The development of phrasal verbs in British English from 1650 to 1990: A corpus-based study

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHRASAL VERBS IN BRITISH ENGLISH FROM 1650 TO 1990: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

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Faise constar aos efectos oportunos que a tese de doutoramento elaborada por **Dona PAULA RODRÍGUEZ PUENTE** ***The development of phrasal verbs in British English from 1650 to 1990: A corpus-based study*** está finalizada e cumpre os requisitos estipulados na normativa vixente para proceder á su defensa pública.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Corpora:

ARCHER 3.1 = *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* 3.1.
BNC = *British National Corpus.*
BROWN = *A Standard Corpus of Present-Day Edited American English.*
CLMETEV = *A Corpus of Late Modern English Texts Extended Version: 1710-1920.*
COCA = *A Corpus of Contemporary American English 1990-2010*.
CONCE = *A Corpus of Nineteenth-Century English*.
FLOB = *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English*.
FROWN = *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English*.
HC = *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts 850-1710*.
LOB = *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus*.

Dictionaries:
BT = An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
CCDPV = Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs.
CALD = Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary.
COD = Collins Online English Dictionary.
DGTL = A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics.
KCLL = Key Concepts in Language and Linguistics.
LDOCE = Longman English Dictionary Online.
MPVP = Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus.
MWO = Merriam-Webster Online.
ODCIE = Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English.
OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
RDLL = Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics.
TFD = The Free Dictionary.

Grammatical terms:
AdvP = Adverb Phrase
DO = Direct Object

IO = Indirect Object

NP = Noun Phrase

PartP = Particle Phrase

PP = Prepositional Phrase

PredC = Predicative Complement

PrepO = Prepositional Object

O = Object

P = Particle

S = Subject

V = Verb

Periods:

EME = Early Middle English

EModE = Early Modern English

LME = late Middle English

LModE = Late Modern English

ME = Middle English

OE = Old English

PDE = Present-day English

Other:

NF = Normalized frequencies

Tkns = Tokens

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. AIMS AND SCOPE

Phrasal verbs or particle verbs are one of the most idiosyncratic features of the English language, as well as of other Germanic languages, such as German or Dutch. They pose many problems for non-native speakers, because their meanings have to be learned separately from the meanings of their verbal bases (*give* vs. *give up*), given that the union of two elements of the compound very often gives rise to new non-compositional forms very similar to idioms. From the point of view of a researcher, phrasal verbs are certainly an interesting topic of study because of the peculiarities of these combinations. What is it that brings a verb and a particle together in an idiomatic construction? Why and by what means? Why the union between verb and particle seems stronger in some cases than in others? What are the defining characteristics of phrasal verbs that distinguish them from other similar structures? What is the nature of the particles? Do they form a unit with the verb or are the verb and the particle independent entities? What is the relationship, if any, between phrasal verbs and the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization?

This dissertation tackles some of these and other questions concerning the nature of phrasal verbs. The purpose of the thesis is manifold. On the one hand, I intend to delimit the concept of phrasal verb as conceived of in PDE. One of the topics often discussed in relation to this category is precisely where to establish the limit to distinguish phrasal verbs from other different though related categories. On the other hand, I aim at filling a gap in literature of phrasal verbs by carrying out a corpus analysis of the development

of these structures in the most recent history of English, more precisely between 1650 and 1990. After comparing the recent history of phrasal verbs with their status in earlier stages of the language as described in the literature, the third aim of the present dissertation is to establish a relationship between these structures and the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization. For this purpose, I extracted the data from several sources. The corpus analysis to trace the development of phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990 has been carried out in ARCHER 3.1 (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*), although many illustrative examples, especially those involving PDE combinations, have also been obtained from the BNC or the Internet. Recurrent use has also been made of several dictionaries of English, most notably the *OED*, as well as other dictionaries specialized in phrasal verbs and related structures.

1.2. OBJECT OF STUDY

My object of study are English phrasal verbs. I have chosen this label to refer to the category because it is the commonest designation (cf., e.g., Mitchell 1958; Bolinger 1971; Palmer 1988; McArthur 1989) and the predominant one in most English grammar books (cf., e.g., Quirk et al. 1985; Alexander 1988; Greenbaum 1996; Biber et al. 1999), although probably not the most appropriate one (cf. Claridge 2000: 46 and especially Aarts 1992: 89). Other labels employed in the literature for the same concept include verb-adverb combination (Kennedy 1920), compound verb (Curme 1931; Kruisinga 1931), discontinuous verb (Live 1965), verb-particle construction (Lipka 1972), two-word verb (Anthony 1954; Taha 1960), verb-particle combination (Fraser 1976), particle verbs (Dehé 2002), verbal idioms or, more specifically, verb + intransitive preposition idioms (Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002).

There is much disagreement in the literature as to what the label 'phrasal verb' refers to, mainly because it has often been used (and is still used) as a cover term including related but distinct categories, such as the so-called prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs (cf., e.g., Halliday 1985: 184 and especially most phrasal-verb dictionaries, such as *CCDPV*; *MPVP*; *ODCIE*). In general terms, I understand phrasal verbs as combinations of a verb and a post-verbal particle, which function as relatively unitary structures lexically and semantically as, for example, *put up* in example (1) below.

(1) *More than 70,000 shopkeepers have been forced to **put up** the shutters in the past year.* (BNC CH2 W_newsp_tabloid)

One of the main distinguishing features of phrasal verbs has to do with the nature of the post-verbal particle which "is best of all described as an adverb, but not as a preposition" (Claridge 2000: 46; cf. also Heaton 1965: 45). Phrasal verbs are thus distinguished from prepositional verbs, whose particle is a preposition (cf. (2) below) and phrasal-prepositional verbs (cf. (3) below), which contain both an adverb and a preposition.

(2) *So, I am **looking after** their interests.* (BNC J9M S_meeting)

(3) *Menzies was seething and he **broke in on** the last words.* (BNC A0N W_fict_prose)

This terminology is based in a rather simplistic characterization regarding the type of particle present in each of the combinations, as illustrated by Mitchell's (1958: 106) classification of the verbal category shown below.

Non-phrasal
- (a) non-prepositional (*to take*) = SIMPLE VERB
- (b) prepositional (*to take to*) = PREPOSITIONAL VERB

Phrasal
- (c) non-prepositional (*to put up*) = PHRASAL VERB
- (d) prepositional (*to put up with*) = PHRASAL-PREPOSITIONAL VERB

As can be seen, Mitchell distinguishes two major categories: non-phrasal and phrasal. Phrasal verbs are classified under the heading 'phrasal', a term which, in this case, indicates the presence of an adverbial element (cf. Spasov 1966: 11; Claridge 2000: 32), whereas simple verbs and prepositional verbs are classified under the label 'non-phrasal' because they do not include any adverbial component. Thus, Mitchell's classification agrees with one of the commonest views among scholars, namely that the particles in phrasal verbs qualify as adverbs and those in prepositional verbs as prepositions, whereas phrasal-prepositional verbs require both an adverb and a preposition (cf. also Palmer 1988: 216).

A more complex and thorough classification is the one made by Denison (1981: 24-33, 1998: 222), who not only considers the particle-type, but also the object-type of the combinations. He divides what he calls group-verbs into eight different categories, which are characterized in the way shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Classification of group-verbs (Denison 1981: 24-33)

Group-verb	Particle	DO	Prep. Obj.	Example
Class 1 (intransitive phrasal verbs)	1	Ø	Ø	*back out* 'withdraw'
Class 2 (transitive phrasal verbs)	1	+	Ø	*bear out* 'confirm'
Class 3 (prepositional verbs)	1	Ø	+	*go for* 'attack'
Class 4 (phrasal-prepositional verbs)	2	Ø	+	*look forward to* 'anticipate'
Class 5 (idiomatic collocations)	2	+	+	*let* (sb.) *in on* (e.g. a secret)
Class 6	1	+	+	*foist* (sth.) *on* (sb.) 'fasten or fix unwarrantably'
Class 7	2	Ø	Ø	*come on in* 'enter'
Class 8	2	+	Ø	*put* (sth.) *back together* 'repair'

The eight categories are not, nevertheless, mutually exclusive. In other words, a verb-particle combination can be classified within more than one category depending on the elements it combines with. Compare in this respect examples (4a-b) and (5a-b) below.

(4) a. *He was installing a fuel gauge on top of the tank when it **blew up**.* (BNC K1L W_news_script)

b. *US troops later **blew up** the radio transmitter to prevent further broadcasts.* (BNC AAL W_newsp_brdsht_nat_report)

(5) a. *Meanwhile Mr. Cottle finally **gave in** and took a piece of bread and butter.* (BNC ACV W_fict_prose)

b. *Norman Lamont declined the Prime Minister's offer of a move to Environment Secretary and **gave in** his resignation.* (BNC K1N W_news_script)

As can be seen, both *blow up* and *give in* can be classified within class 1 (intransitive phrasal verb; cf. examples (4a) and (5a) and class 2 (transitive phrasal verb; cf. (4b) and (5b)). It must be noted here that sometimes the meaning of the phrasal verb is the same independently of whether it is used transitively or intransitively. This is the case with *blow up* in examples (4a) and (4b) above, where it means 'explode'. In other

cases, by contrast, the meaning of the combination changes accordingly with transitivity. Thus, in (5a) *give in* means 'yield', whereas in (5b) its meaning is 'hand in'.

Some combinations, in turn, can also be classified within class 2 (transitive phrasal verbs) and class 3 (prepositional verbs) at one and the same time, as is the case with *get through* in (6a) and (6b) respectively.

(6) a. *You see the message had obviously* ***got through***. (BNC J8B S_meeting)

b. *I doubt that she'll do it until you've* ***got through*** *your exams.* (BNC KB9 S_conv)

To Denison's eight categories it is still possible to add a ninth class discussed by Cappelle (2005: 234-237; cf. also Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 287), namely a ditransitive pattern which contains one particle and two objects (a DO and an IO), such as, for example, *run up* 'make (a garment, etc.) by sewing quickly or simply' (*OED* s.v. *run up* 7.c.(b)) in Cappelle's example in (7) below.

(7) *They* ***ran*** *him* ***up*** *a new coat.*

Whatever the particle or the object, what seems clear is that all the eight categories in Denison's classification and the ditransitive pattern described by Cappelle possess a number of common characteristics, a fact that has led many scholars to classify them within the larger group of the so-called multi-word verbs (cf., e.g., Biber et al. 1999: 403; Claridge 2000; Gries 2003: 1) or group-verbs (cf., e.g., Denison 1981: 9). Multi-word verbs are "combinations that comprise relatively idiomatic units and function like single verbs" (Biber et al. 1999: 403). Put differently, they are "analytic constructions" which "nevertheless represent a semantic unity that is characteristic of a single word or lexical unit" (Claridge 2000: 26). However, it is important to notice that, although the two elements function as a unit, only one of them can take verbal inflection (Denison 1981: 10). This definition of phrasal verb as a discontinuous lexical item is one of the

commonest in the literature (cf., e.g., Mitchell 1958; Bolinger 1971; Lipka 1972; Declerck 1976; Denison 1981; Quirk et al. 1985; Brinton 1988; McArthur 1989; Claridge 2000; Hampe 2002), although the question of whether phrasal verbs belong with the lexicon, syntax or phraseology has been amply discussed in recent years.[1] As pointed out by Nevalainen (1999a: 421), "cases where phrasal sequences of more than one word are reduced to one-word status fall between grammar and lexis," because multi-word units such as phrasal verbs "not always have the grammatical integrity required of words as lexicographical units." Similarly, Declerck (1991: 11) remarks that phrasal verbs are variously treated as single words (two-part verbs) or as combinations of verbs (two-word verbs), mainly because they present both features that favour a morphological analysis (e.g. their ability to be the input for morphological derivation, as in *lookers-on*) and characteristics that lead to their reading as phrasal representations (e.g. the ability of the combination to be split by other syntactic elements such as NPs or adverbs).

Although there is much disagreement as to what structures should be classified as multi-word verbs, or as to the terminology which should be used to refer to them, most scholars (Quirk et al. 1985: 1150-1168; Biber et al. 1999: 403-428; Claridge 2000: 26-45) seem to agree that structures of the type illustrated in Table 1 above must be included in this category. Other subtypes of multi-word verbs are verbo-nominal

[1] Recent neurolinguistic studies seem to support the idea that phrasal verbs belong to the lexicon, rather than to the syntax, since they behave as wordlike stored items (cf. Cappelle et al. 2010; Pulvermüller et al. 2012).

combinations (8),[2] verb-adjective combinations (9) or verb-verb combinations (cf. (10) and (11).[3]

(8) *Where's Daddy's gone to **have a shower***. (BNC KST S_conv)

(9) *To that charge Shaun David do you **plead guilty** or not guilty?* (BNC F7W S_courtroom)

(10) *I **made do with** peripheral vision, which, after all, is the next best thing.* (BNC FYV W_fict_prose)

(11) *You know, think it was about ten year old when she **got rid of** it.* (BNC KB7 S_conv)

The subtypes of multi-word verbs shown in (8) to (11) bear certain similarities with the structures in Table 1 above, inasmuch as they are also combinations of a verb and a post-verbal element, which, though differing from particles in their form,[4] behave very much as such in other respects.

Other authors such as Brinton & Akimoto (1999: 1-20) consider phrasal verbs within the group of composite predicates because of the resemblance they bear with the other two subtypes, namely complex verbs (similar to verbo-nominal combinations like the one in (8) above) and complex prepositions of the type shown in (12) below.

(12) *The work is being carried out **on behalf of** English heritage.* (BNC K1F W_news_script)

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[2] Another proof of the existing terminological confusion to refer to the various verb-particle combinations is that verbo-nominal combinations are called 'group verbs' by Spasov (1966: 11), a term which overlaps with Denison's (1981) label to refer to his eight classes of verb-particle combinations.

[3] For further details about other subtypes of multi-word verbs, cf. Claridge (2000: 46-82) and Rodríguez-Puente (2007: 43-61).

[4] The post-verbal elements in verbo-nominal, verb-adjective and verb-verb combinations are quite often referred to as particles, because they are similar to those in phrasal verbs as regards their syntactic and semantic behaviour.

Table 2 below summarizes some of the classifications of multi-word verbs proposed in the literature.

Table 2: Traditional classifications of phrasal verbs and related structures[5]

Multi-word verbs (Quirk et al. 1985)	**Multi-word verbs (Biber et al. 1999)**	**Multi-word verbs (Claridge 2000)**	**Composite predicates (Brinton & Akimoto 1999)**
phrasal verbs	phrasal verbs	phrasal verbs	phrasal verbs
prepositional verbs	prepositional verbs	prepositional verbs	-
phrasal-prepositional verbs	phrasal-prepositional verbs	phrasal-prepositional verbs	-
verb-adjective combinations	-	verb-adjective combinations	-
verb-verb combinations	verb-verb combinations	-	-
-	verbo-nominal combinations	verbo-nominal combinations types I and II	complex verbs
	verb + PP combinations	verbo-nominal combinations type III	
-	-	-	complex prepositions

1.3. OUTLINE

Before carrying out a diachronic analysis of phrasal verbs in a corpus, a thorough description of the status of the category in PDE is in order. This is the object of Chapter 2. In Section 2.2 I focus my attention on the verbal element of the compound, whereas Section 2.3 investigates the nature of the particles from a morphological (2.3.1) and a semantic (2.3.2) point of view. After analyzing the individual elements separately,

[5] Since Huddleston & Pullum et al. (2002) do not make a classification of multi-word verbs, but treat phrasal verbs and other similar structures under the heading "especial verb + preposition combinations and related types of complementation" (Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 272), their terminology has not been included in Table 1.

Section 2.4 deals with the structures as a unit. The description of phrasal verbs in this section concerns especially their semantic (2.4.1) and syntactic (2.4.2) characteristics.

The purpose of Chapter 3 is to provide an account of the diachronic development of phrasal verbs as gathered in the literature. Section 3.2 summarizes the status of these combinations in OE and ME, Section 3.3 deals with EModE, while in Section 3.4 I provide a brief account of the situation in the LModE period and the 20th century. Finally, in Section 3.5 I discuss some of the data related to the frequency of phrasal verbs from the EModE period to the present day.

The aim of Chapters 4 and 5 is to present the corpus results of phrasal verbs obtained from ARCHER. Chapter 4 offers a description of the main advantages of the corpus employed and its suitability to the present research (4.2.1), as well as acknowledgement of its limitations (4.2.2). I then move on to the analysis of the linguistic features of phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990. More precisely, I focus on the description of their morphological (4.4.1), semantic (4.4.2) and syntactic characteristics (4.4.3), as well as other findings of linguistic interest (4.4.4), such as the use of phrasal verbs in *-ing* nominalizations (4.4.4.1) and other derivatives (4.4.4.2).

Chapter 5 continues with the account of the corpus findings but from a different perspective. The aim in this chapter is to describe both genre and gender variation in the use of phrasal verbs. Section 5.2 constitutes an introduction to the various genres in ARCHER, namely journals and diaries (5.2.1), personal letters (5.2.2), drama and fiction (5.2.3), news (5.2.4), medicine and science (5.2.5), and sermons (5.2.6). The aim is to pave the ground to, on the one hand, elaborate a reclassification of the genres in the corpus (5.2.7) and, on the other, carry out an analysis of the occurrences of phrasal

verbs across them in Section 5.3. The chapter concludes with a section dealing with the use of the combinations at issue by female and male authors (5.4).

After dealing with the diachronic development of phrasal verbs from their introduction in the English language (Chapter 3) to the 1990s (Chapters 4 and 5), the purpose of Chapter 6 is to ascertain whether the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization have affected the development of these constructions and, if so, to what extent. The chapter begins with a discussion of the different ways of viewing the processes of grammaticalization (6.2), lexicalization (6.3) and idiomatization (6.4). These are followed by Section 6.5, where I analyze the different possible ways by which phrasal verbs can be related to the three processes in question (Sections 6.5.1 to 6.5.4). The chapter concludes with a proposal of a model to view the relationship between phrasal verbs and grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization based on the assumption that phrasal verbs are a gradable category (6.6).

Finally, Chapter 7 offers a summary of the main findings and conclusions together with some suggestions for future research.

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2. DELIMITING THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY: WHAT ARE PHRASAL VERBS?

2.1. INTRODUCTION

As seen in Section 1.2, phrasal verbs differ from other multi-word verbs in the type of particle they contain. However, such a distinction does not suffice to isolate them from other similar structures, especially prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs, although, as said above (cf. Section 1.2), phrasal-verb particles are better described as adverbs, most of them are analogous with prepositions, so that a clear dividing line cannot always be drawn between the two categories. The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to provide a thorough description of the characteristics of phrasal verbs in order to delimit the category, although, as will soon become evident, clear-cut distinctions are hard to make. The outline of the chapter is as follows. Section 2.2 introduces the main characteristics of the verbal element of the compound, whereas Section 2.3 deals with the most salient properties of the particles, especially from a morphological (2.3.1) and a semantic (2.3.2) point of view. Then Section 2.4 offers a description of phrasal verbs as a unit. More precisely, Section 2.4.1 deals with their semantic characteristics, whereas Section 2.4.2 reviews the syntactic tests proposed in the literature for the identification of phrasal verbs.

2.2. THE VERBAL ELEMENT

In principle, any kind of lexical verb can function as the verbal element in a phrasal combination. However, certain tendencies have been observed. The verbs are most commonly native, that is, of Germanic origin (Martin 1990: 115; Thim 2006a: 219), and generally "monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs with the accent on the first syllable" (Claridge 2000: 54). This 'phonological constraint', as Denison calls it, seems to be a Modern English development (cf. Denison 1985: 45n, 2007). However, rather than a constraint, this is merely a tendency, since polysyllabic verbs can also be found occasionally in certain PDE combinations. Consider, for example, *abstract away (from)*, *balloon out*, *cement up*, *collect up*, *connect up*, *consign over*, *disappear off*, *divide up*, *explain away*, *isolate out*, *partition off*, *prospect ahead*, *segregate off*, *select out*, *separate out/off* and *summarize up*, among others (cf. Fraser 1976: 14; Hampe 2002: 38).

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk & Hanks (1996: 91) also notice that the verbal element tends to be a semantically underspecified or delexical verb such as *get*, *go*, *set*, *take* or *put*.[6] For this reason, very often the particle is the element which bears the salient part of the meaning of the compound (for further details cf. 2.3 below). The strongest evidence for this are those cases of particle conversion in which the adverbial element appears with a verbal function, without the necessity of an accompanying verb, as shown in (1) and (2) below (cf. also Elenbaas 2007: 26 and Section 3.3 below).

[6] This type of verbs are commonly known as 'light verbs' (cf., among others, Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 290ff).

(1) *I **outed** fast. And you say he's – what is he?* (BNC CK0 W_fict_prose)

(2) *But one of the daughters was sleeping in with Mum at night -- but she's **upped** and **offed**.* (BNC B0W W_non_ac_soc_science)

There exist several lists containing the most productive verbs for the formation of phrasal combinations. Fraser (1976: 9), for example, mentions *take*, *put*, *go*, *get*, *turn*, *lay*, *set*, *run*, *make* and *fall* as the commonest verbal bases. The most recent of these lists is probably that in Biber et al. (1999: 412-413). According to these authors, the most productive lexical verbs in PDE are *take*, *get*, *come*, *put*, *go*, *set*, *turn* and *bring*, verbs which are as well unusually polysemous, as the authors note. However, particles do not usually occur with the so-called stative verbs, such as *believe*, *hear*, *hope*, *know*, *want*, *resemble*, *see*, etc. (Bolinger 1971: 90; Fraser 1976: 11; Brinton 1985: 164; Claridge 2000: 54), the compound *hear out* being probably the only exception. By contrast, there are certain verbs which occur as part of phrasal verbs, but do not exist as simple verbs (e.g. *eke out* 'supplement, supply the deficiencies of anything') for which Thim (2012: 30) adopts the term 'cranberry verb' in allusion to cranberry morphs.[7] Therefore, although the set of verbs used to form phrasal verbs is, in principle, not limited, certain tendencies can be observed.

[7] A type of bound morpheme which distinguishes words, but which cannot be assigned a meaning. For example, *cran* distinguishes *cranberry* from words such as *raspberry*, *blackberry* and *gooseberry*, but it does not function as an independent word and has no meaning by itself (Aronoff 1976: 15).

2.3. THE PARTICLES

2.3.1. MORPHOLOGICAL CHARACTERIZATION

The nature of the second element of the phrasal verb, namely the post-verbal particle, turns out to be somewhat more controversial.

As stated above (cf. Section 1.2), phrasal verbs have traditionally been distinguished from other similar structures by the type of particle which attaches to the verb, which in the case of phrasal verbs has been commonly defined as an adverb (cf., e.g., Palmer 1988: 216), as opposed to prepositional verbs, whose particle is a preposition, and phrasal-prepositional verbs, which contain both an adverb and a preposition. The problem arises when we consider that many of the English prepositions are homomorphic with adverbs. Consider, for example, the use of *down* in sentences (3) and (4) below.

(3) *It's cold, mine is. Pigeons are* ***down****.* (BNC KBB S_conv)

(4) *There are fertilisers gone* ***down*** *the river and they kill them all off.* (BNC H5G S_interview_oral_history)

In example (3) *down* functions as an adverb or an intransitive preposition (Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 272-290; cf. also Denison 1981: 11), whereas in (4) it is a (transitive) preposition, or the head of a prepositional phrase. To illustrate this problem, the list of possible phrasal-verb particles gathered by Claridge (2000: 46) is included below. The items in italics represent those particles which can be used both as adverbs and as prepositions, the so-called 'prepositional adverbs' by Bolinger (1971: 26, 28):

aback, *aboard*, *about*, *above*, *across*, *after*, ahead, *along*, apart, *around*, ashore, aside, astray, asunder, away, back, *behind*, *by*, counter, *down*, forth, forward(s), home, *in*, *off*, *on*, out, *over*, *past*, *round*, *through*, *to*,[8] together, *under*, *up*

Nevertheless, phrasal-verb particles behave differently from adverbs in some respects. Thus, as noted by Spasov (1966: 13), whereas the former can be moved to both sides of the direct object NP (cf. (5) below), adverbs cannot (cf. (6)).

(5) *Shrewsbury and Borough Council have **taken** [**up**] the flagpole [**up**]*. (BNC HYX S_meeting)

(6) *15 per cent of the village regularly uses the telecottage and at least 20 per cent has taken [***there**] courses **there**.* (BNC A1M W_newsp_brdsht_nat_science)

Similarly, in principle, prepositions can only appear before the NPs they are heads of, but not after them (cf. (7) below).[9]

(7) a. *They **went down** the river.*

b. *They **went down** it.*

c. **They **went** it **down**.*

Moreover, if we remove the adverb from a statement, its meaning becomes incomplete, but the action remains the same, whereas if we remove the particle, the meaning of the verb will be altered to a greater or lesser extent, as shown in Spasov's examples in (8) and (9) below (1966: 12).

(8) *They have taken courses there → They have taken courses.*

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[8] According to Palmer, "*to* occurs as part of phrasal verb only in *come to* and *bring to* ('return to consciousness') [...]. *To*, moreover, in *bring to* can occur only after the noun phrase" (1988: 228). Notice, however, the existence of the combination *lay to* ('come to a stationary position with the head towards the wind', *OED* s.v. *lay to* 3).

[9] However, as will be seen in Section 2.4.2.1 below, this is not always the case.

(9) *?They have taken the flagpole.*

Thim (2006a: 214-215) argues that, although phrasal-verb particles are homonymous with simple local adverbs, they have specific positional, functional and semantic potential.[10] Thus, as regards their position, particles are different from adverbs in that the former can precede an object, and they are different from prepositions in that they can follow an object. However, as will be seen in what follows (cf. Section 2.4.2.1), this distinction is far more complex than it may appear at first. Moreover, according to Thim, phrasal-verb particles are distinctive in that the combination of verb and particle may be analyzed as one functional unit within the sentence (2006a: 214). Finally, as regards their semantics, Thim states that "the meaning of the combination of verb and particle may be analyzed along a gradient of compositionality, ranging from fully compositional to fully opaque" (2006a: 215).[11]

Cappelle, on the contrary, considers that the term 'adverbial particle' is "unfortunate" because "it does injustice to the central status particles (in the restricted sense) have within the verb phrase" (2005: 245). For him, particles are a distinct category (2005: 100-101) although they are adverbial in origin.

Other scholars prefer the label 'intransitive prepositions', that is, prepositions without a complement, to refer to the invariable element of the compound (cf., e.g.,

[10] In a similar line as Thim (2006a), Elenbaas defines particles as "mostly mono-syllabic words which look like prepositions, but have a distinct syntax" (2007: 1).
[11] For further details cf. Sections 2.3.2 and 2.4.1 below.

Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 272-290).[12] However, *back* and *together* are phrasal-verb particles which lack a transitive equivalent (cf. Jackendoff 2002: 70).[13]

By contrast, Fraser (1970b: 96, 1976: 24) has suggested that particles are reduced prepositional phrases (cf. also Lipka 1972: 17). This means that a sentence such as *He came in* is obtained from a reduction of, for example, *He came in the house*. There are several reasons to think that this claim is incorrect, the main one being that not all phrasal combinations can be seen as derived from such a transformation (cf. Cappelle 2005: 101). Consider, for example, the sentence *The shops close up at six*, which lacks an equivalent with *up* functioning as a preposition.[14] Moreover, as noticed by Claridge (2000: 49), distinguishing reduction from non-reduction cases would be a very complex task. Especially complicated are those cases in which the sequence *out of* follows the verb, which can be considered either as verbs followed by the complex preposition *out of*, or as phrasal verbs with the particle *out* plus a prepositional phrase introduced by *of*. Following Claridge (2000: 49n), who in turn follows Denison (1981) among others, and Martin (1990: 76) these cases have been excluded from the scope of this study. Pelli (1976: 102) also excludes such examples since he considers that the particle *out of* behaves as a preposition in that it can be replaced by *from*; as evidence he suggests the fact that it can often be found at considerable distance from the verb.

[12] Cf. also Emonds (1970, 1972), as quoted in Brinton (1988: 165) and Cappelle (2002: 44).
[13] For a discussion at length of the problems of using such a terminology, cf. Cappelle (2005: 82ff).
[14] For further counterarguments against the claim that phrasal-verb particles are reduced prepositional phrases, cf. Declerck (1976: 9-22) and Cappelle (2005: 93-96).

Sroka, on the basis of the distributional criteria of particles (i.e. the different environments in which they can occur) establishes three classes, namely adverbs, prepositions and adverb-preposition words (1972: 37-86). According to him, the three types of particles serve two different syntactic functions: adverbial and prepositional (1972: 87-102). When the particle occupies what he calls 'Position a' (1972: 88), it has the adverbial function, as in his example in (10) below.

(10) *Startling him, she **broke away**.*

If, on the contrary, the particle is placed in 'Position b' (1972: 88), it has the prepositional function, as in (11).

(11) *You can **glance at** them yourself, if you like.*

Finally, when the particle is in 'Position c' (1972: 89-90), it may have either the adverbial or the prepositional function. When the particle can be moved to a position before or after the object NP, as in (12) below, it has the adverbial function.

(12) *At this moment we might **take** [**away**] the rigid runners [**away**] without making any difference at all to the birds.*

In turn, when the ordering 'verb + particle + NP' is interchangeable with that of 'verb + particle + personal pronoun', as in (13), it has the prepositional function.

(13) *I lowered my hands, **looked at** Phyllis [him], and shrugged.*

For Sroka, the phrasal-verb particle is an adverb-preposition word with an adverbial function (cf. also Brinton 1988: 165).

Bolinger (1971: 23-36), by contrast, acknowledges the existence of three particle-types, namely adverb, preposition and prepositional adverbs (particles which can function as both adverbs and prepositions). These three types can serve three different

functions: adverb, preposition and adprep. The term 'adprep', as used by Bolinger (1971: 23-36), refers to a type of particle "which is an adverb and a preposition at one and the same time" (Bolinger 1971: 28), because it "seems to 'belong' to the verb as much as to the following NP" (O'Dowd 1998: 23). Consider in this connection the following example extracted from Bolinger (1971: 26-27):

(14) *He ran **down** the road.*

a. *He ran it down.* ('disparaged, criticized it') – adverb

b. *He ran down it.* ('did his running somewhere down the road') – preposition

c. *He ran down it.* ('descended it') – adprep

The position of the object pronoun seems to indicate that the particle in (14c) is a preposition. However, in contrast with (14b), in (14c) the particle is a constituent of the phrase *run down*. In other words, the meaning of the sentence in (14c) is 'He [ran down] [down the road]'.[15] Bolinger, however, considers that phrasal-verb particles are mostly prepositional adverbs or adverbs in an adverbial function (cf. Brinton 1988: 165).

Quite differently from other scholars, Mitchell considers it better to abandon the word-class approach and to treat phrasal verbs as a type of verb formed by two words in which the particle forms "one grammatical piece with the verbal component," a "colligation" (1958: 103).

Therefore, as has been shown in the preceding paragraphs, there is much disagreement among scholars concerning the status of phrasal-verb particles. However,

[15] Bolinger's adprep is usually treated as a preposition by other scholars (cf., e.g., Denison 1981: 17).

for the purpose of this dissertation, I will follow one of the commonest approaches, namely that phrasal-verbal particles are of adverbial nature, meaning that they are adverbs in origin (cf. Spasov 1966: 12, 13; Sroka 1972: 105-179; Brinton 1988: 275n), which have come to form a (more or less bound) unit with a verb and, for this reason, behave differently from other adverbs (cf. Thim 2006a: 214-215). I include within the category prepositional adverbs (i.e. particles which can function both as a preposition and as an adverb) and exclude adpreps (following Claridge 2000 who, in turn, follows Bolinger 1971). The adverbs from which the particles are created should not have been obtained by any process of derivation from another word (e.g. *quickly* < *quick*) and, as adverbs, they must be able to stand on their own in a sentence. In other words, they cannot function as the head of a following NP. Neither can particles "refer or relate to any noun phrase in another sentence position" (Claridge 2000: 48), as a preposition might do in the so-called stranded preposition construction, illustrated in example (15) below.

(15) *Right, and you get them to something that you can **deal with**.* (BNC KDJ S_conv)

Phrasal-verb particles have also been often characterized as bearing stress (e.g. *look úp*; cf., e.g., Mitchell 1958: 104; Pelli 1976: 28, 43), as opposed to prepositions, which tend to be unaccented (e.g. *lóok at*). The criterion of accentuation is especially noticeable in passive sentences (cf. Live 1965: 433), such as (16b) and (17b) below (Quirk et al. 1985: 1157).

(16) a. *She **cálled on** the dean.*

b. *The dean was **CÁLLED on**.*

(17) a. *She **switched ón** the light.*

b. *The light was **switched ÓN**.*

However, as noticed by Bolinger (1971: 14), some prepositions which are weightier than others can occasionally be stressed. This applies especially to two-syllable prepositions, such as, for example, *across*, *after*, *over*, *under* and *without* (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1157; Palmer 1988: 220). Moreover, according to Palmer (1988: 220), when prepositions occur in final position in the sentence, they may or may not be accented, as shown in his example in (18) below, whereas they are normally accented when provided with contrastive stress (cf. (19)).

(18) *That is the hill he **rán up**/**ran úp**.*

(19) *This is the hill he ran **úp**, not **dówn**.*

By contrast, particles can occasionally be unstressed, especially when they occur between a stressed verb and a stressed noun (E.g. *He rán up a bíll*), because they become unstressed in accordance with overall sentence rhythm (cf. Lindner 1983: 11).

Therefore, although the criterion of stress adds further information about the status of the phrasal-verb particles, given the reasons explained in the preceding lines, and due to the controversial nature of accentuation (cf. Bolinger 1971: 41-44; O'Dowd 1998: 21-22), it must be rejected as a defining feature of the particles in phrasal combinations (cf. also Sroka 1972: 126).

It has been variously suggested in the literature that it might be possible to compile a list of phrasal-verb particles (cf., e.g., Fraser 1976: 5; Denison 1981: 9; Quirk et al. 1985: 1151; Claridge 2000: 46), though "deciding what words it contains is harder than one might imagine" (Bolinger 1971: 17). For the purposes of the present study, I will adopt Claridge's list (cf. above), which is based on the lists provided by previous scholars (cf. Bolinger 1971: 17-18; *ODCIE* 1975: lxxx; Fraser 1976: 5; Quirk et al.

1985: 1151) as well as on her own data. I have, however, excluded the particle *ashore*, which, as far as I know, is only listed by Bolinger (1971: 18) and Pelli (1976: 37) as a non-productive particle restricted to nautical usage, together with other nautical particles (*abaft*, *abeam*, *aboard*, *aft*, *aloft*, *alongside*, *amidships*, *aport*, *astarboard*, *astern*, *athwart*, *overboard*)[16] which are, nevertheless, also excluded by Claridge. Thim's (2012: 11) list of PDE particles is very similar to Claridge's except for the exclusion of *counter*.[17] As already noticed by Claridge (2000: 46), the list is far from complete (which would probably be hard to achieve anyway) since it excludes items which she considers irrelevant for her study.[18] Pelli (1976: 36ff) agrees with Claridge in excluding many of the *a*-particles and justifies his decision on the grounds of four criteria:

1) These particles are productive in morphology, i.e. new coinages are possible from both verbs and nouns.

2) Their productivity at the combinatory level is very limited (i.e. they only combine with a restricted set of verbs, such as *be*, *come*, *go*, *stay*, *live*, etc.).

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[16] Notice that the particle *aboard*, though also restricted to nautical usage, seems, nevertheless, accepted as a possible phrasal-verb particle by a wide number of scholars (cf., e.g., Denison 1981: 9; Quirk et al. 1985: 1151; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 281).

[17] *Ashore* is also included in Thim's (2012: 11) list of PDE particles, though, unlike Bolinger (1971) and Pelli (1976), he does not comment on its degree of productivity.

[18] Besides the particles restricted to nautical usage, Claridge's list excludes the items *again*, *aground*, *alongside*, *aloud*, *askew*, *astride*, *atop*, *before*, *below*, *between*, *beyond* and *underground*, which are listed by Bolinger (1971: 18), the particles *abreast*, *adrift*, *backwards*, *downhill*, *downstairs*, *indoors*, *in front*, *inside*, *near*, *on top*, *outside* and *upstairs*, given by the *ODCIE* (1975: lxxx), *against*, *at*, *beneath*, *for*, *from*, *into*, *of*, *out of*, *toward(s)*, *upon*, *with* and *within*, listed by Denison (1981: 9), and also the particles *askance*, *below*, *beneath*, *betwixt*, *catercorner*, *kitty-corner*, *next*, *opposite*, *sideward(s)* and *sideway(s)*, quoted by Martin (1990: 204; from Allen 1964).

3) They often act as adverbial adjuncts that might be rendered differently (e.g. *put the book aside = put the book on the side*).

4) Except for *adrift*, none of these particles has acquired any figurative meanings.

Some of Pelli's criteria seem rather questionable to me. Thus, excluding these particles on account of their lack of a productive morphology does not seem justified, since new particles may enter the inventory of phrasal-verb particles over time. Moreover, Pelli contradicts himself in his selectional criteria, since he excludes *adrift* in spite of having developed a figurative meaning (e.g. *They turned him adrift = They chased him from home*), while he does include *aback*, *about*, *across*, *ahead*, *along*, *around* and *away* precisely because they can assume figurative meanings (among other reasons).

I will not go so far as Claridge in saying that the excluded items are irrelevant for my study, but I believe that the items included in her list seem to represent the category at issue sufficiently and extending it to other (probably) marginal particles would complicate my task unnecessarily.

2.3.2. THE SEMANTICS OF PARTICLES

The meaning of the individual particles in phrasal verbs is an issue which requires closer inspection, because of their central status in the compound. The semantic changes caused by the addition of a particle to a verb are probably what makes phrasal verbs such an idiosyncratic feature of the English language so close to idioms and phraseological units. Most scholars seem to agree that the particles occurring in phrasal verbs were used in previous stages to denote location or direction (cf., e.g., Denison

1985: 48) and they eventually came to express other more metaphorical meanings. In general terms, five different types of particles can be distinguished, namely literal, aspectual and/or aktionsart, metaphorical and also those particles which form a semantically non-compositional unit with the verb to the point that the individual meanings of the two elements can no longer be discerned. As will be seen in Section 2.3.2.3, a further subtype can be added to this list, namely emphatic particles. It is important to notice, however, that "[o]ne and the same particle may have more than one meaning, and the meaning it carries depends on the verb it combines with" (Elenbaas 2007: 2). As remarked by Pelli (1976: 49), an expressive verb (e.g. *jump*) will cause the particle (e.g. *up*) to adopt a concrete directional meaning, whereas a rational verb (e.g. *put*) may or may not (e.g. *put up* 'lodge'). Therefore, although the particles contribute an important part of the meaning to the compound, the semantic classification of phrasal verbs (cf. Section 2.4.1) ultimately depends on the relationship between both elements of the compound.

2.3.2.1. Literal particles

As stated above (cf. 2.3.1), phrasal-verb particles are adverbial in nature and, as such, they originally denote location and directional meanings. Some phrasal-verb particles have kept these literal meanings in PDE, as is the case with *down*, *in*, *out* and *up* in examples (20) to (23) below.

(20) *You can get into the car park if you **come down**.* (BNC G59 S_meeting)

(21) *Your key's in the inside, how would you **get in**?* (BNC GY4 S_meeting)

(22) *By this time the jury had been **sent out**.* (BNC FD6 W_ac_polit_law_edu)

(23) *Then Peter **stood up** with the other eleven apostles and in a loud voice began to speak.* (BNC HDD S_meeting)

According to Cappelle "[a] particle is literal if its meaning is constant across different verb-particle constructions, in other words, if the meaning is not dependent on the particular verb it combines with" (2002: 56). Cappelle bases his definition on the semantic independence of the particle form the verb. For him, literal particles can be preposed (cf. (24)) and can appear in a verbless pattern (cf. (25)).

(24) *Up he climbed vs. *Up blew the car*

(25) *Hands up! < Put your hands up!*

For Cappelle, "if a dividing line is to be drawn at all, it should not be between directional particles and non-directional ones, but rather, between particles that have a clear meaning of their own and particles whose meaning can only be understood in relation to a verb" (2005: 118). For this reason, he argues, some non-directional particles can also be found in a verbless pattern (cf. (26)) or in a preposed construction (cf. (27)).

(26) *Lights out!*

(27) *Out went the lights*

Although Cappelle is probably right in distinguishing semantically dependent from semantically independent particles, for the purposes of my study I prefer to classify literal particles as those which have kept their original meanings of direction or location, a definition justified in terms of their origin as adverbs (cf. also Elenbaas 2007: 15n). All in all, although, according to Cappelle, some particles share similar syntactic properties (occurrence in a verbless pattern or preposing), it is undeniable that the

meaning of, for example, *out* in the combination *send out* in (22) above is quite different from that of the same combination in (28) below (cf. also Section 2.3.2.2).

(28) *We **sent out** letters to other potential funders saying the New Internationalist would close in two months time.* (BNC HH3 W_non_ac_polit_law_edu)

Following Claridge, I will refer to the meaning expressed by particles as one of 'motion in general' (cf. Claridge 2000: 50), which is probably a more accurate term, since it refers to movement in general, thus avoiding the terms 'location' and 'direction', which may be somewhat misleading; notice that there is hardly any sense of direction in some particles such as *about* or *by*, which cannot be described as expressing location either. Therefore, in this study, I will be using the term 'literal particle' to refer to those phrasal-verb particles which retain their original meanings of motion in general.

2.3.2.2. Aspectual/aktionsart particles

As distinguished from literal particles, particles of the type of *out* in (28) above have been variously seen "as markers of 'perfective', 'terminative', or 'resultative' aspect (see, e.g. Kennedy 1920: 27; Poutsma 1926: 296, 300-301; Curme 1931: 379, 381; Bolinger 1971: 96)" (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 6). Other scholars, however, have pointed out that "the aspectual meaning of particles is better understood as an aktionsart meaning, namely that of expressing the goal or endpoint of a situation" (Brinton 1988: 163).

As can be seen, further difficulties in the treatment of phrasal verbs arise at this point concerning the distinction between aspect and aktionsart. As noted by Brinton, the main problem stemming from such a distinction is the fact that the term aspect has

traditionally been used to designate both what is meant by aspect and by aktionsart, when, in fact, they are distinct features (Brinton 1988: 2-4).

Although no agreement has been reached to date, **aspect** is generally defined as "[t]he grammatical category representing distinctions in the temporal structure of an event" (*KCLL* s.v. *aspect*). Thus, aspect, also called grammatical aspect (as distinguished from lexical aspect; cf. below) or "viewpoint aspect (Smith 1983, 1997), refers to aspectual distinctions which are marked explicitly by linguistic devices, usually auxiliaries and/or inflectional and derivational morphology" (Li & Shirai 2000: 3). In other words, as pointed out by Brinton (1988: 3), aspect relates to

> the speaker's viewpoint or perspective on a situation. The speaker may choose to portray an event as completed (perfective aspect), or as ongoing (imperfective aspect), or as beginning (ingressive aspect), continuing (continuative aspect), ending (egressive aspect), or repeating (iterative or habitual aspect).

In some languages, aspectual distinctions are of a very complex nature. In English, however, aspect is reduced to the distinction between simple and progressive verb forms, which is marked by means of several devices. For example, simple forms of verbs are normally seen as markers of perfective aspect, whereas *be* + *-ing* forms of verbs and periphrases of the type *continue to* + verb and *keep on* + verb (cf. Brinton 1988: 53) tend to be interpreted as indicating imperfective aspect, also called progressive, durative or continuous aspect (Cappelle 2005: 344).

For most scholars, however, the term aspect is a much broader category also including the so-called **lexical aspect** or **aktionsart**. The German word aktionsart or "kind of action" (Brinton 1988: 3), a term first coined by Karl Brugmann in 1885 (Kortmann 1991: 12), generally refers to "[a] distinction of aspect which is expressed

lexically, rather than grammatically: *eat*, *nibble*, *devour*" (*DGTL* s.v. *aktionsart*). In other words, aktionsart, lexical aspect, situational aspect or inherent aspect[19] refers to "lexically expressed aspectual distinctions" (Guerrero-Medina 2001: 1), that is, "to the characteristics of what is inherent in the lexical items which describe the situation" (Li & Shirai 2000: 3). It "has nothing to do with grammar but relates solely to the semantics of the verbs and predicates, more exactly to those semantic properties having to do with time" (Kortmann 1991: 13). To quote an example, "*know* is inherently stative (i.e. continuous and homogenous), while *jump* is inherently punctual (i.e. momentary and instantaneous)" (Li & Shirai 2000: 3).

The differences between aspect and aktionsart are summarized in Brinton's quotation below.

> Aspect is grammatical because, broadly speaking, it is expressed by verbal inflectional morphology and periphrases, aktionsart by the lexical meaning of verbs and verbal derivational morphology. Aspect is subjective because the speaker chooses a particular viewpoint, whereas aktionsart, since it concerns the given nature of the event and not the perspective of the speaker, is objective. (Brinton 1988: 3)

In what concerns the different types of aktionsart, according to Brinton (1985: 159), possibly "the best known categorization is Zeno Vendler's four way distinction of 'state', 'activity', 'accomplishment' and 'achievement' (1967: 97-121)" (cf. also Cappelle 2005: 344). Of the four subtypes of aktionsart, only the latter, achievements, are punctual, whereas the remaining three are durative. Further distinction can be made

[19] Cappelle (2005: 345) employs the term 'event structure' to refer to what is traditionally known as lexical aspect. To avoid further confusion, I will not be employing this label in the present study.

between the four categories by means of the dichotomy dynamic (activities, accomplishments, achievements) vs. non-dynamic (states).

The main differences between both categories have been summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Main differences between the categories of aspect and aktionsart[20]

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>**ASPECT**
(grammatical aspect or viewpoint aspect)</th><th>**AKTIONSART**
(lexical aspect)</th></tr>
<tr><td>DEFINITION</td><td>“The grammatical category representing distinctions in the temporal structure of an event” (KCLL s.v. aspect). Temporal perspective or point of view taken of a situation.</td><td>Inherent temporal nature of the situation named. “Lexically expressed aspectual distinctions” (Guerrero-Medina 2001: 1) or “the characteristics of what is inherent in the lexical items which describe the situation” (Li & Shirai 2000: 3).</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">CATEGORIES</td><td>**Perfective** (punctual/aorist/resultative/ momentaneous): completed event</td><td rowspan="2">**Stative vs. Non-stative**</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Imperfective** (progressive/ imperfect/ linear/ continuative/ durative/ cursive): ongoing event</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Ingressive** (inchoative/ inceptive): event beginning</td><td rowspan="2">**Punctual vs. Durative**</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Continuative** (progressive/ durative): continuing event</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Egressive** (terminative/ resultative/ effective/ finitive): event ending</td><td rowspan="2">**Telic vs. Atelic**</td></tr>
<tr><td>**Iterative** (habitual/ frequentative): repeating event</td></tr>
<tr><td>MEANS OF EXPRESSION</td><td>Verbal inflections and periphrases</td><td>Lexical meaning of the verb and its arguments</td></tr>
</table>

As can be seen, the distinction between aspect and aktionsart is quite controversial and it is hard to establish the boundaries between these two categories which very often overlap (cf. Cappelle 2005: 345). Moreover, as stated above, phrasal-verb particles have

[20] Table 3 includes also other labels employed in the literature to refer to the various categories of aspect.

been attributed both types of meaning. Thus, according to Brinton (1988: 166-176), some (though not all) of the particles contribute an aktionsart meaning to the verb, more specifically, telic aktionsart. In other words, some particles have the function of making situations telic, that is, of converting activities into accomplishments (e.g. *eat* vs. *eat up*). This is the reason why they do not normally occur with stative verbs, because the notion of 'state' is incompatible with the notion of 'goal' (Brinton 1988: 173). This scholar argues that *up*, *down*, *out*, *off* and, less frequently, *through*, *over* and *away* are the particles which most commonly serve the purpose of goal, and phrasal verbs with them are normally equivalent to a simple verb with an expression of the type *to the end*, *completely*, *until it is finished*, or *all of it/them* (Brinton 1988: 169), as shown in Brinton's own examples below (cf. (29) and (30)).

(29) *The children are **eating up** the candy = The children are eating all of the candy.*

(30) *The management decided to **close down** the plant = The management decided to close the plant completely.*

Although particles contribute the notion of goal, they say nothing about whether this goal is achieved or not. Such a function corresponds to grammatical aspect, that is, whether that an action is perfective (complete) or imperfective (incomplete). Thus, a phrasal verb particle may indicate telic aktionsart (completion, goal, accomplishment) in a sentence in which the verbal tense indicates that no completion of the action has been achieved (Brinton 1988: 181ff). In (31) below, for instance, the phrasal verb *eat up* indicates telic aktionsart ('eat to the end', 'eat it all'), because the telic activity of *eating* is turned into an accomplishment. However, grammatical aspect (imperfectivity) indicates that the action has not finished yet, but is rather going on at the moment of producing the utterance.

(31) *They were **eating up** his trees so he decided to exterminate them.*

Several tests can be used to check whether or not an expression is telic or atelic. As noticed by Cappelle (2005: 99), one of the classic tests for telicity is the one according to which telic combinations can combine with an adjunct in the form of a prepositional phrase introduced by *in*, whereas they cannot combine with one introduced by *for*, as shown in (32) below (cf. also Brinton 1985: 162, 1988: 171).

(32) a. *The children **ate up** the candy **in a minute**.*

b. **The children **ate up** the candy **for a minute**.*

Moreover, telic combinations can occur with the expression *take an hour to V* (cf. (33)), they are allowed with terminative periphrases containing *finish* (cf. (34)), and they are compatible with a temporal expression introduced by *during*, but not by *all during*, as shown in (35) below (cf. Brinton 1985:162-163; 1988: 171-172).

(33) *It took the children an hour to **eat up** the candy.*

(34) *The children **finished eating up** the candy.*

(35) *The children **ate up** the candy [*all] **during an hour**.*

Therefore, as has been shown, phrasal-verb particles such as *up* in *eat up*, seem to function, in principle, as telic aktionsart markers.

Other particles, however, are better described as markers of aspect. Thus, according to Brinton (1988: 175ff), the particles *on*, *along* and *away* often indicate **iterative** and/or **continuative aspect**.[21] This means that "they portray a situation which may

[21] For other terminology, cf., among others, Quirk et al. (1985: 1162-1163) and Brinton (1988: 243-246).

otherwise have stopped as continuing, or they portray the situation as repeated" (Brinton 1988: 175). An argument in favour of this assumption is the fact that, very often, phrasal verbs with the particle *on* can be replaced by periphrases such as *go on* + V-*ing*, *keep* (*on*) V-*ing* or *continue* + V-*ing*, as shown by Brinton's example in (36) below (Brinton 1988: 176).

(36) *He **hammered away** at the nail = He **continued hammering** the nail.*

The distinction between particles expressing iterative and those conveying continuative aspect is ultimately determined by the aktionsart qualities of the verb. According to Brinton, iterative aspect is expressed "with punctual or telic situations, which cannot be continued, or with inherently iterative situations, [...] whereas with durative situations, which can be continued, they [the particles] mark the continuative [aspect]" (Brinton 1988: 175). Consider in this respect the examples below, which illustrate a telic situation with a particle expressing iterative meaning (cf. (37)) and a durative situation with a particle portraying continuative aspect (cf. (38)) respectively.

(37) *Oliver could be heard beginning a suitable reply before the woman **babbled on** about something else.* (BNC GV2 W_fict_prose)

(38) *Feeling depressed they **worked away** for the rest of the night.* (BNC AM W_fict_prose)

According to Cappelle (2005: 346, 377, 383; cf. also Jackendoff 1997: 539; Rice 1999: 235-236), some other particles have the ability to express **inchoative** or **inceptive**

aspect,[22] that is, they have "the effect of focussing on the initial stage of the event" (Cappelle 2005: 346). This is the case with, for example, *away* in some imperative sentences, as shown in Cappelle's (2005: 384) example in (39).

(39) *You can also check out Funny & Wacky Nsync Pictures so go ahead and* ***laugh away****.*

Uses like these are, however, restricted to a few especial cases of phrasal verbs. Cappelle (2005: 431-456) also describes a number of semi-aspectual uses of particles (not only phrasal-verb particles). Analyzing each and every one of these uses goes, however, beyond the scope of this study, mainly because aspectual and aktionsart distinctions are not as clear-cut as they might seem in principle. For the purposes of this dissertation, it suffices to say that some phrasal-verb particles function as markers of telic aktionsart, whereas others function as aspectual markers, mainly of continuative and iterative aspect and, marginally, of ingressive aspect and other minor semi-aspectual distinctions.

2.3.2.3. Emphatic particles

In Section 2.3.2.2 it was stated that certain phrasal-verb particles, such as *up* in combinations like *eat up*, function as telic aktionsart particles. However, as noted by Cappelle (2005: 420-421), in many cases the event described by the verb to which *up* is

[22] Cf. also Brinton (1988: 243-246) for references to other scholars who have also pointed out the existence of an inchoative meaning in particles.

added may already be telic without the particle, as shown in his examples below (cf. (40)).

(40) a. *I **wrapped** the present [in / *for] twenty minutes.*[23]

b. *I **wrapped up** the present [in / *for] twenty minutes.*

Moreover, Cappelle also notices that many phrasal verbs typically classified as telic are fully compatible with *for*-prepositional phrases, just like their simple counterparts (2005: 422-423), as shown in (41) below.

(41) a. *I **ground** the nuts [in / for] five seconds.*

b. *I **ground** the nuts **up** [in / for] five seconds.*

In view of this, Cappelle comes to the conclusion that *up* does not really express telic aktionsart and, according to him, it is better described as a particle expressing resultative aspect "in the sense that it directs the reader's attention, not to the event itself, but to whatever salient result the event produces" (2005: 423).[24] Thus, for him (2005: 426), phrasal verbs with *up* can be paraphrased as '(cause to) get in a V-*ed* state', so that, "if you *heat up the soup*, you cause the soup to get in a (literally) 'heated' state" (2005: 423).

I have argued elsewhere (Rodríguez-Puente 2013) that, just as *up* cannot be described as telic because most simple verbs are already telic, the particle cannot be

[23] David Denison (personal communication) points out that a PP introduced by *for* would be admissible with the simple verb if describing a tedious process of wrapping a present.

[24] Wild (2010: 236) classifies these as redundant aktionsart particles, because they do not change the argument structure of the verb and are unnecessary.

classified as resultative or causative, because most simple verbs are also resultative, as illustrated in examples (42) and (43).

(42) *He heated the soup* = 'He caused the soup to be in a heated state'.

(43) *He bottled the wine* = 'He caused the wine to be in a bottled state'.

Some scholars have pointed out that certain particles, such as *down*, *off*, *out* and especially *up* function as an "intensive" adverbs (cf. Potter 1965: 287-288), that they express "intensity or totality" (Live 1965: 436; Pelli 1976: 44) or that they are used by speakers "to strengthen or emphasize the idea expressed by a simple verb" (Kennedy 1920: 33). This type of meanings have been frequently described as aspectual in nature (cf., e.g., Brinton 1988: 243-246). However, I do not think that 'intensive' can be described as a subtype of aspect. If, as stated above (cf. Section 2.3.2.2), aspect refers to distinctions in the temporal structure of an event, 'intensive' cannot be described as a type of aspect? Like Kennedy (1920), I believe that these particles have developed the ability to act as a reinforcement of the verb, that is, as a means of adding emphasis or intensity and even certain connotations of informality, familiarity and colloquiality. The use of emphatic particles occurs mainly in those combinations in which there seems to be hardly any difference between the simple verb and the phrasal combination (cf., e.g., *boil up, fill out, finish off, hurry up, mark off, mix up, splash up, split up, wash down, wrap up*) and also in adjective- and noun-derived combinations (cf., e.g., *brush down, cake up, calm down, clean up, cool down, map out, note out, number off, print off, quiet down, soap down, warm up*). As noticed by Pelli (1976: 84), *dirty* in *dirty up* already means 'make dirty', so that *up* does not seem to convey the idea of a greater degree, but rather has the function of intensifying the verb itself. To show the emphatic value of a

particle like *up*, consider, for example, the pair *beat-beat up*. The definitions given in dictionaries for these two verbs differ very little, as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4: A comparison of the meaning of *beat* and *beat up* as defined in some English dictionaries

	beat	***beat up***
OED	'strike with repeated blows'	'knock about savagely, thrash'
MWO	'strike repeatedly'	
COD	'strike with a series of violent blows'	'inflict severe physical damage on someone by striking or kicking repeatedly'
MPVP	-	'hurt someone by hitting or kicking them a lot of times'
CALD	'to hit repeatedly'	'to hurt someone badly by hitting or kicking them again and again'
LDOCE	'to hit someone or something many times with your hand, a stick etc.'	'to hurt someone badly by hitting them'

Both *beat* and *beat up* are used to indicate a continuous or repeated way of striking someone/something, the only difference being that in the *OED*, the *CALD* and the *LDOCE* the two-word verb is said to denote a more violent type of striking, given the use of the adverbs *savagely* and *badly* to describe the type of action implied by the verb.

Despite the subtle difference in meaning between *beat* and *beat up* recorded in some dictionaries, evidence from the BNC reveals that both verbs are used in a very similar way, as can be seen in examples (44) to (47) below, in which they are employed indistinctively to refer to domestic violence, both in written discourse (cf. (44) and (46)) and in the spoken register (cf. (45) and (47)).[25]

[25] David Denison (personal communication) suggests that the difference between *beat* and *beat up* might be one of 'authority'. According to him, whereas a father or (in a patriarchal society) a husband can be said to *beat up* his children or wife, a child or a wife cannot be said to *beat up* a father or a husband.

(44) *I'll **beat** you, just as my father **beat** me. And you'll **beat** your own children. And they'll **beat** theirs.* (BNC AC4 W_fic_prose)

(45) *She's rude right! Yeah. She's spoilt, put it that way. They don't **beat** her that's why? I can imagine. They don't **beat** her.* (BNC KPE S_conv)

(46) *"He doesn't **beat** you **up** or rape you, does he?" asked Tim.* (BNC G1D W_fict_prose)

(47) *The people who were lived behind Ann there's a yo young couple in there I think he **beat** her **up**.* (BNC KB7 S_conv)

Similarly, both verbs can be used without any type of distinction to refer to an act of bullying, as can be seen in (48) and (49) below.

(48) *But their caring didn't extend to their maid who they regularly **beat** and bullied at their home in Lincoln.* (BNC K6H S_brdcast_news)

(49) *Then they get their friends on you, they **beat** you **up**.* (BNC A6V W_non_ac_soc_science)

The *in*/*for* adverbial test (cf. Section 2.3.2.2) also works for both the simple and the two-word verb, so that the particle cannot be described as adding telicity to the verb. Similarly, both verbs can be paraphrased as 'to cause someone to get in a beaten state',

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However, the Internet examples in (i) to (iv) show evidence that both verbs can be used to refer to physical aggression without taking into account whether the source of violence is in a power position with respect to the battered person.

(i) *When Dimitri was 13, he **beat** **up** his dad.* (http://www.chickensmoothie.com/Forum/viewtopic.php?f=28&t=395431; accessed 09/03/2011)

(ii) *His father had since been released from prison and I watched in fear as he **beat** his wife, his sons **beat** each other, Bob **beat** his dad*. (http://www.ipj-ppj.org/Newsletters/Fall%202001%20-%20Article%201.htm; accessed 09/03/2011)

(iii) *Police arrested a woman on charges of domestic battery after they said she **beat** **up** her husband.* (http://www.news4jax.com/news/22293975/detail.html; accessed 09/03/2011)

(iv) *Should a wife learn how to **beat** her husband to protect herself in case he becomes aggressive?* (http://www.travelexpertguide.org/forum/Africa-Middle-East/Should-a-wife-learn-how-to-beat-her-husband-to-protect-herself-in-case-he-becomes-aggressive-336877.htm; accessed 09/03/2011)

so that both qualify as resultative according to Cappelle's test. Hence, the particle cannot be described as adding any aspectual distinction to the verb. Nevertheless, when a higher degree of emphasis needs to be transmitted, the phrasal combination seems to be preferred over the simple verb. Thus, a reprimand sounds much stronger with the two-word verb than with its simple counterpart, as can be seen in the following (made-up) examples in (50).

(50) a. *Watch your mouth or I'll **beat** you **up**.*

b. *Watch your mouth or I'll **beat** you.*

On the other hand, the phrasal-verb particle *up* is also capable of adding certain connotations to the meaning of the simple verb. Thus, combinations with emphatic *up* seem to have a more colloquial or even friendly, relaxed or familiar tone, as native speakers confirm when asked about the differences in meaning between phrasal verbs and their one-word counterparts (cf. Hampe 2002: 43-44). For this reason, expressions of the type *I'll ring you up* are more frequently heard in family contexts than, for example, at the end of a job interview.

The characteristic of being more typical of the colloquial language, however, is inherent to all phrasal verbs in general (cf. *ODCIE* 1975: iv; McArthur 1989: 774; Biber et al. 1999: 408, 409; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284), not only those containing emphatic *up*.[26] What distinguishes constructions with this type of *up* is that their

[26] The association of phrasal verbs with the colloquial language has, however, been recently questioned by scholars who argue that, just like other categories of vocabulary, phrasal verbs can be formal, informal or neutral (cf., e.g., Marks 2005; Thim 2012).

particles seem to have developed the ability to function as a kind of 'colloquializer', as an element which is added to verbs which already exist as simple verbs, not only to provide them with some kind of emphasis, but also with a familiar, colloquial tone. Phrasal verbs with emphatic *up* seem to be used by speakers as a way to empathize with the hearer. In fact, for most of these combinations there is a simple counterpart with practically the same meaning. However, by adding the particle spontaneously to the verb, it is as if the speaker is trying to get closer to the hearer, or to sound more relaxed or comfortable. This would explain why many of these emphatic combinations are not listed in dictionaries, because they are often spontaneous creations perfectly understandable from the context, in which the only function of the particle is precisely to act as both emphasizer and colloquializer. Consider, for example, the phrasal verbs *cake up* and *scent up*. Neither combination appears in the *OED* or in contemporary dictionaries,[27] and no evidence of their existence before 1991 is found in historical corpora or those contemporary corpora consulted.[28] Both the BNC and the COCA, however, show that *cake up* and *scent up* are indeed used in PDE with meanings similar to their simple equivalents, namely 'form itself into a cake' (*OED* s.v. *cake* v. 2) and 'impregnate with an odour' (*OED* s.v. *scent* v. 4) respectively, as shown in examples (51) and (52) from COCA.[29]

(51) *He wasn't going to let mud* ***cake up*** *on the side of a fifty-thousand-dollar car.* (COCA FIC Bk: Rattled)

[27] The following dictionaries were consulted: *CALD*, *COD*, *LDOCE* and *MWO*.
[28] The following corpora have been checked: ARCHER 3.1, BROWN, CLMETEV, FLOB, FROWN, HC and LOB.
[29] A total of eight examples of this kind were found: one in the BNC and seven in the COCA.

(52) *I work in an allergy department and the number of patients and co-workers who "**scent up**" before coming in is amazing.* (COCA MAG OutdoorLife)

Further evidence of the emphatic and colloquializer value of *up* is the fact that in PDE it can occur in certain compounds with Latinate verbs, such as *assemble up* (53) and *deliver up* (54), which seems to reinforce the idea that *up* can occasionally be added to simple verbs to provide them with a certain familiarity and, arguably in such cases, to lend verbs a more native-like appearance.

(53) *For the next seventy-five minutes he will be the most important man on the floor-maintaining discipline and relaying all the instructions given him by the team **assembled up** in the gallery.* (BNC F9Y W_misc)

(54) *He was ordered to **deliver up** the certificate to the liquidator.* (BNC G3J W_fict_prose)

However, the type of combinations in which the emphatic/colloquializer value of *up* is more evident are those cases in which the particle combines with a deadjectival or a denominal verb, such as, for example, *beer up* ('to drink beer; to get drunk, esp. on beer'; *OED* s.v. *beer* v.), whose first recorded occurrence in the *OED* is shown in (55).

(55) *They made an attack upon the bar, and after '**beering up**', started for the diamond-field.* (*OED* 1884 N.Y. Times 26 May 8)

This combination is probably derived from the simple verb *beer*, recorded in the *OED* as early as the 18th century (cf. (56) below), which derives by means of conversion from the noun *beer*, present in the English language since OE times (cf. (57)).

(56) *He surely had been brandying it, or **beering**.* (*OED* 1780-6 Wolcott (P. Pindar) *Odes R. Acad. Wks.* 1794 I. 105)

(57) *He ne drincð win ne **béor**.* (*OED* OE *Ags. Gosp*. Luke i. 15)

'He did not drink wine or beer'[30]

Other combinations of phrasal verbs following a parallel path of evolution include, among others, *sex* (n.) > *sex* (v.) 'have sexual intercourse' > *sex up* (v.) 'arouse sexually, have sexual intercourse' (cf. *OED* s.vv. *sex* n. 4.b.; *sex* v. 2.b.)[31] and *fog* (n.) > *fog* (v.) 'cause to be covered or rendered opaque by condensed water vapour' > *fog up* 'cause to be covered or rendered opaque by condensed water vapour' (cf. *OED* s.vv. *fog* n.^{2} II.2.a.; *fog* v.^{2} add.: [1.b]).

A similar state of affairs can be described for certain adjective-derived combinations. Thus, for example, *even up* 'level' (cf. (58)) is derived from the verb *even* (cf. (59)), which, in turn, derives from the adjective *even* (cf. (60); cf. *OED* s.vv. *even* a.1.a; *even* v. I.1.a. and 4.b.).

(58) *They take what he [Anselm] says of justice as if He [Christ] were engaged to* ***even up*** *the score of penalty.* (*OED* 1865 Bushnell Vicar. *Sacr. Introd*. 16)

(59) *All þatt ohht iss wrang & crumb Shall* ***effnedd*** *beon & rihhtedd.* (*OED* c1200 *Ormin* 9207)

'All the things that are twisted and crooked shall be levelled and righted'

(60) *Seo burg wæs ȝetimbred an fildum lande & on swiþe* ***emnum***. (*OED* OE K. Ælfred *Oros*. I. ii. §4)

'The city was built on very flat and even land'

[30] Unless otherwise stated, the translations of examples are my own.

[31] According to Thim (2012: 30), the phrasal verb *sex up* is unlikely to have derived from the verb *sex* since, for him, the formation of phrasal verbs does not necessarily involve "the prior conversion of simple words belonging to other word classes into verbs" (2012: 58).

Other adjective-derived phrasal verbs following a similar line of development include, for instance, *warm* (adj.) > *warm* (v.) 'make warm' (*OED* s.v. *warm* v. 3.a.) > *warm up* 'make warm again' (cf. *OED* s.v. *warm* v. 3.c.) and *clean* (adj.) > *clean* (v.) 'free from dirt' (*OED* s.v. *clean* v. 1.a.) > *clean up* 'clean by taking up dust or dirt' (*OED* s.v. *clean* v. 3).

Some scholars (cf., e.g., Hampe 2002: 38; Thim 2012) mention that in combinations of this type the particle functions in a way similar to suffixes in verbal derivation. This may be true if the phrasal verb were directly derived from the noun or the adjective, where the addition of a particle would function as the trigger for a change in word-class; but the creation of a two-word verb from a simple verb with a similar meaning (which seems to be the case with most noun- and adjective-derived phrasal verbs) without a consequent word-class change seems, as a phenomenon, to be different from derivation.

Moreover, as stated previously, the assertion that *up* adds causative or resultative aspect to the simple verb does not account for phrasal verbs of this type, because they usually originate from a simple verb whose meaning is already causative or resultative. The list below, drawn from Cappelle's data (2005: 423n), has been modified with evidence from the *OED* and other PDE dictionaries to show that the phrasal verbs already had simple equivalents when they first appeared.[32]

[32] I have excluded the pair *jack-jack up*. The phrasal verb *jack up* does not mean 'to cause to be in the shape/form of a jack' or, to say it in Cappelle's words 'to cause to be in a *jacked* state' and neither is there a simple verb *jack* with such a meaning. The verb-particle combination is defined in the *OED* as

cake (1607) > **cake up*; *clean* (1681) > *clean up* (1831); *clear* (c1374) > *clear up* (1588); *crank* (1793) > *crank up* (1900); *dirty* (1591) > *dirty up* (1953); *dry* (OE) > *dry up* (c1385); *foul* (OE) > *foul up* (1922); *jam* (1719) > *jam up* (1794); *ready* (a1225) > *ready up* (1864); *scent* (1697) > **scent up*; *slop* (1557) > **slop up*; *sober* (1709) > *sober up* (1901); *warm* (OE) > *warm up* (1848)

The only exceptions to Cappelle's list are *pretty up* and *tidy up*. *Pretty up* has a simple equivalent, namely *pretty*, with exactly the same meaning ('make pretty or attractive; to smarten, dress, or make to look pretty or attractive (freq. refl.). Usu. with up'; cf. *OED* s.v. *pretty* v.2.), but the two-word combination is recorded approximately thirty years earlier in the *OED* (cf. (61) and (62) below).

(61) *It is not necessary to tell how she '**prettied** herself **up'** in a worked mull muslin with a rich blue sash, and flowers in her hair.* (*OED* 1868 Godey's Lady's Bk. *May* 421/1)

(62) *The Yankees, too, have been at it—splashing, dashing, and in quaintly audacious ways **prettying** stuffs until you think Paris has had a hand at it.* (*OED* 1894 Denton (Maryland) *Jrnl*. 27 Oct. 2/3)

Similarly, the two-word verb *tidy up* ('make tidy or orderly; to put in order; to arrange neatly; refl. to put one's hair, dress, etc. in order; to make oneself neat. Often with up'; cf. *OED* s.v. *tidy* v.1.) is recorded earlier (cf. (63)) than the single-word equivalent (cf. (64)) in the *OED*.

(63) *I mean to have it whitened and **tidied up** this summer.* (*OED* 1821 *Miss Mitford in L'Estrange Life* (1870) II. 127)

'to hoist with a jack' (*OED* s.v. *jack* v.1), so that I consider it to be different from the rest of the verbs in the list. In this list, combinations without a dictionary entry have been considered as recent spontaneous creations and have been marked with an asterisk.

(64) *Bessie employed me as a sort of under nursery maid, to* ***tidy*** *the room, dust the chairs, &c.* (*OED* 1847 C. Brontë *J. Eyre* iv)

The non-occurrence of the simple equivalents *pretty* and *tidy* in the *OED* earlier than the compound verbs does not necessarily imply that the phrasal verbs appeared earlier in the language than their single-word counterparts. It may simply mean that the *OED* does not include illustrative examples of the former. However, trying to answer this question goes beyond the scope of this study so that, for the time being, I will consider *pretty up* and *tidy up* as the only exceptions to the rule.[33]

In addition to *up*, other particles can also be said to act as a kind of emphasizer of the meaning of the verb in some of their uses. This is the case with, for example, *down* in combinations such as *calm down*, *cool down* and *quiet down*. Cappelle classifies this use of *down* as a semi-aspectual use which he calls 'decremental' *down*, and which, according to him, describes "a decrease or lowering in size, degree, standard, intensity" (cf. Cappelle 2005: 436; cf. *CCDPV* s.v. *down*), as in, for example, *bring down* 'reduce' or *cut down* 'reduce'. However, the combinations *calm down*, *cool down* and *quiet down* are better paraphrased as 'make calmer', 'make cooler' and 'make quieter' respectively, so that, *down*, rather than having a 'decremental' meaning (*calm down* ≠ 'decrease in calm'), functions as a kind of emphasizer of the verb.

Something similar can be said of other uses of *down* which Cappelle treats as cases of 'surface treatment' *down* (cf. Cappelle 2005: 437), a term that he adopts from

[33] Examples like *tidy up* and *pretty up*, which seem to be derived from the corresponding adjectives rather than from the simple verbs, support the view mentioned above that particles of this kind function as suffixes in derivation (cf. Hampe 2002: 38; Thim 2012).

McIntyre (2002: 97) to refer to those cases in which this particle is used to specify that the "action is performed on a substantial part of the entity appearing as object, and where the base verb meaning is preserved exactly," as in, for example, *brush down*, *soap down* or *wash down* (cf. Cappelle 2005: 437). I do agree with Cappelle and McIntyre in that there is indeed a tendency for the particle *down* to be attached to verbs indicating surface treatment, and that, as indicated by Cappelle (2005: 438), there is no need to learn these combinations because they can all be created and understood at the time of speech; but this is not a peculiarity of this particle alone. *Up* can also combine with verbs of 'surface treatment' and, in many cases, there is little (if any) difference between the meaning of the verb with *up* and the meaning of the same verb with *down* (cf., e.g., *mop down* and *mop up*). As noted by Cappelle (2005: 438), some scholars (Spencer & Zaretskaya 1998: 12) also consider that, in these compounds, the particle *down* is "meaningless" because there is hardly any difference between the meaning of the simple verb and that of the phrasal compound. However, I agree with Cappelle in that the particle is not meaningless: there must be a reason why it is there. Therefore, my conclusion is that, just like *up*, the particle *down* functions both as a kind of reinforcement of the verb and as a kind of colloquializer. Many combinations of this type are spontaneous creations only used in speech, not even registered in dictionaries and rarely found in formal registers or in writing.

Cappelle (2005: 405-406) also describes a use of the particle *out* which, in his view, has the function of making more explicit the telic character of the event, in the sense that it conveys the idea of 'in full' or 'in detail', as in the combinations *argue out* [a plan], *compile out*, *note out*, *map out* [a journey], *multiply out*, *plan out* [a programme].

However, just as was the case with emphatic *up* and *down*, many of these combinations include noun-derived verbs which are also compatible with an adjunct introduced by the particle *in*, so that the particle cannot be said to contribute an aktionsart meaning to the combination (cf. Cappelle's examples in (65) and (66) below).

(65) *She **filled** (**out**) the form in/*for five minutes.*

(66) *I **composed** the piece (**out**) in/*for one week.*

I believe, however, that *out* has the function of emphasizing the meaning of the verb, and also of providing it with a more colloquial character. As was the case with emphatic *up*, this would explain why it is possible to find many combinations with emphatic *out* whose verbal base is a polysyllabic, often non-native element, such as, for example, *itemize out* or *fantasize out* (cf. Cappelle 2005: 405-406).

Potter (1965: 288) also describes *off* as one of those particles which can function as 'intensive' adverbs (cf. also Pelli 1976: 84). Although the particle is probably not as productive as *down*, *out* and *up* in such a function, it seems true that certain combinations with this particle, such as *finish off, mark off, measure off, mouth off, number off, print off*, etc., possess a meaning similar to the single-word counterparts, but are more emphatic in tone.

2.3.2.4. Metaphorical/figurative particles

Some phrasal-verb particles have developed metaphorical or figurative meanings from their original connotations of movement. The type of metaphor that usually affects phrasal-verb particles is Lakoff & Johnson's (1980: 14) 'orientational metaphor'. These metaphors are related to spatial orientation and stem from "the fact that we have bodies

of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14). In English, for example, and in many other cultures, we find the metaphor HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN. Hence, we use *I'm feeling up* to express happiness and *I'm feeling down* meaning 'depressed' (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15). A metaphor of this kind can be perceived in the particles of combinations such as *cheer up* 'become less sad', *liven up*, 'feel happier or more lively', *perk up* 'gain energy or enthusiasm' and *get down* 'depress'. In general, the majority of the metaphors described by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 14-17) which relate to the dichotomy *up*/*down* can be summarized into three categories, namely POSITIVE IS UP; NEGATIVE IS DOWN (*look up* 'improve', *run down* 'criticize', *turn down* 'be rejected'), MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN (*rise up* [prices], *run down* [business] 'become smaller') and FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (*come up* 'happen', *turn up* 'happen unexpectedly', *show up* 'appear').

Other particles which seem to have developed metaphorical meanings include *around* to refer to an 'event without a goal' (*play around, fool around, mess around*), *off* to signal 'exasperation', mainly with taboo words (*piss off, cheese off, fuck off*; cf. Cappelle 2005: 439); *ahead, along* and *forward* to refer to 'future time and progress' (*lie ahead, put forward* [a watch], *think ahead*); *back* and *behind* to refer to 'past time', 'delay in time' (*date back, fall behind, lag behind, leave behind* [difficulties], *look back*).

Providing an extensive description of all possible metaphorical meanings of particles does not concern me here. Moreover, sometimes the metaphorical meanings of the verb and the particle are so deeply rooted in the language that they are no longer perceived as metaphorical uses, and the meaning of the combination seems totally

transparent (e.g. combinations in which *up* is related to something positive, such as *cheer up*). In relation to this, it must also be noted that very often it is hard to say whether a particular particle is used figuratively, with an aspectual sense, with an emphatic value, or with various meanings at one and the same time. On the other hand, non-literal meanings of phrasal-verb particles also depend, to a greater or lesser extent, on the meaning of the verbal element they combine with (Elenbaas 2007: 2), which may also have developed some metaphorical senses (e.g. *rise up* to refer to prizes).

2.3.2.5. Idiomatic particles

When particles and especially the verb and the particle as a compound undergo several layers of metaphor, their meaning turns out non-compositional and cannot be deduced from their constituents any more (cf. Section 2.4.1 below). Therefore, although a particle normally portrays one or more of the meanings here described (movement, telic aktionsart, continuative aspect or metaphorical/figurative meanings), in certain cases it may form an idiomatic unit with the verb, in such a way that the individual connotations of both the verb and the particle can no longer be inferred. Consider, for example, *black out* 'become unconscious', *lead off* 'begin' or *take up* 'assume'. In this sense, it may be stated that particles have acquired an idiomatic or non-compositional meaning.[34] This is the reason why a correct command of phrasal verbs turns out to be such a complicated task for learners of English as a foreign language.

[34] A deeper analysis of idiomatic or non-compositional meanings of phrasal verbs is provided in Sections 2.4.1.3 and 6.5.4.1 of this dissertation.

2.3.2.6. Further remarks

A final note is in order concerning the semantics of the particles in phrasal verbs. As indicated by Brinton & Akimoto (1999: 5-6), most scholars agree in that the particles have such semantic force that it is possible to talk about phrasal verbs as having 'semantic spreading' (Bolinger 1971: 45), also known as 'structural compensation' (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401) or 'division of labour' (Nickel 1968: 25, 1978: 77). This property, which also affects other subtypes of multi-word verbs, refers to the fact that the semantics of the compound does not belong to one or another element of the combination, but is rather shared by both of them. According to some scholars (cf. Bolinger 1971: 49; Declerck 1977: 311; cf. also Brinton 1988: 177-179), sometimes the verb and the particle can be said to switch roles. Thus, in some phrasal verbs, it seems that the particles are more central than the verbs because they acquire verbal force, leading the verbs occurring in the combination to become mere premodifiers, as examples (67) and (68) from Bolinger (1971: 49) show.[35]

(67) *They **scratched** the mistakes **off** = They offed (erased) the mistakes by scratching.*

(68) *Johnny **ran away** = Johnny awayed (absented himself) by running.*

In examples like these, "the particle encodes the most crucial part of the predication while the verb only indicates a semantically subordinate aspect of the event, such as manner or means" (Cappelle 2005: 245, 459).[36] For this reason, Cappelle (2005: 244ff) concludes that the term 'adverbial particle' is somehow unfortunate because it does

[35] For further examples, cf. Declerck (1977: 328-330) and Brinton (1988: 178).
[36] Remember that some particles have derived into verbs by a process of conversion (cf. Section 2.3. above).

injustice to the central status of the particles, and he proposes to consider particles not as an appendix of the verb, but as the primary element of the combination (2005: 458). Hence, for him, a more appropriate label for the combination would be 'phrasal particle' rather than 'phrasal verb'. Further evidence provided by Cappelle in favour of the idea that particles are the central element of the compound includes the following:

1) "The particle may alter the argument structure of the verb" (2005: 460), that is, it may cause changes in the transitivity or intransitivity of a verb (cf., e.g., *stink* and *stink up*).

2) If the particle were just a kind of morphological affix to the verb, it could not be moved around (2005: 460-461; cf. also Section 2.4.2.1 below) to a position before and after the object or to clause-initial position. This agrees with Palmer's assertion that the more closely related the verb and the particle, the less likely they are to be separated (cf. Palmer 1988: 227).

3) The particle can appear on its own, without the necessity of a verb in expressions like *Away with you!* (2005: 461). This pattern is, nevertheless, only possible with literal particles (cf. Section 2.3.2.1 above).

4) "The particle can head a phrase of its own" (2005: 461) in what Cappelle calls the particle phrase (PartP). Thus, in a sequence such as *go right back towards the bar*, for example, Cappelle treats the particle as the head of the PartP, whereas *back* and *right* act as a specifier and a prespecifier respectively, and the PP *towards the bar* as a complement of the particle.

However, a reading of particles as the central element of the compound is not possible in all cases, especially when the particle does no longer keep any motional meaning (cf. Brinton 1988: 179), as shown in (69) below.

(69) a. *She **made up** the whole story to explain why she was wandering through the woods in the middle of the night.*

b. **She **upped** the story by **making**…*

c. *She **made** a cake* (transitive). – *She **made up** a story* (transitive).

d. ***Up** she **made** a story.*

e. ***Up** with the story.*

Therefore, although it is undeniable that a great part of the semantic load of the phrasal compound depends on the particle, I think it more convenient to talk about a shared meaning between both elements of the compound.

2.3.3. SUMMARY

Section 2.3 provided a description of what for most scholars is the central part of the category phrasal verb, namely the particle. As shown in Section 2.3.1, there is great disagreement as to the status of these elements, which have been variously described as adverbs, prepositions, intransitive prepositions, adverb-preposition words, reduced prepositional phrases, prepositional adverbs and adverbs in adverbial function, among others.

In my view, phrasal-verb particles are historically derived from adverbs and, as such, they are similar to these in form, but have different positional, functional and semantic characteristics (cf. Thim 2006a). Moreover, they must not be obtained by means of derivation from other words, they must be able to stand on their own in the

sentence and they are usually, though not necessarily, stressed (vs. prepositions, which tend to be unstressed).

As regards their semantics, I have distinguished five different types of particles, namely literal, aspectual or aktionsart, emphatic, metaphorical or figurative and, idiomatic particles (cf. Section 2.3.2). Literal particles have been described as signaling motion in general. In turn, aspectual or aktionsart particles indicate telic aktionsart, iterative aspect, continuative aspect or inchoative/inceptive aspect. I have also argued for the existence of a new semantic category not previously identified in the literature, which I have called emphatic particles. These have traditionally been classified within the aspect/aktionsart group, but they, nevertheless, show especial characteristics which distinguish them from the former category (Rodríguez-Puente 2013). Some particles are also used figuratively or metaphorically, especially in the so-called orientational metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 14); and, finally, there are a number of particles which form a semantic unit with the verb, and whose meaning can no longer be analyzed separately from that of the verb.

Although particles have proved to have distinctive meanings of their own, quite often these meanings cannot be understood unless in relation to the accompanying verb. This property has led many scholars to describe phrasal verbs as having semantic spreading, which refers to the fact that the semantics of the compound does not belong to one or another element of the combination, but is rather shared by both of them. Therefore, although an individual analysis of the parts is necessary for a better understanding of the category at issue, both elements must be seen as functioning as a

unified entity, whose main characteristics are described in the following section (cf. 2.4 below).

2.4. PHRASAL VERBS AS A UNIT

Having considered separately the components of phrasal verbs, it is now time to move on to the analysis of phrasal verbs as a unit. As stated in the preceding sections (cf. 1.2 and 2.3), there are two opposite views among scholars in what concerns the status of phrasal verbs as single units or separate elements, mainly because "the syntactic and morphological properties of present-day English verb-particle combinations indicate that particles behave as independent syntactic elements, but at the same time appear to form a lexical unit with the verb" (Elenbaas 2007: 1). The idea that the verb and the particle of phrasal verbs form a single semantic and lexical unit is often justified on the basis of four main reasons: a) replaceability by a single-word equivalent; b) derivation; c) coordination; and d) gapping.

a) As noted by many scholars (cf. Kennedy 1920: 31-32; Heaton 1965: 55; Live 1965: 428; Bolinger 1971: 6; Brinton 1988: 164; Palmer 1988: 216; Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 5), phrasal verbs are often replaceable by a single-word equivalent (e.g. *put off* for *postpone*, *take off* for *depart*). However, very often there is no native word to replace the compound (especially in the case of compositional combinations) or a Latinate word must be used instead, bringing about much stylistic awkwardness. Moreover, the Latinate equivalent is not always an exact synonym of the phrasal verb (cf. Hampe 2002: 46; Thim 2012: 122).

b) The productivity of phrasal verbs in word-formation processes is also often taken as a sign of the unity between the verb and the particle. Some noteworthy examples include *turn-off*, as in (70), *lookers-on*, as in (71), and *breakinable* (72), as in Elenbass' (2007: 9) example below (cf. also Jackendoff 2010: 231).

(70) *The word "customer" was a **turn-off** to Nigel.* (BNC AC3 W_fict_prose)

(71) *They are not mere spectators in the sense of being idle and indifferent **lookers-on**.* (BNC ECU W_pop_lore)

(72) *The burglar could not believe his luck when he discovered the bank was extremely **breakinable**.*

c) Moreover, given that coordination normally takes place between members of the same category (Quirk et al. 1985: 969), the fact that a phrasal verb can be coordinated with a simple verb (Elenbaas 2007: 13) can also be considered a proof that users of the language view the combination as a single unit (cf. (73) below).

(73) *One day an elderly lady with a hearing aid came in and I was doing her hair, **chatting away** and making her laugh.* (BNC CH8 W_biography)

d) Further evidence of the unity of the members of the compound is that, in sentences such as the one in the made-up example in (74) below, the particle is elided together with the verb (cf. Elenbaas 2007: 37).

(74) *I **cleaned up** my room and mum [cleaned up] the kitchen.*

My view is that both elements of the compound form a single unit, although the degree of unity or cohesion between the verb and the particle is not the same in all combinations. In what follows I provide a description of the most salient semantic and

syntactic characteristics of the constructions at issue in order to check to what extent verb and particle form a single tight unit and to what extent they are able to behave as such both semantically and lexically.

2.4.1. SEMANTIC TYPES OF PHRASAL VERBS

Traditionally, verb-particle combinations have been classified within three different semantic categories, namely literal, whose meanings can be predicted from the meanings of the parts, semi-idiomatic or partially idiomatic, mostly used to refer to combinations containing an aspectual/aktionsart particle, and non-compositional or idiomatic, whose meanings cannot be deduced from those of the individual members of the compound. Table 5 below includes some of the commonest terminology used in the literature to refer to these three categories.

Table 5: Terminology for the three traditionally distinguished levels of meaning in verb-particle combinations

Spasov (1966: 48)	**Bolinger (1971: 114n)**	**Fraser (1976: 56)**	**Quirk et al. (1985: 1162-1163)**
non-idiomatic	first-level stereotype	literal	free, non-idiomatic
semi idiomatic	second-level metaphor	systematic	semi-idiomatic
idiomatic	second-level stereotype	figurative	highly idiomatic

2.4.1.1. Literal combinations

In literal phrasal verbs, the meaning of a simple verb combines with the meaning of a particle homonymous with an adverb of motion, as can be seen in examples (75) to (77).

(75) *I just **got in** by leaning through the top window and opening the bottom window*. (BNC GY4 S_meeting)

(76) *I **went away** and left him.* (BNC KRT S_brdcast_news)

(77) *And he said, today he phoned me just as I was **going out** and I didn't really sort of stop and talk to him very long.* (BNC D97 S_meeting)

The meaning of literal combinations can be deduced from their individual components (i.e. they have a compositional meaning), and the particles are often replaceable by a directional prepositional phrase (Dehé 2002: 5-6), as shown in (78) below.

(78) *He took the key down/to the kitchen/out of the pocket.*

Although most scholars seem to agree that there is a category of literal phrasal verbs (cf., e.g., Bolinger 1971: 16, 112-114; Lipka 1972: 29; Declerck 1976; Lindner 1983: 34-37; Palmer 1988: 217; Claridge 2000: 47; Thim 2012), others do not consider them as real phrasal verbs (cf., e.g., Live 1965: 441; Fraser 1976), and often prefer the term 'free combination' to refer to this type of structures (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1152, 1162-1163; Biber et al. 1999: 403). Quirk et al. (1985: 1152-1154) maintain that the meaning of free combinations is not opaque, that is, it can be deduced from its individual parts, whereas no predictions about meaning can be made with phrasal verbs.

They further argue that, whereas phrasal-verb particles cannot be moved to front position, those in free combinations can.[37] However, they conclude that the boundary between both types of constructions is still unclear, because tests of this kind are not always fulfilled, so that it is probably safer to refer to the structures at issue in terms of a scale or degrees of prototypicality. Evidence of the existence of unclear boundaries between the categories of phrasal verb and free combination is found in some of the examples quoted by Biber et al. (1999: 404-409): while *go in* is classified as a free combination, *walk in* and *move in* are treated as 'activity intransitive phrasal verbs'.

There are several reasons to include non-idiomatic combinations within the category phrasal verb (Hampe 2002: 25-26), the most salient one probably being the fact that idiomaticity is a matter of degree and that it is, therefore, not easy to establish a clear-cut dividing line between what is actually a phrasal verb and what a free combination (Palmer 1988: 217). Moreover, as will be seen in Section 2.4.2 below, idiomatic and non-idiomatic constructions share many syntactic characteristics, which points to the fact that they are not completely distinct groups (Hampe 2002: 28). Moreover, it is also important to notice that semantic unity is not incompatible with non-compositionality (cf. Nunberg, Sag & Wasow 1994: 499; Gries 2008: 6). In other words, a given verb-particle combination may form a semantic unit even if the meaning of the parts is transparent.

[37] However, as shown in Section 2.3.2.1. above, aspectual or aktionsart particles can also occupy such a position.

Therefore, as already mentioned, I maintain the idea that phrasal verbs can have literal meanings and that these are in fact "the core from which figurative types are ultimately derived" (Claridge 2000: 47; cf. also Kennedy 1920: 27-28; Bolinger 1971: 16; Makkai 1972). As noted by Thim (2012: 21), studies on phrasal verbs, particularly those focusing on their diachronic development, should include a literal type because this "provides the diachronic input to the development of aspectual and idiomatic meanings." In view of this, it could be stated that the fact that the meaning of a given combination of verb plus particle is not opaque is not sufficient to exclude it from the group of phrasal verbs, because all (or at least most) phrasal verbs probably had a literal meaning in origin.

2.4.1.2. Semi-idiomatic/partially idiomatic/figurative/metaphorical combinations

The label 'semi-idiomatic, second-level metaphor or systematic' has traditionally been employed to refer to those combinations containing aspectual/aktionsart particles. For practical reasons, however, I will use the term 'aspectual/aktionsart' to refer to the latter type of combination (cf. Section 2.4.1.4), whereas I will keep the labels 'semi-idiomatic', 'partially idiomatic', 'figurative' or 'metaphorical' to refer to those combinations whose meaning is still quite transparent, but somehow removed from the literal connotation. Thus, in PDE, one can literally (physically) *throw away something* (cf. (79a) and (79b)) or figuratively *throw away a fortune* (79c), *achievements* (79d) or *chances* (79e).

(79) a. *The food these suburban Texans **threw away** would have been enough to feed the whole of Latin America.* (BNC ABW W_fict_prose)

b. *He **threw away** his cigarette and buried his head in his arms.* (BNC FRC W_fict_prose)

c. *I **threw away** a fortune on her*. (BNC FR6 W_fict_prose)

d. *Britain **threw away** all the achievements of the last decade.* (BNC AHF W_newsp_brdsht_nat_misc)

e. *While United **threw away** a hatful of chances Luton had two shots on target in the first half.* (BNC HEY S_sportslive)

Figurative phrasal verbs can be compared to the type of idioms that Nunberg, Sag & Wasow (1994: 496) classify as 'idiomatically combining expressions' or 'idiomatic combinations' (e.g. *take advantage, pull strings*), which are characterized by having a conventional meaning distributed among their parts. In other words, idiomatically combining expressions, just as figurative phrasal verbs, possess a compositional meaning in the sense that the parts of the combination, although used with non-literal senses, contribute to the meaning of the whole.

2.4.1.3. Idiomatic phrasal verbs

Idiomatic, second-level stereotype or non-compositional combinations[38] are those whose meanings cannot be deduced from their individual components in isolation. These can be compared to Nunberg, Sag & Wasow's 'idiomatic phrases' (e.g. *kick the bucket*), "whose idiomatic interpretations cannot be distributed over their parts, and which must therefore be entered in the lexicon as complete phrases" (1994: 497). Some

[38] I avoid the label 'figurative' to refer to this group to prevent misunderstandings with the group of semi-idiomatic combinations, also referred to as 'figurative'.

examples include *bring about* 'cause' (80), *give up* 'abandon' (81), *pass away* 'die' (82) and *put down* 'humiliate' (83).

(80) *I suppose one of the most fundamental changes* ***brought about*** *by reorganisation, though, was the creation of a team.* (BNC JNK S_meeting)

(81) *I used to ask myself that one but I* ***gave up*** *trying to find an answer long ago.* (BNC ASN W_fict_prose)

(82) *Aunt Louise died early one morning having, as people say,* ***passed away*** *in her sleep.* (BNC AC7 W_fict_prose)

(83) *Don't let yourself be* ***put down*** *like this!* (BNC G0F W_fict_prose)

As can be seen, non-compositional combinations are often, though not always, replaceable by a one single-word equivalent. However, as mentioned above, such a replacement is frequently only possible by means of a Latinate word, which results in a certain stylistic awkwardness (e.g. *depart* for *take off*).

The level of opacity in the meaning of this type of combinations varies quite considerably from one phrasal verb to another, to the point that it is not always easy to determine whether a particular combination should be ascribed to the figurative/metaphorical group or to the non-compositional one. Some idiomatic meanings can be easily understood if one thinks of how metaphorical shifts may have led to contemporary non-compositional uses.[39] Consider, for example, *pass away*. In terms of the classification proposed by Nunberg, Sag & Wasow (1994), this should be treated as an idiomatic, but compositional combination because, although the combination has a non-literal signification, this can be ascertained by applying

[39] For further information, the reader is referred to Section 6.5.4 of this dissertation.

meanings to the parts. Thus, following the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor (Lakoff 1987: 439), the verb *pass* can be seen as representing the movement along the path of life, whereas the particle *away* may refer to the transfer to the other world. Another case in point is the combination *get down* 'depress', which can be understood as *get* 'cause [sb.] to go to' + *down* 'unhappiness'. Notice, however, that the literal sense of movement of the verb *get*, although still perceivable, is also weakened in this combination. Something similar happens to the combination *come out* 'publish', in which the sense of movement of the verb *come* can still be perceived in relation to *out*, which in this case acquires the meaning 'to the public sphere'.

Establishing whether the meaning of a particular combination is transparent enough to ascribe it to the figurative group or opaque enough to set it into the idiomatic group is a rather unapproachable task. All in all, considering that many idiomatic significations are derived from the literal meanings of movement, if we are to examine some of these combinations diachronically, most of them will turn out to be more transparent than expected, whereas from a synchronic point of view their meaning results opaque. Categorizing a combination as compositional or non-compositional is to a great extent determined by the speakers' ability to decompose the meaning of the whole by applying meanings to the parts, a task for which speakers may show different levels of performance. Moreover, even if we can apply meanings to the individual parts, it is still necessary to learn that the association is precisely between a particular verb and a particular particle. For example, the meaning 'die' is expressed by the combination *pass away*, but not by *go away*, *get away*, *be taken away*, etc. In other words, phrasal verbs (and also idioms) have non-transparent, idiomatic meanings not only in the sense that

their meaning cannot be easily predicted from the meaning of the parts, but also because one has to learn the precise associations of elements that actually produce such meanings.[40] For this reason, I include within the idiomatic/non-transparent category those combinations with opaque meanings, indistinctively of whether these are non-compositional (i.e. non deductible from the parts, e.g. *soup up* 'change something to make it faster, more powerful or more effective'; cf. *MPVP* s.v. *soup up*) or compositional (i.e. deductible from the parts, e.g. *come out* 'publish'). Nevertheless, following the general tendency in the literature, I will use the labels 'idiomatic' and 'non-compositional' interchangeably to refer indistinctively to the members of this group.

2.4.1.4. Aspectual/aktionsart combinations

The three semantic groups of phrasal verbs traditionally established, namely literal, figurative and idiomatic, seem, however, insufficient to cover for all the variety of phrasal-verb combinations. Thus, for example, compounds containing aktionsart and aspectual particles have often been classified within the figurative category (cf., e.g., Fraser 1976: 5; Quirk et al. 1985: 1162; Ishizaki 2012), whereas, to my mind, it would be more useful to set a category apart for this type of constructions: a category of aspectual/aktionsart combinations (cf. also Dehé 2002: 6; Thim 2006a, 2012). It is true that aspectual or aktionsart particles have acquired a meaning which can be qualified as

[40] This is precisely one of the reasons why acquiring a correct command of the category of phrasal verbs turns out so hard for learners of English as a foreign language.

figurative in the sense that it is far from the literal signification from which they originate (cf. Brinton 1988: 185, 194-195, 204ff and also Section 6.5.2 below). However, in this type of combinations, the particle does not form a figurative semantic unit with the verb, but rather alters its aspectual/aktionsart properties. Consider again the difference explained above (cf. Section 2.3.2.2) between pairs such as *eat-eat up*, *babble-babble on* and *hammer-hammer away*.

2.4.1.5. Reiterative phrasal verbs

Furthermore, in the recent literature, a fifth semantic group of phrasal verbs is often considered under the label 'pleonastic' (Thim 2006a) and 'redundant' (Hampe 2002; Jackendoff 2002: 76; Wild 2010: 235ff), which includes combinations of a verb and a particle expressing and somehow repeating a semantic element already present in the verb.[41] Thus, in these compounds the particles seem to have an intensifying or emphasizing force (cf. Claridge 2000: 237), in a way which resembles emphatic particles (cf. Section 2.3.2.3). I have adopted the term reiterative to refer to this type of combinations because, to me, the labels 'pleonastic' and 'redundant' imply the idea of an extra, unnecessary element, whereas, in fact, the two members of the compound

[41] For Wild (2010: 235-236) redundant combinations also include those in which the particle repeats the meaning of a Latin prefix (e.g. *return back*), as well as aktionsart combinations in which the addition of the particle does not change the argument structure of the verb, for example when the particle emphasizes a verb with inherent aktionsart (e.g. *start out*, *finish out*). Whereas I agree with Wild in classifying the former within the present group, I rather include the latter within the group of emphatic combinations (cf. 2.3.2.3 and 2.4.1.6).

fulfil important functions. In my view, the term reiterative seems more appropriate because it emphasizes the idea that there is some kind of repetition, but not unnecessary or redundant repetition. Some examples are provided in (84) to (86) below.

(84) *He **rose up** on tiptoe, looking round for James, Allan, and the rest.* (BNC A0N_W_fict_prose)

(85) *I think that we do do good practice in that we do **sit down** with the children and help them.* (BNC F7F_S_meeting)

(86) *He played with a rubber washer that came drifting by, trying to make it **spin around** in the air in front of his nose.* (BNC CJA_W_fict_prose)

Traugott (1972: 252) suggests that the particles of these combinations make a covert endpoint, i.e. "a goal/result indicated by the verb, overt through the addition of particles" (Claridge 2000: 237). However, as noticed by Claridge (2000: 237), such an explanation does not work for other repetitive combinations such as *echo back* or *decry down*.

2.4.1.6. Emphatic phrasal verbs

In addition to the five semantic groups of phrasal verbs presented so far, I would like to propose a sixth semantic category of phrasal verbs to include all those combinations containing an emphatic particle (cf. Rodríguez-Puente 2013). As stated above (cf. Section 2.3.2.3), a number of particles can be said to function as emphasizers of the meaning of the verb and also to provide the verb with a native-like and familiar appearance which it lacks when appearing on its own (cf., e.g., *calm down*, *finish off*, *warm up*). Given that this type of combinations do not seem to fit in any of the five groups previously mentioned, it seems plausible to establish a separate category for

them, which I have accordingly called emphatic phrasal verbs. Although related, these must be distinguished from reiterative combinations in that the latter contain particles which literally repeat part of the meaning of the verb (e.g. *rise up* 'upward movement'), whereas in emphatic phrasal verbs, the particle is simply emphasizing and reinforcing the meaning of the verb. It must be remembered that particles of this type do not express aspectual or aktionsart distinctions, so that they cannot be said to combine redundantly with accomplishment verbs (cf. Brinton 1988: 174) or to emphasize "the endstate of an inherently telic activity" (Elenbaas 2007: 24).

2.4.1.7. Summary

Phrasal verbs can be classified within six main semantic groups, namely literal, figurative, idiomatic, aspectual/aktionsart, reiterative and emphatic. It must be noticed, however, that these groups do not constitute discrete categories, so that sometimes the same verb-particle combination can be classified into more than one category. Thus, for example, *rise up*, can be said to be literal in the sense that the meaning of the combination can be deduced from the meaning of the members of the compound; it can also be defined as reiterative, because the particle is repeating part of the semantics of the verb, namely 'upward movement'; and, finally, the combination can also be described as aspectual/aktionsart, because phrasal-verb particles very often combine aspectual and directional meanings (cf. Brinton 1988: 224).

2.4.2. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS: TESTS OF 'PHRASAL-VERBNESS'

As mentioned in Section 2.4.1, when discussing the semantic properties of phrasal verbs, not all scholars agree to consider literal combinations as a type of phrasal verb and they prefer the term free combination to refer to them (cf., e.g., Quirk et al. 1985). However, the distinction between the so-called free combinations and phrasal verbs, on the one hand, and between phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs, on the other, has also been accounted for in terms of a series of syntactic tests, mainly consisting of substitutions and transformations that a particular combination must be able to undergo in order to be considered a phrasal verb. Fraser (1965, 1970a, 1970b, 1976) was one of the first scholars to try to define a clear line between the syntactic behaviour of verb-adverb combinations and phrasal verbs proper, though many of his tests have been later refuted by several scholars (cf., e.g., Bolinger 1971; Declerck 1976; Lindner 1983).

A number of the syntactic tests proposed in the literature are especially useful to distinguish phrasal verbs from prepositional verbs, and to facilitate the distinction between phrasal verbs and combinations of a verb and an adverb. Others seem to be more useful to check the degree of cohesion between the verb and the particle in a phrasal combination, particularly in those of the intransitive type, given that the majority of the tests are designed for transitive phrasal verbs. This section provides an account of these tests, together with a discussion of the pros and cons of using them as distinctive of the category at issue.

2.4.2.1. Particle placement

One of the tests most often quoted in the literature refers to particle placement (cf., among others, Heaton 1965: 55; Bolinger 1971: 10-11; Fraser 1976: 2; Hiltunen 1983a: 18; Quirk et al. 1985: 1153; Brinton 1988: 164; Palmer 1988: 219; Biber et al. 1999: 404; Claridge 2000: 52; Dehé 2002: 76; Hampe 2002: 16-17; Gries 2003: 1; Cappelle 2005: 78). In transitive phrasal verbs, the particle can be placed either before the NP object (VPO order) or after it (VOP order), as shown in (87). This test helps us to distinguish phrasal-verb particles from prepositions, such as *on* in (88), which must precede an NP, and from adverbs, which normally follow it (cf. (89)).

(87) *She **turned** [**on**] the light [**on**].*

(88) *She **called on** her friends.* vs. **She **called** her friends **on**.*

(89) *She left the house **early**.* vs. **?She left **early** the house.*

Conversely, when the DO of a phrasal verb is a pronoun, the adverbial particle must follow it (cf., e.g., Bolinger 1971: 11; Fraser 1976: 16-17; Hiltunen 1983a: 18; Quirk et al. 1985: 1154; Brinton 1988: 164; Palmer 1988: 220; Biber et al. 1999: 405; Dehé 2002: 76; Hampe 2002: 16-17; Cappelle 2005: 79), as shown in (90), whereas pronouns must necessarily follow prepositions, as shown in example (91).

(90) *She **turned** it **on*** vs. **She **turned on** it.*

(91) *She **called on** them.* vs. **She **called** them **on**.*

Several reasons have been adduced in the literature to account for this difference.[42] Thus, some scholars have pointed out that it is **stress** that determines the position of the object: when the object is stressed, it must have end-position, whereas if it is weakly-stressed (as pronouns usually are), it must appear in mid-position (cf. Kruisinga & Erades 1953, as quoted in Erades 1961: 57; cf. also Fraser 1976: 17; Brinton 1988: 166; Gries 2003: 12-13). Nevertheless, pronominal objects can sometimes be placed at the end of the clause (cf. (92)) when some kind of contrastive stress is intended (Erades 1961: 57; Bolinger 1971: 40; Fraser 1976: 17; Claridge 2000: 53).

(92) *Sylvia had **rung up** me about booking for a meal.* (BNC KCR S_conv)

Another frequently adduced reason for the difference in particle placement is the **length and/or complexity of the object** (cf. Erades 1961: 57; Fraser 1976: 18-19; Brinton 1988: 166; Gries 2003: 14). The length of a constituent is usually defined in terms of the number of words and/or syllables it has, whereas its complexity mostly depends on the type of syntactic dependents it takes (cf. Gries 2003: 70-71; Cappelle 2005: 263). Although it has been argued that the effect of length and complexity must be analyzed separately (cf. Gries 2003: 14-15), what is true is that both can be said to contribute to the weight of a constituent (Cappelle 2005: 263). Thus, following the so-called 'principle of end-weight' (Quirk et al. 1985: 1361-1362), long objects are normally placed after the particle, whereas short ones (such as pronouns) typically occur before it. This criterion would well account for the fact that usually long or heavy

[42] For a more comprehensive account of the criteria proposed in the literature to explain this word-order variability, cf. Brinton (1988: 166), and especially Dehé (2002: 75-80) and Gries (2003: 12-36).

nominal objects, like that in (93), as well as clausal objects, such as participial clauses, like the one in (94), tend to cause the particle to precede them.

(93) *Certainly Ferguson has not **given up** the ghost of trying to land the Championship.* (BNC CH7 W_newsp_tabloid)

(94) *Jude had **given up** trying to make contact.* (BNC CRE W_fict_prose)

However, long or complex objects can also occur between the verb and the particle, as shown in the following example from Erades (1961: 57):

(95) *I wish you'd **take** that ridiculous hat of yours **off**.*

For this reason, according to Erades (1961: 59), although stress and length are important factors, what actually seems to condition the position of the object is its **news value**. In his own words, "objects denoting ideas that have news value, no matter whether they are nouns or pronouns, long or short, have end-position; those that have no such value come between verb and adverb" (Erades 1961: 57-58). Consequently, pronouns, which refer to a previously mentioned entity, as well as empty nouns such as *things*, *matter*, *business*, *stuff*, *subject* (cf. Bolinger 1971: 51; Gries 2003: 13), tend to appear before the particle, whereas other NPs show variability according to whether the referent in them is familiar or not.

Although Bolinger agrees with Erades in the relevance of news value, he insists on the fact that accent must not be dismissed as a determining factor. Many of Bolinger's observations about particle placement are related to Halliday's (1967, 1985) ideas about the information structure of the clause, which, like Bolinger's, are based "on the

interplay between stress and end-focus" (Gries 2003: 25). According to Halliday (1967: 204-205), the unmarked word order of the English clause is first given and then new information,[43] the latter receiving focus (stress, phonological prominence). This phenomenon is commonly known as 'the principle of end focus' (Downing & Locke 1992: 244), and phrasal verbs are a particularly suitable way to respond to its requirements: one of the main properties of phrasal verbs is precisely that the division into two words permits different stress possibilities (cf. Bolinger 1971: 49-55; also Fraser 1976: 21), which allows "the important semantic feature" to be put "in the normal position for the nuclear accent" (Bolinger 1971: 49), that is, the final position (cf. Vestergaard 1974: 305). Thus, taking Halliday's (1985: 185) example (cf. also Gries 2003: 25-26), if in a sentence like that in (96) below, we want to emphasize the fact that the meeting was cancelled (not summoned), we can only do it by means of stress, given that placing the verb in clause-final position would be ungrammatical.

(96) *They CANCELLED the meeting.*

However, an ordering like that in (96), with the focus in non-final position, goes against the principle of end-focus and constitutes a marked sentence carrying "additional overtones of contrast, contradiction or unexpectedness" (Halliday 1985: 185). By contrast, if a phrasal verb is used for the same purpose, the division of the verb into two different elements allows the particle to be placed in final position, so that at least one part of the compound is allowed the unmarked position in the clause (cf. (97)).

[43] Dehé (2002: 105ff) employs the labels 'focus' and 'background' to refer to given and new information respectively.

(97) *They called the meeting OFF.*

This explanation can also account for the fact that pronouns are usually placed before the particle, the unmarked position for pronouns. However, when we want to provide a pronoun with some kind of focus (cf. example (98) below), it can be moved to clause-final position (Halliday 1985: 186).

(98) *They rang up ME, but apparently nobody else.*

Therefore, the placement of the particle before or after the object seems to depend on external factors (news value, weight of object, stress), rather than on the nature of the combinations.

Some other scholars, by contrast, have argued that there is a tendency for idiomatic phrasal verbs to appear with the particle preceding the object (Gries 2003: 15). Thus, Biber et al. (1999: 933) find that phrasal verbs with an idiomatic sense do not usually allow the object to interrupt the sequence, whereas objects are more easily inserted between the verb and the particle when the combination has a literal meaning. Similarly, Palmer states that "[w]ith transitive phrasal verbs there is a greater likelihood of the particle preceding the noun phrase if idiomatic, and following it, if not" (1988: 228), and he quotes the examples *put up a fight* and *find out the truth* (cf. **put a fight up*, **find the truth out*) as idiomatic forms that do not permit separation at all (or rarely). According to Quirk et al. (1985), the object tends to follow the particle in fixed expressions of the type *give up hope*, "where there is a strong idiomatic bond (frequently matching a change from literal to metaphorical) between the phrasal verb and the object" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1155n) and where the reversed word order is not

possible or, at least, sounds awkward. Notice, however, that the same phrasal verb with a different object NP does allow order alternation (e.g. *give [up] alcohol [up]*).

According to Gries (2003: 15-16), the criterion of idiomaticity cannot be considered as definite for two main reasons. First, some idiomatic phrasal verbs allow both syntactic orderings (e.g. *She made [up] her face [up]*);[44] and, second, it is not always easy to determine whether the meaning of a phrasal verb is totally idiomatic or literal (cf. Section 2.4.1 above). What seems true, however, is that there are a number of fixed or set (generally idiomatic) constructions with phrasal verbs which do not admit word-order alternation or, to put it in Erades' words, "where the word-order is traditional and apparently immutable" (Erades 1961: 57). Lists including some of these constructions with a fixed word-order are included in Appendix I of this dissertation.

It must also be noticed that sometimes the particle tends to be placed after the object probably to avoid ambiguity. This is the case, for example, with *get off* (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1155n). With the ordering shown in example (99), it is not easy to know whether *get off* is a phrasal verb meaning 'send' or the intransitive verb *get* followed by a preposition *off*, like that in example (100). In turn, the distribution shown in (101) with the particle preceding the object helps to avoid potential ambiguity.

(99) *Here the man is hurrying me to* ***get off*** *the letter.* [ambiguous]

(100) *Big mother is watching so* ***get off*** *that phone.* ['stop touching it']

[44] For further examples of idiomatic phrasal verbs allowing both alternative orderings, cf. Cappelle (2005: 216).

(101) *In either case,* ***get*** *the letter* ***off*** *as quickly as possible, certainly no more than two or three days after the interview.* ['send it']

In his comprehensive analysis of particle placement, Gries (2003) has tested the majority of the variables traditionally said to influence particle distribution both individually (monofactorial analysis) and in connection to one another (multivariate analysis).[45] Gries establishes the so-called 'Processing Hypothesis', according to which the choice of word order by speakers depends on the processing effort required (2003: 48-49). This processing effort is said to be determined by the interrelation of four main factors: phonological (e.g. stress of direct object), morphosyntactic (e.g. length and complexity of direct object), semantic (e.g. idiomaticity of verb phrase) and information-structural (e.g. last mention of the direct object's referent) (2003: 49-61). In the light of his analysis, Gries comes to the conclusion that, when much processing effort is required, the preference is for the VPO order ($construction_0$), whereas the VOP order ($construction_1$) is favoured when little processing effort is necessary. Not only does he find out that all of the variables included in his Processing Hypothesis contribute to determine one or another distribution, but also that some of the variables are interrelated (2003: 79-131). Therefore, the main conclusion is that particle placement is better accounted for in terms of the combined influence of a number of variables, rather than by appealing to individual features such as the length of the direct object or the idiomaticity of the verb phrase.

[45] For a similar multifactorial analysis of particle placement in child language, cf. Diessel & Tomasello (2005).

This section has provided a very broad view of the particle placement test, together with some of the drawbacks of its application as a defining test for phrasal verbs. By way of conclusion, it seems necessary to remark that, although it is true that the majority of phrasal verbs admit both the VPO and the VOP distribution (which is not possible for prepositional verbs), the particle placement test cannot be used as an absolute criterion for the characterization of these constructions for the reasons explained above, namely, that not all combinations behave similarly in this respect and that the choice between the VPO and the VOP orders depends on a complex network of factors, rather than on the intrinsic characteristics of the combinations themselves.

2.4.2.2. The definite NP test

As another test for the syntactic characterization of phrasal verbs, Bolinger (1971: 112) proposes the so-called definite noun phrase test. The latter is Bolinger's most reliable test to identify phrasal verbs. Claridge also uses it because it "sorts out both pure adverbs and pure prepositions, and it emphasizes the unitary nature of verb + particle" (2000: 53). For Bolinger (1971: 15-16, 61-66), the part of the particle placement test according to which the particle may follow the direct object NP (cf. 2.4.2.1 above) is of no use, because any adverb (not only phrasal-verb particles) may occupy such a position, as may be seen in his own examples in (102) and (103) below.

(102) **I saw* ***yesterday*** *John.* vs. *I saw John* ***yesterday****.*

(103) **He did* ***neatly*** *the work.* vs. *He did the work* ***neatly****.*

Given that the particle placement test is useless, Bolinger proposes a more reliable test, namely the definite NP test, according to which "the particle can precede a simple

definite noun phrase (a proper name or *the* plus a common noun) without taking it as its object" (1971: 15). It must be noticed that Bolinger refers here to the object of the particle, not to the object of the phrasal verb. This important distinction is based on the division established by some scholars (cf., e.g., Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 272, 612-617, among others) between transitive and intransitive prepositions. The label 'transitive preposition' (cf. Denison 1981: 11) corresponds to what we traditionally know as a preposition, that is, the head of a prepositional phrase. Its designation as transitive stems from its obligatory collocation with a following complement: a preposition cannot appear on its own, but must be the head of a prepositional phrase. The term 'intransitive preposition', in turn, refers to what is traditionally known as an adverb. The distinction between the two types is, however, difficult in practice. As seen in Section 2.3.1 above, where a list of phrasal-verb particles was provided, most adverbs are identical in form to prepositions (cf., e.g., *in, out, on,* among others). Taking this into account, Bolinger's test may be reformulated by stating that, if the particle of a verb-particle combination can precede a definite NP, it will be a phrasal-verb particle and not a preposition. In other words, the test implies that any verb-particle combination will be a phrasal verb whenever such a combination may be followed by a simple definite NP, as in Bolinger's example in (104) below.

(104) *They **pushed in** the door.*

As seems obvious, however, such a test does not distinguish between phrasal-verb particles and prepositions, because the ordering verb + particle + object NP is also kept when the NP is the complement of a preposition, as shown in example (105) below, where *in* functions as a preposition.

(105) *How do you find it **living in** the flats compared with anywhere else you've lived?* (BNC FY6 W_interview_oral_history)

However, according to Bolinger, the distinction between prepositions and particles can be made by replacing the NP by a pronoun: if the pronoun precedes the particle, then it will be an adverbial particle, as happens in (106), whereas if it follows the NP, it will be a preposition, as shown in example (107) below. Thus, the part of the particle placement test which refers to the distribution of the compound with pronominal objects can be used as a distinctive criterion.

(106) *They pushed it **in*** vs. **They pushed **in** it.*

(107) *How do you find it **living in** them compared with anywhere else you've lived?* vs. **How do you find it **living** them **in** compared with anywhere else you've lived?*

Therefore, as stated above, the test turns out useful to distinguish between phrasal-verb particles and prepositions. Moreover, it is also helpful to differentiate pure adverbs from adverbs which can be particles of phrasal verbs. As Vestergaard (1974: 305) indicates, an adverb cannot precede a definite NP, as shown in example (108), whereas the particle of a phrasal verb can (cf. example (104) above).

(108) **They **pushed inward** the door.*

According to Vestergaard (1974: 305), the mechanics of this test is again accounted for by information structure, which explains why a phrasal-verb particle is allowed to precede a definite NP, whereas an adverb is not. Thus, "[a] definite, anaphoric noun phrase by definition refers to something previously mentioned, whereas an adverbial

introduces new material"[46] (Vestergaard 1974: 305) and must, therefore, be placed at the end of the sentence, as in (109) below.

(109) *They **pushed** the door **inward**.*

As previously said, the NP must obligatorily be a simple definite NP, as in Bolinger's example in (110a) because, when modifiers are added to the NP, as in (110b), such NP "becomes acceptable following many adverbs besides the ones that form phrasal verbs" (Bolinger 1971: 62).

(110) a. *He **pushed in** the key ~ *He **pushed inward** the key.*

b. *He pushed **inward*** the right-hand key.

Bolinger's NP test seems to work for transitive phrasal verbs, the only apparent drawback being its limited usefulness with 'highly idiomatic' combinations (cf. Palmer 1988: 222-223) and with combinations which do not permit the particle to precede the object (cf. Appendix I). In any other respects, however, the test seems to be valid for the identification of transitive phrasal verbs and will be taken as such in the present research.

[46] Vestergaard (1974: 305) seems to employ the terms 'adverbial' and 'adverb' indistinctively. In this case, the term must be understood as referring to the word-class, that is, what is commonly called 'adverb'.

2.4.2.3. Adverb insertion

Another criterion for the identification of phrasal verbs is the so-called adverb insertion test, which has been regarded by several scholars as the only test "that works for both transitive and intransitive combinations" (Claridge 2000: 51). The test postulates that true phrasal-verb particles do not allow modification by an adverb (cf. Mitchell 1958: 104; Fraser 1976: 2, 25-27; cf. also Bolinger 1971: 11ff; 117ff). In other words, insertion of an adverb between the verb and the particle (immediately before the particle) is, in principle, impossible in phrasal verbs, as shown in Fraser's (1976: 26) example below (cf. (111)).

(111) *The irate patron **ripped** the menu [?completely] **up** [completely].*

Nevertheless, according to Fraser (1976: 25-27), modifications by certain adverbs are allowed in some cases: *right* (when equivalent to *right away*, in which case it functions as a kind of time adverb) and *all*, as well as by expletives of the type of *the hell* or *the heck*, as shown in Fraser's examples below (cf. (112)-(114)).[47]

(112) *I'll **look** the information right **up** = I'll look the information up right away*

(113) *They **cleaned** it all **up**.*

(114) *I'll **look** it the hell **up** after I finish eating.*

To this list of adverbs which can modify phrasal-verb particles Quirk et al. (1985: 1152) add *straight* and Olsen (2000: 157, as quoted in Dehé 2002: 44-45) adds *clean*. Quirk et al. (1985: 1154), however, point out that these exceptions help us to distinguish

[47] Haegeman & Guéron (1999: 253), however, distinguish phrasal verb-particles from prepositional constituents, given that the former do not allow modification by *right*.

literal from idiomatic meanings of the same phrasal verb. This opinion is also shared by Palmer (1988: 228), who states that adverbs are more likely to be inserted between the elements of a combination if this is not idiomatic. In those cases in which insertion is possible, a literal interpretation of the meaning of the phrasal verb seems more appropriate, whereas more idiomatic meanings are deduced from those cases in which no adverb is inserted between the verb and the particle. Compare in this respect examples (115) and (116) below from Quirk et al. (1985: 1154), where the insertion of the adverb *right* implies that the interpretation of the verb in (115) is literal, whereas that in (116) is more idiomatic (cf. also Cappelle 2005: 113).

(115) *She **brought** the girls right **up**.* ['She caused the girls to come up (the stairs, etc.)']

(116) *She **brought** the girls **up**.* ['She reared/raised the girls']

According to Bolinger (1971: 11ff), besides distinguishing literal from idiomatic meanings, adverb insertion is an indication of the degree of bondage or unity between verb and particle, though "it cannot be imposed as an absolute criterion" (Bolinger 1971: 12; cf. also Palmer 1988: 227). Therefore, since no clear-cut distinctions can be made, this test will be used in this study in order to classify phrasal verbs in terms of a scale: the stronger the unity (cohesion or bondage) between the verb and the particle, the lower the possibilities of adverb insertion between them, and vice versa.

Bolinger also (1971: 147) mentions insertion of a whole adverb phrase as a more reliable test, because such an insertion is apparently impossible in all cases. However, in spite of being a test which "obviously draws the line between phrasal verbs and other verb-adverb combinations" (Vestergaard 1974: 305), Bolinger does not use it formally, probably because of the awkward-sounding sentences obtained after such an insertion.

As Bolinger's examples below (cf. (117) and (118))) show, in principle, the test works, at least with PDE combinations.

(117) **He **pushed** the gift with indifference **away*** vs. *He pushed the gift [indifferently] away.*

(118) a. *They **loaded** the stuff with all due care **inside**.*

b. **They **loaded** the stuff with all due care **in*** vs. *They **loaded** the stuff carefully **in**.*

Moreover, the insertion of an adverb phrase seems to be the most reliable way to distinguish intransitive verb-particle combinations from other combinations of a verb and an adverb, its main disadvantage being the artificiality and unnaturalness of the resulting sentences after such insertions.

Therefore, the adverb insertion test may be divided into three subtests, which can be used to ascertain the different degrees of bondage between the verb and the particle: a) insertion of the modifiers *all*, *clean*, *right* and *straight* and expletives of the type *the heck*, *the hell*; b) modification by other adverbs (e.g. *completely*, *incredibly*, *totally*); and c), insertion of an adverb phrase. Strongly united combinations do not allow any insertion at all, whereas less tight compounds allow insertion of adverbs and expletives of the type in a) above and loosely bound combinations permit insertion of other adverbs. By contrast, insertion of an adverb phrase seems impossible in all cases and is, moreover, the only reliable way to distinguish intransitive combinations from other verb-adverb sequences.

2.4.2.4. Preposing of particle

As stated in Section 2.4.1 above when discussing the semantics of phrasal verbs, some scholars (Quirk et al. 1985: 1153) propose the test of particle fronting for the distinction between phrasal verbs and free combinations. This means that the particle may precede the verb with subject inversion (except when it is a personal pronoun) in free combinations, as shown in example (119) below, whereas such an inversion is not possible for phrasal-verb particles (cf., e.g., (120)).

(119) ***Out*** *came the sun.*

(120) *****Up*** *blew the tank.*

However, given that in the present work Quirk et al.'s free combinations are classified as kinds of phrasal verbs within a scale of meaning from literal (free combinations) to idiomatic, it seems more appropriate to adopt the view (cf., e.g., Palmer 1988: 227) that the preposing test is a valid criterion to distinguish combinations with an idiomatic meaning (whose particle cannot be preposed) from those with a literal meaning (whose particle can be preposed). Moreover, as noted by Huddleston & Pullum et al. (2002: 284), in phrasal verbs "where the concept of movement in a given direction, physical or metaphorical, remains fairly strong," inversion is still possible, as shown in examples (121) and (122) below, taken from their grammar.

(121) ***Off came*** *his shirt.*

(122) ***Up go*** *the ratings.*

This is also the view adopted by Quirk et al. (1985), who acknowledge that with a "metaphorical use of spatial adverbs, inversion seems quite acceptable" (1985: 1153; cf. also Cappelle 2005: 51), as shown in their example in (123) below.

(123) *There was a gust of wind, and **out went** the light.*

Bolinger (1971: 116-117) also states that the fact that a particle cannot be placed in clause initial position only proves that such a particle has lost its literal meaning. Those cases in which the particle keeps (some of) its literal meaning, but "the phrasal verb is specialized in some other way" (1971: 117), that is, it has gained in idiomaticity, are also excluded by means of this test. Consider in this respect Bolinger's examples in (124) and (125). The phrasal verbs contained in these instances, namely *set off* (on a journey) and *set out* (on a journey), are, for Bolinger, 'equally stereotyped', that is, at a similar level of idiomaticity. However, only *set off* meets the preposing of particle criterion.

(124) *So **off** they **set** on one of the longest journeys in history.*

(125) **So **out** they **set** on one of the longest journeys in history.*

For Cappelle (2002), however, the existence of examples such as that in (125) cannot be accounted for by attributing a metaphorical meaning to the particle, which is a rather difficult, if not impossible task (Cappelle 2002: 51). For him, the possibility to front the particle *out* in (125) stems from the fact that *out* has at least two different meanings independently established in the mental lexicon, namely 'leave a place' and 'stop shinning' (2002: 51). This is proved by the fact that *out* can appear as a complement of the verb *be*, as shown in his example in (126) below (Cappelle 2002: 53).

(126) *The lights are out.*

Therefore, what explains the possibility of preposing in combinations such as *set off* in example (124) above is the fact that the meaning of the particle is independent from that of the verb (2002: 53).

In view of the foregoing discussion, the ability of a particle to prepose seems to be motivated by its degree of independence from the accompanying verb. Therefore, just like the adverb insertion test discussed in Section 2.4.2.3 above, the particle preposing test should be seemingly used to ascertain the degree of unity between the verb and the particle in phrasal verbs, rather than as an absolute criterion to exclude other verb-adverb combinations.

2.4.2.5. Passivization

Another test which has traditionally been used for the identification of phrasal verbs is passivization. Svartvik (1985: 21), for example, establishes it as the main criterion to distinguish phrasal verbs from prepositional verbs. In principle, similarly to other verbs with a DO, transitive phrasal verbs can be passivized, as shown in example (127) below.

(127) *If changes **were brought about** by other bodies we would have to look at what we do* (BNC K5A W_newsp_other_social)

Quirk et al. (1985: 1154, 1155n), however, mention the exception of those combinations in which there exists some collocational fixity between the phrasal verb and the object NP, as shown in (128) and (129), quoted from their grammar.

(128) *The train **picked up** speed. ~ *Speed was **picked up** (by the train).*

(129) *Jill and her boss don't **hit** it **off**. ~ *It is not **hit off** (by Jill and her boss).*

In other words, the fact that (128) and (129) above cannot be passivized is, to my mind, an indication of a stronger unity and cohesion between the phrasal verb and its DO.

Nevertheless, it must also be noted that prepositional verbs can sometimes be passivized as well[48] (prepositional passive). For this reason, the passivization test is not really decisive in the distinction between both types of particle verbs and it cannot be taken as a reliable criterion for the identification of phrasal verbs. Other scholars, such as Jespersen (1970: 276), consider that this test may be used to prove a close connection between the verb and the particle. Similarly, Live (1965: 428) argues that the retention of the particle along with the verb in the passive construction constitutes evidence that supports that the verb and the particle belong together.[49] Therefore, although the test is not reliable to separate phrasal and prepositional verbs, it may be used to test collocational fixity between a phrasal verb and its object NP, as well as to test cohesion between the verb and the particle of a phrasal combination.

2.4.2.6. Transformation into an 'action nominal'

This syntactic test proposed by Fraser (1976: 3) implies that true phrasal verbs can be transformed into an action nominalization, whereas prepositional verbs cannot (cf. also Bolinger 1971: 8-9; Claridge 2000: 52). Thus, a transformation of the type of *the finding out* is possible, whereas one like **the seeking after* is not. However, such a distinction is not always clear-cut. According to Bolinger (1971: 8), when adpreps (cf. Section 2.3.1) or mixed prepositions are involved, contradictory results can be obtained.

[48] However, passivization of a prepositional verb is not always possible (e.g. *He prided himself on being a gentleman*); cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1159n).
[49] Live (1965) refers to both prepositional and phrasal verbs indistinctively.

Thus, a sentence such as that in (130) is acceptable, whereas one like that in (131) is not (Bolinger 1971: 8).

(130) *The **running up** the hill was a matter of minutes.*

(131) **The **walking across** the bridge was a matter of minutes.*

Therefore, Bolinger (1971: 8-9) comes to the conclusion that the possibility of occurrence or non-occurrence of such nominalizations is apparently determined by the nature of the actions involved, rather than by the structure of the phrases.

Fraser (1976: 3) also points out that the action nominalization test can be used to separate idiomatic from literal phrasal verbs or, in his terms, to distinguish true phrasal verbs from other combinations involving a verb and an adverb. In this respect, he discusses the differences between *throw up,* as used, for example, in (132) and (133) below, in which such a transformation is only allowed when the combination has a literal meaning, that is, when the particle is an adverb and not a phrasal-verb particle (cf. (133)).

(132) *His **throwing** [**up**] of his dinner [***up**].*

(133) *His **throwing** [**up**] of the ball [**up**].*

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Declerck (1976: 6; cf. also Lindner 1983: 22), there is much disagreement among native speakers as to the acceptability of this type of transformations. For some speakers, a transformation such as that in (134) below is completely acceptable, whereas others consider it inappropriate.

(134) *His **bringing** of the dinner **in**.*

Bolinger (1971: 10) also points out that certain idiomatic combinations are acceptable with the particle in both positions, as shown in his own example in (135) below.

(135) *The **handing** [**over**] of anything [**over**] that has so much value must be attended by proper safeguards.*

As a conclusion, the action nominalization test proposed by Fraser (1970b, 1976) works neither for the distinction of phrasal from prepositional verbs, nor for separating idiomatic from literal meanings of phrasal verbs. Therefore, it will not be regarded as a reliable test in the present piece of research.

2.4.2.7. Particle coordination

Another possible test for the identification of phrasal verbs refers to the inability of phrasal-verb particles to coordinate. According to Fraser (1976: 49-50), adverbs, but not true phrasal-verb particles, can be coordinated, which evidences their status as reduced adverbs (e.g. *up* < *upwards*). Thus, given that coordination normally takes place between elements of the "same category, formally, functionally and semantically" (Quirk et al. 1985: 969), a phrasal-verb particle forming a unit with the verb should not allow coordination with another adverb, as shown in (136) below.

(136) **They **chatted away** and around/back/down/in/into/off/on/out/over/through/up.*

Nevertheless, Declerck (1976: 6) argues that coordination or conjunction is not free but stereotyped and provides as examples *in and out* vs. **out and in* and *up and down* vs. **down and up*. Other conventionalized orderings are *back and forth*, *out and about*, and also the famous Superman's phrase *up, up and away* (Cappelle 2005: 105).

With this test, Fraser's intention is, once more, to trace a dividing line between phrasal verbs and other verb-particle combinations containing particles with literal or directional meanings, which he does not consider phrasal verbs. However, as noticed by Declerck (1976: 6), some idiomatic, non-directional particles can also conjoin, as shown in his example in (137) below:

(137) *John kept on switching the lights* ***on and off****.*

Cappelle (2005: 105) also points out the existence of idiomatic expressions containing conjoined particles, such as *down and out*, meaning 'without a job and nowhere to live and without prospects of improvement', and *over and out*, conventionally used to end one's part in a walkie-talkie conversation. Other cases of non-directional particles which can be coordinated include repetitions such as, for example, *over and over* 'again' and *by and by* 'before long'. However, especially in literary genres, sometimes unconventional combinations of particles can be found which are not conjoined in a stereotyped way (Cappelle 2005: 106-107). For Cappelle, the existence of examples such as (138) and (139) below proves that the coordination test cannot be used to distinguish directional from non-directional particles.

(138) *A soldier drags its stool out from underneath, sits, cracks, his knuckles and – as the music is* ***turned down, then off*** *– launches into some plodding, jangling, sentimental song.*

(139) *His trips were both gold and secret for he had been* ***mixed in and up*** *with the Readjuster Party [...].*

Some examples extracted from the BNC also evidence the existence of sporadic examples with non-stereotyped coordination of particles. Illustrating examples are given in (140) to (142) below.

(140) *So we must set about it a more roundabout way. If Harry never goes **out and in**, there are others who do.* (BNC K8S W_fict_prose)

(141) *Willie placed the lead on to the paper and slowly followed the dots **down and up**, **down and up**, making the letter W.* (BNC CAB W_fict_prose)

(142) *Charles Kingsley wrote of "the great grouse moors... heather and bog and rock, stretching **away and up**."* (BNC F9H W_misc)

In view of this, I agree with Declerck (1976) and Cappelle (2005) in that the coordination test does not prove useful to distinguish directional (literal) from non-directional (idiomatic) particles. I believe, however, that it may prove useful again to check the degree of unity between the verb and the particle in the sense that, when they form a strongly bonded unit, both lexically and usually semantically, the possibilities for the particle to be combined with another particle are reduced.

2.4.2.8. Addition of a directional PP

According to Fraser (1965, as quoted by Declerck (1976: 6) and Cappelle (2005: 109)), directional PPs can follow literal phrasal verbs, but are not always allowed after idiomatic combinations. Thus, sentences such as those in (143) are possible, whereas those in (144) are not (examples from Declerck (1976: 7).

(143) a. *He **let** her **out*** into the garden.

b. *They were **loading** them **on*** from the warehouse.

c. *He **elbowed** it **off*** into the well.

d. *They **took** it **up*** in the stairway.

(144) a. **I **showed** her **up*** out of the window.

b. **I **burned** it **up*** from Boston.

c. **Sheila **whiled** the morning **away*** into the well.

For Fraser, (143a-d) allow the insertion of a directional PP because the particles are reduced adverbs, whereas in (144a-c) the particles *up* and *away* are genuine phrasal-verb particles. Nevertheless, Declerck (1976: 7) demonstrates that the reason behind the (un)grammaticality of the sentences above is rather a question of semantic compatibility. For example, it is not semantically possible to *show someone up out of the window*, but if we replace the directional PP *out of the window* by *to her room*, the resulting sentence becomes grammatical (cf. (145)).

(145) *I **showed** her **up** to her room.*

Similarly, in literal combinations, the particle must be semantically compatible with the following PP, otherwise the resulting sentences would turn out ungrammatical (cf. (146)).

(146) **He **jumped up** into the well.*

Moreover, Declerck (1976: 7) also points out that directional PPs are only possible after motional verbs, such as those in sentences (143) above. For him, the choice of the examples illustrated in (143) and (144) is "deceiving" (Declerck 1976: 8), because it disregards the existence of non-motional literal phrasal verbs, which are not compatible with directional phrases (cf., e.g., *remain away*, *keep out*), as well as that of motional idiomatic phrasal verbs which allow collocation with a directional PP (cf., e.g., (147) and (148) below).

(147) *The plane **took off** into the clouds.*

(148) *Early in the morning we **set out** across the sea.*

Therefore, as demonstrated by Declerck, the test turns out useless to distinguish phrasal verbs from other combinations, since it "merely sets off meaningful from nonsensical sentences and motional from nonmotional verbs" (Declerck 1976: 8).

2.4.2.9. Substitution possibilities

According to Fraser (1965, as reported in Cappelle (2005: 103)), "a verb that can felicitously combine with a directional particle will also combine with several other directional particles." Thus, for example, the existence of a combination such as *drive in* implies the existence of many other combinations, such as *drive along, drive back, drive down, drive on, drive out, drive though, drive up,* etc.

For Declerck (1976: 8), however, this test must also be rejected as valid, because it would be like saying that *university* and *school* behave syntactically differently just because the combinations *university student* and *university professor* exist, but **school student* and **school professor* do not.

Haegeman & Guéron (1999: 254) seem to agree with Fraser (1965) in stating that the fact that a particle such as *up* in (149) below cannot be replaced by other particles is an indication of the syntactic cohesion between the verb and the particle.

(149) *John **tore up** the letter.*

Nevertheless, certain idiomatic combinations allow substitution of particles. Consider for example, the exchange possibilities of the particle *up* in a sentence such as that in (150).

(150) *He wrote up/down/out a letter.*

In view of this, I agree with Cappelle in that the fact that literal particles can occur with one and the same verb indicates that the combinations are transparent. In turn, "idiomatic combinations are perceived as *Gestalts*, that is, unified wholes that cannot be described as the mere sum of their parts and accordingly, these parts will not normally be used as building block in novel combinations" (Cappelle 2005: 111-112). For these reasons, the present test does not seem appropriate for the identification of phrasal verbs.

2.4.2.10. Verb gapping

Another of Fraser's tests (1976: 2) implies that, in combinations with literal particles, the verb can be gapped (cf. (151) below), whereas in combinations with idiomatic particles it cannot (cf. (152)).

(151) *She was in a lift and the lift wouldn't stop at the right floor but kept **going** first **up** and then **down**, past the numbers she wanted.* (BNC J54 W_fict_prose)

(152) **She **gave up** and then **down**.*

Lindner (1983: 24) rejects this test on the basis that gapping is also allowed with antonymic pairs of the type of *turn on/off*, which are, nevertheless, non-compositional in meaning (cf. Lindner's example in (153) below).

(153) *He **turned** the light **on**, and she the radio **off**.*

Lindner's refutation of Fraser's test proves that the test is not useful to distinguish literal from idiomatic particles, and that the line between transparent and non-compositional combinations cannot be traced on syntactic grounds. Nevertheless, the test can be used is a way similar to the coordination test in order to check the degree of

cohesion between the verb and the particle. With strongly united compounds, such as *give up*, verb gapping is not possible, whereas those combinations whose particles present a higher degree of independence from the verb (e.g. *turn on/off*) allow it.

2.4.2.11. Occurrence before relatives or interrogatives

Some scholars (cf. Lipka 1972: 23; Lindner 1983: 21; Palmer 1988: 220; Haegeman & Guéron 1999: 253) have also noticed that particles and adverbs never occur before relative or interrogative forms (cf. (154) and (155)), whereas prepositions do (cf. (156) and (157)).[50]

(154) **The letter **up** which John **tore** is very important*

(155) ****Up** which letter did John **tear**?*

(156) *The street **up** which John **ran** is Main Street.*

(157) ***Up** which street did John **run**?*

On this basis, the test can therefore be used to distinguish phrasal from prepositional verbs.

[50] Examples taken from Haegeman & Guéron (1999: 253).

2.4.2.12. Cleft-formation

Cleft-formation has also been adduced as a way to distinguish adverbs and phrasal-verb particles from prepositions. Thus, according to Haegeman & Guéron (1999: 253), a transformation of this type is possible with prepositions, as in (158), whereas adverbs do not allow it (159).

(158) *It was **up** the street that John **ran**.*

(159) **It was **up** the letter that John **tore**.*

Nevertheless, some phrasal verbs, either literal or non-compositional, can also undergo cleft-formation, as shown in (160) and (161) below, although the degree of acceptability by native speakers varies greatly.

(160) *It was **up** (not down) that he **went**.*

(161) *It was **on** (not **off**) that he turned the light.*

This test seems, therefore, more appropriate to ascertain the degree of unity between the verb and the particle: in strongly bonded combinations, clefting is not allowed, whereas the most independent particles admit such a transformation.

2.4.2.13. Replacement by an antonym

According to Radford (1988: 93-94), if a sequence such as *off the bus* is a PP, it should be possibly replaced by another PP with a related meaning, like one formed with its antonym *on* (cf. (162) below), which would seem to confirm its PP status.

(162) *Drunks would **get off/on** the bus.*

On the contrary, a sequence like *off the customers* in sentence (163) below does not have an *on* counterpart, precisely because it is not a PP, but the particle belongs together with the preceding verb (*put*).

(163) *Drunks would **put off**/*__on__ the customers.*

Thus, for Radford (1988), although the phrasal combination *put on* 'wear' exists, its relation to *put off* 'deter' is different from the relationship held between *get off* and *get on*, in which *get* seems to have the constant meaning 'climb' (1988: 94). As can be seen, Radford excludes literal combinations from his inventory of phrasal verbs, given that he does not consider *put off* and *put on* in their literal senses. The test is, for this reason, not useful for the present piece of research, where both literal and non-literal senses of combinations are included.

2.4.3. SUMMARY

Section 2.4 has provided a review of the main characteristics of phrasal verbs as a single unit. It has been shown that there are four main reasons to consider that the verb and the particle behave as a single lexical and semantic unit in phrasal-verb combinations, namely, that they can usually be replaced by a single-word equivalent, that derived words can be obtained from them (e.g. *breakinable*, *turn-off*), that they can coordinate with another verb and, finally, that both elements are elided together (cf. *I cleaned up my room and mum [cleaned up] the kitchen*).

With regard to their semantics (2.4.1), six main semantic groups of phrasal verbs have been distinguished, namely literal, figurative or metaphorical, idiomatic or non-compositional, aspectual or aktionsart, reiterative and emphatic combinations. These

categories are, nevertheless, not mutually exclusive, so that a given combination can be ascribed to two or more of these groups.

In what concerns the syntactic characteristics of phrasal verbs, Section 2.4.2 provided a description of the most relevant tests that have been used to characterize these combinations and distinguish them from related constructions. As a conclusion, the only tests which have proved satisfactory to identify phrasal verbs are the definite NP test (Section 2.4.2.2), the test according to which phrasal-verb particles cannot occur before relative or interrogative forms (Section 2.4.2.11), and the test according to which an adverb phrase cannot be inserted between the verb and the particle (cf. Section 2.4.2.3), the latter being the only test available for intransitive combinations. These are supported by the test of particle placement with object pronouns (2.4.2.1), which must be, nevertheless, applied carefully, given that it may be influenced by a number of factors, such as stress, length and/or weight of the object NP, idiomaticity of the compound or last mention of the object's referent, which seem to be responsible for word-order variation. In turn, a number of tests seem to be useful to ascertain the degree of cohesion or unity between the verb and the particle, namely the adverb insertion test (2.4.2.3), within which we distinguish insertion of *all*, *clean*, *right*, *straight*, *the heck* and *the hell*, on the one hand, and other adverbs, on the other, particle preposing (2.4.2.4), passivization (2.4.2.5), particle coordination (2.4.2.7), verb gapping (2.4.2.10) and cleft-formation (2.4.2.12). Finally, the remaining criteria, namely the nominalization test (2.4.2.6), insertion of a directional PP (2.4.2.8), substitution by other particles (2.4.2.9) and replacement by an antonym (2.4.2.13), were rejected as reliable tests for various reasons.

2.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter I have shown that defining phrasal verbs is not an easy task, although, in general terms, they can be described as a subtype of multi-word verb consisting of a verb and an (originally) adverbial particle bearing a strong semantic unity typical of a single-word verb.

Section 2.2 showed that the set of verbs employed to create new phrasal verbs is not limited, although certain tendencies have been observed. Thus, these are mostly native, monosyllabic or disyllabic, generally polysemous and non-stative verbs. Section 2.3 dealt with the second element of the compound, namely the particle. Although their status is quite controversial, particles are most commonly regarded as original adverbs which have come to form a more or less bound unit with the verb. Contrary to the verbal elements of the compound, the set of particles entering phrasal-verb combinations is quite limited: they must be primary adverbs, able to stand on their own, generally (though not necessarily) carrying the primary stress of the compound and with the meanings of motion in general, aspect or aktionsart. Moreover, they can be used emphatically, figuratively or they can form an idiomatic semantic unit with the accompanying verb in such a way that their individual significations can no longer be inferred.

Section 2.4 examined the status of phrasal verbs as a single lexical and semantic unit. As regards their semantics (2.4.1), phrasal verbs can be ascribed to at least six different semantic groups, namely literal (e.g. *come out*), figurative (e.g. *throw away* [hope]), aspectual or aktionsart (e.g. *eat up*, *chat away*), emphatic (e.g. *warm up*), reiterative (e.g. *rise up*) and idiomatic or non-compositional (e.g. *give up*), though these

do not constitute discrete categories. Of the different syntactic tests proposed in the literature for the identification of phrasal verbs, and discussed in Section 2.4.2 above, only the definite NP test, the adverb phrase insertion test and the inability of phrasal-verb particles to collocate before relatives and interrogatives will be taken in this study as truly reliable. These are supported by the test of particle placement with object pronouns, which, nevertheless, proved to have certain restrictions. On the other hand, some of the remaining tests were considered useless for the identification of phrasal verbs, whereas others will be taken rather to test the degree of cohesion between the verb and the particle (adverb insertion, particle preposing, passivization, particle coordination, verb gapping and cleft-formation). By way of illustration, Table 6 below applies these syntactic tests to the combination *turn on*. A plus (+) indicates that the combination passes a given test, whereas a minus (-) signals a test failure.

Table 6: Tests for phrasal verbs. *Turn on* as a case in point

Identification of phrasal verb		**Results**
1. The definite NP test	*She turned on the light.*	+
2. Collocational restrictions before relatives and interrogatives	**The light on which she turned* / **On which light did she turn?*	+
3. Particle placement with object pronouns	*She turned it on* / **She turned on it.*	+
4. Impossibility of insertion of AdvP	**She turned the light with a slow movement on.*	+
Degree of cohesion and bondage between verb and particle or between phrasal verb and object NP		
5.a. Impossibility of insertion of *all, clean, right, straight, the heck, the hell*	*She turned the light right on.*	-
5.b. Impossibility of insertion of other adverbs	*She turned the light completely on.* [51]	-
6. Passivization	*The light was turned on.*	+
7. Particle preposing	**On she turned the light.*	+
8. Impossibility of particle coordination	*She turned the light on and off.*	-
9. Verb gapping	*She turned the light on and he off.*	-
10. Cleft-formation	*It was on (not off) that she turned the light*.	-

As Table 6 shows, the phrasal combination *turn on* meets all the criteria which identify it as a phrasal verb. Nevertheless, as regards the degree of bondage between the verb and the particle, there is a certain variability in the results of the various syntactic

[51] No examples of adverb insertion have been found in the BNC. However, some Internet searches gave as a result the instances in (i) to (iii) below, which seem to confirm that adverb insertion is indeed possible between the verb and the particle in the combination *turn on*.

(i) *I went and **turned the light completely on***. (http://www.justinbieberfanfiction.com/viewstory.php?sid=12462&chapter=5; accessed 18/07/2011)

(ii) *This will **turn the light permanently on** for up to six hours*. (http://www.clipsal.com.au/trade/__data/page/81/W0000965.pdf; accessed 18/07/2011)

(iii) *You can activate the light temporarily if enough pressure is applied to the rubber switch, but you can also **turn the light completely on** by pushing in further until you feel and hear the click.*(http://www.woodsmonkey.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=422:streamlight-buckmasters-packmate-review&catid=75:flashlights-lamps-and-other-illuminators&Itemid=89; accessed 18/07/2011)

tests, so that the combination does not seem a strongly bound unit. Thus, the particle shows certain independence from the verb to some extent in the sense that both adverbs and expletives of the kind of *all*, *clean*, *right*, *straight*, *the heck*, *the hell*, as well as other types of adverbs can be inserted between the verb and the particle, in that the particle can be coordinated with another particle, in that the verb can be elided leaving the particle behind and also in that the particle allows for the formation of a cleft-construction. On the contrary, the verb and the particle seem to form a unit in that they are used together in the formation of a passive clause and in that the particle cannot be moved alone to clause-initial position.

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3. THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF PHRASAL VERBS

3.1. INTRODUCTION

It is generally agreed that the number of phrasal verbs has increased greatly in English over the recent history of the language (cf., e.g., Spasov 1966: 18-22; Denison 1998: 223) and that their presence in modern English is a common feature at all levels of language (cf. Claridge 2000: 104), including "the common and literary levels" (Potter 1965: 286). However, phrasal verbs are not a recent development in English, but rather have been attested since OE times, though not in the form and with the characteristics with which we know them today. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the development of these constructions from OE to PDE. As noticed by Claridge, scholarly attention has mainly focused on the OE and ME periods, which are clearly overrepresented in the literature, whereas the most recent history of phrasal verbs is scarce (cf. also Akimoto 1999: 221). Although it must be taken into account that "the periods of the English language are matters of convenience and the dividing lines between them purely arbitrary" (Baugh & Cable 1993: 50), for my purposes, I have followed the compilers of the HC and some other scholars (cf., e.g., Baugh & Cable 1993: 50) for the dating of the OE (850-1150), ME (1150-1500) and EModE (1500-

1700)[52] periods, whereas I have adopted the view taken by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: ix; cf. also Dossena & Jones 2003: 8) that LModE covers the period 1700-1900.[53] For convenience I will often refer to EME (before 1340) and LME (after 1340) following Horobin & Smith's (2002) further division of the ME period. Since it is usually agreed that the term PDE is taken to refer to "the past twenty years or so" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade & van der Wurff 2009: 14), I will use Mair's (2006) label 'Twentieth-century English' to refer to the period between 1900 and 1999. Table 7 below summarizes the periodization of the English language adopted in the present dissertation.

Table 7: Periodization of the English language

Period	**Dating**
Old English (OE)	850-1150
Middle English (ME)	1150-1500
Early Modern English (EModE)	1500-1700
Late Modern English (LModE)	1700-1900
Twentieth-century English	1900-1999

The outline of the chapter is as follows. In Section 3.2 I describe phrasal verbs in OE and ME, whereas Section 3.3 is concerned with the EModE period. Section 3.4 introduces the characteristics of these constructions over the LModE period and Twentieth-century English, which will be later on completed with the corpus analysis in

[52] The HC includes texts until 1710.

[53] For a different dating of the LModE period, see Beal (2004), whose book title *English in Modern Times* refers to the time span between 1700 and 1945, and Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg (2006: 1), who situate LModE between 1700 and 1950. In turn, Görlach (1999, 2001), makes linguistic periods coincide with the temporal divisions of the different centuries, as does Mair (2006).

Chapters 4 and 5. Finally, Section 3.5 is concerned with the frequency of the constructions over time, more precisely from the EModE period onwards.

3.2. OLD AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

While OE phrasal verbs are quite different from their PDE equivalents, in the LME period the basic syntactic patterns as well as idiomatic phrasal verb types were already available (cf. Denison 1981: 3). It is, therefore, in the transition from OE to ME that the most crucial semantic and syntactic developments of the phrasal verb occurred (cf. Hiltunen 1983a: 220). In fact, "[f]rom Old English to Early Modern English, the language underwent an important structural shift, from a productive system of verbal prefixes to a new system of postverbal particles" (Brinton 1988: 185). One of the commonest views is that in the shift of English from an Object-Verb to a Verb-Object language, verbal prefixes were replaced by postverbal particles (cf., e.g., O'Dowd 1998: 152; Fischer et al. 2000: 162, 181). However, before this word order change took place, although prefixes were more abundant, verbs with postverbal particles also existed and were well established (Brinton 1988: 186; Fischer et al. 2000: 180; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 123). For this reason, according to Brinton & Traugott (2005: 224), the phrasal verb "is more appropriately understood as the continuation of OE verbs accompanied by adverbial particles [...] than as a replacement for lost prefixed verbs" (cf. also Brinton 1988: 185), even though "particles and prefixes have a common origin" (Elenbaas 2007: 131). However, whereas OE particles are characterized by their syntactic separability and their transparent semantics, coexisting prefixes seem to be morphologically rather than syntactically defined and have an abstract meaning (Elenbaas 2007: 105).

According to Hiltunen (1983a), OE phrasal verbs consisted of combinations of a verb and either a phrasal or a prepositional adverb. For him, phrasal adverbs are items such as *ofdun(e)*/*adun(e)* 'down', *onweg*/*aweg* 'away', *forð* 'forth', *niðer* 'down', *up(p)* 'up', *ut* 'out'[54] which "may indicate location or direction (or both) and do not normally appear as prepositions" (1983a: 20),[55] whereas prepositional adverbs refer to items such as *beforan* 'before' and *æfter* 'after', which can be found with adverbial and prepositional functions in OE (1983a: 21). These OE particles (Hiltunen's phrasal and prepositional adverbs) can be further divided into particles with corresponding prefixes (*þurh* 'through', *forð*, *ymb* 'about, by', *on*, *ofer* 'over' and *of*; cf. Brinton 1988: 217-220) and particles without a corresponding prefix (*up*, *ut*, *onweg*/*aweg*, *ofdune*/*adune*; cf. Brinton 1988: 220-226),[56] all of which may appear both in preverbal (P(...)V) or postverbal (V(...)P) position as well as with and without intervening material[57] between both elements. Some illustrative examples include (1)-(3) from Fischer et al. (2000: 186-187) and (4) from Elenbaas (2007: 156).

[54] According to Elenbaas (2007: 138), *up(p)* and *ut* are among the most frequent OE particles.

[55] Some scholars have termed this type of particles 'separable prefixes' (cf., e.g., Harrison 1892), implying that they are similar to those found in German (e.g. *aufwachen* 'wake up'; *er wacht auf* 'he wakes up'). However, OE manuscripts are often inconsistent with regard to word divisions and consequently not helpful to decide whether certain combinations should be regarded as two words or as a prefixed verb (Fischer et al. 2000: 182-183).

[56] Brinton (1988: 216-217) adds a third group of prefixes with no corresponding particles (*a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-* and *to-*), which de la Cruz (1975) terms 'pure prefixes' (cf. also Hiltunen 1983a: 25-27). These prefixes were semantically and grammatically overloaded in OE which, supported by the fact that they lacked an adverbial equivalent, led to their omission and eventual loss over the ME period (cf. Brinton 1988: 216).

[57] The intervening element is most commonly a PP which rarely exceeds three words. Nevertheless, in general intervening elements tend to be longer in the a (...) V pattern than in the V (...) a one (Hiltunen 1983a: 137).

(1) *þonne ne miht þu na þæt mot* ***ut ateon***. [PV] (*ÆHom* 14.153)

'Then you cannot draw the mote out'

(2) *ða ne dorste he nawuht hrædlice* ***ut*** *of ðære ceastre* ***faran***. [P(...)V] (*CP* 51.397.32)

'then he dared not go out quickly from the city'

(3) *Æfter þissere rædinge and oðrum tihtingum* ***gewendon*** *þa halgan to þam hælende* ***upp***. [V(...)P] (*ÆLS* (Julian & Basilissa) 73)

'After this reading and other persuasions the saints turned back to the Saviour'

(4) *þæt he* ***ahof upp*** *þa earcan*. [VP] (*GD(C)* 42.6-7)

'so that he lifted the chest up'

As shown by Elenbaas (2007: 132-133; 159-162; 219), the syntax of the OE and ME periods was more flexible than that of PDE in allowing various elements to appear between the verb and the particle, such as a negative marker (5), an infinitive marker (6), a modal verb (7), a stranded preposition (8), a direct object (9) or an adverb (10).

(5) *forðæm hio nanne swetne wæsðm* ***forð*** *ne* ***bringð***. (cocura, *CP*:45.341.22.2297)

'because it does not produce any sweet fruit'

(6) *& deofolseocnessa* ***ut*** *to* ***adrifanne***. (cowsgosp, *Mk* [WSCp]:3.15.2351)

'and to drive out demonical possession'

(7) *þæt hi hine* ***ut*** *sceoldon* ***wurpan***. (coeust, *LS* 8 [Eust]:168.173)

'that they should throw him out'

(8) *[...] ealond [...] ðæt we ær* ***ut*** *of* ***gongende*** *wæron.* (cobede, *Bede* 5:1.384.23.3834)

'[...] island [...] from which we had previously put out'

(9) *&* ***fylian*** *urum haligdomum* ***ut & in***. (*ÆCHom* I, 18:318.40.3426).

'and follow our relics out and in'

(10) *&* ***ærn*** *swa feor* ***up*** *swa næfre ær ne dyde.* (*ChronE* [Plummer]:1014.28.1906)

'and (he) ran up as far as (he) never did before'

Moreover, Hiltunen (1983a: 107) notices that the preverbal pattern is the predominant one during most of the OE period, both in main and subordinate clauses (cf. also Elenbaas 2007: 148, 170-174). By late OE, however, main clauses tend to shift towards the postverbal pattern, whereas dependent clauses remain more conservative; the use of this pattern is established in all clauses already during the EME period (Hiltunen 1983a: 105-111; cf. also de la Cruz 1976 and Denison 1981: 174). For Elenbaas (2007: 4), after the transition to postverbal position particles come to be more dependent on the verb.

As regards the position of the particles with respect to a postverbal object, both Hiltunen (1983a: 105) and de la Cruz (1976: 27-40) agree that during OE and ME the VPO order is more frequent than the VOP one (cf. Brinton 1988: 186). After the establishment of the particle in postverbal position, word order with an object also resembles that of PDE (cf. 2.4.2.1) in that the particle must follow a pronominal object, whereas it can be placed at either side of a nominal one, as shown in examples (11) to (13) below from Fischer et al. (2000: 204; cf. also Thim 2011: 362).[58]

(11) *& heo **holden** hire **up**.* (*Ancr.* (Nero) 62.34)
'and they held her up'

(12) *heo **her up** hire hond.* (*St Marg.* (1) 19.22)
'she raised up her hand'

(13) *& **hef** hire honden **up**.* (*St Marg.* (1) 22.9)

[58] For Kennedy (1920: 30), the rule of object placement with phrasal verbs is established as early as the Tudor period, although exceptions are somewhat more common than in PDE.

‘and raised her hands up’

Elenbaas (2007: 133, 219-225) remarks that OE and ME phrasal verbs also resemble PDE combinations in that they allow for particle coordination (cf. Section 2.4.2.7), as in example (9) above, adverb modification (cf. 2.4.2.3), as in (10) above, and particle preposing (cf. 2.4.2.4), as in (14) below.

(14) ***Niðer*** *he* ***ahreas***. (cocathom1, *ÆCHom* I, 11:270.111.2078)

‘down he fell’

Besides the shift in particle position (from preverbal to postverbal), the ME period witnessed another important development, namely the “loss of some prefixes and the continued productivity or partial productivity of others, [and also] the increasing frequency of verb-particle combinations” (Brinton 1988: 187). Although it has been postulated that the acquisition of Romance prefixed verbs (e.g. *conquer*, *invade*, *occupy*) at the time could have slowed down the development of phrasal verbs (cf. Kennedy 1920: 13; de la Cruz 1975: 51), according to Denison (1985: 47), the newer prefixes did not provide an exactly equivalent and productive system of aktionsart marking. The truth is that preverbal elements such as prefixes are a potential source of ambiguity in an SOV syntactic order as the OE one (Hiltunen 1983a: 188; Claridge 2000: 86; Elenbaas 2007: 131), so that the system of prefixes had probably undergone considerable weakening already during OE (Samuels 1972: 164; de la Cruz 1975: 78; Hiltunen 1983a: 97; Elenbaas 2007: 211); by the EModE period it had practically died out as a productive system and the phrasal verb was completely established in the

language (cf. Kennedy 1920: 13-14; Konishi 1958: 121-122; Brinton 1988: 187; Section 3.3).[59]

For Hiltunen (1983a: 101), the decline of the prefix system ties in well with the general tendency of the English language towards more analytical constructions (cf. also Traugott 1972: 172)[60] and the development of OV word orders (cf. also Konishi 1958: 118, 119; Claridge 2000: 86, 87; Fischer et al. 2000: 82). Samuels (1972: 163-165) describes it as a "major example of the combining working push- and drag-chain processes of replacement." On the one hand, the weakening of the prefixes from lack of stress (phonetic attrition) and their loss of information content (weakening of concrete locative, aspectual and intensifying meanings)[61] brought about the deterioration of the prefixal system and prompted the necessity to fill their gap with new elements. This drag-chain pressure was aided, on the other hand, by a push-chain pressure: a system of replacement with words available from Norse and French (e.g. OE *þencan – aþencan* replaced by *think – devise*). Other sources which, according to Samuels (1972: 164-165), facilitated the replacement of the prefixal system include the following:

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[59] Notice, however, that some OE prefixes have survived and are still productive in PDE (e.g. *be-*, *fore-*, *mis-*, *over-*, *un-* and *under-*), especially those which are phonologically more stable and which possess a distinct meaning (Lutz 1997: 279, 281; cf. also Kennedy 1920: 14-16).

[60] For Claridge (2000: 87), however, the observation that the synthetic prefixal constructions were disfavoured by the trend towards analytic constructions is rather circular (cf. also Thim 2012: 158ff).

[61] One of the reasons behind the emergence of OE postverbal particles seems to be the need to reinforce and disambiguate the "phonetically weak and semantically over-extended prefixes, especially *a-*" (Brinton 1988: 215; cf. also Hiltunen 1983a: 95; Denison 1985: 47). In fact, at the time it was not uncommon to find a particle reduplicating the semantics of a prefix, most commonly *ut* and *up* reinforcing a verb with the already aspectual prefix *a-*, such as, for example, *awringan up* 'squeeze out' and *adrifan up* 'drive out' (cf. Hiltunen 1983a: 98; Denison 1985: 42-43; Elenbaas 2007: 135, 146). For Thim (2012: 179), however, the reinforcement of prefixes by particles is unlikely to have been a major factor in the development of the verb-particle construction.

(i) the increase in the use of verb + adverb combinations during the ME period; [62]

(ii) the proliferation of the use of both fixed phrases used as completives or intensives (e.g. *burn to ashes*, *clean forget*, *hew to pieces*) and adverbs like *fast(e)* and *wel* (cf. also Hiltunen 1983a: 43, 97; Denison 1985: 47; Claridge 2000: 86);

(iii) the introduction of new verbs to express point-action (e.g. *crush*, *push*, *put*, *shunt*).

Nevertheless, the replacement of the prefixal system by the phrasal-verb system was not immediate but rather there was a period of overlap (Hiltunen 1983a: 98-99; cf. also Brinton 1988: 190). In ME some of the prefixed variants coexisted with their counterparts with identical meanings, e.g. *bifallen – fall by* 'happen'; *outflee – flee out* 'expel, banish' (cf. Burnley 1992: 445). Some of these parallel prefix and phrasal variants have also survived into PDE, "sometimes leading to contrasting formations with different meanings, e.g. *overtake – take over*, *outlive – live out*" (Claridge 2000: 87).

As said above, Old Norse influence has also been adduced as one of the reasons behind the disappearance of OE prefixes (Samuels 1972: 60, 163-164; Burnley 1992:

[62] de la Cruz (1975: 77-78) shows how the already weakened ME prefixed verbs are replaced by phrasal-verb equivalents in the modern version of the *Ancrene Riwle*. Thus, the OE prefix *ge-* gives place to the PDE particles *up*/*out* (e.g. ME *i clumben* > PDE *climbed up*), *for-* is replaced by *up*/*away*/*off* (e.g. ME *uorswoluweð* > PDE *swalled up*; ME *uoruret* > PDE *frets away*), *be-* turns into *up*/*away*/*off* (e.g. ME *bileauen* > PDE *leave off*; ME *binimen* > PDE *take away*), *to-* becomes *up*/*out*/*away*/*off* (e.g. ME *tospret* > PDE *stretches out*; ME *towarpled* > PDE *shaken off*) and *a-* is replaced by *up*/*out*/*away* (e.g. ME *adruweð* > PDE *drieth up*; ME *avleieð* > PDE *driveth away*).

422, 444; Kastovsky 1992: 320), given that analytic phrasal constructions were already available in Norse at an early stage. Denison (1981: 272-290; 1985: 49-53) goes a step further by saying that Scandinavian influence seems plausible in the development of the aktionsart usage of some phrasal-verb particles by direct borrowing from verbs of surrender of the type of *give up*. However, actual borrowing is improbable because the verb-particle combinations were already available in OE before the Viking invasions started in the late 9th century (cf. Hiltunen 1983a: 43) and also because the meaning of ON particles was usually idiomatic, which contrasts with the predominantly literal meaning of OE particles (Denison 1981: 279; Elenbaas 2007: 272). Moreover, as noted by Thim (2007: 301), no instances of ON verb *gefa upp* are attested before the late 13th century (i.e. after its first occurrence in English) and the existence of the cognate *aufgeben* 'surrender' in German seems to support the idea of a language-internal development rather than the effect of an external influence. Therefore, for Hiltunen (1983a: 43), "[a]t most the Scandinavian phrasal constructions acted as a catalyst, stimulating the development of the postverbal type, and thereby contributed to the loss of prefixes in English." For Lutz (1997: 262n), by contrast, the Scandinavian influence was more peripheral and simply accelerated the reduction of unstressed syllables in the Northern dialects of English, thereby contributing to the fixation of word order in those varieties. Similarly, Blake (2002: 29) argues that phrasal verbs could easily have originated without the aid of external influence. More categorical in his conclusions is Thim (2007), who asserts that "[a]ssuming that the English phrasal verbs are the result of contact-induced interference is methodologically unsound" because evidence shows "that the development of verb-particle constructions is a common feature of all Germanic languages which is not at all tied to contact or areal considerations, but rather

follows a language-internal path of development" (2007: 302). Probably related to this is the fact that already in the LME period the majority of the verbal elements employed in the formation of phrasal verbs are of native origin (Thim 2011: 362-363).

Besides the decline of the OE prefixes and the establishment of the particle in postverbal position, the ME period witnessed additional innovations in the phrasal-verb system. According to Elenbaas (2007: 233-237), it is the period in which we find the earliest evidence of these constructions taking part in word formation processes with nominalizations of the kind shown in her examples in (15) to (17) below.

(15) *þe* ***doungoing*** *of þe sunne.* (cmearlps, 77.3405).

'the going down (=setting) of the sun'

(16) *Ðat settest þe cloude þy* ***wendyng up***. (cmearlps, 125.5458)

'who appoints the clouds for your ascent'

(17) *whan þey had longe i-wope þe wrong of ther violent* ***out puttynge***. (cmpolych, VIII, 95.3628)

'when they had wept the injustice of her violent putting out (=expulsion) for a long time'

Claridge (2000: 85) also considers that the appearance of the first nouns derived from phrasal verbs in the 14th and 15th centuries (e.g. the now obsolete *sit-up* 'surprise' or the agentive phrasal nouns *holder up of Troye* (Chaucer) and *fynder up of false religions* (Lydgate)) is a sign of the established status of phrasal verbs at the time.

In what concerns their semantics, OE and ME phrasal verbs seem to be mostly literal "or only slightly extended in meaning" (Brinton 1988: 187, 215; cf. also Kennedy 1920: 16; Konishi 1958: 119; Hiltunen 1983a: 146-149; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 123), "which contrasts with the abstract meaning of the prefixes" (Elenbaas 2007: 134). In

fact, as noticed by Mitchell (1958: 445), sometimes it is possible to find the same verb with different meanings (a literal and an abstract one) depending on whether it combines with a particle or a prefix. As an example, he quotes the combination *ofslean*, which has a literal meaning 'smite of' if *of* is a particle (Hiltunen's phrasal adverb), but an abstract meaning 'kill' if it is a prefix, as can be observed in Elenbaas' (2007: 136) examples in (18) and (19) below.

(18) *And þæra eadigra fæmne þæt heafod* ***of asloh****.* (comargaC, 22.11.351)
'and (he) cut off the blessed women's heads'

(19) *And his broðor Horsan man þær* ***ofsloh****.* (cochronC, *ChronC* [Rositzke]: 455.1.59)
'and there people killed his brother Horsa'

According to Denison (1985: 38-43), there are no clear examples of completive *up* before the 12th century. Nevertheless, although in OE particles mostly show directional and locative connotations (Brinton 1988: 215), it is not infrequent to find intermingled aspectual and directional meanings[63] in certain particles such as *forð*, *of*, *ofdune*/*adune*, *onweg*/*aweg*, *up* and *ut*, as can be seen in Brinton's (1988: 217-224) examples in (20) to (24) below (cf. also Hiltunen 1983a: 148-149; Denison 1985: 42-44; Elenbaas 2007: 135).

(20) *Gif man cealf* ***of adrife****.* (*LawAf* 1 16)
'If someone drives off a calf'

(21) *þa oðre ða* ***brœcon*** *þær* ***adune****.* (*ChronE* [Plummer] 1083.23)

[63] For a more precise explanation of how these aspectual and directional meanings might have developed, cf. Section 6.5.2 below.

'the others broke the doors down'

(22) *he hi rađe* ***aweg aþywde***. (*Or* 6 36.292.29)

'he quickly drove them away'

(23) *Deofolseocnessa* ***ut*** *to* ***adrifanne***. (*Mk* [WSCp] 3.15)

'To drive out the devilsickness'

(24) *he* ***upp asæt***. (*Bede* 3 9.186.9)

'he sat up'

For Brinton, it is precisely the coexistence of directional and telic meanings which later allows the development of pure aktionsart particles and their appearance with verbs of mental activities and states (Brinton 1988: 225; cf. also Hiltunen 1983a: 147). During the ME period the common OE telic particles (*of, forth, (a)doun*, *awei*, *out(e)* and *up*) continue to be used,[64] whereas *along* becomes the clearest continuative/iterative marker (cf. Brinton 1988: 226-234).[65] Some examples of particles with purely aspectual meanings in ME include the following (from Brinton 1988: 226-231):

(25) *Gluttrie, dronkenez, indigestioun, &* ***leuyng of*** *of excercise.* (*Chauliac* [I] 107 b/b)

'Gluttony, drunkenness, indigestion, and leaving off of exercise'

(26) *to* ***dryue*** *the day* ***awey***. (Chaucer *CT*. *Pard* C. 628)

---

[64] According to Brinton (1988: 223n), *up* is the commonest particle used in the formation of phrasal verbs in PDE and it is also the particle with the highest frequency in Hiltunen's OE corpus (1983a: 208). In fact, it seems to have occupied the most prominent position in all the periods of the language; cf. Martin (1990) and Thim (2006a: 216, 2011: 361) for LME and EModE; Martin (1990), Hiltunen (1994: 136), Tanabe (1999: 123), Claridge (2000: 126) and Thim (2006b: 295) for the EModE period; for the LModE period and PDE, cf. Potter 1965: 287, Martin (1990), Biber et al. (1999: 413) and Wild (2010: 228, 317-319), as well as the results in the present dissertation (Chapters 4 and 5).

[65] "Examples with *on* and *forth* are somewhat more problematical" (Brinton 1988: 232).

‘drive (or pass) the day away’

(27) *When þe sowpe, **soupe owt** yowr mess.* (*Mankind* 772)

‘When you eat, eat up your food’

(28) *But goodly **drynketh up** al his distresse.* (Chaucer *CT* 3.1035)

‘But drinks up all the distress well’

(29) *In that gardyn gan I goo, **Pleyyng along** full meryly.* (Chaucer *RRose* 1329)

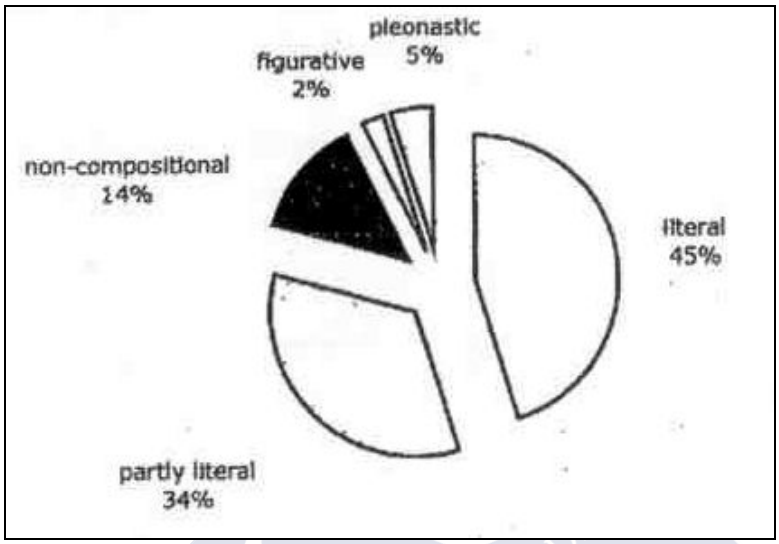
‘Into that garden I began to go (went), playing along very merrily’

Whereas fully idiomatic combinations are not found in OE (Hiltunen 1983a: 148), figurative usage becomes more common in ME (Brinton 1988: 226), as attested in the “transferred” meanings identified by de la Cruz (1972: 117ff) in combinations such as *beren up* (PDE *bear up*) ‘maintain (a crown/reign)’, *holden up* (PDE *hold up*) ‘withdraw’, *leggen up* (PDE *lay up*) ‘save’, *loken up* (PDE *look up*) ‘examine’, *putten forð* (PDE *put forth*) ‘exert, thrust into prominence (as a knight)’, etc. (cf. also Brinton 1988: 226ff). Moreover, in certain combinations some connotations become obsolete and are eventually lost, whereas other new meanings emerge. This is the case with, for example, *put off* which, according to Matsumoto, meant ‘take off’ in ME, whereas in PDE it means ‘delay, postpone’ (2008: 140).

Thim (2011), who analyzes the distribution of phrasal verbs in the letters of Margaret Paston written between 1441 and 1478, classifies phrasal verbs within five different semantic groups, namely literal, partly literal (here called aspectual/aktionsart; cf. Section 2.4.1.4), pleonastic (here reiterative; cf. Section 2.4.1.5), figurative and non-compositional. According to this division, he finds out that, although the majority of combinations in his corpus are literal (45%) already in the LME period, aspectual, non-compositional, pleonastic and figurative meanings are quite well established. In fact, he

notices that "the number of non-compositional phrasal verbs may be actually quite high in relation to other semantic types" (Thim 2011: 368), as shown in his graph represented below as Figure 1.

Figure 1: Phrasal verbs semantics in the *Paston Letters* (Thim 2011: 364)



It is in LME (1350-1420) that I have spotted the first clear examples of the particle *up* used emphatically, most notably in combinations with Latin-based verbs (cf. Rodríguez-Puente 2013), as shown in examples (30) to (33) below.

(30) *[S]o þat þe kyng of Engelond shulde leve and **resigne up** to þe kyng of Fraunce.* (HC |QM3_NN_HIST_TREVISA, PVIII, 347)

(31) *[T]**emper** it **vpe** with an egge schelle ful of white wyne.* (HC |QMX/4_IS_HANDM_THORN, 9)

'mix it up with an egg shell full of white wine'

(32) *[O]r sende ony persone þat is not sufficiant ne able to watche or withowte sufficiant wepon, ȝe schall **certyfye vp** his name.* (HC |QM4_IS_HANDO_REYNES, 155)

(33) *And also, alle maner notabyl defautis that ȝe fynde in ȝoure craft, wel and trewly ȝe schal **presente** them **vp** onto þe mair.* (HC |QM4_IS_HANDO_REYNES, 319)

The question, then, is why and how these two-word constructions with an apparently superfluous particle emerge, since one-word equivalents were already available in the language to convey the same meanings, as illustrated in (34) to (37) below.

(34) *He* ***resignede*** *þe castelles of Berwik and of Rokesburgh to þe kyng of Scotlond for ten þowsand pound.* (HC |QM3_NN_HIST_TREVISA, PVIII, 347)

(35) *Take sulphur vyue. & whit tartre & blak. & grynde him al to-geder &* ***tempere*** *it with strong eisel.* (HC |QM3_IS_HANDM_HORSES, 105)

'Take natural sulphur and white and black tartar and grind them all together and mix it with strong vinegar'

(36) ***[C]ertyfyyng*** *ȝow þat I haue spok wyth John Rwsse.* (HC |QM4_XX_CORP_CPASTON, 199)

(37) *[A]nd* ***presente*** *this sayd book to his good & noble lordship.* (HC |QM4_XX_PREF_CAXTON, P70)

Given that there were no phrasal verbs in Latin, combinations of the type in (30) to (33) above cannot be considered direct borrowings. It could, therefore, be hypothesized that the particle *up* began to be added to certain simple verbs by analogy with related structures already available in the English language. A likely candidate as the source for analogy is found in reiterative combinations (cf. Section 2.4.1.5). As noted above, in such structures the particle literally repeats part of the meaning of the verb, which, in the case of combinations with *up*, is 'upward movement'. It could therefore be argued that at some point *up* starts to be seen as an element that can be added to verbs conveying upward movement to emphasize and reinforce their meaning, so that its use extends to verbs which do not indicate vertical movement, as with ME *tempren* and *resignen*. Just as with reiterative constructions, where the particle *up* overtly and

literally emphasizes the expression of vertical meaning conveyed by the verb, in emphatic combinations, in which the verb does not express vertical movement, *up* intensifies the verbal meaning and provides it with a more familiar and colloquial tone.

However, the emergence of emphatic constructions is probably not down to one single factor but to the interaction of several elements. In addition to the important role of analogy, another crucial contributing factor is the general increase in the number of phrasal combinations in English from ME onwards. This would explain the emergence of phrasal verbs which coexist with simple equivalents, as well as the disappearance of some of these simplexes in favour of two-word combinations. Unfortunately, the limited amount of evidence provided by the HC does not allow for definite conclusions in this respect.

3.3. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

By the EModE period the phrasal verb was completely established in the language (cf. Kennedy 1920: 13-14; Brinton 1988: 187; Blake 2002: 25) and it "advanced into full-fledged development" (Konishi 1958: 121).

Syntactically, EModE phrasal verbs seem to behave very much like their PDE counterparts (Castillo 1994: 447; Claridge 2000: 98). According to Görlach (1991: 106-107), the positional variation present in OE and part of the ME period had regularized in favour of postposition in EModE. Nevertheless, Castillo (1994), who surveys the syntax of verb-particle combinations in 37 of Shakespeare's plays, identifies four main orderings, namely PV (cf. (38)), P(...)V (cf.(39)), VP (cf. (40)) and V(...)P (cf. (41)),

that is, the particle can appear before or after the verb and with or without intervening elements.

(38) *That **down fell** the priest and book, and book and priest.* (*TShr*. iii,ii, 161-2)

(39) *When **down** her weedy trophies and herself*

***Fell** in the weeping brook.* (*Ham.* iv, iii, 173-4)

(40) *Sir, this gentleman*

***Steps in** to Cassio, and entreats his pause.* (*Oth*. ii, iii, 219-20)

(41) *The dearest ring in Venice will I give you,*

*And **find** it **out** by proclamation.* (*MV*-iv, i, 431-2)

For Castillo, the VP and V(...)P orders represent "from ME onwards the consolidation of phrasal constituency in verb-particle combinations" (1994: 442). They are the commonest orderings in Shakespeare, as opposed to the marked ordering with a preposed particle. In fact, many of the PV and P(...)V sequences are accounted for by Castillo (1994: 441, 442) in terms of rhyme (cf. (42) and (43)) and rhythm (cf. (44) and (45)).

(42) *Who, tend'ring their own worth from where they were glass'd,*

*Did point you to buy them, **along** as you **pass'd**.* (*LLL* ii, i, 243-4)

(43) *By the four opposing coigns*

*Which the world **together joins**.* (*Per*.-iii, i, 17-8)

(44) *And **fórth** my mímic **cómes**. When they him spy.* (*MND* iii, ii, 19)

(45) *From mé do **báck receíve** the flóur of áll.* (*Cor*. I, i, 144)

Castillo identifies multiple sequence types of the four arrangements, most of which seem to be still possible in PDE, although there are some exceptions. Two of these exceptions are related to aspects already discussed in this dissertation. On the one hand,

according to Castillo (1994: 447), PDE does not allow for thematization of the particle with full inversion, as in (46), when the meaning of the combination is idiomatic (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1153), although, as seen in Section 2.4.2.4, there are also some cases in which inversion is still possible in idiomatic combinations (cf. Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284).[66]

(46) *So* ***out went*** *the candle, and we were left darkling.* (*Lr*. I, iv, 215)

On the other hand, Castillo also points out as ungrammatical in PDE those VPO arrangements in which the object is a pronoun, such as that in (47) (cf. Castillo 1994: 443, 447). However, as seen in Section 2.4.2.1 above, there are some cases in which the particle can be placed in such a position in PDE as well.

(47) *To* ***blow out*** me, *and put his own son in.* (*3H6* ii,ii,90-2)

In general, Castillo finds "Shakespearean English to be more permissive than PDE grammar in that the standard order of constituents is much more easily altered in the former than in the latter" (1994: 450). Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that Shakespeare was well known for his linguistic inventiveness (Hulme 1987: 145) and that certain arrangements which may in principle seem ungrammatical may simply respond to issues of rhyme or rhythm (Castillo 1994: 441, 442), rather than to a greater degree of freedom in the language of the time. In other words, Shakesperare's plays

[66] Claridge also notices that occasionally the particle can be moved to clause-front position, although she recognizes that the instances in her corpus are by far less numerous than those in Castillo's corpus (cf. Claridge 2000: 166-167, 167n).

probably do not constitute the most appropriate corpus to make comparisons with subsequent periods of the language. In fact, Hiltunen (1994), who analyzes the occurrences of phrasal verbs with seven of the commonest particles (*away*, *back*, *down*, *forth*, *off*, *out* and *up*) in the EModE section of the HC finds no examples of syntactic arrangements that would not be acceptable in PDE (1994: 133).

As regards the intervening elements which can appear between the verb and the particle, both Hiltunen (1994: 133-134) and Claridge (2000: 155) point to a smaller amount of structures than Castillo, and mention objects and adverbs as the only possible elements to be placed in such a position. The case of adverbs is of especial interest since it has often been mentioned in the literature as a criterion to sort out phrasal verbs and other verb-adverb combinations (cf. Section 2.4.2.3). Some of the examples provided by Claridge (cf. (48) to (50)) are for her "out of place from a PDE perspective" (2000: 155), as is the "rare case of an adverbial intervening" between the elements (cf. (51)) for Thim (2006a: 221).

(48) *No Doubt on't, Mr. Considerer; but you seem to think that you have* ***cut*** *us* quite ***down*** *in what follows.* (*PolA*1731)

(49) *I knew not how to* ***bring*** *this* more ***home****, then by propounding a President for it in our Neighbors the Hollanders.* (*EcA*1652)

(50) *To* ***help*** *him* therefore ***out****, [...] may it not be an Instance, that if the East-India Company did admit all Merchants to trade with their particular Stocks, [...] it would have increased and augmented the East-Indian Trade five times more than now it is?* (*EcB*1676)

(51) *And* ***casting*** a litill ***downe*** *his Iyes he lawghid.* (A 1540 FS JBAKER II, 96)

In what concerns object position, Hiltunen points out at a continuation of the tendencies already present in OE and ME (cf. 3.2) in that the VOP pattern regularly

appears with object pronouns, whereas nominal objects, although predominantly occurring in the VPO pattern, can also appear in the VOP one (1994: 133-134).

Moreover, Claridge (2000: 165) finds out that EModE phrasal verbs very frequently coordinate with simple verbs (cf. (52)) and with other phrasal verbs (cf. (53)), which can be taken as a sign of their established status.

(52) *[...] rayse and* ***keep up*** *what force they will be* [sic] *Sea and Land. [...]* (*LawB*1649)

(53) *The second sort of gain in the course of Trade is, when the Merchant by his laudable endeavours may both* ***bring in****, and* ***carry out*** *Wares to his advantage. [...]* (*EcB*1641)

Also of interest are cases of *-ing* nominalizations, which for Fraser constitute a criterion for sorting out phrasal verbs from prepositional verbs (cf. Section 2.4.2.6). Claridge finds examples in her corpus of nominalizations of phrasal verbs connected to their objects with and without the preposition *of* (cf. (54) and (55)).

(54) *The Second Article Charged upon me, is,* ***The carrying on*** *of a Treasonable Correspondence for the Bishop of Rochester.* (*LawB*1723)

(55) *Lastly I am not altogether without hope, but that something possibly may happen to be said in this Scribble, that may conduce to* ***the healing up*** *this wound again.* (*PolB*1674)

In relation to nominalizations, Claridge's corpus also includes instances of zero-derivations of the type *look-out* or *put-offs*, some of which are apparently impossible in PDE, e.g. *the delivery up*. Adjectival uses of phrasal verbs seem quite common in EModE as well, although Claridge does not provide examples.

As regards semantics, it seems that the majority of the EModE phrasal-verb combinations are still mostly concrete or literal, "with only incipient metaphorical developments in certain contexts" (Hiltunen 1994: 132; cf. also Kennedy 1920: 16;

Martin 1990: 157ff). According to Thim (2006a: 224-225), non-compositional phrasal verbs are rare before 1600 and their degree of opacity may vary. Therefore, although during the EModE period there is an increase of metaphorical and idiomatic meanings, as well as of aspectual/aktionsart uses (cf. Konishi 1958: 122; Claridge 2000: 96), these are probably not as abundant as in PDE and their frequency varies according to the type of corpus employed.

Concerning the morphology of verb-adverb combinations, the number of phrasal-verb particles seems to increase during the EModE period, although the inventory of items largely depends on the material investigated, as well as on the author's personal view of what a phrasal verb is. Thus, for example, Castillo (1994: 439) gives the following list of particles used by Shakespeare:

> *abed* (*a-bed*), *aboard, about, abroad, across, after, again, aground, aloft, along, aloof, apart, ashore, aside, asunder, away, back, before, behind, by, by and by, down, forth, forward, home, home and home, in, off, on, out, over, overboard, over and over, round, round about, through, through and through, to, together, toward, up, up and down, upon.*

As noticed by Claridge, some of these particles are quite unusual, although "given Shakespeare's linguistic inventiveness, it is of course possible that he did use them in a phrasal verb context" (2000: 125).[67] However, Shakespeare's language does not necessarily reflect the language of his time.[68] The large list elaborated by Castillo may

[67] For Blake (2002: 30-31), Castillo's list is still incomplete for it lacks elements such as *backward, downward, for, from, of* and *upward,* which can also appear in a phrasal-verb context in Shakespeare.

[68] In this respect, it is also important to keep in mind that Shakespeare's plays may have undergone certain editorial manipulation. Blake (2002: 34-35), for example, finds differences in the various

also respond to a different conceptualization for phrasal-verb particles, though unfortunately she does not provide a definition of them. I surely agree with Claridge (2000: 125) in that the coordinated particles should probably be excluded. Also, Blake (2002: 31) argues that, for example, *by and by* should be better understood as an adverbial rather than as a phrasal-verb particle.

Claridge's list of particles in the *Lampeter Corpus* is shorter than Castillo's and includes the following 24 elements:

> *about, along, apart, ashore, aside, asunder, away, back, behind, by, counter, down, forth, home, in, off, on, out, over, through, to, together, under, up.*

Still shorter is the list of particles found by Thim (2006b: 294) in *Everyday English*:[69]

> *about, away, back, backwards, by, down, forth, home, homeward(s), in, off, on, out, over, through, to (and fro).*

Although Thim includes items which are excluded by Claridge (e.g. *backwards, homeward(s)*; cf. Claridge 2000: 50), his list might be shorter because his corpus is much smaller in size. In spite of the differences in the number and type of particles, most scholars (Hiltunen 1994; Claridge 2000: 126; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 124; Thim 2006b: 295) seem to agree that *away*, *down*, *forth*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out* and *up* are among the commonest particles used at the time, though in varying proportions.

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editions of the same work in the use of phrasal verbs for simple verbs and viceversa, as well as in the use of some phrasal verbs in place of others.

[69] *Everyday English* (Cusack 1998) is a collection of 64 non-literary EModE texts (court records of defamation cases, accounts, depositions, journals, letters, memoirs, presentments and wills) mostly produced by members of the lower social classes between 1500 and 1684.

During this period particles have also gained importance as central members of the compound to the point that some of them seem to have acquired verbal force and displaced the verb to a peripheral position, as can be seen in the following examples from Claridge (2000: 231):

(56) *[...] a great Oak which was **blown down** [...].* ['down by blowing'] (*Msc*A1685)

(57) *Thus it may happen, in process of Time, That as one Sett begins to **rub out** a Part of the Score with a wet Finger; [...]* ['out by rubbing'] (*Ec*B1717)

The acquisition of verbal force on the part of the particle is still more obvious in cases of conversion (Claridge 2000: 231; cf. also Blake 2002: 27-28) which are, however, very rare (cf. also Section 2.2). Consider in this respect examples (58) to (60).

(58) *[...] crying on to them, **Away**, **away**, every man shift for his life, you are all dead men [...].* (*Msc*A1643)

(59) *If Truth doe prevaile, Diana must **downe**, and then farewell their profit.* (*Rel*A1642)

(60) *[...] but his Touch and stroke so Invigorateth the parts that they reject the Heterogeneous Ferment, till it be **outed** the Body at some of those parts he is thought to stroke it out at.* (*Msc*B1666)

As regards the nature of the verbal element, although it is generally agreed that phrasal verbs mostly contain monosyllabic verbs of native origin with the accent on the first syllable (cf. Section 2.2), Claridge (2000: 116), Blake (2002: 36) and Thim (2006a: 219) find evidence of disyllabic verbs which break this stress rule (e.g. *combine*, *convey*, *decry*; Claridge 2000: 116) and of verbs with more than two syllables (e.g. *assemble*, *deliver*, *interpret*; Claridge 2000: 116). Most of these are of Romance origin and constitute a minority both in Claridge's and Thim's corpora (cf. also Konishi 1958: 121).

Another topic which is frequently discussed in the literature about EModE phrasal verbs concerns their alleged colloquial character at the time. PDE phrasal verbs are usually described as elements typical of the colloquial, speech-related language (cf. *ODCIE* 1975: iv; McArthur 1989: 774; Biber et al. 1999: 408, 409; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284; cf. also Section 2.3.2.3). According to Visser (1963: section 673), this has been so from the EModE period onwards, since literary English usually prefers Latin words instead of their phrasal synonyms. Thus, Kennedy describes phrasal verbs as being an important element of "shop-talk" or "English of the common man" and argues that "[a] careful examination of the language of most speakers and writers who are attempting to effect contact with the more poorly trained speaker of English will show numerous verb-adverb combinations of a colloquial or slangy character" (1920: 17). Potter, however, argues that phrasal verbs are common "not only in slang and colloquial speech but also on the common and literary levels" (1965: 286).

The PDE association of phrasal verbs with the colloquial language led some scholars to wonder whether this also holds true for earlier periods of English. Konishi (1958: 122), for example, notices that phrasal verbs are less frequently encountered in the dignified Biblical version of 1611. Similarly, Claridge, who carries a cross-genre analysis of phrasal verbs in the *Lampeter Corpus*, concludes that these constructions "seem to be more common in types of language that can be characterized as nearer to the spoken variety, i.e. colloquial, informal language [...] and especially kinds of language that want to be understood easily and be accessible for a wide audience" (Claridge 2000: 197).

According to Thim (2006b), however, the idea that EModE phrasal verbs are elements of the colloquial language is based on misconceptions. For him, the fact that PDE combinations can be described as typical of the spoken language has led many scholars to believe that this was also the case in earlier stages of the language (2006b: 298-299). Blake (2002: 25, 26), for example, argues that Shakespeare's plays constitute an appropriate area of research because they represent the colloquial register in which phrasal verbs abound, although quite contradictorily he also finds evidence of these constructions in passages of elaborated formal poetry (Blake 2002: 37). Similarly, Hiltunen reckons that phrasal verbs "can be employed for a variety of purposes beside that of conveying overt informality" (1994: 139), although he does not actually find evidence of such informality in his corpus, in which the highest frequencies of phrasal verbs occur in handbooks, fiction and the Bible. In view of this, Thim (2006b: 300) concludes that there is not enough evidence in previous studies to support the view that EModE phrasal verbs are colloquial. By means of an investigation of these constructions in *Everyday English* (1500-1700), Thim comes to the conclusion that EModE phrasal verbs are better described as "stylistically neutral" (2006b: 302). Although he does not want to dismiss the degree of formality as a relevant factor for the use of phrasal verbs, Thim argues that it is highly unlikely that it should be the major determinant (2006b: 302). In his analysis he finds that most of the combinations in *Everyday English* are literal and that they are mostly used to narrate events (2006b: 303-304), so that on his view the use or non-use of phrasal verbs in a text correlates with the semantic function of the text, rather than with its stylistic function. I will turn back to this issue in the discussion of my findings in Chapter 5.

3.4. LATE MODERN ENGLISH AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY ENGLISH

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, work on the most recent history of phrasal verbs is scarce, probably because the apparent similarity between PDE and 18th- and 19th-century English "has led researchers to overlook the differences between such periods of the history of the language" (Pérez-Guerra et al. 2007: 11). In fact, "work on LModE only took off in a serious way during the 1990s" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade & van der Wurff 2009: 9). Although quite recently a number of works dealing with phrasal verbs in this rather long period of the English language have appeared (cf., among others, Pelli 1976; Martin 1990; Akimoto 1999; Kytö & Smitterberg 2006; Smitterberg 2008; Wild 2010; Diemer forthcoming), there is still need for further investigation. For this reason, the information in this section is restricted mainly to the LModE period and to the American variety during the 20th century. For the characteristics of phrasal verbs in PDE, the reader is referred to Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

In the LModE period phrasal verbs are well integrated in the language and appear in a wide range of contexts. Still, it is not until the 18th century that English grammar books seem to become fully aware of the existence of these constructions and their particular characteristics (Hiltunen 1983b: 379).[70] As noted by Beal, by the 18th century "the number of group-verbs in the language was sufficient to attract the attention of grammarians and lexicographers" (2004: 83). At this time phrasal verbs are largely

[70] During the 16th and 17th centuries, grammar books only mentioned them in passing, often comparing them with constructions typical of Latin grammar (Hiltunen 1983b: 377-378).

perceived as a lexical phenomenon: most descriptions make comments on their idiomatic nature, while there is scarce mention of their syntactic features (Wild 2010: 37-88, 253). The picture changes from the late 19th century onwards when more concrete descriptions of the constructions can be found (Wild 2010: 37-88, 253).

Syntactically, Akimoto (1999: 224) points out at a continuation of the tendencies already found in earlier periods in that nominal objects can appear either before or after the particle, whereas object pronouns regularly appear before the particle. However, apart from this isolated comment, the syntactic properties of the constructions in LModE and the 20th century are completely overlooked.

In what concerns semantics, Wild (2010: 229-230) notices that the most frequent types of phrasal verbs in LModE tend to possess literal or transparent meanings, and she also points to an increase in the proportion of figurative senses. Moreover, Wild (2010: 234-249) carries out an investigation of the diachronic development of what she calls redundant phrasal verbs, a category which includes combinations in which the particle repeats the meaning of a Latin prefix (e.g. *return back*) and combinations in which the particle repeats an element of the meaning of the verb (e.g. *fall down*),[71] together with aktionsart combinations in which the addition of the particle does not change the argument structure of the verb (e.g. *start out*, *finish out*).[72] Wild's results show that redundant combinations have become more frequent in the 19th and 20th centuries,

[71] These are classified as reiterative combinations in the present work (cf. 2.4.1.5).

[72] These are classified here not as aktionsart, but as emphatic combinations (cf. 2.3.2.3 and 2.4.1.6).

especially in informal text types,[73] although the increase is in line with the general rise in the frequency of phrasal verbs. She also remarks that those combinations in which the particle repeats the meaning of a Latin prefix are extremely infrequent and that redundant aktionsart combinations (my emphatic phrasal verbs) have increased both in types and tokens (cf. Wild 2010: 242). However, Wild also shows that some combinations stop being used redundantly, as is the case with *find out*, formerly used with the meaning 'find/discover a person/thing/place' (cf. (61)) and now more commonly used transitively with the meaning 'discover a fact' (cf. (62)).

(61) *I hope, you and others of the R. Society will **find out** some ingenious and docible persons [...]*. (1675ray-.s2b)

(62) *I wasn't planning to do anything until you **found out**.* (1961gree.d8b)

As regards their connection to the colloquial language, Akimoto notices that "phrasal verbs occur more frequently in letters and drama than in essays or academic writing, [a] tendency [which] gives the impression that [they] are colloquial" (1999: 221-222). Quite surprisingly, however, Pelli (1976), who analyzes the development of phrasal verbs in American English plays from the 1765 to 1972, finds that the percentages of these constructions are considerably higher in stage directions than in dialogues in all the subperiods analyzed (1976: 65). Wild (2010: 234) also remarks that phrasal verbs become more common in informal texts from the second half of the 18th century onwards, whereas they decrease in frequency in formal text types. Similarly, based on evidence from the CONCE, supported by factor analyses (Geisler 2002), the

[73] Letters, journals/diaries and drama (Wild 2010: 238).

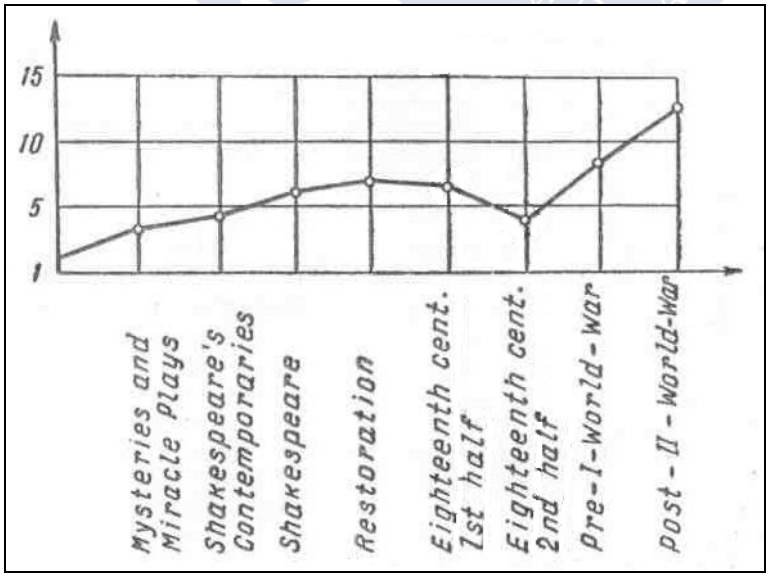
studies by Kytö & Smitterberg (2006) and Smitterberg (2008) have concluded that by the 19th century variation in the frequency of phrasal verbs correlates with the degree of formality of the text. In fact, Smitterberg (2008) establishes a relationship between the increase in the use of phrasal verbs and the colloquialization of written texts in the 19th century.[74] Smitterberg also acknowledges that the shift to orality may have been aided by certain socio-political factors, such as democratization (which would have pushed the ruling classes to adapt their language to the working classes), the spread of literacy (functioning as a bridgehead for spoken features spreading into writing), the rise of the lower middle class, the decline of prescriptivism during the 19th century, the introduction of the Penny Post in the case of letters (cf. Section 5.3.2 below) and the influence of newspapers, which are typically responsive to changes in the direction of orality in the late 20th century (cf. Smitterberg 2008: 283-284). The relation of phrasal verbs with colloquial contexts is maintained in PDE, as shown by Biber et al. (1999: 408-409), who find that these structures are more common in fiction and conversation than in academic prose. This association has, however, been recently questioned by scholars who argue that phrasal verbs can be formal, informal or neutral (cf., e.g., Marks 2005; Thim 2012).

[74] It must be noted that not all text types undergo colloquialization at the same time. As noted by Mair (1997) and Hundt & Mair (1999), the newspaper language undergoes colloquialization only by the end of the 20th century.

3.5. A NOTE ON THE FREQUENCY OF PHRASAL VERBS

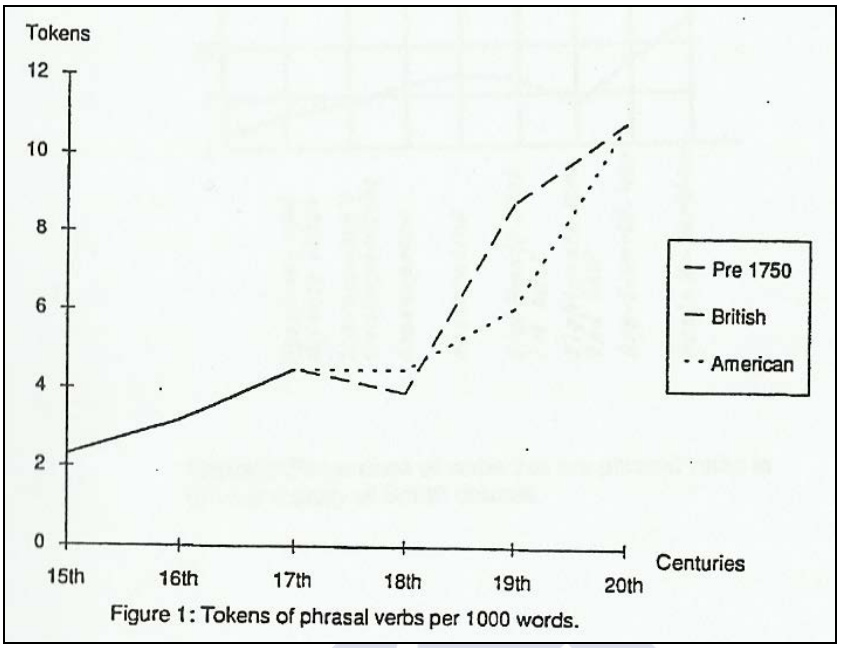
Although it is generally assumed that from 1700 to the present-day, phrasal verbs seem to have grown in frequency both in British and in American English (cf. Konishi 1958: 125; Spasov 1966: 125; Pelli 1976: 102; Martin 1990; Wild 2010: 227; Diemer forthcoming), several studies point out to an interrupted, rather than a continued, development during the EModE and part of the LModE periods. Thus, Spasov (1966: 22), who analyzes the occurrences of phrasal verbs in the work of a number of playwrights, notices that the growth of phrasal verbs seems to be interrupted from the time of the Restoration onwards, a drop in frequency which continues well until the second half of the 18th century, as can be seen in his graph (1966: 21), reproduced below as Figure 2.

Figure 2: The development of phrasal verbs in Spasov (1966: 21)



A drop in the frequency of phrasal verbs along the 18th century is also attested in Martin's (1990: 103) results for British and American English in the Modern period, as shown in Figure 3.

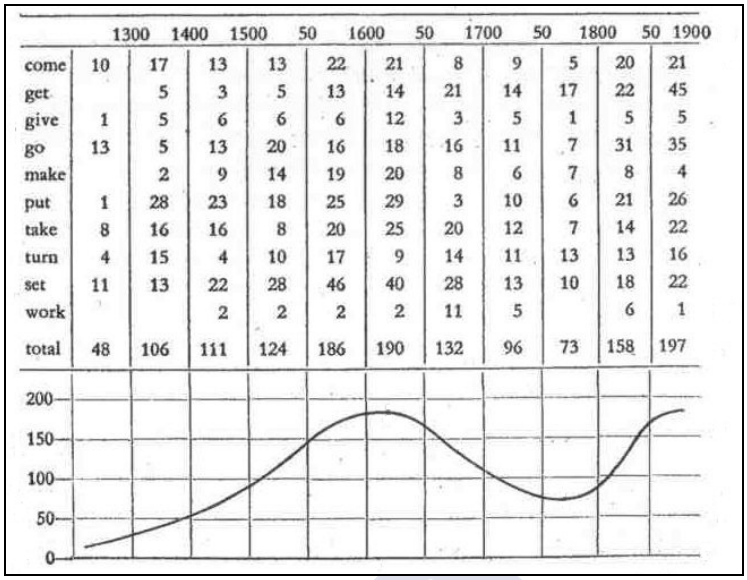
Figure 3: The development of phrasal verbs in Martin (1990: 103)



Similarly, Konishi (1958), who investigates the development of ten verbs picked out randomly from the *OED*, also identifies a considerable decrease in the growth of these constructions from approximately the mid-17th century to the mid-18th century, as shown in his diagram (1958: 125), reproduced here as Figure 4.[75]

[75] Thim (2012) notes that the *OED* database is relatively uneven as regards the numbers of sources used for its compilation and the average length of the quotations. For this reason, for him, Konishi's figures actually reflect the "quantitative diachronic makeup of the *OED*, rather than the development of the phrasal verbs in the language" (2012: 200).

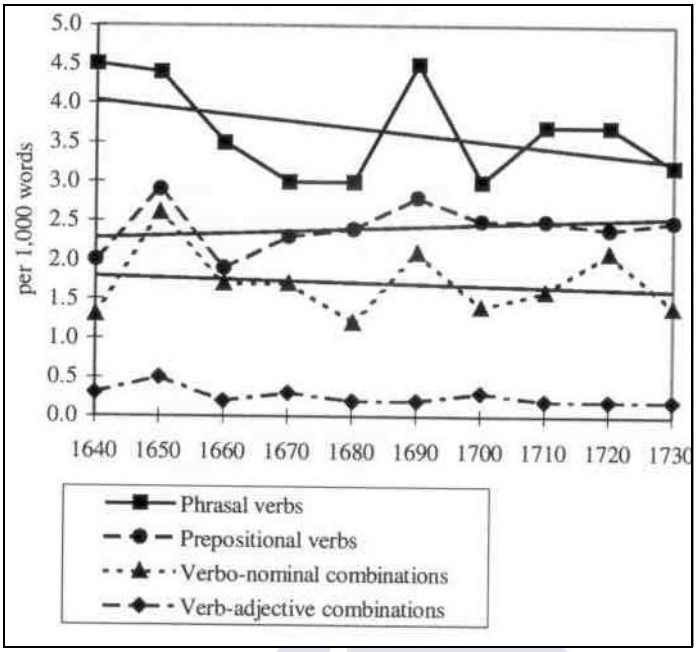
Figure 4: The development of phrasal verbs in Konishi (1958: 125)



	1300	1400	1500	50	1600	50	1700	50	1800	50	1900
come	10	17	13	13	22	21	8	9	5	20	21
get		5	3	5	13	14	21	14	17	22	45
give	1	5	6	6	6	12	3	5	1	5	5
go	13	5	13	20	16	18	16	11	7	31	35
make		2	9	14	19	20	8	6	7	8	4
put	1	28	23	18	25	29	3	10	6	21	26
take	8	16	16	8	20	25	20	12	7	14	22
turn	4	15	4	10	17	9	14	11	13	13	16
set	11	13	22	28	46	40	28	13	10	18	22
work			2	2	2	2	11	5		6	1
total	48	106	111	124	186	190	132	96	73	158	197

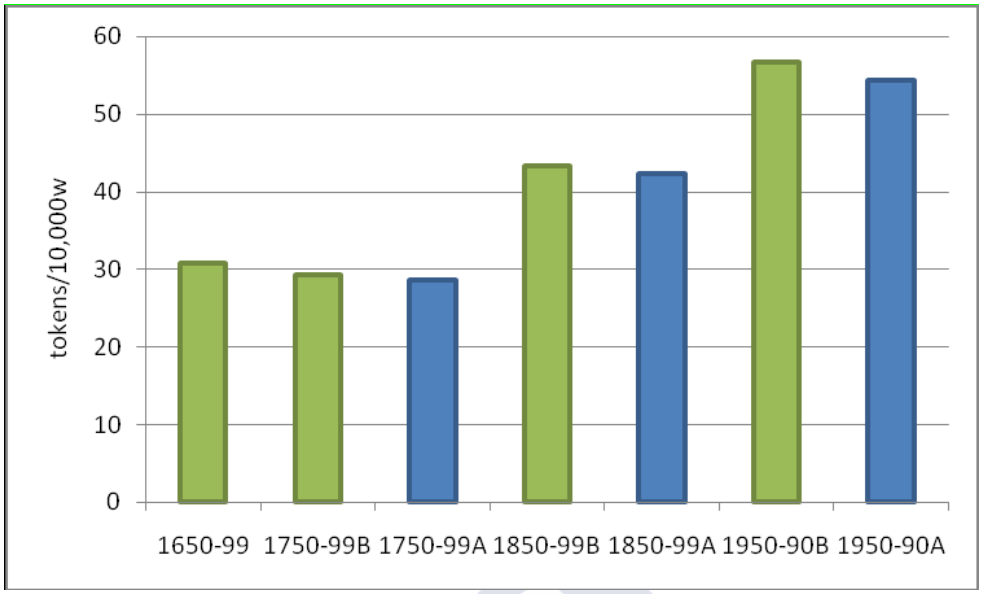
Claridge (2000: 176-179), in turn, carries out a more accurate investigation by plotting in decades from 1640 to 1740 the results obtained from her analysis of phrasal verbs (and other multi-word verbs) in the *Lampeter Corpus*. She finds out that there is not a unidirectional development, either upwards or downwards, but rather each decade shows "an idiosyncratic situation, with especially striking peaks [...] in the 1640s, 1650s and 1690s" (2000: 176), as can be seen in Figure 5 from Claridge (2000: 178).

Figure 5: The development of phrasal verbs in Claridge (2000: 178)



Claridge concludes that, although there seems to be "a clear falling trend line [...], it is hard to speak of a definite decline of phrasal verbs" (2000: 177), so that her study does not seem to agree with Spasov's (1966) and Konishi's (1958) findings. She recognizes that this might be due to the use of different methodologies or to the fact that the time span covered by the *Lampeter Corpus* does not allow for comparison with the preceding and following periods. Nevertheless, the data presented by Wild, who surveys the development of phrasal verbs with the particles *back*, *down*, *out* and *up* in ARCHER 3.1, seem to confirm that there is indeed a slight drop in their frequency from the second half of the 17th century until the second half of the 18th century. Consider Figure 6 from Wild (2010: 227).

Figure 6: The growth of phrasal verbs in Wild (2010: 227)



Although "diachronic frequencies cannot be taken to offer more than very rough approximations" (Thim 2012: 208), in the light of the data provided by previous investigations, it seems possible to maintain that the growth of phrasal verbs was slowed down from the second half of the 17th century onwards until approximately the mid-18th century, a time which, as noticed by Claridge, is "the great prescriptive period in the history of English" (2000: 98). This drop in the development of phrasal verbs may be related to the general preference for Latin forms (cf. Wild 2010: 249) promoted by the prescriptivist ideas of the time (cf. also Claridge 2000: 178-179). The boom of prescriptivist works took place from the 1750s onwards and "saw its culmination in the nineteenth century" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 3). Although not all prescriptivist grammarians proscribed phrasal verbs, their use was more frequently condemned than praised (cf. Wild 2010: 90-93). However, as noticed by Wild, an explanation based on the prescriptivist influence "must remain speculative, given that the decline is very

slight" (2010: 250). This halt was, nevertheless, temporary, as most scholars agree in that phrasal verbs start to grow steadily from the 19th century onwards, not only in number but also in types (cf. Konishi 1958: 124; Spasov 1966: 18-22; Pelli 1976: 104; Martin 1990: 102-104; McArthur 1989: 775; Akimoto 1999: 222; Kytö & Smitterberg 2006: 219, 221; Smitterberg 2008: 271; Wild 2010: 228-229). Pelli accounts for the increase in the number of types by assuming that, once a verb-particle construction (e.g. *go up*) becomes established, the range of verbs eligible to take up a particle increases. This is demonstrated by the large number of verbs that occur only in the most recent subsections of his corpus (1976: 105). Evidence for the increase in the productivity of phrasal verbs is also provided by Wild (2010: 230-231), who notices that the number of *hapax legomena* in ARCHER is higher in the 20th century both in American and British English.[76] Denison (1998: 222-223) agrees in that phrasal verbs seem to be increasing in number and frequency during the LModE period, though he also points out to the fact that some combinations are lost over time. Some of Denison's examples are illustrated in (63) to (66).

(63) *Hallo! ... What's* ***going forward****?* [PDE *going on*] (1836-7 Dickens, *Pickwick* vii.94 sim viii.113, etc.)

[76] Although *hapax legomena* can be considered as a sign of the high productivity of a construction, it is important to notice that they are very common in large corpora, as predicted by Zipf's law, "[t]he mathematical formula that describes the frequency patterns found for words in corpora" (Baker, Hardie & McEnery 2006 s.v. *hapax legomenon*). In fact, in large corpora "typically about 40% to 60% of all word types appear only once and another 10% to 15% only twice" (Kornai 2008: 72).

(64) *You have been **bred up*** [PDE *brought up, bred*] *in the country*. (1836-7 Dickens, *Pickwick* xxxix.613)

(65) *And, oh, have you **mended up*** [PDE *mended*] *all the old pens in the study.* (1840 Bulwer-Lytton, *Money* I.i. p. 166)

(66) *Said she, hastily **checking** herself **up*** [PDE *checking*] *as if she were afraid of having admitted too much*. (1851-3 Gaskell, *Cranfor* xi.106)

According to Diemer (2009), the rise of the frequency of verb-adverb combinations may have also been reversed in the last few decades by the emergence of prefixed forms (e.g. *download*, *ongo*, *overlaugh*, *upload*) originating in new online real-time forms of communication, such as social networks or microblogs of the kind of Twitter and Facebook.

Akimoto (1999: 222-223), who compares his figures for the 18th and 19th centuries with those in Hiltunen (1994) for EModE and those in the *CCDPV* for PDE, also notices particular developments in some particles. Thus, according to him, *forth* has become very infrequent and almost disappeared (cf. also Nevalainen 1999a: 423; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 124; Ishizaki 2009), whereas other particles, such as *off* and *out*, have gained ground from EModE onwards.

A number of studies also point out that phrasal verbs are more common in American than in British English (cf., e.g., Konishi 1958: 124, 127; Live 1965: 429; Traugott 1972: 173; Pelli 1976: 43; McArthur 1989: 775), although Martin (1990: 100) finds no evidence of such a difference when comparing personal letters written in both

varieties.[77] Similarly, no difference is found by Wild (2010) in ARCHER "where the frequency of phrasal verbs in British and American English is very similar in each period" (2010: 228).

3.6. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have shown that phrasal verbs have existed in the English language since OE times, though not in the form and with the characteristics that we know them today. In OE there was a wider range of syntactic orderings for particle and verb, although the predominant pattern showed the particle in preverbal position. It is in the transition from OE to ME that the postverbal pattern extended to all clause types and became established as the unmarked ordering. In the EModE period it is still possible to find certain arrangements that are not allowed in PDE (cf. especially Castillo 1994), but in general it can be said that by this time phrasal verbs are syntactically stable.

As regards their frequency of occurrence, it is generally assumed that phrasal verbs have grown continuously from OE to PDE, though some studies point at a slight halt in their development between the mid-17th and the mid-18th centuries (cf. Konishi 1958; Spasov 1966). However, most scholars agree that phrasal verbs have grown

[77] Martin (1990: 178) provides a tentative explanation for the widely held view that phrasal verbs are commoner in American than in British English. For her, the difference between both dialects is a qualitative one, since American English personal letters make use of aspectual combinations slightly more commonly than British English ones. Given that aspectual combinations are often perceived as redundant, they become particularly noticeable, thus giving the impression that phrasal combinations are commoner in American English.

continuously from the 19th century onwards (Konishi 1958: 124; Spasov 1966: 18-22; Akimoto 1999: 222; Kytö & Smitterberg 2006: 221; Smitterberg 2008: 271).

Semantically, OE phrasal verbs are more restricted than their PDE equivalents in that they mostly appear with literal meanings or with intermingled literal and aktionsart values. In ME we find the first examples of transferred meanings and of pure aktionsart phrasal verbs. It is not until the EModE period that the number of figurative, non-compositional and aktionsart phrasal verbs multiplies, though they are still by far less numerous than in PDE.

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4. PHRASAL VERBS IN ARCHER. LINGUISTIC ASPECTS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapters 4 and 5 provide the discussion of the data extracted from the analysis of phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990 as represented in ARCHER 3.1: *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*. In Section 4.2 I describe the corpus employed, as well as some remarks about its adequacy to the purposes of this dissertation (cf. 4.2.1) and its limitations (cf. 4.2.2). Section 4.3 addresses questions concerning the methodology employed for the data collection and the quantitative and statistical analysis. In Section 4.4 I describe the most relevant linguistic aspects of phrasal-verb constructions in the time span considered. More precisely, Section 4.4.1 deals with their morphological features, whereas their semantic and syntactic characteristics are the focus of Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 respectively. The chapter concludes with some remarks about words and phrases derived from phrasal verbs between 1650 and 1990, namely *-ing* nominalizations (cf. 4.4.4.1) and other derivatives (cf. 4.4.4.2). The cross-genre and gender analyses are the object of Chapter 5.

4.2. ARCHER: *A REPRESENTATIVE CORPUS OF HISTORICAL ENGLISH REGISTERS*

ARCHER is a multi-genre historical corpus of British and American English which covers the period from 1650 to 1999. The corpus was first created by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan at the universities of Northern Arizona and Southern California in the early 1990's (cf. Biber et al. 1994a, 1994b) and since then it has been used for a large number of studies. After the release of the original version of the corpus several additional versions were created (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011). Since December 2008 a consortium of participants at fourteen universities[78] from seven countries worldwide has been working on the compilation of a new unified and extended version of the corpus.[79] Unfortunately, the new version comes too late to be used in the present dissertation. For this reason, the data for my research have been retrieved from version 3.1 (2006), which in total amounts to almost 1.8 million words distributed over 955 files. The British component in this version of the corpus is divided into seven fifty-year sub-periods across which eight different genres are represented (drama, fiction, journals/diaries, letters, medicine, news, science and sermons), which altogether amount to more than 1.2 million words distributed over 674 files (cf. Table 8 below).[80]

[78] Northern Arizona University, University of Southern California, University of Michigan (USA), University of Freiburg, University of Heidelberg, University of Bamberg, University of Trier (Germany), University of Helsinki (Finland), Uppsala University (Sweden), University of Manchester, Lancaster University, University of Salford (United Kingdom), University of Zürich (Switzerland) and University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain).

[79] The new version starts as early as 1600 for drama, fiction and legal opinions and contains a wider variety of genres (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011).

[80] Notice that, unlike the American section, the British section includes texts dated only until 1990.

Table 8: Number of words and files of British English across genres in ARCHER

Period	Drama	Fiction	Letters	Journals & Diaries	Medicine	News	Science	Sermons	Total
NUMBER OF WORDS									
1650-99	26,648	41,512	12,659	21,374	23,117	22,292	21,441	11,146	180,189
1700-49	25,177	44,021	12,093	21,443	21,936	21,612	20,780	10,664	177,726
1750-99	23,962	45,056	12,091	21,843	21,003	23,087	20,565	11,068	178,675
1800-49	26,267	44,946	12,576	21,740	20,278	22,903	20,994	11,089	180,793
1850-99	26,469	43,289	10,705	22,686	22,143	23,066	21,715	10,953	181,026
1900-49	23,048	45,274	12,434	22,066	20,204	21,975	21,337	10,569	176,907
1950-90	24,450	45,095	11,259	22,225	20,794	22,920	21,308	10,190	178,241
Total	176,021	309,193	83,817	153,377	149,475	157,855	148,140	75,679	**1,253,557**
NUMBER OF FILES									
1650-99	10	11	25	10	21	10	10	5	102
1700-49	10	11	28	10	14	10	10	5	98
1750-99	10	10	26	10	20	10	10	5	101
1800-49	10	10	25	10	10	10	10	5	90
1850-99	10	10	26	10	10	10	10	5	91
1900-49	11	10	29	10	10	10	10	5	95
1950-90	11	10	28	10	13	10	10	5	97
Total	72	72	187	70	98	70	70	35	**674**

The American component, in turn, also includes eight genres, but is divided into three fifty-year subperiods corresponding to the second halves of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries; in total these amount to just over half a million words (cf. Table 9 below).

Table 9: Number of words and files of American English across genres in ARCHER

Period	Drama	Fiction	Letters	Journals & Diaries	Medicine	News	Science	Sermons	Total
NUMBER OF WORDS									
1750-99	27,331	42,417	11,056	22,109	23,433	22,271	20,664	10,987	180,268
1850-99	24,214	44,224	11,253	22,534	20,424	21,992	21,326	10,740	176,707
1950-99	23,810	44,214	11,611	22,131	22,473	23,072	21,343	10,123	178,777
Total	75,355	130,855	33,920	66,774	66,330	67,335	63,333	31,850	**535,752**
NUMBER OF FILES									
1750-99	10	11	27	10	9	10	10	5	92
1850-99	10	11	28	10	10	10	10	5	94
1950-99	10	10	30	10	10	10	10	5	95
Total	30	32	85	30	29	30	30	15	281

According to Biber et al. (1994a: 3), the genres in ARCHER can be classified into two major groups in terms of two criteria: written vs. speech-based genres and formal vs. informal genres. However, clear-cut distinctions are hard to make; for this reason, the defining parameters with which texts are usually characterized (e.g. formal vs. informal) are better described as dimensions, because rather than representing poles, they constitute a continuum (cf. Biber 1988: 9). In Biber & Finegan's words (1989: 488), dimensions are

> continuous parameters of variation, such that each parameter comprises a group of co-occurring linguistic features [...] identified empirically [...]. [N]o single dimension is adequate in itself to account for the range of linguistic variation in English; rather, a multidimensional analysis is required. Dimensions have both linguistic and functional content. The linguistic content is defined by a group of linguistic features (such as nouns, attributive adjectives, and prepositional phrases) that co-occur with a markedly high frequency in texts. On the assumption that co-

> occurrence reflects shared function, these co-occurrence patterns are interpreted functionally. Each dimension thus characterizes the situational, social, and cognitive functions most widely shared by the co-occurring linguistic features.[81]

Within the group of written registers, the corpus contains samples of "personal styles of communication (journals/diaries and personal letters), prose fiction, popular exposition represented by news reportage, and specialist expository registers, represented by [...] medical prose, and scientific prose" (Biber 2001: 94). The corpus also includes various speech-based registers, such as dramatic and fictional dialogues as a reflection of casual face-to-face conversation, and sermons as a reflection of planned monologue styles (cf. Biber 2001: 94; Biber & Finegan 1997: 255-257; Biber et al. 1994a: 3).

As regards the formal vs. informal dimension, journals/diaries, letters, together with dramatic and fictional dialogues occupy the informal end of the continuum, whereas the formal end is represented by medicine, science and sermons. In turn, news and fictional prose stand half-way between the two poles of the formal-informal continuum.

Figure 7, taken from Wild's dissertation (2010: 232), which, in turn, is inspired by a similar representation in Yañez-Bouza's dissertation (2007: 134), is a good illustration of the way in which the different text types are distributed in ARCHER.

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[81] Biber (1988) distinguishes five dimensions: 1) Involved vs. Informational Production; 2) Narrative vs. Non-Narrative Discourse; 3) Situation-Dependent vs. Elaborated Reference; 4) Overt Expression of Argumentation; 5) Non-Impersonal vs. Impersonal Style. For a complete description of the linguistic features which make up each of the dimensions cf., among others, Biber (1988, 1995, 2001, 2003); Biber & Finegan (1989, 1997).

Figure 7: Distribution of text types in the ARCHER corpus (Wild 2010: 232)

	FORMAL ⟷ INFORMAL
WRITTEN	Science Medicine Fiction News Letters Journals/Diaries
SPEECH-BASED	Sermons Drama

The variety of genres or text types[82] over three and a half centuries provided by ARCHER enables investigation of the "diachronic relations among oral and literate registers based on the framework of multi-dimensional analysis, whereby distributional patterns among linguistic features are investigated" (Yáñez-Bouza 2011: 206), as has been successfully demonstrated in several studies by Biber and Biber and associates (cf., among others, Biber 1988, 2001; Biber & Finegan 1989, 1992, 1997). In other words, ARCHER "was designed for a specific major research agenda: to analyze historical change in the range of written and speech-based registers of English from 1650 to the present" (Biber & Finegan 1997: 255).

[82] In this dissertation the terms 'genre' and 'text type' will be used interchangeably to refer to the various types of textual materials contained in the corpus. The distinction is noted, for example, in Biber (1989: 5-6) and Taavitsainen (2001: 140), who use the term 'genre' to identify language-external criteria, whereas 'text type' refers to purely linguistic features. Although there have been various attempts to clarify the distinction between both categories (cf., e.g., Lee 2001), no consensus has been reached among scholars about the terms in the English tradition. For further discussion, cf., among others, Biber 1988; Jucker 2000; Lee 2001; Görlach 2004.

4.2.1. SUITABILITY OF ARCHER FOR THE PRESENT RESEARCH

As can be seen, ARCHER constitutes a very useful resource for the diachronic study of linguistic phenomena thanks to both the ample time-span covered and the wide selection of genres it contains, which allow comparisons between written registers and those varieties closer to the spoken language (cf. Chapter 5).

As stated earlier in this dissertation (cf. Section 3.4), much of the work on the historical development of phrasal verbs has focused on the OE and ME periods (cf. de la Cruz 1969; Hiltunen 1983a; Tanabe 1999; Thim 2006a, 2011; Elenbaas 2007), on EModE (cf. Hiltunen 1994; Claridge 2000;[83] Thim 2006a, 2006b) and on contemporary English (cf., among others, Bolinger 1971; Fraser 1976; Dehé 2002; Hampe 2002; Gries 2003; Cappelle 2005), whereas the LModE period and Twentieth-century English to have received far less attention. Kytö & Smitterberg (2006) and Smitterberg (2008) analyze phrasal verbs in CONCE, a multi-genre corpus which covers the 19th century, yet both studies leave the whole of the 18th century unexplored. Akimoto (1999) surveys the development of English phrasal verbs during the 18th and 19th centuries, but restricts his analysis to four different genres, namely fiction, essays, letters and drama. Pelli (1976), for his part, covers the period from the end of the 18th to the last quarter of the 20th century, but restricts his analysis to American plays. Similarly, Martin (1990) deals with the diachronic evolution of American and British English phrasal verbs from the 15th to the 20th century, but focuses on one single genre,

[83] It must be noticed that, although Claridge's (2000) work is listed within the EModE period, her study actually covers the time span from 1640 to 1740.

informal letters. Diemer (forthcoming) analyzes the evolution of what he calls verb-particle combinations (including prefixed verbs, prepositional verbs, phrasal verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs) in the COHA and *Time Magazine Corpus* from 1810 to 1960, but his study is limited to American English. Spasov's (1966) diachronic investigation of phrasal verbs is also restricted to British English plays. More recently, Wild (2010) has examined the development of phrasal verbs with four particles (*back*, *down*, *out* and *up*) in both the British and American English sections of ARCHER; however, rather than a corpus study, her research is more concerned with the description of attitudes towards these constructions in prescriptive grammars of the time.

With this context in mind, ARCHER seems an appropriate tool for the analysis of the recent history of phrasal verbs, since not only does it cover the target time span of the present dissertation, namely LModE and Twentieth-century English, but also a fifty-year subperiod corresponding to the late part of EModE (1650-99), thus allowing for comparison between the target time span and the late 17th century. In addition, given that PDE phrasal verbs tend to be associated with informal and colloquial styles (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 408, 409; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284), the range of text types included in ARCHER allows for both synchronic and diachronic cross-genre comparisons that can shed light on the status of phrasal verbs in previous stages of the language.[84] This task is undoubtedly facilitated by the numerous multivariate analyses that Biber and associates have carried out with ARCHER which have demonstrated that

[84] Thim (2006a) argues that in the period 1500-1700 the use of phrasal verbs in a particular text type is not motivated by its degree of formality, but rather by its contents, which may prompt the use of phrasal verbs to convey certain meanings (cf. Section 3.4). This question will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 5.

text types vary over time and that the linguistic conventions of a particular genre in PDE do not necessarily apply to earlier periods of the language (cf., among others, Biber 1988, 1995, 2001; Biber & Finegan 1988, 1989, 1992, 1997, 2001).

4.2.2. CORPUS LIMITATIONS

Although ARCHER 3.1 constitutes a very useful resource for the diachronic study of linguistic change, the corpus also has a number of limitations that the researcher must be aware of.

The first important drawback of ARCHER has to do with the time gaps in the American component of the corpus (cf. Table 9 above). The primary aim of the corpus study in this dissertation is to investigate the diachronic evolution of phrasal verbs in the recent history of English. As mentioned above, the American English sub-corpus covers only three fifty-year subperiods (1750-99, 1850-99 and 1950-99), so that the investigation of the evolution of phrasal verbs in this variety would clearly be incomplete. For this reason, my focus has been on the British section of the corpus. A diachronic comparison between the two major standard varieties of English is certainly worth considering, especially for a phenomenon such as phrasal verbs, which have been often described as typical of American English (cf. Konishi 1958: 127; Wild 2010: 168-171 *et passim*). However, given the corpus restrictions in this sense, for the time being I decided to focus only on the British English section. The task of dialectal comparison is open for future research and will be greatly facilitated by the release of version 3.2 of ARCHER, which will include a wider diachronic and textual coverage intended to fill these gaps (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011: 226-228).

The second major problem of ARCHER relates to the quality of the texts included. Although ARCHER 3.1 intends to be a revised and unified version of previous (slightly different) versions of the corpus (Yáñez-Bouza 2011), it still presents a number of inconsistencies and errors. Thus, for example, whereas editorial notes in some of the texts are included in caret brackets (< >), others have been annotated with square brackets ([ ]). Similarly, dialogues in some of the fictional texts have been included within brackets, whereas no distinction has been made between narration and dialogue in some other texts. These inconsistencies are, however, minor drawbacks for the study of phrasal verbs, especially if one is aware of them. One further problem has, nevertheless, been found to be of relevance to my study. This has to do with the repetition of one fragment of a scientific text belonging to the period 1650-99: text 3 of the file 1674ano1.s2b, which contains 126 words, is in fact a fragment of the file 1676coxe.s2b.[85] This duplicate is relevant here since it contains one instance of the phrasal verb *make out*. It would of course be possible to remove these 126 words from my data to avoid having a repeated example that might make a difference in the statistical analysis. However, since version 3.1 of ARCHER is a fixed release and one which has been used worldwide with all its pros and cons, I decided to keep it as such. For this reason, the instance below is repeated in the database of examples (cf. 4.3).

(1) *The former part of this Position may be thus* ***made out***. (1676coxe.s2b/ 1674ano1.s2b)

[85] This repetition has been amended in ARCHER 3.2.

One additional drawback which relates not only to ARCHER but to any linguistic corpus is conveniently summarized in Matti Rissanen's words "God's true fallacy" (1989: 17). This implies that corpora tend to create the erroneous impression that they are accurate reflections of the entire reality of the language that they represent. Moreover, when working with historical corpora, one must also consider that the data are preserved only randomly and that they are "only indirectly related to everyday spoken communication" (Nevalainen 1999b: 499). This has been defined by Labov (1994: 11) as the "bad-data problem," which refers to the fact that the researcher can only rely on written data to draw conclusions. In other words, the linguist can only aim at "making the best use of bad data" (Labov 1994: 11), which will be my concern in the following sections.

4.3. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The searches for phrasal verbs were carried out automatically using *WordSmith Tools* version 3 (Scott 1999). Given that ARCHER 3.1 is not morphologically tagged, the procedure required searching for the individual particles by means of concordances. This was followed by further manual analysis to sort out the examples in which the particles were part of phrasal verbs. For this purpose and for the sake of comparison with earlier periods, I made use of the list of EModE particles in Claridge (2000: 46), which is based on lists provided by other scholars in the field (cf. Bolinger 1971: 17ff;

ODCIE 1975: lxxx; Fraser 1976: 5; Quirk et al. 1985: 1151), and which includes the following 34 items (cf. Section 2.3):[86]

> *aback, aboard, about, above, across, after, ahead, along, apart, around, aside, astray, asunder, away, back, behind, by, counter, down, forth, forward(s), home, in, off, on, out, over, past, round, through, to, together, under, up*

The list is far from complete, but the items included in it seem to represent sufficiently the category under scrutiny. I also excluded examples of the particle *out* followed by *of* (cf. Section 2.3), as well as cases of particle combinations with the verb *to be*, following the common practice in earlier studies on the topic (cf., e.g., Pelli 1976; Martin 1990; Claridge 2000).[87]

The procedure of extraction of examples from the corpus was as follows. In the first place I elaborated a wordlist to check all the possible spellings of the particles at issue and then I carried out concordances for the individual particles in the seven subperiods of ARCHER. The extraction of examples was a very long and tedious process for the simple reason that most phrasal-verb particles have homonymous prepositions. To give an example, if we make a concordance for the particle *in* in the period 1950-90,

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[86] As previously stated (cf. Section 2.3), I have excluded from this list the particle *ashore*, because it is restricted to nautical usage.

[87] Claridge (2000) does not explicitly state that the verb *be* is excluded from her data, but none of the combinations in her list includes this verbal base. Given the high frequency of the verb *be* (cf., e.g., Biber et al. 1999: 359), it seems highly improbable that the *Lampeter Corpus* would not include one single instance of *be* + particle combinations, which suggests that Claridge actually excluded these structures. In order to check my intuitions, I performed a concordance in the *Lampeter Corpus* to look for combinations of the pattern *be*/*is*/*are*/*was*/*were*/*being* + *away*/*down*/*in*/*on*/*out*/*up*. This produced a total of 1,058 results, some of which included *be* + particle combinations, as the one illustrated in (i) below:

(i) *Papists **are up**, and Atheists and Infidels and Jews **are up**, and abundance of secret Apostates **are up** openly reproaching the Ministry, that privately deride Christ and Scripture, and the life to come.*

WordSmith Tools provides 3,642 results of which only 84 are phrasal-verb particles. The relevant examples were then stored in a *Microsoft Excel* database and coded according to various linguistic parameters. First I created a separate database for every particle, and then merged all the examples into one single *Excel* file with multiple worksheets. This facilitated calculations and the creation of tables and graphs representing the tokens.

Figure 8 below shows a sample of the fields coded and the coding system of the *Excel* database.

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Figure 8: Sample of fields coded and coding system in the database of examples

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1	EXAMPLE	COMBINATION	VERB	PARTICLE	VERB TYPE	DO	ORDER	VOICE	FRONTING	ADVERB/Adv	COORD. ELE	OTHER
2	1 ium. Under these conditions an electron on a gas atom close to the emitter is able to tunnel from the atom into the emitter, leaving behind a positive ion which **accelerates away** towards the collecting electrode under influence of the electric field. Field ionization in a rarefied gas is well understood . As i 264 d\:\archer\archer~3\british\1950-99\1975phil.s8b 13	accelerate away	accelerate	away	I							
3	67 ugh field emission, a tunnelling process rendered possible by the intense electric field at its surface. When the emitter is in a vacuum these electrons **accelerate** rapidly **away** under the influence of the electric field, which itself remains almost unperturbed by the presence of charge between it and the collecting electrode. Field emission un 48 d\:\archer\archer~3\british\1950-	accelerate away	accelerate	away	I					yes		
4	91 ng, and that alone which can crown and satisfy our wishes; and without which we shall be ever restless and uneasy; so every man, who knows and acts **up** to his true interest, must make it his principal care and study to obtain it: and in order to this, he must endeavour to live suitably to his ca 288 d\:\corpora\archer\archer~1\british\1700-49\1732berk.h3b 16	act up	act	up	I							
5	14) D3 x D shall be equal to d2 x d + d2 x d + d2 x d; or D3 = d + d3 + d3. That is, the cube of the diameter of the trunk is equal to the cubes of the diameters of all its branches added **together**. And so D is equal to 3/ d3 + d3 + d3; that is, the diameter of the trunk is equal to the cube-root of the conjunct cubes of the diameters of all the branches. From whence, 1.723 d\:\archer\archer~3\british\1700-49\1735mart.m3b 39	add together	add	together	T	zero	VP(X)	P				
6	24 er do it alone. {=f:MADGIE:} Yes, go on. There's one **in** the hall. Have you some coppers? {=f:ROSE:} Yes, yes, I have. {=m:GARANTY:} May I be allowed **in** on this arrangement? {=m:PORPHORY:} Look here, Garanty, I've got enough trouble! Don't you bite! {=f:MADGIE:} George, stop shouting! It's your glands. Does 1.846 d\:\archer\archer~3\british\1900-49\1944baen.d7b 72	allow in	allow	in	T	zero	VP(X)	P				
7	16 lden our Prince, knowing the mighty preparation the Scythians made against him, finding himself alone too weak to resist those formidable numbers of men which they do ordinarily amass **together**, sent Ambassadours to the Prince of Sogdiana, to put a period to all their own private differences, and secure their States by a timely union and conjunction of thier Forces, 3.640 d\:\archer\archer~3\british\1650-99\1664holt.f7b 74	amass together	amass	together	I							
	4 s' friends taught him on a tractor in a building merchant's yard. Whilst he stood											

The first column of the database includes the **example** obtained from the corpus. This field is quite lengthy because the examples are presented within a reasonably large context that enables the comprehension of the token. This field also includes the name of the file where the example comes from. Since the filenames in ARCHER are coded according to variety, genre, subperiod and year (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011),[88] no other fields have been added with this information. The following three fields in the database correspond to the **combination**, the **verb** and the **particle** respectively. Next I included a field for **verb type** which was coded with *I* for intransitive combinations and *T* for transitive combinations. The following column corresponds to the **DO** type. In the case of intransitive combinations, no coding device was added, whereas for transitive combinations objects were coded according to the following parameters:

- **Clause** = clause
- **Dempron** = demonstrative pronoun
- **Indpron** = indefinite pronoun (e.g. *some*, *one*, *any*, *something*, *somebody*, etc.)
- **Intpron** = interrogative pronoun

[88] The files in ARCHER 3.1 are named with the structure **nnnnabcd.gpv**, where **nnnn** corresponds to the year of publication, **abcd** to a four-letter string representing an abbreviation of the author's name and **gpv** refer to genre, period and variety respectively. The genre codes are as follows: d = drama, f = fiction, h = sermons, j = journals/diaries, m = medicine, n = news, s = science, x = letters. Periods are coded according to the formula: 2 = 1650-99, 3 = 1700-49, 4 = 1750-99, 5 = 1800-49, 6 = 1850-99, 7 = 1900-49, 8 = 1950-90. The variety variable is coded as b = British and a = American. Thus, for example, a file named 1692cong.f2b dates from 1692 and corresponds to the genre fiction, subperiod 1650-99 and British variety. As a result of the separation of diaries and journals into two categories for the present study (cf. Section 5.2.1 and 5.3.1), some modifications were necessary in the filenames for these two genres. Following the guidelines for the compilation of ARCHER 3.2 (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011), I replaced the genre code for diaries with a 'y' and preserved the original 'j' for journals.

- **NP** = noun phrase
- **Ppron** = possessive pronoun
- **Pron** = object pronoun
- **Relpron** = relative pronoun
- **Rpron** = reflexive pronoun

The next field in the database refers to **word order** and has only been filled in for transitive combinations with *V* signalling the verb, *P* referring to the particle, *O* for the object and *X* for any element different from the verb, the object or the particle. The eighth column corresponds to **voice**. In this case *P* was added for a passive clause and a blank space was left if the clause was active. The following three columns refer respectively to **fronting** of the particle (e.g. *Up they came*), **adverb insertion** (e.g. *They came right up*) and **coordination of elements** (particle coordinated with particle, e.g. *up and down*, or simple verb coordinated with phrasal verb, e.g. *shouting and throwing away*). These have been filled in with the word *YES* whenever appropriate and left blank if none of these features occurred in the token. The twelfth and last column is named **other** and includes any further information relevant for the linguistic analysis.

Proceeding to the corpus results, it must be noted that cases of *-ing* nominalizations (e.g. *the taking off*) and of other derivatives (e.g. *a cast-off nightgown*, *a setter forth*) have not been counted as phrasal verbs, although all the examples encountered in the corpus have also been included in their corresponding worksheets (cf. Section 4.4.4). Individual worksheets were also created for the raw figures, the frequencies, the verbal element, the particles, the syntactic arrangement of the combinations and several other

fields necessary to make the relevant calculations of the corpus data, whereas the data about some extralinguistic parameters, such as the gender of the author of the texts, were facilitated by the existence of parallel databases containing this information.[89]

Finally, although ARCHER attempts to be a balanced corpus, the number of words per fifty-year subperiod and genre is not exactly the same in all the corpus sections (cf. Table 8 above), especially after the splitting of diaries and journals into two separate text types (cf. Section 4.3 below). These differences were of course taken into account for the analysis by normalizing raw data per 10,000 words when appropriate. Moreover, I verified the statistical significance of the different variables whenever necessary by performing the Kruskal-Wallis test and the Wilcoxon test[90] by means of the free software *R* version 2.15.0 (2012). These two tests were preferred to the Chi-square on the basis that tests based on the assumption that all words occur independently (such as the Chi-square test) "tend to overestimate significance in frequency comparisons, especially for poorly dispersed words" (Lijffijt et al. forthcoming; cf. also Kilgariff

[89] I am very much indebted to Nuria Yáñez-Bouza for granting me access to her self-collected databases with the bibliographical information and the information about the authors and addressees (if any) of the texts. Nuria's databases were completed in cooperative work with her carried out during my two-month stays at the University of Manchester, United Kingdom (October-December 2010), and at the University of Helsinki, Finland (April-June 2012).

[90] The Kruskal-Wallis one-way analysis of variance by ranks is a non-parametric method used for comparing more than two samples that are independent or not related. When the Kruskal-Wallis test leads to significant results, then at least one of the samples is different from the other samples. In such case, the Wilcoxon test can be applied for a more fine-grained analysis. This test is used to compare two related samples, matched samples or repeated measurements on a single sample to assess whether the population mean ranks differently.

2001).[91] In other words, methods such as the Chi-square test "are too optimistic and often provide excessively low p-values" (Lijffijt et al. forthcoming).

4.4. CORPUS RESULTS

The corpus searches yielded a total of 7,474 tokens of phrasal verbs between the period 1650 and 1990, which provides a sufficient number of combinations to conduct an analysis at a satisfactory level. In the sections that follow, I present the most relevant findings concerning the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of these structures.

4.4.1. MORPHOLOGICAL FEATURES AND DISTRIBUTION

Following a structure similar to that of Chapter 2, I will first provide a description of the two elements of the compound individually and then I will move on to the analysis of the combinations found in ARCHER.

[91] I am thankful to Jefrey Lijffijt (Aalto University), Tanja Säily and Turo Hiltunen (University of Helsinki) for valuable advice on the application of statistical analysis to my data. I am especially indebted to Turo Hiltunen for his help in the use of *R* for the application of this particular analysis.

4.4.1.1. The verbal element

A total of 660 verbal bases were found in ARCHER for the creation of phrasal verbs. Table 10 below shows the top-ten verbs found in my data, while the complete list is provided in Appendix II.

Table 10: Commonest verbs used in the formation of phrasal verbs in ARCHER

Verb	Tokens	% out of total tokens
go	760	10.16 %
come	698	9.33 %
take	313	4.18 %
get	244	3.26 %
bring	223	2.98 %
put	222	2.97 %
set	197	2.63 %
carry	154	2.06 %
turn	141	1.88 %
look	139	1.85 %

Just like in PDE (cf. Section 2.1), the majority of the verbs are native, monosyllabic elements; *carry* is the only disyllabic item among the top-ten verbs. Many of these verbs appear as well in the lists for PDE provided by Fraser (1976: 10) and Biber et al. (1999: 412-413) mentioned in Section 2.1 above.

The number of verb types increases greatly over time (from a frequency of 10.82 per 10,000 words in the subperiod 1650-99 to 16.83 in 1950-90). For a more detailed analysis of the verbal elements in ARCHER, consider Table 11 below, which compares the top-ten verbs in all the subperiods.

Table 11: Commonest verbs used in the formation of phrasal verbs per fifty-year subperiod in ARCHER

1650-99		1700-49		1750-99		1800-49		1850-99		1900-49		1950-90	
Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
come	97	*come*	85	*come*	88	*come*	97	*go*	162	*go*	144	*go*	147
go	78	*go*	65	*go*	82	*go*	83	*come*	137	*come*	108	*come*	86
take	57	*set*	60	*take*	53	*bring*	32	*put*	37	*get*	52	*get*	67
bring	38	*take*	52	*bring*	33	*take*	32	*take*	33	*put*	47	*take*	48
set	31	*bring*	31	*set*	31	*get*	26	*turn*	33	*take*	39	*put*	43
draw	29	*find*	29	*get*	26	*set*	25	*get*	32	*look*	35	*carry*	37
get	29	*put*	28	*carry*	24	*break*	24	*sit*	31	*sit*	30	*turn*	35
make	26	*carry*	23	*give*	22	*put*	24	*look*	30	*bring*	27	*bring*	33
put	24	*draw*	19	*cut*	20	*throw*	21	*bring*	29	*lay*	20	*look*	28
lay	23	*lay*	18	*keep*	19	*turn*	21	*give*	29	*make*	19	*sit*	24

As can be seen, the three verbs *bring*, *come* and *go* are recurrent throughout all of the subperiods, although in different proportions, the last two occupying consistently the first and second position in alternative turns. This contrasts strongly with the list of common verbs provided by Claridge (2000: 114) for the period 1640-1740, in which *come* and *go* occupy the fifth and seventh positions respectively and *bring* the fourth position. The divergence between Claridge's list and my data can be observed even more clearly when we compare the former with the list of frequent verbs in the period 1650-1749 in ARCHER, which roughly corresponds to the same period analyzed by Claridge (cf. Table 12 below).

Table 12: A comparison between the commonest verbal bases in ARCHER during the period 1650-1749 and Claridge's (2000: 114) data for 1640-1740

ARCHER 1650-1749		**Claridge (2000): 1640-1740**	
Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens
come	270	*take*	332
go	225	*set*	299
take	162	*carry*	249
set	122	*bring*	233
bring	102	*come*	181
put	71	*lay*	159
get	67	*go*	155
carry	62	*put*	145
lay	58	*find*	139
give	49	*send*	112

The differences between both sets of data are probably due to dissimilarities in the types of genres included in the *Lampeter Corpus* and in ARCHER. Despite the overall differences, the most frequent verbal bases in my ARCHER data correspond to Claridge's most frequent verbs, yet in different proportions.

In dealing with the verbal element of phrasal verbs, apart from their frequency of occurrence, it is also important to check their productivity, i.e. the number of particles with which they can combine. To this purpose, I created a table with all the possible verbal bases in the vertical axis and all particles in the horizontal axis and filled in the slots with the total number of combinations as appropriate. According to this measure, the most productive verb is *go*, which combines with a total of 23 particles, immediately followed by *come* (22), *bring* (18), *get* (17), *put* (17), *run* (16), *stand* (16), *take* (16), *walk* (16), *carry* (14) and *look* (14). As can be seen, except for *run*, *stand* and *walk*, these are also among the ten most frequent verbs in the corpus (cf. Table 10 above). As an illustration of the versatility of the verb *go*, consider the following examples:

(2) *I **went aboard**, where I received the news of his Highness going to the Royal James to the westward*. (1666alli.j2b)

(3) *The devil, your adversary, as a roaring lion, **goeth about**, seeking wham he may devour*. (16xxbuny.h2b)

(4) *Early last year my sister dislocated her arm & was nearly drowned **going across** to the doctor in a tiny motor boat*. (1948orwl.x7b)

(5) *And after all, if we have to **go ahead**, we must ourselves **go ahead***. (1922lawr.x7b)

(6) *The different compartments on the ground floor are divided by carpets, shawls, etc., and you look down into one after another as you **go along***. (1851carl.x6b)

(7) *There must be something wrong; for Jesus was not a cosy person who **went around** doing corny acts*. (1974powe.h8b)

In addition to the particles shown in (2) to (7), the other particles that combine with the verb *go* in the corpus are *astray*, *away*, *back*, *by*, *down*, *forth*, *forward*, *home*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *over*, *round*, *though*, *together* and *up*.

As already mentioned, the majority of the verbal bases of phrasal combinations tend to be native, monosyllabic verbs or disyllabic verbs with the stress on the first syllable (e.g. *carry*). This is the case with most verbs in my data, where 79.54% (525 types) of them have one syllable and 14.82% (98 types) are disyllabic with the stress on the first syllable. The remaining 5.60% (37 types) represent exceptions to the general tendency: 28 are disyllabic verbs with the stress on the second syllable (*amass*, *ascend*, *bestow*, *bewail*, *careen*, *combine*, *compress*, *conduct*, *connect*, *convey*, *defend*, *deflect*, *demand*, *descend*, *descry*, *diffuse*, *dispatch*, *dissect*, *divide*, *employ*, *increase*, *inquire*, *observe*, *parade*, *proceed*, *repose*, *return* and *unite*), 8 contain three syllables (*assemble*,

commission, *continue*, *deliver*, *massacre*, *overture*, *reconduct* and *surrender*) and only one of them has four syllables, namely *accelerate*.[92] It seems, therefore, that, although examples of combinations with polysyllabic verbs can still be found in PDE (cf. Section 2.1), their use in earlier periods of the language was more extended. In fact, of the 37 verbs of the polysyllabic type found in ARCHER only 17 are still attested in PDE, as retrieved from the data in the BNC.[93] For a clearer picture, consider Figure 9 below, which shows the distribution of the verbs that do not conform to the general tendency as well as the combinations containing them in ARCHER.

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[92] To this list we could still add some further examples encountered by Claridge in the period 1640-1740, namely *decry*, *emit*, *entice*, *escape*, *explain*, *interpret*, *resign* and *retreat*. Denison (1985: 47n) also found some forms of combinations containing polysyllabic verbs in the *Paston Letters* (late 15th century), such as, for example, *acomplyshe vp*, *certified vup*, *delyuered vpp*, *engrose vp*, *parfourme vp*, *receyue vppe* and *repayre vppe*.

[93] These include the following combinations: *accelerate away*, *assemble together*, *combine together*, *compress together*, *conduct home*, *connect together*, *convey back*, *deflect out*, *deliver up*, *demand back*, *descend down*, *diffuse away*, *divide up*, *parade up*, *return back*, *unite together* and *surrender up*.

Figure 9: Distribution of the verbal bases that break the 'phonological constraint' and the combinations formed with them in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words

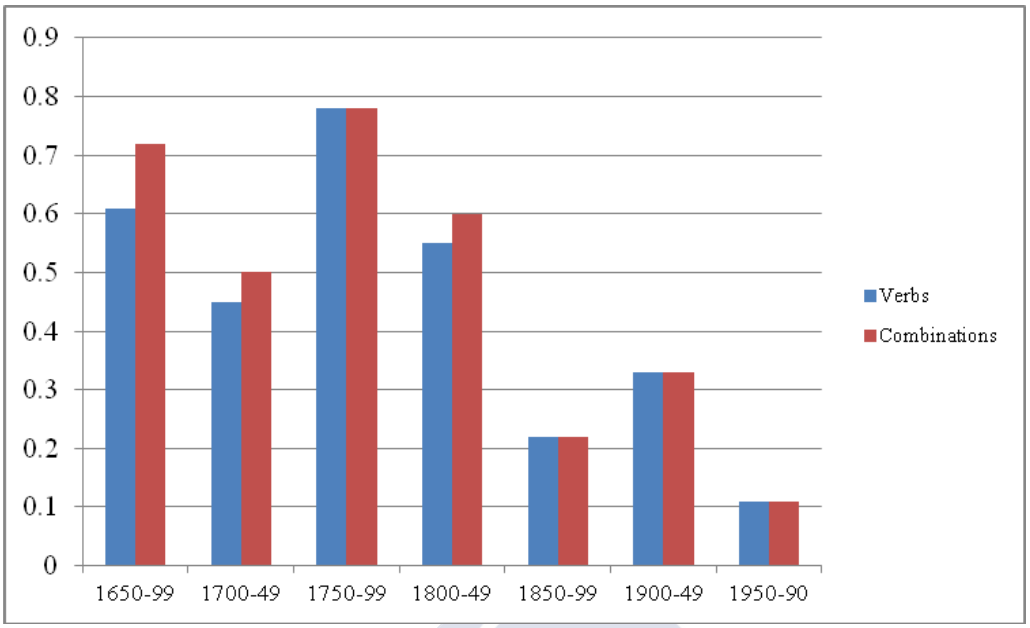

Figure 9 clearly shows that there is a general tendency for this type of verbs and their combinations to decrease in number over time. Since all of the verbs, except *bestow* and *bewail*, are Latinate or French loans, one might speculate that the more extended use of this type in earlier stages of the language is due to the influence of French and Latin, which especially in the EModE period, but also during the LModE period, were generally associated with high education and good manners.

This question is directly related to the second tendency generally found in the verbal elements of the compounds, namely their native origin. To check whether the verbs in ARCHER accommodated to this general disposition, I traced their etymology in the *OED*. As expected, most of them (60.30%; 398 types) turned out to be of

Germanic origin,[94] 24.09% (159 types) come from French or Anglo-Norman and 4.69% (31 types) derive from Latin. The remaining 3.18% (21 types) are verbs of echoic, imitative, onomatopoeic or unknown origin, a tiny 0.45% is constituted by 3 Spanish (or possibly Italian) verbs (*breeze*, *cork* and *dispatch*) and there is also one verb of possible Arabic origin, namely *drub*.

Moreover, in order to confirm whether the influence of French and Latin as languages of prestige could be felt in the selection of verbal types in earlier periods of the language, I compared the origin of the verbal elements found in the first and the last subperiods of ARCHER (i.e. 1650-99 and 1950-90). The results of this comparison are shown in Table 13 below.

Table 13: Comparison of the origin of the verbal element in the combinations between the subperiods 1650-99 and 1950-90 in ARCHER

	Germanic		**AN/French**		**Latin**		**Other**		**Total**
	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw
1650-99	130	7.21	47	2.6	4	0.22	14	0.77	195
1950-90	196	11.05	52	2.91	11	0.61	34	1.90	293

As can be seen, no remarkable differences were found in this respect, except for a slight increase in the frequency of Germanic verbs over time. Therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that the influence of Latin and French as prestige languages is not relevant to the selection of the verbal element in earlier periods.

[94] Labelled by the *OED* as 'common Germanic', 'common Teutonic', 'Dutch', 'Middle Dutch', 'Middle English', 'Middle High German', 'Middle Low German', 'Old English', 'Old Germanic', 'Old High German', 'Old Norse', 'Old Northumbrian', 'Scandinavian', 'West Germanic' or without specified origin but considered as native formations.

A final note is in order concerning the verbal element of the compound. When dealing with the general characteristics of these elements in previous sections (cf. 2.1), it was pointed out that in PDE they are not generally stative verbs, apart from a few exceptions such as hear out. Surprisingly, however, several other stative verbs were found in ARCHER for the formation of phrasal verbs. These include *fit* (*fit about, fit in, fit out, fit up*), *measure* (*measure out, measure up*), *see* (*see in, see off, see out, see through*), *wait* (*wait about, wait over*) and *weigh* (*weigh down*). Some of these combinations are illustrated in examples (8) to (14) below. Most of these combinations are still attested in PDE. Therefore, the rule that phrasal verbs do not generally include stative verbs should probably be reformulated to include other examples besides *hear out.*

(8) *Well I am learning this that one can't **fit** peoples characters **about**.* (1922waug.x7b)

(9) *It **fits in** with the hypothesis on the evolution of incongruity that its complexity generally depends on the relatedness of the populations.* (1975hoge.s8b)

(10) *Oh dear – how every woman the noon side of twenty would rejoice, if time **measured out** his minutes as love does!* (1786cowl.d4b)

(11) *I can **see out** through the window*. (1961simp.d8b)

(12) *For the same reason, I could **see through** to the homely woman in her late thirties visible within the slightly old-fashioned trappings of glamour.* (1977fras.f8b)

(13) *I could not forbear **waiting over** to it a partial blessing.* (1813burn.x5b)

(14) *Before preaching at St. Ives I was so **weighed down**, that I would gladly have sunk into the earth or sea, to escape my own burden.* (1744wesl.j3b)

4.4.1.2. The particles

ARCHER provided results, though in differing proportions, for all of the particles investigated (cf. 4.3) except *after*. Figure 10 below provides the normalized frequencies of the distribution of all particles in the corpus, whereas the figures for raw and normalized frequencies are displayed in Table 14 below.

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Figure 10: Distribution of phrasal-verb particles in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words

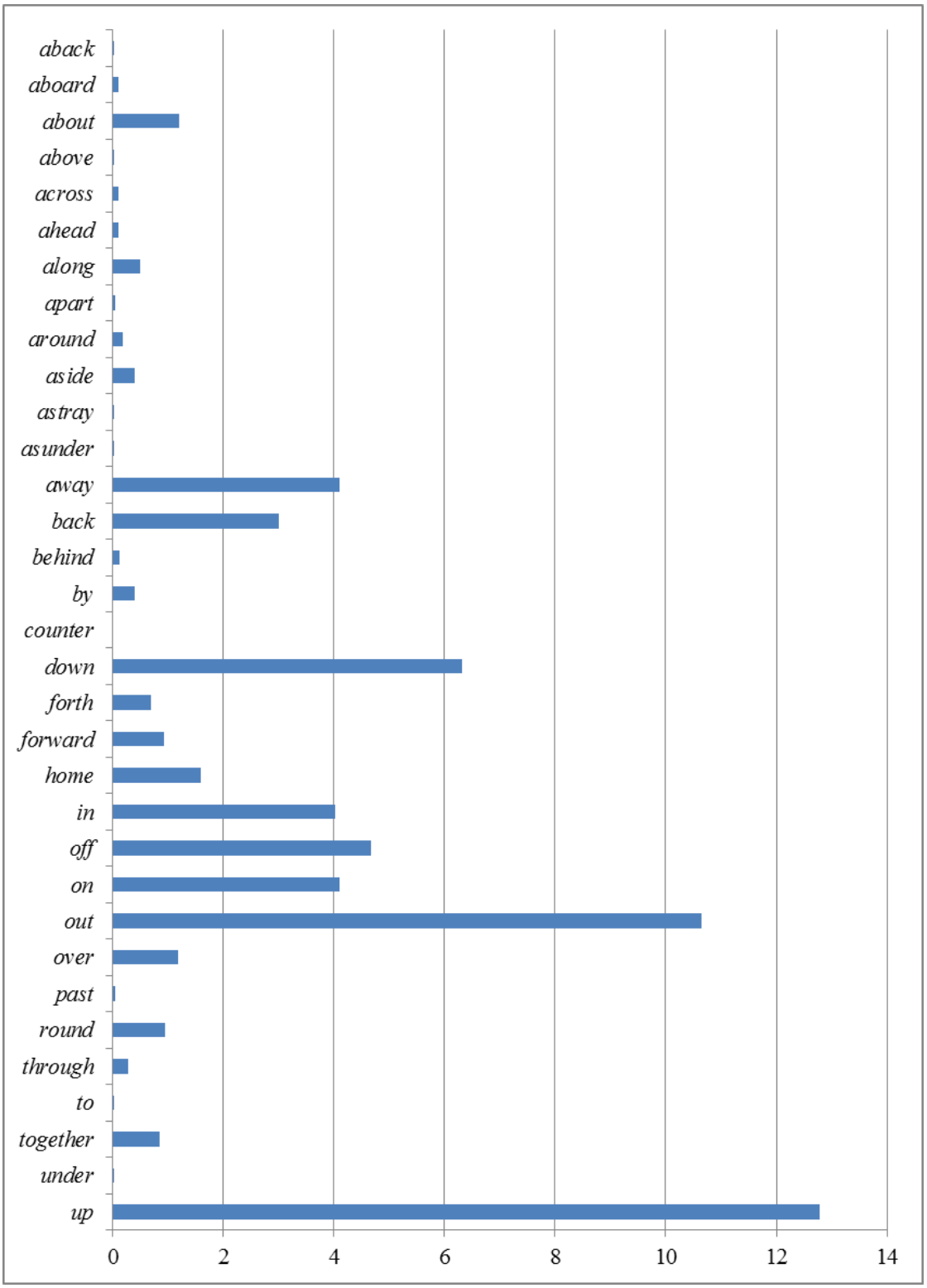


Table 14: Raw and normalized figures per 10,000 words of phrasal-verb particles in ARCHER

Particle	Raw figures	NF
aback	2	0.01
aboard	15	0.11
about	152	1.21
above	2	0.01
across	15	0.11
ahead	14	0.11
along	63	0.50
apart	7	0.05
around	23	0.18
aside	49	0.39
astray	4	0.03
asunder	4	0.03
away	516	4.11
back	378	3.01
behind	17	0.13
by	49	0.39
counter	1	0.00
down	791	6.31
forth	88	0.70
forward	116	0.92
home	201	1.60
in	505	4.02
off	586	4.67
on	515	4.10
out	1,336	10.65
over	148	1.18
past	6	0.04
round	119	0.94
through	36	0.28
to	4	0.03
together	107	0.85
under	2	0.01
up	1,603	12.78
Total	**7,474**	

As can be seen, *up* turned out to be the most frequent of all particles,[95] immediately followed by *out*, *down*, *off*, *on*, *away*, *in* and *back*. These eight particles seem to be the predominant ones throughout the seven subperiods, except in the period 1650-99, when *home* appears in a larger number of combinations (35 tokens) than *back* (33 tokens) and *on* (29 tokens). Table 15 provides the raw figures and normalized frequencies of these eight particles throughout the seven subperiods.[96]

Table 15: Raw and normalized frequencies per 10,000 words of the distribution of the eight most frequent particles in ARCHER

	1650-99		**1700-49**		**1750-99**		**1800-49**		**1850-99**		**1900-49**		**1950-90**		**Tot. raw**
	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	Tkns.	NF	
away	68	3.77	78	4.38	75	4.19	87	4.81	87	4.8	68	3.84	53	2.97	516
back	33	1.83	27	1.51	27	1.15	46	2.54	78	4.3	88	4.97	79	4.43	378
down	78	4.32	91	5.12	92	5.14	87	4.81	163	9	136	7.68	144	8.07	791
in	93	5.16	60	3.37	71	3.97	39	2.15	65	3.59	93	5.25	84	4.71	505
off	80	4.43	73	4.1	83	4.64	79	4.36	82	4.52	83	4.69	106	5.94	586
on	27	1.49	44	2.47	61	3.41	88	4.86	116	6.4	87	4.91	93	5.21	515
out	174	9.65	187	10.5	188	10.52	152	8.4	190	10.49	193	10.9	252	14.13	1,336
up	249	13.8	170	9.56	179	10.01	169	9.34	234	12.92	273	15.43	329	18.45	1,603
Tot. raw	**974**		**876**		**932**		**934**		**1,212**		**1,200**		**1,346**		

As the table shows, *up* and *out* stand out as the most frequent of all particles in all the seven subperiods, the latter predominating slightly only in two of them (from 1700

[95] Recall here that *up* seems to have been the most frequent particle throughout all the periods of the language (cf. footnote 64 in Section 3.2). *Out* was not so frequent in OE and ME, but seems to have experimented a dramatic growth (especially in less formal written styles, such as diaries and personal letters) from EModE to LModE (Ishizaki 2012: 249).

[96] The complete list (raw and normalized frequencies) of all particles throughout the seven subperiods is provided in Appendix III.

to 1799). During the first four subperiods *down*, *in* and *on* alternate in the third position, whereas *down* becomes clearly dominant as the third commonest particle in the last three subperiods. My figures therefore differ substantially from those in Pelli (1976) for American English plays, where he finds that the commonest particles are *up*, *out*, *back* and *over* in all the subperiods from 1765 to 1972.

At the other end of the spectrum, the bulk of less frequent particles includes *astray*, *asunder* and *to*, with 4 tokens each, *aback*, *above* and *under*, with 2 each, and finally *counter*, of which only one example was found. Illustrative examples with some of these rare particles are given in (15) to (21) below.

(15) *I was sent to the lonely parish where I am, where there was no one I could* ***lead astray***. (1908yeat.d7b)

(16) *Whom God hath joined, let no man* ***put asunder***. (1822eva2.n5b)

(17) *Here reason* ***came to****, and again began to state its case.* (1891barr.f6b)

(18) *She seemed rather* ***taken aback*** *but rose promptly.* (1934chri.f7b)

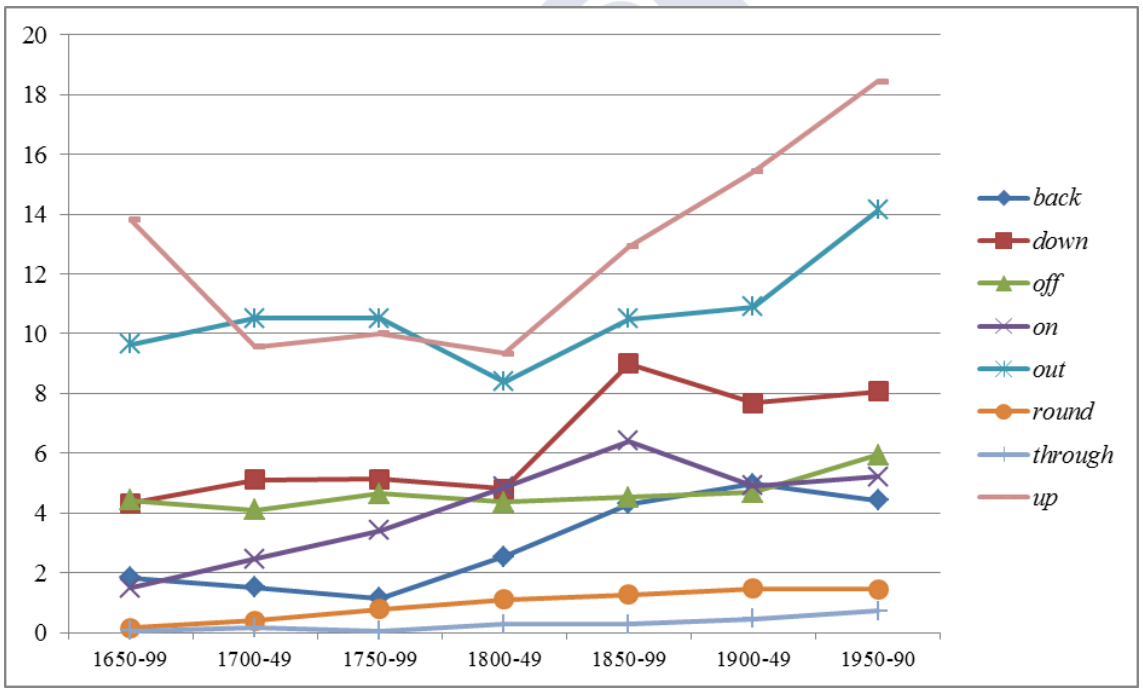
(19) *Some few Wattles (as they call them) were* ***placed above****, that was our Hay-loft.* (1665head.f2b)

(20) *Dick, stand by me, and we'll have one blaze for it; blood and lightning! man, don't* ***knock under***. (1847lefa.f5b)

(21) *[H]e will be touched with the patriotic frenzy of the times, and* ***run counter*** *till aw my designs.* (1792mack.d4b)

These infrequent particles are very unevenly distributed over the seven subperiods. Thus, *above* and *counter* occur only in one subperiod, *aback*,[97] *aboard* and *under* in two, and *ahead*, *astray*, *asunder*, *past* and *to* in three. For this reason, it has not been possible to trace their development in the corpus. Observing the evolution of other particles throughout the seven subperiods reveals that many of the phrasal-verb particles show a clear tendency to increase in frequency over time. These include the most frequent particles (except *away* and *in*, which decrease only slightly; cf. Table 15 above) and also the particles *through* and *round*, as can be seen in Figure 11 below.

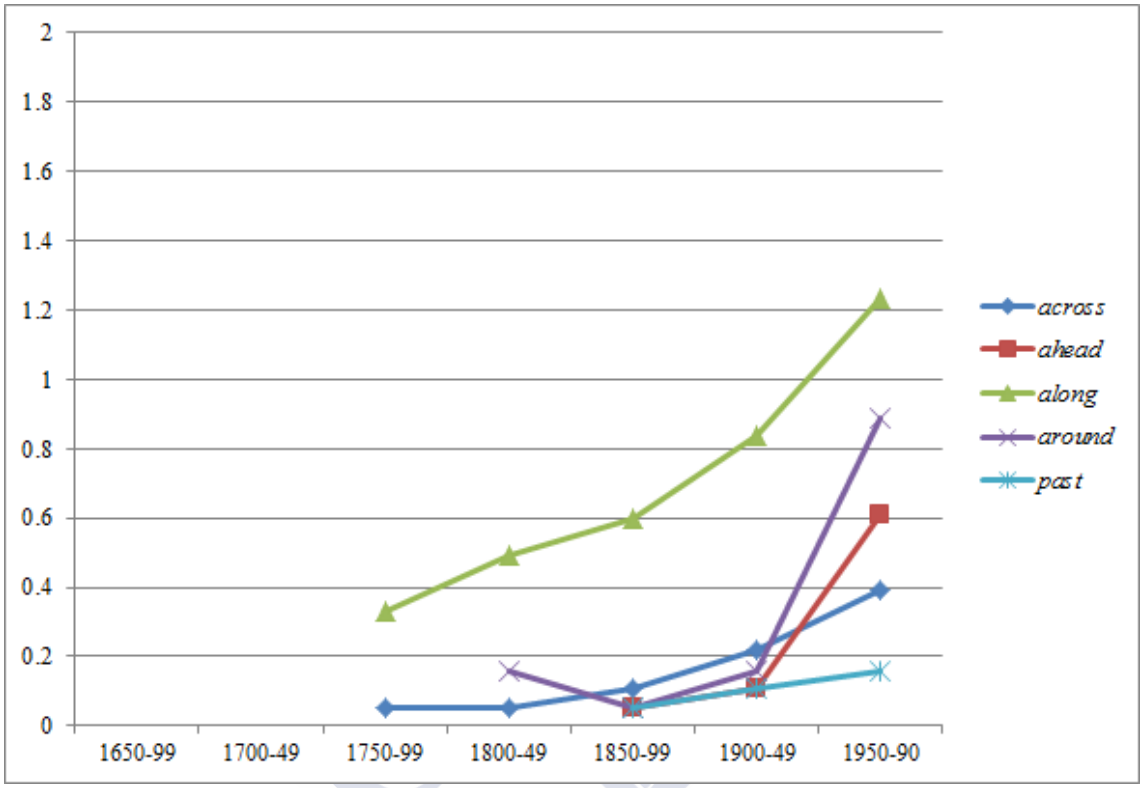
Figure 11: The development of particles which show a tendency to increase in frequency in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



[97] *Aback* combines exclusively with the verb *take*. According to evidence from the BNC, this is also the case in PDE.

A number of particles (*across*, *ahead*, *along*, *around* and *past*) also seem to have grown in number, but only in more recent years. As shown in Figure 12 below, none of these particles is attested earlier than 1750.

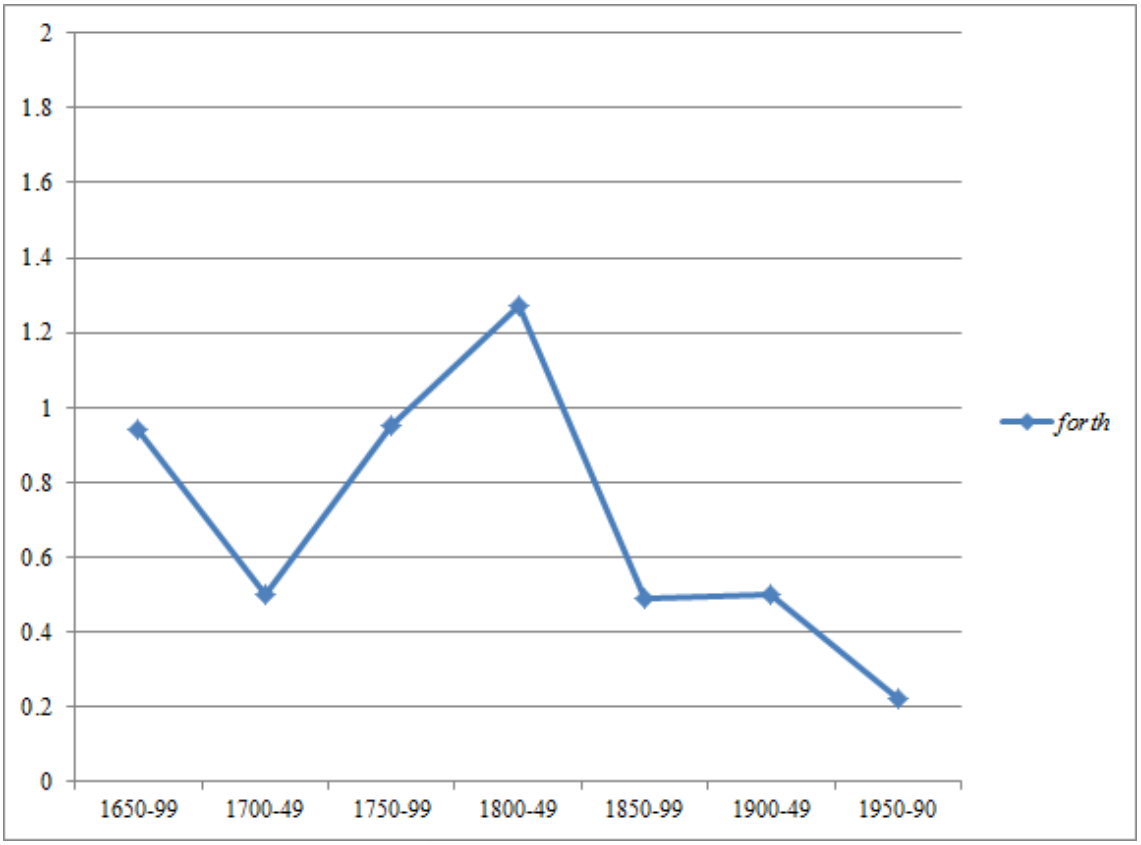
Figure 12: The development of recent phrasal-verb particles. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



Although according to the *OED* all of these forms appeared in the language much earlier than the 18th century, it seems that they did not become phrasal-verb particles until quite late. None of them is attested in Thim's (2011) corpus of *Paston Letters* (1441-1478). *Across* appears in Claridge's data for the period 1640-1740 and also in Castillo's (1994) texts from Shakespeare, which also include *along*. Therefore, in the light of this evidence, it seems safe to maintain that *ahead*, *around* and *past* became phrasal-verb particles during the LModE period.

The great majority of the particles have kept more or less stable over time or show only a very slight decrease or increase in frequency (cf. *about*, *apart*, *aside*, *away*, *behind*, *by*, *forward*, *home*, *in* and *over*). There is, however, one particle whose decrease from the 18th century onwards is quite pronounced, namely *forth* (cf. Figure 13 below).

Figure 13: The development of the particle *forth* in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



The data in ARCHER seem to confirm the trend already pointed out by Hiltunen (1994: 134; cf. also Martin 1990: 111; Ishizaki 2009), who notices a decrease of this particle during the EModE period. According to Akimoto (2006: 25), *forth* tends to be replaced by *out* in many phrasal verbs, although sometimes it is possible to find 'semi-archaic' forms (e.g. *come forth*, *go forth*) alongside more modern ones (e.g. *come out*,

go out). De Smet (2010) also points to a semantic overlap between *out* and *forth*. In my data, *forth* is most commonly used to contribute a directional meaning to the verb, in the sense of PDE *forward* or *ahead*, as in (22) below, or in combination with verbs such as *pour* (cf. (23) below) with a continuative aspectual meaning.

(22) *Immediately after, He **went forth** with His disciples into the garden of Gethsemane and surrendered.* (1781blai.h4b)

(23) *From the day you land, that language of love, understood by all, will be **pouring forth** its unconscious eloquence.* ('continue, go on pouring'). (1890drum.h6b)

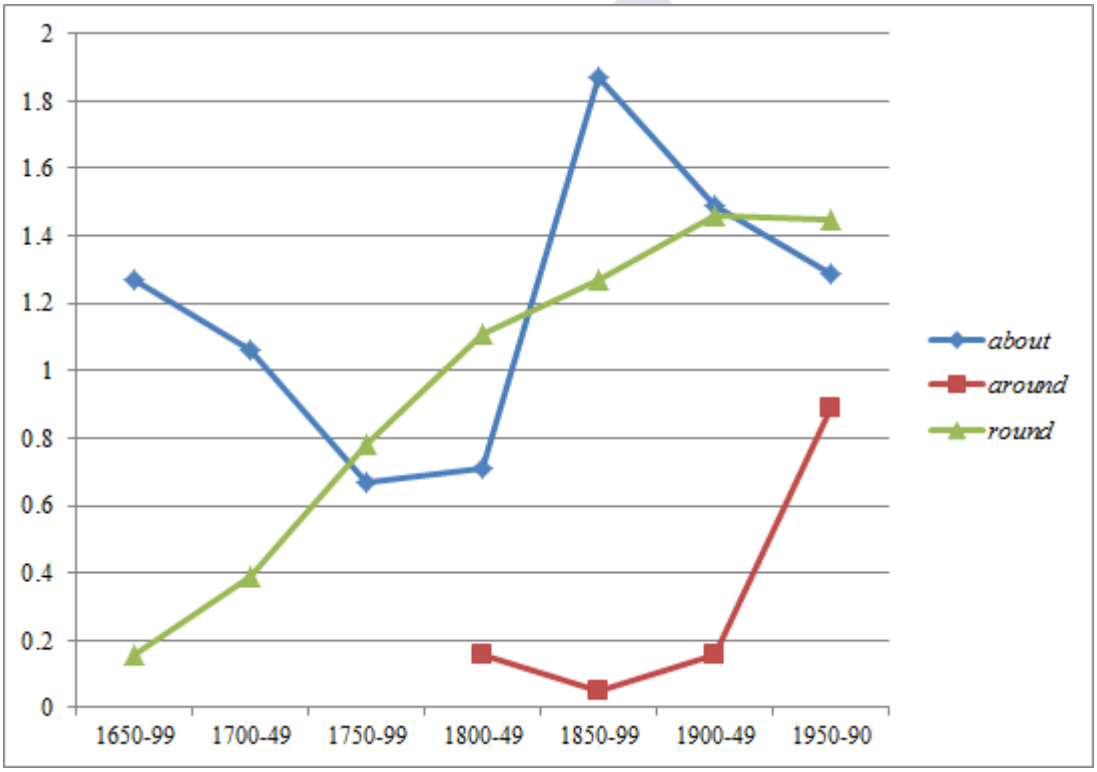
An increase in the frequency of *forth* is witnessed in ARCHER from the mid-18th century to the mid-19th century. This is quite surprising given the general tendency for the particle to decrease in frequency over time. However, on closer inspection the rise of *forth* at this time proves to be caused by its recurrent use in certain texts, more precisely in two sermons (1781blai.h4b and 17xxster.h4b) in the subperiod 1750-99 and in one sermon (18xxirvi.h5b) and a fictional text (1837ains.f5b) in the subperiod 1800-49. In the last corpus subperiod, however, there are only four examples of combinations with this particle. Three of them belong to the same sermon (1959lloy.h8b) and are used in a fixed biblical expression, as shown in (24) below. The fourth occurrence of *forth* in this subperiod is a quite exceptional case found in the diary of Elspeth Huxley (cf. (25)).

(24) *[H]is case [the Aposte's] in the whole chapter is that you can never **bring forth** fruit unto God as long as you are married to the Law. There is only one way to **bring forth** fruit unto God, and that is, to be married to the Lord Jesus Christ.* (1959lloy.h8b)

(25) *One of those hoarse hunting screeches **sounded forth** as down the tree-trunk slid a fox, to lope across into the Eastcourt House garden.* (1975huxl.y8b)

Some of the results obtained from ARCHER can also be compared to Pelli's (1976).[98] In his analysis of phrasal verbs in American English plays from the 18th to the 20th century, Pelli observes a tendency for the particles *about* and *round* to be replaced by *around*, probably, he argues, because *about* is more closely related to British usage and has consequently lost popularity in favour of *around* in American English (1976: 115-116). Consider the development of these particular particles in ARCHER displayed in Figure 14 below.

Figure 14: The development of *about, around* and *round* in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



[98] It must be noted, however, that my data refer to all the genres in ARCHER, whereas Pelli's analysis is restricted to drama.

My data partly support Pelli's conclusions in that *about* seems to be quite popular in British English since its frequency, though subject to fluctuation, remains roughly the same in 1650-99 and 1950-90. However, although it increases from the second half of the 18th century, it is also true that it decreases remarkably from the second half of the 19th, precisely about the same time when the frequency of *around* seems to take off. Conversely, as stated previously (cf. Figure 11), in the data from ARCHER *round* shows a tendency to increase in use over time.[99] One can thus conclude that in British English *around*, and probably *round* as well, seems to have taken over some of the uses of *about* in recent times, especially with activity verbs to describe a circuitous course (e.g. *peep about*/*(a)round*; cf. *OED* s.v. *about* 2a; *round* 6a) or an aimless, idle manner (e.g. *go about*/*(a)round*, *blow about*/*(a)round*, *wander about*/*(a)round*; cf. *OED* s.v. *about* 2b; *round* 7a).[100] Thus, combinations of the type of *go about*, *blow about*, *come about*, *scatter about*, *veer about* are very frequent in the earliest subperiods, whereas the same verbs used with *round* are very scarce, even non-existent in the case of *around*, until the 19th century. However, in the last corpus subperiod combinations of the type *go round*, *fool around*, *hang around*, *look round* and *turn round* dominate over *go about*, *look about* and *turn about*.

[99] Martin (1990: 111) also notices an increase in the use of the particles *round* and *around* both in British and American English.

[100] The particles *about* and *round* are not equivalent in all combinations, especially in those with a more idiomatic meaning. Notice, for example, the difference between *bring about* 'cause to happen' (*OED* s.v. *bring about* 1) and *bring round* 'persuade' (*OED* s.v. *bring round* 3).

In order to assess whether the difference between my results and Pelli's might be due to genre variation, I also analyzed the development of these three particles in the genre drama separately. The results are displayed in Table 16 below.

Table 16: The development of *about, around* and *round* in drama. Raw and normalized frequencies per 10,000 words

	1650-99		1700-49		1750-99		1800-49		1850-99		1900-49		1950-90	
	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF
about	3	1.12	2	0.78	1	0.41	1	0.38	3	1.13	2	0.86	-	-
around	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1.63
round	1	0.37	2	0.79	2	0.83	-	-	1	0.37	2	0.86	4	1.63

Although it must be acknowledged that the number of examples is probably too scarce to attain definite conclusions, in principle the three particles seem to follow trends in drama similar to those observed in the corpus as a whole (cf. Figure 14): the decrease in frequency of the particle *about* parallels an increase in use of the particles *around* and, especially, *round*. This seems to indicate that, just as in American English, in British plays some of the uses of *about* have been taken over by *round* and *around*. In view of these data, it can be maintained that Pelli's (1976) hypothesis that *about* was abandoned in American English by virtue of its being associated to British English (see above) does not hold true.

4.4.1.3. Phrasal verbs as a unit

Having examined the two members of the compound separately, it is time now to move on to the analysis of the combinations as a whole. A total of 1,580 different phrasal verbs were found in ARCHER in the period examined. Table 17 below shows the ten

most frequent combinations in the corpus (the complete list is provided in Appendix IV).

Table 17: Ten most frequent phrasal-verb combinations in ARCHER

Combination	Tokens	% out of total tokens
go on	211	2.82 %
come in	120	1.60 %
sit down	108	1.44 %
take up	106	1.41 %
find out	100	1.33 %
go out	94	1.25 %
come up	93	1.24 %
come back	82	1.09 %
set out	78	1.04 %
come down	71	0.94 %

As expected, many of these combinations tend to contain one of the commonest verbal bases found in the corpus (cf. 4.4.1.1 above). The only exceptions are *sit down* and *find out*. The case of *sit down* is not very surprising given that *sit* is the eleventh verb in the list of the commonest verbal bases (cf. Appendix II). However, it is not a very productive verb: it mostly combines with the particle *down* (cf. Table 17) and only marginally with *back* (3 tokens; cf. (26)), *out* (2 tokens; cf. (27)) and *round* (2 tokens; cf. (28)).

(26) *He **sat back** and overlooked us.* (1930toml.f7b)

(27) *We **sat out** several Ways, as we were all to pay our Respects to different Ladies.* (1743fiel.f3b)

(28) *Fr d'Arcy was very hospitable but the Jesuits **sat round** telling funny stories, which made me long for the Herberts' great narrative gifts.* (1943waug.x7b)

The combination *find out*, however, is quite exceptional for various reasons. First, *find* occupies a relatively low position in the list of commonest verbs (cf. Appendix II); and, second, it combines exclusively with the particle *out* (cf. also Claridge 2000: 114). It is therefore remarkable that the combination presents such a high number of occurrences.

The list of the commonest phrasal-verb combinations shown in Table 17 is also remarkable concerning the type of particles used in their formation. Despite the fact that *out* and *up* are the most frequent particles in the corpus (cf. Section 4.4.1.2), they only appear in four of the ten most frequent combinations.

Diachronically speaking, as can be observed in Table 18 below, the group of commonest combinations fluctuates from subperiod to subperiod. The compound *go on* keeps is the most frequent phrasal verb invariably from 1750 to 1950, although it is not even listed among the top-ten verbs between 1700 and 1749.[101] The combination *come in*, which is the commonest in the subperiod 1650-99 occupies rather prominent positions in all lists except in the subperiods 1800-49 and 1950-90. Also, *set out* appears in the first position in 1700-49 and only reappears among the top-ten combinations in the subperiod 1750-99. The divergence in the use of combinations from one subperiod to the next is probably related to the different type of texts included in them, their size and the topics they discuss. Thus, for example, the verb *set out* will probably be more

[101] The combination was, nevertheless, used at the time (cf. Appendix IV).

common in texts related to journeys. More precise judgements will be therefore provided when analyzing the cross-genre differences in Chapter 5. Fluctuations in the type of combinations attested in the different subperiods can also be due to the fact that some of them (or some of their senses) cease to be used over time, whereas new ones are constantly being created (cf. 4.4.2 below).

Table 18: List of the ten commonest combinations per fifty-year subperiod in ARCHER

1650-99		**1700-49**		**1750-99**		**1800-49**		**1850-99**		**1900-49**		**1950-90**	
Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
come in	24	*set out*	33	*go on*	22	*go on*	27	*go on*	48	*go on*	36	*go on*	56
take up	23	*find out*	29	*take up*	21	*come home*	16	*sit down*	26	*come in*	24	*carry out*	29
come up	21	*come in*	18	*set out*	20	*come out*	15	*come down*	25	*sit down*	24	*come back*	22
make up	17	*take up*	18	*go off*	19	*come on*	12	*come back*	22	*go out*	21	*sit down*	22
find out	15	*come home*	13	*come in*	18	*come back*	11	*go away*	20	*come back*	18	*pick up*	19
draw out	14	*come up*	13	*sit down*	16	*set off*	11	*go out*	20	*come up*	18	*find out*	18
get up	13	*go away*	12	*take away*	13	*go away*	10	*come in*	17	*lay down*	16	*get up*	17
go home	13	*go on*	11	*come up*	13	*go down*	10	*make up*	15	*go down*	15	*go out*	15
set down	13	*set down*	11	*come out*	12	*go out*	10	*come on*	14	*ring up*	15	*bring up*	13
go on	11	*carry away*	9	*cry out*	12	*break out*	9	*give up*	14	*come down*	13	*come in*	13

At the opposite end in the list of combinations in ARCHER, we find quite a large number of phrasal verbs which occur only once or twice in the whole corpus. Thus, ARCHER contains a total of 866 *hapax legomena* and 242 *dislegomena*. Among the former we find combinations such as *send round* (cf. (29)), *yawn asunder* (cf. (30)), *walk past* (cf. (31)), *lay to* (cf. (32)) and *pull about* (cf. (33)), whereas the latter include

examples such as *help off* (cf. (34)), *put through* (cf. (35)) and *seal up* (cf. (36)), among others.

(29) *Poor Blanche of course kept on telephoning to know if the child was all right and* ***sent round*** *a vast box of chocolates which mollified the Frobishers* (1960cowa.f8b)

(30) *Hear me, my Lord! as I have life, as I have a soul, so have I spoken truly, the grave* ***yawned asunder*** *to forbid the blow, it was no vision of my cowardice.* (1809dimo.d5b)

(31) *Nobody* ***walking past*** *can see the notice which says: You Will Want The Jobs We Have.* (1964berg.f8b)

(32) *At 10 a.m. the wind at NW, blowing very hard.* ***Lay to***. (1780dunc.j4b)

(33) *Makes no resistance when its companion* ***pulls*** *it* ***about*** *rather roughly and examines its head.* (1873ferr.s6b)

(34) ***Help*** *me* ***off*** *with this.* (1884henl.d6b)

(35) *[T]he complicated post-Budget economic situation at the time the deal was* ***put through****, together with the absence of any bad faith, decided to drop the charges against him.* (1959gua1.n8b)

(36) *[H]e suddenly* ***sealed up*** *the globes, and then exposed them to the frosty air.* (1775blac.s4b)

The large number of *hapax legomena* in the corpus may be considered as a sign of the productivity of the constructions at the time. However, this may not be necessarily so, since many word types in large corpora tend to appear only once or twice (cf. footnote 76). Another way of calculating the productivity of the constructions is by analyzing the type/token frequency. To this purpose, consider Table 19 below which displays the ratio of combinations throughout the seven subperiods analyzed.

Table 19: Ratio of type/token frequency of phrasal combinations in the seven subperiods of ARCHER

	1650-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-49	1850-99	1900-49	1950-90
Types	406	372	412	458	465	524	578
Tokens	974	876	932	934	1212	1200	1346
Ratio	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.49	0.38	0.43	0.42

As can be seen, the first subperiod displays a rather low ratio compared to other subperiods, which means that the combinations in this period are repeated more often. The ratio increases progressively until the fourth subperiod, when it reaches its maximum peak. It seems therefore, that the time span 1800-49 is the one with the most varied number of phrasal-verb combinations in the corpus. The ratio decreases dramatically in the following period (1850-99) and then stabilizes in the 20th century, reaching figures similar to those of the first subperiod. In order to cross-check the results of the type/token measure I compared the results of the ratio with the percentage of *hapax legomena* in all the subperiods. The results are shown in Table 20 below.

Table 20: Percentage of *hapax legomena* in the seven subperiods of ARCHER

	1650-99	1700-49	1750-99	1800-49	1850-99	1900-49	1950-90
Hapax legomena	249 (25.56%)	222 (25.34%)	264 (28.32%)	300 (32.11%)	276 (22.77%)	340 (28.33%)	364 (27.04%)

Just as with the type/token ratio, the percentage of single-occurrence items per period seems to increase over time, reaching the highest concentration in the subperiod 1800-49. Then the figures decrease again between 1850-49 to stabilize in the course of the 20th century. The comparison between the type/token ratio and the frequency of *hapax legomena* clearly shows that variation in the productivity of the constructions in

roughly the same in both cases. Thus, although the frequency of *hapax legomena* cannot be probably taken as the sole measure of the productivity of phrasal-verb constructions, the results seem to indicate that they can be indeed regarded as one potential factor.

Many of the single-occurrence items in ARCHER still exist in PDE (e.g. *act up*, *hold on*, *run across*). Others, however, are nonce formations or ephemeral combinations of the type of *break forth* (cf.(37)), *break together* (cf. (38)), *cheer away* (cf. (39)) and *observe down* (cf. (40)), as well as many of the combinations including the polysyllabic verbs mentioned in Section 4.4.1.1 above.

(37) *His native luster often* ***broke forth****.* (1781blai.h4b)

(38) *I believe we may get our Bones* ***broke together*** *to night.* (1730vanb.d3b)

(39) *The Rigging well manned, and we* ***cheered away*** *most lustily and loyally.* (1853hall.j6b)

(40) *These I had never before* ***observed down****, in any other case in which I had formerly operated.* (1773chal.m4b)

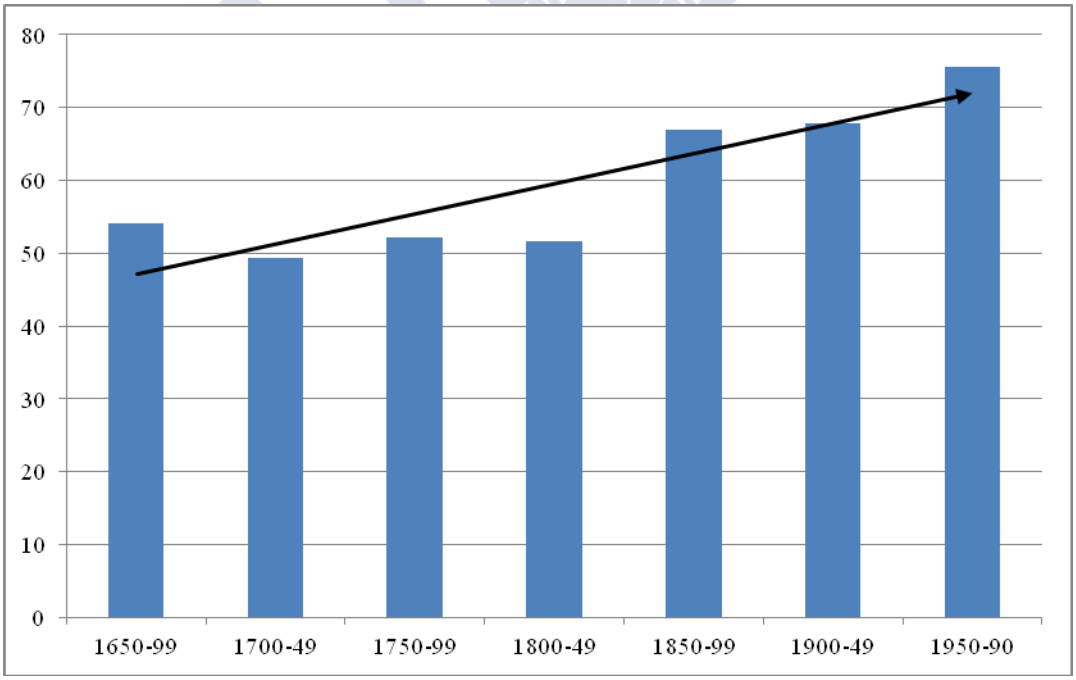
As noted by Denison, the history of phrasal verbs is not one of continuous growth, because many of the combinations which existed in the earlier periods are no longer used in PDE (cf. Denison 1985: 45, 1998: 223). Denison's statement leads me directly to another important issue to be discussed, namely the chronological distribution of the phrasal verbs in ARCHER. Table 21 below shows the distribution of the corpus examples over the seven subperiods analyzed.

Table 21: Distribution of phrasal verbs over the seven subperiods of ARCHER. Raw and normalized figures per 10,000 words

Period	Raw figures	NF
1650-99	974	54.05
1700-49	876	49.28
1750-99	932	52.16
1800-49	934	51.66
1850-99	1,212	66.95
1900-49	1,200	67.83
1950-90	1,346	75.51
Total	**7,474**	

As becomes clear from the table, phrasal-verb constructions present a quite uneven distribution over the seven subperiods with a clear tendency to increase in frequency, but also undergoing a reversal in their growth in the first halves of the 18th and 19th centuries. For a clearer picture of the development of these structures over the time span concerned, consider Figure 15.

Figure 15: The development of phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990 in ARCHER



The results obtained from ARCHER seem to match those of previous studies which have pointed out that phrasal verbs start to grow steadily in number from the 19th century onwards, but that their growth has not been a continuous one (Konishi 1958: 124; Spasov 1966: 18-22; Martin 1990: 103; Akimoto 1999: 222; Kytö & Smitterberg 2006: 221; Smitterberg 2008: 271). Just as in earlier studies (cf. Section 3.3), ARCHER shows a slight reversal in the growth of these structures particularly from the end of the EModE period well until the 19th century which, a period which, as noticed by Claridge, is "the great prescriptive period in the history of English" (2000: 98). The boom of prescriptivist works took place from the 1750s onwards and "saw its culmination in the nineteenth century" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 3). Although not all prescriptivist grammarians proscribed the use of phrasal verbs, they were more frequently condemned than praised (cf. Wild 2010: 90-93). Given the strong influence of normative works at the time, is seems reasonable to think that they might have had an effect on the historical development of phrasal verbs, although, as will be seen in Chapter 5, there are other factors that may also account for the ups and downs in their development.

4.4.2. SEMANTIC CHARACTERISTICS

ARCHER provides examples of the six main semantic groups of phrasal verbs described in Section 2.4.1 throughout the seven subperiods. Some instances are given in (41) to (47) below.

(41) *You will bring me an account of it all when you **come back**.* (1886giss.f6b) (literal)

(42) *We **rose up** to meet them*. (1744fldg.f3b) (reiterative)

(43) *Do ye think two people can **eat up** the dinners of twenty men?* (1727davy.f3b) (aktionsart)

(44) *As chief governess of the feast **poured forth** wine into the goblet (‘continued, went on pouring wine’).* (17xxster.h4b) (aspectual)

(45) *It pleased Providence to **take away** her mother.* (1720pitt.f3b) (figurative)

(46) *Perhaps you have **found out*** (‘discovered’) *some new Philosophy.* (1730vanb.d3b) (non-compositional)

(47) *I feel also pretty sure that **backed up** by you, I could get an advance of £100 from my uncle which I would place in your hands for this affair.* (1899dows.x6b) (emphatic)

It has often been suggested in the literature that from the EModE period onwards there has been a general increase in the number of transferred or idiomatic meanings of phrasal verbs, as well as of aspectual/aktionsart combinations (cf., e.g., Konishi 1958: 122; Martin 1990: 123ff; Claridge 2000: 96). Previous works on the history of phrasal verbs have provided a semantic classification of these structures to assess whether developments of this kind might be observed over time. This is the case in Thim (2011), whose sample of phrasal verbs is relatively small (129 tokens), in Pelli (1976), who carried out an impressive semantic classification of a sample of phrasal verbs which is double the size of mine (14,021 tokens), and Martin (1990: 155-175), who classified her 900 examples into one of three categories: free combinations (here literal phrasal verbs), semi-idiomatic (here aspectual/aktionsart combinations) and idiomatic (here also non-compositional). Wild (2010: 234-248) analyzes as well what she calls redundant phrasal verbs, a group which, for her, includes combinations whose particle repeats the meaning of a Latin prefix (e.g. *return back*), combinations whose particles repeat a semantic element already present in the verb (i.e. what I have called reiterative combinations; cf. Section 2.4.1.5) and aktionsart combinations whose particle adds a telic or intensive

sense to the verb (e.g. *start out*, *slow down*). Her analysis is also based on ARCHER but includes only combinations with the particles *back*, *down*, *out* and *up*.

Given the large number of examples encountered in ARCHER, I have not embarked on the task of classifying semantically every single corpus instance. It was felt necessary, though, to contribute some new evidence in this respect, and thus I decided to classify all the combinations recorded in the first and last subperiods (i.e. 1650-99 and 1950-90). This enabled me to check whether any remarkable developments had occurred during this rather long period of time. To this purpose, I classified all instances as literal, metaphorical, reiterative, idiomatic and emphatic/aspectual/aktionsart structures. The emphatic and aspectual/aktionsart categories were merged for two main reasons. First, both types refer to combinations whose verbal element keeps exactly the same meaning as the verb when appearing in isolation; and, second, trying to separate both categories would imply applying the various aktionsart tests (cf. Sections 2.3.2.2 and 2.3.2.3) to every single combination, which would have resulted in a difficult and time-consuming task far beyond the scope of the present dissertation.

The process of classification was complex not only because of the large number of examples but also because, as stated previously (cf. 2.4.1), the semantic categories are not clear-cut so that very frequently one combination can be ascribed to more than one single group. However, the analysis yielded some interesting results which I present in what follows.

The outcome of the semantic classifications of the two subperiods at issue is displayed in Table 22 below.

Table 22: Semantic groups of phrasal verbs in the subperiods 1650-99 and 1950-90 in ARCHER

	Literal		Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic		Metaphorical		Idiomatic		Reiterative		TOTAL
	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw
1650-99	392	21.75	288	16.53	68	3.77	196	10.43	30	1.66	974
1950-90	370	20.75	544	30.52	124	6.95	302	16.94	6	0.33	1,346

As can be seen, whereas literal combinations clearly predominate in the early subperiod, immediately followed by the aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic group, the situation is completely reversed in the last subperiod, when aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations take the lead and literal phrasal verbs occupy only the second most prominent position. For a comparison of the differences between the semantic groups in the two subperiods, consider Figure 16 below.

Figure 16: Comparison of semantic groups of phrasal verbs in the subperiods 1650-99 and 1950-90 in ARCHER. Normalized figures per 10,000 words

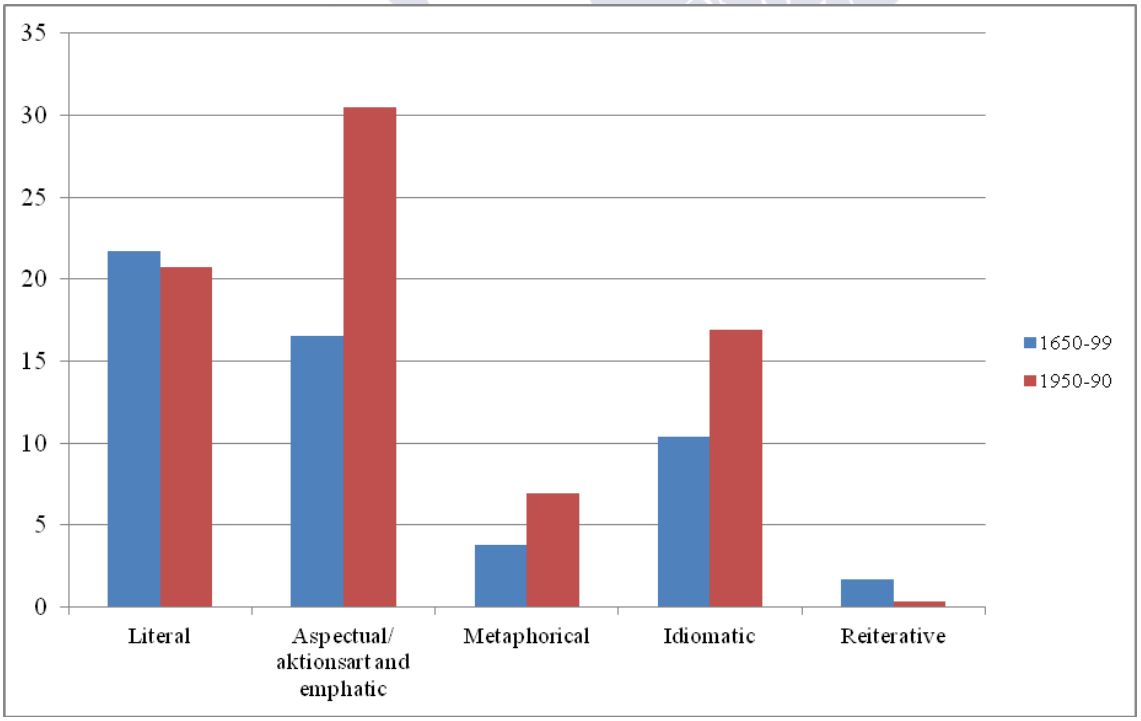


Figure 16 makes it clear that there is a slight decrease over time in the groups of literal and reiterative phrasal verbs, whereas metaphorical and idiomatic combinations increase remarkably. Thus, my results differ from those in Wild (2010: 243), in whose semantic analysis the reiterative group ('repetitive' in her terminology) keeps stable from 1650 to 1990.[102] In addition, my results show that aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic, metaphorical and idiomatic combinations continue to increase over time after the EModE period in British English. This trend had already been observed in the aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic group by Wild (2010: 243).

The comparison of the two subperiods of ARCHER also provides some insightful results concerning the use of particular phrasal verbs (cf. also Wild 2010: 243-244). Some of the combinations from the subperiod 1650-99 were found to be obsolete in PDE (according to the *OED*). Among these we can mention e.g. *bring away* 'extricate, detach, free, deliver' (cf. (48)), *give over* 'abandon, desert (a person, cause, etc.)' (cf. (49)), *go about* 'busy oneself, endeavour, contrive, or conspire to do something' (cf. (50)), *lay down* 'put down in writing' (cf. (51)), *put in* 'make an informal call or chance visit to a house, drop in' (cf. (52)), *put up* 'submit to, endure, or suffer quietly or patiently' (cf. (53)), *set forth* 'arrange or dispose in a certain manner; to lay out' (cf. (54)), *steal off* 'diverge in an inconspicuous way' (cf. (55)) and *take up* 'engage or hire (a lodging) for the purpose of occupying' (cf. (56)) (cf. also Section 4.4.1.3 above for further examples encountered in other subperiods).

[102] Notice again that Wild's analysis refers to combinations with the particles *back*, *down*, *out* and *up.*

(48) *[A]nd the Chirurgeon **brought** it [the afterbirth] **away** by strength.* (1683tyso.m2b)

(49) *Alas! my lord, they have **given** me **over** long since; all my trust is in an incomparable nurse.* (1688crow.d2b)

(50) *[…] whose calamitous encounters I shall not **go about** to recite, since their own Narratives have run through most hands.* (1675ano2.s2b)

(51) *[W]e shall venture however to **lay down** some few things to salve it by.* (1683list.m2b)

(52) *In this passage up the river, they **put in** at several houses for refreshmen.* (1688behn.f2b)

(53) *Nay, then my honour's concern'd, I can't **put up** that, Sir.* (1675wych.d2b)

(54) *And shortly I intend to **set** thee **forth** as an Exact Model, and Pattern to the World.* (1671cary.d2b)

(55) *The Crowd breaking up, our Cavaliers made a shift to **steal off** unmarked,* (1692cong.f2b)

(56) *We there **took up** our old lodgins, it being not far from ye Messenger's & a civill house.* (1687ferr.j2b)

Surprisingly, one combination which according to the *OED* is also obsolete in PDE was found in the ARCHER data in the subperiod 1950-99,[103] namely *carry out* in the sense 'transport the mind in ecstasy or devotion' (*OED* s.v. *carry out* 1; cf. (57)).

(57) *But all the casinos have house physicians on twenty-four hour call and the little old women just get **carried out** screaming "Jackpot! Jackpot! Jackpot!"* (1956flem.f8b)

Other combinations do not appear in the subperiod 1950-90, although they are not obsolete in PDE. The most noticeable example is probably *cry out*. In the subperiod

[103] The last recorded example in the *OED* is dated 1845.

1650-99 seven examples of this combination were found with the meaning 'utter loud' (cf. (58)), whereas the only occurrence in the period 1950-90 has an emphatic value (cf. (59)).

(58) *When the gospel pierceth the heart indeed, they* ***cry out****, "Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved?"* (16xxbaxt.h2b)

(59) *Daddy had six months' leave and we stayed at the Hyde Park Hotel and I* ***cried*** *my eyes* ***out!*** (1960cowa.f8b)

Conversely, the subperiod 1950-90 contains a large number of (uses of) combinations which appeared after the EModE period and that, therefore, do not occur in the subperiod 1650-99. This is the case of combinations such as *check in* and *check out* 'record the incoming or outgoing of guests' (*OED* s.v. *check* 16e; cf. (60) and (61)), *close down* 'put an end to; stop the working of' (*OED* s.v. *close down* 2; cf. (62)), *cut in* 'interpose or interrupt abruptly in conversation' (*OED* s.v. *cut in* 4; cf. (63)), *die out* 'extinguish' (*OED* s.v. *die out* 2; cf. (64)), *get along* 'agree, act, or live harmoniously together' (*OED* s.v. *get along* 3; cf. (65)), *go up* 'explode' (*OED* s.v. *go up* 8; cf. (66)) and *pull together* 'recover control of oneself or one's emotions' (*OED* s.v. *pull together* 2b; cf. (67)).[104]

(60) *[…] a student who might have planned the bomb unwittingly in luggage* ***checked in*** *at Frankfurt.* (1989tim2.n8b)

(61) *The Spangled boys had all* ***checked out****.* (1956flem.f8b)

(62) *He said that if we exceeded our grant we might be* ***closed down****.* (1976hall.y8b)

[104] The first attested examples in the *OED* for these combinations are dated as follows: *check in* 1918, *check out* 1921, *close down* 1903, *cut in* 1830, *die out* 1865, *get along* 1875, *go up* 1932 and *pull together* 1868.

(63) *"Well, of course, you can't do it," **cut in** Jane coolly.* (1957lark.f8b)

(64) *But as they **die out**, no one replaces them.* (1975huxl.y8b)

(65) *I think you and I might **get along** very well.* (1960ratt.d8b)

(66) *[T]he fort **went up** in flames.* (1960cowa.f8b)

(67) *Then one of the naked men **pulled** himself **together** and went round opening the boxes and letting the people out.* (1956flem.f8b)

In the subperiod 1950-90 there is also an example of the combination *cough up* (cf. (68)) with the idiomatic meaning 'produce or present something, such as an amount of money' (*TFD* s.v. *cough up*), whose use is not recorded in the *OED*.

(68) *He will presumably **cough up** 1,000 DMs, and I shall then have the new car, and it will be spring.* (1960aldn.x8b)

Similarly, the rare and unique case of the emphatic combination *give down* (cf. (69)) is found in the subperiod 1650-99.

(69) *Here my Father writes to me, If I will take up, (that's the old man's Expression) and find a virtuous Woman with a Fortune, he will **give** me Three thousand pounds **down**, and settle Eight hundred a year.* (1697pix-.d2b)

Another remarkable example concerns the combination *rise up*. In the only example found in the subperiod 1650-99 the combination has a reiterative value (cf. (70)), whereas in the subperiod 1950-90 it mostly appears with the idiomatic meaning 'spring up, come into existence' (cf. (71)). The emergence of idiomatic meanings over time will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.5.4.1 below.

(70) *"When once the master of the house is **risen up**," saith Christ, "and hath shut to the door, and ye begin to stand without, and to knock […]."* (16xxbuny.h2b)

(71) *I thought how sad it was, all this progress and patriotism and marching on and conquering the realms of culture, yet love **rising up** to spoil all and hold one back.* (1957maca.f8b)

By way of conclusion, the semantic analysis of the phrasal verbs recorded in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER offered in this section provides two main results. On the one hand, it has proved that the general tendency for aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic, metaphorical and idiomatic combinations to increase in frequency continues after the EModE period in British English, whereas literal combinations tend to keep stable and reiterative meanings decrease. On the other hand, my analysis has shown that, despite the fact that some phrasal verbs, or at least some of their meanings, have fallen into disuse over time, these constructions are very productive in the sense that their semantics are being constantly renewed, with new senses and combinations being continuously added to the language.

4.4.3. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

As stated in Chapter 3, English phrasal verbs have not always had the structure with which we associate them in PDE. In earlier stages of the language they can be found in a wider range of syntactic orderings and still in EModE they are more flexible than their PDE counterparts as regards the order of constituents (cf. Martin 1990: 121ff; Castillo 1994: 447, 450), and the type of intervening elements allowed between the verb and the particle (cf. Claridge 2000: 155; Thim 2006a: 221). My aim in this section is to assess whether these statements also hold true for the phrasal verbs in ARCHER and to examine whether it is possible to appreciate an increasing rigidification in the order of clause constituents over time.

Out of the 7,474 examples found in the corpus, 3,582 are transitive combinations (47.93%) and 3,892 are intransitive (52.07%). The possible orderings for transitive

combinations found in my corpus are given in Table 23 below, where X stands for any constituent(s) other than the verb (V), the particle (P) and the object (O).

Table 23: Patterns of transitive phrasal verbs in ARCHER

Pattern	**Tokens**	**%**
O(X)(X)V(X)P	109	3.04%
V(X)O(X)(X)P	939	26.21%
V(X)P(X)(X)O	1,481	41.34%
VP(X)	1,050	29.31%
VXP	3	0.08%
Total	**3,582**	

As shown in Table 23, the two commonest syntactic orderings in the corpus are also the ones available in PDE and previous stages of the language (cf. Chapter 3), namely verb-object-particle (VOP), as in (72), and verb-particle-object (VPO), as in (73), the latter being the predominant one.[105]

(72) *Then it's clearly one's duty to advise them to **make** it **up**.* (1894jone.d6b)

(73) *Perhaps you have **found out** some new Philosophy.* (1730vanb.d3b)

These two basic transitive patterns present some variants with intervening elements between the two parts of the combination itself or between the combination and its object. In the case of the VOP pattern the intervening element can be, for example, an AdvP modifying the particle, such as *all* (cf. (74)), *entirely* (cf. (75)) and *forcibly* (cf. (76)), an IO in the form of a PP or a pronoun (cf. (77) and (78)), and a directional PP

[105] The VPO pattern is in fact the predominant one in all of the subperiods of ARCHER and also in PDE (cf. Cappelle 2005: 270).

(cf. (79)). There is also one example with two consecutive intervening elements, namely a parenthetical comment and a PredC in the form of an adjective (cf. (80)).

(74) *This came from Rob in a rush, and he would fain have **called** it all **back**.* (1891barr.f6b) [VOXP]

(75) *The hunters generally lay out on the open! but **cover** themselves entirely **over**.* (1872hart.j6b) [VOXP]

(76) *I found his pulse hard and strong, his pain increased to perfect agony, either determined to a point, and piercing his body through, or at other times **binding** forcibly the abdomen **round**.* (1735port.m3b) [VXOP]

(77) *I was just agoing to **give** it to you **back** sir!* (1889madd.d6b) [VOXP]

(78) *[He] will **give** me Three thousand pounds **down**.* (1697pix-.d2b) [VXOP]

(79) *the hopes to which he clung frantically, as the murderer of old might to the horns of the altar, and **dragged** him from the very sanctuary **back** again into all the terrors of retributive destruction.* (1847lefa.f5b) [VOXP]

(80) *Let those who enjoy such comfort pity me, who made 3,700 miles on a blind mare! and **brought** her (humanity would not allow me to sell her) safe **back** to Bradfield.* (1788youn.j4b) [VOXXP]

The intervening elements in the VPO arrangement can be an adjunct in the form of a PP (cf. (81)), an AdvP (cf. (82) to (84)) or a clause (cf. (85)), an IO in the form of a PP (cf. (86)) or a pronoun (cf. (87)), and a vocative expression (cf. (88)).

(81) *At length she **broke out** in a most bitter exclamation, that Agnes was ruined, undone, vilely, vilely sunk and lost.* (1751clel.f4b) [VPXO]

(82) *He paused a while; and, recollecting himself, **cried out** aloud -- What should I fear?* (1778reev.f4b) [VPXO]

(83) *[T]o that end she resolved to build Churches, and **make** also **up** a Congregation of Women.* (1666cav2.f2b) [VXPO]

(84) *[S]he beamed, **tucking** dexterously **away** an apostolic spoon.* (1917firb.f7b) [VXPO]

(85) *I will **set down** as clearly as I can what perception men have had of genii or spirits by the sense of seeing.* (1720dfoe.f3b) [VXPO]

(86) *[B]ut I need not **point out** to you that such a proceeding would be most unbusinesslike*. (1895mach.f6b) [VPXO]

(87) ***Bring** me **back** a quart while you're at it.* (1958john.d8b) [VXPO]

(88) *Since he is to see what this gentleman writes, pray **put down**, Sir, that I say*. (1753rich.f4b) [VPXO]

In three rather exceptional cases there are two clause constituents intervening between the phrasal combination and its object (cf. (89) to (91) below).

(89) *They had **left out**, strange to say, from Warton's sonnets, some of the best in the language.* (1819moor.y5b) [VPXXO]

(90) *He **pointed out** to me however three honest men.* (1872kilv.y6b) [VPXXO]

(91) *Agreement was reached at a meeting of the deputy Military Governors of the British and American zones to-day to **put up** for sale in Germany one unit.* (1949tim2.n7b) [VPXXO]

These three isolated examples, together with (77) above and perhaps (83), are the only examples in the corpus which seem to be somehow unusual from the PDE perspective. In view of this, it seems therefore safe to maintain that the order of constituents of the phrasal verbs found in ARCHER is basically similar (with sporadic exceptions) to that of PDE.

The group with the O(X)(X)V(X)P arrangement comprises mainly cases of combinations whose object is a relative (cf. (92)) or an interrogative pronoun (cf. (93)) and some causative sentences of the type *have something done* (cf. (94)).

(92) *It is assured by some that he is now before Bagdat, which he keeps **block'd up***. (1743lon1.n3)

(93) *And how many of the old pastures had they **broken up** for corn?* (1925garn.f7b)

(94) *[W]hat, to have another Tooth* ***beat out*** *Madam?* (1731cibb.d3b)

In addition, this group also contains examples of preposed NP objects (probably for emphatic reasons), as the ones shown in (95) and (96).

(95) *The right Breast we* ***took*** *not* ***off****, but we guess, it weighed fourty pounds.* (1669dars.m2b)

(96) *This mystery I was to* ***preach up*** *in his church.* (1756amor.f4b)

Finally, the VP(X) and VXP orders in Table 23 above correspond to passive sentences (cf. (97)) whose verb and particle can occasionally be interrupted by an adverb (cf. (98)).

(97) *[S]ome of the excuses which were* ***put forward****.* (1899fitz.y6b)

(98) *[B]ut after the fever is* ***brought*** *sufficiently* ***down*** *by the loss of blood, I have seldom missed to complete the cure.* (1735ano2.m3b)

A total of 1,058 instances of phrasal verbs in ARCHER occur in the passive voice, which constitute 14.15% of all tokens. This is somewhat striking if we consider that phrasal verbs tend to be defined as informal and colloquial structures (cf. *ODCIE* 1975: iv; McArthur 1989: 774; Biber et al. 1999: 408, 409; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284), whereas passives are more typically associated with formal academic prose (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 476; Seoane 2006a: 372, 2013).[106] Examples of this mixture of formal

[106] Although it has been noted that the frequency of passive constructions tends to decrease in favour of the active voice towards the end of the 20th century in written scientific discourse (cf. Seoane & Loureiro-Porto 2005; Seoane 2006b), evidence extracted from the HC by Seoane (2006a) shows that during the period 1420-1710 passive sentences outnumber active constructions in formal text types (law, science and sermons). Similar results are obtained by Seoane (2013) for the LModE period, when the frequency of passive sentences turned out higher in formal text types (law and science) than in informal text types (personal letters and drama).

and informal features are attested in all the subperiods and across the various text types (cf. examples (99) to (102) below).

(99) *The doctor was **taken aback**, but the solemn disposition of his features did not relax as he almost intoned.* (1887shaw.f6b)

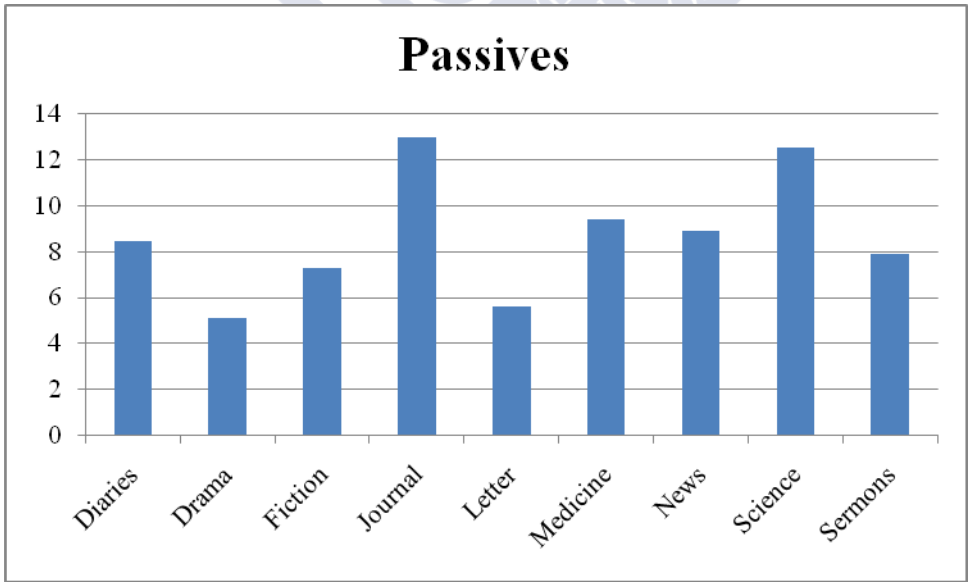
(100) *[…] and the protectors of others were **washed away**.* (1825davy.s5b)

(101) *But by the favourable Providence of Almighty God I was not **thrown down**.* (1722clav.y3b)

(102) *So the seeming impossible was **brought about**.* (1963carp.h8b)

Interestingly, phrasal-verb passives in ARCHER do not occur exclusively in formal text types, such as medicine and science, in which passive sentences generally abound (cf. 5.2.5 below), but they are also found in other less formal genres, such as journals, as shown in Figure 17 below.

Figure 17: Distribution of phrasal-verb passives in ARCHER



Another important factor to be considered when analyzing transitive combinations is the type of object, which, as pointed out in previous studies, can have an effect on the order of the clause constituents (cf. Section 2.4.2.2). Although the data retrieved from ARCHER can surely be used for a diachronic multifactorial analysis of particle placement, carrying out such an analysis along the lines of Gries (2003) must be left for further research. My contribution in this dissertation will therefore be mostly descriptive. Table 24 below provides the total number of tokens of transitive combinations in the two basic patterns (or one of their variants), as well as the type of objects with which they usually collocate.

Table 24: Distribution of the two main transitive phrasal-verb patterns in ARCHER

	VPO	**VOP**
	Tokens (%)	Tokens (%)
Clause	114 (7.69%)	-
Pronoun	18 (1.21%)	700 (74.54%)
NP	1,349 (91.08%)	239 (25.45%)
Total	**1,481**	**939**

As can be seen, the VPO structure is especially frequent when the object is a clause (cf. (103)) or a NP (cf. (104)).

(103) *Xenophon **called out**, "Here is water."* (1957maca.f8b)

(104) *[It] was much more difficult and painful to her than **bringing away** the dead Child.* (1683tyso.m2b)

By contrast, the VPO structure never occurs with pronouns, except when these are demonstrative (3 tokens; cf. (105)), indefinite (8 tokens; cf. (106) to (108)), possessive (1 token; cf. (109)) or reflexive pronouns (6 tokens; cf. (110)).

(105) *Nay, then my honour's concern'd, I can't **put up** that, Sir.* (1675wych.d2b)

(106) *She **took up** some.* (1917firb.f7b)

(107) *[...]though we only **took off** one, viz. the biggest, which was the left.* (1669dars.m2b)

(108) *Freddie Strong has **dug up** something at Luxor which I know you'll go absolutely mad about.* (1960ratt.d8b)

(109) *[H]e earnestly desired her to **keep up** hers.* (1751fiel.f4b)

(110) *It **lifted up** itself upon its hinder legs.* (1724fair.s3b)

In turn, the VOP arrangement never occurs with clausal objects, while it occurs only occasionally (25.45% of all tokens) with NPs (cf. (111)).

(111) *Desiress permitted him to halt, as if to **argue** the matter **out**.* (1891barr.f6b)

In ARCHER all types of pronouns occur in the VOP pattern (cf. (112)), independently of whether these are demonstratives (cf. (113)), indefinites (12 tokens; cf. (114)), possessives (1 tokens; cf. (115)) or reflexive pronouns (50 tokens; cf. (116)).

(112) *He has **brought** me **up**.* (1723blac.f3b)

(113) *I **fought** this **off** as well as I could.* (1819moor.y5b)

(114) *These two **lead** one **astray** sometimes.* (1872blac.f6b)

(115) *Isabel presently **put** hers **aside**.* (1886giss.f6b)

(116) *He could run like a swift dog, or lie down and **curl** himself **up** like a tired one.* (1926deep.f7b)

A number of phrasal verb + object combinations can be considered as fossilized expressions. Most of them follow a fixed VPO order, such as, for example, *make up someone's mind* 'reach or approach a decision or conclusion; resolve' (cf. (117)),[107]

[107] Notice, however, that the alternative order is also possible in PDE:

(i) *He hasn't **made his mind up**.* (BNC KCX S_Conv)

give up the ghost 'breathe one's last, expire' (cf. (118)), *turn up someone's heels* 'knock someone down; lay low; kill' (cf. (119)), *take up arms* 'arm oneself, rise in hostility defensive or offensive, draw the sword' (cf. (120)) and *put up a show* 'give (such) an account of oneself' (cf. (121)).

(117) *His father had no other son, and had **made up his mind** that Clement should go into the book trade.* (1886giss.f6b)

(118) *And he bowed his head and **gave up the ghost**.* (1781blai.h4b)

(119) *[H]e hath overtaken many, he hath **turned up their heels**, and hath given them an everlasting fall.* (16xxbuny.h2b)

(120) *[I]n the mean time they have put up the Standard of St Otalla, whereby all men from 15 to 60 years of Age, are obliged to **take up Arms** and join the Army for the defense of the Country*. (1697pos2.n2b)

(121) *I managed to get through New York on nembutals and tranquillisers, and **put up quite a good shew**.* (1961whit.x8b)

Example (120) above containing the expression *take up arms* antedates the first recorded example in the *OED*, which dates back from 1855. Apparently, the expression existed in earlier times but without the particle *up*, as shown in the following *OED* example:

(122) *The Guise hath **taken armes** against the King.* (*OED* a1593 Marlowe *Massacre at Paris* (c1600))

The only fossilized expression in the VOP order found in ARCHER is *lay heads together* 'confer together' (cf. (123)).

(123) *[T]he thick & spreading tops of the trees seemed to **lay their heads together** in conspiracy to keep not only the Suns entry, but also the curious search of any mortals eye.* (1665head.f2b)

As far as intransitive combinations are concerned, the majority of examples display the expected word order with the particle following the verb. However, some examples were found in which the particle precedes the verb (probably for emphatic reasons) with or without subject inversion (cf. (124) and (125) respectively).

(124) *[S]o **off** they **bolted** by the back door and rushed into a sugarcane field.* (1872gla1.n6b)

(125) ***[D]own went** the table -- cups, glasses, bowls, flaggons, and all, rattling and rumbling over the dusty old boards; and **down rolled** the combatants over the prostrate table.* (1847lefa.f5b)

Occasionally, also the main elements of intransitive combinations are split by an AdvP modifying the particle (cf. (126) and (127)) or an adjunct in the form of a PP (cf. (128)).

(126) *[...] the several measures sometimes exceeding, sometimes not **coming** entirely **up** to the rule*. (1735mart.m3b)

(127) *The eruptions that were thick, inflammatory, and sending out a sanies, as I observed them in the beginning, **going** all **away**.* (1735thom.m3b)

(128) *[...] when I saw the Marquis de Stainville start at the first Sight of me; **fly** in a moment **back** to the Door, and run into my Arms.* (1744fldg.f3b)

A final note concerning the possibility of certain phrasal-verb particles to coordinate with other particles seems in order. As stated in Section 2.4.2.7, the coordination test has been discarded as a criterion to sort out phrasal-verb particles from other types of adverbs, so that all the coordinated examples have been counted as cases of phrasal verbs in this dissertation. Coordination typically occurs between particles with opposite meanings and is generally, though not necessarily, stereotyped (cf. 2.4.2.7). All the examples found in ARCHER involve the coordinations *up and down* (cf. (129)), *out and in* (cf. (130)) *in and out* (cf. (131)) and *on and off* (cf. (132)). Notice

that the expression *go in and out* in example (131) below is a fixed phrase meaning 'conduct oneself, do the business of life' (*OED* s.v. *go in* 1), so that the statement that only literal particles have the ability to conjoin again proves to be wrong (cf. 2.4.2.7).

(129) *[U]pon the approach of the Summer, the frost breaketh, and the Ice, which was congealed near forty or fifty leagues to the shoar, breaks off from the land and floats* ***up and down*** *in the Sea.* (1675ano2.s2b)

(130) *[A]ir* ***passed*** *easily* ***out and in****, and the walls of the chest seemed to expand.* (1864spen.m6b)

(131) *This place, according to the late Geographiea Map, as well as the report of ancient Writers, cannot possibly be so besieged, but that they within may* ***go in and out*** *at their pleasure, without impeachment, for at the Middle-Temple Gate.* (1673head.f2b)

(132) *I was then faced with a choice between sitting with a fixed grin on my face or switching it* ***on and off*** *rapidly, like an advertising sign.* (1975huxl.y8b)

Other examples of coordinations involve reduplication of the particles as to indicate some kind of repetition of the process expressed. The only instances of this kind found in ARCHER involve the elements *round* and *over* (cf. (133) to (135) below).

(133) *He took her into his arms, entered the turret, and with slow and cautious steps* ***descended round and round****.* (1873hard.f6b)

(134) *When placed in its cage picked up some pieces of bread, and sat and ate them contentedly; then rose and* ***marched round and round****.* (1873ferr.s6b)

(135) *I* ***turned*** *it* ***over and over****, and finally pulled out a magnifying glass from my pocket, and seemed to search every line in the cutting with minutest scrutiny.* (1895mach.f6b)

In the light of the corpus evidence, it can therefore be maintained that the syntactic structure of phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990 is quite similar to that of PDE, except for some occasional arrangements which do not seem acceptable any longer in the contemporary language.

4.4.4. WORDS AND PHRASES DERIVED FROM PHRASAL VERBS

This section is concerned with the description of those words and phrases obtained from phrasal verbs attested in ARCHER, namely *-ing* nominalizations (i.e. nouns and phrases derived from phrasal verbs by the addition of the suffix *-ing*; e.g. *the giving up, washing up*; cf. Section 2.4.2.6) and other derivatives (i.e. nouns and adjectives obtained from phrasal verbs by any process of derivation apart from the addition of the *-ing* suffix; e.g. *a setter forth, a punched out hole*). These have not been included in the count of total tokens presented in this chapter for the simple reason that they are not phrasal verbs, i.e. they represent different grammatical categories, so that they require a separate analysis from them. However, given the relatively high number of examples of such forms in ARCHER, I believe that they deserve mention, although my approach to these formations will be mostly descriptive.

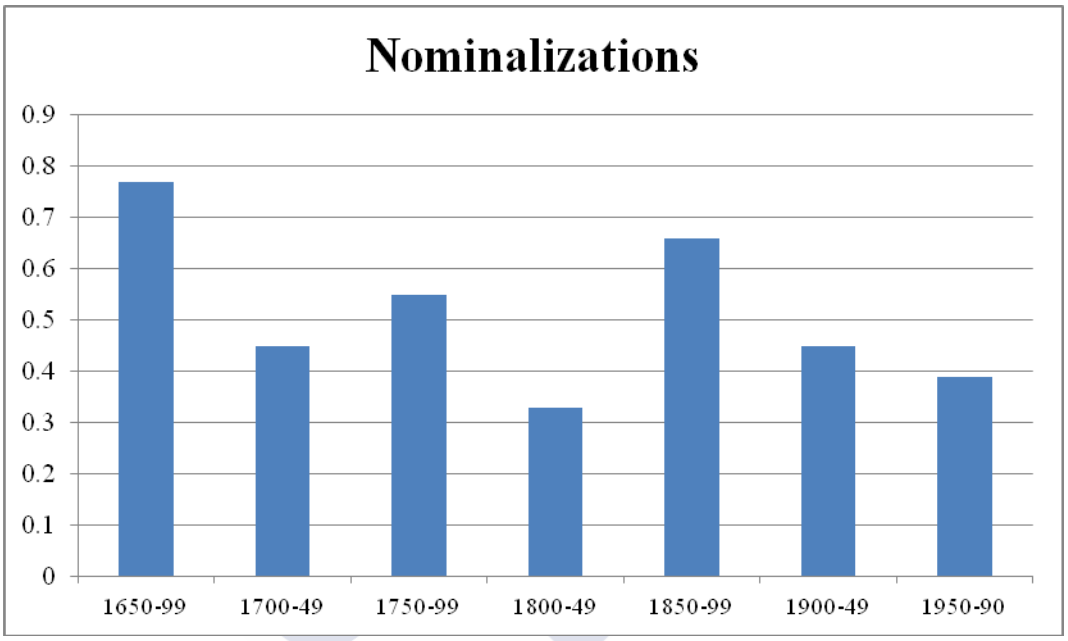
4.4.4.1. **-ing** ***nominalizations***

The *-ing* nominalizations of phrasal verbs attested in the corpus proved of interest because of their relationship to the syntactic test posed by Fraser (1976: 3), according to which phrasal verbs can undergo an action nominalization of the type *the finding out* (cf. Section 2.4.2.6 above). Therefore, all of the nominalizations investigated involve the conversion of a phrasal verb into a nominal element by the addition of the suffix *-ing* (but not other suffixes typical of nominalizations such as e.g. *-ation*, *-ion*). In other words, they can also be described as a type of gerund having a distribution similar to that of a noun or a NP. According to Tajima (1985: 106ff; cf. also Fanego 1996: 111), gerunds deriving from phrasal and prepositional verbs have been present in the English

language since the ME period, which indicates that phrasal verbs were already entrenched in the language at that time as to permit transformations of this kind.

A total of 69 *-ing* nominalizations have been attested in ARCHER. These occur across the seven subperiods though in differing proportions, generally showing a tendency to decrease in frequency over time (cf. Figure 18 below).

Figure 18: Distribution of *-ing* nominalizations throughout the seven subperiods of ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



The classification of the phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations in my data has been carried out following the line in Fanego (1996: 97-99, 106-108), who sorts out EModE gerunds according to three criteria, namely their internal syntax, the clause constituents accompanying the gerund and the function of the gerund in the clause. As regards their internal function, gerundial constructions can be considered either nominal (e.g. *the Numbring of them*), verbal (e.g. *the abolishing the whole Hierarchy in that Kingdome*) or mixed nomino-verbal, showing properties typical of verbs (e.g. ability to govern a

direct object, modification by an adjunct) and of nouns (e.g. ability to be modified by a determiner) at one and the same time. This group includes two further subtypes, namely Poss-*ing* constructions (e.g. *its hanging freely at the bottom of the string*) and mixed gerunds properly, which combine both verbal and nominal properties (e.g. *I praised god both for the inableinge the minister so profettably to declare the word as he had*). Gerunds behaving as verbs proper were included in the general count of phrasal verbs (e.g. *He said that he must be going out*; 1935ishe.f7b), so that the nominalized structures described in this section include only nominal gerunds (cf. (136)) and mixed nomino-verbal constructions with or without a possessive pronoun (cf. (137) and (138) respectively).

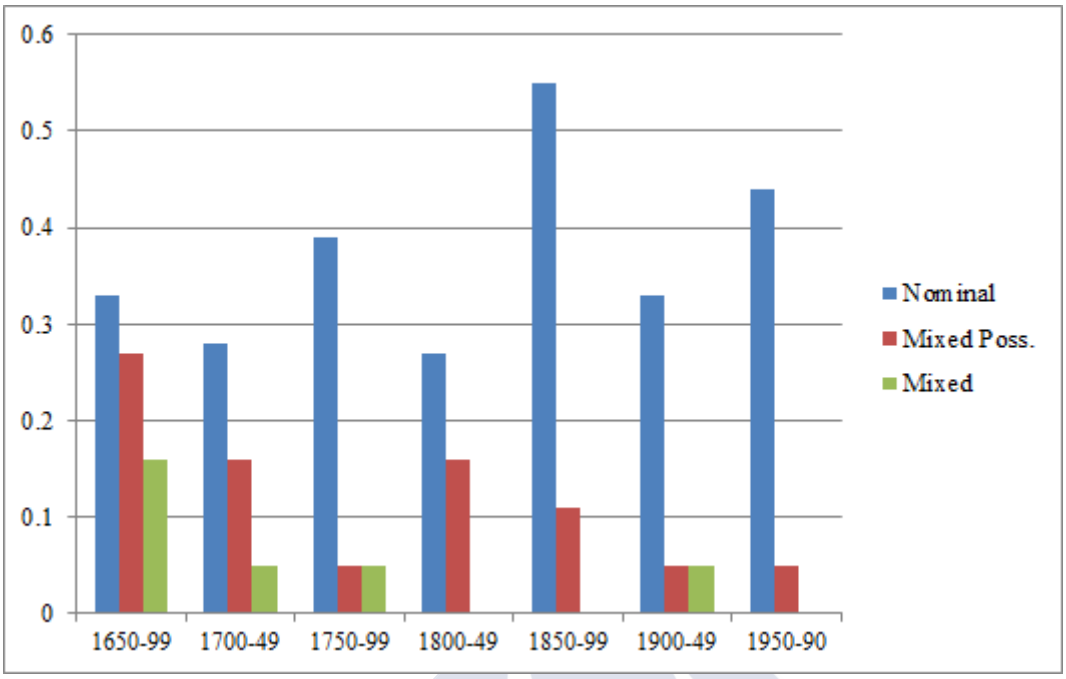
(136) *MADAM, If your fair Eyes, upon the **breaking up** of this.* (1692cong.f2b)

(137) *For God's sake, Madam, not a word of her **lying out** to night, we shall have the Devil to do with the Old Gentlewoman.* (1692soth.d2b)

(138) *Upon which, the Collonel gave present Orders for the **taking up** several of the Irish Inhabitants about that place.* (1691gink.j2b)

Notice that both gerunds in (136) and (138) above behave typically as nouns in allowing premodification by the definite article *the*. However, whereas in (136) the "notional object surfaces as an *of*-phrase" (Fanego 1996: 98), in (138) *taking up* governs a DO, thus behaving more like a verb in this respect. Concerning this distinction, the majority of examples found in ARCHER are of the nominal type (68.11%), followed by the mixed Poss-*ing* type (23.18%) and the mixed type (8.69%). As can be seen in Figure 19 below, this is the normal tendency practically in all the subperiods, except in 1750-99 and 1900-49, in which the mixed Poss-*ing* and the mixed types have a similar frequency.

Figure 19: Distribution of phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations according to internal function over the seven subperiods in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



As regards the type of accompanying clause constituents, gerunds can be classified into four main groups: a) Type I: bare gerund; b) Type II: pre-head dependents only; c) Type III: post-head dependents only; and, d) Type IV: both pre- and post-head dependents. Examples of the four subtypes have been found in ARCHER, as can be seen in examples (139) to (142) below.

(139) ***Washing up****'s no trouble when there are two people to do it.* (1895shaw.d6b) (Type I)

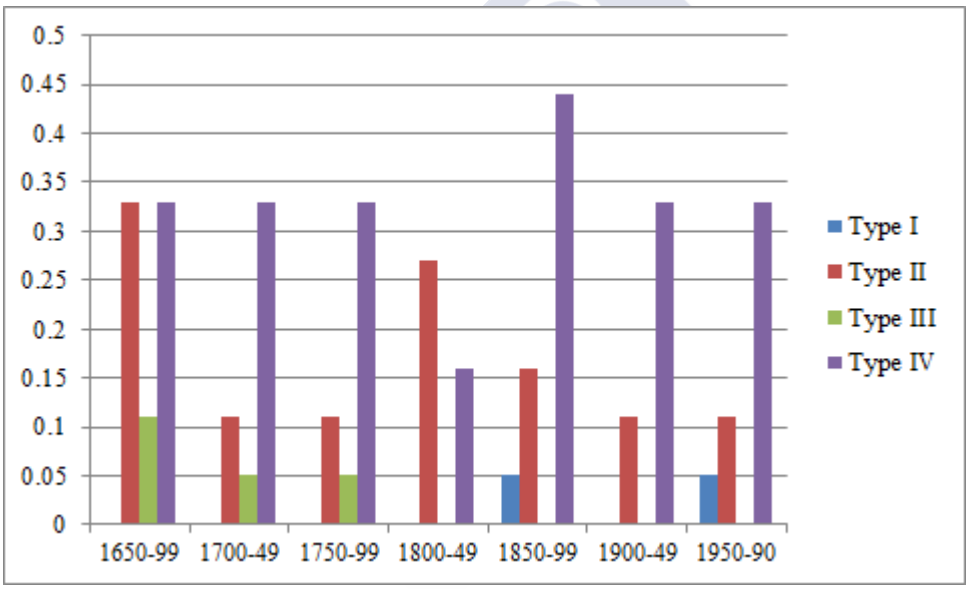
(140) *[S]he was uncomfortable because my hypnotism 'screwed out Mother's stomach' instead of* Mother's *'**screwing out**' mine as it should be.* (1912yeat.x7b) (Type II)

(141) *They proceeded, at my desire, to Poll directly without* ***holding up*** of hands. (1739perr.y3b) (Type III)

(142) *[T]here is a* marked ***falling-off*** of effectiveness *below 1-8.* (1925angu.s7b) (Type IV)

In general, Type IV is the predominant one in my data (59.42%), followed by Type II (21.88%), Type III (5.79%) and, finally, Type I (2.89%), a tendency which is observed in practically all the subperiods. Type IV dominates in all the subperiods except in 1650-99, where it shows a frequency of occurrence similar to that of Type II, and in 1800-49, where it is outnumbered by Type II. In turn, Type III occupies the third position regularly during the first three subperiods, but is not attested from 1800 onwards. Finally, examples of Type I are only recorded in the subperiods 1850-99 and 1950-90 (cf. Figure 20).

Figure 20: Distribution of phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations according to type of constituents over the seven subperiods in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



Concerning their function in the superordinate structure, phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations have been found to occur in five main functions, namely PrepO (cf. (143)), subject (cf. (144)), PredC (cf. (145)), DO (cf. (146)) and appositive (cf. (147)). Additionally, three isolated examples have also been attested in a clause of purpose (cf.

(148)), as the second term in a comparative construction (cf. (149)) and as an adjunct (cf. (150)).

(143) *Notwithstanding the great diligence that is every where used for the **getting out** our Fleet [...].* (1672lon1.n2b)

(144) *[...] That his **coming Home** so long before the Divertisements were ended, and Undressing himself, had given him the Unhappy Curiosity, to put on his Habit, and go to the Pallace.* (1692cong.f2b)

(145) *That the first recognizable change in the vicinity of a forming tooth-germ is a **dipping down** of a process of the oral epithelium.* (1874tome.s6b)

(146) *You see, Madam, that I have owned the **laying down** of my pen.* (1756rich.x4b)

(147) *[I]n fig. 5 we have three stages in the formation of a tooth-sac – namely, the earliest **dipping down** of epithelium.* (1874tome.s6b)

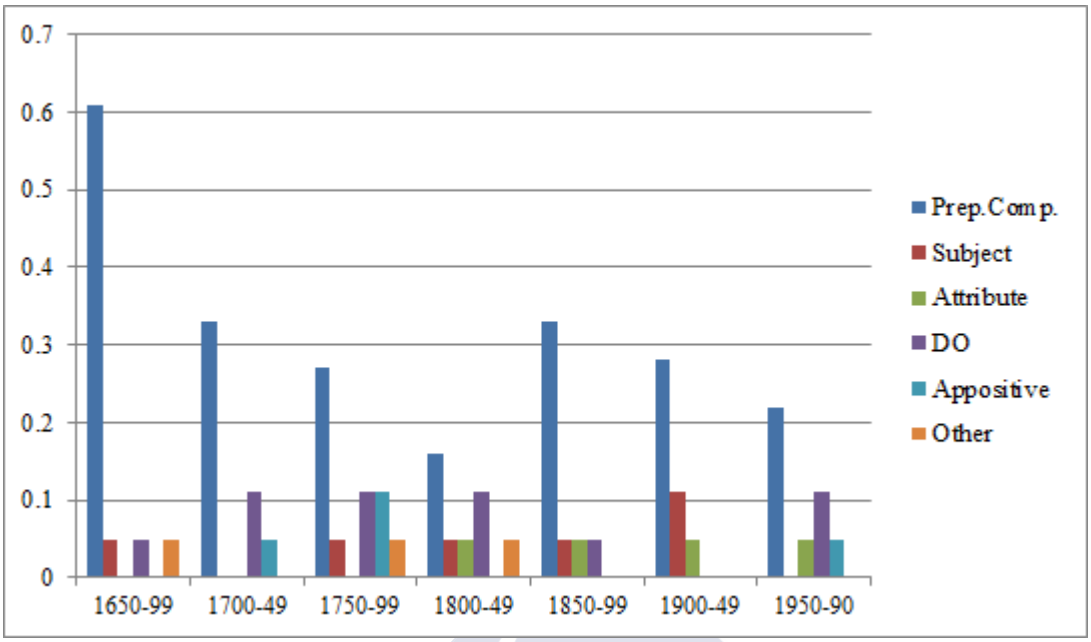
(148) *[...] ill Circumstances, relating to Accounts belonging to His Majesty, hath now left Scotland, and is on his way for England, in order to the **making up** his said Accounts.* (1682pro2.n2b)

(149) *If all this theatre business mattered I should say that he has thrown you away, a blacker crime than the **throwing away** of 50,000,000,000,000 Men of Destiny.* (1897shaw.x6b)

(150) *He seemed to swallow a few drops in this manner with very great trouble and pain of his throat, starting or **drawing back** of the muscles of his face, and sobbing, as happened from his former endeavours.* (1775bath.m4b)

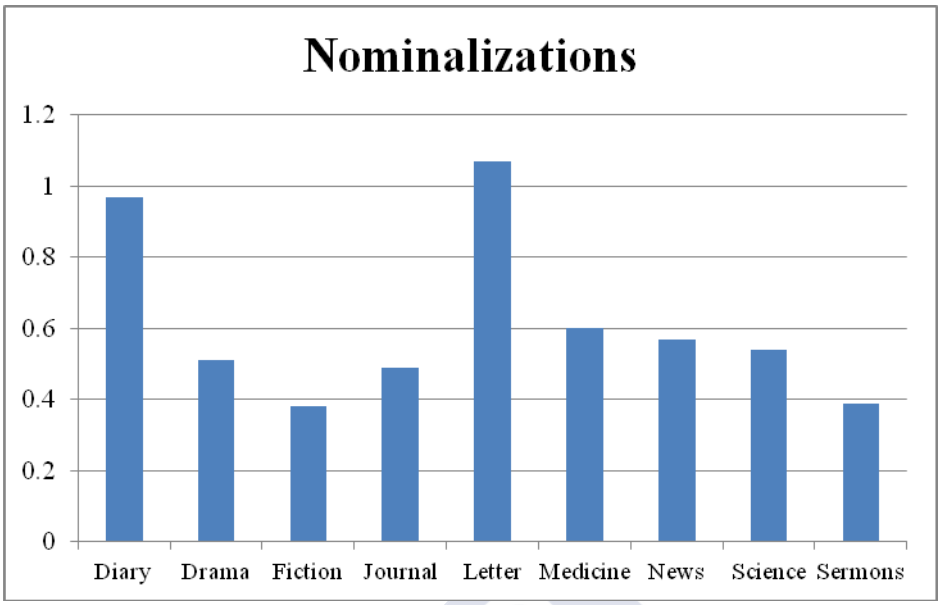
The commonest syntactic function fulfilled by the examples in ARCHER is that of PrepCo (57.97%), also the commonest one throughout the seven subperiods (cf. Figure 21), followed by those of DO (14.49%), PredC (8.69%), subject (8.69%) and apposition (5.79%). These tendencies have also been observed in earlier periods (cf. Fanego 1996: 135).

Figure 21: Distribution of phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations according to syntactic function over the seven subperiods in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



It is generally agreed that nominalizations tend to occur in planned, written English, as is the case with scientific English, in which lexical density, or the amount of content words, is higher than in spoken English (cf. Halliday & Martin 1993: 76, 131ff). The highest concentration of nominalizations in ARCHER occurs in the genres letters and diaries (cf. Figure 22), whose language is generally described as closer to the spoken medium. This may be so because my data include only nominalizations formed by the addition of the suffix *-ing*.

Figure 22: Cross-genre distribution of phrasal-verb *-ing* nominalizations in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



These figures seem to indicate that the general assumption that nominalizations mostly occur in academic, formal written text types does not hold true, at least in the case of *-ing* phrasal-verb nominalizations.

4.4.4.2. Other derivatives

In addition to *-ing* nominalizations, ARCHER contains 80 examples of words obtained through derivation from phrasal verbs by the addition of other suffixes, most commonly *-er* (cf. (151) and (152)) and *-ing* (cf. (153) and (154)), or by conversion (cf. (155) to (158)). All the derived words were nouns (65%) and adjectives (35%).

(151) *They said, "he seemeth to be a* ***setter forth*** *of strange gods, because he preached unto them Jesus and the resurrection."* (16xxtill.h2b)

(152) *There was the new Merrymount Theatre with its roguish Amorini supporting torches and smiling down over gay flower-boxes on to the* ***passers-by****.* (1917firb.f7b)

(153) *It was broken off here, and has been so completely covered by* ***filling-in*** *tissue that there is scarcely any evidence of a disturbance of the tissues beyond this year.* (1925thom.s7b)

(154) *Though I'm not sure that Archie is the* ***settling down*** *sort.* (1952whit.f8b)

(155) *The commentary ended with the hope that "the students will calm down, end their* ***sit in*** *at once and return to their classes."* (1989tim1.n8b)

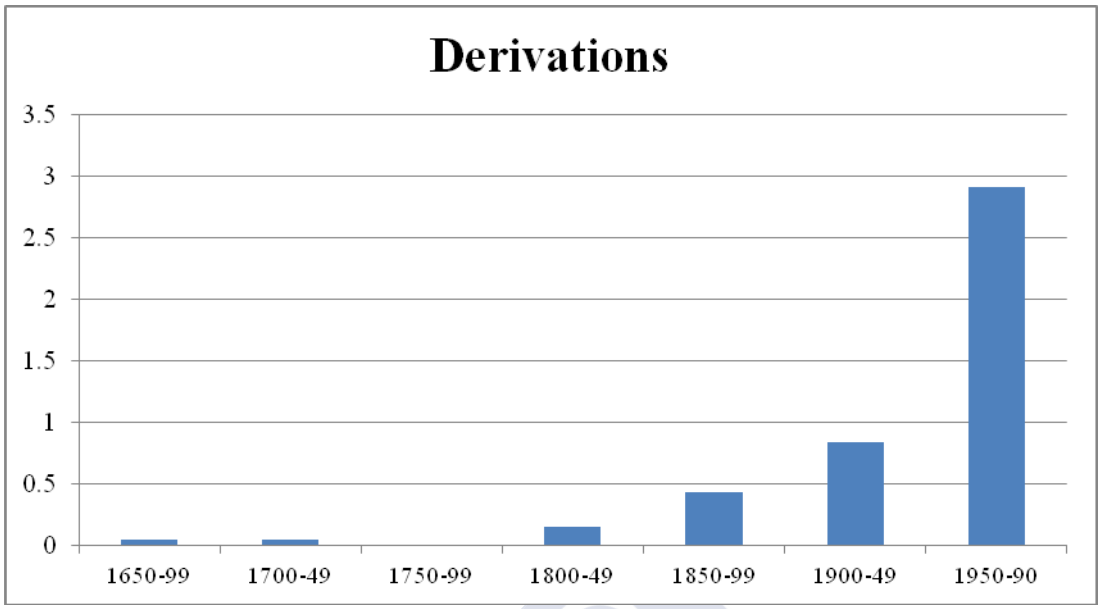
(156) *But whatever the* ***set-up*** *is it seems obvious that it's a bad* ***look-out*** *for the kids.* (1951durl.x8b)

(157) *Each of these, in most instances, seems to surround a tiny* ***punched-out*** *hole, and the pigmentation is most marked in the central depression.* (1905balf.m7b)

(158) *A picture of a crow in the Audubon magazine fascinates me – large, close, black and blue back with a white eyelid or eye-ring, still –* ***bent-in*** *claws.* (1976horn.y8b)

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation (cf. Section 2.4), the productivity of phrasal verbs in word-formation processes has often been taken as a sign of the unity between the verb and the particle. If this is so, then we can state that phrasal verbs seem to have gained unity over time, since the frequency of derived words has increased dramatically from the first to the last subperiod, as can be observed in Figure 23 below. This would then serve as confirmation of one of the main hypotheses defended in the present dissertation, namely that the verb and the particle of phrasal verbs form a single lexical unit.

Figure 23: Distribution of phrasal-verb derivations other than *-ing* nominalizations throughout the seven subperiods of ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



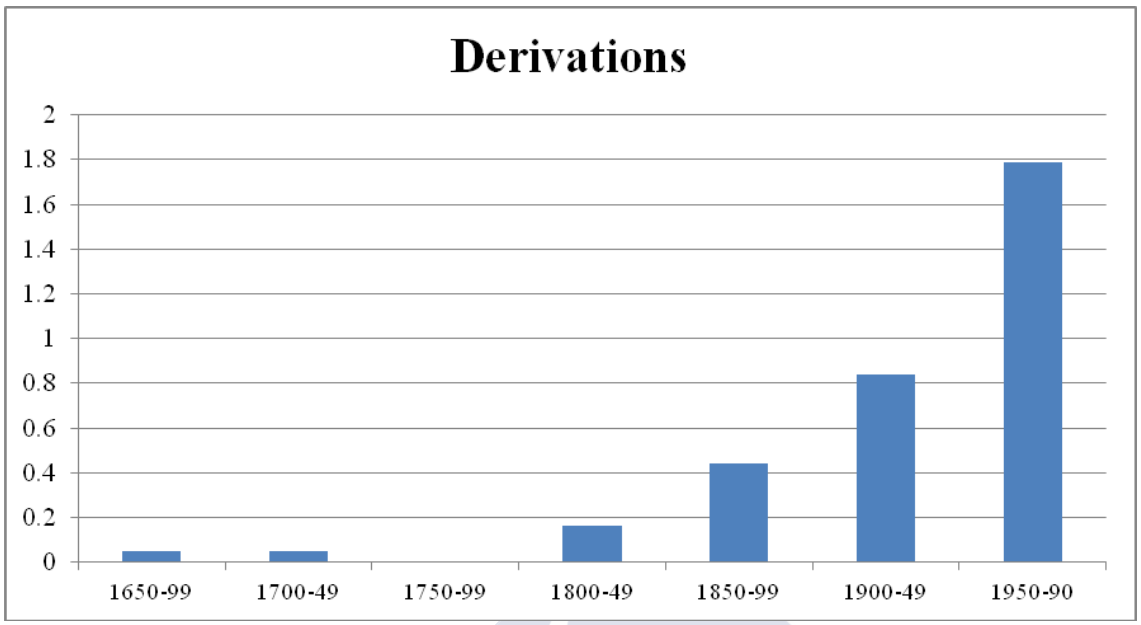
Nevertheless, these figures must be taken with caution for one main reason. Although the type of derivatives found in the subperiod 1950-90 is quite varied, nearly a half of the examples (20 out of 52; 38.46%) is constituted by nouns and adjectives derived from the combination *follow up* (cf. (159) and (160)), which occur recurrently in several medical texts (10 out of 20 tokens in the file 1985ferr.m8b).

(159) *The 15 patients lost to **follow-up** had stopped attending the clinic and failed to respond to a **follow-up** letter asking for relevant information.* (1985pull.m8b)

(160) *[M]ore problems in the calcified group occurred after 46 months, the mean period of **follow-up**. A 12-month **follow-up** at the end of chemotherapy has been advised in uncomplicated cases*. (1985ferr.m8b)

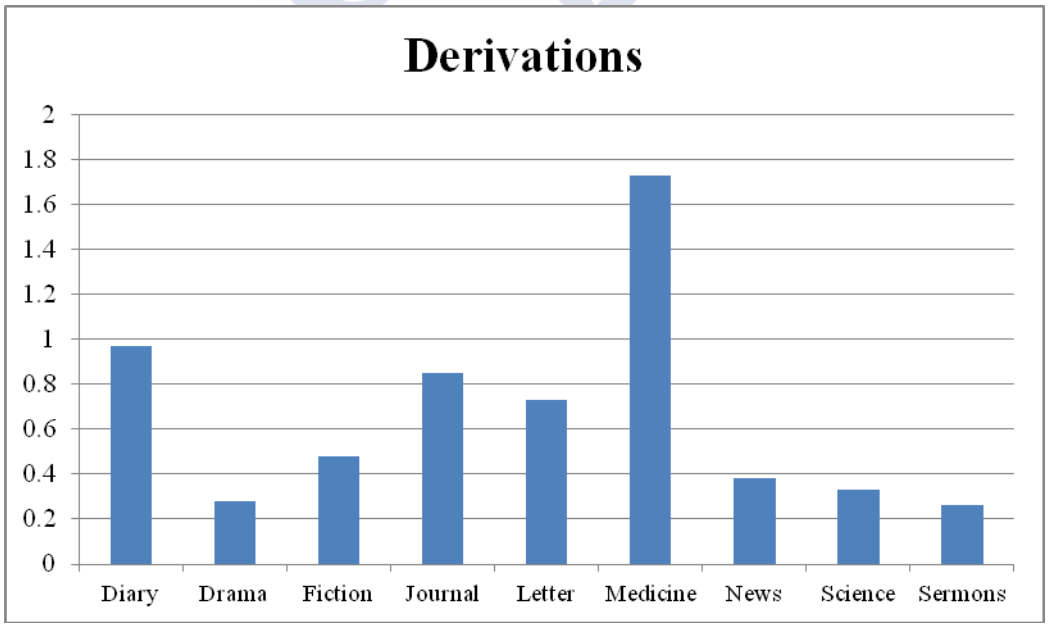
Still, if we remove the *follow-up* derivations from the total count, a rise in the frequency of these structures can be observed in the last corpus subperiod, as shown in Figure 24 below.

Figure 24: Distribution of phrasal-verb derivations other than *-ing* nominalizations throughout the seven subperiods of ARCHER excluding the *follow-up* examples from 1950-90. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



As regards their distribution across text types, the greatest concentration derivations occurs in the genre medicine, as shown in Figure 25 below.

Figure 25: Cross-genre distribution of phrasal-verb derivations other than *-ing* nominalizations in ARCHER. Normalized frequencies per 10,000 words



4.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter opened with a description of ARCHER, the corpus employed for the data analysis in this dissertation (cf. 4.2), focusing on some of its advantages (4.2.1) and drawbacks (4.2.2). Then I was concerned with some methodological issues relating to the extraction of the examples from the corpus (4.3) by way of introduction to the results of the linguistic analysis of phrasal verbs between 1650 and 1990 provided in Section 4.4.

My first concern here was the discussion of the morphological features of the constructions at issue, which included the the individual analysis of the verb and the particle, on the one hand (cf. 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2), and of the combinations as a single unit, on the other (cf. 4.4.1.3). Among the most remarkable findings in this section, I pointed to the fact that in earlier periods it is easier to find verbal elements which do not accommodate to the general tendency towards monosyllabic verbs of Germanic origin (e.g. *massacre*, *overture*, *surrender*, etc.), most likely as the result of the influence of Latin and French as languages of prestige in earlier stages. Additionally, the group of particles used in the formation of phrasal verbs was found to be rather variable over time. Thus, although most of the particles seem to remain stable, others increase in frequency (*back*, *down*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *round*, *through* and *up*), whereas the use of *forth* decreases dramatically. Moreover, certain adverbs (*across*, *ahead*, *along*, *around* and *past*) seem to have emerged as phrasal-verb particles only from the 18th century onwards.

As regards the type of phrasal combinations in the corpus, the most important findings probably relate to their productivity, which, according to the type/token

frequency and the count of *hapax legomena*, turned out to be higher in the subperiod 1800-49. Moreover, although in general phrasal verbs seem to grow up in over time, the corpus results showed a slight decrease in frequency during the first half of the 19th century, which might have been prompted by the influence of prescriptive works of the time.

Section 4.4.2 offered a semantic analysis of the phrasal-verb combinations in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER, i.e. 1650-99 and 1950-90. The output of my analysis showed that aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations, as well as metaphorical and figurative uses, seem to increase over time, whereas reiterative combinations decrease and literal uses remain rather stable. Thus, my results agree with those in previous studies where similar tendencies are described for earlier periods of the language (cf. Konishi 1958: 122; Claridge 2000: 96). The semantic analysis also showed how certain (uses of) combinations have fallen out of use, whereas others have emerged precisely during the time span under scrutiny in this dissertation, which seems to evidence that phrasal verbs are productive elements of the language constantly undergoing changes.

The most important syntactic characteristics of phrasal verbs during the LModE period and Twentieth-century English as represented in ARCHER were the concern of Section 4.4.3. In general, it can be said that, apart from a few isolated cases, the syntactic structure of the phrasal combinations has remained rather stable and presents few remarkable differences when compared to the PDE state of affairs. The most noticeable findings concern the order of the constituents in the clause, as well as the type of object in transitive combinations, since some of the examples attested in the

corpus present syntactic arrangements which are no longer possible in PDE. Also noteworthy was the fact that some phrasal verbs were found in the passive voice, which seems to be somewhat contradictory given that phrasal-verb combinations are generally associated with oral and colloquial styles, whereas the passive typically occurs in formal written English.

Finally, Section 4.4.4 provided a description of the *-ing* nominalizations and other derivatives obtained from phrasal-verb bases attested in ARCHER. These were not included in the general count of phrasal verbs because they belong to a different grammatical category and, therefore, deserve separate mention. My data show that the use of *-ing* nominalizations of phrasal verbs seems to have decreased over time, whereas that of other derivatives has increased. The productivity of phrasal verbs in processes of word-formation has often been taken as a sign of the unity between the verb and the particle. If this is so, then the increase in the frequency of derivations seems to point out that the degree of unity of phrasal-verb combinations is higher in recent times. This therefore confirms one of the main points defended in this dissertation: that the verb and the particle of a phrasal-verb combination form a single lexical unit.

5. PHRASAL VERBS 1650-1990: CROSS-GENRE DISTRIBUTION AND GENDER ANALYSIS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In PDE phrasal verbs tend to be associated with informal, colloquial, speech-related registers, whereas they seem to be avoided in formal writing (cf. *ODCIE* 1975: iv; Biber et al. 1999: 408, 409; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 284). Based on evidence from the CONCE, the studies by Kytö & Smitterberg (2006) and Smitterberg (2008) have also concluded that by the 19th century the frequency of phrasal verbs correlates with the degree of formality of the text. Some studies point out that this was also the case during the EModE period (cf., e.g., Visser 1963: section 673; Hiltunen 1994; Nevalainen 1999a: 423; Claridge 2000: 185-197). However, this statement has recently been questioned by Thim (2006b, 2012), who, although not dismissing completely the degree of (in)formality of a text as an influential factor, argues that in the period 1500-1700 the presence or absence of phrasal verbs in a text is motivated rather by its content which may prompt the use of phrasal verbs to convey predominantly literal meanings (2006b: 303). Following Thim, therefore, one could argue that phrasal verbs have shifted over time from being "stylistically neutral" (2006b: 302) to becoming markers of the colloquial language, and the change seems to have taken place at some point between the EModE period and the 19th century.

Bearing this in mind, this chapter is concerned with the cross-genre analysis of phrasal verbs in ARCHER. Firstly, Section 5.2 provides a general introduction to the

genres contained in ARCHER and their main characteristics, in order to ascertain at what point they can be situated along the formal-informal and oral-written continua. My aim here is to pave the ground for a more fine-grained classification of these text types in Section 5.2.7. Section 5.3 deals with the occurrences of phrasal verbs in the various text types in ARCHER and accounts for the different factors that might have contributed to the development of these constructions over time. The chapter closes with an analysis of the gender differences in the use of phrasal verbs in the corpus in Section 5.3.7.

5.2. A NOTE ON THE GENRES IN ARCHER

As mentioned in Section 4.2, ARCHER is divided into eight different text types, namely drama, fiction, journals/diaries, personal letters, medicine, news, science and sermons.[108] The corpus is described by its compilers as containing samples of personal styles of communication (journals/diaries and personal letters), prose fiction, popular exposition (news reportage), and specialist expository registers (medical and scientific prose). In addition, dramatic and fictional dialogues can be said to represent casual face-to-face conversation, whereas sermons are a reflection of preplanned monologue styles (cf. Biber et al. 1994a: 3; Biber & Finegan 1997: 255-257; Biber 2001: 94).

[108] For a complete list of the corpus sources, cf. Appendix V.

The genres in ARCHER can, in principle, be divided according to two main parameters, namely written vs. speech-based and formal vs. informal (cf. Biber et al. 1994a: 3), although in practice the defining parameters are better described as dimensions, because rather than representing poles they constitute a continuum (cf. Biber 1988: 9). Previous scholarly work raised the possibility that the characteristics of the spoken language in earlier periods could be approximated through the analysis of 'speech-based' registers. Thus, although there are no records of spoken registers from earlier stages of English, those genres situated towards the informal end of the continuum (diaries, drama, letters and, to some extent, journals) can be said to be closer to the oral language, and thus they become the only available means for a historical linguist to approximate early spoken English. Moreover, since diaries, journals and letters represent the most "personal styles of communication" (Biber & Finegan 1997: 255), it is in them where we must look for typically colloquial features, such as phrasal verbs, because it is in private, intimate contexts, as well as with close relationships that "people are more likely to be at their ease and drop their guard, also linguistically" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005: 131). The distinction between written vs. speech-based genres, on the one hand, and formal vs. informal text types, on the other, seems clear and has often been used in historical corpus linguistics to characterize certain linguistic phenomena by a number of extralinguistic parameters. Nevertheless, a number of specifications in this respect seem in order before embarking on the analysis of phrasal verbs across genres in the corpus. These relate mostly to the changing conventions of text types over time, as well as to particular issues which concern primarily the texts included in ARCHER.

5.2.1. JOURNALS/DIARIES

First of all, I would like to focus on the genre journals/diaries. Both text types present a series of common features which somehow justify their blending into one single category. As pointed out above, both represent personal styles of communication and are generally placed at the informal end of the continuum. Moreover, both of them are non-interactive,[109] they are usually written in the first person, and normally narrate private matters, such as routines and personal reflections, which are not generally intended for publication (cf., among others, Nevalainen & Raumoulin-Brunberg 1989; Biber et al. 1994a, 1994b; Biber & Finegan 1997; Biber 2001). In spite of these similarities, a number of characteristics also set these two text types apart, as suggested for the first time by Nuria Yáñez-Bouza. In collecting the data for her doctoral dissertation (Yáñez-Bouza 2007), she noted important differences in form and style between the two text types. She therefore decided to split both genres and carry out a pilot study to assess whether significant differences could be detected in the use of stranded prepositions in the split genres. The results showed that in most cases there were statistically significant differences between them (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 333-341).

The splitting of diaries and journals in Yáñez-Bouza (2007) was carried out by following four main principles which have also served as the basis for the classification

[109] An exception is constituted by epistolary journals, with a real or imaginary addressee, which became popular during the LModE period; cf., e.g., Fanny Burney's diary (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1991) and Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (Oldireva-Gustafsson 2002: 134).

of the two genres in the forthcoming version of the ARCHER corpus, known as ARCHER 3.2 (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2012). These are summarized in Table 25 below.

Table 25: Classification criteria for diaries and journals in ARCHER (Yáñez-Bouza 2012 [adapted from Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 334])

Criteria	Diaries	Journals
Subject matter	everyday activities domestic accounts private affairs	report of a journey or a task pertaining to members of a particular profession travel, sea, war, political matters
Audience	private sphere (+) not meant to be read or published	public sphere (+) written to be read or published
Time frame	day-to-day (diurnal)	day-to-day: usually but not necessarily (retrospective)
Form & style	sketchy (+), often telegraphic spontaneous	narrative (+) often more elaborate

The interrelatedness of these factors is what ultimately determines which texts qualify as diaries and which ones as journals. The first and foremost criterion is subject matter, followed by the role of the audience, whereas time frame and form/style are secondary and are considered defining features rather than decisive criteria.

As regards their **subject matter**, diaries mostly deal with private affairs related to daily life, such as love relationships, personal worries, daily routine activities and tasks (breakfast, lunch, praying, visiting friends) and domestic activities (cooking, looking after children, going to the market). Journals, in turn, are mostly concerned with the keeping of documentary accounts of business, military or exploratory journeys, and family archives (Oldireva-Gustafsson 2002: 134). They are generally written by those whose profession required keeping such documents and, for this reason, their content is of a very different nature: travel journals, sea journals, war journals, scientific and political journals. Moreover, as noted by Yáñez-Bouza (2012), since journals are often

commissioned, very commonly the objective/descriptive approach overtakes the subjective, first person narration.

In terms of **audience**, most journals and especially diaries were kept for private purposes, since they were not meant to be read or shared with others. However, it must be noted that the notion of privacy in earlier stages (especially the LModE period) may differ from our present-day one, since formerly "private space was [often] exposed to public control" (Nevala 2004: 273). Family letters, for instance, were commonly read out aloud to friends and relatives in private gatherings (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000: 447, 2005: 129). Moreover, although dealing with private contents, journals and less often diaries were occasionally written for publication. The sea journals by Captain James Cook constitute a clear example of this. Percy (1996) demonstrates how the language of Captain Cook becomes more 'correct' in the journals of his third voyage (1776-1779), probably influenced by his knowledge that his journals were destined for publication. Similarly, some diaries were written with an eye on publication so that they are likely to show a more careful type of writing and vocabulary (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 128). Agnes Porter, for example, sent her private diary to her former pupil, Lady Mary Talbot, in 1812 hoping that it would "amuse" her (cf. Nurmi & Nevala 2010: 173).

The criterion of **time frame** refers to the frequency with which the authors of the texts include new reports in them. In general, diaries tend to be written on a day-to-day basis, whereas "journals, especially travel journals, are very often written in retrospect and/or over a longer period of time, e.g. monthly or after the journey has come to an end" (Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 334). Probably for this reason they often adopt a more

narrative style (Yáñez-Bouza 2012). This is closely related to the last criterion, namely that of **form/style**. Although both diaries and journals exhibit much variation in this respect, in general terms diaries tend to show shorter entries written in a sketchy, plain and often telegraphic style (with short sentences, frequent ellipsis, subjects dropped, no prepositions), whereas journals possess a more narrative sort of composition and tend to include reflections, comments and examinations of the events reported (cf. Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 2003: 342). However, a more elaborated style can be observed in certain diaries, especially when these were intended to be read by others. This criterion was taken only marginally for the selection of texts in the forthcoming version of ARCHER since, as noted by Yáñez-Bouza (2012), the form and style of a text can be conditioned by many external factors, such as time and space limitations, genre conventions, whether they are intended or not to be read, editorial conventions, the author's level of education and language consciousness, etc.

In sum, although diaries and journals are related text types, in terms of the four aforementioned criteria, their analysis as two separate genres seems sufficiently justified. For this reason, along the lines in Yáñez-Bouza (2007) and thanks to her generous help, I decided to carry out the analysis of phrasal verbs in the two genres separately. Table 26 below displays the total number of files and words corresponding to the two text types after the splitting of journals and diaries.

Table 26: Total files and number of words of diaries and journals in ARCHER 3.1

	Diaries		**Journals**	
	Total files	Total words	Total files	Total words
1650-99	1	2,192	9	19,182
1700-49	6	12,475	4	8,968
1750-99	4	8,688	6	13,155
1800-49	5	10,667	5	11,073
1850-99	7	15,713	3	6,973
1900-49	4	8,971	6	13,095
1950-99	6	13,236	4	8,989
Total	**33**	**71,942**	**37**	**81,435**

The figures in this table bring into light one of the methodological problems stemming from the division of the genre journals/diaries with the files available in ARCHER 3.1, namely the fact that the distribution of text types in the corpus turns out quite irregular.[110] As can be seen, in some subperiods one of the two text types is clearly overrepresented, whereas samples for the other are quite scarce. This is the case, for example, with the first subperiod, in which there is one single diary (*The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome*, 1661), as opposed to nine journals. This implies that the data for the diaries from this period are clearly biased by the particular idiolect of Rev. Newcome, so that any conclusions derived from this analysis must be taken with caution. I will come back to this issue when discussing the corpus findings (cf. Section 5.3.1).

[110] Balanced word counts are one of the main aims towards version 3.2 of the corpus (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011).

5.2.2. PERSONAL LETTERS

As mentioned in the previous section, LModE letters must also be looked at with caution. It is generally assumed that private letters contain linguistic features and patterns that often correspond to the informal and oral dimensions of language (cf. Biber 1988). Thus, Biber & Finegan (1989, 1997) show that letters contain features typical of face-to-face conversation and spontaneous language. They are interactive in character and generally addressed to a specific individual whose temporal and physical surroundings are familiar to the writer, so that "a letter writer is free to refer directly to personal feelings and situations (Biber & Finegan 1989: 497). Similarly, Fitzmaurice points out that "[a]lthough the letter is patently not conversation on paper, epistolary discourse does imitate some of conversation's characteristics" (2002: 233). Elpass (2012: 157), in turn, remarks that letters, diaries and other ego-documents are close to speech and can therefore be used to cast light on the history of natural languages. However, in analyzing letters from earlier periods, a number of observations seem in order. Although LModE letters may, in principle, seem to belong to the private sphere, during the 18th and 19th centuries they were very often read out aloud to friends and relatives (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2000: 447, 2005: 129). For this reason, LModE letters cannot be considered mere "thoughtless outpourings" (Anderson & Ehrenpreis 1966: 273). Rather, they were the result of a very conscious process of writing, which followed a series of conventions, typically acquired at home (cf. Austin 1998: 323), at grammar schools or during apprenticeship (cf. Nevalainen 2001: 219-220). These

conventions were laid out in the vast number of letter-writing manuals which appeared already in the EModE period (cf. Nevalainen 2001)[111] and which became very popular especially during the 19th century (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 2-3). Letter-writing manuals typically gathered a series of conventions related to grammar and forms of address, accompanied by model letters. One of these conventions was precisely that letters should sound natural and spontaneous, just like a normal conversation (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 121). In spite of the fact that LModE letters tend to follow conventions, it has been noted that ego-documents produced by semi-literate writers have "the highest potential to render authentic sources of historical orality" (Elpass 2012: 159).

Letters have therefore evolved as a text type from the 18th century to the present day, as has been shown in a number of multivariate analyses carried out by Biber (2001) and Biber & Finegan (1989, 1997), in which 18th-century letters were found to be "expository, descriptive, or argumentative in purpose" as opposed to PDE letters, which are "personally involved and interactive" (Biber 2001: 105). For this reason, many 18th-century letters "avoided the use of overtly speech-based features, such as contractions and discourse particles" (Biber 2001: 104).[112] This feature of 18th-century letters is

[111] According to Hornbeak (1934: iii), the earliest letter-writing manual appeared in England in 1568, *The Enimie of Idlenesse*, by William Fulwood.

[112] Notice, however, that the original spellings in ARCHER have been variously transcribed by the compilers of the corpus: in some texts the original spellings have been kept, whereas in others they have been included in caret brackets (cf. Section 4.2.2). For this reason, measuring the number of contractions of a text does not constitute a reliable way to ascertain its speech-like character in this corpus. The correction of these and other undesirable practices in a historical corpus is precisely one of the main tasks towards ARCHER 3.2 (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2011).

possibly related to the fact that, as said above, they were often written following a series of conventions, whereas other personal documents such as diaries and, to some extent, journals follow a freer style.

The changing tendency in letters throughout the LModE period may have been prompted by external factors such as the increase in literacy with which letter writing and the written production in general "grew explosively" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 3, 8), as well as the introduction of the Penny Post in Britain in 1840. With the latter, postage became much cheaper (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 2) and this favoured the use of letters as an accessible way of communication for all social classes,[113] even the uneducated, lower-class people, whose language was characterized by "colloquialisms," "incorrectness" and "old-fashionedness" (McIntosh 1986: 12).

Other important factors that must be taken into account in dealing with letters relate to the writer's social background, as well as to his/her relationship with the addressee (intimate/distant), since the latter "is likely to cause linguistic register variation" (Nurmi & Palander-Collin 2008: 21). For this reason, letters are often characterized by heterogeneity and idiosyncrasy (Görlach 2001: 52-53), as shown by their varying linguistic features (cf. Nurmi & Palander-Collin 2008).

[113] According to Görlach, "[p]rivate letters became a major text-type in the 18th century" (2001: 211).

5.2.3. DRAMA AND FICTION

Fiction differs from other text types in that it is "produced and edited carefully and directed towards a large, specific but unbounded and unindividuated audience [...] for purposes of aesthetic enjoyment" (Biber & Finegan 1989: 495). Both drama and fiction are regarded by Biber as speech-based registers, on the grounds that the dialogues in both text types are a representation of casual face-to-face conversation (cf. Biber et al. 1994a: 3; Biber & Finegan 1997: 255-257; Biber 2001: 94). This statement must, however, be taken carefully for one main reason: dialogue and narration, or asides in the case of plays, are not separated in ARCHER 3.1. This means that the corpus has no specific mark-up that distinguishes dialogue from narration, and thus conclusions about the oral character of, for example, the genre drama must be looked at with caution.

It would certainly be interesting to carry out an analysis of phrasal verbs in dialogue and narration separately, among other things to ascertain whether differences can be noticed in the use of these constructions when comparing the written vs. the oral dimension. However, this has not been attempted in the present work, where the results obtained for drama and fiction make no distinction between the narrative sections and asides, on the one hand, and fictional dialogue, on the other. These results can, nevertheless, be compared safely with the multivariate analysis carried out by Biber and associates, which also disregard this distinction.

Moreover, as noted by Yáñez-Bouza (2007: 342), another crucial factor that must be taken into account when dealing with the analysis of fictional texts over time is their heterogeneity, mainly because of the changing linguistic conventions undergone by this

genre during the EModE and LModE periods, especially in what concerns their purpose and contents (cf. especially McIntosh 1998).

5.2.4. NEWS

Like fiction, news reportage represents "non-interactive written registers, carefully crafted for larger audiences" (Biber & Finegan 1997: 269), also referred to as 'popular written registers'.

Just like other text types, news reportage has undergone a number of changes in stylistic conventions over time. Newspapers first appeared in England in the 17th century (Percy 2012: 195). At the time early newspapers differed from their modern counterparts in that, for example, they did not contain editorials, news reports and commentaries nor were they divided into thematic sections (Nevalainen 2002: 67). The forerunners of newspapers were called 'corantos' or 'newsbooks' depending on the size of the publication and they basically consisted of sequences of letters with collections of dispatches from correspondents (Jucker 2005: 11). In fact, early newspapers can be compared in many senses to early newsletters or the letters 'written and published to communicate the news of the day (common in the later part of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century)' (*OED* s.v. *newsletter*). For this reason, formerly basic news items bore "structural resemblance to chronicle writing, a major genre with a long history of its own" (Nevalainen 2002: 67). After the introduction of the printing press "mass communication [was made] possible, first with pamphlets, later with regular news sheets and then with daily newspapers" (Jucker 2003: 130). Until then, "domestic news

passed by word of mouth or private letter more quickly than it could be printed" (Nevalainen 2002: 68).

The first newspaper in England was the *Oxford Gazette* of November 1665, which later on became *The London Gazette* (Claridge 2010: 600; Fries 2012: 1065). Newspapers gained popularity during the LModE period. According to Görlach (2001: 207), whereas by 1712 there were twelve London newspapers, the figure had increased to 52 by 1801. In 1855 the tax on newspapers was lifted and they became within reach of the working classes (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 142). The first penny paper was *The Daily Telegraph (and Courier)*, which appeared in 1855 (Fries 2012: 1066). With the development of communication technology (mail services, telegraph) the amount of circulating news increased to an unprecedented scale. In the 19th century the role of journalists changed in the sense that they were not only in charge of passing on all the information but also of deciding which events were newsworthy (Jucker 2005: 12-13). This gave rise to the well-known top-down structure generally followed by news reporting in LModE times in which the most salient aspect of the story usually appears at the beginning of the text (Ungerer 2002; Jucker 2005: 13).[114]

Apart from the crucial structural differences just discussed, the linguistic features of PDE newspapers differ dramatically from their earlier counterparts. In general, the texts in early news discourse took the form of narratives arranged in chronological order

[114] The top-down structure is no longer the prototypical format of news reporting in PDE, in which the large number of articles which start on the front page and continue elsewhere in the newspaper has given rise to the expression jigsaw journalism (Jucker 2005: 15).

(Jucker 2005: 18; Fries 2012: 1070) and "remained more 'informational' and less 'interpersonal'" (Percy 2012: 196; cf. also Claridge 2009: 92-93). According to Biber & Finegan (1997: 269), newspaper language evolved in a direction similar to that of fiction in the sense that both "became popular registers, appealing to an increasingly wider readership across the centuries" (1997: 269). In fact, Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2009: 8, 142-143) links the increasing demand for newspapers, novels and magazines with the spread of literacy during the LModE period. However, whereas the change towards oral styles in fiction can be appreciated as early as the 18th century, the drift in newspaper language started later (Biber & Finegan 1997: 269). As observed by Mair (1997: 203), the 'colloquialization' process in news seems to have taken place only over the last thirty years of the 20th century. Cotter (2003), for example, accounts for the change in the use of pragmatic connectives in terms of a shift from a text-oriented to an audience-oriented mode of discourse. For her, the decrease of temporal connectives and the increase of coordinating connectives in newspapers are directly related to "the trajectory from a more formal, distant, text-centered written norm to a more informal, interactional, audience-centered norm over time" (2003: 67). In spite of this, it must be borne in mind that in general "daily newspaper reporters and editors are highly aware of language and linguistic usage" (Cotter 2003: 45) and that they usually "follow prescribed parameters of form" (2003: 51). As a result, their language tends to be more formal in the sense that it follows the standard/normative prescriptions of grammar. This is an important point of divergence with the newspapers of the 19th century which, according to Görlach (1999: 146), underwent a considerable linguistic decay due to the pressures of the medium: texts had to be written quickly and published without major revision. Moreover, journalists were often criticized for lacking sufficient competence

in English (Görlach 2001: 207). In fact, as noted by Tieken-Boon van Ostade, "[t]he negative term *journalese* was first recorded in the *OED* for the year 1882, as the opposite meaning to 'plain English'" (2009: 144). This difference between early and present-day newspaper language probably relates to a change in the way of producing mass media communication. As noted by Jucker (2009: 2-3), whereas in PDE it is practically impossible to ascribe the exact wording of an article to one single individual since the text usually undergoes several editorial revisions, earlier news publications were dominated by single individuals and did not follow style manuals.[115]

5.2.5. SCIENTIFIC AND MEDICAL DISCOURSE

According to Biber & Finegan (1997: 269), science and medical prose tend to use a more specialized language and are accessible only to a narrow audience. For this reason, they are described as specialist expository genres (1997: 255).

All the scientific texts and the earliest medical texts (1650-99) in ARCHER belong to the *Philosophical Transactions*, "the first longstanding scientific journal in England [...] designed by the Royal Society members to discuss their current interests and share scientific news" (Taavitsainen 2010: 32-33). Later medical texts were extracted from

[115] Apparently, the first style-guide was drawn up by *The Times* in 1913 (Claridge 2009: 92n).

other specialized journals (cf. Appendix V), but they all include medical reports of the type of those published in the *Philosophical Transactions.*[116]

The *Philosophical Transactions* were first published in 1665 as a means for the members of the Royal Society "to communicate their scientific findings and opinions" (Taavitsainen 2010: 49). They represent the top level of scientific discourse during the last decades of the 17th century as opposed to other more old commentary style retained in other writings (Taavitsainen 2010: 50-51). In fact, most of the texts in the *Philosophical Transactions* were dialogic in character, "often representing a kind of extended interaction among researchers" (Gray, Biber & Hiltunen 2011: 224), probably due to the fact that many of the earlier publications were written in the form of letters (Atkinson 1999: 81) in response to other publications. Moreover, as noted by Valle (1999: 110), the type of language adopted by the *Philosophical Transactions* is better described as 'plain style' as opposed to the so-called 'rhetoric style' full of stylistic flourishes and decorations irrelevant for the substance of the text. This is probably related to the fact that, although the contributors to the journal were highly educated specialists, the *Philosophical Transactions* were not only designed as a channel of information for specialists, but also intended to attract other educated and informed readers interested in the field (Gotti 2011: 204; Gray, Biber & Hiltunen 2011: 225).

[116] ARCHER does not include other medical-related documents (e.g. recipes, regimens or health guides) which are however part of more specialized medical corpora, such as *Early Modern English Medical Texts* (cf. Taavitsainen & Pahta 2010 (eds.)).

Biber & Finegan (1997) have observed that medical and scientific texts have evolved in a direction opposite to that of popular written genres, probably due to a fundamental difference in purpose and readership. As they put it, the "specialist registers have followed an essentially steady development towards ever more 'literate' styles" (1997: 269; cf. also Biber & Clark 2002), becoming more informational and impersonal and acquiring a more elaborated reference (1997: 262-269). Similar results are reported by Atkinson (1996, 1999), who applied Biber's (1988) multivariate analysis to texts of the *Philosophical Transactions* from 1675 to 1975. Atkinson notices that medical and scientific discourse became less involved and more informational over time in accordance to a shift from author-centered to object-centered style (1999: 76-77, 110ff). Thus, whereas in the 17th and 18th centuries articles were characterized by a prominent authorial persona, probably because of the fact that they were often presented in epistolary form, from the early 19th century onwards they became more object-centered. Moreover, the articles in the *Philosophical Transactions* seem to have evolved from a low level of narrative to an even lower level of narrative (decrease in the use of the past tense, the perfect aspect, public verbs (e.g. *say*, *mention*) and 3rd person pronouns) and from a low level of explicit reference to a lower level of explicit reference (infrequent use of place, time and other adverbs). Atkinson also notices that scientific and medical writings tend to become less persuasive (1999: 123ff) and more abstract (1999: 125ff) over time. Abstractness here refers to the fact that scientific discourse becomes highly passivized, probably related to the emergence of the object-centered rhetoric; as noticed by Oldireva-Gustaffson, the passive is "an ideal grammatical form for discourse associated with objectivity and non involvement" (2006: 110). Other typical features of scientific and medical writing include complex

sentences, extended NPs including nominalizations and low frequency of first- and second-person pronouns (Taavitsainen & Pahta 2010: 551).

5.2.6. SERMONS

Other text types included in ARCHER, such as sermons, can be described as occupying an intermediate position between the oral and the written language (cf. Görlach 2001: 204). As defined by the *OED*, a sermon is 'a discourse, usually delivered from a pulpit and based upon a text of Scripture, for the purpose of giving religion instruction or exhortation' (*OED* s.v. *sermon* 2a). Thus, sermons can be "oral, or written, or a mixture of both, making a clear characterization of the genre as a whole very problematic" (Claridge & Wilson 2002: 25). As noted by Biber, although sermons are addressed to a specific audience and intended to be spoken, they are essentially pre-planned monologues (2001: 94). In a sense, sermons are similar to political speeches in that their objective is usually one of persuasion (Görlach 2001: 204). Moreover, sermons belong to the religious discourse, which "has traditionally been a more formal, more conservative register than others, one slower to change and thus exhibiting more archaic features" (Claridge & Wilson 2002: 25). Sermons are generally detached from ordinary, everyday language and often contain full biblical passages which are very formal in tone and contain conservative linguistic features (cf., e.g., Görlach 2001: 202). It must also be borne in mind that "priests are naturally good speakers, so that carefully preparing their sermons is the obvious thing for them to do" (Claridge & Wilson 2002: 29). Therefore, from a stylistic point of view, sermons are better defined as formal (cf. Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 133-134), whereas in terms of register they are generally described

as speech-based texts, although they do not really represent natural speech (Biber 2001: 94; Biber & Finegan 1997). Nevertheless, “these are some of the most ‘spoken-like’ registers available from earlier historical periods, and as such they provide useful comparative data to the analysis of written registers” (Biber et al. 1998: 252-253). A more fine-grained distinction is made by Culpeper & Kytö, who classify sermons as speech-purposed because, in contrast to, for example, plays, which are “designed to produce real-time spoken interaction,” sermons “are designed to produce monologue (they are ‘read out’)” (2010: 17). Further discussion is provided below (cf. 5.2.7).

As most genres, sermons have undergone changes in their stylistic conventions over time. By applying the multidimensional analysis developed by Biber (1988) to a number of sermons, Claridge & Wilson (2002) demonstrate that from the 17th to the 20th century sermons have become less informational and more involved, thus following the general trend already observed in other genres (cf. Biber & Finegan 1989, 1992). The change in tendencies along Dimension 1 (Informational vs. Involved Production) in sermons can be explained in terms of the abandonment of the classical rhetorical style before the 17th century and the development of a more charismatic and plain style (generally advocated by sermon manuals) showing a higher degree of involvement. Claridge & Wilson (2002) do not observe any remarkable developments in sermons as far as Dimension 4 (Expression of persuasion) and Dimension 6 (Informational Elaboration) are concerned, although they also acknowledge that individual idiosyncrasies can indeed affect the particular characterizations of texts.

5.2.7. A RECLASSIFICATION OF GENRES IN ARCHER

As shown above, ARCHER includes text types which are representative of formal (e.g. sermons) and informal (e.g. diaries) registers, as well as others which are better qualified as neutral in this sense (e.g. news). On the other hand, although all the texts in ARCHER are recorded in the written medium, it is also possible to state that some text types are closer to the oral language. These have been termed speech-based texts in various multivariate analyses which define them as "registers that have their origin in speech, even though they are preserved in writing" (Biber & Finegan 1997: 253). Nevertheless, Biber and associates rightly note that none of these registers really represents natural speech: "[d]ramatic and fictional dialogue are shaped by author's intuitions and stereotypes about conversation, while sermons are often written and then read. Thus, any claims about actual speech based on these samples must be extremely cautious" (Biber et al. 1998: 252-253).

Moreover, the definition of speech-based texts as registers that have their origin in speech is probably not the most appropriate one for genres such as sermons, with a tradition of written composition reaching back to late Classical Antiquity.[117] Thus, a more precise classification of the text types in ARCHER is offered by Yáñez-Bouza (2007) who, following Kytö (1996), distinguishes between "formal texts written to be read (official letters, legal statutes), formal texts written to be spoken (sermons),

[117] I am thankful to an anonymous reviewer of Rodríguez-Puente (2012c) for calling my attention to this.

informal texts written to be read (private letters), informal texts written to be spoken (plays), and informal texts written not to be read (diaries)" (Yáñez-Bouza 2007: 133).

For my purposes, I will establish a classification similar to that in Yáñez-Bouza (2007), but using the terminology employed by Culpeper & Kytö (2010). Thus, in ARCHER we can distinguish between two major groups of texts, namely speech-related (diaries, drama, letters and sermons) and writing-based and writing-purposed texts (fiction, journals, news, medicine and science). The former are further subdivided into two subgroups (cf. Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 17):

a) Speech-like texts (letters and diaries). These are defined in terms of a scale consisting of features of communicative immediacy. Personal correspondence, for example, "is neither based on nor designed to be like speech; its claim to being 'oral' or 'colloquial' is solely that it contains features that are speech-like" (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 17).

b) Speech-purposed texts (drama and sermons) are designed to be articulated orally, either as monologues (sermons) or reproducing real-time interaction (drama).

As usual, speech-related texts and writing-based and writing-purposed texts do not constitute clear-cut sets, but rather interrelated and often overlapping categories. Similarly, the degree of (in)formality of a given text is better measured in terms of a scale or a continuum, with diaries, drama and letters approaching the informal end, sermons, medicine and science the formal end, and fiction, journals and news standing half-way. The representation of the text types in ARCHER conceived in such a framework is represented in Figure 26 below.

Figure 26: Distribution of genres in ARCHER according to the dimensions of (in)formality and their speech-like vs. written characterization

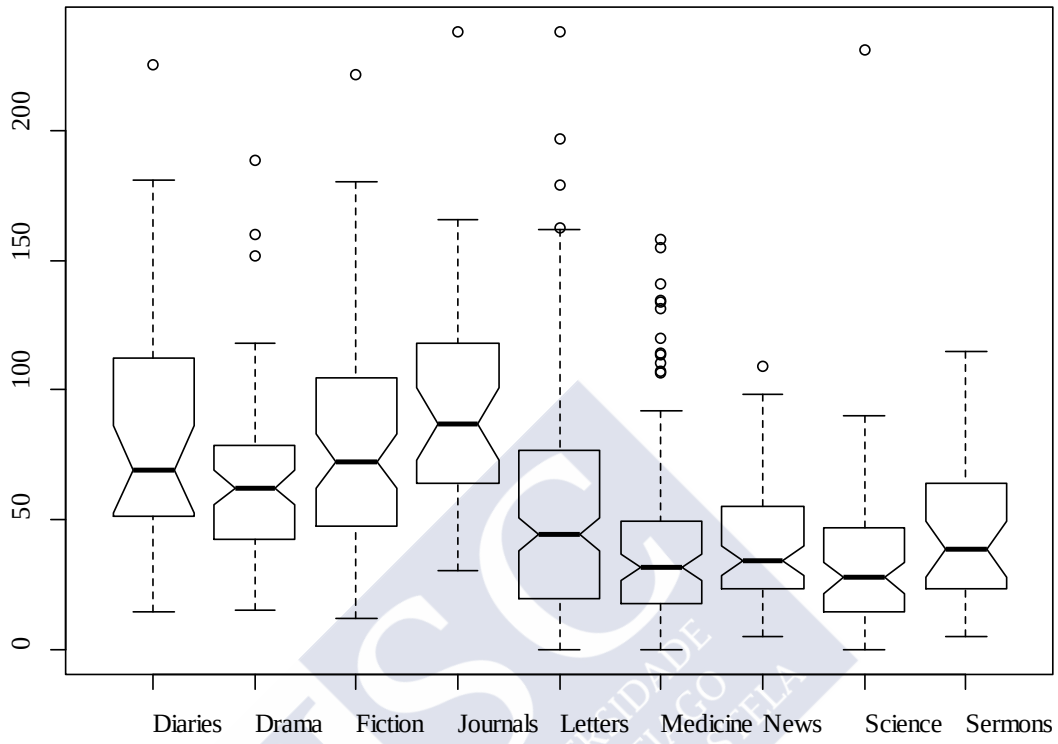
<table>
<tr><td colspan="2"></td><td>Informal ⟷ Formal</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Speech-related</td><td>Speech-like</td><td>Letters
Diaries</td></tr>
<tr><td>Speech-purposed</td><td>Drama
Sermons</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Writing-based and writing-purposed</td><td>Fiction
Journals
News
Medicine
Science</td></tr>
</table>

With this background in mind, now I proceed to the description and analysis of the phrasal verbs in ARCHER in Section 5.3.

5.3. CROSS-GENRE ANALYSIS OF PHRASAL VERBS IN ARCHER

Given the existing differences between the genres represented in ARCHER (cf. Section 5.2 above), the variation in the number and type of phrasal verbs found there comes as no surprise. The normalized frequencies of occurrence have been arranged in the boxplot given in Figure 27 below.

Figure 27: Frequency of phrasal verbs across genres in ARCHER. Boxplot analysis



A boxplot displays graphically a variable's location and spread and it likewise provides some indication of the data symmetry and skewness (lack of symmetry).[118] As regards frequency, Figure 27 shows that phrasal verbs are not equally distributed across the eight genres in ARCHER. The fact that the notches of the boxplots do not overlap

[118] The box itself represents the middle 50% of the data. The upper edge (hinge) of the box indicates the 75th percentile of the data set and the lower hinge indicates the 25th percentile. The range of the middle two quartiles is known as the inter-quartile range. The bold horizontal line within the box represents the median, i.e. the middle value of the entire sample. If the median line is not equidistant from the hedges, then the data is skewed. The ends of the vertical lines or whiskers indicate the minimum and maximum data values (cf. Gries 2009a: 119, 2009b: 205).

indicates that the medians are significantly different from each other, although this must be appropriately tested. At one glance, the plot indicates that phrasal verbs are overall more common in journals, diaries and fiction, whereas they are far less frequent in science, medicine and news. The application of the Kruskal-Wallis test confirms that variation between the eight genres is statistically significant.[119] The pairwise comparisons by the Wilcoxon test are also statistically significant except in the following pairs: journals vs. diaries (p=0.3549), journals vs. fiction (p=0.1928), letters vs. sermons (p=0.957), letters vs. medicine (p=0.08129), diaries vs. drama (p=0.07216), diaries vs. fiction (p=0.8711), sermons vs. medicine (p=0.1554) and science vs. medicine (p=0.3131).[120]

Figure 27 above also shows that medicine, science and, to some extent, news are very similar to each other, since their medians (represented as bold horizontal lines) are very close to each other. The plot also provides information about outliers (extreme values that deviate significantly from the rest of the sample),[121] represented as circles above the whiskers, which are especially abundant in medicine, letters and drama.

[119] Kruskal-Wallis chi-squared=121.5383, df = 8, p=<0.001.

[120] The results of the Wilcoxon test for the significant pairs are as follows: journals vs. letters (p=<0.001), journals vs. drama (p=0.001454), journals vs. sermons (p=<0.001), journals vs. science (p=<0.001), journals vs. medicine (p=<0.001), letters vs. diaries (p=0.0005205), letters vs. drama (p=0.002052), letters vs. fiction (p=<0.001), letters vs. sermons (p=0.0003843), letters vs. science (p=<0.001), letters vs. medicine (p=<0.001), diaries vs. sermons (p=0.0003843), diaries vs. science (p=<0.001), diaries vs. medicine (p=<0.001), drama vs. fiction (p=0.02525), drama vs. sermons (p=0.00408), drama vs. science (p=<0.001), drama vs. medicine (p=<0.001), fiction vs. sermons (p=0.00408), fiction vs. science (p=<0.001), fiction vs. medicine (p=<0.001), sermons vs. science (p=0.01156).

[121] If outliers are present the whiskers extend to a maximum of 1.5 times their interquartile range (cf. Baayen 2008: 33ff *et passim*).

Sermons, however, show a uniform distribution of phrasal verbs, since no outliers appear represented in the boxplot.

In order to have a clearer picture of the extent of the variation in the number of phrasal verbs across genres and over time, the distribution of the 7,474 examples of these combinations attested in ARCHER has been plotted in Table 27 below.

Table 27: Raw and normalized figures of phrasal verbs per 10,000 words across genres

Raw figures										
	Diaries	Drama	Fiction	Journals	Letters	Medicine	News	Science	Sermons	**Total**
1650-99	29	141	226	183	34	98	129	100	34	**974**
1700-49	81	115	210	87	35	99	121	94	34	**876**
1750-99	62	140	232	75	49	129	106	56	83	**932**
1800-49	63	134	370	89	43	81	60	47	47	**934**
1850-99	105	200	389	88	84	89	94	122	41	**1,212**
1900-49	136	208	439	135	82	42	50	59	49	**1,200**
1950-90	128	205	600	78	109	23	105	32	66	**1,346**
Total	**604**	**1,143**	**2,644**	**735**	**436**	**561**	**665**	**51**	**354**	**7,474**
Normalized frequencies										
	Diaries	Drama	Fiction	Journals	Letters	Medicine	News	Science	Sermons	**Total**
1650-99	132.29	59.91	55.44	95.40	26.85	42.39	57.86	46.63	30.50	**54.05**
1700-49	64.92	45.67	47.70	97.01	28.94	45.13	55.98	45.23	31.88	**49.28**
1750-99	71.36	58.42	51.49	57.01	40.52	61.41	45.91	27.23	74.99	**52.16**
1800-49	59.06	51.01	82.32	80.37	34.19	39.94	26.19	22.38	42.38	**51.66**
1850-99	66.82	75.56	89.86	126.20	78.46	40.19	40.75	56.18	37.43	**66.95**
1900-49	151.59	90.24	96.96	103.09	65.94	20.78	22.75	27.65	46.36	**67.83**
1950-90	96.70	83.84	133.05	86.77	96.81	11.06	45.81	15.01	64.76	**75.51**

As can be seen, there is much variation in the use of phrasal verbs not only among text types, but also across subperiods. One of the most revealing results of Table 27 above is precisely that very high and very low frequencies of phrasal verbs are scored indistinctively by speech-related text types and by writing-based and writing-purposed text types. Thus, during the first two subperiods both the highest and lowest figures of

these combinations occur in speech-related text types: diaries score the highest frequencies of phrasal verbs, whereas letters and sermons score the lowest. Journals are the only writing-based and writing-purposed text type that stands out in the first subperiod.

In the second half of the 18th century, however, there is a radical change in tendencies since the highest frequency of phrasal verbs occurs in sermons. Moreover, although diaries still occupy a prominent position, journals unexpectedly lag behind other genres such as medicine.

Tendencies shift again during the 19th century when the highest and lowest figures of phrasal verbs are scored by writing-based and writing-purposed text types: fiction and journals take the lead, whereas the lowest rates correspond to science, news, sermons and medicine.[122] During this century we witness an overall tendency in the frequencies of phrasal verbs to increase in all text types except in sermons. This tendency was also observed by Smitterberg in the CONCE material (2008: 275, 277). Smitterberg also reported on stability in science from 1800-1830 to 1870-1900, something which does not hold in my data, where the frequency of phrasal verbs in science in the second half of the 19th century doubles that of first half. Moreover, the number of phrasal verbs in fiction in the CONCE increases dramatically from 1800-30 to 1870-1900 (Smitterberg 2008: 281), whereas in ARCHER the increase is very slight.

[122] Note, however, the low figures in letters during the first half of this century.

The 20th century is similarly characterized by a mixture of tendencies. During the first half of the century diaries, journals and fiction obtain the highest figures of phrasal verbs, but the rates in journals decrease quite remarkably during the second half. Medicine and science, on the other hand, score the lowest figures of these constructions all over the 20th century. It is also noticeable that letters, which obtain very low figures of phrasal verbs in the earlier periods, occupy the second most prominent position in the second half of the 20th century.

By analyzing the occurrences of phrasal verbs in relation to the degree of (in)formality of the text types, similar variable results are obtained. Thus, phrasal verbs seem to be quite numerous in some informal text types, such as diaries, whereas they do not abound in letters until the second half of the 20th century. Drama, in turn, occupies mid positions in the use of phrasal verbs over the seven subperiods. As regards the most formal text types, the frequencies of phrasal verbs in them seem to remain relatively low in nearly all the subperiods, except in the second half of the 18th century, when medicine and sermons are among the genres with the highest values of phrasal verbs. Still, in this subperiod letters have lower frequencies of phrasal verbs than more formal text types, such as medicine and sermons. This does not apply to Smitterberg's data from the CONCE (2008: 275), since he finds that his three non-expository/informal genres (drama, fiction, letters and trials) have lower figures of phrasal verbs (and the progressive) than his four expository/formal genres (debates, history and science). Similarly, Akimoto (1999: 222) finds that in his corpus from the 18th and 19th centuries

phrasal verbs are more common in letters and drama than in essays or academic writing (1999: 221-222).[123]

The distribution of Figure 27 above, the statistical analysis and the results displayed in Table 27 confirm that there are significant differences in the use of phrasal verbs across genres. In what follows, I provide a closer inspection of the texts to assess what the nature of such variation may be.

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[123] Notice, however, that, although Akimoto mentions essays and academic writing in the running text, the titles of his Table 7.5 refer to essays and fiction, so that it is not clear whether his samples (collected from the *OED* and his personal readings) come from academic writing or fiction.

5.3.1. PHRASAL VERBS IN DIARIES AND JOURNALS[124]

As can be seen in the paired comparison plotted in Figure 28 below, diaries and journals differ quantitatively in the use of phrasal verbs.[125]

Figure 28: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in diaries and journals. Boxplot analysis

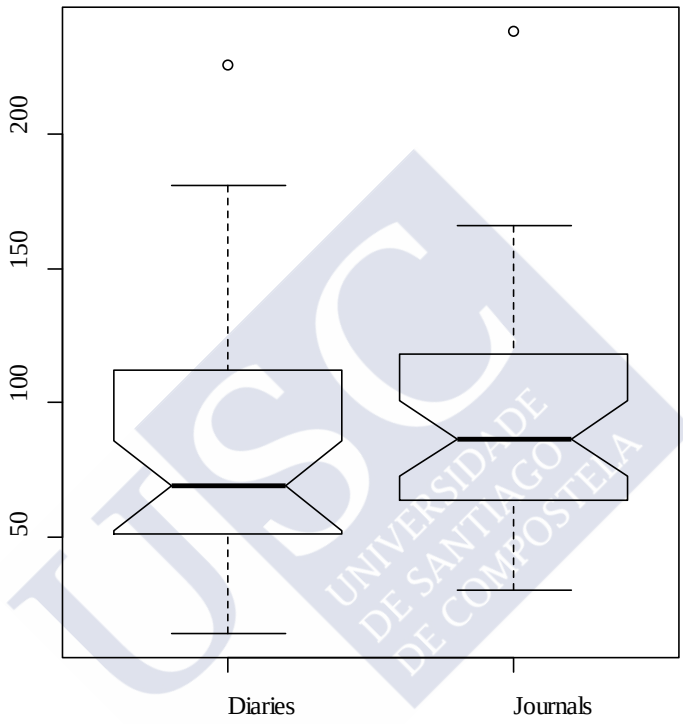
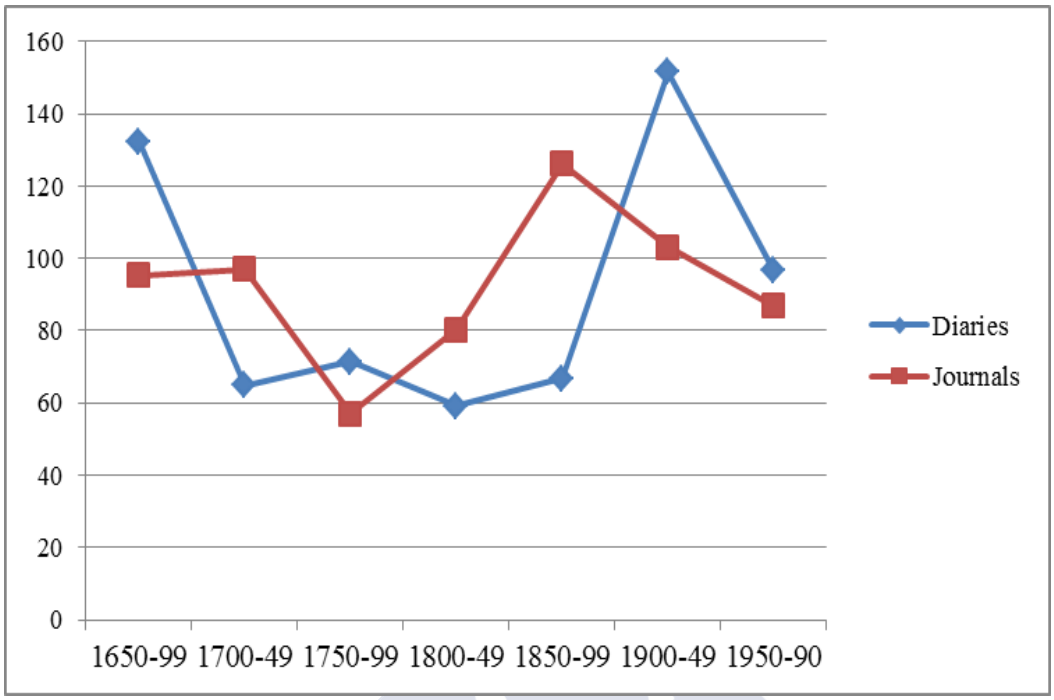


Figure 29 below shows in more detail to what extent there is variation between both text types from subperiod to subperiod.

[124] This section and the following one (5.3.2) offer a revised and amplified version of Rodríguez-Puente (2012b).

[125] As said above (5.3), the difference is not statistically significant.

Figure 29: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in diaries and journals over time



Both Figure 28 and Figure 29 above confirm Yáñez-Bouza's (2007, 2012) conclusion that diaries and journals are distinct text types and that a separate analysis is in order. My aim in this section is to try to account for the apparently random fluctuation in the frequency of phrasal verbs in both genres throughout the seven sub-periods. As I show in what follows, a closer inspection of the texts reveals that three main reasons may account for this variation. These relate mainly to the fact that diaries tend to follow a freer style than journals in the sense that, although both are concerned with the account of daily activities, the contents and arrangement of diaries are very much conditioned by the particular preferences and idiolect of the writer, his/her sociocultural background and the topics dealt with in the narration. As is well known, it is in private, intimate contexts, as well as with close relationships, that "people are more

likely to be at their ease and drop their guard, also linguistically" (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005: 131).

The number of phrasal verbs in diaries and journals may vary depending on the particular **format** chosen by the writer to narrate the events. For example, as said previously (cf. Section 5.2.1), in the first subperiod there is only one diary (*The Diary of the Rev. Henry Newcome*, 1661). This implies that the data for diaries is biased by the particular idiolect of Reverend Newcome, who, at a glance, seems to be very fond of phrasal verbs. In fact, I found a total of 29 combinations in his diary, which is the one with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs (132.29) until the 20th century. However, the frequent use of these combinations in Newcome's diary seems to be motivated by his notably repetitive style rather than by the fact that he uses a great variety of combinations. Thus, the phrasal verb *get up* is repeated ten times in his diary, which means that it constitutes more than one third of the examples in the text. This is so because the Reverend starts every new entry of his diary by telling the time at which he gets up and, although he occasionally alternates with *I rose about/after...*, the structure *I got up before/after/about...* is very recurrent in the text. In addition, because he narrates his comings and goings to visit people and to preach at various churches, he also makes extensive use of combinations such as *come in* (5 times), *get home* (3 times), *go out* (2 times) and *set out* (4 times). The sketchy and repetitive style of Reverend Newcome is illustrated in the following excerpt from his diary:

(1) *I did endeavour to remember the Sabbath this morneinge. Wee received newes of our family's welfare before wee* ***got up*** *this morneinge. Blessed be God. Wee* ***went out*** *into ye towne of Rochdale to see it & ye fairs. Met Mr Hartley there. And after dinner wee*

set out *bet: 2 & 3 homew: &* ***got home*** *about 6 or before & found ye children well.* (1661newc.y2b)

At the other end of the spectrum, the diary with the lowest frequency of phrasal verbs in the corpus (14.42) is the *Life of William Allen* (1788). William Allen also uses a very sketchy language; however, unlike Reverend Newcome, he does not narrate events involving physical activities, but mostly those relating to his feelings and inner thoughts, as can be seen in (2) below.

(2) *Fifth Month 11th. – Yearly Meeting, First-day. In speaking of the preaching of the gospel he says, "Surely there is something more than words, in the testimonies of the servants of the Lord; something within us which is ready to bear witness to the truth, and what is it but the good Spirit of God?"*

12th. – Accounts from foreign parts (received at the Yearly Meeting) mention a growing concern in the minds of the people for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. May it be increased in such a manner as to put a stop to a traffic which is disgraceful to human nature in general, and to my country in particular! Advised by John Pemberton to be faithful in small things. (1788alle.j4b)

For this reason, there are only three instances of phrasal verbs in his diary, which involve three different non-literal combinations (cf. (3) to (5)).

(3) *[A]nd if it be consistent with divine wisdom to remove him from us, may it be to an everlasting kingdom, and to the possession of a crown that will never* ***fade away****!* (1788alle.j4b)

(4) *Thou hast a tabernacle capable of receiving his Master, why dost thou* ***keep*** *him* ***out****?* (1788alle.j4b)

(5) *Macnamara in particular, instead of shewing reasons why the Trade should not be abolished,* ***flew out*** *into invectives against the noble advocates of liberty.* (1788alle.j4b)

The particular way chosen by Newcome and Allen to portray daily events contrasts strongly with, for example, the more narrative style observed in other diaries, such as

The Memoir of William Oldys, Esq. (1738), which also has one of the lowest frequencies of phrasal verbs in the corpus (31.48). Mr. Oldys tends to describe his experiences in meeting other people at various places, rather than the trivial and repetitive actions performed during the day (such as getting up). In fact, the entries of his diary are not consecutive in time but only introduced when there is a necessity to narrate something relevant that happened to him, as can be observed in the following excerpt, which does not contain a single instance of the combinations under analysis here.

(6) *Feb. 20. At the sale of Mr. Sclater Bacon's library in the Piazza [Covent Garden],. there arose one book called the Pastyme of People, a thin fol. volume, with wooden cuts of the English kings, from William the Conqueror to the slaughter of King Richard III., written the 21st of Hen. VIII. or 1530, and soon after printed. And nobody then present, of near thirty gentlemen and booksellers, etc., had discovered it to be John Rastell's Chronicles but myself, wherefore it stopped at ten shillings, the extent of Mr. West's commission to Noorthouck, the bookseller, for it; who, had he known what it was, would have raised it to 20£., or he would have it. But having apprised Mr. Ames of it, he got for the former sum one of the scarcest books in England. Two [five] nights after he bought at the same place Caxton's Game of Chesse, the second edition, with wooden cuts, with his Mirror of the World, and Chaucer's translation, <Boetius de Consolatione Philosophie>, printed together by him in a thick folio about 1480 for two guineas.* (1738oldy.y3b)

Another remarkable case is *A Freshman's Diary* by William Elmhirst (1912-1913), the diary with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs in the whole corpus (225.72). Unlike Rev. Newcome, Elmhirst does not start his entries by stating the time at which he gets up, but by talking about his *brekker* and his *leccer* (breakfast and lessons). In fact, the phrasal verb *get up* is used only three times in this text. The high frequency of phrasal verbs in his text seems to be due basically to the fact that he constantly

describes his comings and goings, as well as those of his friends and colleagues. For this reason, the majority of the combinations in his diary contain the motion verbs *come*, *go* and *get* combined with one of the particles, as shown in the following excerpt:

(7) *Had tea with Homan. Salmon also there. Asked Jones & Beach to coffee & as Liesching* ***came in*** *asked him. That was about 8. At 11.30 Humble & Burles* ***came in****. Beach & Jones* ***went off*** *at 11.45 but H. & B.* ***stayed on*** *till 12.20 when at last they* ***got up*** *& went. I had a rotten headache & was very sleepy.* (1912elmh.j7b)

The particular use made of phrasal verbs by William Elmhirst relates directly to the second element that seems to condition the existence of a large number of phrasal verbs in a text, namely **the particular topics** dealt with in the narration (cf. also Thim 2006b). Just as happens in Mr Elmhirt's diary, other diaries and journals describing travels, trips and visits, the comings and goings of the writer and the people he or she writes about tend to contain many phrasal verbs, which usually serve as a means of backgrounding the narrations and describing trivial actions and activities.[126] Sea journals constitute a clear example of this because, as noticed by Bolinger, "in no other occupation are directions and resultant positions of such unremitting concern" (1971: 18). In the *Journal of Sir Thomas Allin* (1666), for example, which is the journal with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs in the whole corpus (238.09), I have spotted a total of 50 phrasal verbs, which are mostly used to describe the basic activities taking place on board. As can be seen in the following excerpt, *aboard* is precisely the most frequently

[126] Cf. Hiltunen (1994: 138), who remarks that in the narrative sections of fictional texts from the EModE period, phrasal verbs serve as a means of backgrounding.

repeated particle: in fact, this text includes 11 of the 15 examples containing this particle in the whole corpus.

(8) *The 29 Tuesday. The wind S.W., handsome gale. We fired a gun to weigh about 3 oclock in the morning,* ***got*** *an anchor* ***aboard*** *and a little after 7 we weighed and the tide of ebb being come away we plyed to windward. Before we got to Dover, Capt Poole* ***came aboard*** *to give his Highness an account that the Bonaventure* ***ran*** *him* ***aboard*** *and broke his head, his cutwater, and so disenabled him that he could not proceed with us.* (1666alli.j2b)

Moreover, the **particular stylistic devices, structures and vocabulary** selected by the writer, which sometimes are a reflection of his/her educational background or of a conscious effort on his/her part to make the narration more formal, may also affect the number of phrasal verbs in a text. A good example of this is the *Private Journal of a Visit to Egypt and Palestine* (1836), by Lady Montefiore, the journal with the lowest frequency of phrasal verbs in the first half of the 19th century (36.52). This is quite striking because, as said above, journals containing descriptions of journeys tend to present high frequencies of phrasal constructions. However, a closer inspection of this text reveals that, as an educated and learned woman, Lady Montefiore uses a very careful and cultivated language in general. Her sentences are very well structured and full of polysyllabic words of French and Latin origin (e.g. *molestation, indisposition, dissatisfaction, impracticable*), and she employs a varied number of adverbs and adjectives in her descriptions, as can be observed in the following excerpt from her journal.

(9) *Tuesday, October 9. The Cassino. – Captain Anderson called in at six o'clock this morning, when Montefiore, whose patience had been tried to the utmost, asked him if he could possibly arrange so that we might depart with the convoy. He replied, it would be totally impracticable, as the French consul had told him he could not detain*

the ships a day, even to oblige his own brother. The ballast was, moreover, out of the vessel, and the lading not completed, so that his sailing was out of the question. A plan was now proposed to engage the Henry Williams, (Captain Jones,) to take us to Jaffa, to remain there while we visited Jerusalem for a few days, and return with us to this port, when the Leonidas would be ready to sail for Malta. Captain Anderson was to accompany us; and I imagined a better plan could not be adopted, though Mr. Mazzara continued his dislike to the idea of going without convoy. (1836mont.j5b)

The absence of phrasal verbs from the writing of Lady Montefiore seems to be motivated by her frequent use of one-word Latinate equivalents in places where others would have probably used phrasal combinations: e.g. she uses *depart* for *set out*, *return* for *come back*, *continue* for *go on* and *obstruct* for *block up*, among others. Moreover, in the writing of Lady Montefiore there is not a single instance of what at the time was strongly criticized by prescriptivists as redundant particles of the type of *fall down*, *open up*, *return back* or *rise up* (cf. Wild 2010: 143-151).[127] Therefore, either because Lady Montefiore was affected by her knowledge of Romance languages (among other things, because her husband was Italian) or because she was influenced by the prescriptions against phrasal verbs, which were so common at her time and which generally

[127] See also the edited and corrected version for publication of Captain Cook's sea journal (McIntosh 1986: 105-106), in which, among other corrections, the editor, John Hawkesworth, replaces the phrasal verb *find out* for the one-word verb *discover*. For Thim (2012: 227-228), this does not necessarily imply an aversion to phrasal verbs, since Hawkesworth inserts other phrasal combinations, such as *pick out* and *take away*, in further corrections. In Thim's view, the replacement of the verb *find* with *discover* responds to a deliberate Latinization of the text in accordance with the stylistic requirements of the time, whereas the deletion of the particle is explained by him as a means of avoiding redundancy. In my opinion, this is not the case with Lady Montefiore, an author who avoids 'redundant' particles altogether. Moreover, even if Hawkesworth and Lady Montefiore try to turn their writings more Latin-like by replacing phrasal verbs, this clearly indicates a preference for Latin one-word verbs over phrasal verbs.

encouraged the avoidance of phrasal verbs (cf. Wild 2010: 94-189), what is clear is that phrasal verbs are practically absent from her writing.

The elaborate narrative style of Lady Montefiore contrasts strongly with the more colloquial and informal styles of other journal-writers in the corpus, such as Charles Wesley (1744), who makes extensive use of phrasal verbs, even those which would qualify as redundant, as can be observed in the following excerpt.[128]

(10) *FRIDAY, JULY 13TH. I **set out** with our guide, John Slocum, a poor baker's boy, whom God has **raised up** to help these sincere souls, and not only to labour, but also to suffer, for them. When the press-warrants **came out**, the world would not lose the opportunity of oppressing the Christians. He was taken, and, by his own uncle, **dragged away** to prison. […].*

*TUESDAY, JULY 17TH. I came, by nine at night, with Mr. Bennet and Meriton, through the pits and shafts, to our host near Gwennap. Here a little one is become a thousand. What an amazing work hath God done in one year! The whole country is alarmed, and **gone forth** after the sound of the Gospel. In vain do the pulpits ring of 'Popery, madness, enthusiasm'. Our Preachers are daily pressed to new places, and enabled to preach five or six times a day. Persecution is **kept off** till the seed takes root. Societies are **springing up** everywhere.* (1744wesl.j3b)

As far as diachronic text type variation is concerned, the studies by Biber & Finegan (1989, 1997) have observed a general tendency for all popular written genres to become more oral (i.e. more involved, less elaborate and less abstract) over time, especially from the 19th century onwards (cf. Section 5.2.1). Therefore, as popular written genres, the growth of phrasal verbs should be reflected in journals and diaries.

[128] Notice, however, that by Wesley's times, prescriptions against phrasal verbs were inexistent (cf. Wild 2010: 92) and that grammarians were still starting to show limited awareness of the existence of these constructions in some of the grammar books (cf. Hiltunen 1983b).

Actually, if we look carefully at the figures again (cf. Table 28 below), we see that phrasal verbs have increased in diaries at a slow pace from the 18th century to the present-day, leaving aside the diary of Newcome, which, as said above, is the only diary available in the period between 1650-1699.

Table 28: Raw and normalized frequencies per 10,000 words of phrasal verbs in diaries and journals in ARCHER

	Diaries		**Journals**	
	Raw figures	NF	Raw figures	NF
1650-99	~~29~~	~~132.29~~	183	95.40
1700-49	81	64.92	87	97.01
1750-99	62	71.36	75	57.01
1800-49	63	59.06	89	80.37
1850-99	105	66.82	88	126.20
1900-49	136	151.59	135	103.09
1950-99	128	96.70	78	86.77
Total	**604**		**735**	

Surprisingly, however, this is not the case with journals. Although the frequencies of phrasal verbs seem to increase during the 19th century, they decrease again in the course of the 20th century to the extent that they reach figures lower than by the end of the 17th century. The decrease of phrasal verbs in journals during the 20th century in ARCHER is not in accordance with the majority of studies reporting on the rise in the figures of these constructions in recent years (cf., e.g., Spasov 1966: 18-22; Denison 1998: 223) and their increased frequency not only in the spoken language, but at all levels (cf. Claridge 2000: 104), even "the common and literary levels" (Potter 1965: 286).

These results are, in principle, also contradictory with the findings by Biber & Finegan (1997). However, it must be noticed that these scholars do not analyze diaries

and journals separately. Moreover, my analysis focuses exclusively on British English texts, whereas the study by Biber & Finegan includes both British and American texts. Although phrasal verbs are just one of the many features which characterize a text as being closer to the oral styles,[129] in view of the present results from ARCHER, it seems necessary to question whether journals and diaries are evolving in different directions.

As a consequence of the variation in the content and style of diaries and journals, important differences can also be observed in the type of combinations typical of both text types. Table 29 below shows the 15 most frequent phrasal combinations used in the two genres.

Table 29: Most frequent combinations in diaries and journals in ARCHER

Diaries	**Tokens**	**Journals**	**Tokens**
get up	23	*set out*	21
go on	20	*come up*	18
come home	19	*go on*	18
come in	19	*take up*	14
come up	19	*go up*	11
go out	15	*blow up*	10
go up	12	*come down*	10
come back	10	*go away*	10
go down	9	*come in*	9
go off	8	*cut off*	8
bring home	7	*get up*	8
come out	7	*make up*	8
get back	7	*come aboard*	7
go in	7	*go home*	7
leave out	7	*put in*	7

[129] Cf. especially the multivariate analysis in Biber (2003: 52), which for the first time includes phrasal verbs as a feature of oral registers.

As can be seen, whereas diaries contain mostly phrasal verbs describing basic daily activities (e.g. *get up*, *come home*, *come in*, *come up*), the type of constructions typical of journals seems much more varied, not only describing basic actions, but also referring to more specialized topics, such as *set out*, *blow up*, *cut off* or *come aboard*. In fact, as can be seen in Table 30 below, the proportion of non-literal types tends to be higher in journals than in diaries already in the first subperiod analyzed.[130]

Table 30: Comparison of semantic types in diaries and journals in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/ aktionsart and emphatic	**Idiomatic**	**Literal**	**Metaphorical**	**Reiterative**	**Total**
Diaries						
1650-99	1 (3.44%)	5 (17.24%)	21 (72.40%)	1 (3.44%)	1 (3.44%)	**29**
1950-90	51 (39.84%)	32 (25.00%)	32 (25.00%)	13 (10.15%)	-	**128**
Journals						
1650-99	50 (27.32%)	45 (24.59%)	81 (44.26%)	6 (3.27%)	1 (0.54%)	**183**
1950-90	29 (37.17%)	21 (26.92%)	20 (25.64%)	8 (10.25%)	-	**78**

The set of verbal bases used for the formation of phrasal verbs is also more varied in journals than in diaries, in which most of the combinations consist of the verbs *get*, *go* and *come* plus a particle indicating movement. In fact, journals show a higher type/token ratio than diaries (0.48 and 0.44 respectively), which indicates that the

[130] Notice, however, that these data must be taken carefully, since the semantic types of diaries in the first subperiod are restricted to the diary of Reverend Newcome (see above).

former contain a more varied vocabulary. The proportion of *hapax legomena*, however, is quite similar in both cases: 12.08% of all types in diaries and 11.29% in journals.

As regards the type of particles most frequently used in each of the text types, as expected *up* and *out* occupy the first and second positions in both cases respectively (cf. Table 31 below).

Table 31: List of particles in diaries and journals in ARCHER

Diaries	**Tokens**	**Journals**	**Tokens**
up	153	*up*	178
out	98	*out*	120
down	70	*off*	67
in	53	*down*	62
home	48	*in*	50
off	38	*on*	42
on	33	*away*	41
back	30	*back*	41
away	26	*about*	20
over	11	*home*	20
about	9	*over*	15
along	5	*aboard*	14
through	5	*forward*	9
forward	4	*round*	8
round	4	*together*	8
together	4	*by*	7
around	3	*forth*	7
forth	3	*through*	7
across	2	*along*	5
aside	2	*across*	4
by	2	*ahead*	3
behind	1	*around*	2
past	1	*behind*	2
		apart	1
		aside	1
		to	1

Moreover, journals show a wider variety of particles (26 types) than diaries (23 types). The particle *aboard*, for example, occurs almost exclusively in journals (there is only one single exception in the genre news).

Therefore, as far as phrasal verbs are concerned, diaries and journals have proved to be distinctive, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively.

5.3.2. PHRASAL VERBS IN PERSONAL LETTERS

As stated earlier in this section (cf. Table 27), in the first subperiods analyzed (1650-1799) letters tend to show a much lower frequency of phrasal verbs than other informal text types dealing with personal and private matters (e.g. diaries and journals). However, the rates of these constructions in letters tend to increase, more noticeably from the 19th century onwards.[131] The low figures in the earlier periods seem to be motivated by two main reasons: the particular contents of the letters and the variation in the text-intrinsic characteristics over time.

First, just as in other text types, the number of phrasal verbs in letters may be affected by the **contents or the topics** included in the narration. Letters tend to present lower figures of phrasal verbs, because they contain fewer descriptions of places, trips and travels than, for example, journals, and do not report on repeated daily activities to the extent that diaries do. In fact, when they include descriptions and narrations, the

[131] Martin (1990: 100ff) also notices an increase in the number of phrasal verbs in letters from the 15th to the 20th century both in American and in British English. Her results are, however, not completely reliable due to some important drawbacks in the methodology employed, among others the following: she counts only the first one hundred occurrences of phrasal verbs in each of her subcorpora (1990: 72); the number of words in the corpus is not exact, but has been calculated by line average (1990: 78-79); and she counts as tokens of phrasal verbs nouns and adjectives derived from phrasal verbs (1990: 104).

number of phrasal verbs tends to be higher, as is the case with a letter written by Lewis Carroll to his sister Elizabeth in 1851,[132] as shown in the excerpt in (11) below.

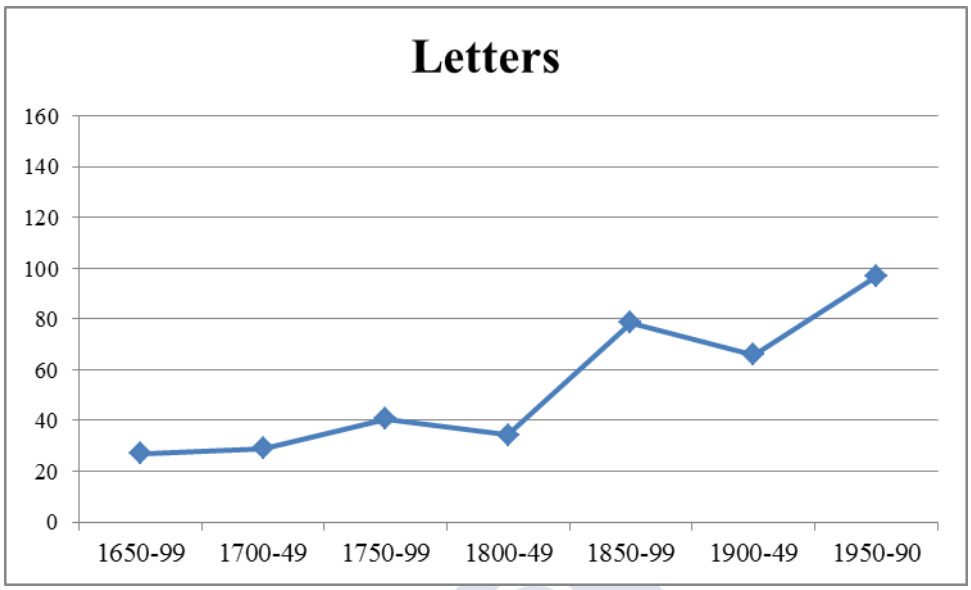
(11) *The first thing to be seen on entering is the Crystal Fountain, a most elegant one about 30 feet high at a rough guess, composed entirely of glass and* ***pouring down*** *jets of water from basin to basin: this is in the middle of the centre nave and from it you can* ***look down*** *to either end, and up both transepts. […] In one the child is being attacked by a serpent, and the dog* ***standing over*** *to defend it. The child is crying with fear, and making I think an exceedingly ugly face. In the other the dog has conquered: the body of the serpent is lying at one side, and the head, most thoroughly* ***bitten off****, at the other. The dog seems to have quite chewed the neck of the serpent to make sure. The child is* ***leaning over*** *and playing with the dog, which is really smiling with pleasure and satisfaction.* (1851carl.x6b)

Second, as previously mentioned (cf. Section 5.2.2), letters have **evolved as a text type** from the 18th century to the present day (Biber 2001; Biber & Finegan 1989, 1997). Biber & Finegan's (1989) study has also shown that from the 17th century to the present day letters have shifted from being relatively oral to being highly oral. One could probably then argue that phrasal verbs are absent from 18th-century letters because these tend to avoid the use of speech-based features (Biber 2001: 104).

This tendency toward more oral styles in letters has not been a steady one, for a slight reversal is identified during the 18th century, when trends turned to more literate styles (Biber & Finegan 1989: 512 *et passim*). My corpus data also show that the number of phrasal verbs has increased in letters from the 18th century onwards, though with two major reversals (cf. Figure 30).

[132] This is the letter with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs in the whole corpus (162.09).

Figure 30: The development of phrasal verbs in letters in ARCHER



The first reversal occurs during the first half of the 19th century, coinciding with the time at which prescriptions against phrasal verbs were stronger. In fact, before 1750 little or no attention was paid to phrasal verbs in grammars, except for counted exceptions such as Maittaire's *The English Grammar* (1712), defined by Hiltunen as "the most comprehensive treatment of the phrasal verb" (1983b: 382; cf. also Claridge 2000: 203-204 and Wild 2010: 37-38). It is especially from the second half of the 18th century onwards that general negative attitudes towards phrasal verbs start to appear in grammars (cf. Wild 2010: 89ff), some of which still prevail in the 20th century (Brinton

1996).[133] However, the existence of a second reversal in the development of phrasal verbs during the first half of the 20th century seems to indicate that prescriptivist strictures are probably not the only reason behind the halts in the growth of phrasal verbs.

An analysis of the total number of letters which do not contain any phrasal verbs at all leads overall to the same conclusion. As shown in Table 32 below, the number of letters with no phrasal verbs is much higher in the letters produced before 1850 than in those produced from the second half of the 19th century onwards.

Table 32: Number of letters in ARCHER containing no occurrences of phrasal verbs

	Letters with 0 PVs	**Letters per period**	**Rate**
1650-99	8	25	0.32
1700-49	11	28	0.39
1750-99	3	26	0.11
1800-49	8	25	0.32
1850-99	4	26	0.15
1900-49	2	29	0.06
1950-90	1	28	0.03
Total	**37**	**187**	

In fact, in the last subperiod, there is only one text which makes no use at all of phrasal verbs. It is a letter of J.R.R. Tolkien to his daughter Priscilla (1963), in which he describes a funeral in quite a melancholic, almost poetic tone (cf. (12)). Thus, the

[133] Consider, for example, Herbert's (1935: 145) statement that "the baser sort of English-speaker [...] thinks that it is right and clever to add 'up' or 'out' to any short verb, though the sense is neither enriched nor altered" (from Wild 2010: 145).

absence of phrasal verbs in this letter seems to be motivated by its topic and the stylistic features employed in it rather than by a conscious effort on the part of Tolkien to avoid these constructions, which he does use in his two other letters included in ARCHER (1953, 1962).

(12) *Thank you so much for your letter. […] So far I have felt the normal feelings of a man of my age – like an old tree that is losing all its leaves one by one: this feels like an axe-blow near the roots. Very sad that we should have been so separated in the last years; but our time of close communion endured in memory for both of us. I had a mass said this morning, and was there, and served; and Havard and Dundas Grant were present. The funeral at Holy Trinity, the Headington Quarry church, which Jack attended, was quiet and attended only by intimates and some Magdalen people including the President. Austin Farrer read the lesson. The grave is under a larch in the corner of the church-yard. […]* (1963tolk.x8b)

Conversely, other letter-writers in ARCHER seem to consciously avoid the use of phrasal verbs, as is the case with the Irishman Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816): none of his four letters contains a single instance of phrasal verbs (subperiod 1800-49). Just like Lady Montefiore, he seems to replace phrasal verbs with verbs of Latin and French origin: *escape* for *run away*, *reserve* for *keep apart*, *ascertain* for *find out*, *continue* for *go on*, etc. This feature of Sheridan's writing comes as no surprise if we consider that Irish English tended to be socially stigmatized at the time and that, for this reason, Irish writers, such as Sheridan "were particularly aware of the dangers of non-standard speech" (Görlach 2001: 68). Thus, the replacement of phrasal verbs by Romance verbs in his texts is probably due to a conscious attempt on his part to show a higher degree of formality and education.

Moreover, the absence of phrasal verbs in letters is necessarily more evident in the earlier periods, when the majority of the combinations contain literal or concrete

meanings (cf. Hiltunen 1994: 132). In spite of this, compared with other text types dealing with private matters (e.g. diaries and journals), the number of non-literal combinations in letters, especially aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations, was relatively high already in the earliest subperiod (cf. Table 33 below). These results agree with Martin's (1990: 157ff), who also reports on an increase of aspectual/aktionsart and idiomatic types from the 15th to the 20th century in both British and American English. However, my findings from ARCHER differ from those of Martin's (1990) study, which shows a decrease of literal types over time (80% of tokens in the 15th century to 47% in the 20th century).

Table 33: Distribution of semantic types of phrasal verbs in letters in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic	**Idiomatic**	**Literal**	**Metaphorical**	**Reiterative**	**Total**
1650-99	12 (33.33%)	10 (27.77%)	8 (22.22%)	4 (11.11%)	2 (5.55%)	**36**
1950-90	35 (31.11%)	38 (34.86%)	23 (21.10%)	13 (11.92%)	-	**109**

Further observations can be made by examining the most frequent combinations occurring in letters (cf. Table 34).

Table 34: Most frequent combinations in letters in ARCHER

Letters	**Tokens**	**Letters**	**Tokens**
go on	20	*come down*	6
come up	10	*get back*	6
find out	9	*go away*	6
give up	9	*go back*	6
set out	9	*put up*	6
take up	9	*throw away*	6
come back	8	*go out*	5

As can be seen, idiomatic combinations such as *find out* and *give up* occupy some of the most prominent positions on the list. Moreover, the type/token ratio in letters (0.48) is remarkably higher than in diaries and journals (cf. 5.3.1), which indicates that the combinations included in them are more varied and infrequently repeated. Similar results are reported by Hiltunen (1994) for EModE letters, in which he also finds lower figures of phrasal verbs than might be expected, but which contain "combinations that are not used elsewhere and that give a casual impression" (1994: 137).[134]

The particles used for the formation of the phrasal combinations in letters are shown in Table 35 below. No remarkable surprises were found in this sense, though.

Table 35: List of particles in letters

Letters	Tokens	Letters	Tokens
up	120	*across*	3
out	81	*aside*	3
away	37	*ahead*	2
back	34	*along*	2
on	34	*by*	2
down	33	*forth*	2
off	29	*forward*	2
home	13	*together*	2
in	13	*apart*	1
over	10	*around*	1
round	7	*astray*	1
about	4	*through*	1

[134] In Hiltunen's data (1994: 138), letters and sermons are the genres with the highest type/token ratios.

5.3.3. PHRASAL VERBS IN DRAMA AND FICTION

Although drama and fiction are described as popular written genres, they differ from diaries, journals and news in that they narrate fictional, made-up events, occurrences and stories. Whereas drama involves mainly dialogues, in fiction we can find both dialogues and narrations. However, as said previously (cf. 5.2.3), ARCHER makes no such distinction: no specific tags have been assigned to distinguish dialogues from narrations (or asides in the case of drama). This implies that no definite conclusions can be drawn about the distinction between spoken and written language by analyzing these two text types; for this reason, my approach must be basically descriptive.

In spite of being related text types, important differences exist between drama and fiction as far as the use of phrasal verbs is concerned, as can be seen in the paired boxplot below (cf. Figure 31).[135]

[135] These differences are, moreover, statistically significant (cf. 5.3 above).

Figure 31: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in drama and fiction. Boxplot analysis

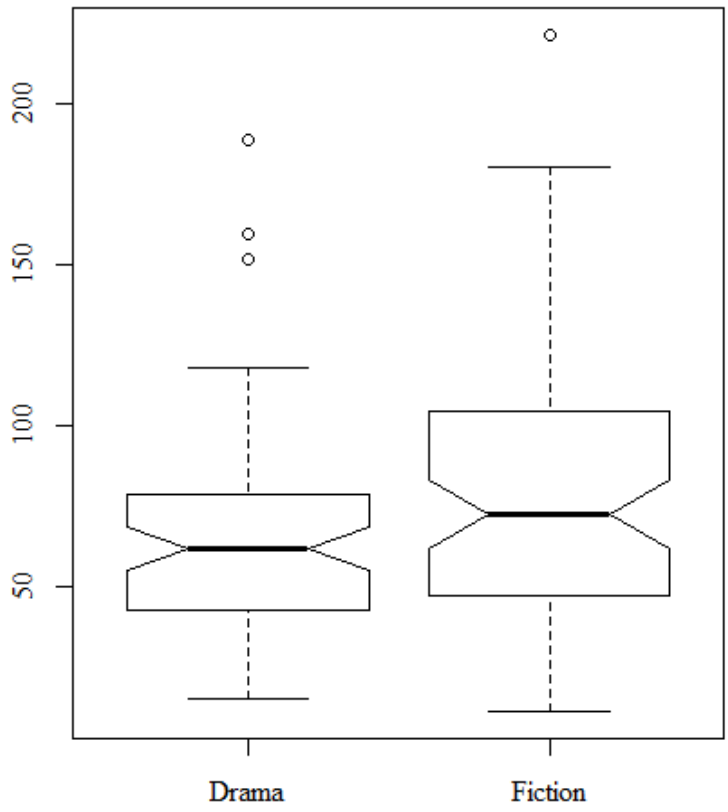
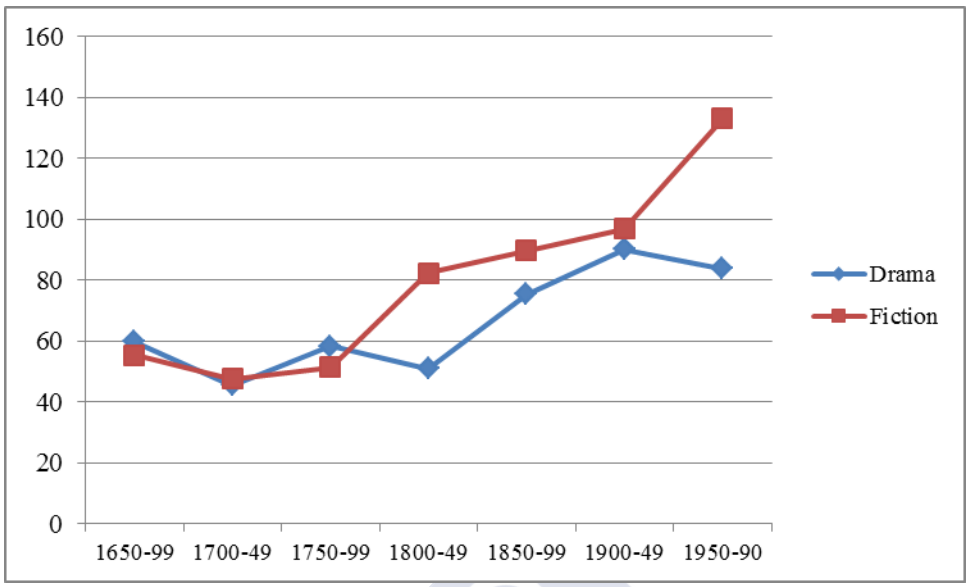


Figure 31 reveals that phrasal verbs are, in general, more common in fiction than in drama, although this does not apply to all the subperiods analyzed, as shown in Figure 32 below.

Figure 32: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in drama and fiction over time



Whereas the number of phrasal verbs in both text types is quite similar during the earliest subperiods, they become more distinct from the first half of the 19th century onwards, when the rates in fiction increase steadily. The low figures of phrasal verbs in fiction during the 18th century may be related to the changing conventions of the time. As shown by Biber & Finegan (1989, 1997), the linguistic characteristics of fiction (and other text types) have changed dramatically over the last four centuries, displaying a general tendency to drift to more oral linguistic characterizations (1997: 273).[136] Thus, for example, compared to 17th- and 19th-century fiction, 18th-century fiction turns out highly elaborate and extremely passive in style (Biber & Finegan 1989: 501, 505).

[136] The tendency is observed in popular written genres (letters, diaries and news reportage) in general.

McIntosh (1998: 1) accounts for the change towards "more polite and more 'written' (less oral)" style in 18th-century fiction in terms of gentrification, the cleaning-up and modernization of English (1998: 23), and standardization, the culmination of the prescriptivist period which encouraged formality, precision and abstractness as opposed to the "redundancy, sloppiness and concreteness of speech" (1998: 23-24). In fact, 18th-century authors such as Swift revised his prose to give it a more written, more polite and more flowery style (McIntosh 1998: 58). If, as stated by McIntosh (1998: 1, 34), printed books became less oral between 1700 and 1800, it is natural that oral features such as phrasal verbs also become less frequent in this text type. In turn, when from the 19th century onwards fiction turns to "more involved, less situated and less abstract styles" (Biber & Finegan 1989: 507), the frequency of these structures increases.

Nevertheless, as was the case with other text types (cf. Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), the frequency of phrasal verbs in a text depends not only on its degree of orality, but is conditioned by other factors, such as the **topics** treated in the narration and the author's **idiosyncrasies**. In fact, in the first subperiod (1650-99) there are two texts with rates of phrasal verbs higher than the mean. Whereas all the texts in this subperiod show a frequency between 18.00 and 67.84, the two texts written by Richard Head score frequencies of 120.12 (1665head.f2b) and 104.34 (1673head.f2b). Both of Head's texts are very descriptive, and phrasal verbs are in general used as means of backgrounding the actions and events, as shown in the following excerpt:

(13) *The Villains were so nimble, that one of them was continually before me hindring my flight, whilst the other **drub'd** me **forward**. [...] for these stupid fellows apprehended not the danger: perceiving how stupidly senseless they were, I fir'd it full in the face of him that fronted me, who verily believ'd he had been shot, & so out of conceit (for*

they are naturally very timerous) ***fell down*** *as dead; the other seeing that,* ***ran away*** *as swift as lightning, whereby I had leave to* ***ride on****, which I did (you may think) with no ordinary speed.* (1665head.f2b)

Head's narration contrasts strongly with the text by Margaret Cavendish (1666) from the same subperiod, which has the lowest frequency of phrasal verbs (18.00). This text is mostly concerned with a discussion between a queen and some of her subjects about more abstract topics, such as the nature of syllogisms or religion. Here phrasal verbs are only sporadically used and, when they appear, they mostly have non-literal meanings, as can be seen in the excerpt in (14) below

(14) *After the Emperess had thus finish'd the Discourses and Conferences with the mentioned Societies of her Vertuoso's, she considered by her self the manner of their Religion, and finding it very defective, was troubled, that so wise and knowing a people should have no more knowledg of the Divine Truth; Wherefore she consulted with her own thoughts, whether it was possible to convert them all to her own Religion, and to that end she resolved to build Churches, and* ***make*** *also* ***up*** *a Congregation of Women, whereof she intended to be the head her self, and to instruct them in the several points of her Religion.* (1666cav2.f2b)

Similar observations can be applied to the genre drama. Thus, the play *Lottie Dundass* by Enid Bagnold (1944) is the dramatic text with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs in the whole corpus (188.85), whereas *A Man for All Seasons* by Robert Bolt (1960) shows the second lowest frequency (18.85).[137] The difference between both texts is basically one of conversational topics. The text by Bagnold represents a very

[137] The drama text with the lowest frequency of phrasal verbs (15.15) is *The Englishman in Paris* by Samuel Foote (1753). However, since this text dates from the mid-18th century, I have considered it more convenient to draw comparisons between *Lottie Dundass* (1944) and *A Man for All Seasons* (1960), both of which were written in the 20th century.

informal conversation: the phrasal verbs used in it mostly describe physical actions and they are very often repeated, as can be seen in the excerpt in (15) below.

(15) [PORPHORY] *Ring me when you can* ***get through****. I can't sit waiting.* [Door Right opens slowly. (Roaring)] ***Go out****! Whoever it is,* ***go OUT****!*

[...]

[PORPHORY] *I don't care!* [KENT looks startled] *Not a damn. She gets an appendix. She gets it* ***taken out****. I don't want to hear any more about it. One doesn't get one's appendix* ***taken out*** *on the morning of the First Night.*

[...]

[KENT] *The news from the Nursing Home...*

[PORPHORY] *Well,* ***go on****,* ***go on****. She's dead?* (1944bagn.f7b)

By contrast, the text by Robert Bolt represents a quite formal conversation about more abstract topics, such as religion and politics, in which phrasal verbs are very scarce and not repeated, as shown in (16) below.

(16) [MORE] *Must you wear those clothes, Will?*

[ROPER] *Yes, I must.*

[MORE] *Why?*

[ROPER]*The time bas* [sic]*come for decent men to declare their allegiance!*

[MORE] *And what allegiance are those designed to express?*

[ROPER] *My allegiance to the Church.*

[MORE] *Well, you look like a Spaniard.*

[ROPER] *All credit to Spain then!*

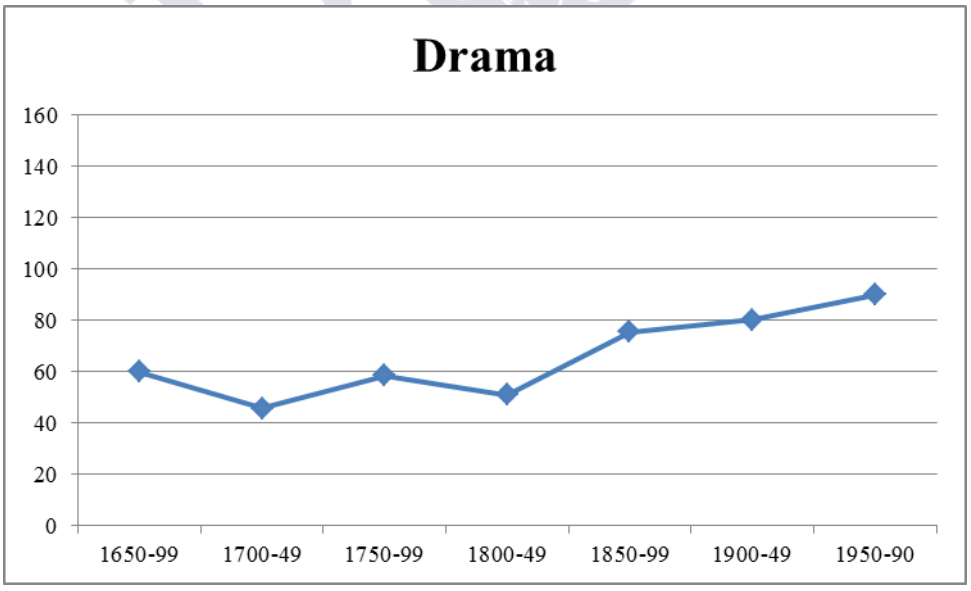
[MORE] *You wouldn't last six months in Spain. You'd have been burned alive in Spain, during your heretic period.*

[ROPER] *I suppose you have the right to remind me of it. [Points accusingly] That chain of office that you wear is a degradation!*

[MORE] [**Glances down** at it] *I've told you. If the bishops in Convocation submitted this morning, I'll* ***take*** *it* ***off****. It's no degradation. Great men have worn this.* (1960bolt.f8b)

Thus, as expected, also in drama, the topics discussed in the text may have an impact on the frequency of phrasal verbs. However, the fact that these two texts belong to the last two subperiods causes unexpected rates of phrasal verbs: these seem to increase steadily in drama from the 19th century onwards, but then they decrease during the second half of the 20th century. This development would be against the general tendency observed in popular written texts to become more oral over time. However, if we eliminate from the count the two aforementioned texts, which display figures of phrasal verbs removed from the average frequency, we observe that the frequency of phrasal verbs does increase steadily from subperiod to subperiod, as shown in Figure 33 below.

Figure 33: The development of phrasal verbs in drama excluding the files 1944bagn.f7b and 1960bolt.f8b



As regards their linguistic characteristics, in spite of being related text types, drama and fiction present some important differences. Table 36 below shows the commonest combinations found in the two genres.

Table 36: Commonest combinations in drama and fiction in ARCHER

Drama	Tokens	Fiction	Tokens
go on	36	*go on*	68
come in	35	*sit down*	48
go out	30	*find out*	43
sit down	30	*come back*	33
find out	28	*come in*	33
come back	20	*go away*	32
come forward	15	*come out*	30
go home	15	*go out*	26
go in	13	*take up*	25
go off	13	*come up*	22
run away	13	*go down*	22
keep up	12	*pick up*	21
lock up	12	*get up*	19
take up	12	*make up*	18
give away	11	*run away*	18

As can be seen, the majority of phrasal verbs are shared by drama and fiction (*go on*, *come in*, *go out*, *sit down*, etc.), although combinations with *come* and *go* plus a directional particle (*come in*, *go out*, *come back*, *come forward*, etc.) are far more common in drama than in fiction. However, the type/token frequency is much lower in fiction (0.15) than in drama (0.41), which indicates that the combinations included in fiction are less varied and repeated more often. It is quite remarkable that the type/token frequency in fiction is the lowest one among the different text types included in ARCHER.

As far as the semantic types of phrasal verbs are concerned, drama turns out to be quite exceptional as compared with other text types. As shown in Table 37 below,

whereas fiction follows the general tendency in the sense that non-literal phrasal verbs seem to increase over time, in drama, although metaphorical and idiomatic types grow over time, the percentage of aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic combinations is lower in the last subperiod than in the earliest one. Still, literal phrasal verbs are less frequent than aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic combinations in both subperiods under analysis here.

Table 37: Distribution of semantic types of phrasal verbs in drama and fiction in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic	Idiomatic	Literal	Metaphorical	Reiterative	Total
Drama						
1650-99	55 (39.00%)	18 (12.76%)	53 (37.58%)	14 (9.92%)	1 (0.7%)	**141**
1950-90	75 (36.58%)	44 (21.46%)	68 (33.17%)	17 (8.29%)	1 (0.48%)	**205**
Fiction						
1650-99	60 (26.54%)	30 (13.27%)	110 (48.67%)	15 (6.63%)	11 (4.86%)	**226**
1950-90	261 (43.5%)	97 (16.16%)	204 (34.00%)	34 (5.66%)	4 (0.66%)	**600**

Interestingly, the output of my analysis differs greatly from that by Pelli for American English plays (1976: 108-109), where combinations with literal (directional/motional) particles predominate in all the subperiods analyzed by him. In my view, the difference between both analyses is due to two main reasons. First, Pelli includes purely directional particles such as *backwards*, *downwards*, *hence*, *onwards*, *upwards*, etc. (1976: 114), which have been left out of the present dissertation. Second, in all the subperiods, Pelli finds that the frequency of phrasal verbs is higher in stage directions than in dialogues. Throughout his work he repeatedly remarks that in stage directions phrasal verbs are generally used for setting up descriptions for the

movements of the actors (e.g. *come in*, *go out*, etc.), that is, they are mostly literal combinations. Therefore, it is not surprising that literal phrasal verbs are the most frequent type in Pelli's data. As regards the results for idiomatic and aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations,[138] Pelli finds that the frequency of these three semantic groups decreases over time (1976: 109-110). Whereas my data for the aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic group in British English are similar to Pelli's in American English, those corresponding to idiomatic combinations differ greatly, since in the ARCHER material their proportion in the last subperiod is nearly twice higher than in the first subperiod (cf. Table 37 above). Unfortunately, I have not found any indication in Pelli's data that can account for such a decrease, and Pelli himself never attempts to explain it.

Drama and fiction are also quite exceptional as regards the particles used for the formation of phrasal verbs in these two text types (cf. Table 38).

[138] The bulk of these aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations is split into Group 2 and Group 3 in Pelli's analysis. The former includes particles which may have a directional-motional reading, but also modify the meaning of the combination "by the relation the particle has with the verb it is associated with" (1976: 76), and is further subdivided into five subgroups which he labels 'extension', 'intensity', 'audibility/visibility', 'too much' and 'first' (cf. 1976: 76-79). Group 3, in turn, contains combinations whose particles have lost their directional-motional meaning, and includes the subgroups 'completion', 'visibility', 'repetition', 'stop', 'begin', 'degree' and 'intensity' (1976: 80-84).

Table 38: List of particles in drama and fiction

Drama	Tokens	Fiction	Tokens
up	214	*up*	493
out	196	*out*	417
in	113	*down*	278
down	110	*away*	195
off	100	*off*	164
on	90	*back*	160
away	83	*in*	158
back	61	*on*	156
home	34	*round*	67
forward	26	*about*	59
over	20	*over*	49
along	17	*home*	47
together	15	*forward*	46
about	12	*forth*	32
round	12	*along*	30
by	9	*together*	28
aside	7	*aside*	21
through	5	*by*	21
around	4	*around*	9
forth	4	*through*	8
across	2	*behind*	7
behind	2	*ahead*	6
ahead	1	*past*	4
astray	1	*across*	3
asunder	1	*aback*	2
counter	1	*to*	2
past	1	*above*	1
to	1	*apart*	1
under	1	*astray*	1
		under	1

As can be seen in Table 38 above, as usual, *up* and *out* occupy the first and second positions in the two text types, respectively. However, drama and fiction differ from other text types in that the variety of particles used in them is wider than in other genres: 29 in drama and 30 in fiction. In fact, the combinations with the particle *aback* only occur in fiction (cf. (17)), the only example with *counter* in ARCHER belongs to drama

(cf. (18)), whereas the only two examples with *under* in the corpus occur precisely in drama and in fiction (cf. (19)).

(17) *She seemed rather **taken aback** but rose promptly.* (1934chri.f7b)

(18) *I must keep a devilish tight hand upon this fallow, I see, or he will be touched with the patriotic frenzy of the times, and **run counter** till aw* [sic] *my designs.* (1792mack.d4b)

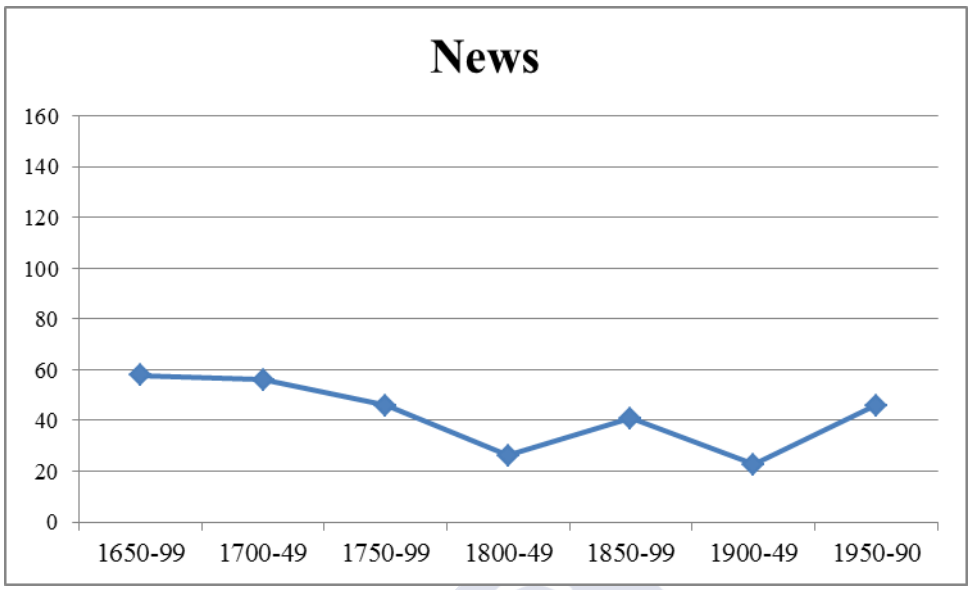
(19) *Dick – Dick, stand by me, and we'll have one blaze for it; blood and lightning! man, don't **knock under**.* (1847lefa.f5b)

5.3.4. PHRASAL VERBS IN NEWS

Although news are one of the so-called popular written genres, they differ from diaries, journals, drama and fiction in that they make use of particular conventions of style, format and language. This is probably because, as opposed to other text types, the aim of newspapers is to report on recent events and "they make a claim that this news is interesting enough for the reader to warrant the purchase of a copy of the newspaper" (Jucker 2009: 1). Moreover, although newspapers are relatively recent, they have undergone much change since their first appearance to the present-day, mostly due to the developments undergone by communication technologies and transport (cf. 5.2.4).

The changing nature of newspapers is also reflected in the frequency of phrasal verbs in this text type. As can be seen in Figure 34 below (cf. also Table 27 above), the number of phrasal verbs in newspapers is relatively high in the earliest periods, but it seems to decrease over time until the 19th century. Although figures rise in the first half of the 19th century, they decrease again during the second half of that century to increase once more from the early 20th century onwards.

Figure 34: The development of phrasal verbs in news in ARCHER



The decrease in the frequency of phrasal verbs during the late 17th and 18th centuries agrees with the general tendency undergone by popular written genres to develop towards more literate characterizations during the 18th century (Biber & Finegan 1997: 269). In the case of news, the decrease in figures during the earlier periods may have also been aided by the imposition of a tax on paper in 1712. As a consequence, newspapers reduced their overall size in order to use less paper and had to employ smaller fonts and more columns to squeeze more text into the same space (Claridge 2010: 592). The necessity to reduce paper may have affected the frequency of phrasal verbs, since two-word verbs would occupy more space than one-word verbs, especially those cases in which the particle was considered redundant. Moreover, since space was an issue, newspaper writers would probably priorize important information over the description of details for which phrasal verbs are commonly used. However,

this must remain only as a speculation, since the tax on paper was lifted in 1855 and, although there seems to be an increase in phrasal verbs during the second half of the 19th century in my corpus, the proportion of phrasal combinations decreases again in the first half of the 20th century.

As noted by Biber & Finegan (1997: 269) and Mair (1997: 203), the drift towards more oral styles seems to have taken place later in news than in other popular written genres. More precisely, Mair points to a reversal during the last 30 years of the 20th century. Thus, the increase of phrasal verbs from the second half of the 20th century onwards in my data is in line with the idea that phrasal verbs belong to the colloquial language and, when news turn to more oral characteristics, the frequency of these constructions increases in this genre. However, the unexpected abrupt rise of phrasal verbs during the second half of the 19th century seems to indicate that there might be additional reasons conditioning the occurrence of phrasal verbs in news. A closer inspection reveals that there is much variation in the frequency of phrasal verbs in the various texts from this subperiod: from 4.52 in a sample from *The Manchester Guardian* (1893man1.n6b) to 81.76 in a sample from the *Glasgow Sentinel* (1872gla1.n6b). The difference between one and another text is again one of **content**. The text in *The Manchester Guardian* is entitled "Foreign Telegrams" and contains a list of short foreign news. An extract is shown in (20) below.

(20) *ROME, SUNDAY.*

King Humbert has conferred the Grand Cordon of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus upon President Diaz, of Mexico, and the Grand Cross of the Order of the Crown of Italy upon the Mexican Minister for Foreign Affairs. The decorations will be accompanied by a letter written in the King's name by the Minister of the Royal

Household expressing the most cordial feeling on Italy's part towards Mexico and a desire that commercial relations between the two countries may be developed.

ARGENTINA. BUENOS AYRES, SATURDAY.

The revenue of the Republic of Argentina for the year ending to-day amounted to $104,000,000 in paper and $1,250,000 in gold. (1893man1.n6b)

Since the main aim of this type of section is to provide as much information as possible in a condensed space, phrasal verbs are probably scarce because descriptions of details are avoided. Conversely, the text in the *Glasgow Sentinel* narrates a massacre on a ship. The murder is narrated with much detail and many phrasal verbs are employed to describe the events which occurred the day of the murder. In fact, this piece of news resembles a fictional text in the use of stylistic devices such as the fronting of the particle for emphatic purposes or the fact that it is narrated in the past (cf. (21) below).

(21) *One of the white men promised that he would see that they were well fed, and was **coming up** on deck to **carry out** his promise when he was immediately tomahawked. Another **sprang on** to the deck, but only to share the same fate; and the other three men seized muskets, and also **rushed up** from the cabin.*

*[...] Suddenly one of the prisoners flew with a stone at the sentry and **knocked** him **down**; another of them seized the pile of arms and carried it into the bungalow. The sowar fell upon the third prisoner and **kept** him **down**, but one of those who had secured the arms **rushed out**, and with a sword nearly cut the poor fellow in two.*

*[...] There replied, and for a little while a kind of fight was **kept up**; but the prisoners wanted to escape rather than fight; so **off** they **bolted** by the back door and rushed into a sugarcane field.* (1872gla1.n6b)

A similar explanation holds for the sample from *The People's Paper* (1858peo2.n6b), the one with the second highest frequency in this subperiod (65.73), which narrates in the first person the events which occurred in a battle in a way which also resembles a fictional text (cf. (22)).

(22) *I **ordered out** the skirmishers, and the whole line to advance. [...] I ordered him to detach a troop, or, if necessary, with the squadron, to attack and **clear out** the enemy, but not to leave my left for any time. This was gradually and effectually **carried out** by Major Richardson and his squadron, zealously and actively aided by Captain Brooks, with a party of Goorkas, **cutting up** and killing a number of the enemy. [...] I **rode on** to the right squadron, and ordered Captain Chapman to advance rapidly with his squadron, inclining to the right, and **bringing up** his right shoulders to charge enemy's sowars and infantry, hoping it would also shake their centre. [...] **Down came** the Yeomanry Cavalry at a charging pace, well and steadily together, on the moving masses of infantry, routing them and **cutting down** and killing great numbers, upwards of 90 reported.* (1858peo2.n6b)

Therefore, just as happened with other text types, the topics discussed in the narration play a role in the amount of phrasal verbs in news texts.

Another remarkable feature of the genre news is the particular style adopted by the newspaper. In earlier newspapers individual **stylistic differences** are more remarkable (cf. Section 5.2.4). Journalism did not exist as a profession and most writers had been trained for other occupations and did not necessarily write only journalistic prose (cf. Claridge 2009: 92-93). Still, certain tendencies have been observed in particular newspapers. For example, according to Fries & Lehmann (2006: 97), *The London Gazette* had an editor who was well-known and admired at the time for his excellent style. This was the official newspaper of the Court and, as such, it "carried only fact and record" and was characterized by "a most meagre and formal style" (Fries & Lehmann 2006: 97). The formal style of *The London Gazette* is reflected in the number of phrasal verbs used in it: the four samples of this publication included in ARCHER show the lowest frequency of these constructions in the subperiod 1650-99 and the second and third lowest frequencies in the subperiod 1700-49. Notice, for example, the use of the verb *prorogue* (instead of e.g. *put off*) in the extract below.

(23) *AT the Court at Kensington, the 14th Day of June, 1744.*

PRESENT,

The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council. His Majesty in Council was this Day pleased to order, that the Parliament which stands prorogued to Thursday the Twenty First of this Instant June, should be further prorogued to Thursday the Second Day of August next. (1744lon2.n3b)

As regards the commonest combinations, one remarkable feature in the genre news is that these are mostly non-literal (cf. Table 39), a feature which makes this genre differ from other popular written text types, such as journals, diaries and fiction (cf. Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3 above) and brings it closer to formal written-based and purposed texts, such as science and medicine, and formal speech-like texts, such as sermons (cf. Sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.6 below).

Table 39: Commonest combinations in news in ARCHER

Combination	Tokens	Combination	Tokens
set out	26	*carry off*	11
go on	22	*give out*	11
carry out	16	*fit out*	10
come in	16	*bring in*	9
take up	15	*come down*	9
draw up	14	*set up*	9
break out	13	*come up*	8

In fact, as was the case with letters (cf. 5.3.2 above), the proportion of idiomatic phrasal verbs was already quite high in the earliest subperiod, as can be seen in Table 40 below.

Table 40: Distribution of semantic types in news in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic	Idiomatic	Literal	Metaphorical	Reiterative	Total
1650-99	43 (33.33%)	36 (27.90%)	42 (32.55%)	7 (5.42%)	1 (0.77%)	**129**
1950-90	46 (43.80%)	30 (28.57%)	11 (10.47%)	18 (17.14%)	-	**105**

As far as the particles used are concerned, a total of 22 different forms were found in news, the commonest of which are *up* and *out* (cf. Table 41 below). The reduced number of particles is also a common feature of the most formal text types in the corpus, namely medicine, science and sermons (cf. Sections 5.3.5 and 5.3.6 below).

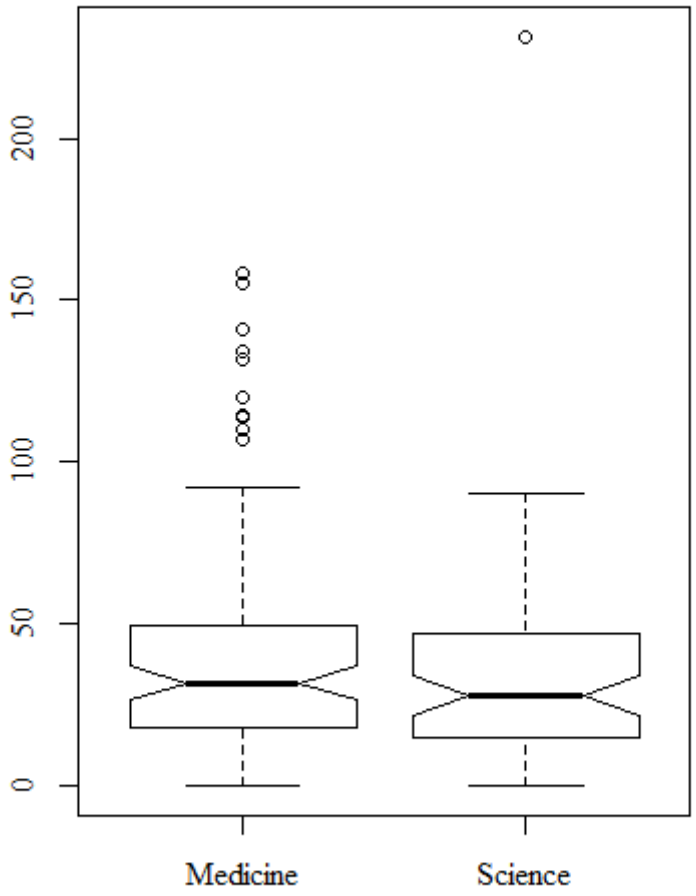
Table 41: List of particles in news

News	Tokens	News	Tokens
up	150	*together*	11
out	149	*about*	6
down	64	*round*	4
off	62	*by*	3
on	54	*through*	3
in	48	*ahead*	2
away	39	*aside*	2
forward	18	*asunder*	2
over	16	*behind*	2
home	15	*forth*	2
back	12	*aboard*	1

5.3.5. PHRASAL VERBS IN MEDICINE AND SCIENCE

As stated in Section 5.2.5 above, medicine and science are different but related text types, very similar in format, stylistic characteristics and conventions. The paired boxplot in Figure 35 below shows that both genres do not differ greatly in the use of phrasal verbs.

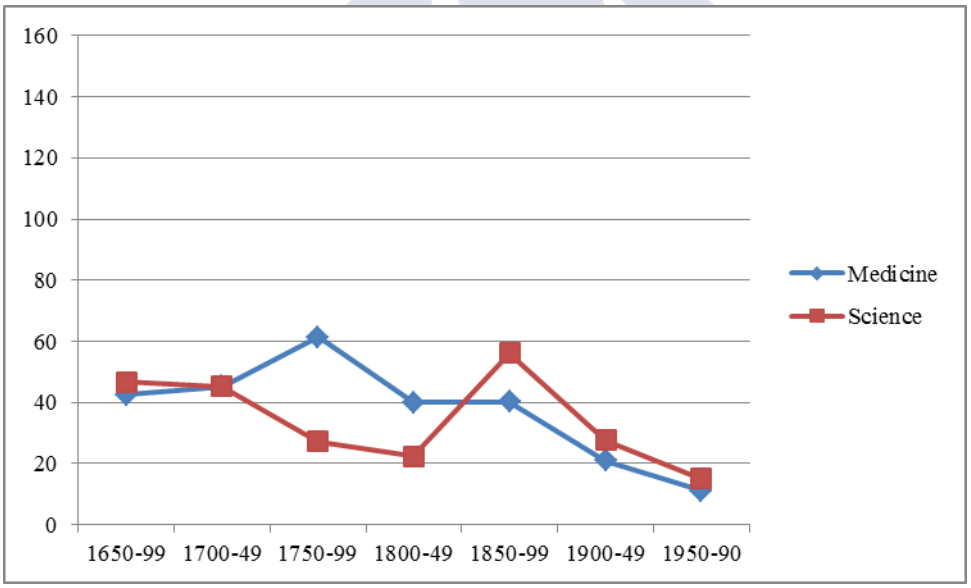
Figure 35: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in medicine and science. Boxplot analysis



However, the boxplot also shows one important difference between both text types, namely that medicine seems to be more variable in the use of phrasal verbs, since a larger number of outliers (represented as circles above the whiskers) are observed in it. Medicine is in fact the genre displaying the highest rates of outliers in the whole corpus (cf. again Figure 27 above).

Figure 36 below also shows that medicine and science have developed in the same direction in the use of phrasal verbs over time, especially from the second half of the 19th century onwards.

Figure 36: Comparison of the frequency of phrasal verbs in medicine and science over time



Both text types show a general decrease in the frequency of phrasal verbs from the 18th century onwards, except in two particular cases; one concerns the abrupt increase of these combinations in science in the second half of the 19th century, the other the

(slighter) increase which occurs in medicine in the second half of the 18th century. The overall decrease in the frequency of these constructions agrees with the general tendency for expository genres to become more literate (cf. Biber & Finegan 1997; Atkinson 1999). However, the variation found in the two text types, especially during the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, seems to indicate that, as happened with other text types, the frequency of phrasal verbs in these two genres may have been influenced by other factors.

First, I examined in more detail the individual scientific texts in the subperiod 1850-99 to see whether the sudden rise in the number of phrasal verbs in this particular period was caused by some outlier. Thus, I found that the scientific text with the highest frequency of the whole corpus (231.23) occurs precisely in this subperiod (it is also the outlier represented in the boxplot in Figure 35 above). This is a text by David Ferrier entitled *Experiments on the brain of monkeys* (1873), which contains a total of 53 occurrences of phrasal verbs. It reports on a cruel series of experiments performed with monkeys. The text does not follow the structure and conventions of a typical scientific text, mainly because it is presented in the form of a diary. The text opens with a short explanation of how the brain operation was performed on the monkey, followed by reports on the reactions and behaviour of the animal. These reports are introduced hourly or daily and their style is very much like the one observed in diaries (cf. Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1 above) in that it is highly sketchy (sometimes even with subject omission) and repetitive, which accounts for the large number of phrasal verbs it contains. This particular text differs in this sense from other scientific texts in the corpus. In fact, scientific texts display a relatively high type/token frequency of phrasal

verbs (0.49), which indicates that they make use of a wide variety of phrasal combinations and avoid repetitions. A sample of the text can be seen in (24) below.

(24) *4.15 P.M. The animal drank some tea held to its lips, but lay quiet and had not yet attempted to* ***get up****.*

5 P.M. Now ***moves about****, which it does rather unsteadily, but evidently sees where it is going, as it avoids obstacles in its path.*

5.45 P.M. Sits quietly with its head down when undisturbed, and makes scraping movements with both hands. Expresses great annoyance when its face is blown on. Tobacco-smoke held to its nostrils caused it to start back and ***run away****.*

7 P.M. Sits with its head down, engaged in picking at imaginary objects in front of it. Can find its way in and out of its cage when roused to action. ***Turns*** *its head* ***round*** *and looks when called to, giving full evidence of its sense of hearing.*

8.10 P.M. Run out of its cage when the door was opened. ***Runs about*** *and jumps on furniture when roused. Otherwise, when left to itself, it* ***sits down*** *and picks at imaginary objects on the floor. Took a piece of apple offered to it and ate it.*

11.15 P.M. Ran about the room when let out of its cage, occasionally stopping to ***pick up*** *things lying on the floor, and* ***turning round*** *to look when called to. Climbed up a chair and then relapsed into its usual position with its head down, and began to* ***pick away*** *with both hands at nothing.* (1873ferr.s6b)

Medicine, in turn, is a peculiar genre because of the great variation of frequencies found among the various texts. In three of the subperiods (1650-99, 1750-99 and 1850-99), for example, there are texts with no occurrences of phrasal verbs, whereas others show frequencies higher than 100. Variation occurs in all subperiods until the 20th

century, when they seem to stabilize.[139] The ups and downs in the frequency of phrasal verbs in medicine seem motivated by two main factors: the **topics** dealt with and the particular **format** chosen to present the texts. For example, the text entitled *Two cases of dislocation of the femur, with an account of the method of reduction* (1775) contains the highest frequency of phrasal verbs (158.22) in the subperiod 1750-99. It describes two different cases of patients affected by the dislocation of the femur and the several manipulations performed by the doctor to reset the bones. In this case, many phrasal verbs are employed to describe the various movements carried out during the examination and treatment of the patient, as shown in (25) below.

(25) *With these several trials were made; but the lacque round the knee flipping, it was **taken off**. By this means I had an opportunity of examining it. I found the left-knee protruding three or four inches further than the right, and the one could not be brought within eight or ten inches of the other, the foot being **turned out**. [...] And, upon the second attempt, it **went in** with a snap observable to the gentlemen **standing round**, but more so to the poor man, who instantly **cried out** he was well and free from pain. His knees could then be **brought together**. [...] At this time I found him lying in bed on his back, the fore part of the femur **turned** quite **in**, the knee lying on the right thigh, was fully four inches shorter, the leg **turned out**, and considerable tension and swelling on the hip.* (1775ande.m4b)

By contrast, the text *Observations on the internal use of the vitriolum Album, in a case of epilepsy, and in Diarrhoea* (1775) does not contain a single instance of a phrasal verb. It describes the case of a young woman affected by epilepsy. I have not been able

[139] Biber & Finegan (1994) carry out an analysis of the standard four-part organization (Introduction, Methods, Results, Discussion) in the medical texts from the last subperiod of ARCHER. They argue that such an investigation cannot be applied to earlier medical texts because they do not distinguish standard sections. This seems to agree with the idea that medical texts somehow stabilize in form in the most recent periods of ARCHER.

to find evidence in this or any of the texts containing no phrasal verbs of replacements by Latinate verbs as was the case with, for example, Lady Montefiore (cf. 5.3.1) or Sheridan (cf. 5.3.2). Therefore, the absence of phrasal verbs is probably due to the fact that the topics treated in the texts do not require the use of constructions of this kind.

The high frequency of phrasal verbs in some other medical texts is related to their format. For instance, as was the case with the scientific text describing brain operations in monkeys discussed above, the medical text *Cases illustrating the modes of treatment of some of the diseases of the rectum* (1864) also adopts the form of a diary. Thus, the evolution of the patients after the treatment is described in quite a sketchy and repetitive style, so that the high frequency of phrasal verbs in this text derives mainly from the iterative use of certain combinations. Consider, for example, the frequent use of *come away* in the extract below.

(26) *3rd July — The bowels were well opened with castor oil.*

6th — Two of the ligatures have ***come away****. The patient feels weak, but is otherwise* ***going on*** *well.*

12th. — All the ligatures have ***come away****.*

19th. — Patient was up to-day, and lay on the sofa. Her health is very much improved. The sores left by the separation of the tumours are healing nicely.

24th. — Patient says she has not enjoyed such good health and comfort for many years. She ***sits up*** *all day. [...]*

22d — Patient can now pass his water himself. The ligatures have all ***come away****, and the wounds are cicatrizing.*

1st August. — Has been gradually improving since last date. He now ***sits up*** *daily.* (1864anna.m6b)

As regards the most typical combinations in the two text types at issue, Table 42 below shows that both medicine and science employ a great variety of idiomatic (e.g. *carry out*, *find out*) and aspectual/aktionsart combinations (e.g. *come on*, *cut off*).

Table 42: Commonest combinations in medicine and science in ARCHER

Medicine	**Tokens**	**Science**	**Tokens**
come on	29	*set down*	18
carry out	16	*take up*	17
come away	15	*carry out*	15
come down	12	*lay down*	12
go off	11	*go on*	9
go on	11	*cut off*	7
cut off	10	*find out*	7
take away	10	*make out*	7
take off	10	*set in*	7
sit up	9	*turn round*	7
take out	9	*bring up*	6
bring away	8	*fall off*	6
bring on	8	*point out*	6
come out	8	*ascend up*	5
point out	7	*draw up*	5

Notice that some of these combinations are repeated in both text types, probably because they often treat related topics (cf. *carry out* (e.g. experiments), *cut off* (e.g. a body member), *go on* (to describe the evolution of experiments)).

As regards the semantic types of phrasal verbs, it is remarkable that in medicine, like in letters (cf. 5.3.2 above), aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations are more frequent in the earliest subperiod than in the second half of the 20th century. In turn, science presents very high frequencies of idiomatic combinations already in the period 1650-99 (cf. Table 43 below).

Table 43: Distribution of semantic types in medicine and science in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic	Idiomatic	Literal	Metaphorical	Reiterative	Total
Medicine						
1650-99	34 (34.69%)	12 (12.24%)	40 (40.81%)	7 (7.14%)	5 (5.10%)	**98**
1950-90	5 (21.73%)	14 (60.86%)	2 (8.69%)	1 (4.34%)	1 (4.34%)	**23**
Science						
1650-99	32 (32%)	22 (22%)	31 (31%)	9 (9%)	6 (6%)	**100**
1950-90	17 (53.12%)	7 (21.87%)	5 (15.62%)	3 (9.37%)	-	**32**

Concerning the particles used in phrasal verbs, medicine and science are, together with sermons (cf. 5.3.6 below), the three text types with the more limited range of particles. As shown in Table 44 below, 21 different particles appear in medicine, whereas only 20 are attested in science.

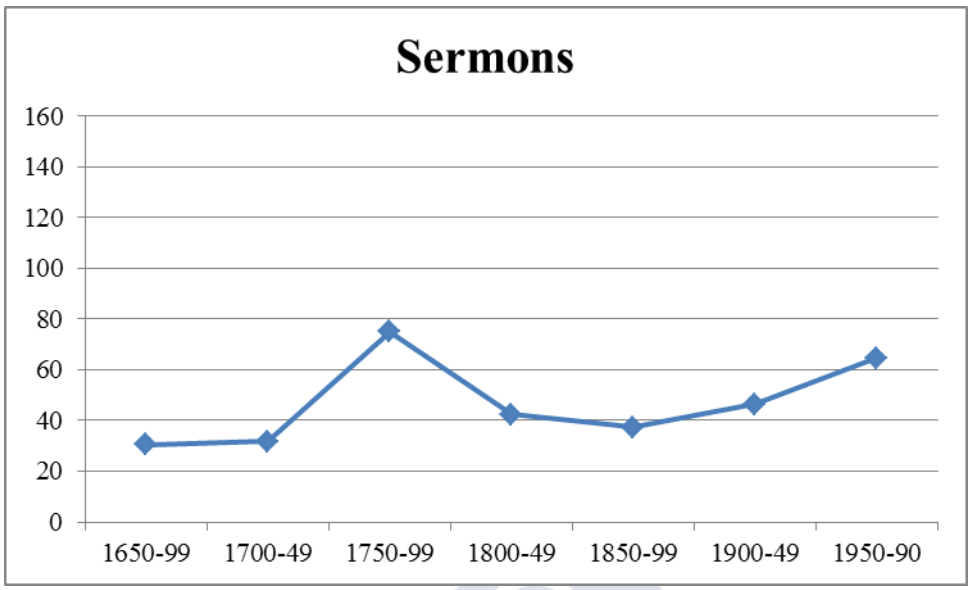
Table 44: List of particles in medicine and science

Medicine	Tokens	Science	Tokens
out	114	*up*	118
up	89	*out*	112
off	65	*down*	74
down	59	*off*	51
on	58	*away*	26
away	50	*on*	26
in	32	*in*	22
home	17	*together*	18
together	16	*about*	16
about	14	*round*	10
back	12	*back*	8
over	11	*over*	7
round	6	*forward*	5
aside	4	*through*	4
forth	4	*by*	3
behind	3	*forth*	3
through	3	*home*	3
across	1	*apart*	2
asunder	1	*above*	1
by	1	*along*	1
forward	1		

5.3.6. PHRASAL VERBS IN SERMONS

The abandonment of the classical rhetorical style before the 17th century and the development of a more plain style in sermons are reflected in the increasing frequency of phrasal verbs over time in this genre (cf. Figure 37 below).

Figure 37: The development of phrasal verbs in sermons in ARCHER



As noted by Görlach (2001: 202), some orators used to change their style when talking to the 'plain people'. Thus, contrary to other formal text types in ARCHER, such as medicine and science (cf. Section 5.3.5), which become more restricted and specialized in terms of audience, sermons develop a more plain style to become accessible to a wider audience. This is reflected in the fact that the use of phrasal verbs in this text type increases progressively. However, just as in genres, variation in the number of phrasal verbs in sermons can be influenced by the contents of the text as well as by the particular idiolect of the writer. Thus, the sudden and unexpected rise in the frequency of these constructions during the second half of the 18th century shown in Figure 37 above is probably due to the fact that in this subperiod we find the sermon with the highest frequency of phrasal verbs (114.61) in this genre, namely *The Prodigal Son* by Laurence Sterne. A closer inspection of the text shows that, for some reason,

Sterne favours the use of phrasal combinations with the particle *forth*, which constitute a third of the total tokens of the text (8/24). In fact, if we consider again the development of the particle *forth*, we observe an abrupt increase in its frequency during this subperiod (cf. Section 4.4.1.2 above). Some examples of the use of combinations with *forth* by Sterne are displayed in the extract below.

(27) *From whose arms art thou flying? From what a shelter art thou* ***going forth*** *into the storm? [...] We will seek no further than this idea, for the extravagancies by which the prodigal son added one unhappy example to the number: his fortune wasted, the followers of it fled in course, the wants of nature remain, — the hand of GOD* ***gone forth*** *against him. [...] Of all the terrors of nature, that of one day or another dying by hunger, is the greatest, and it is wisely wove into our frame to awaken man to industry, and* ***call forth*** *his talents. [...] But what could a parent see more in the account, than the natural one, of an ingenuous heart too open for the world, smitten with strong sensations of pleasures, and suffered to* ***sally forth*** *unarm'd in the midst of enemies stronger than himself? [...]*

And he said unto his servants, ***Bring forth*** *the best robe and put it on him. [...] Was it not for this that GOD gave man music to strike upon the kindly passions; that nature taught the feet to dance to its movements, and as chief governess of the feast* ***poured forth*** *wine into the goblet, to crown it with gladness?* (17xxster.h4b)

The particle *forth* seems to be quite commonly used in sermons. In fact, it is the fourth commonest particle in this text type, immediately after *up*, *out* and *down* (cf. Table 45 below).

Table 45: List of particles in sermons

Sermons	Tokens	Sermons	Tokens
up	88	*over*	9
out	50	*forward*	5
down	41	*together*	5
forth	31	*around*	4
on	23	*home*	4
away	20	*along*	3
back	20	*apart*	2
in	16	*astray*	1
about	11	*by*	1
off	10	*round*	1
aside	9		

This feature makes sermons differ from other text types in which *forth* is among the least frequent particles (cf. Sections 5.3.1 to 5.3.5 above). The frequent use of this particle in sermons is probably related to the fact that, as noted by Görlach (2001: 202), religious diction tends to favour archaic forms (e.g. *thou*, *thee*, *-est*, *-eth*). As stated previously (cf. Section 4.4.1.2), *forth* shows a tendency to gradually become obsolete and to be replaced by *out* in some of its uses.

Moreover, sermons make use of certain (senses of) combinations which do not appear or are infrequent in other text types. This is probably due to the inclusion of typically biblical expressions, such as, for example, *bring forth* in (28), *lay down* in (29) and *lift up* in (30).

(28) *There is only one way to **bring forth** fruit unto God, and that is, to be married to the Lord Jesus Christ.* (1959lloy.h8b)

(29) *He therefore ordained this sacrament to be for ever observed by all Christians, not only as a testimony of his great love, in **laying down** his life for his poor creatures.* (17xxwils.h3b)

(30) *Jesus therefore said, When ye have **lifted up** the son of man, then shall ye know that I am he, and that I do nothing of myself, but as the Father taught me, I speak these things.* (19xxmorg.h7b)

In fact, the commonest phrasal verbs used in sermons are not the type of combinations usually present in other text types, as can be seen in Table 46 below.

Table 46: Commonest combinations in sermons in ARCHER

Sermons	Tokens	Sermons	Tokens
lay down	10	*carry on*	5
make up	9	*come down*	5
take up	8	*come in*	5
give up	7	*cry out*	5
go on	7	*go forth*	5
bring forth	6	*lift up*	5
build up	5	*sit down*	5

In spite of the abundance of combinations that are recurrent in biblical texts, sermons are not characterized by the repetition of phrasal verbs. They have the highest type/token ratio (0.59) of all the genres in ARCHER, which means that they use a wider variety of combinations than other text types.[140]

Additionally, as shown in Table 46 above, most of the combinations in sermons are non-literal in meaning. In fact, just as was the case with letters, medicine, news and science (cf. Sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4 and 5.3.5 above), the frequency of

[140] Cf. also Hiltunen (1994: 138), who notices that the sermons in the HC also have the highest type/token ratio.

aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic and idiomatic types in sermons was already very high in the earliest subperiod, as can be seen in Table 47 below.

Table 47: Distribution of semantic types in sermons in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER

	Aspectual/aktionsart and emphatic	Idiomatic	Literal	Metaphorical	Reiterative	Total
1650-99	11 (32.35%)	9 (26.47%)	6 (17.64%)	6 (17.64%)	2 (5.88%)	**34**
1950-90	25 (37.87%)	19 (28.78%)	5 (7.57%)	17 (25.75%)	-	**66**

5.3.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The cross-genre analysis presented in this section has demonstrated that the frequency of phrasal verbs in a text cannot generally be attributed to one single factor and that several variables must be taken into account. First, the corpus results have shown that it is possible to associate phrasal verbs to informal registers, since these constructions become more frequent over time in those genres associated to informal registers (diaries, drama and letters), whereas they tend to decrease in formal text types, such as medicine and science. Sermons constitute the exception to this general tendency, probably because they favour the use of a plain style to reach wider audiences. In relation to this, in diachronic studies especial attention must be paid to the changing conventions in genres which, as demonstrated in the various studies by Biber and associates, may vary over time. Thus, a predominantly "expository, descriptive, or argumentative" text type such as 18th-century letters may become "personally involved and interactive" (Biber 2001: 105). The diachronic changes in genre conventions also

explain why earlier medical and scientific texts, for example, present a high frequency of phrasal verbs and why this frequency diminishes as these two text types become more specialized.

Although it is true that phrasal verbs are usually associated to colloquial styles, I agree with Thim (2006b, 2012) in that the occurrence or non-occurrence of phrasal verbs in certain text types can be motivated by the contents of the text, which may prompt the use of phrasal verbs to convey predominantly literal meanings. This seems to be the case with the majority of genres in ARCHER, whose frequency of phrasal verbs varies according to the topics dealt with in the narration. Nevertheless, this is not a characteristic exclusive of EModE texts, but also of writings from other periods of the language. However, the difference in the frequencies of phrasal verbs between the various genres is expectedly more evident in EModE, when the majority of combinations had literal or concrete meanings, more suitable for the narration of events in, for example, diaries and journals, than for a more literate and formulaic genre such as, for example, 18th-century letters.

Finally, other factors that may condition the (non-)occurrence of phrasal verbs in a text include the particular format of the texts as well as the idiolect of the writer. On the one hand, the format of the text proved particularly relevant in texts which are presented in a sketchy and repetitive style, as is the case with many diaries as well as some medical and scientific texts portrayed in the form of diaries. On the other hand, some of the authors in ARCHER seemed to favour the use of Latinate verbs over phrasal verbs, especially during the periods of strong prescriptivism. Although evidence is scarce to state that prescriptivist strictures may have influenced the growth of phrasal verbs, they

may have had an effect on the usage of particular combinations (cf. Wild 2010: 250). I would argue that this is the case with authors such as Lady Montefiore and Sheridan, who were particularly aware of their language, and who seem to avoid the use of constructions often proscribed in the grammars of the time.

5.4. GENDER DIFFERENCES

Another factor worth investigating in the analysis of phrasal verbs relates to the way in which female and male writers employ these constructions. Previous studies have shown that there exist differences in the use of particular linguistic forms between men and women. One of the pioneers of this type of studies in the contemporary language was William Labov (1990, 2001), whose findings were later on applied to previous stages of the language (cf., among others, Nevalainen 2000; Kielkiewicz-Janowiak 2002; Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003). Labov argued that women lead changes that involve prestige forms of higher social groups, whereas men initiate changes away from the accepted norms towards the vernacular (cf. Labov 1990, 2001). More precisely, according to Labov's gender paradox, "women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not" (2001: 293; cf. also Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 112). Put differently, in language change from above women adopt prestige forms at a higher rate than men, whereas in changes from below women use higher frequencies of (non-prescribed) innovative forms than men do. In general, these two principles indicate that women are ahead men in leading linguistic change. Nevalainen suggests that this might

be related to "women's openness to innovations, stylistic flexibility, contextual sensitivity, and variety of domestic roles—and with men's relative lack of these attributes" (2000: 53).

Claridge (2000: 193-194) carried out a pilot study of gender differences in the use of multi-word verbs from 1640 to 1740. Since in Early Modern England women generally received less formal education than men, if at all, Claridge claims that we may assume that women would use more colloquial forms of the language. However, on the other hand, bearing in mind that women tended to aspire to the standard or prestige norms of the language, if multi-word verbs were proscribed, we could equally expect women to avoid their usage. In her study Claridge finds that females used more multi-word verbs in her data than males did. Unfortunately, her corpus contains only two texts by female authors and thus her results are far from conclusive in this respect, as she rightly acknowledges. In fact, at the time covered by Claridge's corpus (1640-1740) phrasal verbs were hardly mentioned in grammars (Hiltunen 1983b: 382; cf. also Wild 2010: 90). Therefore, even if Claridge had found higher rates of phrasal verbs in texts written by women, her hypotheses would have been hard to maintain.

In ARCHER 3.1 the distribution of texts written by men and women is as well clearly biased towards male authors. Excluding those cases in which the gender of the writer is not known,[141] medicine, science and sermons are exclusively written by

[141] All the news texts are anonymous.

men.[142] This leaves diaries, drama, fiction, journals and letters as the only text types in which gender comparisons can be made. It must be noticed, however, that the data for drama and fiction refer to the author of the text. If the aim of fictional and dramatic texts is to represent characters as faithfully as possible, ideally, a gender analysis in these two text types should consider the use of linguistic features by male and female characters, not by male and female authors. However, the available materials do not allow for an analysis of this type. For this reason, texts have been split according to authorship. Taking together all the subperiods, the distribution by male and female authors in ARCHER can be seen in Table 48 below.

Table 48: Files and number of words of texts in ARCHER 3.1 distributed by gender authorship

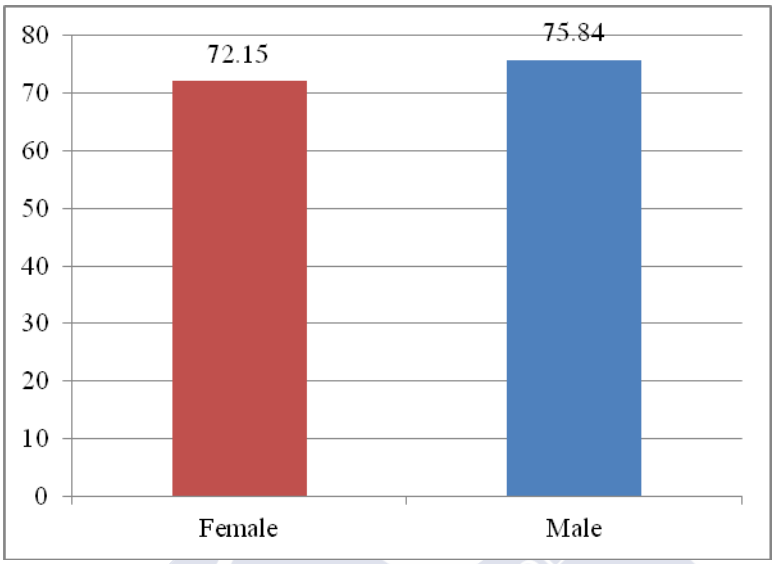
	Female		**Male**	
	Files	Words	Files	Words
Diaries	3	6,782	30	65,160
Drama	11	26,777	61	149,303
Fiction	22	87,720	48	214,087
Journals	4	9,036	32	70,240
Letters	33	17,570	153	66,049
Total	**73**	**147,885**	**324**	**564,839**

If we consider all genres and subperiods together, the normalized frequencies of phrasal verbs in ARCHER indicate that men use more phrasal verbs than women,

[142] A more balanced distribution is one of the aims of ARCHER 3.2.

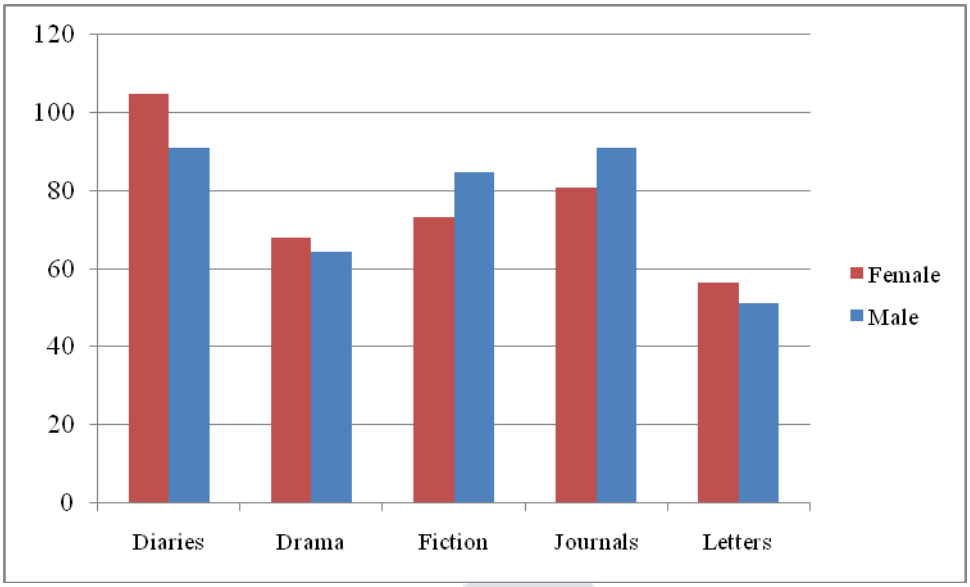
although, as shown in Figure 38 below, the differences between both sexes are not remarkable.

Figure 38: Distribution of phrasal verbs according to gender in ARCHER



If we include the variable of genre in the gender analysis, the data are not much more insightful. As shown in Figure 39 below, women seem to use higher rates of phrasal verbs in diaries, drama and letters, whereas men favour them in fiction and journals. Nevertheless, the difference is again minimal.

Figure 39: Distribution of phrasal verbs according to gender and genre in ARCHER



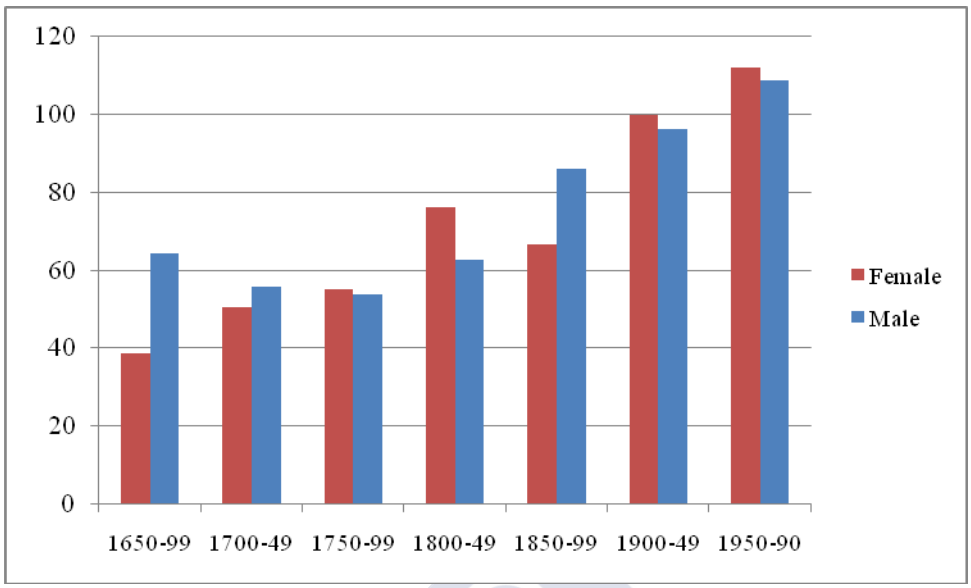
In spite of these rather unpromising results, for the sake of completeness, I merged all the genres in order to analyze the distribution of phrasal verbs per subperiod. Table 49 below displays the total number of files and words per subperiod in ARCHER.

Table 49: Files and number of words of texts in ARCHER 3.1 distributed by gender authorship, genre and subperiod

	1650-99		1700-49		1750-99		1800-49		1850-99		1900-49		1950-90	
Females	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words
Diaries	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,288	-	-	-	-	2	4,494
Drama	2	5,479	4	9,723	1	2,809	-	-	-	-	3	6,735	1	2,031
Fiction	3	12,568	4	12,525	4	17,858	4	15,147	1	8,317	2	7,818	3	13,487
Journals	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4,394	-	-	1	2,196	1	2,446
Letters	6	3,180	2	1,577	-	-	9	5,761	5	2,192	5	2,549	6	2,311
Total	**11**	**21,227**	**10**	**23825**	**5**	**20,667**	**16**	**27,590**	**6**	**10,509**	**11**	**19,298**	**13**	**24,769**
Males	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words	Files	Words
Diaries	1	2,192	6	12,475	4	8,688	4	8,379	7	15,713	4	8,971	4	8,742
Drama	8	21,169	6	15,454	9	21,212	10	26,267	10	26,469	8	16,313	10	22,419
Fiction	8	28,974	5	24,080	6	27,198	6	29,799	8	34,972	9	42,408	6	26,656
Journals	8	17,023	4	8,968	6	13,155	3	6,679	3	6,973	5	10,899	3	6,543
Letters	19	9,479	26	10,516	26	12,091	16	6,815	21	8,513	24	9,885	21	8,750
Total	**44**	**78,837**	**47**	**71,493**	**51**	**82,344**	**39**	**77,939**	**49**	**92,640**	**50**	**88,476**	**44**	**73,110**

An analysis of phrasal verbs per subperiod enables me to see whether these constructions are favoured by one of the gender groups at particular periods. More precisely, I can ascertain whether females or males are responsible for the variation in the frequencies of phrasal verbs over time. Figure 40 shows the distribution of phrasal verbs by gender and subperiod.

Figure 40: Distribution of phrasal verbs according to gender and subperiod in ARCHER



As can be seen, men seem to favour the use of phrasal verbs in the earliest stages: the latter part of the 17th century and the early 18th century. In this respect, my findings disagree with those by Claridge, who found that females used these constructions more often than men in her data. From 1750 onwards, however, females take the lead in the use of phrasal verbs, except in the subperiod 1850-99 in which males seem to dominate again. Although the difference in the frequency of phrasal verbs between males and females is minimal, the results in ARCHER allow for some speculation. Thus, considering that general negative attitudes towards phrasal verbs appeared from the second half of the 18th century onwards (Wild 2010: 90ff) and that female authors favour the use of these constructions from about the same time (except in the subperiod 1850-99), we might postulate that in this case women did not adhere to the standard form as one would expect, but rather increased their use of phrasal verbs over time. This would go against Labov's gender paradox mentioned earlier on. Unfortunately, the data

from ARCHER are clearly insufficient to draw definitive conclusions and my arguments must therefore be taken with great caution.

5.5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has provided an account of the genre and gender variation in the use of phrasal verbs in ARCHER. The chapter opened with a description of the main characteristics of the genres in ARCHER, namely journals/diaries (5.2.1), letters (5.2.2), drama and fiction (5.2.3), news (5.2.4), scientific and medical discourse (5.2.5) and sermons (5.2.6). Although Biber and associates (cf., among others, Biber 1988, 2001; Biber & Finegan 1989, 1992, 1997; Biber et al. 1994a, 1994b, 1998) usually distinguish between written and speech-based text types in ARCHER, the terminology employed by Culpeper & Kytö (2010), who distinguish between speech-related and written-based and written-purposed text types, proved more useful for the classification of the text types in ARCHER in this dissertation. This was the aim of Section 5.2.7.

Section 5.3 was concerned with the analysis of phrasal verbs across genres. Although phrasal verbs tend to be associated with the colloquial and oral language, very high and low frequencies of phrasal verbs were found with an apparently random distribution both in texts which are closer to the oral dimension in those closer to the written dimension, especially during the earlier periods analyzed. A closer examination of the texts revealed that the degree of formality or informality of a piece of writing cannot be taken as the only factor conditioning the frequency of phrasal verbs in it, and that other factors, such as the topics treated in the narration, the format of the text, the

particular idiosyncrasies of the writer and the changing conventions of texts over time must also be taken into account.

Finally, Section 5.4 dealt with gender variation in the use of phrasal verbs. In general, the difference in usage between female and male writers proved too scarce to allow for definitive conclusions, although the data from ARCHER showed that from 1750 onwards in general females dominate in the use of phrasal verbs (except in the period 1850-99).

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6. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHRASAL VERBS AND THE PROCESSES OF GRAMMATICALIZATION, LEXICALIZATION AND IDIOMATIZATION

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Chapters 3 to 5 in this dissertation have been concerned with the evolution of phrasal verbs since their first appearance in the language in the OE period to the present-day. As noted by Brinton & Akimoto, "the processes involved in the development of complex verbs, phrasal verbs, and complex prepositions may be variously considered from the perspective of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization" (1999: 11-12). In this chapter, therefore, I try to establish a relationship between these processes and the diachronic evolution of phrasal verbs. The chapter opens with a discussion about the nature of the phenomena of grammaticalization (6.2), lexicalization (6.3) and idiomatization (6.4). Section 6.5 introduces some of the ways in which phrasal verbs can be related to the three processes at issue: phrasal verbs as the result of lexicalization (6.5.1), phrasal-verb particles in relation to grammaticalization (6.5.2) and/or lexicalization (6.5.3) and phrasal verbs as idiomatized units (6.5.4). The chapter concludes with a proposal of classification of phrasal verbs in relation to these processes of linguistic change in Section 6.6, which is based on the idea that phrasal combinations are a gradable category.

6.2. GRAMMATICALIZATION

There is much disagreement in the literature as to what the terms grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization refer to. Brinton & Traugott (2005), in my opinion, one of the most comprehensive works dealing with grammaticalization and lexicalization, point out that, in spite of all controversies, all studies on the topic share the view that "grammaticalization is the attempt to understand how syntactic and morphological patterns are structured, how and why grammatical categories arise, and how free combinatorial and fixed patterns interact" (2005: 22).

In general, **grammaticalization** (also known as grammaticization) can be defined as the process by means of which, in certain "linguistic contexts" (Bybee 2003: 602; Traugott 2003: 645), a full lexical item becomes a grammatical morpheme, or a grammatical item increases its grammatical features;[143] or, put differently, it is "the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott 2003: xv). Thus, by means of grammaticalization, the full lexical verb OE *habban* ('possess') became grammaticalized into the PDE perfect auxiliary *have* (cf., among others, Brinton 1988; Denison 1993; Wischer 2004) and English *be going to* '*be* + main verb + progressive aspect + purposive preposition' became a single-morpheme auxiliary *gonna* (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003: 51, 68-69, 72, 128).

[143] The term 'process' is used here in a non-restrictive sense as a "phenomenon to be explained" (Newmeyer 1998: 232), as opposed to the restrictive sense of the term as "encapsulated phenomenon, governed by its own set of laws" (Newmeyer 1998: 234; cf. also Brinton & Traugott 2005: 5n).

Grammaticalization (and also lexicalization) has been seen either as a synchronic or as a diachronic process. The latter view is the one which is relevant to this study. As a diachronic process, grammaticalization is generally agreed to be unidirectional (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991: 4; Traugott & Heine 1991: 4-5; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 99ff),[144] that is, changes follow the direction lexical > grammatical; less grammatical > more grammatical; major category (e.g. noun, verb) > minor category (e.g. conjunction, preposition). Evidence in favour of the unidirectionality hypothesis is found in the existence of clines, "a natural 'pathway' along which forms evolve" (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 6-7), although not all cases of grammaticalization do necessarily reach the end of the cline (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 39). Some clines proposed in the literature include Lehmann's (1985: 304) noun to affix cline (relational noun > secondary adposition > primary adposition > agglutinative case affix > fusional case affix), the verb to affix cline (full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix; cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003: 111) or Traugott's (1995) adverbial-to-discourse-particle cline (clause-internal adverbial > sentence adverbial > discourse particle, exemplified by the discourse particle *indeed*). However, it must be noted that these schematic representations are "generalizations over changes" (Andersen 2001: 214) and that they obscure the fact that "both the old and new structures coexist in individuals as well as communities" (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 25).

[144] For arguments against the hypothesis of unidirectionality, cf. especially Janda (2001: 291-304).

Other features generally discussed in relation to grammaticalization include the following (cf. Brinton & Traugott 2005: 25-30):[145]

i. **Decategorialization**, i.e. the loss of features of the original lexical class or the shift from one to another category. According to Hopper, "[f]orms undergoing grammaticization tend to lose or neutralize the morphological markers and syntactic privileges characteristic of the full categories Noun and Verb, and to assume attributes characteristic of secondary categories as Adjective, Participle, Preposition, etc." (1991: 22). Brinton & Traugott (2005: 25) also point out that categories must be regarded in terms of a gradient, not as discrete, non-gradient categories in the generative sense.

ii. **Gradualness** in change i.e. not all changes occur at the same time, but rather in "small structural steps, typically with innovative uses coexisting alongside older ones" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 26).

iii. **Fusion and coalescence**, which refer to an "increase in bondedness" (Lehmann 1995: 148), that is, an increase in the "degree in which a sign is connected with another sign with which it bears a syntagmatic relation" (Lehmann 1995: 147). More specifically, fusion refers to "boundary loss and morphological/phonological fusion" and coalescence to the "loss of phonological segments" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 27).

[145] For a different set of parameters, cf. Lehmann (1985: 306-309, 1995: 121-178).

iv. **Typological generality**, i.e. the existence of regular or common grammaticalization patterns across different languages (cf. especially Heine & Kuteva 2002).

v. **Metaphorization and metonimization** are semantic changes typically affecting grammaticalized items. Metaphorization refers to the transfer of a basic concrete meaning to an abstract meaning, as the use of body parts (e.g. *head*) to apprehend something that is more abstract (*ahead*). In turn, the development of grammatical formatives is said to be metonymic "in the sense that it is highly context-bound and arises out of the implicatures in the speaker-hearer communicative situation" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 28).

vi. **Subjectification**, i.e. "[m]eanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (Traugott 1989: 35).

vii. **Bleaching** (also called desemanticization; cf. Lehmann 1995: 127), i.e. "the loss of lexical content" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 29).

viii. **Frequency**, i.e. "[o]ver time grammatical items come to be more frequent than the lexical constructions from which they derive" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 29).

In an attempt to reach a consensus between all the characterizations of grammaticalization, Brinton & Traugott (2005: 99) provide the following definition:

> Grammaticalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use parts of a construction with a grammatical function. Over time

> the resulting grammatical item may become more grammatical by acquiring more grammatical functions and expanding its host-classes.

According to these authors, such a definition implies, among other things, that grammaticalization is a historical change whose input may be anything stored in the inventory (from a string, like *be going to*, to a grammatical item, like the preposition *to*, the origin of the infinitive marker *to*). In turn, the output of grammaticalization may vary in form (periphrases, function words, clitics or inflections), but is always a grammatical, i.e. functional form. Grammaticalization is also a gradual process, which typically "involves fusion with a host, sometimes followed by coalescence/reduction of phonological sequences" and also "loss of concrete and literal meanings (idiomatization, bleaching)" compensated by the acquisition of new abstract, general meanings (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 100). Once an item is grammaticalized, it may undergo further changes, but always moving along a cline from lexical to grammatical (unidirectionality).

One of the advantages of the model of grammar proposed by Brinton & Traugott (2005) is precisely that, as a dynamic model, it "allows for constructions, gradience, and degrees of productivity," which means that "phonology, syntax and conceptual structures are linked" (2005: 91). Thus, for these scholars, it is possible to identify three levels of grammaticality with regard to the degree of fusion with external elements represented in the following way (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 93):

> G1 = periphrases, e.g. *be going to, as far as*, *in fact* (in their early stages)
>
> G2 = semi-bound forms like function words and clitics, e.g. *must, of, 'll*, genitive *-s*
>
> G3 = affixes such as derivational morphology that changes the grammatical class of the stem, e.g. adverbial *-wise* (fairly productive); most especially

inflectional morphology (very productive; sometimes default), including zero inflection

Because grammatical words are mainly functional words, they bear morphosyntactic relations with other items, called external hosts. For this reason, the cline from G1 to G3 is "a cline of grammaticality with respect to degree of fusion with an external host" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 93), although the three levels represent highly schematic values which need a more fine-grained analysis.

6.3. LEXICALIZATION

One of the major criticisms to grammaticalization has to do with the hypothesis of unidirectionality, which has been variously challenged by several scholars (cf. especially Janda 2001: 291-304). Some alleged counterexamples to the unidirectional character of grammaticalization in English include, among others, the genitive *'s* (from case inflection to clitic; cf. Lehmann 1995: 18-19), the upgrading of some prepositions (e.g. *down*, *in*, *out*, *up*) into verbs, nouns and adjectives (e.g. *down* (v.) 'swallow', *down* (adj.) 'depressed', *down* (n.) 'an act of throwing down, as in wrestling' (*OED* s.v. *down* n^3 2b)), the conversion of derivative affixes into lexical items, such as e.g. *ex* < *ex-wife*, *ex-husband*, etc., *ism* < *-ism* or *teens* < *-teen* (cf. Anttila 1989: 151), and the transformation of the OE full verb *dare* into a modal and its later acquisition of

properties typical of lexical verbs from the Modern English period onwards with the consequent disappearance of the auxiliary in PDE (Beths 1999).[146]

Given the existence of potential counterexamples of this kind, there have been many attempts in the literature on grammaticalization to define and characterize its 'mirror', opposite process, which for some scholars is **lexicalization**. In this sense, lexicalization can be defined as a process by which an item or construction gains lexical content and loses grammatical properties. When used in this sense, lexicalization is also called *degrammaticalization* (cf., e.g., Ramat 1992).[147] Lexicalization as a process of 'degrammaticalization' is one of the most widely accepted views, although "[t]here are virtually no examples of a specific token of grammaticalization being reversed along a path identical to its initial development" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 77). As noted by Himmelmann (2004: 29), this way of conceiving grammaticalization and lexicalization

[146] Beths' (1999) claim, however, was proved wrong by Krug (2000), who demonstrated that the two uses of the verb *dare* have coexisted over time, with one type predominating over the other at different periods and in different styles (cf. Traugott 2001). This type of change in which two coexisting forms gain ground over one another over time has been termed 'retraction' by Haspelmath (2004: 33ff; cf. also Norde 2009: 9). Nevertheless, unequivocal examples of auxiliary verbs turning into full verbs exist in other languages, as is the case with the development in Pennsylvanian German of the auxiliary form *wotte* ('would') into a main verb meaning 'wish, desire' (Burridge 1998).

[147] For a different view of degrammaticalization, cf. Norde (2009: 8-9), who considers that this phenomenon is exemplified by cases of reversals of the cline of grammaticality proposed by Hopper & Traugott (2003:7; content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix > Ø), provided three conditions:

a) Examples of degrammaticalization 'all the way up the cline' do not exist.
b) The identity of the construction and the element's place within it are always preserved (cf. Haspelmath 1999: 1064). In this sense, shifts from affix to clitic or from clitic to grammatical word within an ambiguous context which allows for reanalysis are considered cases of degrammaticalization, and so is the shift from grammatical word to content item. Nevertheless, cases in which function words or bound morphemes are taken out of their context (e.g. upgrading from minor to major class and from derivational affix to hypernym noun) qualify as lexicalization.
c) Degrammaticalization must result in a novel gram.

may be due to a tendency to consider both processes in terms of two oversimplified formulas:

i. Grammaticalization: lexical item > grammatical item

ii. Lexicalization: grammatical item > lexical item

However, the view of lexicalization as a process of degrammaticalization is nothing more than one of the many definitions which have been provided in the literature for the concept. In fact, Brinton notes that "[a]t least nine definitions of lexicalization can be found in the literature" (2002: 71)[148] with overlapping and contradictory characteristics. Besides the view of lexicalization as the process opposite to grammaticalization, the following are the commonest definitions found in the literature (cf. Brinton 2002: 70-74, 2010; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 32-61):

a) **Adoption into the lexicon**. Lexicalization has often been seen as "a process by which new linguistic entities, be it simple or complex words or just new senses, become conventionalized on the level of the lexicon" (Blank 2001: 1603) or "a process in which something becomes lexical" (Lehmann 2002: 14). In this sense, "the result of lexicalization is an item which is stored in the lexicon or becomes part of the "inventory" (Lehmann 2002)" (Brinton 2002: 71).

b) **Falling outside the productive rules of grammar**. According to Anttila, "[w]henever a linguistic form falls outside the productive rules of grammar it

[148] Five according to Himmelmann (2004: 26-31).

becomes lexicalized" (1989: 151). Similarly, Bauer states that lexicalization is the third step following nonce formation and institutionalization, and occurs when "a lexeme has, or takes on, a form which it could not have if it had arisen by the application of productive rules" (1983: 48).

c) **Ordinary processes of word formation**.[149] The term lexicalization has also been often used to refer to word formation processes (cf., e.g., Quirk et al. 1985: 1525-1530; Anttila 1989: 149-152; Blank 2001: 1604-1606; Huddleston & Pullum et al. 2002: 1629-1630), such as **compounding** (e.g. *blackboard*, *wallpaper*), **derivation** (e.g. *unhappy*, *swimmer*), **conversion** (e.g. *run* (v.) > *run* (n.); *lower* (adj.) > *lower* (v.)), **clipping** (e.g. *flu* < *influenza*; *fridge* < *refrigerator*), **ellipsis** (e.g. *canary* < bird from the Canary Islands; *damask* < *Damask cloth*), **blending** (e.g. *heliport* < *helicopter* + *airport*; *blog* < *web* + *log*), **back formation** (e.g. *orientate* < *orientation*), **acronyms** (e.g. *laser* < *l(ight) a(mplification) (by) s(timulated) e(mission) (of) r(adiation)*; *AIDS* < *a(uto) i(mmune) d(eficiency) s(yndrome)*, **loan translation or calquing** (e.g. *flea market* 'street market' < Fr. *marché aux puces*), **coinage or root creation** (e.g. *gulp* 'swallow', *hobbit* 'imaginary being in the tales of J.R.R. Tolkien') and **metalinguistic citation**, i.e. the ability to turn a piece of linguistic material into a word (e.g. *There are two e's in my name*; cf. Heine 2003: 166).

[149] For a more comprehensive analysis, cf. Brinton & Traugott (2005: 33-45).

d) **Syntactic construction > lexeme**. "A common understanding of lexicalization is the univerbation of a syntactic phrase or construction into a single word" (Brinton 2002: 72), as is the case with the development of words like *tomorrow*, which originated in a prepositional phrase (Traugott 1994: 1485). Similarly, Lipka (1990: 95) defines lexicalization as a diachronic process whereby "a complex lexeme once coined tends to become a single complete lexical unit, a simple lexeme" through frequent use. Also, Biber et al. (1999: 58-59) include as lexicalized elements sequences of multi-word units which function as single grammatical units, such as multi-word verbs.

e) **Bound morpheme > lexeme**. According to Anttila (1989: 151), the transformation of common suffixes into independent words (e.g. *ism*, *ology*, *onomy*, *ocrasy*, *ade* < *lemonade*, *itis* < *bronchitis*) is a form of lexicalization particularly apparent in English.

f) **Independent morphemes > monomorphemic form**. Hopper & Traugott (2003: 135) and Traugott (1994: 1485) also include within the definition of lexicalization the transformation of independent morphemes through phonological and other changes into monomorphemic forms to express meaning distinctions, e.g. *lay* vs. *lie*, *set* vs. *sit* or *stench* vs. *stink*, "all of which have their origins in *i*-umlaut" (Traugott 1994: 1485). Also, for Newmeyer, lexicalization entails "the fusion of affixes to the root to create a new, morphologically opaque, lexical item" (1998: 264), such as English *drench*, which derives from the bimorphemic **drank-jan* 'cause to be wet'. Bauer (1983: 53-54), in turn, includes within what he calls 'morphological

lexicalization' the non-productive members (displayed here as second member) of pairs such as *eat*/*edible*, *legal*/*loyal*, *opus*/*operation*, *right*/*rectitude*, etc., as well as non-productive affixes of the type of *-ment* (used to form nominalizations from English verbs, e.g. *achievement*, *assignment*, *derailment*) and *-th* (used in nominalizations from adjectives, e.g. *length*, *warmth*, *width*).

g) **Idiomatization**. Some scholars (e.g. Moreno-Cabrera 1998: 214; Lehmann 2002: 14) equate lexicalization with idiomatization, which refers to the loss of semantic compositionality (cf. also Brinton 2002: 73 and Brinton & Traugott 2005: 54-57). This phenomenon is classified by Bauer as 'semantic lexicalization' (1983: 55-59), exemplified by compounds such as *blackmail*, *butterfly* and *mincemeat*. A more thorough account of this phenomenon will be provided in Section 6.4 below.

h) **Semanticization**. As noted by Traugott (1994: 1485), "[a]nother, related use of the term lexicalization is to name the process whereby an originally inferential (pragmatic) meaning comes to be part of the semantics of a form," as is the case with the acquisition of the meaning of 'prospective eventhood' from the 'purposive' *be going to*. Or, in Brinton's words, lexicalization is also used to refer to "the incorporation of conversationally inferred meanings into the conventional meaning of a word" (2002: 73).

Much of the terminological confusion surrounding the concept of lexicalization stems from the fact that the process has been described as a synchronic or as a diachronic phenomenon indistinctively, when in fact the characteristics and properties

of synchronic and diachronic lexicalization are different. As with grammaticalization, it is the diachronic perspective of lexicalization which is of interest for this dissertation. Another frequent problem in the various attempts to define lexicalization is the tendency "to classify whatever does not obviously conform to the unidirectional model of grammaticalization as lexicalization […] when in fact the examples fall variously under the rubrics of word formation, lexicalization, and grammaticalization" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 97). In the last few years, there have been various attempts to reconcile all the available definitions of lexicalization in order to achieve a more coherent view of the process.[150] As with grammaticalization, Brinton & Traugott provide the following definition of lexicalization which combines all previously proposed characterizations and avoids incompatibilities among them (2005: 96):

> Lexicalization is the change whereby in certain linguistic contexts speakers use a syntactic construction or word formation as a new contentful form with formal and semantic properties that are not completely derivable or predictable from the constituents of the construction or the word formation pattern. Over time there may be further loss of internal constituency and the item may become more lexical.

In such a definition, lexicalization is seen as a diachronic process whose output are lexical, i.e. contentful (not functional/indexical/grammatical) forms of any complexity (from fixed idiomatic phrases to compounds and derived forms, to lexical simplexes and idiosyncratic, fossilized forms), but it does not simply consist of the adoption of unmodified elements. This means that borrowing and transparent word-formation

[150] For some of these views, cf. Brinton (2007: 65).

processes are excluded. Like grammaticalization, lexicalization may be brought about by any item stored in the inventory. Once lexicalized, such items may undergo further changes, always moving toward the lexical end of the lexical-grammatical scale, and proceeding at a slow and gradual pace. In this sense, like grammaticalization, lexicalization is gradual, meaning that "it is non-instantaneous, and proceeds by several small and typically overlapping, intermediate, and sometimes indeterminate, steps" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 97). Therefore, just as with grammaticalization (cf. Section 6.2), it is also possible to establish a cline of lexicality. Since lexical items represent major categories (noun, verb and adjective) and are relatively free, the cline of lexicality is based on the degree of fusion in internal structure and can be postulated as follows (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 94):

L1 = partially fixed phrases, e.g. *lose sight of, agree with*

L2 = complex semi-idiosyncratic forms, e.g. *unhappy, desktop*

L3 = simplexes and maximally unanalysable idiosyncratic forms, e.g. *desk, over-the-hill*

Fusion or "erasure of phrasal and morphological boundaries" (2005: 97), e.g. *out-of-hands* (syntagm > lexeme) and coalescence or "reduction of phonological sequences" (2005: 97), e.g. *barn* (< OE *bere* 'barely' + *ærn* 'house') are often involved in lexicalization. Moreover, Brinton & Traugott (2005: 97) see idiomatization (also called demotivation) as a process involved in lexicalization, because the lexicalized items tend to lose compositionality of meaning. In other words, the newly acquired meaning is opaque, idiosyncratic, and often abstract, in the sense that it cannot be deduced from the element(s) from which it has been derived. The above definition also implies that the shift from minor to major word class (e.g. *to up*) is better understood as conversion because it is instantaneous and results in a predictable meaning. Nevertheless, "a form

developed by conversion may, of course, like any other product of word formation, undergo lexicalization" (Brinton & Traugottt 2005: 98) if it develops significant semantic change (e.g. *Good be with you* 'blessing' > *goodbye* 'greeting'). Similarly, borrowing is not lexicalization, although borrowed items may undergo word formation processes or lexicalization, e.g. *window* < ON *vind* 'wind' + *auga* 'eye'. Summing up, the cases which, according to Brinton & Traugott (2005: 98) qualify as lexicalization include the following:

a) **Fused syntactic phrases**, accompanied by idiomatization (e.g. *bread-and-butter* 'necessities of life'), and sometimes undergoing morphophonological change (e.g. *handicap* < *hand in cap*).

b) **Fused compounds**, e.g. *mildew* < OE *mele* 'honey' + *deaw* 'dew'.

c) **Phonogenesis**, "the process whereby new syntagmatic phonological segments are created out of old morphemes" (cf. Hopper 1994: 31), e.g. *handiwork* < OE *handgeweorc*, *mayor* < Lat. *major* 'great' + '*or*' COMP.

d) **Phonologization**, i.e. cases "in which phonologically conditioned alternations may eventually split into new phonemes as a result of erosion of segments" (2005: 54) which often lead to new paradigmatic contrasts (e.g. *foot-feet*) and may also produce pairs which are morphologically opaque (e.g. *stink-stench*; cf. Newmeyer 1998: 263-264).

e) **Creation of semantic, non-category-changing affixes**, e.g. *-hood* < OE *had* 'rank'.

Therefore, as has been shown, whereas by means of grammaticalization forms move from a major to a minor word class (decategorialization) and to functional forms, with lexicalization linguistic items are modified to become members of a major class.

6.4. IDIOMATIZATION

Idiomatization may be defined as the process whereby an item or construction loses literacy of meaning and increases its idiomatic status. Idioms are one of the most obvious examples of idiomatization, as is the case with the expression *let the cat out of the bag* whose actual meaning, 'to reveal a secret', has nothing to do with a bag or a cat.

In the preceding sections (cf. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 above) idiomatization has been mentioned in relation to the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization and as derived from them. However, some scholars (e.g. Akimoto 1999) argue that it is possible to define idiomatization as a process in itself. Therefore, it seems worth devoting a section to explain the various views and attitudes to this phenomenon in the literature.

As expected, there is much controversy concerning the concept of idiomatization, which is sometimes equated to lexicalization (e.g. Moreno-Cabrera 1998: 214; Lehmann 2002: 14) or described as a subtype of lexicalization (cf. Bauer 1983: 55-59), sometimes seen as a distinct process (Akimoto 1999), while on some other occasions it is viewed as derived from either grammaticalization or lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 105).

Most scholars classify idiomatization as a process of semantic change. Thus, the *RDLL* defines it as a "historical process of semantic change in complex constructions whose complete meaning, originally motivated on the basis of the meaning of its individual components, can no longer be derived from the meaning of these components" (s.v. *idiomatization*). Quite similarly, for Akimoto idiomatization refers to "the process of finding the pattern and assigning a new meaning which cannot be deduced from the constituents" (1995: 588). Nuccorini (1990: 417, 418, 420), in turn, argues that it is possible to establish a diachronic cline from transparency to opaqueness which can be measured in terms of the process of metaphorization and solidification (i.e. specialization and shrinkage of meaning) that a given expression has gone through and which have institutionalized it. For her, "there is a strict link between metaphorical uses and opaqueness on the one hand and fixedness on the other" (1990: 429).

Akimoto (1999: 225) adds a further note to the definition of idiomatization by stating that it refers to "the linguistic process, both synchronic and diachronic, of reorganizing certain phrases into fixed/fossilized expressions, whose meanings have become more or less abstract and undecipherable." Thus, "in addition to the loss of semantic transparency, idiomatization must also involve the lexical fixing and syntactic ossification […] which characterizes idioms synchronically" (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 13). In other words, idiomatization is not just a semantic process, but also a syntactic and morphological one. For Akimoto, idiomatization may also entail morphological changes, such as the loss of plural forms in nouns (cf. *set foot on* vs. **set feet on*; *set one's foot against* vs. **set one's feet against*), decategorialization (e.g. the loss of nominal properties by the noun *account* in the prepositional phrase *on account of* to

assume adverbial/conjunctive functions) and reanalysis at the lexical, syntactic and semantic levels (cf. Akimoto 1999: 226, 228-229, 232-233). Very often idiomatization is preceded by a pre-stage of rivalry between coexisting forms until one of them is selected at the expense of the other, "eventually leading to a fixed expression via frequent collocation" (Akimoto 1999: 229). This was the case, for instance, with the phrasal-verb particle *forth*, coexisting for some time with *out*, which eventually replaced it. According to Akimoto (1999: 232), phrasal verbs such as *point forth*, *root forth* and *speak forth* are registered in the *OED* around the 16th and 17th centuries, but they seem to have been replaced later on by the forms *point out*, *root out* and *speak out*, respectively (cf. also Section 4.4.1.2). All in all, for Akimoto idiomatization exists as an individual process which involves semantic, syntactic and morphological changes.

A different view of idiomatization is postulated by Brinton & Traugott (2005). As can be inferred from their definitions of grammaticalization and lexicalization (cf. Sections 6.2 and 6.3), these scholars do not consider idiomatization to be at the same level as these two processes, but rather as derived from either of them. A similar claim is made by Hohenhaus (2005: 355), according to whom "idiomatization is only one aspect of lexicalization [and] lexicalization has to be regarded as the cover term for a range of phenomena, semantic and non-semantic." Similarly, Hampe (2002: 107) states that lexicalization processes are tied to some forms of idiomatization, such as metaphorization and specialization. For her, idiomatization is a process of semantic change which, at the same time, is a "subprocess of lexicalization, which can –and in great many cases do– but need not necessarily accompany [lexicalization]" (2002: 15n).

For Brinton & Traugott (2005), in the case of lexicalization, idiomatization "leads to increase in semantic specifity, contentfulness, and idiosyncracy [sic], whereas in the case of grammaticalization it leads to more abstract grammatical meaning" (2005: 105). In other words, idiomatization in lexicalization results in a more contentful, lexical meaning, whereas in grammaticalization it implies a more abstract, grammatical meaning. Nevertheless, not all items which are lexicalized are necessarily idiomatized (cf. Aijmer 1996: 67).

A final remark about idiomatization seems in order here. As was the case with grammaticalization and lexicalization (see above), elements undergoing idiomatization do not necessarily reach the end of the literal-idiomatic scale. As will be seen in what follows, this is precisely the case with phrasal verbs.

6.5. VIEWS ON THE EFFECT OF GRAMMATICALIZATION, LEXICALIZATION AND IDIOMATIZATION ON PHRASAL VERBS

As noted above when referring to the processes of lexicalization and grammaticalization (Sections 6.2 and 6.3), both phenomena share certain characteristics (cf. especially Brinton & Traugott 2005: 68-76; 105-109). Thus, they may bring about "loss of compositionality, both fusion of originally separable morphemes on the dimension of form and idiomatization on the dimension of meaning" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 62). In either process, "fusion involves freezing and fixing of collocations" (2005: 105). In turn, idiomatization (demotivation or loss of semantic compositionality) in lexicalization brings about a more contentful, lexical meaning, whereas in

grammaticalization it implies a more abstract, grammatical meaning. Because of these similarities and due to the existence of different ways of defining and characterizing both processes, certain elements of the language have been variously seen as cases of lexicalization, as cases of grammaticalization or as the product of both phenomena at one and the same time. One such instance is multi-word verbs and, hence, phrasal verbs.[151] Claridge (2000: 43), when discussing multi-word verbs in general, states that one characteristic shared by some of them is lexicalization. However, when dealing with the topic in subsequent chapters, she refers only to prepositional verbs as being lexicalized (Claridge 2000: 57-58; cf. also Bolinger 1977: 58-59). Huddleston & Pullum et al. (2002: 283-284) describe phrasal verbs (verb + intransitive preposition idioms, in their terminology) as an example of lexicalization and fossilization or "the loss of the ability to undergo the range of manipulation found with comparable free combinations" (2002: 284), which sometimes accompanies it. Pelli, in turn, only considers idiomatic verb-particle constructions to be lexicalized in the sense that "one meaning (e.g. 'tolerate') is expressed by various lexical items (e.g. *put up with*) that do not themselves convey the meaning of the verb-particle construction" (1976: 66). Likewise, Biber et al. (1999: 58-59) consider both phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs as cases of lexicalization, whereas Nevalainen (1999a: 421ff) treats them as examples of phrasal

[151] Other examples include complex prepositions (e.g. *except for*), correlative coordinators (e.g. *neither...nor*), complex subordinators (e.g. *as soon as*) and discourse markers (e.g. *you know*, *I mean*); cf. Brinton & Traugott (2005: 64) and Brinton (2007).

lexicalization.[152] Brinton & Traugott (2005: 123-129), for their part, see the particles of phrasal verbs as resulting from grammaticalization, prepositional verbs as instances of lexicalization, while they do not discuss the status of phrasal verbs themselves. It could be maintained that such disagreements are related to the different ways of understanding lexicalization and grammaticalization. However, even if "all-including" definitions of grammaticalization and lexicalization are provided (cf. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 above), phrasal verbs can be seen from various different perspectives, as will be shown in the following sections (cf. Sections 6.5.1 to 6.5.4)

6.5.1. PHRASAL VERBS AS THE RESULT OF LEXICALIZATION

As stated in Section 3.2, English phrasal verbs seem to be derived from OE verbs accompanied by adverbial particles (cf. Brinton & Traugott 2005: 224). The reiterated occurrence of verbs and adverbial particles probably caused that both elements were reanalyzed, reinterpreted as forming together a single unit rather than being separate clause elements. With time, some of these structures also acquired new, particular syntactic properties which seem to indicate that the verb and the adverb came to be seen by speakers of English as a unit, and no longer as two separate words. Moreover, some of these structures also acquired new idiomatic, abstract meanings which could no longer be deduced from those of the original units in isolation. When phrasal verbs are

[152] For Nevalainen (1999a: 421), phrasal lexicalization "is often viewed as a particular kind of compounding, because no change of word-class takes place with phrasal verbs and most phrasal nouns." For this reason, cases like these in which "more than one word are reduced to one-word status fall between grammar and lexis" (1999a: 421).

seen in this way, they can be considered as a case of lexicalization for a number of reasons:

(a) First, two independent words have been reanalyzed as belonging together and the resulting new element is a verb, a content word.

(b) The development of phrasal verbs has not been a sudden, instantaneous process, but rather has proceeded by several intermediate, often overlapping steps, so that it is possible to establish a cline of lexicality in these structures (cf. Section 6.6.4 below).

(c) Although the newly created element is a structure formed by two words, these have been somehow unified and behave in most respects as a single word in a frozen or fixed collocation (fusion).

(d) Many phrasal verbs have acquired idiomatic, abstract meanings, impossible to deduce from those of the two words in isolation, that is, we can speak of the idiomatization of certain phrasal verbs. Idiomatization is often, though not necessarily, a consequence of lexicalization and, for this reason, literal phrasal verbs can also be said to have undergone lexicalization, a hypothesis which is reinforced by the reiterated appearance of certain verbs and particles together.

A counterargument to the assumption that phrasal verbs illustrate lexicalization may be that, if the two words were seen as a unit, verbal inflections would be placed at the end of the unit, i.e. attached to the adverbial particle, rather than to the verb. Moreover, some scholars have noted that the verb and the adverbial particle do not always behave like a single word and, for this reason, they are "often treated in grammar rather than lexis" (Nevalainen 1999a: 423). Consider in this respect, for

example, the possibility of inserting certain adverbs (*right, all, the hell* and *straight*) between the verb and the particle in some phrasal verbs (cf. Section 2.4.2.3). However, this might be explained by referring to the existence of different degrees of lexicalization among the structures under discussion: some of them are more fully lexicalized and show, therefore, greater cohesion, whereas others exhibit a lower degree of lexicalization and thus show greater syntactic freedom. This issue will be further discussed in Section 6.6.4 below.

6.5.2. PHRASAL-VERB PARTICLES AS GRAMMATICALIZED ITEMS

Although there exist reasons which may lead us to think that phrasal verbs have undergone lexicalization, there are also grounds to believe that they are closely related to the process of grammaticalization. In fact, van Kemenade & Los (2003: 86) notice that many OE particles are the result of the grammaticalization of a PP. To put some examples, *adun* 'down' derives from OE *of dune* 'off the hill or height' (*OED* s.v. *down*, adv.), *aweg* 'away' derives from the PP *on weg* 'on one's way' (*OED* s.v. *away*, adv.), *back* is a reduction of *aback* which in turn derives from the PP *on bæc* 'into or in the rear' (*OED* s.v. *back*, adv.) and *together* results from the fusion of the OE preposition *to* and the adverb *gædre* 'together' (*OED* s.v. *together*, adv.; *BT* s.v. *gædere*).

As stated in Section 3.2, the development of phrasal verbs is more appropriately understood as the continuation of OE verbs accompanied by adverbial particles rather

than as a replacement of OE prefixed verbs, for several reasons (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 123-124; cf. also Brinton 1988: 185):

(a) Verb plus adverb combinations already existed in OE, although they had mostly literal, non-idiomatic meanings.

(b) Phrasal-verb particles do not correspond to the most frequent OE prefixes (i.e. *a-*, *be-*, *for-*, *ge-*, *in-*, *of-*, *ofer-*, *on-*, *to-*) and, although some of the particles less often function as prefixes (e.g. *forð*, *of*, *ut*, *up*), others have never been prefixal (e.g. *onweg*, *ofdune*).

(c) Phrasal-verb particles do not have the same meanings as prefixes.

(d) Particles originally expressed spatial meanings, but very early they "were grammaticalized as markers of aspect" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 124). By contrast, prefixes very rarely served to express aspectual meanings.

Taking all of this into account, Brinton & Traugott (2005: 125) conclude that phrasal-verb particles are an instance of grammaticalization (cf. also Ishizaki 2012). From denoting spatial meanings, particles have been transformed into markers of aspect, which means that they have moved toward the grammatical pole of the lexical-grammatical scale. For Brinton (1988: 233-234), the change from directional to aktionsart meanings happens because of a principle of diagrammatic iconicity: "[b]ecause of the isomorphism between physical movement and event movement, only metonymic shift in focus from direction to goal-orientation (telic aktionsart) or location to continuation/iteration (aspect) is necessary to bring about the semantic change" (Brinton 1988: 234). According to Brinton, the particles occur first in contexts in which spatial meanings are primary (with verbs of motion and physical action), but which also

allow an aspectual reading. These cases constitute the bridging contexts for the change from spatial to non-spatial meaning, which is motivated by the iconic relation between physical movement and situation movement. Once the change has occurred, the particles can occur freely in combinations with no spatial meanings (cf. also Denison 1985: 48-49).

Therefore, Brinton & Traugott (2005: 128) conclude that phrasal-verb particles have undergone grammaticalization. However, they do not discuss the status of phrasal verbs as a unit. The fact that phrasal-verb particles are grammaticalized does not imply that phrasal verbs are not lexicalized. On the contrary, there are reasons to think that indeed the verb and the particle form a lexicalized compound (cf. 6.5.1).

The fact that many phrasal-verb particles have undergone grammaticalization is supported by historical evidence. However, it must be borne in mind that not all particles have an aspectual meaning: some of them still retain some of their original meanings of motion (cf. 2.3.2.1), others have gained lexical content (e.g. *run away* = 'to away by running'; cf. 2.3.2.6), whereas others form idiomatic constructions together with the verb, where the original meanings of both the particle and the verb can no longer be inferred (cf. 2.3.2.5 and 2.4.1.3).

6.5.3. PHRASAL-VERB PARTICLES AS THE RESULT OF LEXICALIZATION

In the previous sections, we have seen that phrasal verbs can be considered a case of lexicalization (6.5.1) and that they can also be related to the process of grammaticalization (6.5.2), because the particles which occur in (some of) them have grammaticalized as markers of aspect. However, there exists a third possible way of looking at phrasal verbs in relation to these processes: it is the verbal element which has undergone grammaticalization, whereas the particle has been lexicalized. This might be the case with *run away*, which can be paraphrased as 'to away by running', or *scratch off*, which can be explained as 'to off (erase) by scratching' (Bolinger 1971: 49). As mentioned above (cf. Section 2.1), in these examples the particles can be seen as having acquired verbal force, leading the verb to become a mere premodifier. Put differently, the particles, whose original meanings were those of movement or location, can be said to have gained lexical content, becoming the most important element of the compound, almost displacing the verbal element. In turn, the verb seems to have moved from the lexical to the grammatical pole to become a peripheral element dependent on the particle.

It must be admitted, however, that these are isolated cases, and that the same verb with another particle behaves differently. For example, *run down* ('to criticize') cannot be explained as 'to down by running'.

6.5.4. PHRASAL VERBS AS IDIOMATIZED UNITS

As mentioned in Section 3.2, in OE and ME phrasal verbs used to have primarily literal or slightly transferred meanings, whereas more abstract meanings developed over time. If we assume that phrasal verbs are lexicalized units (cf. Section 6.5.2), the type of idiomatization they should undergo is, according to Brinton & Traugott (2005: 105), an increase in semantic specificity, contentfulness and idiosyncrasy. In turn, if we regard the particles as grammaticalized items, they may be said to have undergone idiomatization because they have lost their original meanings of location and movement to denote aspect, that is, they have acquired a more abstract, grammatical meaning. To put it in Ishizaki's words (2012: 243), aspectual phrasal verbs show idiomatization caused by grammaticalization, whereas idiomatic phrasal verbs have undergone idiomatization caused by lexicalization.

Brinton (1988) explains the way in which the phrasal-verb particles undergo the change from literal to aspectual meanings (cf. 6.5.2). In what follows, I summarize some of the ways in which phrasal verbs seem to have acquired idiomatic meanings over time. This account is based partly on the literature, especially Denison (1981: 149-165), and partly on my own research (cf. Rodríguez-Puente 2012a) in which I surveyed the HC, ARCHER, the CLMETEV, the BNC and the *OED* to look for evidence of how and when some idiomatic phrasal verbs had acquired idiomatic status. The diachronic evolution of certain constructions was traced from OE to PDE in the HC and ARCHER. For the purposes of the analysis, I fused the last subperiod of the HC (1640-1710) with the first two subperiods of ARCHER (1650-1749), thus obtaining a longer subperiod from 1640 to 1749. Although I am aware of the differences between both corpora as

regards text types, I believe that ARCHER can safely be used as a continuation of the HC for the investigation of lexical items. Moreover, all the figures were normalized to 1,000,000 words to allow comparison between subperiods. Given that the number of tokens found in the HC and ARCHER was often very low, I also surveyed the larger CLMETEV (1710-1920; 18,214,003 words; cf. De Smet 2005) to trace the evolution of the same combinations in the most recent history of English. Thus, the results obtained for the later subperiods of ARCHER could be compared and contrasted with a larger sample of texts. The main conclusion obtained from this survey is that there are at least five different ways in which idiomatic phrasal verbs emerge in the language: 1) semantic development from literal combinations, 2) reduction of elements, 3) syntactic reanalysis, 4) direct formations and 5) analogy.

6.5.4.1. Semantic development from literal combinations

As noticed by Denison (1981: 149), "[o]nce a collocation is established, it may develop a specific meaning or contextual restriction not belonging to verb or particle in separate use", or, put differently, once established, certain phrasal verbs undergo idiomatization. The development of idiomatic connotations from literal meanings can occur in several ways, of which at least four have been identified: metonymy, metaphor, addition of an aspectual/aktionsart particle plus metaphorization of a compound, and specialization.

6.5.4.1.1. Metonymy

Based on Lipka's (1972) synchronic process of object transfer, Denison (1981: 149) argues that some idiomatic meanings in phrasal verbs may develop from literal ones by means of metonymy. This is the case, for example, of the development of the combination *clean out*. For Lipka (1972: 94), an object transfer occurs when we change *We clear a river* (by removing mud) into *We clear out the mud* (from the river). Since mud cannot become clear, the derivational relationship is destroyed. In Denison's words, when used literally (e.g. *clean out dirt*), "the particle can plausibly be related to the spatial adverb with effective value" (Denison 1981: 149), whereas when used idiomatically (e.g. *clean out a desk*), the relationship is more opaque and indirect. Other examples include *lock up (doors)* and *put out (lights)* (cf. Lipka 1972: 170).

Similarly, de la Cruz (1972: 114) argues that idiomatic meanings can be derived from transferences of the type 'part/whole', 'cause/effect', "normally suggesting an implication of a literal action that can be physically enacted." As an example, he quotes the combination *put up* 'accommodate, lodge', because the normal place of the house to accommodate guests is usually upstairs.

6.5.4.1.2. Metaphor

Another way of creating non-compositional meanings is by means of metaphor. Phrasal verbs may undergo metaphorization more than once in such a way that their meaning becomes more opaque over time. One of such phrasal verbs is *bring up* ('bring to a higher position' > 'bring to a higher age' > 'educate'). The first attested example of the combination used with a literal meaning in the *OED* dates back to 1297 (s.v. *bring up*

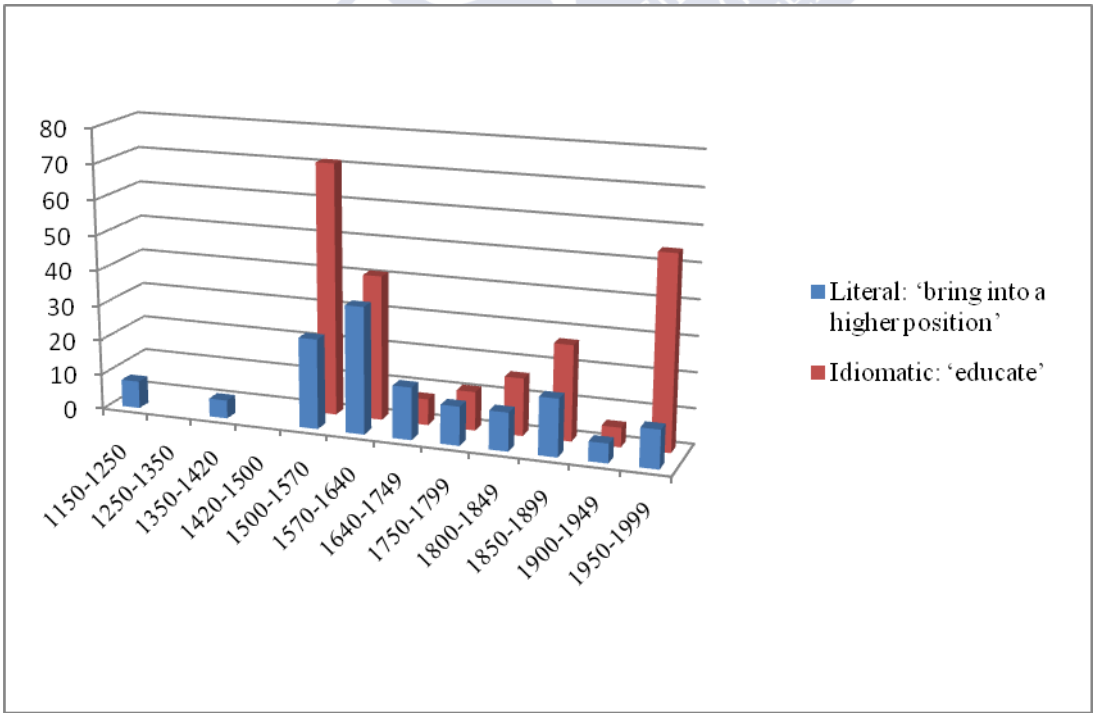
1), whereas the more idiomatic sense 'educate' does not appear until 1484 (s.v. *bring up* 2). Similarly, the earliest attested example in the corpora, which belongs to the *Ormulum* (c.1200), contains the combination *bring up* used literally (cf. (1)), whereas the more opaque meaning is not attested until the EModE period (cf. (2)), somewhat later than the *OED* dating.

(1) *Forr þatt he wollde* ***brinngenn*** *uss* ***Upp*** *inntill heoffness blisse.* (HC |QM1_IR_HOM_ORM, PI, 127)

(2) *the Duke of Gloucester vnderstandyng, that the Lordes whiche at that tyme were aboute the kyng, entended to* ***bryng*** *him* ***vppe*** *to his Coronacion.* (HC |QE1_NN_HIST_MORERIC, 16)

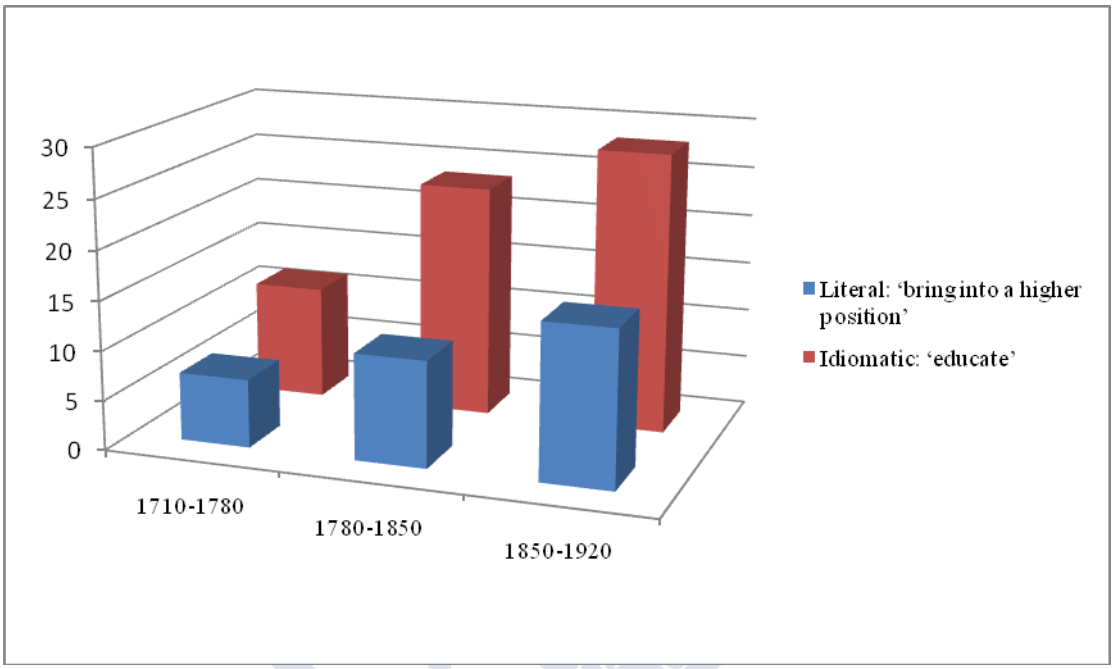
The line of evolution from literal to non-compositional meanings of the combination *bring up* in the corpora is shown in Figure 41 below.

Figure 41: Normalized figures of *bring up* per 1,000,000 words in the HC and ARCHER



Moreover, both Figure 41 above and Figure 42 below, which contains the data from the CLMETEV, show how in contemporary English it is more frequent to find the combination *bring up* with a non-compositional meaning than with its literal signification.

Figure 42: Normalized frequencies of *bring up* per 1,000,000 words in the CLMETEV



The normalized frequencies and raw numbers of the combination *bring up* in the HC, ARCHER and the CLMETEV are displayed in Table 50 below.

Table 50: Raw figures and normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words of the combination *bring up* in the HC, ARCHER and the CLMETEV

	Literal: 'bring into a higher position'		Idiomatic: 'educate'	
HC+ARCHER	Raw figures	NF	Raw figures	NF
1150-1250	1	7.76	-	-
1250-1350	-	-	-	-
1350-1420	1	5.18	-	-
1420-1500	-	-	-	-
1500-1570	5	25.44	14	71.24
1570-1640	7	35.81	8	40.93
1640-1749	9	14.81	4	7.4
1750-1799	2	10.96	2	10.96
1800-1849	2	10.83	3	16.24
1850-1899	3	16.16	5	26.93
1900-1949	1	5.47	1	5.47
1950-1990	2	10.84	10	54.23
Total	**33**		**47**	
CLMETEV				
1710-1780	21	6.89	35	11.48
1780-1850	62	10.70	136	23.47
1850-1920	98	15.62	177	28.22
Total	**181**		**348**	

Other examples of phrasal verbs undergoing multiple metaphor include *put down*, used in the sense 'make someone feel stupid by criticizing them': from *put down* physically (*OED* a1382; s.v. *put down* 1a) to *put down* metaphorically (*OED* c1440; s.v. *put down* 3b) thanks to the addition of the metaphor *down* meaning 'bad' (cf. 2.3.2.4); and also *pass away*, which has evolved from indicating physical movement (cf. (3)) to metaphorically signalling movement in time (cf. (4)) or the movement away of

discontent (cf. (5)), and to idiomatically refer to the act of dying (cf. (6)).[153]

(3) *& then hee **past away** towards Moorefeildes unknowne.* (HC |QE3_NN_BIA_FOX, 157)

(4) *he finds so many better ways of **passing away** the Four and Twenty Hours, that 'twere Ten Thousand pities he shou'd consume his time in that.* (HC |QE3_XX_COME_VANBR, PI, 37)

(5) *and the discontent will **pass away** soon, as the sparks from the collision of a flint.* (HC |QE3_IR_SERM_JETAYLOR, 16)

(6) *Aunt Louise died early one morning having, as people say, **passed away** in her sleep.* (BNC AC7 W_fict_prose)

Further examples are provided by Denison (1981: 151-152) and de la Cruz (1972: 117-131), the latter distinguishing between literal, transferred and figurative uses of phrasal verbs. One of such examples involves the combination *put forth*, which already in ME can be used literally (cf. (7)), with a transferred or metaphorical meaning 'thrust into prominence' (cf. (8)) and with the idiomatic meaning 'show', as in example (9) (cf. de la Cruz 1972: 118, 124; cf. also Denison 1981. 150). The latter probably derives from the addition of several layers of metaphors.

(7) *And sir Gylmere **put forth** his speare and ran to sir Launcelot, and sir Launcelot smote hym downe, that he lay in a sowghe.* (*Arthur* 276, 6)

(8) *Than sir Trystramys made Hebes a knyght and caused to **put** hymself **forth**, and dud ryght well that day.* (*Arthur* 387, 33)

[153] The first attested example with this meaning in the *OED* dates back to a1400 (*OED* s.v. *pass away* 1c).

(9) *But as I bad Thought tho be mene betwene, To* ***putte forth*** *sum purpos to proven hise wittes.* (*Piers* IX, 115)

6.5.4.1.3. Addition of an aspectual/aktionsart particle + metaphorization of the compound

Non-compositional phrasal verbs can also emerge by combining a verb and an aspectual/aktionsart particle which, once they start functioning as a phrasal verb, undergo metaphorization. The combination *give up* is a good example of this type of semantic development. First, the verb *give* appears in combination with the particle *up* (around 1150; cf. Denison 1985: 44), as shown in (10) and (11), where the verb with its literal meaning ('transfer of possession') combines with the aktionsart particle *up* to refer to the abandonment (the giving up) of tangible entities.

(10) *þat he alle his castles sculde* ***iiuen up****. Sume he* ***iaf up****, & sume ne iaf he noht.* (HC |QM1_NN_HIST_PETERB, 58)

'That he should give up all his castles. He gave up some, some he did not'

(11) *& dide him* ***gyuen up*** *ðat abbotrice of Burch.* (HC |QM1_NN_HIST_PETERB, 54)

'And made him give up the abbacy of Burch'

Later on, the combination undergoes metaphorization and starts being used to refer to the abandonment of non-tangible entities, as shown in (12), where it refers to the noun *faith*.

(12) *þus he talede wel wið twa hundret cnihtes & wið ma ȝet þt* ***ȝeuen*** *anan* ***up*** *hare ȝeomere bileaue.* (HC |QM1_NN_BIL_KATH, 42)

'Thus he spoke well with two hundred knights, and with more still, who give soon up their miserable faith' (translation from Elenbaas 2007: 217)

With further metaphor and specialization, the combination later on acquires new,

varied meanings, such as, for example, reference to the abandonment of a habit (cf. (13)), which is a common contemporary meaning of this combination (*OED* s.v. *give up* 2).

(13) *I **gave up** smoking when I was pregnant.* (BNC KB8 S_conv)

Bolinger (1971: 112-113, 121-122; cf. also Hampe 2002: 21-21) talks about a similar phenomenon in what he calls 'second-level stereotyping'. According to him, multiple metaphorizations are possible, and second-level stereotyping (metaphor and specialization) can be superimposed on constructions already containing first-level metaphor (what I have called aspectual/aktionsart particles).

6.5.4.1.4. Specialization

Another way of creating opaque, non-compositional meanings is by means of specialization, whereby phrasal verbs become limited to a particular function or specific context. According to de la Cruz, when this happens "the image of the metaphor or transference may often be dead in the mind of the native speakers" (1972: 115). An example of the development of specialized meaning is the combination *put down* 'write'. According to the *OED*, the earliest occurrence of this combination with a literal meaning dates back to a1382 (s.v. *put down* 1), whereas the more specialized meaning is not recorded until 1574 (s.v. *put down* 5a). Similarly, the earliest examples attested in the corpora possess a literal meaning (cf. (14) below), whereas the first evidence of the meaning 'write' does not appear until the 18th century (cf. (15) below).

(14) *"I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you and* ***put downe*** *your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best."* (HC |QE1_NI_FICT_HARMAN, 72)

(15) *But they repented their parting with me, for I writ a very good hand and always* ***put down*** *the passengers' names.* (ARCHER 1727davy.f3b)

Figures 43 and 44 below show the line of evolution of the meanings of this combination in the corpora and clearly illustrate how the more specialized meaning 'write' appears later than, and probably develops from, literal uses.

Figure 43: Normalized frequencies of *put down* per 1,000,000 words in the HC and ARCHER

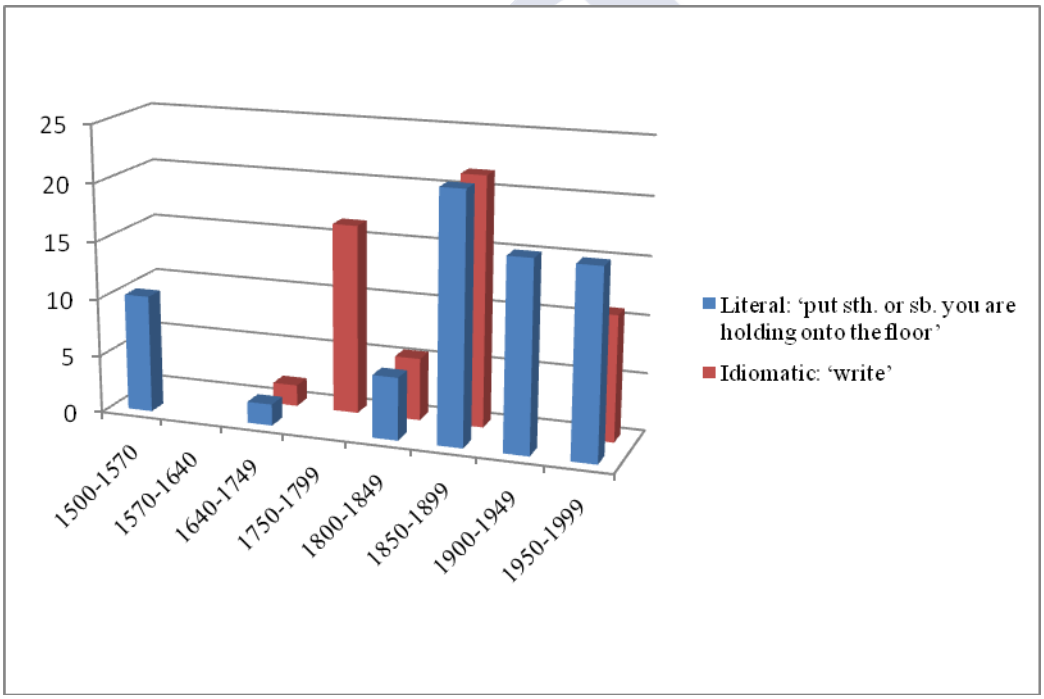
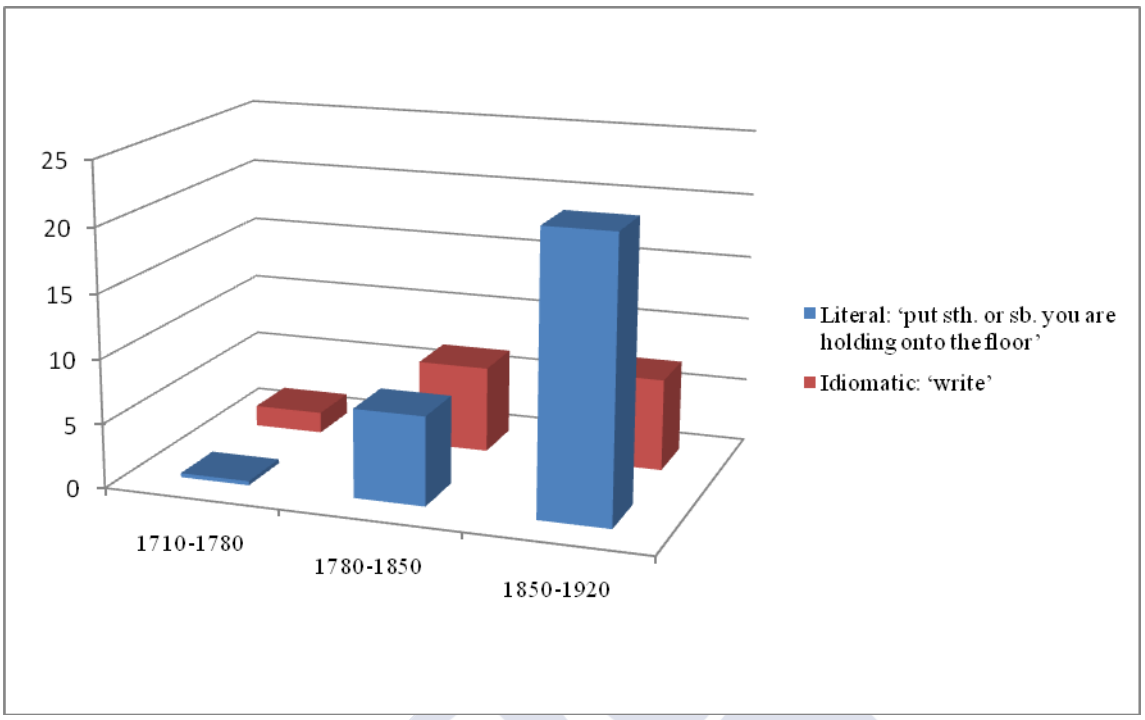


Figure 44: Normalized frequencies of *put down* per 1,000,000 words in the CLMETEV



The raw figures and normalized frequencies of the combination *put down* are given in Table 51 below.

Table 51: Raw figures and normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words of the combination *put down* in the HC, ARCHER and the CLMETEV

	Literal: 'put sth. or sb. you are holding onto the floor'		Idiomatic: 'write'	
HC+ARCHER	Raw figures	NF	Raw figures	NF
1500-1570	2	10.17	-	-
1570-1640	-	-	-	-
1640-1749	1	1.85	1	1.85
1750-1799	-	-	3	16.44
1800-1849	1	5.41	1	5.41
1850-1899	4	21.54	4	21.54
1900-1949	3	16.43	-	-
1950-1990	3	16.27	2	10.84
Total	**14**		**11**	
CLMETEV				
1710-1780	1	0.32	5	1.64
1780-1850	40	6.90	39	6.73
1850-1920	136	21.68	45	7.17
Total	**177**		**89**	

A similar example is provided by the combination *take in*. The first occurrences of the compound possess a literal meaning (cf. (16) below), whereas the more specialized meaning 'allow someone to stay in your house' (as in (17) below) did not appear until later.[154]

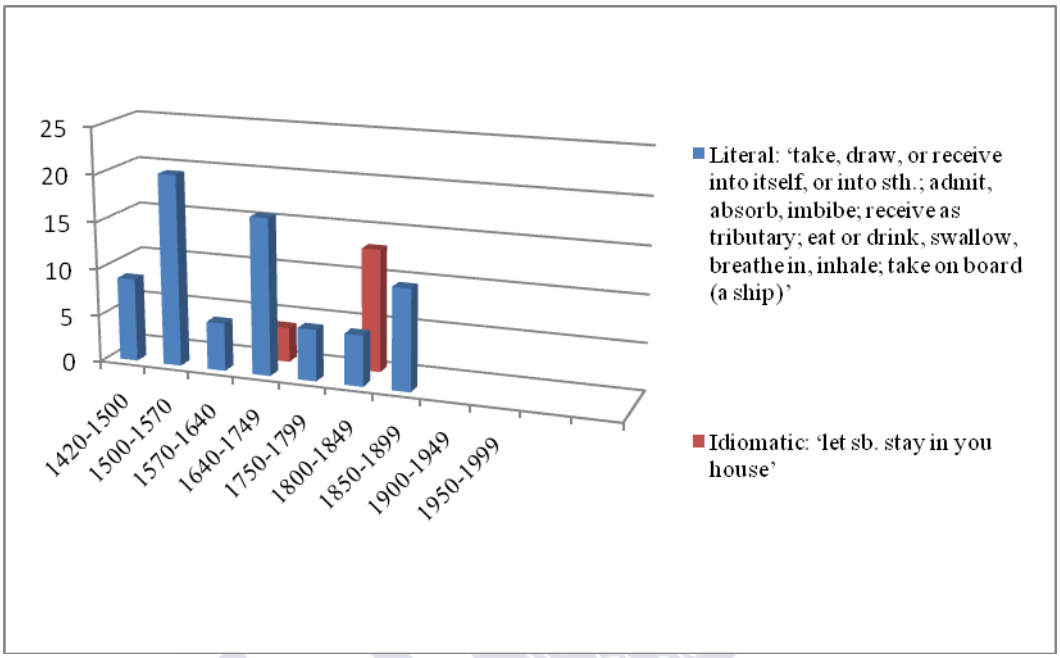
(16) *Alisaunder þe spere forlete, And drouȝ his swerd, also skeete. Nicholas he* ***took in*** *þe swere*. (HC |QM2_NI_ROM_KALEX, PI, 57)

(17) *He was* ***taken in*** *as a great Object of charity into our Hospital.* (ARCHER 1684brig.m2b)

[154] Similarly, the earliest literal example in the *OED* is from the 14th century (s.v. *take in* 1), whereas the first attestation of the specialized meaning is dated 1539 (s.v. *take in* 5).

The evolution of the semantics of the combination can be observed in Figures 45 and 46 below, whereas the raw figures and normalized frequencies of the combination are displayed in Table 52 below.[155]

Figure 45: Normalized frequencies of *take in* per 1,000,000 words in the HC and ARCHER



[155] Notice that, although the amount of examples in the HC and ARCHER is quite scarce (particularly from 1849 onwards), they are sufficient to confirm the hypothesis that non-compositional meanings emerge later and develop from literal significations. The searches in the CLMETEV (cf. Figure 46) provided, however, an ampler sample of examples.

Figure 46: Normalized frequencies of *take in* per 1,000,000 words in the CLMETEV

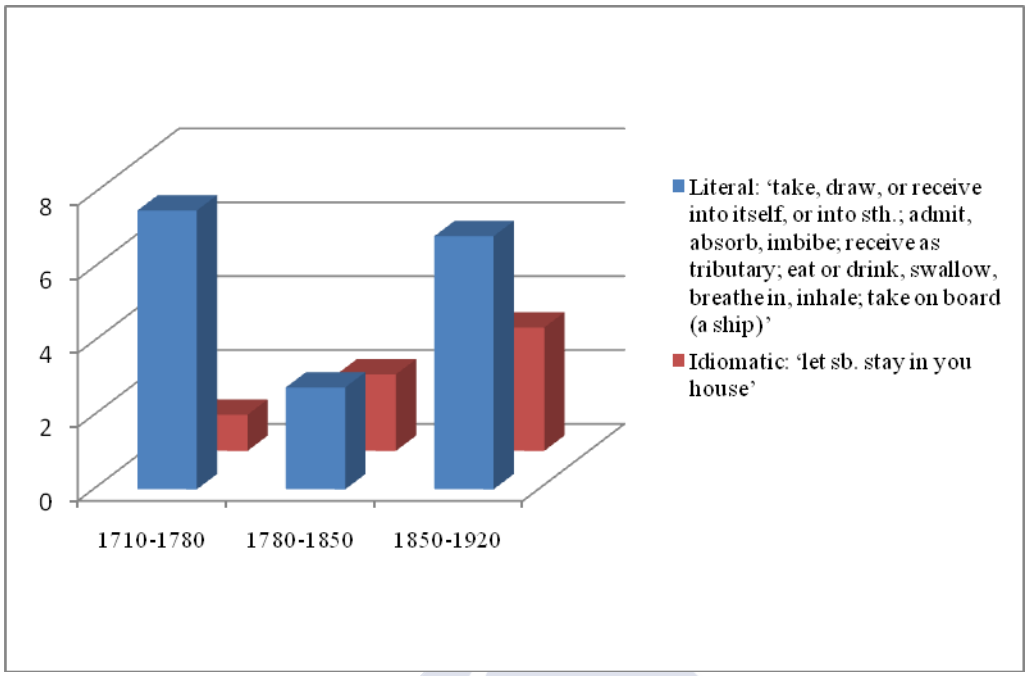


Table 52: Raw figures and normalized frequencies per 1,000,000 words of the combination *take in* in the HC, ARCHER and the CLMETEV

	Literal: 'take, draw, or receive into itself, or into sth.; admit, absorb, imbibe; receive as tributary; eat or drink, swallow, breathe in, inhale; take on board (a ship)'		Idiomatic: 'let sb. stay in you house'	
HC+ARCHER	Raw figures	NF	Raw figures	NF
1420-1500	2	8.87	-	-
1500-1570	4	20.35	-	-
1570-1640	1	5.11	-	-
1640-1749	9	16.66	2	3.70
1750-1799	1	5.48	-	-
1800-1849	1	5.41	1	13.04
1850-1899	2	10.77	-	-
1900-1949	-	-	-	-
1950-1990	-	-	-	-
Total	**20**		**3**	
CLMETEV				
1710-1780	23	7.55	3	0.98
1780-1850	16	2.76	12	2.07
1850-1920	43	6.85	21	3.34
Total	**82**		**36**	

Some other phrasal verbs have developed new, specialized meanings to cope with the new world-developments. This is the case with, for example, *hang up*. First, the verb *hang* appears in combination with the particle *up* meaning 'fasten a thing on high [...], suspend on a hook' (*OED* s.v. *hang up* 1). The first *OED* example of the combination used in this sense dates back from a1400, but an earlier instance was found in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1070-1154) in the HC (cf. (18) below).

(18) *Me* ***henged up*** *be the fet & smoked heom mid ful smoke.* (HC |QM1_NN_HIST_PETERB, Millesimo cxxxvii)

'They [the martyrs] were hung up by the feet and smoked completely with smoke'

In later stages, after the invention of the telephone in 1876 the meaning of the combination specializes to refer to the replacement of the receiver up on the wall and, later on, to refer to the ending of a telephone conversation in general, independently of whether the receiver is on a wall or on a table (cf. also Martin 1990: 92-93). ARCHER and the CLMETEV provided no examples of the combination used in this sense. The first attestation in the *OED* is from 1911, as shown in (19) below.

(19) *When the subscribers are through talking, they* ***hang up*** *their receivers.* (*OED* 1911 A. B. Smith *Mod. Amer. Telephony* xxvi. 759)

The meaning of the phrasal verb turns out to be still more idiomatic if we think of those cases in which it is used to refer to ending a conversation with a cell phone, where there is no receiver to be put back in its place, but one must just press a button ortouch a screen. The metaphor is perfectly understandable in our times, but it may be blurred out in the future if traditional telephones end up disappearing. Put differently, "changes in

the extra-linguistic world can turn constructions opaque when knowledge about the original motivation of all or of some components gets lost" (Hampe 2002: 22).

Further examples of specialization mentioned by de la Cruz (1972: 115) include *cast up* 'washed up, brought ashore by the sea', *fall out* 'disagree', *make up* 'be reconciled', *stand up* 'let somebody down by not fulfilling a date' and *take in* 'deceive'.

6.5.4.2. Reduction of elements

Creation of idiomatic meanings in phrasal verbs may also take place when an expression loses part of its content and starts being understood on its own. The combination *get across* 'reach the audience or the public, to make oneself or itself understood or appreciated' (*OED* s.v. *across* B.2.b.) may be illustrative of this type of acquisition of non-compositional meaning. According to the *OED*, the contemporary meaning of *get across* derives from the expression *across the footlights* 'from the performers to the audience'. The first recorded example in the *OED* containing this expression is given in (20), where the particle *across* functions as the head of a prepositional phrase.

(20) *I want to see how much of they succeed in* ***getting across*** *the footlights.* (*OED* 1894 G. *Shaw Let*. 11 June (1965) 443)

In the course of time, the noun phrase *the footlights* disappears and the combination of the verb *get* and the particle *across*, now functioning as an adverbial particle, keeps the meaning formerly portrayed by the whole expression. This can be seen in (21) below, which is the first recorded example in the *OED*.

(21) *Tell a fellow now, did I* ***get*** *it* ***across****?* (*OED* 1913 *Kipling Diversity of Creatures* (1917) 190)

Denison (1981: 159-160) also discusses the formation of idiomatic phrasal verbs by means of several types of reduction and provides evidence from the *OED* in support of his claim. He identifies five main types of reduction:

1) A prepositional verb loses its prepositional object and becomes a phrasal verb: e.g. *come to* 'recover consciousness', *do without* 'manage without', *fon on* 'take (matter for discourse), set to work (on)' and *look on* 'observe with attention'.

2) Examples may also be found of ellipsis of a PrepO from particle verbs of the type of *foist sth. on sb.* (i.e. particle verbs with a DO and a PrepO). Instances include *don of* 'take off (clothing, armour, etc.)' and *lay on* 'impose (a tax, etc.)'.

3) The ellipsis of a DO from a transitive phrasal verb can also prompt the creation of a new intransitive combination, as is the case with *lay off* 'desist' < *lay off your hondes* (cf. also *speak out, lay off, toss up* and *wind up*).

4) Sometimes combinations containing two particles and both a DO and a PrepO (e.g. *let sb. in on a secret*) may lose a prepositional phrase of the type of *before court/justice* to become a phrasal verb, as is the case with *have up* 'take up or cause to go before a court of justice in answer of charge' (*OED* s.v. *have* v.16b).

5) A preposition such as *into* can be reduced to an adverb *in*, as in *fall into* > *fall in*.

6.5.4.3. Syntactic reanalysis

According to Denison (1981: 161-162), some transitive phrasal verbs seem to have originated in the structural reanalysis of certain prepositional verbs and viceversa. Thus, for example, *run over* is predominantly a phrasal verb in PDE, although originally it used to be a prepositional verb. The combinations *pass by* and *pass over* seem to have undergone similar transitions.

Other structures which seem to have undergone a reanalysis process include strings of the form V+NP+P (Denison 1981: 162). A clear example is the expression *keep a look-out*, historically *keep* + *look-out* (compound noun), which has been reanalyzed as *keep out* (phrasal verb) + *look*, as demonstrated by the existence of parallel examples, such as *keep an eye out*, *keep a watch out*, etc. Expressions such as *get a look in* and *get a move on* seem to have undergone similar developments.

6.5.4.4. Direct formations

Sometimes new phrasal verbs can be created from the union of a verb which did not exist formerly as such plus an already existing phrasal-verb particle. These are very recent creations which are only found sporadically in contemporary corpora. All of the

examples of this kind that I have identified include verbs derived from nouns by means of conversion to which a particle has been added (cf. (22) to (24)).[156]

a) ***veg out*** 'relax and spend time doing very little'. [157]

(22) *It's funny actually cos I thought this is the first Saturday when we* ***vegged out*** *to.* (BNC KD5 S_conv)

b) ***soup up*** 'improve something by making it more powerful or more interesting'.[158]

(23) *Hot-rodding was born when young men* ***souped up*** *vehicles and raced along the black-top roads and dry lake beds around Los Angeles.* (BNC CRA W_pop_lore)

c) ***gen up*** 'brief sb. or study sth. in detail; make or become fully conversant with'.[159]

(24) *I get* ***genned up*** *to be a minister.* (BNC G5E S_consult)

Other instances of phrasal verbs created to cope with new world-developments include all those referring to the use of new technologies, e.g. computers, electrical devices, means of transport, etc. Some examples are provided in (25) to (29) below.

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[156] Notice that these examples differ from the noun- and adjective-derived phrasal verbs mentioned in Section 2.3.2.3 in that the latter go through an intermediate stage in which the derived verb exists alone without a particle (e.g. *bottle* (n.) > *bottle* (v.) > *bottle up*). Denison (1981: 165) notices that "[d]erivation of phrasal verbs from nouns and adjectives without intervening stage is a more recent phenomenon."

[157] The first attested example in the *OED* is from 1979 (s.v. *veg* v. 1).

[158] According to the *OED*, the first evidence of this combination dates back to 1931 (s.v. *soup* v. 3).

[159] This definition comes from *TFD*, since the combination is not recorded in the *OED*.

a) ***log on/in*** ‘put your name into a computer to start using it’ and ***log off/out*** ‘to finish using a computer’.

(25) *Note, users must **log out** and **log in** again for the new quotas to take effect.* (BNC HWF W_misc)

b) ***back up*** ‘make a copy of computer information so that you do not lose it’.

(26) *So I mean I I I am suggesting that this appears to be a ready made useful document that that forms part of a at the right time, we put this out to **back up** the the rest of the er the document.* (BNC G4X S_meeting)

c) ***wire up*** ‘connect something or someone to a piece of electrical equipment by using electrical wires’.

(27) *The runner did not have to be **wired up** with unsightly cables leading from the electrodes attached to the chest.* (BNC AR7 W_pop_lore)

d) ***switch off/on*** *and* ***turn off/on****.*

(28) *Remote switching means that the extractor is **switched on** and **off** by operating the power tool it is connected to.* (BNC A0X W_pop_lore)

e) ***take off*** (referring to a plane).

(29) *We did catch the planes when they **took off** in the morning.* (BNC K66 S_interveiw_oral_history)

6.5.4.5. Analogy

In previous sections I have suggested that the emergence of emphatic phrasal verbs might be due to the role of analogy (cf. 3.2). Denison (1981: 163) also refers to a type of direct formation where a particle which collocates frequently with several verbs of similar or antonymous meaning extends its use to verbs of the same word-field to form related phrasal verbs. A better term for this phenomenon is probably analogy, since the newly-created combinations develop analogically from phrasal verbs that were previously available in the language. One example is the combination *look out*, first recorded in a figurative sense in 1602 (*OED* s.v. *look out* 3), and later developments such as *mind out* (1823),[160] *watch out* (1845),[161] *listen out* (1910) and *keep an eye out* (1889).

Further instances of this kind are gathered by Lipka (1972: 197-221), who attempts the semantic analysis of combinations with the particles *out* and *up*. To quote an example, the group containing the set of features CAUSE + BE + /+CLOSED/ includes, among others, *bind up* (e.g. a wound), *brick up, build up, button up, cement up, fasten up, glue up, lock up, seal up, shut up, stitch up, zip up* (Lipka 1972: 207). Cappelle (2005: 431-456) also suggests that some particles possess meanings which are repeated

[160] Denison (1981: 163) dates the first occurrence of *mind out* in 1886, but the updated version of the *OED* includes an example from 1823.

[161] In Denison (1981: 163) the date is a1888.

across combinations. Thus, for example, 'exasperation' *off* (2005: 439-440) occurs in very colloquial and often inappropriate (even taboo) expressions of the type of *brassed off, browned off, cheesed off, dicked off, fucked off, hacked off, miffed off, narked off, peed off, picked off, piddled off, pissed off, ticked off* and *torqued off*. Similarly, Jackendoff (2002: 73-74, 2010: 233; cf. also Cappelle 2005: 441) mentions "a curious subclass of idiomatic verb-particle combinations [all of which] mean roughly 'go into an unusual mental state'" (2002: 73). In these combinations the verbal element is not necessarily a verb proper or even an independently attested word and the particle is always *out*. The category includes both transitive and intransitive combinations which have been in the language for quite a long time (e.g. *black out, bum* NP *out, burn* (NP) *out, chicken out, conk out, crap out, fake* NP *out, fink out, knock* NP *out, pass out, poop* (NP) *out*) and others of more recent creation (e.g. *bliss out, chill out, creep* NP *out, crump out, flake out, flip out, freak* (NP) *out, gross* NP *out, mellow* (NP) *out, phase out, space out, stress* (NP) *out, veg out, weird* NP *out, wig* (NP) *out, zone out* and *zonk out.*

Denison (1981: 165) also draws attention to another type of direct formation which involves pairs of particles which are antonyms in their literal spatial meanings, e.g. *off*/*on, in*/*out, up*/*down*. Very frequently a new phrasal verb is derived from an existing idiomatic combination involving one member of a pair. Some examples include *turn on* 'arouse, excite interest'/*turn off, wind up* (a watch)/*wind down, play* (sth.) *down*/*up, fade* (sth.) *in*/*out*. Some of these expressions are often coined to produce a humorous effect, but others are of more lasting use.

6.5.4.6. Discussion

In view of the information in the foregoing sections, it seems safe to state that a large group of phrasal verbs have undergone idiomatization. However, the question of whether idiomatization exists as a process of its own or is rather derived from other major processes such as grammaticalization or lexicalization remains unanswered.

With regard to phrasal verbs, some scholars (cf., e.g., Hampe 2002: 19; Thim 2006a: 225) have noted that those combinations with non-compositional meanings are also the ones which are most syntactically restricted and highly lexicalized. In fact, in many cases the acquisition of more idiomatic meanings by phrasal verbs and their syntactic fixation run parallel and, at least in the case of phrasal verbs, there is no proof of what happens first. By stating that idiomatization is derived from lexicalization and/or grammaticalization, Brinton & Traugott (2005: 105) imply that first the combination becomes fixed syntactically and then it acquires a non-compositional meaning. This may be true of cases in which idiomatic meanings develop from literal ones (cf. Section 6.5.4.1), but certainly not of direct formations (cf. Section 6.5.4.4). Moreover, once an item is lexicalized, it may or may not undergo idiomatization but, if it does, it can occur more than once, so that the meaning of the lexicalized item becomes more and more opaque over time. Therefore, although I am not aware of any case in which idiomatization has occurred independently of grammaticalization or lexicalization, in a sense, it behaves as a process with a certain degree of independence. For this reason, in my view, idiomatization, lexicalization and grammaticalization should be considered as distinct though complementary processes, the former affecting semantics, the other two affecting syntax and morphology. In other words,

idiomatization may be defined as a semantic process whereby a language item or construction loses literacy of meaning and increases its idiomatic status. Understood in this way, evidence has shown that certain phrasal verbs have undergone a process of idiomatization.

6.6. PROPOSED MODEL FOR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHRASAL VERBS AND GRAMMATICALIZATION, LEXICALIZATION AND IDIOMATIZATION

6.6.1. INTRODUCTION

As was made evident in Section 6.5, phrasal verbs must be seen as lexical units resulting from lexicalization. However, the degree of lexicalization is not the same in all phrasal verbs, which may account for the differences among these combinations as regards their syntactic behaviour (cf. Section 2.4.2). Similarly, some combinations have undergone a process of idiomatization, but the existence of different degrees of transparency (cf. Section 2.4.1) indicates that it is also possible to establish various degrees of idiomatization. Thus, starting from the idea that lexicalization and idiomatization are gradual and that categories can be graded, in this section I provide a model for the understanding of the category of phrasal verbs, which postulates that phrasal verbs do not constitute a category with clear-cut boundaries, but rather one which can be graded. As will become clear in the course of this section, I do not favour semantic change over syntactic change or viceversa. Although I consider it necessary to

regard the two types of changes separately, both of them are indispensable to account for the diachronic evolution of phrasal verbs.

6.6.2. ROSCH'S PROTOTYPE THEORY: A CHALLENGE TO THE CLASSICAL MODEL OF CATEGORIZATION

As noticed by Thim (2006a: 225), it seems appropriate "to analyse [phrasal verbs] along a gradient ranging from freely combined to fully lexicalized." This statement agrees with the idea that linguistic categories are best described in terms of scales, degrees of prototypicality or gradience. The model of graded categorization emerged as an alternative to the classical Aristotelian approach which was founded on four main principles (cf. Taylor 1995: 23-24):

(a) Categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features.

(b) Features are binary; they are a matter of all or nothing.

(c) Categories have clear boundaries.

(d) All members of a category have equal status.

The classical model of categorization is not the result of empirical study (Lakoff 1987: 6) and defends the idea that categories are "abstract containers, with things either inside or outside the category" (Lakoff 1987: 6). This way of viewing categorization has been challenged in the recent years, especially from the 1970's onwards, thanks to the emergence of the so-called 'prototype theory' and to the pioneering work of Eleanor Rosch (1973, 1975, 1978). Rosch provided a challenge to the classical theory by

demonstrating that "[m]ost, if not all, categories do not have clear-cut boundaries" (Rosch 1978: 35). Rosch's investigations made evident that not all members of the same class share equal status, but in general have best examples or prototypes (e.g. a robin is a more typical bird than a penguin), and that human capacities play a role in categorization (Lakoff 1987: 7). For Rosch the prototype is "the 'most typical' example of the category" (1973: 330), that is, the standard by which other members are measured, "the clearest cases of category membership defined by people's judgements of goodness of membership of the category" (Rosch 1978: 36). In other words, prototypes are "idealized clusters of behavioural properties" (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 16). In a more abstract sense, Taylor (1995: 59) describes the prototype as a "schematic representation of the conceptual core of a category" in such a way that we would not say "that a particular entity is the prototype, but that it instantiates the prototype."

Therefore, categories are defined in terms of prototypes or prototypical instances that contain the most representative attributes of items inside the category and least representative ones outside it (Rosch 1978: 30). In this sense, "the centre of a prototype category approaches the ideal of a classical category" (Taylor 1995: 54), though, unlike in the Aristotelian view, in the prototype theory membership is a question of gradience. Thus, "[c]ategorization proceeds from central to peripheral instances of the category with central instances as prototypical instances" (Andersen 2007: 62), so that categoriality is seen as a gradual property. To put it in Taylor's (1995: 51) words:

> Categories typically have fuzzy edges and might even merge into each other; some attributes might be shared by only a few members of a category; there might even be categories with no attributes shared by all their members. In order to keep our categories maximally distinct, and hence maximally informative, we

need to focus on the basic level of categorization, more specifically, on the more central members of basic level categories.

6.6.3. THE PROTOTYPE THEORY IN THE FIELD OF LINGUISTICS: GRADIENCE AND GRADUALNESS

Rosch's experiments soon found an application in linguistics (phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics; cf. Lakoff 1987: 61-67), where very often it is hard to delimit the boundaries of a category. As noted by Denison (2006: 279), "[a]n account of PDE morphosyntax cannot easily be made to fit the facts if it insists on Aristotelian categories with necessary and sufficient conditions for membership and hard-and-fast boundaries." For this reason, linguistic categories are best described by means of a gradient, "a scale which relates two categories of description […] in terms of degrees of similarity and contrast. At the ends of the scale are items which belong clearly to one category or another" (Quirk et al. 1985: 90). All those items which stay between both ends of the scale form the grey area of the category, that is, items which "fail, in different degrees, to satisfy the criteria for one or the other category" (Quirk et al. 1985: 90).

When applied to the domain of grammar, the phenomenon of boundary vagueness is often referred to as gradience (cf. Aarts 2004b: 2, 2007: 1). In a series of works Aarts (2004a, 2004b, 2007) developed a model of grammatical categories which tries to build a bridge between the traditional Aristotelian model, which defends the existence of sharp boundaries in categories, and what he calls the 'gradience-is-everywhere' view (Aarts 2004b: 3). Thus, although Aarts argues that categories have sharp boundaries, he

allows for gradience in grammatical behaviour within categories (Croft 2007: 410). Aarts's model of gradience is distinguished from the prototype theory in a number of features (cf. Aarts 2007: 87-90):

(a) Whereas prototype theory has applications beyond linguistics, gradience is mainly a grammatical phenomenon.

(b) The mental representations of grammatical categories are not accessible in the same way as real-world objects, such as birds.

(c) The features that characterize syntactic categories are relational, whereas those of real-world objects, such as chairs, are inherent.

(d) Whereas extra-linguistic elements may influence experimental prototypicality judgements by speakers, they probably play no role in the assignment of elements to linguistic classes.

(e) In prototype theory the syntactic and the semantic angles are involved, while in Aarts's (2007) gradience model "the emphasis is on the purely syntactic characteristics of formatives. [Although] there may well be a correlation between syntax and semantics, [...] the syntax should be the primary point of departure" (Aarts 2007: 89).

(f) Whereas prototype theory deals mainly with shadings within a particular class of linguistic elements (what Aarts calls subsective gradience; cf. 2004b: 3, 2007: 79), gradience is also involved with the study of intercategorial fuzziness (intersective gradience; 2004b: 3, 2007: 79, 97). For Aarts, subsective gradience refers to the fact that two distinct categories, X and Y, are in a gradient relationship within the same form class.

Therefore, as defined by Aarts (2007), gradience refers mainly to a synchronic process "conceptualized in terms of discrete syntactic or morphosyntactic distributional properties, with little attention to function and meaning" (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 27). Aarts's model has lately received quite a lot of criticism (cf. especially Croft 2007 and various contributions in Traugott & Trousdale 2010 (eds.)) by several scholars who advocate the need to include semantic and pragmatic aspects in the model and reject the idea of using morphosyntactic criteria exclusively to define categories and construction types. Denison, for example, suggests that "it makes more sense to talk of semantics coercing syntax than the converse" (2010: 118). Similarly, Francis & Yuasa (2008) have shown that "semantic properties can change faster than syntactic properties in gradual processes of grammaticalization" (2008: 45) and that "semantic change can occur in the absence of syntactic change, leading to a 'mismatch' between syntax and semantics" (2008: 46). Moreover, Denison also questions Aarts's defence of the existence of sharp boundaries between categories because, in a sense, it is contradictory with Aarts's own distinction between subsective and intersective gradience, as can be inferred from the following quotation (Denison 2010: 113-114):

> [B]y Aarts's criteria a stepwise transition between categories actually confounds the distinction that he invokes between subsective and intersective gradience (2007, etc.), since the loss of prototypicality within one category (subsective gradience) is not substantially different in nature from the acquisition of an equal number of features of another category (intersective gradience) and then onwards to full membership of the new category (subsective gradience again). [...] To insist on a unique category, in my opinion, would be to practise an artificial pseudo-rigour imposed by certain linguistic theories and not by the facts of the language.

In the field of grammaticalization and lexicalization the concept of gradience is directly related to that of gradualness. Whereas the former label is better applied to a synchronic phenomenon, the term 'gradualness' refers to diachronic phenomena (cf. Brinton & Traugott 2005: 150; Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 22). For Traugott & Trousdale, gradualness refers to "a sequence of discrete micro-steps affecting various aspects of the use and structure of a linguistic sign" (2010: 22). As noted by Brinton & Traugott, although change is generally formulated as A > B, it is crucial to attempt to understand "the tiny local steps between A and B that the arrow '>' encompasses" (2005: 150).

6.6.4. PHRASAL VERBS AS A GRADABLE CATEGORY

Phrasal verbs are a clear example of how categories can be graded. As seen in previous sections (cf. 2.4.2), certain phrasal verbs seem to be more prototypical than others as regards their syntactic behaviour or the degree of unity between the verb and the particle. The application of the different available syntactic tests described in Section 2.4.2 above reveals the existence of varying degrees of prototypicality for phrasal verbs. Thus, for example, it can safely be maintained that the use of the combination *bring up* in (30) is a more prototypical instance of phrasal verb than that in (31), since the former does not allow, for example, the fronting of the particle (cf. Section 2.4.2.4) or adverb insertion (cf. Section 2.4.2.3). In turn, *bring up* in (31) is a more peripheral combination because the particle can be fronted (*Up I brought the gun*) and an adverb can be inserted between the verb and the particle (*I brought the gun slowly up*).

(30) *Later that evening, when he was playing a desultory game of Scrabble with Broughton and Hoddnett, two of the older boys, he casually* ***brought*** *the subject* ***up***. (BNC H8Y W_fict_prose)

(31) *I dipped my head and* ***brought*** *the gun* ***up*** *at the same time without thinking.* (BNC HWC W_fict_prose)

If we consider that the prototypical phrasal verb is one that passes all of the proposed syntactic tests (cf. 2.4.2), the larger the number of tests passed by a given verb-particle combination, the more prototypical as a phrasal verb such a combination will be. Moreover, since the proposed tests are designed to check the unity and cohesion between the verb and the particle, it can be claimed that the prototypical phrasal verb is one in which the verb and the particle behave as a single lexical and semantic unit. Most scholars seem to agree that the degree of 'fossilization' or 'collocational fixity' between the verb and the particle or between the phrasal verb and the direct object phrase (in the case of transitive phrasal verbs) can influence the result of these tests. The terms 'fossilization' and 'collocational fixity' are seen in this study in relation to the process of lexicalization and as ultimately derived from it. In other words, the existing variability among phrasal verbs as regards their internal cohesion can be explained in terms of the extent to which they are lexicalized.

Moreover, many phrasal combinations can undergo a process of idiomatization parallel to that of lexicalization, though not necessarily. Lexicalization and idiomatization often go on a par and, rather frequently, the ability of a combination to undergo several syntactic manipulations also depends on its degree of semantic transparency (cf. 2.4.2), though this is not necessarily always so. Consider, for example, the combination *ring up*, with a fairly transparent meaning, but whose collocational

fixity admits only a limited range of syntactic manipulation, as can be seen in Table 53 below.

Table 53: Syntactic tests of cohesion applied to the combination *ring up*

Degree of cohesion and bondage between verb and particle or between phrasal verb and object NP		
5.a. Impossibility of insertion of *all, clean, right, straight, the heck, the hell*	**She rang me all up.*	-
5.b. Impossibility of insertion of other adverbs	**She rang me constantly up.*	-
6. Passivization	*I was rung up.*	+
7. Particle preposing	**Up she rang.*	-
8. Impossibility of particle coordination	**She rang me up and down.*	-
9. Verb gapping	**She rang me up and he down.*	-
10. Cleft-formation	**It was up (not down) that she rang me.*	-

As already said in Section 3.2 above, combinations of a verbal element and a particle already existed in OE, mostly with literal meanings. These combinations seem to have been reanalyzed by speakers over time as forming a single lexical and/or semantic unit, a hypothesis which is reinforced by the fact that many of such combinations acquired idiomatic meanings later on (cf. 6.5.4). Once they are seen as a unit, the syntactic rigidity of the combination increases, that is, they turn into some kind of collocation which can undergo further idiomatization and acquire more idiomatic meanings.[162] In other words, by means of the process of lexicalization, the syntactic

[162] This idea goes against Adams' argument that phrasal verbs "are uniform in their syntactic behaviour, and are not subject to closer unification of their elements with the passage of time" (Adams 1973: 9).

unity between both words is intensified, whereas by means of the process of idiomatization, they acquire new idiomatic meanings, different from those of the two original words in isolation. In some cases both the verb and the particle keep their original connotations (e.g. *take away*); in others only the verb retains its original semantic content, whereas the particle grammaticalizes and acquires a more abstract meaning (e.g. *drink up*); finally, on other occasions, both elements lose their original connotations and turn into an idiomatic unit whose meaning can no longer be inferred from the individual meanings of its components (e.g. *bring about*).

If we consider that phrasal verbs are lexicalized (cf. 6.5.1) and idiomatized (cf. 6.5.4), and that both lexicalization and idiomatization are gradual processes diachronically (cf. 6.3 and 6.6.3), it seems possible to establish two clines for the development of phrasal verbs, a syntactic and a semantic one, represented respectively by Figures 47 and 48 below. It must be remembered, however, that the existence of clines does not necessarily imply that all constructions have reached the end of the cline (cf. 6.2 above).

Figure 47: Cline of lexicalization in phrasal verbs

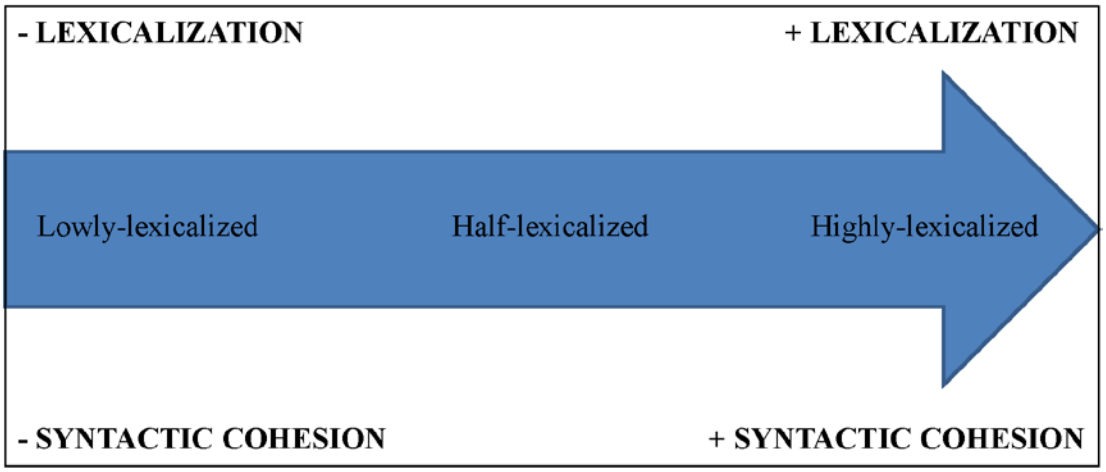
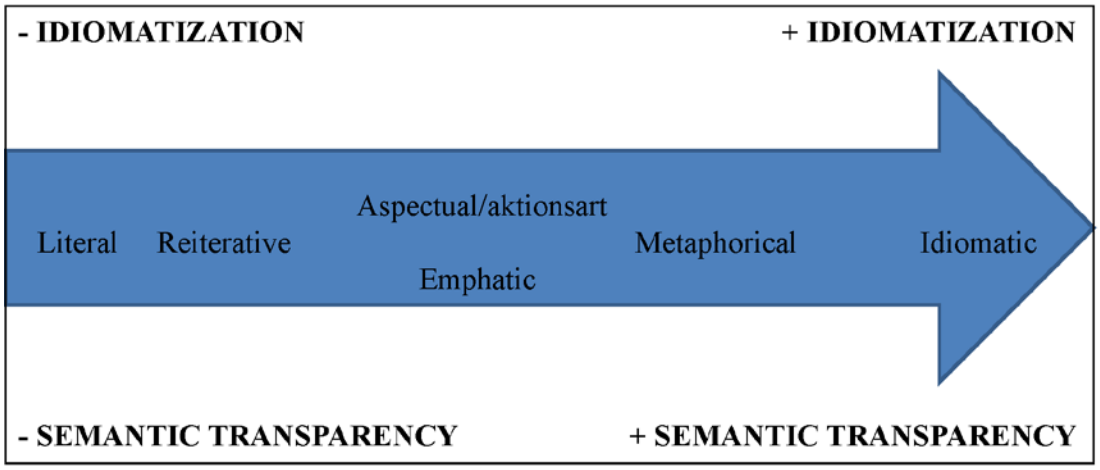


Figure 48: Cline of idiomatization in phrasal verbs



The establishment of two separate clines agrees with the view that a model of graded categorization cannot rely solely on the use of morphosyntactic criteria to define categories and that semantic aspects must necessarily be taken into account (cf. Section 6.6.3 above). As a consequence, synchronically phrasal verbs can be considered a

graded category, both lexically and semantically. As noted by Hampe (2002: 15), the category phrasal verb is gradable because the process of lexicalization is processual. The extent to which the process of lexicalization has affected a given combination can be measured in terms of the set of proposed syntactic tests (cf. Section 2.4.2), whereas the degree of idiomatization is mostly conditioned by the opaqueness of a given construction. As can be seen in Figure 47, those combinations passing few of the tests can be considered to have a low degree of lexicalization and are thus placed at the left end of the cline, whereas those with a higher degree of lexicalization pass most (if not all) of the tests and appear at the right end of the cline. In turn, as shown in Figure 48 the cline of idiomatization includes literal combinations at one end of the cline, idiomatic phrasal verbs at the other end and reiterative, emphatic, aspectual/aktionsart and metaphorical combinations somewhere in between.

By way of illustration, let us apply the ten syntactic tests proposed in Section 2.4.2 (cf. Table 6) to three selected verb-particle combinations: *bring up*, *drink up* and *take up*. Examples (32) to (34) below show that the three phrasal constructions are transitive combinations which pass the definite NP test.

(32) *He was sorry that he had **brought up** the subject and hastily departed for his shower.* (BNC CDN W_fict_prose)

(33) *Well, eat up **eat up** the broccoli then.* (BNC KBW S_conv)

(34) *Aggie turned her head slightly away, **took up** the knife that was lying to the side of her plate.* (BNC CK9 W_fict_prose)

Other tests which confirm the status of these combinations as phrasal verbs include their collocational restrictions with relatives and interrogatives (cf. (35a), (36a) and

(37a)), the obligatory appearance of their particle after an object pronoun (cf. (35b), (36b) and (37b)) and the impossibility for the combination to be interrupted by an adverbial phrase (cf. (35c), (36c) and (37c)).

(35) a. **The subject **up** which she **brought**. / *__Up__ which subject did she **bring**?*

b. *She **brought** it **up**.*

c. **She **brought** the subject with caution **up**.*

(36) a. **The broccoli **up** which he **ate**. / *__Up__ which broccoli did he **eat**?*

b. ***Eat** it **up**.*

c. **__Eat__ the broccoli very slowly **up**.*

(37) a. **The knife **up** which Angie **took**. / *__Up__ which knife did Angie **take**?*

b. *Angie **took** it **up**.*

c. **Angie **took** the knife with a slow movement **up**.*

As regards their degree of syntactic cohesion, the three combinations seem to behave quite differently. As shown in the examples below, whereas *bring up* (35d) does not allow insertion of an adverb of the type of *all, clean, right, straight, the heck, the hell* between the verb and the particle, this is possible with the combinations *eat up* (36d) and *take up* (37d).

(35) d. **He **brought** the subject right **up**.*

(36) d. ***Eat** the broccoli right **up**.*

(37) d. *Angie **took** the knife right **up**.*

Similarly, *bring up* (35e) does not allow for insertion of other adverbs, whereas these are permitted with *eat up* (36e) and *take up* (37e).

(35) e. **He **brought** the subject suddenly **up**.*

(36) e. ***Eat*** *it completely* ***up***.

(37) e. *Angie* ***took*** *the knife suddenly* ***up***.

As transitive combinations, the three phrasal verbs at issue can undergo passivization (cf. (35f), (36f) and (37f), but only *take up* allows for the movement of the particle to clause-front position (cf. (35g), (36g) and (37g)).

(35) f. *The subject was* ***brought up***.

g. *****Up*** *he* ***brought*** *the subject.*

(36) f. *The broccoli was* ***eaten up***.

g. *****Up*** *he* ***ate*** *the broccoli.*

(37) f. *The knife was* ***taken up***.

g. ***Up*** *he* ***took*** *the knife.*

In turn, particle coordination, verb-gapping and transformation into a cleft-clause is only permitted in the case of the combination *take up* as can be seen in examples (35h-j), (36h-j) and (37h-j).

(35) h. **He* ***brought*** *the subject* ***up*** *and down.*

i. **He* ***brought*** *the subject* ***up*** *and she off.*

j. **It was* ***up*** *that he* ***brought*** *the subject.*

(36) h. **He* ***ate*** *the broccoli* ***up*** *and down.*

i. **He* ***ate*** *the broccoli* ***up*** *and she down.*

j. **It was up that he* ***ate*** *the broccoli.*

(37) h. *She* ***took*** *the knife* ***up*** *and down.*

i. *She* ***took*** *the knife* ***up*** *and he down.*

j. *It was* ***up*** *that she* ***took*** *the knife.*

The results of the application of the ten tests are summarized in Table 54 below. As done previously in Table 6 (cf. Section 2.5), every test passed is indicated by means of a plus (+), whereas a minus (-) implies that the test failed. Therefore, the larger the number of pluses, the more prototypical the phrasal verb will be.

Table 54: Degrees of prototypicality in phrasal verbs

Identification of phrasal-verb	***Bring up***	***Eat up***	***Take up***
1. The definite NP test	+	+	+
2. Collocational restrictions before relatives and interrogatives	+	+	+
3. Particle placement with object pronouns	+	+	+
4. Impossibility of insertion of AdvP.	+	+	+
Degree of cohesion and bondage between verb and particle or between phrasal verb and object NP			
5.a. Impossibility of insertion of *all*, *clean*, *right*, *straight*, *the heck*, *the hell*	+	-	-
5.b. Impossibility of insertion of other adverbs	+	-	-
6. Passivization	+	+	+
7. Particle preposing	+	+	-
8. Impossibility of particle coordination	+	+	-
9. Verb gapping	+	+	-
10. Cleft-formation	+	+	-

As Table 54 shows, *bring up*, as used in example (32) above, is a prototypical phrasal verb. It passes all of the proposed tests, not only those for phrasal verb identification, but also those which test the degree of cohesion between verb and particle. *Eat up*, by contrast, as used in (33) above, is a half-lexicalized phrasal verb. It passes the tests for phrasal verb identification, but fails two of the cohesion tests.

Finally, the verb-particle combination *take up*, as used in example (34) above, fails six of the cohesion tests and hence shows a lower degree of lexicalization.

As is evident, the three combinations above also show varying degrees of idiomatization. Thus, whereas the meaning of *bring up* is highly idiomatic, in *eat up* the meaning of the verb is fully transparent, but the particle is employed with an aktionsart sense which provides it with a more abstract meaning. *Take up*, in turn, has a completely literal meaning inferable from the individual parts of the combination in isolation.

Apart from establishing various groups of phrasal verbs as regards their degree of lexicalization and idiomatization, viewing phrasal verbs as a gradable category can also account for those especial cases in which, for example, there exists a certain rigidity of collocation between the phrasal verb and its object. Thus, for instance, as noted by Quirk et al. (1985: 1155n), like any other phrasal combination, the phrasal verb *give up* should, in principle, allow its direct object to be placed either before or after the particle (cf. Section 2.4.2.1). However, when the direct object of the verb is the NP *hope*, the latter tends to appear after the particle, rather than before it (cf. (38)). Thus, a sentence like that in (39), though possible, is less likely to appear than that in (38).

(38) *You mustn't **give up** hope.* (BNC AN7 W_fict_prose)

(39) *They expect a doctor to try to cure a patient and to continue to **give** hope **up** to the last minute, even with patients who cannot be cured.* (http://www.nivel.nl/en/news/palliative-care-telling-everything-is-not-always-best; accessed 11/05/2012)

Examples of this kind can be viewed as lexicalized combinations of a phrasal verb plus an object NP. In other words, it can be said that these phrasal verbs have gone a step beyond their own lexicalization: not only has the verb-particle combination lexicalized into a new, idiomatic construction, but also the combination of verb and particle with the object NP, with which they form a fixed, idiomatic collocation. Something similar happens in those cases in which, as shown in Section 2.4.2.5, a transitive phrasal verb does not allow passivization. Consider in this respect examples (128) and (129) presented in Section 2.4.2.5 above and repeated here as (40) and (41) for convenience.

(40) *The train **picked up** speed. ~ *Speed was **picked up** (by the train).*

(41) *Jill and her boss don't **hit** it **off**. ~ *It is not **hit off** (by Jill and her boss).*

In these examples, there is also a stronger unity between the phrasal verb and its object NP, which together form a fixed collocation. It is possible, therefore, to maintain that the phrasal verb has also gone a step further in its process of lexicalization, because it has lexicalized together with its object NP. Analyzing cases like these goes beyond the purposes of the present research, but they must be taken into account for the characterization of phrasal verbs in general. It must be borne in mind that one of the proposed syntactic tests for ascertaining the degree of fixity between the verb, the particle and the direct object NP in phrasal verbs is that of passivization (cf. 2.4.2.5). Thus, *give up*, when occurring with the object NP *hope*, should appear with a minus (-) in the passivization test. Likewise, *pick up* and *hit off* as used in examples (40) and (41) above do not meet the passivization criterion. However, this is not due to the existence

of a lower degree of cohesion between the verb and the particle, but to the fixity of collocation with their object NPs.

6.7. SUMMARY

In this chapter I have shown that the development of phrasal verbs can be related to three major processes of language change, namely grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization. As shown in Section 6.2, grammaticalization can be defined as a process of language change whereby, in certain linguistic contexts, a full lexical item becomes a grammatical morpheme, or a grammatical item increases its grammatical features. Grammaticalization (as is also the case with lexicalization) is relevant to the present study as a diachronic process. As such, it is said to be unidirectional, that is, changes move in clines from the lexical to the grammatical pole, though not all grammaticalized items and constructions do necessarily reach the end of the pole. Lexicalization (Section 6.3) can be defined from the diachronic perspective as a process of linguistic change by means of which a syntactic construction or word formation comes to be used by speakers as a new contentful form. This new form possesses certain formal and semantic characteristics unpredictable from the constituents of the original construction or word formation pattern (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96). Therefore, while by means of grammaticalization, forms move from a major to a minor word class and/or to functional forms, with lexicalization linguistic items are modified to become members of a major class. In Section 6.4, in turn, I argued that idiomatization can be defined as a process of semantic change whereby an item or group of items

acquire new abstract or idiomatic meanings, thus implying a movement on a scale from concrete to abstract. This process is directly related to grammaticalization and lexicalization and very often occurs parallel to them. However, as shown in Section 6.5.4, it is a linguistic phenomenon with a certain degree of independence. For this reason, idiomatization, lexicalization and grammaticalization should be considered as individual though complementary processes, the former affecting semantics, the other two affecting syntax and morphology.

The three processes at issue, grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization, are related in various ways to the diachronic development of phrasal verbs. First, if we consider that the verb and the particle of a phrasal verb form a single lexical unit (e.g. *bring about*), these constructions can be seen as a case of lexicalization (6.5.1). Historically, however, it is undeniable that many particles have been grammaticalized as markers of aspect, conferring aspectual meanings to some phrasal verbs. Thus, it can be maintained that phrasal-verb particles have undergone grammaticalization, though at the same time they form a lexicalized unit with the verb (6.5.2). Finally, it can also be argued that, at least in certain combinations (e.g. *run away*), the verbal element has been grammaticalized, losing much of its original lexical content and, consequently, allowing the particles to carry the primary lexical meaning of the compound (6.5.3). Interestingly, in any of the three possible ways of viewing the relationship between grammaticalization and lexicalization with phrasal verbs, the effects of idiomatization can be seen in the sense that many of the grammaticalized or lexicalized units have lost (part of) their original meanings to denote more abstract, idiomatic meanings, often difficult to relate to the original ones (6.5.4).

The three viewpoints on the relationship between grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization with phrasal verbs are recognized and seen as valid in this piece of research, although a unified model which can serve the purposes of the present work seems necessary. Thus, starting from a model of graded categorization which takes into account both the syntactic and the semantic aspects of phrasal verbs, in Section 6.6 I propose that one possible way of understanding this relationship is by considering phrasal verbs as cases of lexicalization and idiomatization, but to different degrees: the more lexicalized the phrasal verb, the greater syntactic fixity; the more idiomatized, the more idiomatic the meaning of the compound. In this context, it is therefore possible to establish two separate but interrelated clines to represent the development of phrasal verbs: a syntactic and a semantic one (cf. Figure 47 and Figure 48 above). As a way to ascertain the degree of lexicalization of a given combination, the different available syntactic tests summarized in Section 2.4.2 must be applied, whereas the degree of idiomatization of the combination depends on the extent to which its signification can be inferred from the two members of the compound in isolation.

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7. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This dissertation has offered a corpus-based analysis of the evolution of English phrasal verbs from 1650 to 1990 and has established a relation between the diachronic development of these constructions and the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization. In what follows I present the main findings achieved together with some suggestions for further research.

Chapter 1 opened with a description of the aims and scope of the dissertation (1.1) and offered some theoretical preliminaries about the object of study (1.2). In Section 1.2 English phrasal verbs were introduced and compared with other related categories with which they bear certain similarities, especially prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs. More precisely, phrasal verbs were described within the larger context of multi-word verbs and thus defined as discontinuous lexical items. This is one of the commonest views in the literature, although not the only one. In fact, one of the main debates over this category concerns the question of whether phrasal verbs belong with the lexicon, syntax or phraseology.

Chapter 2 constituted a more thorough analysis of the category of phrasal verbs. First, the two elements of the compound were examined individually. Section 2.2 dealt with the verbal elements of the phrasal combination, which were described as commonly Germanic and monosyllabic or disyllabic verbs with the accent on the first syllable. In Section 2.3, in turn, I discussed the nature of the particles. Morphologically

(2.3.1), phrasal-verb particles are generally described as adverbs in origin which have come to form a (more or less bound) unit with a verb and, for this reason, behave differently from other adverbs. The semantics of the particles was the aim of Section 2.3.2, where I established a distinction between five different semantic types. Literal particles (2.3.2.1) express the meaning of 'motion in general'. Other particles add aspectual or aktionsart meanings to the verbs they collocate with (2.3.2.2). Distinguishing between aspect and aktionsart has proved difficult since the label 'aspect' has been employed in the literature to refer to both concepts. In general, phrasal-verb particles can be said to portray either telic aktionsart meaning (especially *up*), iterative and/or continuative aspect (mainly *along*, *away* and *on*) and inchoative or inceptive aspect (e.g. *away* in some imperative sentences). In Section 2.3.2.3 I argued for the existence of a category of emphatic particles which function as 'colloquializers', i.e. as elements which are added to simple verbs, not only to provide them with some kind of emphasis, but also with a familiar, colloquial tone. Some other phrasal-verb particles have developed metaphorical or figurative connotations from their original meanings of movement, most commonly the so-called 'orientational metaphor' (Section 2.3.2.4). Finally, idiomatic particles (2.3.2.5) are those which form a semantic unit with the verb in such a way that the meaning of the two parts of the combination can no longer be inferred. In general, although the semantic load of the individual elements of the compound is important, phrasal verbs and other multi-word verbs have often been described as showing division of labour or structural compensation, i.e. the semantics of the compound does not belong to one or another element of the combination, but is shared by both of them (Section 2.3.2.6).

Given the view taken in the present dissertation that phrasal verbs are discontinuous lexical elements, besides examining the characteristics of the individual elements of the combination, an analysis of phrasal verbs as a unit was mandatory. This was the aim of Section 2.4, where the idea that the verb and the particle of phrasal verbs form a single semantic and lexical unit was justified on the basis of four main criteria: replaceability by a single-word equivalent (e.g. *put off – postpone*), derivation (e.g. *breakinable*, *turn-off*), coordination with another verb (e.g. *chatting away and making her laugh*) and elision (e.g. *I cleaned up my room and mum [cleaned up] the kitchen*). Section 2.4.1 dealt with the description of the semantics of phrasal verbs, which were classified within six main semantic groups, namely literal (2.4.1.1), figurative (2.4.1.2), idiomatic (2.4.1.3), aspectual/aktionsart (2.4.1.4), reiterative (2.4.1.5) and emphatic (2.4.1.6). These do not constitute discrete categories, since sometimes the same verb-particle combination can be classified into more than one group. In Section 2.4.2 I reviewed some of the main syntactic tests which have generally been applied for the distinction of phrasal verbs from other related categories, in particular prepositional verbs. The only tests which have proved satisfactory to identify phrasal verbs are the definite NP test (2.4.2.2), the test according to which phrasal-verb particles cannot occur before relative or interrogative forms (2.4.2.11), and also the test according to which an AdvP cannot be inserted between the verb and the particle (cf. Section 2.4.2.3). These are supported by the test of particle placement with object pronouns (2.4.2.1), the adverb insertion test (2.4.2.3) (either the insertion of *all*, *clean*, *right*, *straight*, *the heck* and *the hell*, on the one hand, and of other adverbs, on the other), preposing of the particle (2.4.2.4), passivization (2.4.2.5), particle coordination (2.4.2.7), verb gapping (2.4.2.10) and cleft-formation (2.4.2.12). Finally, the nominalization test (2.4.2.6), insertion of a directional

PP (2.4.2.8), substitution for other particles (2.4.2.9) and replacement by an antonym (2.4.2.13) were rejected as reliable tests for various reasons.

Chapter 3 depicted the diachronic evolution of phrasal verbs since their first appearance in the language in OE to the present-day. English phrasal verbs have not always had the structure with which we associate them in PDE. In earlier stages of the language they are attested in a wider variety of syntactic arrangements. Thus, in OE (Section 3.2) particles could appear in preverbal or postverbal position and with or without intervening material between them and the verbal element. Although the preverbal pattern was predominant during most of the OE period both in main and subordinate clauses, the use of the postverbal pattern became established in all types of clauses already during EME. Moreover, the syntax of OE and ME phrasal verbs was more flexible than that of the PDE combinations in allowing various elements to appear between the verb and the particle (e.g. a negative marker, an infinitive marker, a modal verb, a stranded preposition, a direct object or an adverb). Similarly, EModE phrasal verbs (Section 3.3) were still more permissive than their PDE counterparts as regards the order of clause constituents, as well as the type of intervening elements which can appear between the verb and the particle. Moreover, most scholars agree that idiomatic and aspectual/aktionsart meanings of phrasal verbs start growing in number from this time onwards. Section 3.4 put forward the fact that the literature on the development of phrasal verbs during the LModE period and the 20th century is scarce. In general, those studies discussing this rather long period of the history of English point to a continuation of the tendencies found in earlier stages and to the fact that phrasal verbs seem to have grown in frequency both in British and in American English.

The aim of Chapter 4 was twofold. On the one hand, I portrayed a description of the main characteristics of ARCHER 3.1 (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*), the corpus used in the present dissertation (Section 4.2), and the methodology employed for the selection of examples (Section 4.3). On the other hand, I presented the corpus results, as far as the linguistic characteristics of phrasal verbs are concerned (Section 4.4). In Section 4.2.1 I discussed the main advantages of ARCHER and the reasons why it constitutes a useful resource for my analysis, namely the time-span covered (1650-1990) and the selection of genres it contains, which allow comparisons between written text types and registers closer to the spoken language. The drawbacks of the corpus were described in Section 4.2.2. These relate mainly to the fact that the American component of the corpus is incomplete and also that different tagging systems were employed by the compilers in the various genres of the corpus, which gives place to some inconsistencies. The most important disadvantage of ARCHER in relation to the contents of this dissertation is the fact that one of the texts in the corpus is repeated and, for this reason, one of the tokens of phrasal verbs is duplicated. The aim of Section 4.3 was the description of the methodology employed for the corpus analysis. The searches were performed by looking for the individual particles by means of *WordSmith Tools*. These were stored in a *Microsoft Excel* database and coded according to various linguistic parameters, which facilitated calculations and the creation of tables and graphs representing the tokens.

In the second part of this chapter, I presented the main linguistic characteristics of phrasal verbs in ARCHER. I discussed the morphological features of the relevant constructions, considering first the verbal element (cf. 4.4.1.1) and the particles (4.4.1.2)

separately, and then the combinations as a single unit (cf. 4.4.1.3). This analysis revealed that in earlier stages of the language polysyllabic verbs of non-Germanic origin (e.g. *massacre*, *overture*, *surrender*, etc.) are quite frequently attested in phrasal verbs, probably due to the influence of Latin and French as languages of prestige. As far as the particles are concerned, most of them seem to remain stable through history or increase in frequency (*back*, *down*, *off*, *on*, *out*, *round*, *through* and *up*), while the only particle whose use decreases drastically over time is *forth*. Interestingly, a number of adverbs attested in the language since earlier stages (*across*, *ahead*, *along*, *around* and *past*) started being used as phrasal-verb particles only from the 18th century onwards. Judging from the data of the type/token frequency and *hapax legomena*, the productivity of phrasal verbs in ARCHER turned out higher in the first half of the 19th century. As regards the frequency of the combinations at issue, the corpus results showed a slight decrease during the first half of the 19th century, though in general phrasal verbs seem to grow up in frequency over time. Section 4.4.2 provided a semantic analysis of the combinations in the first and last subperiods of ARCHER (i.e. 1650-99 and 1950-90) which showed that, while reiterative combinations decrease and literal uses tend to remain rather stable, aspectual/aktionsart/emphatic combinations, as well as metaphorical and figurative ones, seem to increase over the time-span considered. The corpus analysis also yielded interesting results about the syntactic characteristics of phrasal verbs in the period under scrutiny (Section 4.4.3). The syntactic arrangement of the phrasal combinations in the earlier periods of ARCHER is very similar to that of PDE, although a few cases deserved separate mention. To close this chapter, in Section 4.4.4.1 I discussed phrasal-verb nominalizations in *-ing* (Section 4.4.4.1) and other derivatives (Section 4.4.4.2) in the corpus. Results demonstrate that, while the use of

-ing nominalizations has decreased, that of other derived forms has increased. Since the productivity of phrasal verbs in processes of word-formation constitutes a sign of the unitary character of phrasal verbs, such a rise suggests that phrasal constructions have gained unity over time.

Chapter 5 presented the corpus findings regarding the cross-genre and gender distribution of phrasal verbs in ARCHER. The main aim of this chapter was to check whether it is possible to relate phrasal verbs to the spoken, colloquial language or whether their occurrence in particular text types is conditioned by other factors and, if so, which ones. In Section 5.2 I provided a general description of the various genres in ARCHER and their main characteristics in order to ascertain to what point they can be situated along the formal-informal and oral-written continua. My aim in Section 5.2.7 was to establish a more fine-grained categorization of these text types, based on the terminology employed by Culpeper & Kytö (2010). These scholars distinguish between speech-related genres, on the one hand, and writing-based and writing-purposed text types, on the other, a classification which proved more useful for the text types in ARCHER than one based on the division established in the multivariate analyses carried out by Biber and associates. In Section 5.3 I surveyed the use of phrasal verbs across the different genres. The output of my analysis provided very high and low frequencies of phrasal combinations both in texts which are close to the oral language and in those which approach the written medium, especially during the earlier periods. A more in-depth examination of the relevant texts proved that there are factors beyond the degree of formality of a text type which may condition the frequency of phrasal verbs, such as the topics discussed in the narration, the format of the text, the particular idiosyncrasies

of the writer and the changing conventions of texts over time. Finally, gender variation was the aim of Section 5.4, which showed that phrasal verbs tend to be favoured by females from 1750 onwards (except in the period 1850-99). Nevertheless, the difference in usage between female and male writers turned out to be too scarce to permit categorical conclusions.

In the first part of Chapter 6 I analyzed the extent to which the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization may have affected the historical development of phrasal verbs. In Sections 6.2 and 6.3 I provided definitions for the processes of grammaticalization and lexicalization respectively. Section 6.4, in turn, discussed idiomatization as a process of semantic change directly related to both grammaticalization and lexicalization. The three processes in question relate variously to the diachronic development of phrasal verbs. First, phrasal verbs can be seen as a case of lexicalization, considering that the verb and the particle of a phrasal verb form a single lexical item (6.5.1). Second, a number of particles have grammaticalized as markers of aspect (6.5.2). Moreover, in particular combinations (e.g. *run away*) the verb seems to have undergone a certain degree of grammaticalization by losing much of its original lexical content, the particles thus carrying the primary meaning of the compound (6.5.3). Finally, Section 6.5.4 argued that some combinations have undergone idiomatization, since they have lost (part of) their original connotations of movement in favour of more abstract, idiomatic meanings. This section also reviewed some of the ways in which idiomatic meanings can be acquired by phrasal verbs, namely the semantic development from literal combinations (6.5.4.1), the reduction of

elements (6.5.4.2), syntactic reanalysis (6.5.4.3), direct formations (6.5.4.4) and analogy (6.5.4.5).

The purpose of the second part of this chapter was to propose a model for the understanding of the relationship between phrasal verbs and the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization. Taking as a point of departure a model of graded categorization which includes both the syntactic and the semantic aspects of phrasal verbs, in Section 6.6 I suggested that phrasal verbs should be regarded as lexicalized and idiomatized units to various degrees: the extent to which lexicalization has affected the combinations influences their syntactic fixity, whereas idiomatization brings about the emergence of opaque meanings. In view of this, I established two clines, a syntactic and a semantic one, to represent the development of phrasal verbs. For the first of these clines, the different syntactic tests summarized in Section 2.4.2 are applied to phrasal combinations to check their degree of lexicalization, whereas their level of idiomatization in the semantic cline is conditioned by the degree of transparency of the individual members of the compound.

The analysis of phrasal verbs presented in this dissertation was intended to fill a gap in the literature of these constructions by providing corpus findings as well as a novel approach to the way in which the category is conceived. Nevertheless, the results are far from comprehensive and a number of questions remain open for future research. These concern mostly the corpus analysis and will be facilitated by the release of the new version of ARCHER. First, the corpus analysis would greatly benefit from a comparison of the data here presented with those for American English. A diachronic comparison between the two major standard varieties of English is certainly worth considering,

especially with a phenomenon such as phrasal verbs, which has often been described as typical of American English. Second, my analysis would also be improved by including a more balanced selection of texts, particularly in the case of journals and diaries. As seen in section 5.2.1, one of the methodological problems stemming from the division of the genre journals/diaries with the files available in ARCHER 3.1 is the somewhat irregular distribution of text types in the corpus, since in some subperiods one of the two genres is clearly overrepresented, whereas samples for the other are quite scarce. Third, it would certainly be interesting to carry out an analysis of phrasal verbs in dialogue and narration separately in the genres fiction and drama. This was not attempted in this dissertation because these genres lack the appropriate tagging in ARCHER 3.1, but a study of this kind would enable me, among other things, to ascertain whether differences can be noticed in the use of these constructions when comparing the written vs. the oral dimensions. Finally, the corpus data gathered for the present dissertation can be used for further investigations related to the diachronic evolution of phrasal verbs. Thus, a study focusing on particle placement from a historical perspective that parallels that of Gries (2003) for PDE has not yet been attempted and also remains a prospect for future research. Such an account would undoubtedly yield interesting findings and would cast further light on the syntactic development of these constructions over time.

APPENDIX I: List of phrasal-verb constructions with a fixed syntactic order

The lists in (A) and (B) below contain some of the most frequent phrasal-verb combinations with a fixed order extracted from the literature (cf. Visser 1963: section 673; Erades 1961: 57; Fraser 1976: 19; Quirk et al. 1985: 1155n; Palmer 1988: 223; Cappelle 2005: 56, 211-215). The list in (A) includes those constructions in which the particle must (or at least shows a strong tendency to) appear before the object, whereas that in (B) contains those combinations in which the particle most frequently follows the object. Regarding the latter, Cappelle observes that a great number of these combinations "have an object NP which refers to a body part or an anatomical substance" (2005: 214).

(A) ***back up*** (a friend) 'support', ***bite off one's head*** 'overreact to a trifling matter, specifically to something that someone has said or done', ***blow off steam*** 'unburden, do or say something that helps you get rid of strong feelings or energy', ***brew up tea*** 'make tea', ***bring out one's skills*** 'highlight one's skills', ***brush up*** (e.g. one's French) 'practise and improve', ***call up happy memories*** 'make remember', ***close up shop*** 'stop and activity or close a business', ***dance up a storm*** 'do something with a lot of energy', ***drum up*** (e.g. support) 'gather, obtain', ***get up one's energy*** 'arise one's energy', ***give off*** (e.g. a certain smell) 'produce', ***give up hope*** 'surrender', ***kick over the traces*** 'do what you want and not show any respect for authority', ***knock off work*** 'take a rest or break', ***pick up knowledge*** 'gather knowledge', ***pluck up courage/spirits*** 'bolster someone's,

including one's own, courage', ***put up*** (e.g. a fight) 'offer', ***screw up one's courage*** 'force oneself to be brave', ***shut up shop*** 'close a shop', ***stir up trouble*** 'make someone feel in trouble', ***throw up the sponge*** 'give up a contest; to acknowledge defeat'.

(B) ***answer someone back*** 'reply rudely to someone', ***ask/invite someone over/around*** 'invite someone to your house', ***beat somebody's brains out*** 'try very hard to do something', ***boss someone around*** 'give orders to someone; to keep telling someone what to do', ***bring someone round*** 'bring to consciousness', ***bring someone/something through*** 'bring about the recovery of', ***bugger someone about/around*** 'treat somebody badly', ***bundle someone off*** 'send someone, usually a child, somewhere', ***cry one's eyes out*** 'weep inconsolably for a long time', ***eat one's head off*** 'eat greedily', ***get someone up*** 'get someone out of bed', ***get someone's blood up*** 'enrage', ***help someone along*** 'make something happen more quickly or easily', ***keep your hair on*** 'keep calm, without overreacting or getting angry', ***knock someone out*** 'hit someone so hard that they lose consciousness', ***laugh someone's head off*** 'laugh very hard and loudly', ***play someone up*** 'cause annoyance to', ***put one's feet up*** 'relax', ***talk a person round*** 'bring someone to one's own way of thinking by talking persuasively', ***see something through*** 'complete something, fulfil a commitment', ***shoot a person down*** 'kill someone with a gun', ***stick one's neck out*** 'expose oneself to danger or criticism by expressing new controversial ideas, challenging authority', ***tear someone away*** 'force someone to abandon a place of activity'.

APPENDIX II: List of verbal bases in the formation of phrasal verbs in ARCHER

Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens
accelerate	2	*bring*	223	*clap*	1	*dash*	9	*empty*	1	*freeze*	2
act	1	*broaden*	1	*clean*	6	*date*	1	*end*	3	*fret*	1
add	1	*brush*	2	*clear*	13	*deal*	1	*enter*	1	*fritter*	1
allow	1	*buck*	1	*click*	1	*deck*	2	*even*	1	*fuse*	2
amass	1	*bud*	2	*climb*	10	*defend*	1	*face*	2	*gallop*	6
amble	1	*buffet*	1	*cling*	1	*deflect*	1	*fade*	3	*gather*	15
argue	2	*build*	15	*close*	8	*deliver*	17	*faint*	2	*gaze*	1
ascend	6	*bulge*	1	*club*	1	*demand*	1	*fall*	69	*get*	244
ask	1	*bumble*	1	*clump*	1	*descend*	1	*fan*	1	*gird*	2
assemble	1	*bump*	2	*coat*	1	*descry*	1	*fetch*	8	*give*	125
back	2	*bundle*	2	*cock*	1	*die*	10	*fight*	4	*glance*	6
batter	2	*burn*	15	*combine*	1	*diffuse*	1	*file*	5	*glare*	1
bawl	1	*burst*	3	*come*	698	*dig*	13	*fill*	11	*glide*	3
beam	1	*busk*	1	*commission*	1	*dispatch*	1	*filter*	1	*glitter*	1
bear	23	*bust*	1	*compass*	1	*dissect*	1	*find*	100	*glow*	1
beat	14	*bustle*	1	*compress*	1	*divide*	2	*finish*	2	*glue*	2
bend	4	*button*	2	*conduct*	2	*do*	5	*fire*	3	*gnaw*	1
bestow	1	*buy*	1	*connect*	1	*doat*	2	*fish*	1	*go*	760
bewail	1	*call*	53	*continue*	1	*dole*	1	*fit*	22	*gobble*	1
bind	10	*calm*	3	*convey*	3	*drag*	18	*fix*	1	*grind*	2
bite	2	*camp*	1	*cook*	2	*draw*	96	*fizzle*	1	*grope*	2
blast	1	*canter*	1	*cool*	4	*dream*	1	*flam*	1	*group*	1
blaze	1	*careen*	1	*copy*	1	*dredge*	1	*flare*	1	*grow*	14
blether	1	*carry*	154	*cork*	2	*dress*	8	*flash*	3	*gun*	1
block	8	*carve*	1	*couch*	1	*drift*	2	*flatten*	1	*gush*	6
blot	2	*cast*	35	*cough*	4	*drink*	7	*flee*	3	*hale*	1
blow	39	*catch*	7	*count*	3	*drive*	42	*flesh*	1	*hand*	14
bob	2	*chain*	1	*cover*	8	*drivel*	1	*flex*	1	*hang*	32
boil	9	*chalk*	2	*cram*	1	*drone*	1	*fling*	9	*hasten*	5
bolster	1	*change*	2	*crash*	1	*drop*	8	*flit*	1	*haul*	7
bolt	3	*charge*	1	*crawl*	1	*drub*	1	*float*	4	*heal*	1
bottle	1	*chase*	1	*creep*	10	*drum*	1	*flood*	1	*heap*	1
bound	2	*check*	2	*cross*	2	*dry*	10	*flow*	3	*hear*	5
bouze	1	*cheer*	12	*crowd*	1	*dust*	1	*flutter*	3	*hedge*	1
bowl	1	*chime*	1	*crumble*	1	*dye*	1	*fly*	27	*heel*	3
box	2	*chip*	1	*cry*	35	*ease*	2	*fob*	2	*help*	9
branch	2	*choke*	2	*cuck*	1	*eat*	10	*fold*	3	*hinder*	1
braze	1	*choose*	1	*curl*	2	*ebb*	1	*follow*	16	*hire*	2
break	123	*chop*	2	*cut*	95	*echo*	1	*fool*	2	*hiss*	2
breathe	2	*chuck*	1	*dam*	1	*edge*	4	*force*	7	*hoard*	1
breed	2	*claim*	1	*dance*	2	*egg*	1	*form*	1	*hobble*	1
breeze	1	*clamber*	1	*dart*	4	*employ*	1	*found*	1	*hoist*	2

Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens
hold	58	*light*	8	*pack*	12	*puff*	5	*scab*	1	*slap*	1
hop	1	*limp*	2	*paddle*	1	*pull*	55	*scatter*	3	*sleep*	5
hound	1	*line*	4	*paint*	1	*pump*	1	*scoop*	1	*slide*	3
huddle	2	*listen*	1	*palm*	1	*purge*	1	*scorch*	1	*slink*	1
hump	1	*live*	2	*parade*	1	*push*	24	*score*	1	*slip*	13
hunch	1	*load*	1	*pare*	2	*put*	222	*scort*	1	*slither*	1
hunt	4	*lock*	22	*pass*	48	*puzzle*	1	*scrabble*	1	*slope*	3
hurl	1	*loiter*	1	*patch*	4	*race*	1	*scramble*	2	*slow*	1
hurry	16	*loll*	1	*pay*	9	*rain*	1	*scrape*	2	*smear*	1
increase	1	*look*	139	*peek*	1	*raise*	15	*scratch*	2	*smell*	1
inquire	1	*loom*	1	*peel*	2	*rally*	1	*scream*	1	*smile*	3
issue	5	*loose*	1	*peep*	4	*ram*	1	*screw*	4	*smooth*	1
jerk	1	*lope*	1	*peer*	2	*range*	2	*seal*	5	*snatch*	4
jog	5	*lounge*	1	*pen*	1	*rattle*	2	*search*	3	*sneak*	2
join	9	*lower*	5	*pick*	54	*ray*	1	*see*	15	*sneer*	1
jolly	1	*lowre*	1	*pierce*	1	*reach*	12	*seek*	7	*sniff*	1
jostle	1	*lug*	2	*pile*	2	*read*	7	*sell*	4	*snip*	1
jot	1	*lump*	1	*pin*	4	*rear*	1	*send*	112	*snuff*	1
jump	10	*lute*	1	*pipe*	1	*reckon*	1	*serve*	7	*snuggle*	1
jut	2	*make*	107	*pitch*	2	*reconduct*	1	*set*	197	*soak*	1
keep	100	*march*	27	*place*	2	*reflect*	1	*settle*	14	*sob*	1
kick	2	*mark*	5	*plait*	1	*rend*	1	*sew*	3	*solder*	1
kidnap	1	*massacre*	1	*plan*	1	*repose*	1	*shack*	1	*soothe*	1
kill	1	*measure*	2	*plant*	1	*return*	29	*shade*	2	*sort*	6
knee	1	*meet*	3	*plaster*	1	*ride*	25	*shake*	10	*sound*	1
kneel	3	*melt*	4	*plate*	2	*rig*	1	*shape*	1	*speak*	8
knock	22	*mess*	2	*play*	8	*ring*	29	*share*	1	*speed*	2
knuckle	1	*minute*	1	*plead*	1	*rinse*	1	*shift*	1	*spin*	2
lag	2	*mix*	5	*plod*	2	*rip*	1	*shine*	1	*spirit*	1
lance	1	*mooch*	1	*pluck*	3	*rise*	12	*ship*	2	*spit*	4
languish	2	*mop*	1	*plug*	2	*roll*	14	*shoot*	13	*splash*	2
lap	1	*moulder*	1	*ply*	3	*roof*	1	*shore*	1	*splice*	1
lash	1	*move*	38	*point*	38	*root*	1	*shove*	5	*sponge*	1
last	3	*muck*	2	*poke*	1	*rot*	1	*show*	12	*sport*	2
laugh	3	*muddle*	1	*pole*	1	*rough*	1	*shower*	1	*spread*	6
launch	1	*murmur*	1	*polish*	1	*rout*	1	*shrink*	3	*spring*	11
lay	110	*muster*	2	*pop*	4	*row*	5	*shuffle*	4	*sprint*	1
lead	22	*mutter*	1	*post*	3	*rub*	5	*shut*	35	*squeeze*	1
lean	15	*nod*	1	*pour*	28	*rumble*	1	*sidle*	1	*stagger*	1
leap	3	*nurse*	2	*pout*	1	*rummage*	1	*sift*	1	*stalk*	1
learn	1	*observe*	1	*prate*	1	*run*	104	*simmer*	1	*stand*	62
leave	41	*offer*	5	*preach*	2	*rush*	12	*sing*	1	*stare*	3
let	28	*ooze*	1	*press*	12	*sail*	9	*single*	3	*start*	16
level	1	*open*	3	*prick*	1	*sally*	3	*sink*	8	*stave*	1
lick	1	*order*	4	*proceed*	1	*saunter*	1	*sit*	139	*stay*	13
lie	21	*overture*	1	*prop*	2	*saw*	1	*sketch*	1	*steal*	4
lift	23	*pace*	1	*prowl*	1	*say*	4	*skim*	1	*steer*	3

Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens	Verb	Tokens
step	18	*stump*	2	*taper*	1	*trace*	1	*twist*	1	*weary*	2
stick	9	*suck*	1	*tear*	18	*track*	3	*twitch*	1	*wedge*	1
stir	10	*sum*	7	*teeter*	1	*train*	3	*unite*	2	*weep*	1
stock	1	*summon*	2	*tell*	5	*tramp*	2	*urge*	1	*weigh*	3
stop	5	*surge*	3	*thin*	1	*trample*	2	*use*	1	*wet*	1
stow	1	*surrender*	1	*think*	3	*tread*	3	*usher*	1	*wheel*	3
strap	1	*swallow*	4	*throng*	1	*treasure*	2	*veer*	5	*whip*	3
stream	1	*swank*	1	*throw*	96	*trend*	1	*venture*	4	*whirl*	4
streek	1	*sway*	1	*thrust*	4	*trifle*	2	*vomit*	5	*whisk*	2
stretch	18	*swear*	1	*thunder*	1	*trigger*	1	*wag*	1	*whisper*	2
strick	1	*sweep*	12	*tick*	1	*trod*	1	*wager*	1	*win*	1
stride	4	*swell*	4	*tidy*	2	*trot*	4	*wait*	2	*wind*	6
strike	11	*swerve*	1	*tie*	17	*trudge*	2	*wake*	23	*wipe*	4
string	2	*swim*	4	*tip*	1	*trump*	1	*walk*	58	*work*	25
strip	1	*swing*	4	*tire*	1	*trumpet*	1	*wander*	11	*wrap*	11
stroll	9	*switch*	4	*toddle*	2	*try*	8	*ward*	1	*wrest*	1
struggle	1	*swoon*	2	*tone*	1	*tuck*	3	*warm*	2	*wrestle*	1
strut	1	*tack*	6	*topple*	1	*tug*	1	*wash*	12	*wring*	1
stub	1	*take*	313	*toss*	4	*tumble*	4	*watch*	3	*write*	26
stud	1	*talk*	6	*tow*	3	*tune*	1	*wave*	3	*yawn*	1
stuff	1	*tally*	1	*toy*	1	*turn*	141	*wear*	23	*yield*	4
										Total	**7,474**

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APPENDIX III: Raw and normalized frequencies of phrasal-verb particles in ARCHER

	1650-99		1700-49		1750-99		1800-49		1850-99		1900-49		1950-90	
	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF	Raw	NF
aback	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	1	0.05	-	-
aboard	13	0.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	0.11	-	-
about	23	1.27	19	1.06	12	0.67	13	0.71	34	1.87	27	1.49	23	1.29
above	2	0.11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
across	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	1	0.05	2	0.11	4	0.22	7	0.39
ahead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	2	0.11	11	0.61
along	-	-	-	-	6	0.33	9	0.49	11	0.6	15	0.84	22	1.23
apart	1	0.05	1	0.05	1	0.05	2	0.11	-	-	1	0.05	1	0.05
around	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	0.16	1	0.05	3	0.16	16	0.89
aside	8	0.44	5	0.28	6	0.33	7	0.38	9	0.49	10	0.56	4	0.22
astray	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	-	-	1	0.05	2	0.11	-	-
asunder	1	0.05	-	-	1	0.05	2	0.11	-	-	-	-	-	-
away	68	3.77	78	4.38	75	4.19	87	4.81	87	4.8	68	3.84	53	2.97
back	33	1.83	27	1.51	27	1.15	46	2.54	78	4.3	88	4.97	79	4.43
behind	2	0.11	2	0.11	3	0.16	5	0.27	1	0.05	1	0.05	3	0.16
by	6	0.33	16	0.90	1	0.05	8	0.44	7	0.38	4	0.22	7	0.39
counter	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
down	78	4.32	91	5.12	92	5.14	87	4.81	163	9.00	136	7.68	144	8.07
forth	17	0.94	9	0.50	17	0.95	23	1.27	9	0.49	9	0.50	4	0.22
forward	14	0.77	4	0.22	19	1.06	28	1.54	20	1.10	17	0.96	14	0.78
home	35	1.94	42	2.36	32	1.79	32	1.76	30	1.65	11	0.62	19	1.06
in	93	5.16	60	3.37	71	3.97	39	2.15	65	3.59	93	5.25	84	4,71
off	80	4.43	73	4.10	83	4.64	79	4.36	82	4.52	83	4.69	106	5.94
on	27	1.49	44	2.47	61	3.41	88	4.86	116	6.40	87	4.91	93	5.21
out	174	9.65	187	10.52	188	10.52	152	8.40	190	10.49	193	10.9	252	14.13
over	28	1.55	15	0.84	19	1.06	15	0.82	28	1.54	21	1.18	22	1.23
past	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	2	0.11	3	0.16
round	3	0.16	7	0.39	14	0.78	20	1.11	23	1.27	26	1.46	26	1.45
through	1	0.05	3	0.16	1	0.05	5	0.27	5	0.27	8	0.45	13	0.72
to	-	-	-	-	2	0.11	1	0.05	1	0.05	-	-	-	-
together	18	0.99	23	1.29	19	1.06	12	0.66	12	0.66	13	0.73	10	0.56
under	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.05	-	-	-	-	1	0.05
up	249	13.81	170	9.56	179	10.01	169	9.34	234	12.92	273	15.43	329	18.45
Total	**974**		**876**		**932**		**934**		**1,212**		**1,200**		**1,346**	

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APPENDIX IV: List of phrasal verbs in ARCHER

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
accelerate away	2	*bestow up*	1	*branch out*	2	*bring together*	10	*call down*	2
act up	1	*bewail in*	1	*braze out*	1	*bring up*	48	*call forth*	2
add together	1	*bind over*	2	*break away*	2	*broaden out*	1	*call home*	2
allow in	1	*bind round*	1	*break down*	19	*brush aside*	1	*call in*	15
amass together	1	*bind up*	7	*break forth*	2	*brush off*	1	*call off*	1
amble by	1	*bite off*	2	*break in*	8	*buck up*	1	*call on*	1
argue down	1	*blast out*	1	*break off*	26	*bud forth*	1	*call out*	11
argue out	1	*blaze away*	1	*break out*	31	*bud off*	1	*call together*	3
ascend up	6	*blether on*	1	*break over*	1	*buffet about*	1	*call up*	5
ask in	1	*block up*	8	*break together*	1	*build in*	1	*calm down*	3
assemble together	1	*blot out*	2	*break up*	33	*build round*	1	*camp up*	1
back up	2	*blow about*	2	*breathe in*	1	*build up*	13	*canter off*	1
batter down	1	*blow back*	1	*breathe out*	1	*bulge out*	1	*careen over*	1
batter up	1	*blow down*	2	*breed up*	2	*bumble about*	1	*carry about*	2
bawl out	1	*blow off*	3	*breeze in*	1	*bump down*	1	*carry away*	17
beam through	1	*blow out*	6	*bring about*	16	*bump up*	1	*carry back*	7
bear about	1	*blow up*	25	*bring across*	1	*bundle up*	2	*carry down*	4
bear away	7	*bob down*	1	*bring along*	1	*burn away*	4	*carry forth*	1
bear down	3	*bob up*	1	*bring around*	1	*burn down*	6	*carry forward*	1
bear in	1	*boil away*	1	*bring away*	10	*burn off*	1	*carry home*	8
bear out	6	*boil over*	5	*bring back*	17	*burn out*	1	*carry in*	2
bear up	5	*boil up*	3	*bring down*	9	*burn up*	3	*carry off*	26
beat back	1	*bolster up*	1	*bring forth*	8	*burst forth*	1	*carry on*	24
beat down	4	*bolt off*	1	*bring forward*	9	*burst out*	2	*carry out*	56
beat off	4	*bolt out*	2	*bring home*	23	*busk out*	1	*carry over*	1
beat out	2	*bottle up*	1	*bring in*	34	*bust in*	1	*carry round*	1
beat up	3	*bound down*	1	*bring off*	9	*bustle in*	1	*carry up*	4
bend back	1	*bound through*	1	*bring on*	12	*button up*	2	*carve up*	1
bend forward	1	*bouze about*	1	*bring out*	8	*buy up*	1	*cast about*	1
bend over	1	*bowl over*	1	*bring over*	5	*call away*	6	*cast aside*	1
bend round	1	*box up*	2	*bring round*	2	*call back*	5	*cast away*	5

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
cast back	3	*climb in*	4	*compress together*	1	*cry up*	2	*die away*	5
cast down	2	*climb out*	1	*conduct home*	2	*cuck up*	1	*die down*	3
cast in	1	*climb up*	5	*connect together*	1	*curl up*	2	*die out*	2
cast off	9	*cling together*	1	*continue down*	1	*cut about*	1	*diffuse away*	1
cast on	1	*close down*	5	*convey back*	1	*cut away*	6	*dig around*	1
cast out	4	*close in*	1	*convey by*	1	*cut down*	15	*dig down*	1
cast round	1	*close up*	2	*convey up*	1	*cut in*	1	*dig out*	4
cast up	7	*club together*	1	*cook up*	2	*cut off*	51	*dig up*	7
catch up	7	*clump together*	1	*cool down*	4	*cut out*	16	*dispatch away*	1
chain up	1	*coat over*	1	*copy out*	1	*cut up*	5	*dissect off*	1
chalk out	2	*cock up*	1	*cork up*	2	*dam up*	1	*divide up*	2
change back	2	*combine together*	1	*couch up*	1	*dance about*	1	*do in*	1
charge around	1	*come aboard*	8	*cough out*	1	*dance forth*	1	*do out*	2
chase away	1	*come about*	5	*cough up*	3	*dart away*	1	*do up*	2
check in	1	*come across*	1	*count out*	2	*dart down*	1	*doat on*	2
check out	1	*come along*	22	*count up*	1	*dart in*	1	*dole out*	1
cheer away	1	*come around*	1	*cover in*	1	*dart off*	1	*drag across*	1
cheer on	1	*come away*	31	*cover over*	6	*dash around*	1	*drag aside*	1
cheer up	10	*come back*	82	*cover up*	1	*dash away*	1	*drag away*	1
chime in	1	*come down*	71	*cram on*	1	*dash back*	1	*drag back*	2
chip in	1	*come forth*	7	*crash out*	1	*dash by*	1	*drag down*	4
choke up	2	*come forward*	35	*crawl out*	1	*dash off*	3	*drag forward*	1
choose out	1	*come home*	42	*creep about*	1	*dash on*	1	*drag off*	1
chop in	1	*come in*	120	*creep away*	1	*dash up*	1	*drag on*	1
chop off	1	*come off*	18	*creep back*	1	*date back*	1	*drag out*	2
chuck up	1	*come on*	56	*creep down*	1	*deal out*	1	*drag past*	1
claim by	1	*come out*	65	*creep in*	2	*deck out*	2	*drag up*	3
clamber up	1	*come over*	25	*creep off*	1	*defend up*	1	*draw aside*	2
clap up	1	*come round*	4	*creep on*	1	*deflect out*	1	*draw away*	4
clean off	1	*come through*	6	*creep out*	1	*deliver forth*	1	*draw back*	9
clean up	5	*come to*	2	*creep up*	1	*deliver in*	2	*draw down*	1
clear away	3	*come together*	4	*cross over*	2	*deliver up*	14	*draw forth*	1
clear out	1	*come up*	93	*crowd away*	1	*demand back*	1	*draw in*	3
clear up	9	*commission forth*	1	*crumble away*	1	*descend round*	1	*draw off*	8
click together	1	*compass about*	1	*cry out*	33	*descry out*	1	*draw on*	2

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
draw out	28	*ease back*	1	*file in*	1	*float along*	1	*fritter away*	1
draw together	3	*ease on*	1	*file off*	2	*float away*	1	*fuse together*	2
draw up	35	*eat out*	2	*file out*	1	*float down*	1	*gallop away*	2
dream up	1	*eat up*	8	*file past*	1	*float up*	1	*gallop forward*	1
dredge up	1	*ebb away*	1	*fill out*	1	*flood back*	1	*gallop in*	2
dress up	6	*echo down*	1	*fill up*	10	*flow back*	1	*gallop round*	1
dress up	2	*edge away*	1	*filter down*	1	*flow in*	2	*gather together*	8
drift apart	1	*edge down*	1	*find out*	100	*flutter down*	2	*gather up*	7
drift away	1	*edge over*	1	*finish up*	2	*flutter in*	1	*gaze up*	1
drink down	1	*edge round*	1	*fire in*	1	*fly away*	5	*get aboard*	3
drink in	1	*egg on*	1	*fire off*	2	*fly back*	3	*get ahead*	2
drink off	3	*employ around*	1	*fish out*	1	*fly by*	2	*get along*	4
drink up	2	*empty forth*	1	*fit about*	1	*fly home*	2	*get around*	1
drive along	2	*end up*	3	*fit in*	4	*fly in*	1	*get away*	15
drive away	10	*enter in*	1	*fit out*	12	*fly off*	5	*get back*	23
drive back	6	*even out*	1	*fit up*	5	*fly out*	6	*get by*	4
drive down	2	*face back*	1	*fix up*	1	*fly round*	2	*get down*	10
drive forward	1	*face up*	1	*fizzle out*	1	*fly up*	1	*get home*	18
drive home	5	*fade away*	3	*flam off*	1	*fob off*	2	*get in*	24
drive in	1	*faint away*	2	*flare up*	1	*fold back*	1	*get off*	12
drive off	5	*fall away*	3	*flash about*	1	*fold up*	2	*get on*	24
drive out	5	*fall back*	11	*flash down*	1	*follow about*	3	*get out*	28
drive up	5	*fall down*	18	*flash up*	1	*follow down*	1	*get over*	4
drivel along	1	*fall in*	10	*flatten out*	1	*follow out*	4	*get through*	5
drone on	1	*fall off*	13	*flee away*	2	*follow over*	1	*get together*	3
drop down	4	*fall on*	1	*flee off*	1	*follow up*	7	*get up*	64
drop in	2	*fall out*	13	*flesh out*	1	*fool around*	1	*gird round*	2
drop off	2	*fan out*	1	*flex up*	1	*fool on*	1	*give away*	13
drub forward	1	*fetch away*	1	*fling away*	3	*force down*	2	*give back*	6
drum out	1	*fetch down*	1	*fling back*	1	*force out*	2	*give down*	1
dry down	1	*fetch off*	2	*fling by*	1	*force up*	3	*give in*	8
dry out	1	*fetch out*	3	*fling down*	1	*form up*	1	*give off*	4
dry up	8	*fetch up*	1	*fling off*	1	*found away*	1	*give on*	1
dust off	1	*fight off*	2	*fling out*	2	*freeze up*	2	*give out*	23
dye off	1	*fight out*	2	*flit away*	1	*fret down*	1	*give over*	13

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
give up	56	*gobble down*	1	*heal up*	1	*hunch forward*	1	*keep down*	5
glance down	1	*grind away*	1	*heap up*	1	*hunt around*	1	*keep in*	4
glance round	2	*grind down*	1	*hear out*	5	*hunt down*	1	*keep off*	7
glance up	3	*grope about*	1	*hedge round*	1	*hunt off*	1	*keep on*	12
glare round	1	*grope on*	1	*heel over*	2	*hunt out*	1	*keep on*	2
glide along	2	*group together*	1	*heel round*	1	*hurl down*	1	*keep out*	7
glide away	1	*grow down*	1	*help along*	1	*hurry away*	7	*keep over*	1
glitter forth	1	*grow out*	3	*help forward*	2	*hurry back*	1	*keep together*	5
glow on	1	*grow up*	10	*help in*	1	*hurry down*	2	*keep up*	49
glue down	1	*gun down*	1	*help off*	2	*hurry on*	2	*kick off*	1
glue together	1	*gush down*	1	*help out*	2	*hurry up*	4	*kick up*	1
gnaw out	1	*gush out*	5	*help up*	1	*increase up*	1	*kidnap away*	1
go aboard	1	*hale up*	1	*hinder out*	1	*inquire out*	1	*kill down*	1
go about	19	*hand down*	6	*hire out*	2	*issue forth*	4	*knee down*	1
go across	1	*hand in*	1	*hiss by*	1	*issue out*	1	*kneel down*	3
go ahead	10	*hand off*	1	*hiss out*	1	*jerk forth*	1	*knock down*	14
go along	9	*hand on*	1	*hoard up*	1	*jog along*	3	*knock off*	3
go around	2	*hand over*	4	*hobble down*	1	*jog off*	1	*knock out*	2
go astray	2	*hand up*	1	*hoist out*	2	*jog on*	1	*knock over*	1
go away	69	*hang about*	2	*hold apart*	1	*join in*	1	*knock under*	1
go back	36	*hang around*	2	*hold back*	4	*join together*	8	*knock up*	1
go by	7	*hang back*	1	*hold by*	1	*jolly along*	1	*knuckle under*	1
go down	50	*hang down*	6	*hold down*	3	*jostle out*	1	*lag behind*	2
go forth	10	*hang on*	3	*hold forth*	1	*jot down*	1	*lance out*	1
go forward	12	*hang out*	4	*hold forward*	1	*jump across*	1	*languish away*	1
go home	49	*hang over*	2	*hold in*	1	*jump back*	1	*languish on*	1
go in	40	*hang round*	5	*hold off*	1	*jump down*	5	*lap up*	1
go off	56	*hang together*	1	*hold on*	1	*jump out*	1	*lash up*	1
go on	211	*hang up*	6	*hold out*	22	*jump up*	2	*last on*	1
go out	94	*hasten back*	3	*hold together*	3	*jut out*	1	*last out*	2
go over	16	*hasten forward*	2	*hold up*	19	*jut up*	1	*laugh off*	2
go round	20	*haul down*	1	*hop away*	1	*keep apart*	2	*laugh out*	1
go through	2	*haul home*	1	*hound about*	1	*keep asunder*	1	*launch out*	1
go together	1	*haul off*	2	*huddle together*	2	*keep away*	1	*lay aboard*	1
go up	43	*haul out*	3	*hump up*	1	*keep back*	4	*lay aside*	12

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
lay away	1	*let in*	8	*look over*	3	*meet up*	1	*order up*	2
lay back	1	*let off*	1	*look round*	15	*melt away*	2	*overture on*	1
lay by	6	*let out*	10	*look up*	27	*melt down*	2	*pace up*	1
lay down	57	*level off*	1	*loom up*	1	*mess about*	1	*pack away*	1
lay in	1	*lick up*	1	*loose off*	1	*mess up*	1	*pack off*	2
lay off	3	*lie along*	1	*lope across*	1	*minute down*	1	*pack together*	1
lay out	14	*lie back*	2	*lounge about*	1	*mix together*	2	*pack up*	8
lay to	1	*lie down*	14	*lower down*	5	*mix up*	3	*paddle out*	1
lay together	4	*lie out*	2	*lowre back*	1	*mooch up*	1	*paint out*	1
lay up	9	*lie over*	1	*lug about*	1	*mop up*	1	*palm off*	1
lead along	1	*lie round*	1	*lug along*	1	*moulder away*	1	*parade up*	1
lead astray	2	*lift off*	2	*lump together*	1	*move about*	4	*pare down*	1
lead away	1	*lift up*	21	*lute on*	1	*move across*	1	*pare off*	1
lead back	2	*light up*	8	*make away*	1	*move away*	7	*pass along*	1
lead down	2	*limp about*	1	*make in*	2	*move down*	2	*pass away*	8
lead forth	1	*limp away*	1	*make off*	3	*move forward*	6	*pass by*	8
lead forward	1	*line out*	1	*make out*	33	*move in*	4	*pass forward*	1
lead home	1	*line up*	3	*make over*	3	*move off*	3	*pass in*	2
lead in	2	*listen in*	1	*make up*	65	*move on*	5	*pass off*	6
lead on	5	*live up*	2	*march away*	2	*move out*	4	*pass on*	7
lead out	2	*load down*	1	*march back*	3	*move up*	2	*pass out*	7
lead up	2	*lock up*	22	*march in*	1	*muck up*	2	*pass over*	3
lean back	4	*loiter about*	1	*march off*	7	*muddle up*	1	*pass through*	4
lean back	2	*loll about*	1	*march on*	2	*murmur out*	1	*pass up*	1
lean forward	8	*look about*	4	*march out*	10	*muster up*	2	*patch together*	1
lean out	1	*look ahead*	1	*march round*	1	*mutter away*	1	*patch up*	3
leap back	2	*look around*	2	*march up*	1	*nod off*	1	*pay back*	1
leap up	1	*look away*	3	*mark down*	1	*nurse out*	1	*pay down*	1
learn out	1	*look back*	15	*mark off*	1	*nurse up*	1	*pay off*	7
leave about	1	*look down*	22	*mark out*	3	*observe down*	1	*peek back*	1
leave behind	11	*look forth*	2	*massacre away*	1	*offer up*	5	*peel off*	2
leave down	2	*look forward*	4	*measure out*	1	*ooze out*	1	*peep about*	1
leave off	13	*look in*	9	*measure up*	1	*open up*	3	*peep in*	1
leave out	14	*look on*	11	*meet out*	1	*order home*	1	*peep out*	2
let down	9	*look out*	21	*meet together*	1	*order out*	1	*peer across*	1

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
peer around	1	*polish up*	1	*pull through*	1	*raise up*	15	*rig out*	1
pen up	1	*pop down*	1	*pull together*	3	*rally round*	1	*ring back*	1
pick away	1	*pop in*	1	*pull up*	9	*ram down*	1	*ring off*	2
pick off	3	*pop out*	1	*pump away*	1	*range up*	2	*ring on*	2
pick out	7	*pop up*	1	*purge away*	1	*rattle on*	1	*ring out*	1
pick up	42	*post away*	2	*push across*	1	*rattle up*	1	*ring through*	1
pierce through	1	*post home*	1	*push along*	1	*ray out*	1	*ring up*	22
pile up	2	*pour down*	5	*push away*	2	*reach ahead*	1	*rinse up*	1
pin out	1	*pour forth*	7	*push back*	7	*reach back*	3	*rip up*	1
pin up	4	*pour in*	4	*push down*	2	*reach down*	3	*rise by*	1
pipe up	1	*pour out*	12	*push forward*	2	*reach forth*	1	*rise in*	1
pitch down	1	*pout out*	1	*push in*	2	*reach out*	2	*rise up*	10
pitch up	1	*prate in*	1	*push off*	2	*reach up*	2	*roll about*	2
place above	1	*preach on*	1	*push on*	3	*read off*	1	*roll away*	1
place back	1	*preach up*	1	*push out*	2	*read on*	3	*roll down*	2
plait up	1	*press back*	1	*put about*	2	*read over*	1	*roll in*	1
plan out	1	*press down*	3	*put across*	1	*read through*	2	*roll off*	1
plant out	1	*press forward*	1	*put aside*	9	*rear up*	1	*roll on*	2
plaster down	1	*press out*	2	*put asunder*	1	*reckon on*	1	*roll up*	5
plate out	2	*press round*	1	*put away*	7	*reconduct home*	1	*roof in*	1
play off	2	*press together*	4	*put back*	4	*reflect back*	1	*root up*	1
play on	1	*prick forward*	1	*put by*	1	*rend off*	1	*rot away*	1
play out	2	*proceed up*	1	*put down*	32	*repose on*	1	*rough in*	1
play up	3	*prop up*	2	*put forth*	3	*return back*	4	*rout out*	1
plead along	1	*prowl about*	1	*put forward*	9	*return home*	25	*row away*	1
plod on	2	*puff away*	1	*put in*	31	*ride about*	1	*row back*	1
pluck out	1	*puff out*	1	*put off*	19	*ride across*	1	*row in*	1
pluck up	2	*puff up*	3	*put on*	33	*ride away*	3	*row off*	1
plug up	2	*pull about*	1	*put out*	21	*ride back*	2	*row out*	1
ply about	1	*pull away*	3	*put through*	2	*ride by*	1	*rub down*	1
ply down	1	*pull back*	2	*put together*	6	*ride in*	2	*rub in*	1
ply up	1	*pull down*	9	*put up*	41	*ride off*	2	*rub off*	2
point out	38	*pull forth*	1	*puzzle out*	1	*ride on*	8	*rub out*	1
poke out	1	*pull off*	9	*race on*	1	*ride out*	4	*rumble on*	1
pole on	1	*pull out*	17	*rain down*	1	*ride up*	1	*rummage round*	1

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
run aboard	2	*scatter about*	3	*send forth*	3	*share past*	1	*sink in*	1
run about	5	*scoop out*	1	*send home*	11	*shift down*	1	*sit back*	3
run across	1	*scorch up*	1	*send in*	12	*shine down*	1	*sit down*	108
run along	1	*score off*	1	*send off*	5	*ship off*	2	*sit out*	2
run away	46	*scort home*	1	*send on*	4	*shoot away*	1	*sit round*	2
run back	3	*scrabble about*	1	*send out*	22	*shoot down*	4	*sit up*	24
run counter	1	*scramble down*	1	*send over*	3	*shoot forth*	2	*sketch out*	1
run down	11	*scramble on*	1	*send round*	1	*shoot off*	1	*skim away*	1
run in	5	*scrape off*	1	*send up*	10	*shoot out*	2	*slap down*	1
run off	5	*scrape together*	1	*serve in*	1	*shoot through*	2	*sleep around*	2
run on	2	*scratch away*	1	*serve out*	1	*shoot up*	1	*sleep off*	2
run out	12	*scratch out*	1	*serve up*	5	*shore up*	1	*sleep on*	1
run over	4	*scream out*	1	*set about*	1	*shove down*	1	*slide down*	2
run round	1	*screw down*	1	*set apart*	2	*shove in*	2	*slide out*	1
run through	1	*screw out*	1	*set aside*	3	*shove off*	2	*slink off*	1
run up	4	*screw up*	2	*set by*	1	*show about*	1	*slip about*	1
rush forward	1	*seal above*	1	*set down*	29	*show in*	3	*slip aside*	1
rush in	2	*seal off*	2	*set forth*	10	*show off*	5	*slip away*	4
rush off	1	*seal up*	2	*set forward*	6	*show up*	3	*slip back*	1
rush on	1	*search back*	1	*set in*	14	*shower off*	1	*slip in*	1
rush out	3	*search out*	2	*set off*	19	*shrink back*	3	*slip off*	1
rush up	4	*see about*	1	*set on*	2	*shuffle away*	1	*slip on*	1
sail along	1	*see back*	2	*set out*	78	*shuffle back*	1	*slip out*	3
sail away	4	*see in*	2	*set to*	1	*shuffle off*	1	*slither down*	1
sail down	1	*see off*	3	*set up*	31	*shuffle together*	1	*slope down*	1
sail in	1	*see out*	3	*settle down*	12	*shut off*	3	*slope off*	1
sail out	1	*see through*	3	*settle in*	1	*shut out*	6	*slope up*	1
sail through	1	*seek out*	7	*settle up*	1	*shut up*	26	*slow down*	1
sally forth	1	*sell off*	2	*sew up*	3	*sidle up*	1	*smear over*	1
sally out	2	*sell out*	1	*shack up*	1	*sift out*	1	*smell up*	1
saunter forward	1	*sell up*	1	*shade off*	1	*simmer down*	1	*smile down*	2
saw off	1	*send across*	1	*shade over*	1	*sing out*	1	*smile round*	1
say on	3	*send away*	22	*shake off*	9	*single out*	3	*smooth out*	1
say out	1	*send back*	10	*shake out*	1	*sink down*	6	*snatch away*	2
scab over	1	*send down*	9	*shape out*	1	*sink forward*	1	*snatch up*	2

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
sneak down	1	*stalk out*	1	*steer off*	1	*string out*	1	*sweep out*	1
sneak out	1	*stand about*	4	*step aside*	2	*string up*	1	*sweep past*	1
sneer down	1	*stand apart*	1	*step back*	2	*strip down*	1	*sweep round*	1
sniff around	1	*stand around*	1	*step down*	3	*stroll about*	3	*swell out*	4
snip off	1	*stand aside*	4	*step forward*	2	*stroll back*	1	*swerve round*	1
snuff out	1	*stand away*	2	*step in*	3	*stroll down*	2	*swim about*	1
snuggle down	1	*stand back*	2	*step out*	5	*stroll in*	1	*swim forward*	1
soak in	1	*stand behind*	1	*step up*	1	*stroll over*	1	*swim in*	1
sob out	1	*stand by*	9	*stick around*	1	*stroll round*	1	*swim round*	1
solder together	1	*stand down*	1	*stick down*	1	*struggle along*	1	*swing about*	1
soothe down	1	*stand forth*	2	*stick out*	3	*strut about*	1	*swing round*	3
sort out	6	*stand in*	7	*stick up*	4	*stub out*	1	*switch off*	3
sound forth	1	*stand off*	3	*stir out*	2	*stud over*	1	*switch on*	1
speak out	6	*stand out*	9	*stir up*	8	*stuff up*	1	*swoon away*	2
speak up	2	*stand over*	1	*stock up*	1	*stump out*	1	*tack about*	3
speed past	1	*stand round*	1	*stop off*	2	*stump up*	1	*tack together*	3
speed up	1	*stand up*	14	*stop up*	3	*suck in*	1	*take aback*	2
spin out	2	*stare down*	2	*stow away*	1	*sum up*	7	*take across*	1
spirit up	1	*stare round*	1	*strap down*	1	*summon back*	1	*take along*	1
spit out	2	*start back*	4	*stream out*	1	*summon forth*	1	*take aside*	1
spit up	2	*start in*	1	*streek out*	1	*surge back*	1	*take away*	48
splash about	1	*start off*	4	*stretch forth*	1	*surge forward*	1	*take back*	5
splash down	1	*start up*	7	*stretch forward*	1	*surge off*	1	*take down*	12
splice together	1	*stave in*	1	*stretch out*	15	*surrender up*	1	*take home*	3
sponge out	1	*stay away*	3	*stretch up*	1	*swallow up*	4	*take in*	31
sport down	1	*stay behind*	2	*strick down*	1	*swank around*	1	*take off*	48
sport up	1	*stay on*	4	*stride about*	1	*sway along*	1	*take on*	9
spread out	6	*stay out*	2	*stride across*	1	*swear in*	1	*take out*	38
spring forward	1	*stay up*	2	*stride forth*	1	*sweep away*	3	*take over*	5
spring on	1	*steal along*	1	*stride off*	1	*sweep back*	1	*take round*	2
spring out	3	*steal off*	1	*strike down*	4	*sweep behind*	1	*take together*	1
spring up	6	*steal out*	1	*strike in*	1	*sweep down*	1	*take up*	106
sprint down	1	*steal up*	1	*strike off*	1	*sweep forward*	1	*talk off*	1
squeeze out	1	*steer away*	1	*strike out*	4	*sweep in*	1	*talk out*	1
stagger on	1	*steer back*	1	*strike up*	1	*sweep on*	1	*talk over*	3

Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.	Verb	Tkns.
talk round	1	*thunder down*	1	*trot back*	1	*veer away*	1	*ward off*	1
tally over	1	*tick away*	1	*trot down*	1	*veer out*	1	*warm through*	1
taper off	1	*tidy up*	2	*trot up*	1	*veer up*	1	*warm up*	1
tear asunder	1	*tie on*	1	*trudge off*	1	*venture in*	1	*wash away*	4
tear away	2	*tie round*	1	*trudge on*	1	*venture on*	1	*wash down*	3
tear down	6	*tie together*	4	*trump up*	1	*venture out*	1	*wash off*	1
tear off	1	*tie up*	11	*trumpet forth*	1	*venture up*	1	*wash over*	1
tear out	2	*tip off*	1	*try on*	1	*vomit forth*	1	*wash though*	1
tear up	6	*tire out*	1	*try out*	6	*vomit on*	1	*wash up*	2
teeter about	1	*toddle over*	1	*try over*	1	*vomit up*	3	*watch out*	3
tell off	1	*toddle round*	1	*tuck away*	1	*wag about*	1	*wave about*	1
tell out	3	*tone down*	1	*tuck up*	2	*wager out*	1	*wave away*	1
tell over	1	*topple down*	1	*tug out*	1	*wait about*	1	*wave off*	1
thin out	1	*toss about*	1	*tumble about*	2	*wait over*	1	*wear away*	3
think off	1	*toss back*	2	*tumble down*	2	*wake up*	23	*wear down*	1
think over	1	*toss up*	1	*tune up*	1	*walk about*	7	*wear off*	6
think up	1	*tow along*	1	*turn about*	7	*walk along*	1	*wear on*	2
throng together	1	*tow through*	2	*turn aside*	8	*walk away*	5	*wear out*	9
throw about	2	*toy away*	1	*turn away*	12	*walk back*	5	*wear over*	1
throw around	1	*trace out*	1	*turn back*	10	*walk by*	2	*wear round*	1
throw aside	4	*track down*	3	*turn down*	4	*walk down*	4	*weary out*	2
throw away	22	*train off*	1	*turn in*	4	*walk forth*	3	*wedge in*	1
throw back	10	*train up*	2	*turn off*	5	*walk forward*	2	*weep away*	1
throw down	9	*tramp on*	1	*turn on*	2	*walk in*	4	*weigh down*	3
throw forward	1	*tramp up*	1	*turn out*	34	*walk on*	7	*wet over*	1
throw in	2	*trample down*	1	*turn over*	10	*walk out*	9	*wheel off*	1
throw off	13	*trample up*	1	*turn round*	21	*walk over*	1	*wheel round*	2
throw on	1	*tread back*	2	*turn up*	24	*walk past*	1	*whip off*	1
throw out	14	*tread up*	1	*twist round*	1	*walk round*	2	*whip out*	1
throw together	1	*treasure up*	2	*twitch down*	1	*walk through*	1	*whip up*	1
throw up	16	*trend forward*	1	*unite together*	2	*walk up*	4	*whirl about*	1
thrust back	1	*trifle away*	2	*urge on*	1	*wander about*	8	*whirl along*	1
thrust down	1	*trigger off*	1	*use up*	1	*wander out*	1	*whirl in*	1
thrust in	1	*trod round*	1	*usher in*	1	*wander round*	1	*whirl round*	1
thrust out	1	*trot along*	1	*veer about*	2	*wander up*	1	*whisk in*	1

Verb	**Tkns.**	**Verb**	**Tkns.**	**Verb**	**Tkns.**	**Verb**	**Tkns.**	**Verb**	**Tkns.**
whisk off	1	*wipe out*	2	*work up*	9	*write back*	1	*write over*	1
whisper about	2	*work about*	1	*wrap up*	11	*write down*	12	*write up*	7
win over	1	*work away*	2	*wrest away*	1	*write off*	1	*yawn asunder*	1
wind up	6	*work off*	2	*wrestle down*	1	*write on*	1	*yield out*	1
wipe away	2	*work out*	11	*wring off*	1	*write out*	3	*yield up*	3
								Total	**7,474**

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APPENDIX V: List of texts in ARCHER 3.1

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