b) is not.

Adding eki made "to the station" to (20b) gives the following sentence.

(21) ?Neko   ga   eki   made   zutto   sindeita.
       cat   NOM   station   to   all-the-way died

In (21), the first thing that comes to the mind of a Japanese native speaker is that one cat has been dead all the way to the station, and the sentence on this reading may be judged to be unnatural. However, if you consider that there are many cats, not one, the sentence could become natural because of the continuation meaning created by the plurality. This can be confirmed by the following sentences, which specify the number of cats. (22b) is natural in contrast to (22a).

(22) a. *Ippiki   no   neko   ga   eki   made   zutto   sindeita.
         one   GEN   cat   NOM   station   to   all-the-way   died

    b. Takusan   no   neko   ga   eki   made   zutto   sindeita.
         many   GEN   cat   NOM   station   to   all-the-way   died
         "Many cats have been dead all the way to the station."

The following sentence (23a) has only the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station", and (23b) has only the adverb *zutto*.

(23) a. ?Takusan   no   neko   ga   eki   made   sindeita.
         Many   GEN   cat   NOM   station   to   died

    b. *Takusan   no   neko   ga   zutto   sindeita.
        Many   GEN   cat   NOM   all the way   died

Having the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station" in (23a) implies movement, making it possible to interpret the sentence as expressing the movement of the speaker. On the other hand, in (23b), without a destination phrase, *zutto* can only be interpreted as an adverb of the duration of the time (see zutto in (2) and (4)), and the sentence is unacceptable.

To express movement meaning with an instantaneous change-of-state verb as the predicate of a sentence, we need the following two conditions: the subject is plural for the continuation meaning (see (22)); the *made* phrase is necessary (see (22b) and (23b)), in the same way as in (2) vs. (3) and (14a) vs. (14b). Further, the sentence is better with *zutto* (see (22b) and (23a)).

4.3 *Si* "die" co-occurring with *yilu* "all the way" in Chinese

The following Chinese sentence contains yilu "all the way" is correspond to (21).

(24)   Mao   dao   chezhan   si   le   yilu
       cat   to   station   die   PFV   all-the-way
       "Cats died all the way to the station."

Unlike *neko* "cat" in (21), which can be interpreted as "one cat" and on this reading has been judged to be unnatural, in the Chinese sentence (24), *mao* "cat" can be interpreted as plural more easily than *neko* in Japanese. Therefore, (24) is more natural than (21). Adding *takusan* "many" to (21) as in (22b) raises acceptability, but in Chinese adding *henduo* "many" to (24) as in the following (25) lowers acceptability.

(25)   ?Henduo   mao   dao   chezhan   si   le   yilu.
       many   cat   to   station   die   PFV   all-the-way

Unlike *zutto* in Japanese, the Chinese word *yilu* stands for a long range of distance, so there must be many dead cats on the way. Therefore, in (25), the meaning of "many" is duplicated, which makes the sentence unnatural.

To sum up this section, changing an instantaneous verb from the simple to progressive form makes the all-the-way construction grammatical in English (see (17) and (18)), because

the progressive form makes a continuation meaning. In Japanese, it is necessary for the subject to be interpreted as plural to make continuation meaning. On the other hand, because *yilu* in Chinese already gives the meaning of plurality to the subject, using a plural expression like *henduo* "many" gives raise to redundancy.

5. Comparison of the *all-the-way* construction with the verb *kill* and the corresponding Japanese and Chinese constructions

This section will examine sentences involving *kill* in English and its Japanese and Chinese analogs.

5.1 *Kill* co-occurring with *all the way* in English

Kageyama (2004) claims that instantaneous change-of-state verbs are not compatible with *all the way* as in the following.

(26) *He killed the cat all the way.   (Kageyama 2004: 279)

However, just as the Japanese example (22b) in section 4.2 is acceptable because of the continuation meaning due to the plurality of the subject, so if we change the singular definite subject *the cat* in (26) to the plural indefinite *cats* for a continuation meaning, and add a destination phrase such as *to the station*, we have the following acceptable sentence.

(27) He killed cats all the way to the station.

Even though, this sentence expresses a strange meaning that there were cats all the way to the station and he kept killing them, it is still an acceptable sentence. Since the event expressed by *kill cats* can repeat over and over again, it can be seen as continuous activity and if it co-occurs with *all the way*, the sentence can be interpreted as expressing the movement of the subject, who keeps killing cats at the same time.

In the next subsection, we consider Japanese sentences corresponding to (26) and (27).

5.2 *Korosu* co-occurring with *zutto* in Japanese

The following Japanese sentence is similar to (26).

(28)   Taro   wa   neko   o   zutto   korositeita.
       Taro   TOP   cat   ACC   all-the-time   killed
       "Taro killed the cat all the time."

In (28), neither the subject *Taro*, nor the object *neko* "cat" is moving. Adding the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station" to (28) gives the following.

(29) ?Taro wa   neko o   eki   made zutto   korositeita.
      Taro   TOP cat   ACC station to   all-the-way killed

In (29), the first thing that comes to the mind of a Japanese native speaker is that one cat has been killed repeatedly all the way to the station, and the sentence may be judged to be expressing a strange situation in which one dead cat comes back to life and gets killed again and again. However, if we assume that there are many, not one, cats being killed, we do not need to consider such a strange situation. This can be confirmed by the following pair of sentences, which specify the number of cats.

(30) a. *Taro wa   ippiki no   neko o   eki   made zutto   korositeita.
         Taro   TOP one   GEN cat   ACC station to   all-the-way killed

    b. Taro wa   takusan no   neko o   eki   made zutto   korositeita.
        Taro TOP a lot of GEN cat   ACC station to   all-the-way killed
        "Taro killed a lot of cats all the way to the station."

(30a) is unacceptable because there is only one cat and one cat cannot be killed repeatedly to give a continuation meaning unless it comes back to life. (30b) is acceptable because it can be interpreted in such a way that Taro kept killing cats while moving to the station. The following sentence (31a) includes only the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station" and (31b) includes only the adverb *zutto*.

(31) a. ?Taro wa   takusan no   neko o   eki   made korositeita.
         Taro   TOP a lot of GEN cat   ACC station to   killed

    b. Taro wa   takusan no   neko o   zutto   korositeita.
        Taro TOP a lot of GEN cat   ACC all-the-time killed
        "Taro killed a lot of cats all the time."

The sentence (31a), because of the destination phrase *eki made* "to the station", can be interpreted as expressing movement of the subject, Taro. However, it is a little less natural than (30b), which co-occurs with *zutto*. We have seen the same phenomena in (22b) and (23a). In (31b), *zutto* is a time adverb and cannot represent the duration of movement, so

the sentence does not express a movement meaning, but a meaning of continuation of the activity of killing cats.

5.3 *Sha* co-occurring with *yilu* in Chinese

The following sentence is a Chinese example corresponding to (29).

(32) Tailang dao chezhan sha le yilu de mao.
Taro to station kill PFV all-the-way MOD cat
"Taro killed cats/a cat all the way to the station."

The Chinese word *mao* "cat" in (32) can be interpreted as either singular or plural. However, since *yilu* represents the distance of movement, the first thing that comes to mind is the plural interpretation according to which Tailang killed a number of cats on the way to the station. The secondary, singular interpretation of *mao* is that Tailang was killing one cat all the way to the station, and it was dying. Note that the Chinese *sha* is different from the Japanese *korosu* "kill" and English *kill* in that the former does not include a change-of-state meaning, allowing the duration of the killing activity, as in the following.

(33) Tailang sha le Huazi yige xiaoshi (, ta ye mei si).
Taro kill PFV hanako one hour her particle NEG die
"Taro killed Hanako for an hour (, but she didn't die). "

Thus, (32) can be naturally interpreted as expressing Tailang killing one cat while moving to the station.

To summarize section 5, in English, for a transitive change-of-state verb like *kill* to be the main verb of the all-the-way construction, its object needs to be plural as in (27), because the event of killing must be repeated to give a continuation meaning. Essentially the same applies to the Japanese counterpart construction, as shown in (29) and (30). But in the Chinese counterpart, the object of killing can also be singular, because *sha* does not have a change-of-state meaning.

6. Summary

This paper has discussed the all-the-way construction in English and corresponding Japanese and Chinese constructions. We have shown that *zutto* in Japanese does not distinguish between the two types of movements: (A) movement of the subject of the main clause and (B) movement of the subject of the subordinate clause. On the other hand, in Chinese, the two types of movements (A) and (B) are distinguished by the two different

adverbs, *yilu* and *yizhi*, respectively. These two adverbs both correspond to zutto in Japanese. The destination *made* phrase is necessary in Japanese to give a movement meaning, whereas *all the way* in English and *yilu* in Chinese can create movement meaning without a destination phrase. To express movement meaning with an instantaneous change-of-state verb as the predicate of a sentence in Japanese and English, the plural subject is necessary if the verb is intransitive, and the plural object is necessary if the verb is transitive, for a continuation meaning. In Chinese, *yilu* gives the meaning of plurality in either case.

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