

The Semantics of Phrasal Verbs in English: a Data-Driven Study

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Abstract

The dissertation presents the results of research in semantics and more particularly the semantics of phrasal verbs. It first gives an account of what is considered as a phrasal verb in the literature and presents the definition which will be used for the present work (Lindner's [1981] definition). Then, the problem of semantics and in particular of meanings is raised. The study is data-driven, therefore, the question of pinning down meanings is addressed. First the distinction is drawn between contextual meaning (of a lexical unit in an utterance) and conceptual meaning (as it is stored in the mental lexicon). This poses the problem of going from a number of contextual meanings - because the data is in the form of concordances - to a number of conceptual meanings, and justifying those numbers. This question has been raised by many linguists, but not really answered. Most accounts on pinning down meanings limit themselves to giving contextual clues (in one form or another) and as for the numbers of meanings one gets from a concordance, they claim that this is the domain of the linguist's intuition. After some methods are tested, it is found that a method which is not liable to a high degree of disagreement (because it reaches high informant agreement) and is at the same time practical is to define each contextual meaning (that of a word in a concordance line) by one or two synonym(s) and a paraphrase.

The study of phrasal verbs is conducted using this method. The first question addressed is on the relative importance of the parts in the meaning of the whole. For this, a method is devised, using comparisons with other uses of the same phrasal verb, other lexical units in lexical relations with the one studied, and other uses of the parts of the phrasal verb studied. It is found that, contrary to previous claims that the postposition is more important than the verb (Side, 1990; Hampe, 1997; Mohan, 1997), relative importance is a matter of degrees, the most frequent case being of both parts having equal status. Then the polysemy of phrasal verbs is studied. By grouping together meanings which display similarities, a hierarchy is established for each phrasal verb studied. One overall meaning is defined, from which all the meanings can be obtained through a series of levels in the hierarchy. Thus it is claimed that apart from one very opaque case, all meanings are related to the overall meanings. Finally, implications of the findings are briefly discussed. In particular, the claims of previous studies that the postposition is the most important part to be taught students in EFL is questioned, since both parts proved important in the meanings of phrasal verbs.

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‘Words are very rascals, since bonds disgraced them.’

Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, III, 1

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1. Introduction

1.1 Why phrasal verbs?

When I started learning English, very few phrasal verbs were taught and these were very basic and ‘easy’ ones: verbs like ‘go out’, ‘get up’ and so on. As for the rest, the really interesting ones (because useful and not so easily guessed), either there was a *Latin* equivalent (e.g. ‘accept’ for ‘take up’) and that was what we learned, or there was none and we were told ‘learn them by heart, there is no way you could guess them because they have nothing in common with their component parts’. This attitude made me want to investigate them further than I had previously done, to see if it was true; and if it was not, to see how phrasal verbs behaved semantically.

1.1.1 Previous studies of phrasal verbs

This dissertation is concerned with phrasal verbs. Its main aim is to study their semantics, or to put it differently, the way their meaning(s) work(s). There have already been a number of studies on phrasal verbs, not only on how to define them, but also on their semantics. The best example, because it is by far the most in-depth study of the meanings of phrasal verbs, is Lindner’s 1981 PhD thesis on the particles ‘out’ and ‘up’. But many others have studied the meanings of phrasal verbs, in short format (papers) or quite long (books). Not all, however, are concerned solely with semantics, and indeed many skip the question or limit themselves to some side remarks. As there have been a variety of approaches, there have been a variety of results. Fraser (1974) takes syntax as his starting point, although he does comment on how he thinks phrasal verbs work semantically. Basically, his point is that they are all idioms, or are not phrasal verbs. Less extreme is Bolinger’s (1971) position, as he recognises degrees in the semantic opaqueness of phrasal verbs. Lindner’s main conclusion (like Side, 1990) on the question is that many phrasal verbs are not all that opaque. This seems to have been the conclusion drawn by most recent studies of the question. The second conclusion drawn lately has been that the particle is usually the more important part in the combination, with implications to the teaching of phrasal verbs.

1.1.2 Why another study?

One might ask, if phrasal verbs have been recognised as not always opaque, what is the point of yet another study of their semantics? The answer is simple, and at the same time complex. First, in my maîtrise dissertation (Consigny, 1995), I did a study of 'take' which revealed that 'take' in phrasal verbs usually retains some of its core semantic features. From this the idea came that maybe the verb too was important, and that the assertion about the preponderance of the particle, which I had found in the literature, might not be an accurate description of the behaviour of phrasal verbs. At the time, as now, it was never meant to say the contrary (that it is the verb), but to say that both parts were needed to describe the meanings of phrasal verbs accurately. The descriptions found in the literature limit themselves to that question of predominance. There surely is more to phrasal verbs and especially to their semantics.

1.2 The studies

At first, that is when I started the present research, I thought I was only going to do a study of the semantics of phrasal verbs, looking at a number of them and trying to draw conclusions on their behaviour. As I read more and tried to devise methods for the studies, I found that there were more problems waiting for me everywhere, and that I would have both to reduce and increase the scope of the research. I would have to increase the width because there was more to my study than just the semantics of phrasal verbs. Indeed, as I started gathering data, more questions sprang up which needed answering before I could move on. I was also going to have to reduce the length because as I widened the research, there was no way that I would be able to cover as many phrasal verbs as I had intended at first. Within the questions which were raised in the course of the first stages of the research, the problem of pinning down meanings was particularly difficult to solve, and actually ended as one of the major questions in the dissertation. The reason is that I did not find in the literature any kind of description of how to pin down the meanings of a given word, although the problem is recognised (e.g. Ayto, 1983, quoted in chapter 2, section 2.4.1). This appeared to be a major gap in the knowledge of the field, and I found that I had to try and give it an answer. The second major widening in the research had to do with the semantics of phrasal verbs. In the course of the studies of phrasal verbs, one aspect came to me which I had not thought of before, namely that it might be possible to find similarities between the meanings of phrasal verbs and thereby to group them,

possibly then defining a hierarchy of meanings. Again, this has not been touched upon in the literature as far as phrasal verbs are concerned. The only attempt to do this kind of study which I know of is Lindstromberg's (1991) study of the meanings of 'get' and is the basis for the present study of the polysemy of phrasal verbs. The main research questions which this dissertation will attempt to answer are presented in the following sub-section.

1.2.1 Research questions

Despite the widening described in the previous paragraph, the main question in this thesis remains 'what is the semantic behaviour of phrasal verbs?'. In other words, the thesis is concerned with the way the meanings of phrasal verbs may or may not be created from their parts. This first question contains many more. First, what exactly do we mean by 'semantics', 'meaning' or 'meanings'? Secondly, the same question applies to 'phrasal verbs': what are they? Thirdly, what aspects of the semantics of phrasal verbs are we to study? And finally, how is all this going to be done? What data will be studied and what methods will be used to study them? This last question actually covers still more questions, such as 'what phrasal verbs will be studied?' (since we cannot study them all); 'what kind of data?' (real-text corpus or introspection and made-up examples); and more of the same type, which will be explained and answered in the course of the dissertation.

1.2.2 The studies

Since the whole dissertation is concerned with semantics, the question of meaning was tackled first, followed by the definition of a phrasal verb. This has to do mainly with what has been done before, since these first two questions are by no means new. The problem of meaning is an old one, and the present work does not intend to answer the philosophical question of what is meaning. On the other hand, one has to know what one means when studying 'meaning' and 'meanings'. Similarly, phrasal verbs have been the object of many a study aimed at defining them, and this question is taken up in order for the reader to be sure of what is meant in the thesis by 'phrasal verb'. The studies conducted here will now be described, briefly as this is done more thoroughly in the body of the text.

1.2.2.1 Studies on meaning

Once these two rather important questions have been answered as far as is useful for the present purpose, more questions have to be answered on how to study meaning in general and the meanings of phrasal verbs in particular. First of all, the question of the type of data is investigated, and the conclusion is drawn that real data will be used. By real data is meant using data coming from English which has been really produced and not made up for the purpose of the study (see 1.2.2.3 below). The format of the data chosen for the thesis is the KWIC (Key Word In Context) concordance; the data were gathered mainly from the British newspaper *The Guardian*. This implied another question, which was about how to study data, i.e. how can one study the meanings of a word from a concordance. In order to do so, a number of studies were conducted, with various aims: on the amount of context necessary for the meaning of a word in a concordance line to be defined with sufficient certainty; on the way to justify decisions on this meaning, in each line, and also on the number of meanings from a concordance.

1.2.2.2 Studies on phrasal verbs

Once the question of how to study the data was settled¹, the studies of the phrasal verbs themselves could be done. There were two main types of studies, corresponding to two questions on the semantic behaviour of phrasal verbs. First, the question raised at the very beginning of the introduction, about the relative importance of the parts of phrasal verbs, was investigated. This was done in two steps. So as to present a model for the study of this aspect of phrasal verbs, one - 'take up' - was chosen and analysed in depth. For this phrasal verb, the study of the parts is presented with much detail, which is not possible for the rest, for reasons of space. However, not just one phrasal verb was studied; as a second step, more were chosen and studied in the same way as for 'take up', and conclusions were drawn as to the relative importance of the parts in the meanings of phrasal verbs.

Secondly, another aspect of the semantics of phrasal verbs was studied - polysemy. This is an important aspect of many phrasal verbs, especially frequent ones, as they often have more than one meaning - which is part of the problems that they cause for learners. This takes the form of a study of similarities in the meanings of phrasal verbs as defined from the data. The

¹ I use 'settled' here for brevity, as the answers provided by the thesis are not meant as absolute, especially as far as the question of meaning is concerned.

aim of the study is to see whether it is possible to group meanings together and to make them form a hierarchy going up to one or two overall meanings to which all others are related.

1.2.2.3 The corpus

In order to conduct the main study of phrasal verbs, data were gathered, i.e. concordances of phrasal verbs; they will be described briefly in this sub-section. The phrasal verbs studied were chosen for their supposed polysemy. In other words, they were made of frequent verbs and frequent postpositions, frequency of use being often linked with polysemy. The data were gathered from a computerised corpus of texts from *the Guardian* newspaper, from 1991 to 1993. Since the data vary in kind from one chapter to the other, they cannot be described precisely here; this will be done at the beginning of each study. However, some points can be made early on the corpus and the amount of data, especially on the sampling. This question will be addressed in more detail as it arises in chapters 5 and 6: it is too early to deal with it now. What can be said here is that the problems of data and sampling come from the fact that not all known meanings of the phrasal verbs studied are to be found in the limited corpus which is used in the present study. The fact that it is only made of one source may be part of the reason. If we want to conduct a comprehensive study of the meanings of phrasal verbs, then (1) the corpus has to come from various sources, including spoken English and (2) the number of concordance lines to be studied will have to be very high, in order to capture the rare meanings. At this early stage, part of the answer to this problem can be given. The study does not aim to be a study of all the meanings of phrasal verbs, but a study of their semantic behaviour. This implies that a good number of meanings is needed, but not all meanings. In other words, the data will need to display sufficient variety to be worth investigating (i.e. a fairly high number of different meanings). This means a fairly high number of concordance lines will have to be analysed. On the other hand, the fact that the corpus is only made of one source is not seen as a problem for the present study. Indeed, there is a good chance that quite a few meanings will be found in the corpus, even if some are necessarily to be lost because they are not used by journalists of the *Guardian*. The data are as follows. The number of lines is given in the table below, for all the phrasal verbs studied. The first one, 'take up', is studied in chapter 5 while the other seven are studied in chapter 6.

Phrasal verbs	Take up	Get out	Give out	Turn out	Put out	Put in	Put on	Put off
Number of lines	572	239	222	311	278	300	310	289
Number of meanings	36	20	11	10	25	19	17	6

Table 1.1: the data in the main studies

One word should be added on the number of lines and meanings. The number of lines for 'take up' is far greater than for the other phrasal verbs. This is due to the fact that part of the study of 'take up' (chapter 5) aims at finding a number of lines which gives sufficient variety (i.e. a sufficient number of different meanings), and therefore many lines are studied. In order to have enough meanings for the phrasal verb to be worth investigating and for the amount of data to remain within manageable limits, a pilot study is conducted with two samples of approximately 300 lines. It is concluded that 300 lines is sufficient for the purpose of the thesis. The number of lines in the following chapter takes account of this, hence the lower number of lines.

1.3 Limitations of the dissertation

Before moving on to describe the organisation of the dissertation, some limitations should be mentioned about the findings reported in the various chapters, made from a number of studies. It was stated earlier in this introduction that as the research went, more questions came, which made it necessary to reduce the scale of the studies. What this means in terms of the dissertation is that the results presented here are not intended as definite or absolute. Two explanations can be given for this. First, the data only come from one source, one newspaper, and is not meant to be representative of the whole of English. At best, it can be said to give a good idea of what happens in a quality British newspaper of the 1990's. Second, the number of phrasal verbs studied had to be reduced for reasons of time and space. The part of the research devoted to more general semantics and the question of pinning down meanings having proved very tricky and time consuming, it came to take up a large part both of the research and of the finished product, the present dissertation. This means that although the original project was to cover as many different phrasal verbs as possible, in the end only a few could

be analysed. The choice was then to look at very frequent and polysemous ones, but this did not alter the fact that the results only apply to the phrasal verbs studied and may not apply to the rest.

1.4 Organisation of the dissertation

1.4.1 The main parts

The dissertation will be organised in three main parts. The first part - chapters 2 and 3 - will deal with the definitions of the main concepts to be studied: meaning and semantics will form the first chapter and will consist of a discussion, related to previous studies, of what is meaning and what aspect of meaning will be used in the studies. The second chapter of the first part will be about defining phrasal verbs and will gather views on the criteria used for the definition of what is regarded as a phrasal verb in the literature, and what will be regarded as a phrasal verb in the present dissertation.

The second part of the dissertation - chapter 4 and part of chapter 5 - will describe the methods used in the studies. It actually consists of more than a mere description, as in most cases the methods have to be devised, and also covers the pilot studies which led to the methods. Chapter 4 will deal with the tricky question of pinning down meanings. In other words, it will look for a method of studying data, i.e. concordances, with the aim of finding and justifying a certain number of meanings for each search word. This will involve justifying each contextual meaning (in each concordance line) and also the number of senses defined from the whole concordance. The first part of chapter 5 will be concerned with finding a method for the analysis of the meanings of phrasal verbs, and the relative importance of the parts in those meanings. It will present a model of analysis which will be then used for a larger study in the third part.

The third part - actual studies - will take up the second part of chapter 5 and chapter 6, and will have to do with putting the methods to practice and presenting larger-scale studies than in the methods chapters. In chapter 5, the method for pinning down meaning - defined in chapter 4 - is put to use for the first study of one phrasal verb. The second chapter of the part, chapter 6, will take up the model of analysis of phrasal verbs defined in chapter 5 (and, as a matter of course, the model for pinning down meanings described in chapter 4) for a larger study of seven common phrasal verbs, with the aim of comparing the two parts which make up each

Chapter 1: Introduction

phrasal verb - verb and postposition. This chapter will also present the study of the polysemy of phrasal verbs as stated in the description of the studies.

1.4.2 Organisation of the chapters

The first two chapters, being concerned with defining concepts, will be based mainly on the literature. Their organisation will therefore be according to the various aspects of each concept - what is meaning, semantics, or the definition of phrasal verbs (defining criteria), and their semantics.

The organisation of the other chapters will be somewhat different. Since they report on pilot studies or larger-scale, real studies, they are organised as reports - data and methods, results and discussion of the results. The studies themselves are usually on a similar pattern. Since there may be more than one study or pilot study in a chapter, the pattern 'data and method, results and discussion' is repeated on both scales - of each study and of the overall chapter.

2. Meaning

2.1 Introduction: what is meaning?

We want to define meanings of phrasal verbs (henceforth PVs). What exactly does ‘meanings’ mean? Much has already been said and written about meaning and meanings. Yet there still seems to be a considerable degree of uncertainty as to what it is and, even more importantly, of what the meanings of a given word are. Proof of this can be found in the number of dictionaries being compiled and their differences. There does not as yet exist any perfect way of defining words for the purposes of dictionaries. But this is not restricted to defining words. People do not always agree upon the meaning(s) of a word, or of a word in a particular utterance, or of a whole utterance. Proof of this can be found in the numerous and often rather different interpretations of books. (This does not refer only to literary works, but to all written works, cf. the many schools which spring from every influential author.) Or, to take a more down-to-earth example, the cases of misunderstanding. Different people often assign different meanings to the same word. This could bring us back to philosophers of language but although this in itself is an interesting question and is worth investigating, it goes well beyond the scope of the present study. We are not really questioning the status of the word ‘meaning’ (see Grice, 1957; Garner, 1975, for accounts of the question). We will take it that we know what the word means. It will be employed in its metalinguistic sense, which Grice calls ‘nonnatural’ sense (he gives as an example ‘*That remark, “Smith couldn’t get on without his trouble and strife”, meant that Smith found his wife indispensable*’), as opposed to what he calls its ‘natural’ sense - that which is used in examples of the type ‘*Those spots mean measles*’.

Next comes the question of what to put in our definitions. This problem is akin to that of lexicographers whose job it is to define words. In fact it raises 2 kinds of questions: what do we define, and how?

The answer itself is in two parts. What is to be defined is the meaning of PVs, within the concordance line (in context), and across concordance lines. Since there will be many instances of each PV, there are likely to be groups of instances where the PV has the same meaning. Then it becomes possible to define the meaning for each ‘group’.

2.2 Sense, contextual meaning and conceptual meaning

Both 'sense' and 'meaning' are often used in semantics, especially when one discusses defining words, or finding out how they are used (the common phrase, 'in what sense'). This section sets out to explain what is meant by these words, and how they will be used in the study.

2.2.1 Sense vs. meaning

In the present study, concordance lines are looked at for the meaning of the PV in each. This type of meaning, of a word in a concordance line (or, more generally, in the context of an utterance), will be called 'contextual meaning'. It is the first step in the study. The second step will consist of grouping together instances where the PV has a similar meaning. The overall meaning for the PV in each group (i.e. across contexts²) will be the 'conceptual meaning'. This is explained in more detail in 2.2.3.

'Sense' will be much less frequent than 'meaning', and will be used in a restricted way. We will take 'sense' to be close to 'conceptual meaning' in that it will refer to the definition of a word outside context, as is found in dictionaries. In a dictionary, every entry is followed by a numbered list of definitions. Each of these definitions is one sense. In other words it is one of a list. In this study, the same principle applies. Each concordance line gives a contextual meaning; the contextual meanings are then grouped into clusters; each cluster corresponds to a conceptual meaning; once the groups are given definitions and are listed, they become senses of a PV.

Before we move on to explaining the difference between contextual and conceptual meanings, and since the former is to a considerable extent defined by it, we must first explain what is meant by context.

2.2.2 Context

Context is the circumstances in which an utterance is produced. If we apply this 'definition' to the use of words, it has to do with the circumstances in which they are used. The context in which an utterance is produced is very important in deciding its meaning. So is it for the

² These may be similar or fairly different (though not very different) contexts.

meaning of a word. This is expressed by Moon (1987a, p. 87): ‘meaning is the product of context’. People do not use words randomly. Even when we are asked about the meaning of a word, there is context. Questions of the type ‘what does *x* mean?’ put *x* in context (the metalinguistic context of knowledge about a particular word, which one has thanks to the various contexts in which one has previously encountered the word); and a word uttered without any surrounding context is not understood. In Consigny (1998, p. 53), an experiment was done to test this. Informants (native speakers) were told words on their own, without any sort of context, nor any warning. It showed that people failed to make sense of words when there was no context round them³.

2.2.2.1 The Firthian approach

J.R. Firth first saw the importance of the context in determining the meaning of a word or expression. His position was that ‘the complete meaning of a word is always contextual, and no study of meaning apart from a complete context of situation can be taken seriously’ (1935, in Firth 1957, p. 7). He later explained what was meant by ‘context of situation’:

- A context of situation for linguistic work brings into relation the following categories:
- A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
 - (i) The verbal action of the participants.
 - (ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.
 - B. The relevant objects.
 - C. The effect of the verbal action. (1950, in Firth, 1957 p. 182)

Firth gave ‘extreme’⁴ importance to the context of situation in deciding on meaning: ‘The use of the word “meaning” is subject to the general rule that each word when used in a new context is a new word’ (1951, in Firth 1957, p. 190). In a similar way, Cruse says that ‘the meaning of any word form is in some sense different in every distinct context in which it occurs’ (1986, p. 51). The problem with Cruse is that although he recognises context as very important, his examples do not always reflect this position. For instance he gives as an example of the ambiguous word ‘bank’ in ‘*They finally reached the bank*’. According to Cruse, ‘there is a choice of readings’ (1986, p. 23). But the real reason for this is that he does not provide the reader with enough context. Such a sentence, uttered in natural speech, would very probably not be ambiguous for the hearer. And if read, the immediately higher level of

³ In an effort to ‘make sense’ of the words, one of the informants asked whether the word which had just been told her was referring to its spelling, i.e. she tried to relate it to some sort of context.

⁴ without any negative connotation: the term ‘extreme’ is used here only to describe a position.

context would lift the ambiguity in almost all cases⁵. This agrees with de Beaugrande who argues that in the case of invented data which contain ambiguity, 'quite plausibly the ambiguity is largely an artefact of using isolated and invented data' (1996, p. 518-519).

This extreme position may have some validity, but it is impractical, especially for the present study, except in showing that there is nothing new in the recognition that context is important. We want to use context to describe word meanings, but at the same time the aim is to find a usable number of meanings, not as many as there are lines in the study.

2.2.2.2 Levels of context

Context also has to do, when one is concerned with the meaning of part of an utterance, with what surrounds that part (whether it be a word, a phrase etc.). It is thus possible to come up with different levels of context, depending on what amount and type of information one is looking at. Scott (1997b, p. 236) describes 9 levels of context. The first 3 he calls 'co-text', i.e. text accompanying the text, and they include 'immediate co-text' (a few words on each side of the word), 'sentence co-text' and 'paragraph co-text'. The next 3 correspond to 'more context of the same type' (id., p. 237): 'section or chapter or episode', 'the story so far' and 'the whole text'. The next 2 provide information on the type of text (the 'colony' and 'other related texts') and finally the last level of context is called 'the context of culture'⁶.

2.2.3 Contextual vs. conceptual meanings

I am concerned with defining conceptual meanings of phrasal verbs, using contextual meanings, i.e. how they are used in the data. The following is an explanation of what is meant by contextual and conceptual meanings.

⁵ An early pilot study with a few concordance lines containing 'bank' showed that a few words on either side were enough to decide on its meaning in all cases; see chapter 4 for a description.

⁶ Not to be mistaken for Firth's 'context of situation'. Firth's term includes all levels in the situation - linguistic and extra-linguistic (see 2.2.2.1 above).

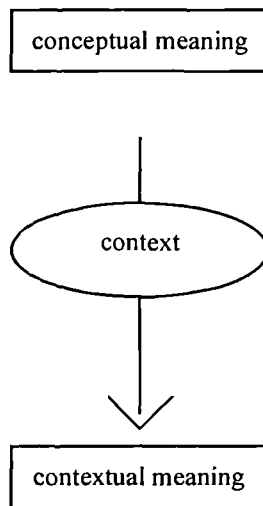


Figure 2.1: a model of conceptual and contextual meanings

Figure 2.1 represents our distinction between conceptual and contextual meanings. By context is meant the textual context and the context of culture (cf. above). A conceptual meaning is processed through that context, but also through a process of negotiation (by this is meant the way the context makes one adapt to one's communicative needs of the moment the conceptual meanings one had assigned to one's words), to give a contextual meaning, i.e. in an utterance. Thus conceptual meaning is not unchangeable. It is part of an active process, that of storing and using semantic information. Note that I am not trying to give a model of how words are stored, but of how meanings are stored. (Unlike Aitchison, 1994, especially p. 46: she is concerned with storing words, not meanings.) My position is closer to that outlined by Carter:

'In naturally occurring texts, words which have fixed values in an abstract lexicon can be subjected to a process of negotiation. It is a process which can change their meaning or, at least, the values which normally attach to them.' (1987, p. 78)

We can then give a more refined image, taking account of the influence of context on conceptual meaning. This is shown in Figure 2.2.

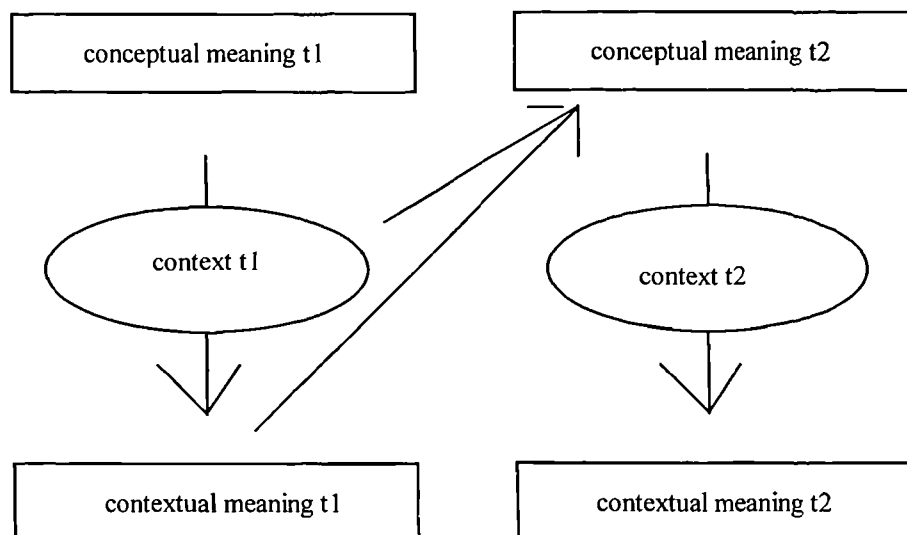


Figure 2.2: the interaction between conceptual and contextual meanings

In Figure 2.2, conceptual meaning at t1 is processed through the context in which the utterance is produced to become contextual meaning at t1. If we look only at one lexical unit, this will include co-text. The contextual meaning at t1 changes the subsequent conceptual meaning (by adding new connotations or suppressing others, adding some aspect to the meaning, some new collocation etc.), which is in turn changed when the unit is used again in a new context (contextual meaning at t2). So conceptual meaning at t2 will be different from that at t1, even if the difference is very small. It takes some time for a change in the conceptual meaning of a lexical unit to become apparent, and the change can be a return to a previous conceptual meaning.

We can exemplify the point with two kinds of change in meaning brought about by context.

- in language acquisition

This is probably the more common form.

When one hears a new use of a word which one knew already, this gives a new facet to one's knowledge of that word. This is how people learn their mother tongue, by constant exposure to the language. Thus they acquire conceptual meanings from contextual meanings.

Also, by encountering uses of words with which one is not familiar, one broadens one's conceptual meaning of the words, and one also adds new shades of meaning (or new potential collocations or connotations which one did not know before). So the contextual meaning of a word is transformed for the receiver of the message into a new conceptual meaning. Alternately, it can take the form of a strengthening of one sense, if one encounters it more often than others.

- in language creation

It can be of several types.

One may use a word which one knows in a way which is new, for example with other words with which it is not normally used. If it is successful, it will be used again (by oneself or anyone else), and may become a new meaning of a word. It can be used only by one person, in which case it will be part of their idiolect. In the case of existing words, the changes take place mainly by use in a new context of a word which is already known by people in a previous context, or by use in a new metaphor.

This agrees with a Firthian approach to word meaning in that it is possible to argue that a new context implies a new meaning, and at the same time the change can be deemed small enough to be discarded and the 2 conceptual meanings (t1 and t2) regarded as one and the same.

We can explain this distinction with the following metaphor of meaning as a ball.

Consider the meaning of a lexical unit (whether it is a word, or a group of words) as a ball, of a fairly elastic substance (elastic taken in its physics sense, i.e. meaning having the ability to go back to its original shape after being deformed), which one throws. When the ball is in one's pocket one does not use it but it is none the less there. When one throws it, its shape is little changed and it bounces back to one so that one can use it again. If one always throws it in the same way, against the same wall, it will adopt a shape which is unlikely to change thereafter and wear out in time and possibly become hard and less malleable. It will be associated with that wall only and people will always think of that wall when they see that ball. For example, fixed phrases of the type 'how do you do?' or 'pleased to meet you' are of rather limited use and associated with meeting someone one does not know.

If one throws it against a freshly painted wall, it will come back with marks of paint on it (new use, new connotations). Or if one uses it to play games with other people it will come back with dirt on it. Then one washes it at the end of the game. Depending on how long/often one has played with it there will still be traces of dirt or paint (connotations).

Where (including with whom) and how one throws the ball is the context. The contextual meaning is what one does with the ball, how one uses it and what effect it has on other people (or on oneself), the conceptual meaning is what the ball looks like when it is in one's pocket.

What one sees is the meaning. It includes the ball itself, with its shape and colouring, but also the intention one has in throwing the ball, its effect etc. (this point is also made by Firth, see 2.2.2.2). These are all interrelated. This is why we will be looking at words in context: because one cannot understand them except by how they are used.

For example, the utterance of a praising word shows (or at least it usually does) the intention of the producer to please the receiver. The effect may be a smile on the face of the latter, or an

answer similarly praising ('social grooming'). On the other hand, verbal abuse will normally have contrary effects. If you tell someone to f*** off, they will recognise in your message the intention to get rid of them, or to insult them. Also, if by saying that all you get is a punch in the face, the 'effect' shows that the word has strong connotations (even more than that in the present example: it is part of its meaning that it is offensive, and you knew it when you used it).

The intention is very hard to pin down, or even to recognise - hence the cases of misunderstanding. The sign of the intention may be easier to see (e.g. a smile on the producer's face), but that does not mean that intention is definitely recognised. Nor is the effect easy to find out, except for the effect on the persons present at the exact moment when the ball was thrown (and even then it is not always so)⁷. Unwanted effects can also indicate a meaning of which the producer was not aware. There is therefore a big problem here, which may not be answerable in the study. But it may then be possible to follow Leech (1981, p. 22) who points out, 'a linguist may feel entitled to ignore the difference between the intention of a message and its effect, because he is interested in studying the communication system itself, rather than what use or misuse is made of it'. This does not question the model outlined in this section. It is the recognition that one cannot always (if at all) know everything from the study of textual data.

2.3 Defining meanings

The previous section aimed at identifying meaning, what it stands for in the study. We want to arrive at describing the conceptual meanings of PVs by looking at their contextual meanings, meanings in actual use. This section is concerned with how to define the meanings decided upon from the context. In other words, it will try to answer the question: what do we include in the definitions?

This throws us into the realm of semantics. There have been a number of theories developed as to how best to pin down and define meanings. We will look mainly at two approaches - the componential analysis of meaning, and the approach through lexical relations. Each has its faults and advantages, and we will try to find the latter to use them and the former to avoid

⁷ In this study, the effect on the people at the time of production (1991-1993) would be very hard to find indeed.

them. But since Leech (1981) studies 'conceptual meaning', we should first see what he means by it, if his is the same conceptual meaning as the one defined above.

2.3.1 Leech's seven types of meaning

He recognises 7 types of meaning, of which 'conceptual' is only one:

- 'conceptual' meaning, that is the intrinsic features of a word

There is some similarity here with what we defined above as conceptual meaning, in that it has to do with what is kept by the word outside context, what meaning people assign to it in their mental lexicon. Whether it includes as much as we do is another matter and requires looking at the other types of meaning.

- 'connotative' meaning, which is 'what the word *refers to*, over and above the purely conceptual content' (p. 12)

The difference between these two is attributed to the difference between 'language' and 'real world'.

- 'social' meaning, which has to do with the social circumstances of the utterance
- 'affective' meaning, which conveys the emotions/feelings of the speaker
- 'reflected' meaning, that is in the case of multiple meaning, when one is used but another is also suggested
- 'collocative' meaning refers to that part of meaning which has to do with the associations a word makes

The last four are put together under the label 'associative meanings' as opposed to conceptual: 'whereas conceptual meaning is substantially part of the "common system" of language shared by members of a speech community, associative meaning is less stable, and varies with the individual's experience' (p. 19).

- 'thematic' meaning: 'ordering, focus and emphasis' (p. 19). This is even more clearly contextual than the other types, even the 'associative meaning'.

I think conceptual meaning has more to it than Leech allows for. In particular, 'collocative meaning', although it is obvious mainly in contextual meaning, does bear a lot on the meaning which is stored by the user of the language. The example given by Halliday (1966) for the use of 'powerful' and 'strong' with 'car' and 'tea' shows that features of meaning can and should include collocational information. It is probably one of the first steps towards the creation of a new conceptual meaning from contextual meaning. Most fixed phrases evolve from free collocations to usual to fixed collocations, before they are given the status of fixed phrases

(note that this has nothing to do with opaqueness). In the same way, his 'social meaning' can sometimes be part of what people think to be the meaning of a word when they use it; and his 'connotative meaning' very probably plays a part too. Leech recognises that there is overlap between the categories, but still he limits his study to 'decontextualised', conceptual meaning. Apparently, the overlap is mainly a theoretical one, and does not have to be taken much into account. Our position, on the other hand, is that context is important in determining the conceptual meaning of a word; and conceptual meaning should not be limited to 'intrinsic features' but should incorporate some of the 'associative meanings' as well. Leech does recognise the importance of context, but only to a limited extent, mainly in order to disambiguate two meanings of a word (cf. Cruse with 'bank' as noted in 2.2.2.1). He does not use much context. When he does give examples, it is in order to illustrate a point (for instance to give examples of antonyms). He does not use real language, neither as data to investigate, nor really as a test for the results of his introspective investigations.

2.3.2 The componential analysis of meaning

The componential analysis of meaning starts from the idea that words are like molecules which are made of atoms. The atoms are called sense components and they group together to make up word meanings. The components are given a value, positive or negative, depending on whether the component is present or not in the word. The most common example given of this method is the definition of man, woman, boy and girl:

man: +human, +adult, +male (or -female);
woman: +human, +adult, -male (or +female);
girl: +human, -adult, -male (or +female);
boy: +human, -adult, +male (or -female).

Nida (1975) defines meaning in terms of contrasting features. In other words, features group together to make a meaning and contrast with another:

The meaning consists of that particular structured bundle of cognitive features, associated with the lexical item, which make possible the designation of all the denotata by the lexical unit in question. In other words, the meaning consists of that set of necessary and sufficient conceptual features which make it possible for the speaker to separate the referential potentiality of any one lexical unit from that of any other lexical unit which might tend to occupy part of the same semantic domain. (1975, p.26)

This position has been criticised by Hörmann (1986). He is in favour of looking at words one by one, in context, and features are thus ascribed different importance from Nida:

Different semantic features are thus of different importance for the definition of a concept: we cannot say of any subset of these features that they are necessary and sufficient for defining the concept. (1986, p. 157)

The essential role of features, beyond defining one meaning, is to distinguish it from others. Thus, in the examples given above, the most important feature is \pm male/female for the first 2 words, because it is the one which distinguishes 'man' from 'woman'; while between 'girl' and 'woman', for instance, the distinguishing feature is \pm adult.

Features are not limited to the type described above. For instance the two adjectives 'pretty' and 'handsome' have fairly similar meanings, but there are differences too, which can be expressed in terms of features. In order to show this a short study of the collocations of 'pretty' and 'handsome' was done. Concordances of the two adjectives seem to indicate that there is a difference in the words they go with. 'Pretty' had collocates like 'woman/women', 'girl/s', while 'handsome' was used more with masculine words - 'man', male proper names. Only 'boy' was used with both. This is because a boy is not supposed to have manly qualities. This difference in the preferred gender (since it is not absolute, more a tendency) does not correspond to Leech's conceptual meaning, but it does to ours. And it can be expressed in terms of a feature ' \pm usually male/female'. Because of this feature, the use of 'pretty' with 'man', though by no means incorrect, implies a sort of beauty which is not normally associated with men, hence it can be employed with negative connotations or humorously. This type of feature is usually not included in dictionaries, and this absence can lead learners to produce utterances which sound odd or funny to native speakers.

What seems to be the biggest problem with the componential analysis of meaning is that words tend to be defined in themselves, i.e. outside context. The componential analysis is often associated with the generative school of linguistics, that is, one which does not make much use of context.

Still there is some use in sense components, especially in order to define two contrasting meanings of one word. For example if in one set of instances one word has a feature which does not appear in another, the presence or absence of that particular feature may be sufficient to describe the difference between the two meanings.

2.3.3 Lexical relations

Lyons (1966) argues strongly in favour of studying meaning relations between various lexemes. Indeed it is what he reproaches Firth for not doing:

Nowhere does he give any indication of the principles whereby “synonyms, antonyms, ...” or “lexical groups by association” are to be established within the terms of his general theory. And it is precisely such lexical sets which a theory of meaning should enable us to establish. (1966, p. 295)

Without going as far as Lyons, we can nevertheless say that lexical relations such as those exemplified in the quote above are part of the conceptual meaning of lexical units. Words do enter into such combinations. Aitchison argues that these do exist in the mental lexicon as well, that they are part of the information stored. They also occur in natural language. For example, Jones (1998 and 2000) studies antonymy from a corpus and shows that it is not just an abstract relation, or an intuitive one. His study indicates that antonyms are used in texts as antonyms⁸, not just stored as such.

The main problem is that different authors have different classifications. Because this thesis is not concerned primarily with lexical relations, we will not give here a comprehensive account of each author’s own classification and terminology (see the individual authors, especially Leech, 1981; Lyons, 1977 and Cruse 1986; see also Jones, 1998 and 2000 for a discussion and a new approach to antonymy).

For the purposes of this study we will use the broad categories of synonyms, superordinates/hyponyms and opposites (with possibly some sub-categories). Let us now look at some examples, to see how both features and lexical relations can be used for defining meanings.

2.3.4 Examples

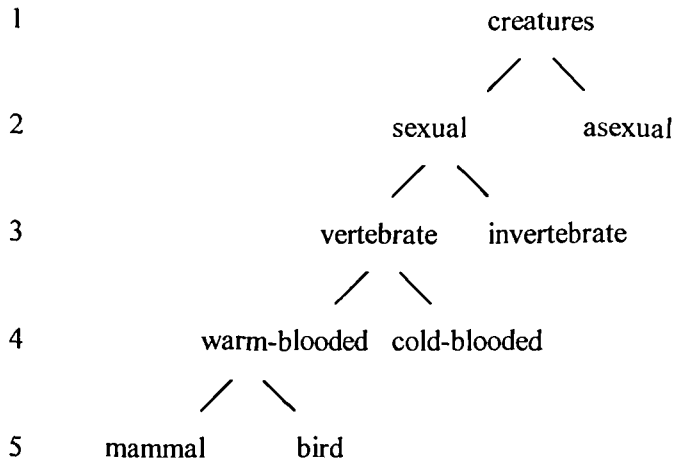
There may be some advantages to using both lexical relations (as a first classification) and the componential analysis, to explain the classification if needed. The results of a componential analysis will not be used as a model of storage. It is not argued here that meanings are stored in the form of semantic primitives or features. Only, it seems to offer a practical way of highlighting contrasts or similarities (thus identifying meanings), or defining (some aspects of) meanings.

⁸ Though not necessarily in the traditional understanding of the word, see Jones, 1998 and 2000.

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2.3.4.1 Example of a taxonomy

We will consider the case of a (simplified) part of the taxonomy of creatures and, for each node, look at how the difference between branches can be explained.



line 2, feature: \pm sexed reproduction

line 3, feature: \pm has bones

line 4, feature: \pm has warm blood

line 5, features: \pm feeds its young on own milk; \pm lays eggs

The features are sufficient to explain part of the meaning of each word, in so far as it distinguishes it from its co-hyponym. It does not cover all, though. In particular, it does not cover connotations, or any additional meaning brought by the use of a word in a particular context, or in a particular way (metaphor, etc.). Still it can be enough in the case of antonyms, as will be shown in the next example. The difference between the last two lies in the presence of the double feature (-lays eggs and +feeds its young on own milk for mammals, although the latter would be about sufficient on its own), and we can discard the exception of the duckbill by following Lyons (1977, p. 324) when he says:

Only animate entities can be male or female; and the fact that there are some species of sexless or hermaphroditic creatures is perhaps reasonably held to be a matter of contingency, rather than of logical necessity, and to be irrelevant to the description of English or any other language.

The point still holds in languages which do recognise genders to inanimate objects; only they will have 2 words, as in French ‘mâle’ and ‘femelle’, which can be used only with animate creatures, as opposed to ‘masculin’ and ‘féminin’ which is used for words.

2.3.4.2 Example of an opposite pair

Let us take the two verbs 'accept' and 'reject' in the context of a response to an offer. This is illustrated by the sentences (1) to (4) below (taken from *The Guardian*, using *MicroConcord* (Scott & Johns, 1993)):

(1) THE Foreign Office yesterday **rejected** an invitation by the Libyan government for a televised debate on terrorism with Douglas Hurd.

(2) the foreign ministers of Luxembourg, Italy and Netherlands had **accepted** an invitation from Moscow to come to the Soviet capital on Saturday

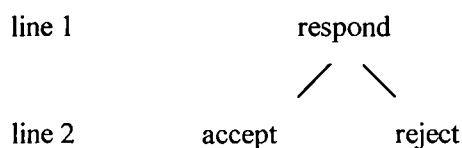
(3) shifting the onus on to the parties involved to **accept** or **reject** an invitation by the world's two most powerful countries.

In order to define the two verbs we can use the fact that one is the opposite of the other, or see them as incompatible co-hyponyms of the superordinate 'respond' (as exemplified in (4)):

(4) and then the Iraqi military could at last **respond** to President Bush's invitation to set him aside.

In the first case we do not consider their belonging to a taxonomy. The difference lies in the feature \pm positive response.

In the second, we look at the taxonomy of 'responses':



As in the taxonomy in 2.3.4.1, the two hyponyms of 'respond' are distinguished by the feature \pm positive response (the difference does not lie in but is explained by the feature).

The similarity of the two views shows that they can be profitably used at the same time in order to come up with a definition of a word or an explanation of its difference from another:

- 'accept an offer' means 'give a positive response to an offer' (acceptance is seen as a type of response)
- 'reject an offer' means 'give a negative response to an offer' (refusal is seen as a type of response)

- the difference between 'accept' and 'reject' in this type of context is that the former is positive and the latter negative.

'Reject' is not the only verb which can occur in this type of context with this meaning. One can find, for example, 'refuse' as in (5):

(5) No philosopher-king of the cinema - or very few of them - would **refuse** an invitation. Not many hucksters like to admit they have no intention of going.

Then what is the difference between 'reject' and 'refuse'? If there is any, it is not to be found in the features or in the fact that both are opposites of 'accept'. A quick study of concordances with 'refuse' and 'reject' showed similar patterns of behaviour. The concordances were gathered for 'refus*' and 'reject*', with 'invitation(s)' or 'offer(s)' within 4 words of the search word. From about 25 million words, there were 110 lines with 'reject' and 52 with 'refuse'. There is a slight difference, however. In the 110-line concordance of 'reject', 'invitation' was found only 10 times, whereas in the 52-line concordance of 'refuse', the same word appeared 18 times. The frequency of 'invitation' is therefore 3.8 times greater in the context of 'refuse' than 'reject'. The difference will be in that the latter refers to a more emphatically negative response (which can be described as a feature in a definition, cf. the examples with 'pretty' and 'handsome'); it is therefore more appropriate to an offer than to an invitation. The choice of one rather than the other may be seen as 'stylistic', or as an evaluation of the refusal itself. It does not appear very clearly from the concordance lines whether this is in fact the case. Still it is part of the contextual meaning of each that it is in competition with the other for the space (they do occur in similar contexts). They may then be regarded as reasonably good synonyms.

What the quick analysis of these examples has shown is that both the componential analysis of meaning and lexical relations can be useful in separating out semantically related words. It can also be useful for defining the meanings decided upon in the course of the study.

2.4 Lexicography

2.4.1 Pinning down meanings

Since we are interested in defining words, we will now have a look at what has been said by those who do it professionally, i.e. lexicographers. The question of meaning is central to the discipline, and is expressed among others by Ayto (1983, p. 89):

What set of procedures do lexicographers have available to pin down those protean entities, “meanings”? Faced with the almost unimaginable diversity of the language they are trying to describe, (...). How do they decide what, for the purpose of a dictionary, constitutes the meanings of a word, and where, in the case of polysemous words, one meaning ends and the other begins?

Ayto’s remarks are particularly relevant to his field, but they are just as much so to the present study, mainly for two reasons: we want to pin down meanings, and we are looking at highly polysemous words. The most important aspect of his remarks is that he pinpoints the problem of separating out meanings of a single lexical unit, while reminding one that in many cases these meanings are related in many ways. Thus some may feel that two instances of a lexical unit correspond to two different (though related) meanings, while others will regard them as one and the same. And despite Leech’s remark on the disambiguating power of context (1981, p. 66), it has been recognised that it is not always sufficient, as Moon points out, when she says that ‘*hard evidence does not rule out pluralities or diversities of analysis: that there are no final or absolute answers to the question of how many senses words have, or how they should be divided*’ (1987a, p. 86, my emphasis). In that paper, she sets out to describe what clues were used in the lexicographic work during the making of the COBUILD Dictionary. Her list of clues for meaning decisions is divided into formal (the first 5) vs. non-formal criteria:

- syntax, i.e. information such as part of speech, syntactic behaviour in sentences (transitivity, N/count etc.)
- collocation: ‘collocates establish the relevant contextual framework’ (p. 94). This has been greatly helped by the recent development of large corpora of millions of words
- derivatives
- etymology (though it was not used in COBUILD)
- phonology (which is [or was] difficult to use on a computerised corpus)
- real world knowledge

On real world knowledge, de Beaugrande (1996, p. 526) notes: ‘... “world knowledge” seems horribly grainy and vague when you try to “formalize” it into “features” and “rules”, but it is cheerfully tidy and precise when you put it to use’. It includes the lexicographer’s linguistic experience as well. Moon’s list continues:

- lexical sets and fields (see the previous section, on lexical relations); lexical fields are used to disambiguate between two senses of one word
- connotations and allusions
- translation equivalents; these she more or less rejects for monolingual dictionaries (one reason among others being that lexicographers might not know enough of foreign languages)
- discourse function and pragmatics, especially for function words which are better explained by their function.

2.4.2 Defining meanings

2.4.2.1 The problem of defining meanings

Defining the meanings decided upon for the purposes of a dictionary presents the lexicographer with mainly two sorts of problems. First, s/he is limited in space, i.e. the definitions have to be as concise as is reasonably possible. Then they have to be clear and really explain the meaning. Dr Johnson already recognised the latter in his dictionary (1747): ‘it is not enough that a dictionary delights the critic, unless at the same time it instructs the reader’⁹. Many linguists have expressed the problem of definitions in dictionaries, among whom Bolinger (1985) who says:

Lexicography is an unnatural occupation. It consists in tearing words from their mother context and setting them in rows - carrots and onions and beetroot and salsify next to one another - with roots shorn like those of celery to make them fit side by side, in an order determined not by nature but by some obscure Phoenician sailors who traded with Greeks in the long ago. (1985, p. 69)

The problem is a well acknowledged one. But it can be overcome to a certain extent. Otherwise how could any dictionary be produced at all? We can have a look at some of the defining techniques. First we have to go back to Aytó. He describes ‘the methodology of the lexicographer’s semantic analysis’ as ‘basically contrastive’ (1983, p. 90). In other words, the lexicographer, in order to define a word meaning, states what it should be compared to and

⁹ Quoted in Hartmann (1983), p. 9.

what it is not, as much as s/he states what it is. The next sub-section gives examples of definitions given in a dictionary, to show how this works.

2.4.2.2 Examples: COBUILD Dictionary

The following definitions were taken from an online version of the COBUILD Dictionary¹⁰. It is a dictionary designed for learners of English and the definitions have an additional criterion, that of easy comprehension. We will look at the definitions and at how much of the techniques described above (see 2.3.2 to 2.3.4), and what others, are used. The words chosen are 'mammal', which was part of the taxonomy in the first example discussed, and the 3 verbs - 'accept', 'reject' and 'refuse' - of the second example.

'mammal':

Mammals are particular types of animals. Most female mammals give birth to babies rather than laying eggs, and feed their young with milk. Humans, dogs, lions, and whales are all mammals.

The word 'animal' instead of 'creature' is used as 'superordinate'. Still, there is one. It is indicated by the phrase 'a type of' (cf. Cruse, 1986, p. 137). The definition then gives distinguishing features: -lays eggs and +feed young with milk, which confirms the treatment of the double feature as important in defining the word. One question remains, and that is whether the feature 'warm-blooded' is contained in 'animal'. For laying eggs distinguishes mammals from birds, but not from all animals (or creatures). Also, animal seems somewhat ambiguous since it can be used in English meaning 'mammal'¹¹.

Let us now look at the definitions for the three verbs.

'reject':

1. If you reject something such as a proposal or request, you do not accept it or agree to it.

e.g. I rejected his offer.

The amendment was rejected by 207 votes to 143.

¹⁰ the definitions given are from the COBUILD Dictionary online, <http://www.linguistics.ruhr-uni-bochum.de:8099/ccsd-set.html>.

¹¹ The entry for animal in the Collins English Dictionary gives for its second sense: 'any mammal, esp. any mammal except man.' (3rd ed., 1991, p. 59)

2. If you reject a belief or a political system, you decide that you do not believe in it or want to support it.

e.g. It was hard for me to reject my family's religious beliefs.

3. If an employer rejects a person who has applied for a job, he or she does not offer that person the job.

The definitions listed above do not all correspond to the use of 'reject' we discussed in 2.3.4.2. In fact, only the first one covers the context in which we considered 'reject' (invitation, relatable in this case to offer). I gave all the definitions given in COBUILD only as an illustration, and for the next examples will just give the one which fits.

'accept':

1. If you accept something that you have been offered, you agree to take it.

e.g. He accepted our invitation.

I thanked him and accepted.

'refuse':

3. If you refuse something that is offered to you, you do not accept it.

e.g. I offered him wine but he refused it.

Since the verb 'agree' appears in two of the definitions ('accept' and 'reject'), here is the definition of 'agree' given by COBUILD. As in the previous cases, only sense 2 is really relevant to the definitions:

'agree'

2. If you agree to do something, you say that you will do it.

e.g. She agreed to let us use her flat while she was away.

The definitions for 'reject' and 'refuse' show the two words' antonymy with 'accept' ('do not accept', my underlining). All three also show the type of 'something' which can be accepted or rejected (i.e. the main collocational patterns): offer, invitation, proposal, request.

The problem of course is that words are defined by other words. This is inevitable and the most important points in the definition are in fact the relations that the defined word has with defining words. The ones shown in the COBUILD definitions are mainly lexical relations (of synonymy and antonymy, particularly with 'agree') and collocational information. However,

the choice of 'take' in the definition of 'accept' seems a little odd considering the examples which follow it. It would work better in the context of concrete things: 'he agreed to take the present' sounds better than '? he agreed to take the invitation' because 'take' has a different collocational pattern¹².

The use of a feature such as 'positive answer/reply' might have helped, being more general and therefore less subject to collocational restriction.

The aim of this section was to show how lexical relations, features, collocational information and so on are used to produce definitions of the meanings of words. Examples taken from a dictionary showed that a blend of each may be useful in providing the reader with as much and as varied information as possible, thus giving them a more complete view of meaning. In the main study all types of information will be used to define both contextual and conceptual meanings, since the aim is to give a complete description of the meanings of phrasal verbs.

2.5 Conclusion

2.5.1 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter we looked at what was 'meant' by 'meaning'. Two main categories of meanings were defined, 'contextual meaning' - the meaning of a word in the context of a particular utterance - and 'conceptual meaning' - the meaning of a word in a mental lexicon which becomes a 'contextual meaning' when used in communication. It was recognised that context is very important for that task and, following Firth, argued that it could not be left out of a study of meaning. We saw that there are various approaches to the question - componential analysis, lexical relations of antonymy, synonymy etc. - and that by using them all rather than choosing one to the exclusion of the others one could define words more effectively.

2.5.2 Next step

The next chapter takes a step further in the study. Having defined what meaning will be for our purpose, we will now look at the object of the study, phrasal verbs. The chapter will look for a definition for PVs and, in order to do so, will look at the previous approaches to PVs in

¹² see Consigny (1995).

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the literature. In particular, the problem of particles used now as prepositions and now as adverbs or postpositions will have to be addressed. But the chapter will not be concerned solely with what is or is not a PV. It will also look at the various treatments of the semantics of PVs, as a first step towards the larger study of the meanings of PVs.

3. Phrasal verbs

3.1 Introduction: definitions of phrasal verbs

As the previous chapter dealt with the question(s) of meaning and meanings, the present chapter will look at the problem of defining PVs. The aim of the chapter is to find a coherent and satisfactory definition for the purposes of the present study. There have already been a number of studies on the subject and therefore most of this part of the chapter will be confined to a review of these, with the aim of finding criteria which will suit the study.

Also, the problem is not only of distinguishing a PV from a verb followed by a postposition, but to find the way they are treated as far as lexical semantics go. In other words, are PVs idioms, compounds or something else? The second part of the chapter will try to answer this question.

Before going into any sort of detail about what criteria are most useful for the recognition of PVs, we will have a look at some definitions given for PVs.

3.1.1 Dictionaries

Let us first look at dictionaries, starting with 'specialist' dictionaries of phrasal verbs. In the introductory pages of the *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1983), Courtney defines PVs as follows:

Phrasal verbs are idiomatic combinations of a verb and an adverb, or a verb and a preposition (or verb with both adverb and preposition). They cause difficulties for students of English because of their meaning and grammar. (1983, introductory pages, second page)

The definition in the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1989) is not very different from that of Longman, in that it includes both prepositions and postpositions. But the criteria for inclusion are not quite the same. In COBUILD, frequency of occurrence is an important factor, far more so than opaqueness. Thus, frequent combinations of the type 'go + up' are included in the dictionary because they are common, and only the combinations whose meanings are quite clear, e.g. 'don't walk on the grass', are not. In addition, the phrases containing a noun, as in 'we really went to town' (both examples are given p. vi) are also

taken out. The *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* defines four main types of PVs (p. v):

1. combinations where the meaning of the whole cannot be understood by knowing the meanings of the individual verbs and particles. Examples are *go off* (= 'explode'), *put off* (= 'postpone'), and *turn down* (= 'reject').
2. combinations where the verb is always used with a particular preposition or adverb, and is not normally found without it. Examples are *refer to* and *rely on*. (...)
3. combinations where the particle does not change the meaning of the verb, but is used to suggest that the action described by the verb is performed thoroughly.
4. combinations where the verb and the particle both have meanings which may be found in other combinations and uses, but where there is overwhelming evidence that they occur together. For example, in the combination *fight back*, the verb *fight* has the same meaning that it normally has in isolation, and *back* is used in a similar way in other combinations such as *phone back*. (...) Such combinations are sometimes called 'literal phrasal verbs'. (...)

Not only specialist dictionaries give such definitions. The *Collins English Dictionary* (1991) has a specific entry for 'phrasal verb':

n. (in English grammar) a phrase that consists of a verb plus an adverbial or prepositional particle, esp. one the meaning of which cannot be deduced by analysis of the meaning of the constituents: "take in" meaning "deceive" is a phrasal verb.

What these definitions show first and foremost is that the phenomenon of PVs has come to be recognised as quite important, since it is worth a dictionary entry - even a whole dictionary, or rather whole dictionaries. Second, they appear to give two main traits of PVs: they are a combination of a verb and an adverb or a preposition; they are semantically opaque. But these definitions do not provide the reader with much help on how to recognise them.

3.1.2 Linguists

This heading does not suggest that lexicographers are not linguists, nor that their definitions are incorrect, only that lexicographers' definitions are intended for a different public than linguists' descriptions.

The main problems which come now are that there are almost as many definitions as there are studies of combinations of 'verb + something which sometimes is a preposition', and also almost as many different names for the combination. Even worse, the same name can be used for different constructions.

Like Spasov (1966) and Sroka (1972), Bolinger (1971) uses the term 'phrasal verb'. His description, however, is two-sided. He first seems to include several sorts of particles - 'a limited number of highly frequent adverbs and prepositions, with an occasional adjective' (p.

xii). Then in the study proper, he limits the phrase to adverbs-particles, prepositional adverbs (adverbs which can also be prepositions at times) and 'adpreps', which is a category in the middle between preposition and adverb. Thus he treats 'out' in 'How did he find that out?' (11) as an adverb, 'in' in 'He came to the water and jumped in' (p. 23) as a prepositional adverb (adding 'the water' makes it a prepositional phrase), and 'up' in 'He ran, pell-mell, up the first hill he saw', as an adprep, on the basis that it is also acceptable as 'He ran up, pell-mell, the first hill he saw'¹³ (p. 28).

Goyvaerts (1973) calls it the 'verb + particle construction' but then divides it 'into three sub-groups: intransitive phrasal verbs, transitive phrasal verbs, and prepositional verbs' (p. 559).

Fraser (1974) considers 'verb-particle combination' and Lindner (1981), 'verb particle construction'. Lindner uses the same term as Goyvaerts, but her study does not have exactly the same limits - prepositions are out of her account.

Alexander (1985) uses 'phrasal verb', and his definition is not very far from those of dictionaries, but it is rather hedged: 'a possible definition might be "any commonly-used combination of verb followed by preposition or adverbial particle"'. He then goes on to present different types of phrasal verbs thus defined. Apparently, 'phrasal verb' has become the most commonly used term for the construction in recent years (McArthur, 1989; Side, 1990; Cowie, 1993; Sjöholm, 1995, etc.), whatever it is said to include (some, like Stein (1991) use the term 'phrasal verb' for phrases of the type 'have a look'; but these are not immediately relevant to the present discussion). It is the one which will be used in this dissertation, and its scope will be limited to the construction with a verb and a postposition, i.e. not a preposition. This will be explained in the next section.

3.2 Problems of terminology

As became apparent from the previous section, there is a lack of consistency between various names given for the construction. The term 'phrasal verb' was chosen for this study, which does not mean that other terms are not justifiable or that they are incorrect. There is a more serious and more urgent problem, however, and that is about the terms used for the various words which follow the verbs. In order to be able to give a clear description of what, for the purpose of the study, will constitute a PV, we first need to clarify what these are.

¹³ The adprep in Bolinger's discussion does not allow middle position for the pronoun.

3.2.1 Particle

The word ‘particle’ is often used for what will be described as postposition in the present study, i.e. an adverb which enters a PV. Here, it will be used as a cover term which includes both preposition and postposition, irrespective of their function or part of speech. Thus ‘in’ is a particle, whether it is part of a noun phrase, e.g. ‘I read this story in the paper this morning’, or PV, e.g. ‘I opened up a house here and took in three residents...’¹⁴. A number of lists of particles have been suggested (for example Goyvaerts, 1973; Cowie and Mackin, 1976). Goyvaerts gives, along with the list, comments on the productivity of the particles and whether they occur in prepositional or phrasal verbs (1973, pp. 556-557).

3.2.2 Postposition vs. particle

The use of the term ‘postposition’ rather than ‘particle’ is justified mainly by the fact that ‘particle’ has been used ambiguously by various authors. It often means the same as what we call ‘postposition’, and just about as often it is taken as a cover term, in the way described above.

The postposition is a particle which comes after a verb. In this respect it is different from a preposition, which goes with a noun, and from an affix (whether prefix or suffix), which is attached to the word it goes with. One could argue that there are cases where the particle of a PV occurs before the verb (e.g. ‘Off you go, big nose’¹⁵). These cases are rare, however, and I would argue that they correspond to a marked order rather than not being PVs (in the same way that it is possible to have subject-verb inversion, e.g. ‘says he!’ implying disagreement). The postposition comes after the verb in a normal, unmarked sentence. Following Kaluza (1984), we will also not take into account Bolinger’s ‘middle category’ of ‘adpreps’, these being treated as prepositions when their function is such and as postposition when it is part of a PV.

3.2.3 Preposition

By preposition is meant a particle, of the type *in, out, up, down* etc., which combines with a noun phrase to give a prepositional phrase, like ‘in’ in the phrase ‘in the garden’:

e.g. Where’s Jo?

 She’s **in** the garden.

¹⁴ This example is taken from Consigny (1995, p. 23).

¹⁵ From *Monty Python’s Life of Brian* (1979), directed by Terry Jones.

This example is fairly straightforward, but there are cases where it is much harder to decide whether a given particle is a preposition or a postposition. The main difficulty lies in the fact that the same particles often ‘function now as adverbs, now as prepositions’ (Bolinger, 1971, p. 23). What is essential is therefore to establish the list of features to be required from PVs, and the criteria for recognising them.

3.3 Defining criteria for phrasal verb membership

3.3.1 Transitive phrasal verbs: preposition vs. postposition

The problem with transitive PVs is that they can be mistaken for verb + preposition construction, especially when that construction appears to show a certain degree of semantic unity (like ‘look after’, for example).

A classic example of this is the case of ‘run up’¹⁶:

He **ran up** the hill.

He **ran up** the bill.

The problem consists in finding out whether in either or both sentences the particle ‘up’ is a preposition or a postposition; i.e. if ‘run + up’ is a transitive PV or an intransitive verb followed by a preposition. In all studies (with the exception, though it is apparently not deliberate, of Bolinger, see note 17) the authors take ‘run up’ to be an unambiguous combination of verb + preposition. A number of criteria have been suggested for distinguishing between the use of the particle as a preposition or as a postposition.

3.3.1.1 Order of the direct object

In the case of a PV, the particle can be before or after the object.

¹⁶ This example is given in Lindner (p. 5), Goyvaerts (p. 553), Kaluza (p. 109). Fraser uses ‘run off’ (p. 2 and 3) in a similar way, and Bolinger (p. 28) uses ‘run up a flag’ for ‘run up a bill’. The example is used for various purposes, though, and with various results. Bolinger (p. 8) gives the example of nominalisation with ‘run up’: ‘The running up of the hill was a matter of minutes’. In this particular example, ‘run up’ does not have the same meaning as in the usual examples. Here it includes reaching the top of the hill, not only running on a hill, towards a higher point. In this case, therefore, it should be regarded as a phrasal verb. But the ambiguity has not been acknowledged by the people who take this example. No one seems to consider the aspectual value of ‘run up’ as a possibility, and they all consider ‘run the hill up’ ungrammatical. In the case touched upon by Bolinger (it is only given as an example, with no comments), ‘run up’ means ‘run all the way up and reach the top’. It is this difference which makes it acceptable.

e.g.¹⁷ I **looked up** the word (in the dictionary)

I **looked** the word **up** (in the dictionary)

This does not work if the object is long, however. Lindner (p. 7) gives examples of sentences where the postposition cannot occur after the object:

He **picked up** a wallet with six pounds in it.

?* I **called** the man who left **up**.

When the object is a pronoun, it has to occur before the postposition. Thus, to the question 'how do you know this word?', one could answer: 'I looked it up in the dictionary', but not '* I looked up it in the dictionary'.

This criterion also rules out verb + preposition phrases which otherwise show semantic unity, like 'look for'. Asked if he has found the Holy Grail, Sir Robin answers: 'I was looking for it, here in these woods'¹⁸, not '* looking it for'. Fraser claims this criterion is sufficient in itself to distinguish between phrasal verbs and prepositional phrases. Yet the pronoun object sometimes occurs after the postposition. This happens when the pronoun is in contrast with another word in the context. Fraser (p. 17) gives examples of the phenomenon:

I didn't say to call up **her**.

Figure out **these**, not **those**.

Wood (1955) considers cases with demonstrative or possessive pronouns, and concludes that those are more likely to take final position. He considers emphasis as a factor only in the case of demonstratives. Yet in the following example, given by Wood (p. 20), the emphasis brought by contrast is self-evident:

Whoever else gives up his seat, I shall not give up **mine**.

The accent in the second clause is on 'mine', not 'up', and it contrasts with 'his seat' in the first. In any case, it does not question the validity of the criterion.

3.3.1.2 Other syntactic criteria

Other criteria can be (and are sometimes) used, but none seems to work in all cases. They are strong tendencies rather than rules.

- insertion of adverbial phrases. This is given by Fraser as a criterion to distinguish between postposition and adverb. The following examples are from Lindner (p. 12):

e.g. He **turned** suddenly **off** the road.

* He **turned** suddenly **off** the light.

¹⁷ This example is from Goyvaerts (p. 549).

¹⁸ From *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1974), directed by Terry Jones and Terry Gilliam.

Fraser himself recognises that it is not always true. In particular, ‘right’ can occur between the verb and particle of a regular PV, as is shown by the next example, from *The Guardian*:

the lawn barely needed mowing and weed growth **slowed right down**, July may be a busy month

- passivation. Fraser excludes ‘kiss back’ from his list of ‘verb-particle’ combinations for the reason that it cannot be passivised (e.g. ‘* She was kissed back by John’). The problem with this criterion - excluding the fact that ‘kiss back’ fulfils all other criteria - is that it does not work with all PVs. In particular, ‘drive back’ can be passivised, even in its literal meaning (e.g. ‘Last Friday we were driven back to Basra’ from *The Guardian*). It seems he uses it only in order to prove that such non-idiomatic phrases as ‘kiss back’ cannot be PVs.

- nominalisation. Bolinger (1971) gives this as one criterion for postposition vs. preposition. A phrasal verb can be nominalised, whereas a verb + preposition cannot.

e.g.¹⁹ Mr Hart called for the **setting up** of a royal college of teaching

* Her **looking at** of the table surprised the storekeeper.

Again, there are counter-examples (see note 17).

- changing order. Like the previous one this criterion serves to distinguish between preposition and postposition: ‘prepositions may often occur in sentence initial position’ (Fraser, p. 2):

e.g. **In** the street, the man **reeled** as if drunk.

* **In** the line the man **reeled** as if drunk.

It does not always work, however (the ‘often’ in the quote from Fraser shows his awareness of this): one cannot say, for instance, ‘* for him I was looking’.

3.3.2 Other criteria

As Lindner points out, the criteria mentioned above serve mainly to show that PVs are fixed units. The fact that they are not absolute rules shows, not that some of the PVs behave better than others, but that they have different degrees of fixedness. Thus some will satisfy all of Fraser’s syntactic criteria, but others will not. Rather than rule them out, it shows that the phenomenon should be approached with caution and that degrees are what we should aim at, rather than clear-cut, definite categories. Along with syntactic criteria as defined in the previous section, phonological and semantic criteria have been suggested for distinction between prepositions and postposition. These are also valid for intransitive PVs, since in that case the criteria apply to both categories, not just to transitives.

¹⁹ The example comes from *The Guardian*.

3.3.2.1 Phonology

In a normal, unmarked sentence, the stress tends to be on the particle if it is a postposition, and on the verb if it is a preposition. In the following example, the stressed syllable is in bold type.

e.g. Mr Haynes did not intend to take **up** the post.

* Mr Haynes did not intend to **take** up the post.

In the sentence, the stress can be on the postposition ‘up’ while it cannot be on the verb. It would be the other way round if it was a preposition.

This is helpful only to a certain extent, for a number of reasons. First, the preposition can take contrastive stress. Second, the postposition can be weakly stressed (or at any rate not more than a preposition). Nevertheless it can provide a complementary test along with the other criteria.

3.3.2.2 Semantic criteria

Fraser claims that his tests are syntactic ones, but most are designed or illustrated to apply to another, semantic criterion. He considers ‘verb-particle combinations’ to be idiomatic, and thus does his best to exclude all that are not. This poses a problem, because it rules out combinations which satisfy all (or almost all) criteria. As has been seen earlier, none of the syntactic criteria work perfectly, and there are exceptions for each and every one of them.

As we will see, it is the same for the semantic criterion. But let us first describe it. In fact there are two, although their aim is the same, that is to show that PVs are units (what this covers will be considered later).

According to the first, each PV has a single-word ‘equivalent’²⁰, usually Latinate. For instance, the ‘equivalent’ of ‘go out’ is said to be ‘exit’; ‘take up’ can in some cases be replaced by ‘accept’, and ‘turn down’ by ‘refuse’, etc. But these do not always give satisfactory replacements. For example, there is no good replacement for ‘take off’ when applying to a plane (‘depart’ is not specific enough²¹, and ‘leave the ground’ is not a single word and is not Latinate, if it is specific enough in many cases). And there is none for ‘take off’ as used for clothes. One could have thought of one-word equivalents in another language (on the same basis as the ‘Latinate’), but it would probably not work much better: ‘take off’ in the first example would correspond to the French ‘décoller’ and in the second, to ‘enlever’, but

²⁰ The quotation marks here indicate that the equivalent is not meant as a perfect synonym (if such a Loch Ness monster does exist).

²¹ This is noted by Bolinger, p. 6.

PVs of the type 'run out' or 'walk in' would require a periphrase: 'sortir en courant', 'entrer' ('en marchant', if the 'walk' in 'walk in' has any importance in the context). Another problem with this is that some verb + preposition constructions do have a single-word equivalent, e.g. 'attack' for 'go for'. In the same way, if we take up the idea of another language, in French 'look for' has a single-word equivalent, 'chercher', although it is not regarded as a PV in this study or in Fraser's.

The second semantic criterion given in various studies or definitions is that its meaning cannot be found from the meanings of the constituent parts. This claim is made mainly (but not only) by Fraser, and by some dictionaries, as seen at the beginning of the chapter.

3.3.3 Conclusion: what are phrasal verbs?

In both transitive and intransitive cases the phonological criterion will work, with the reservations expressed in the sub-section which deals with it. The first semantic criterion has to be discarded because it does not work with all PVs and it also includes prepositional phrases. For transitive PVs, the best criterion is the position of the direct object, particularly with pronouns.

One question remains, how should PVs be treated? Since the aim of the thesis is to look at the semantics of PVs, what this question means is how should they be treated semantically: are they idioms, lexical units (whatever these two be, which will be considered in the next section), something else (and then what is that something)? According to the second semantic criterion, which is the main argument in Fraser's account, PVs are idiomatic constructions. Yet this is controversial. Lindner argues strongly against Fraser, and sets out to prove that PVs are not merely idioms. This takes us back to the first section in this chapter, about defining PVs.

First, let us have a closer look at the second part of the *Collins English Dictionary* (1991) definition, that is the one which says that the meaning of a PV 'cannot be deduced by analysis of the meaning of the constituents'. This is close to the definition given by the same dictionary for 'idiom' (sense 1):

a group of words whose meaning cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituent words, as for example (*It was raining*) *cats and dogs*. (1991, p. 771, my underlining)

Fraser (1974) says it is an idiom when he defines what he considers a PV: 'a two-word idiom which I shall refer to as a verb-particle combination' (1974, preface p. v; my underlining). Courtney, in the *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1983), is just as explicit. She

distinguishes PVs from (the same) combinations 'with a normal meaning'. We can ask the question: is a PV an idiom? The definitions given above seem to bring a positive answer. But then if it is not, then what is it? In order to answer this question we need to answer another, namely what is an idiom?

3.4 Idioms, compounds and lexical units

It would be too simplistic to give a definite answer here, especially so early in the thesis. In what follows, it is argued that PVs are not all idioms, or else the definition of *idiom* has to be reviewed. Therefore other alternatives to *idiom* are envisaged, namely treating PVs as compounds, or lexical units. All three possibilities are explained and explored in turn, so that as informed a judgement as possible can be reached.

3.4.1 Idioms

In the preface to his study, Fraser defines what he sees as an idiom (1974, p. v):

For the purpose of this discussion, I shall regard an idiom to be a single constituent or series of constituents, whose semantic interpretation is independent of the formatives which compose it.

Fraser's definition is semantic. Along with this, there is also a syntactic criterion to the status of an idiom. For instance, the phrase 'cats and dogs' in 'it was raining cats and dogs' cannot be modified or else it will not be the same phrase. The acceptability of '? it was raining dogs and cats' is questionable. And modification of the nouns in the phrase, for example 'it was raining black cats and dogs' is either odd or does not give the meaning it normally has.

So a more refined definition of an idiom may be: a combination of words, syntactically fixed or near-fixed, and semantically opaque (in the sense that it cannot be guessed from the meanings of the components). Or, to take Cruse's words, it is 'a lexical complex which is semantically simplex' (1986, p. 37)²².

In all cases opacity seems to be the defining criterion, since a fixed expression which is not opaque is not regarded as an idiom (see also Wood, 1981). PVs do appear to share some characteristics with idioms: they have some syntactic constraints, they are made of more than

²² Although the definition seems to leave room for semantically non-opaque cases, Cruse denies the possibility with his examples. He too considers idioms to be opaque.

one word and the unit has a single meaning in a given context (though its polysemy is not ruled out), which may not be the sum of the meanings of the parts. The trouble is that it just does not always work with PVs. The reason is very simple: some PVs are not semantically opaque. The following example will show the point (taken from *The Guardian* newspaper):

I like it when I can **get up** in the morning and not have a hangover

In the sentence, the producer describes an action done in the morning, which is to ‘get up’. From the meaning of ‘up’ (vertical movement towards a higher position, or movement from a horizontal towards a vertical position) and of the verb ‘get’ (movement and result), plus the context (‘in the morning’ indicates that the original position is very likely to have been horizontal, lying in one’s bed), it is easy enough to find out the meaning of the PV ‘get up’: leave the bed and start the day.

There are other examples of PVs which are not opaque: ‘go out’, ‘take off’ (clothes) etc.

Fraser, in his study, does his best to exclude from the category all combinations which are not opaque, so that he can conclude that he is right in treating them as idioms. But this view has been severely criticised, with examples, by Lindner (1981), and most recent studies tend to agree that many PVs are not idiomatic, although most people agree that some are.

This leaves us with a negative answer, that PVs cannot be viewed as idioms in the normal sense of the word, although I would be happy to call PVs idioms if the definition was not so restricted, i.e. if it meant something like ‘an expression or turn of phrase which is particular to a language’. This would very probably include all ‘traditional’ idioms, but would also leave room for non-opaque phrases, like PVs. But if they are not idioms, then what can PVs be?

3.4.2 Compounds

If we take a compound to be a single-word combination made of two or more constituents (whether hyphenated, e.g. ‘self-esteem’, or not, e.g. ‘blackbird’), then PVs do not seem to be prime candidates for inclusion, since they usually appear as two separate words. Yet there are some facts about them which point to the contrary.

First, nominalised PVs can be regarded as compounds, with or without hyphen, for example ‘take-over’, ‘take-up’, ‘outcome’ etc. are nouns formed from PVs, without any change apart from the normal ones brought about by nominalisation and even adjectivisation (description of a fact rather than an action: ‘a takeover’ as the result of the act of ‘taking over’; or a place, ‘a takeaway’ where one can perform the action ‘take away’ (food), the food itself being then called ‘takeaway’ food, etc.).

Second, PVs themselves do sometimes occur as compounds. For example, the following sentence (from *The Guardian*) shows ‘takeover’ used as a verb and as a compound:

Trafalgar agreed to **takeover** Davy for pounds 114 million. But under the terms of the deal

Also, the phenomenon of PVs can be compared to what happens in other European languages. In German, particles can be attached to a verb, or they can be mobile (attached to the verb when it is an infinitive, not in conjugation). PVs occur in other Germanic languages, like Danish and Swedish (see for instance Sjöholm, 1995). In other European languages (e.g. French, Russian etc.), the combination verb + something which can also be a preposition is common and natural although it normally happens in prefixed position:

e.g. sur + élever → surélever in French

vy + khodit’ → vykhodit’ in Russian, which means the same as, and is constructed from equivalent components to, ‘go out’

This also happens in English (under + estimate → underestimate).

Finally, the semantic unity of compounds is quite similar to that of PVs. In that respect, it can also be compared to that of idioms, but the opacity is not a requirement in compounds. The example given earlier of ‘self-esteem’ is not opaque, although it has a single meaning, and is a compound.

Still, the relative syntactic freedom of PVs argues against treating PVs as compounds, especially the possibility of having an object complement between the verb and the particle, as shown in the next example from *The Guardian*:

“ ... and the next sentence was, ‘**Take** your clothes **off** and put them in the bag!’ ”

If not all PVs can be classified as compounds, then another answer has to be found to the question of what they are, which will take account not only of their near-fixedness, but of their semantic unity as well.

3.4.3 Lexical units

Lexical units may be the answer. Let us first describe what is meant by lexical units. Cruse defines a lexical unit as having (1986, p. 24):

- ‘at least one semantic constituent
- at least one word’

He later gives a more precise description of what he means:

Lexical units are those form-meaning complexes with (relatively) stable and discrete semantic properties which stand in meaning relations such as antonymy and hyponymy... (1986, p. 49)

We need to draw a difference between a lexical unit and a semantic unit. Nida (1975) considers semantic units and concludes that they can be any length from a word to a whole text as long as it shows semantic unity. This is not very helpful for the present purpose, which is to find a coherent way of treating PVs. A possible definition for a lexical unit may then be 'a fixed (or near-fixed since it can have a degree of syntactic freedom) collocation which shows semantic unity', or which is also a semantic unit. In other words, it is a collocation which is part of someone's lexicon and which has a certain conceptual meaning (or conceptual meanings: polysemy is possible and indeed fairly common with PVs). It is not necessarily opaque, and has to be limited to a few words, since it is at the collocational level.

The number of words is variable but not very high. We can illustrate this with the following examples. Let us consider the units 'kick the bucket' (three words), 'pass away' (two words) and 'die' (one word). The three expressions are fixed expressions, and have one general meaning, 'to die'. They each correspond to one lexical unit. In the same way, in French, 'passer l'arme à gauche' (four or five words, depending if one treats 'l'arme' as one or two words²³), 'rendre l'âme' (two or three words) and 'mourir' (one word) are three lexical units which have the general meaning 'to die'.

One problem remains, which has to do with the degree of fixedness required to gain the status. There are collocational and colligational restrictions on all or almost all words in a sentence, and this makes it difficult to define one unit in context. As soon as one uses a word, the subsequent context is pre-defined to some extent by that word (see Hoey (1996), Francis, Hunston and Manning (1996)). This would seem to question the validity of the whole concept of lexical unit. But the freedom which still does exist in spite of the restrictions related above may be sufficient to restore this validity. The syntagmatic restrictions do not deny the possibility of relative paradigmatic freedom (which is the *sine qua non* of Cruse's definition). What has to be at least recognised is that lexical units are a fuzzy category, anything but straightforward. It may be safer to follow Carter (1987) and consider degrees of fixedness along a cline from totally free combinations to totally fixed, or frozen, ones. The category 'lexical unit' will start somewhere on this cline, going to the totally fixed combinations, and a criterion might then be that members belong to speakers' mental lexicon have semantic unity, and, to use Cruse's words as quoted earlier, 'stand in meaning relations such as antonymy and hyponymy'. This is a better test than the 'Latinate equivalent', as it goes beyond the simple synonym, and can include opposites, (co-)hyponyms etc. From the previous sections it has been shown that PVs do show signs of fixedness (indeed there are syntactic criteria to define

²³ Hudson (1984) treats the question in more detail than is possible or necessary here.

them, although they are not absolute ones) and semantic unity (many PVs have a one-word 'equivalent'), and this makes them good candidates for membership. They answer Cruse's criteria since they do have 'discrete semantic properties' and they do 'stand in meaning relations such as antonymy and hyponymy' with other lexical units. Semantic unity does not mean opaqueness, and lexical units can include idioms as well as literal combinations, as long as they are perceived and used as units by speakers.

This definition blends the syntactic and the semantic properties of words: it concerns words or groups of words which have a single syntactic behaviour (cf. the examples given above in English and French), and which have a single meaning. It has the advantage of enabling us to account for the idiomatic and non-idiomatic uses at the same time. Thus, the PVs whose meanings cannot be described in terms of those of their components (Fraser's idioms) are as much lexical units as those whose meanings can. As for degrees of fixedness, it may be safer and more useful to consider degrees of opaqueness for PVs.

If we decide to treat PVs as lexical units, then, what are they? The reason for this question is that lexical units as we have defined them make a very broad category, going from one extreme of syntactic and semantic fixedness to very far towards the other extreme along those two clines. The problem which is raised by this is that some PVs are very opaque while others are transparent. We have also shown that they share some characteristics with compounds - which are one type of lexical units - but not all. It therefore seems that PVs cover quite a large part of what was defined for lexical units. They start towards the beginning of what can reasonably be said to be a lexical unit (see above) but is transparent, and go all the way along the cline to the very opaque cases, and even cases which are part of fixed, idiomatic expressions. This treatment enables us to get rid of some of the problems of having to prove that PVs are or are not idioms (this was done by other linguists, see next section), at the same time as recognising their semantic unity.

3.5 The semantics of phrasal verbs

We have decided to treat PVs as lexical units which are not necessarily idioms. We now have to see to what extent they are not idiomatic when such is the case. Also, if the meaning of the whole is somehow the product of the parts, we will have to find out how this happens and what each part brings. This will be the aim of the main study. Before launching into this, let us look at how the recognition of the frequently non-idiomatic nature of PVs came about. In

other words, we will now look at previous studies of the semantics of PVs. It has already been noted that Fraser (1974) tried to prove that PVs are idiomatic, and that Lindner (1981) subsequently attacked that position. But the first main attempt at explaining the semantic behaviour of PVs was made by Bolinger (1971). Bolinger examined shades of meaning and metaphorical extensions. Following in his footsteps, Lindner considers Fraser's 'sharp dichotomy between semantically additive and semantically nonadditive combination' (Lindner, 1981, pp. 25-ff). She concludes that degrees of opacity are more accurate for a description of the phenomenon. This implies that there is sometimes meaning in the constituents. Lindner's position is not unique: there have been a number of studies into the meanings of postpositions. In fact this is what has dominated the recent studies of PVs. As we hope to show, it may not be sufficient to explain PVs, or at least not all of them.

3.5.1 Bolinger

Unlike Fraser, Bolinger actually recognises degrees of opacity in PVs. He sees opacity as a matter of levels: of metaphorical 'extension', and of 'stereotyping', the two being inter-related. Thus some PVs will be formed from the simple association of a verb and a particle, without any metaphorical extension (e.g. 'go out' and the like), to uses remote from the original meanings of the parts. He explains it in the following terms (note 2, p. 113):

A first-level metaphor is one in which the literal meaning of the particle is extended: the literal 'up' of *go up* becomes the figurative 'up' of *load up*. A second-level metaphor is one in which the meaning of the phrasal verb as a whole (perhaps but not necessarily including an already metaphORIZED particle) is figuratively extended: one literally *makes up* a bed or *rubs out* a mistake and figuratively *makes up* a face or *rubs out* an adversary. First-level stereotyping is the simple combining of a verb with a particle; the meaning is as nearly additive as can be. A second-level stereotype is a phrasal verb that is no longer semantically additive.

He also recognises an aspectual value to PVs, particularly that of completion. This he expresses when he discusses the semantic features of the particles (p. 85):

I offer this: In its core meaning (though not necessarily in the figurative extensions [...]) the particle must contain at least two features, one of motion-through-location, the other of terminus or result.

These can be rephrased as spatial and aspectual values of the postpositions. The former concerns the fact that postpositions often denote a movement or a position in space; the latter relates to the way the action is presented - as happening, usual, finished/complete²⁴, etc. In

²⁴ See Comrie (1976) for a detailed discussion of aspects. He notes that the view of an action as complete - though not necessarily completed - is aspectual and corresponds to a perfective aspect.

particular, when the completive value of the postposition is often present. In this case, the action described by the verb can be represented as complete by the presence of the postposition. These features have been studied in more detail by linguists of the 'space grammar' school, who follow Langacker in assuming that most of what is expressed through language comes from our physical experience. Most of the meanings of particles can thus be accounted for in terms of spatial relations.

3.5.2 Postpositionists 1: spatial relations

Lindner (1981), Brugman (1981) and Rossi (1994) studied of the meanings of particles. Only Lindner's study is explicitly concerned with PVs, but they are also part of the topic of the other two.

The advantage of Lindner's analysis is that it enables her to account (at least partially) for all uses of particles, which shows in the examples she gives. Its main problem is that she hardly ever takes the verbs' meanings into consideration. Her analysis is much more precise than Side's (1990, see below), since his is mainly the presentation of what he found, not the way he did so; nor does he refer to any schools of linguistics. Lindner's results tend to show a constant link between the different uses of particles, to be ultimately all related to the basic, spatial meaning that people would first think of. The problem, however, is that she appears to want her spatial theory to work too well and gives examples where the spatial meaning of the postposition is far from obvious. For instance she attributes the difference between 'cry' and 'cry out' to the fact that in the case of the PV the particle adds the feature of movement from inside to outside (of the body in this case). She does not take account of the meaning of 'cry' which also indicates that something 'goes out'.

Brugman and Rossi do not limit their studies to PVs, and their work is useful in so far as it provides us with overviews of the meanings of the particles 'over' and 'down' respectively. Rossi, like Bolinger before, states the aspectual value of the particle in PVs (1994, p. 204): 'en général, le verbe permet, la "particule" réalise'²⁵. There are two facets to this assertion. First, it comments on the fact that a PV will more readily describe a punctual or real action than the single verb which might be more general. Secondly, it indicates that, in the same way as just mentioned, the action described by the verb can be made complete by the presence of the postposition. Again, the theoretical basis of these studies is space grammar, and they are concerned with studying the extent to which spatiality is present in the particles.

²⁵ 'In general, the verb part enables, the postposition actualises'.

Still the following points are worth mentioning. Lindner recognises degrees of opaqueness in PVs and encourages people not to view PVs just as opaque idioms but to realise that some (or many) of them are indeed easy to understand with the knowledge of the postposition. She also rejects the claim that the particle always has a spatial meaning (although she ultimately relates all the meanings to a spatial basis), and allows for cases where the particle has non-literal meanings (p. 29):

My own claim, supported by a detailed examination of combinations with *out* and *up*, is that particles almost invariably do code some part of the meaning of the VPC [verb particle combination]. (...) In order to recognize the meaningfulness of the particle, however, it is necessary to recognize more than just the simple, 'literal' or concrete meaning that Fraser assumes.

Others have taken up the idea of meaningful postpositions, like Side (1990) and the makers of the *COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1989).

3.5.3 Postpositionists 2: later studies

Most recent studies of PVs have been learner-oriented. For instance, Side (1990) has an applied linguistics approach to PVs. He studies the reasons why learners of English have problems with them. He argues that the particle always conveys some meaning; but not always the same amount, and then gives definitions with examples for *off*, *out* and *up*, concluding that they are the most important part in PVs, and what learners should learn in order to understand them. He also concludes in favour of teaching postpositions first and listing PVs in order by postposition in dictionaries. The idea is taken up by the *Collins COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Textbook* (1993), which gives lists of PVs for learners to learn and practise on, ordered by the postposition.

These two positions are close to Mohan (1997) who argues that the particles are 'the driving force in each combination' (p. 15). He blames all of learners' problems on them concentrating on the verbs instead of the postpositions in PVs. In a different way, Hampe (1997) also argues in favour of treating the particle as the most important part in a PV. Her study is more thorough, however. She studies the reasons why PVs are not just idioms and, based on the previous studies by Lindner, Brugman and Lakoff and Johnson, sets out to prove that at least a large part of the meaning can be explained in terms of metaphors based on physical experience.

3.5.4 Some problems with the examples given in previous studies

The problem with these views is that they usually take for granted the knowledge of the different meanings of the verb part. If one applies them to dictionaries it probably makes the entries for the particles more complete and accurate, but there still has to be one entry per PV. In other words, ordering PVs by the postposition only means shifting the problematic part from the particle to the verb: the verb seems more opaque and does not seem to bring meaning. Also these views make the same mistake that they are trying to correct, because instead of explaining they are in fact reduced to describing (cf. Hannan, 1998). This does not mean that the studies of postpositions are not worthy of attention and praise, since they do explain why the particles mean what they mean in many if not most PVs. But they place too much emphasis on that part of the PV, to the loss of the whole.

It should be possible to show this problem by looking at some of the examples taken from the studies themselves.

- the ‘cry out’ example

This comes from Lindner (1981). Her whole study is an attempt to prove the spatial character of postpositions in PVs. One of the examples she gives is ‘cry out’, for which she claims that the meaning of the postposition is that of ‘movement away from the origin’ or ‘from the source’: the sound goes out from the person who utters it. This would imply that the difference with ‘cry’, lying in the postposition, is that that meaning is not present in the verb itself. The problem with such an explanation is that it forgets the meaning of the single verb, which also implies, in this case, a ‘movement away from the source’, in order to prove a theory right. It is true that the single verb often means ‘weep’, but that does not take away from the fact that it can mean ‘say’ or ‘shout’, depending on the context. The following examples from *The Guardian* illustrate the point:

‘They **cry** justice but they mean revenge’

‘Dave Nellist popped up to **cry** that “tens and hundreds and thousands of people” would be slaughtered...’

When the verb is on its own, it normally means ‘weep’ if it is not followed by the postposition. The role of the postposition may partly be to disambiguate the verb, giving it the meaning of utter when the single verb is not followed by a quote or an object relating to speech:

‘... she came over and told me of her missing uncle and began to **cry**.’

When the verb does mean ‘utter’, then the ‘movement away from a source’ is at least shared by the verb and the postposition, which confirm each other. Although on the whole Lindner’s

attempt is successful, it may have been more so if she had considered degrees in the respective weight of each part.

- ‘drink up’ vs. ‘drink down’

Mohan (1997) explains the difference between the two in the following terms:

When we drink something up we enjoy it. Our pleasure is increased. When we drink something down it's an ordeal, it's an unpleasant thing like nasty medicine. Our enjoyment is right down. (1997, p. 17)

This explanation is not satisfactory because it obliterates one meaning of the postposition ‘up’ which is ‘completion’ and concentrates on another metaphor which is not always present in that PV. For instance, it is customary for publican to ask customers to ‘drink up’ when closing time is fast approaching. There, the idea of enjoyment is not at all obvious while that of completion is.

- ‘take up’ vs. ‘turn down’

In this example, the two PVs can be said to be good antonyms. They have the same range of use, and have contrary meanings, in the context of an offer or invitation: one means ‘accept’, the other means ‘reject’. This difference can be ‘explained’ mostly by the two postpositions. In the first, one can see the metaphor ‘up is positive’ and in the second, the contrary, ‘down is negative’. The trouble is, recent studies claim to ‘explain’ PVs and the logic behind them. So, if the postposition is really ‘the driving force in each combination’, then we should have either ‘take up’ vs. ‘take down’ or ‘turn up’ vs. ‘turn down’. The fact that it is not the case shows that there is more to PVs than just a literal verb plus a postposition with various degrees of metaphors. There are cases where the postposition does not add much to the meaning of the whole combination. The difference between ‘take a job’ and ‘take up a job’, for example, is not always real. The following lines from *The Guardian* should illustrate the point:

... distraught supporters besieged party headquarters, begging him not to **take** the job.

Released in 1941, he was about to **take up** a job as a waiter at Lyons Strand Corner House when he bumped into William Larkin

In both cases the meaning is clear enough and the postposition does not add much, if anything, to the PV; the verb ‘take’ is the most important part. It may therefore be much more efficient to look at both parts in all PVs in order to decide on a meaning, and maybe to consider degrees of relative importance for each part rather than assign more to one in all cases.

What appears to be the biggest problem is that all studies rely on made up examples chosen specifically to prove a point, although it has been seen that this does not always work. In this study the claim that there are degrees of relative importance will be investigated further, with

the help of a corpus of real data. Thus the results will have the additional strength of being obtained from what actually happens. It is one of the biggest achievements of corpus linguistics that they relativise intuitions about language. It is the aim of this study to show that the assumption that postpositions are all-important is not based on thorough observation of facts, and that in the same way as degrees of opacity came to be recognised, degrees of relative importance should be, too.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at what will in this study be taken as a PV. First we reviewed the various criteria proposed, and explained which would be kept and why. Then the claim that PVs are idioms was investigated and rejected unless the definition of idiom was changed to include non-opaque phrases. Instead, the term 'lexical unit' was chosen as more suitable for the study. Finally we looked at studies of the meanings of PVs. These have the merit of showing that the parts are meaningful in most cases but are limited to postpositions. Our claim is that the verb is often as important as and sometimes more important than the postposition, and that it would not be very helpful to list PVs by the postposition, as has been suggested (Side 1990, Mohan, 1997) and done (COBUILD 1993). Rather, degrees of relative importance should be considered.

To take a very short and simple example, the difference between 'go in' and 'come in' cannot be attributed to the postposition, since it has the same meaning in both PVs. On the other hand, if one knows the difference between 'come' and 'go', one can easily see the (same) difference between the two PVs.

In the next chapter we will look at the methods to be used in the study, both for deciding on and defining meanings, and for investigating the claim made in this chapter about the nature of PVs. This will give us the relevant framework for conducting the large-scale study of PVs.

4. Methods 1: on pinning down meanings

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 Research questions

It was stated in the general introduction that the first main question to be investigated would have to do with the number of conceptual meanings which one can find in a given amount of data. This brings another question, one of methodology: how can one be sure when one decides on a number of meanings? In other words, how does one arrive at conceptual meanings of a word from a concordance of that word?

From or related to this question, a third could be: how does one decide on the contextual meaning of a word? This is the aim of this first methods chapter - to look at the ways one determines meanings from a concordance. Is there a way of doing this without having to rely only on one's intuition? Before going any further, and since the present study is data-driven, it may be useful to see whether there is some methodology in corpus linguistics, or some way of making intuition at least a tool less liable to disagreement.

4.1.2 Corpora and intuition

Corpus linguistics claims that it is more objective than introspection on the basis that it relies on real data and studies the language as it is really produced. This does not mean, though, that intuition is banned from the studies based on corpora. On the contrary, all corpus linguists seem to agree that 'personal introspection will inevitably play a big part at one point, being inextricable from all the other points that bear on a decision' (Sinclair, 1991, p. 39). This is also stated, with a positive evaluation in Meijs (1996, p. 102) and Kennedy (1998, pp. 2-3), and a more negative one in Martin et al (1983), though this is only on the use of concordances in lexicography:

This throws into relief one of the major weaknesses of concordances with regard to their definitional yield: concordances cannot generate semantic interpretations or representations on their own, they only assist their compiler in making such interpretations. The semantic operation as such remains a manual one. (1983, p. 79)

So far no one seems to have found (or looked for) a way of making the study of concordances more *reliable*, or of limiting the risk of error in their interpretation. Everyone seems to be contented with the idea that when they say one word in one utterance means one thing, then they must be right. Similarly, although there has been descriptive work on how to decide on a number of meanings from one concordance, the intuition seems to have retained its primary position. As far as we are aware, no study has been done to prove that a number of meanings is correct or even to justify it. One of the aims of the present study is to find a reliable method of distinguishing between different conceptual meanings from a concordance of a given word. This is the object of two series of pilot studies, which are reported below.

4.1.3 Types of meanings to be investigated

At this point it may be of some use to remind the reader of what exactly is meant by contextual and conceptual meanings, since these are to be examined throughout this chapter and subsequently in the rest of the thesis, although their place will be less important.

The position adopted on meaning was outlined in chapter 2 and is that the conceptual meaning of a word is the meaning this word has in a person's mind. This meaning is processed through context to become the contextual meaning of the word in a particular utterance. If one takes the counterpoint of this, the numerous utterances of a word with a particular contextual meaning reinforce that particular conceptual meaning of the word in people's minds. In other words, it is possible to study the conceptual meanings of words from their contextual meanings, by grouping together instances of similar contextual meanings and from them defining conceptual meanings.

The first series of pilot studies below reports on the use of concordance lines: how they are studied, how contextual meanings are decided upon. The second series of pilot studies reports on the study of conceptual meanings. It looks at the question of justifying the number of conceptual meanings decided upon from a given concordance.

4.2 Pilot studies 1: on studying concordances

This section reports on a series of pilot studies designed so as to answer two types of questions on the use of concordance lines. The first type has to do with the certainty one can

reach when deciding on the meaning of a word in the limited context of a concordance line. The second is concerned with the way meanings are pinned down.

4.2.1 The data

The words ('Search Words' for the software, and henceforth SW) studied were 'want', 'put' and 'get'.

The data were gathered in two ways. First concordances of 'want' and 'put' were done using *MicroConcord* (Scott and Johns, 1993), not sorted (i.e. SW/SW), of 180 characters in length per line. The sort is the word taken as reference for alphabetical ordering by the software. Thus, L1/R1 means that the lines are ordered first by alphabetical order of the first word to the left of the SW, and then by alphabetical order of the first word to the right. Similarly, SW/SW stands for order of the SW, i.e. no sort since the SW is always the same in a given concordance. This normally makes the concordance ordered in the chronological order in which the lines appear in the corpus.

The lines were printed and used for the first two methods (see below). The last concordance, of 'get', was gathered using Scott's *Wordsmith Tools* (1996), sorted SW/R3 (i.e. ordered first by the SW and then by the order of the third word to the right of the SW) and was kept in computerised form. The sort avoided groups of similar phrases, by randomising the lines more than with the previous sort. The chance of phrases with the same third word to the right of the SW is lower than with just the first word to the right. This means that if phrases occur several times, they will appear one after the other only if their fourth word is the same which happens less frequently than the second or third word being the same. The texts all came from the *Guardian* newspaper.

4.2.2 The methods

The studies were divided into three parts. Each part corresponded to one method and one word. By method is meant a way of reading the lines gathered for each word.

4.2.2.1 Method 1

This method was first tried with the word 'bank' in an earlier, 'pilot pilot' study. It was originally aiming at finding out about the size of the study and it showed that the left-hand-side context was in all cases (10 lines only) sufficient to decide on whether 'bank' referred to a

river or a financial institution. In other words, a decision was made about the meaning of the SW before it actually occurred, with a satisfactory degree of certainty.

The method is therefore a 'left-to-right' reading, i.e. contextual clues are taken down as they appear during the reading, and guesses are made as to the meaning of the SW as the clues come. The word chosen was 'want'.

4.2.2.2 Method 2

Contrary to method 1, in method 2 the whole line was read before any attempt at a decision was made. After the reading, clues were written down as supports for the meaning decided upon. Here the SW was 'put'.

4.2.2.3 Method 3

Method 3 looked at what is called 'widening spans'. The data were in electronic form, a concordance of 'get', and a small program was designed by Mike Scott, which showed the lines one by one. For each line the SW and one word on the left appeared first. It was then possible to add on as many words to the right or the left as one pleased. Clues were noted as context expanded, and at the same time guesses were made as to the meaning until a satisfactory degree of certainty was reached and enough vital clues had been found to support the decision.

Method 3 was later refined to another method, method 3'. The basic principle was the same, but fixed spans were considered. The aim was to get more reliable results as to the average certainty per amount of context. The different spans were: 2 words on each side (L2/R2), then 4 (L4/R4) and so on up to 10 words on each side. It turned out that it was enough in most cases.

4.2.3 Results

First of all, method 1 did not really work. An obvious reason for this is that while in the pilot study the SW was 'bank' which is a noun, 'want' is mostly a transitive verb - and it always was in this study²⁶. This means that most of the modification is postmodification, and most

²⁶ It either had a noun phrase or a non-finite, 'to'-infinitive clause, as an object.

important contextual clues are to be found on the right-hand side of the word. Also, as Cruse notes:

It appears to be a property of predicative terms such as verbs and adjectives that their meanings are context dependent to a much greater extent than those of nouns; they are, in fact, dependent in various ways on those closely associated nouns. (1986, p. 152)

Another reason is that in the first case the aim was to differentiate between bank {finance} and bank {river}²⁷. It was not concerned with the question of whether the referent, when financial, was an institution or a building housing it (as it would be in Cruse's example related above), for instance. At first it was thought that it might be interesting to see if the differentiation between want {desire} and want {lack} (e.g. 'the carpet **wants** 5 cm to make it fit'²⁸) could be done with this method. It soon became clear that it was not really possible and that the meanings of 'want' were varied enough to justify a closer study. But then left-hand-side clues proved too thin and most of the time a decision could not be reached until past the SW.

4.2.3.1 Certainty

This section presents the certainty reached for each method. At first a rather precise scale of certainty was defined, comprising nine degrees of certainty. For reasons of clarity and ease, it has been reduced to only three degrees: low, average and high.

- low is for a mere 'possibility' with no certainty; there is some contextual clue(s) which support(s) the guess, but no sufficient one.
- medium indicates that there are slightly more clues from the context. It enhances the strength of the possibility, but still there is no vital evidence. It also makes for cases where the certainty is low but no alternative explanation seems possible.
- high certainty is chosen when there is sufficient proof in the context to be confident about the meaning of the SW - especially one or more very important clue(s).

²⁷ this notation is Scott's (1997a).

²⁸ This example comes from *The Collins Robert French Dictionary* (1993)

For the purpose of calculating averages, the following values were assigned to each degree: 20% for a low certainty; 50 % for medium certainty; 90% for high certainty²⁹. The results are presented in Table 4.1.

Word	want method 1	want method 2	put	get
Number of lines	23	23	86	60 (26+34)
Average certainty	69.57% (medium)	86.41% (high)	87.38% (high)	83.96% (high) (86.44%&82.06%)

Table 4.1: number of lines studied and average certainty per word

There are two columns for ‘want’. The first corresponds to the certainty reached after reading the line up to the SW (i.e. method 1). It should be pointed out that, even though the certainty seems high, the degree of precision is not. Up to the word the reading tried to distinguish between the senses ‘desire’ and ‘lack’. The second column gives the certainty reached after reading the whole line, i.e. as if using method 2; hence its mention on the first line.

In the case of ‘get’, the average is the one found for all the lines with ‘get’, irrespective of whether it was method 3 or 3’. The numbers of lines between brackets correspond to the two methods. Also, for the lines done with method 3’, it takes the results for the maximum amount of context, i.e. L10/R10.

Method 3’ deserves special treatment, as its aim was specifically to see the degrees of certainty reached with various amounts of context. The results are given in Table 2. Each column shows the distribution of the 34 lines done with method 3’ according to the degree of certainty reached. The last row gives the average certainty reached for each span. There is a degree 0 in this table, which did not appear in the description of the scale of certainty. The reason is that there were cases where there was not enough context to have any idea about the meaning, and because of the fixed spans used for this method, some measure of certainty had to be made, hence the 0 degree.

²⁹ I chose 90% because it was the most frequent value in the various high-certainty degrees. In the first scale the high-certainty values - i.e. when there was no real doubt about the meaning, the differences coming from an insufficiently clear context to define the word very precisely - went from 70-80% to 95/95%+. Other values were 80-90% and 90%/90-95%.

	L2/R2	L4/R4	L6/R6	L8/R8	L10/R10
0	6	2	0	0	0
low	11	3	1	1	1
medium	11	11	7	5	5
high	6	18	26	28	28
average certainty	38.53%	65.59%	79.71%	82.06%	82.06%

Table 4.2: certainty reached according to the span

A first conclusion which we can draw from this is that in the case of a very polysemous verb like 'get', 4 words on each side seem to be enough to get a good idea of the meaning, since an average certainty of more than 65% is reached. When one takes 6 words this rises to almost 80%. L10/R10 corresponds to a span of about 100 to 120 characters. And the table shows that even less than that is sufficient in most of the cases studied here. As a comparison, it should be noted that in the making of the COBUILD Dictionary, spans of 50 characters were used for most words (Moon, 1987, p. 87). From this, and from the previous table, it is possible to conclude that concordance lines of 120 characters in length are long enough to supply one with the necessary contextual information required to decide on the meanings of the SW. For more security, it was decided that lines of 180 characters would be taken as they would give even more context.

4.2.3.2 Clues

Method 1 showed that left-hand-side clues were not sufficient to guess the meanings of the verb 'want'.

A graded classification of the clues was established for the other two verbs. It shows the types of clues that were most helpful in deciding on meanings, as well as those which played a minor role:

1. Very important clues:

- transitivity / intransitivity / ergativity
- postposition in the case of phrasal verbs (e.g. 'PUT on'; 'GET back') - right-hand-side
- object, when the verb / phrase is transitive (e.g. 'GET ... volunteers') - mostly right-hand-side

- adjective, when the verb / phrase is intransitive (e.g. 'GET numb'; GET very bored') - mostly right-hand-side
- adjuncts entering fixed phrases (e.g. 'PUT ... at ... disposal'; 'PUT ... under pressure') - mostly right-hand-side
- adjuncts, when the verb / phrase is intransitive (e.g. 'GET to the shot') - often right-hand-side

2. Quite important clues:

- adjuncts not entering fixed phrases (e.g. 'PUT ... in the net') - often right-hand-side
- subject (e.g. 'France should PUT...'; 'we can GET back ...') - mostly left-hand-side

3. Often useful clues:

- topic / rest of the sentence (e.g. topic: cricket; finance) - both sides

On the whole, right-hand-side clues between one and five words to the right of the SW were most often significant. Then came the immediate left context, i.e. the subject, then the sentence at large, which confirms the conclusions drawn from method 1.

4.2.4 Conclusion

This series of pilot studies investigated how one can look at concordances for the contextual meaning of a word. It was shown that about 100 characters in length is often enough to reach a confident decision, and that by extending this figure to 180 one should be safe for almost all cases.

The next step to take is to look at the way one can go from as many contextual meanings as one has concordance lines to a certain number of conceptual meanings. In other words, from the concordance, there has to be a decision on how many different conceptual meanings there are. This implies grouping together similar contextual meanings, which means having a reliable way of deciding which are similar and which are not. This is the object of a second series of pilot series.

4.3 Pilot studies 2: on justifying the number of meanings

This section reports on pilot studies concerned with the question of justifying the number of meanings. The aim was to test the results of studies by having an informant do a comparable task, and then looking at the degree of agreement. Agreement here is taken to correspond to agreement on the meaning of the SW in the context of a concordance line. In other words, if the answer of the informant leaves some doubt as to whether they do indeed agree with the result of the study on a particular line, then this line is taken to be an instance of disagreement. Since the designs of the following pilot studies are different, the way agreement was assessed will be described in each individual pilot study. On the whole, overall agreement is taken to indicate that the informant agrees on the meaning of the SW as decided in the pilot, although there might be some slight disagreement on another aspect of what is being judged (like collocational acceptability, etc.). Since the meanings are what these studies are really about, agreement on meaning is what is being looked for.

The informant was a native speaker of English, and a student of English. The choice of a student of English is very easily justifiable by the fact that it is more likely that a student of English will know more different meanings of words than just any native speaker. Also, it would be easier to explain the task of deciding on meanings of words to someone who has done some linguistics and has had some (although not much) experience of lexicography and lexicographical practice.

The pilot studies were done with concordances of 'take up' gathered from *The Guardian* newspaper texts.

4.3.1 Pilot 1

The idea for this first pilot of the second series came directly from the last pilot of the previous series. In the previous series it was realised that there was no reliable method for deciding on conceptual meanings. On the other hand, by looking at the definitions given for the various contextual meanings, it was found that it might work to use replacements. Since the SW was normally defined in terms of synonyms, then it was possible that synonyms might be adequate markers of different conceptual meanings.

For example, one of the senses of 'get' was defined as 'become' (e.g. 'I think it was a lot of everything, it was a way to insulate myself, **get** numb to the point of not having to deal with

these things.³⁰). At first the idea was that a synonym might be sufficient to distinguish between conceptual meanings. But this did not seem to work for several reasons. First, there were sometimes more than one possible synonym for a conceptual meaning. Second, some of the synonyms seemed to work for several different meanings. For instance, 'go' seemed to fit in for the movement use of 'get' as in the phrasal verbs 'get out' or 'get in', but also for the more specific use with the adjective 'numb', where both 'become' and 'go' were possible collocations and therefore could be thought to be plausible replacements. In many cases there were more than one possible synonyms or near-synonyms: 'go' in a spatial context could work along with 'move' when if we take the previous example with 'get' (for the sake of argument since it does not really work), 'go' would work along with 'become' which would then disambiguate it.

For this pilot study, the SW was 'take up', and could occur in the present (take, takes), past (took, taken) and with the -ING form. The data were 50 lines from a concordance gathered using *MicroConcord*, of 100 characters each and sorted 1R/1L. The amount of context for each line seems small, especially after the previous section concluded that 180 characters per line would be used. Also, the sort, one word on each side of the SW, does not really randomise the instances: some occurrences of patterns may find themselves quite near one another. The reason for this is that the concordance was not gathered primarily with this pilot in mind, and was gathered before the conclusion about the amount of context was reached. Still, 100 characters were sufficient in most cases for a decision on the meaning of the SW to be reached with confidence.

Each line was studied for the meaning of the SW and replacement words (synonyms or near-synonyms) were chosen for each line. For most lines more than one replacement - up to four - seemed to fit in with the contextual meaning of 'take up'. Once all lines were thus studied and contextual meanings decided upon, a list of all possible replacements was made. It was intended that one replacement or cluster of synonymous replacements would correspond to one conceptual meaning.

The informant was asked to look at the lines and choose one or more replacement(s) from the list, and then each group of replacements was compared. The degree of agreement was defined in the following way. Total agreement corresponded to the cases where the informant's replacements and those chosen in the study were all common. Overall agreement was considered to have been reached when at least half of the replacements were common between the list chosen and the informant's list. In the same way, overall disagreement covered cases in

³⁰ From *The Guardian*, used in Consigny (1998), p. 64.

which less than half of the informant's replacements matched those chosen, and total disagreement when none at all was common.

Out of 50 lines, the results were 50% overall agreement and 50% overall disagreement. In only 14 cases (28%) was there total agreement; in 14 cases there was total disagreement.

The main problem with this study was that it was very difficult to assess the agreement. In particular, if there is only one replacement in common out of three or four, how can one decide whether the one in common is the best substitute and/or whether the ones not in common belong to the same (broad) semantic field? Does it mean that the informant thought that it was a different meaning than that thought of in the pilot? Also, because for some lines there were only two replacements while in others there were four, it was more difficult to reach overall agreement for some lines than for others.

The results being far from satisfactory, another method was tested, which made it easier both for the informant and for assessing agreement.

4.3.2 Pilot 2

40 lines were taken, from the same concordance and therefore of the same kind as for the previous study: same SW, length and sorting. The lines were studied and replacements (maximum three) were again chosen for 'take up' in each. Then the lines were re-written with a choice of three replacements. This means that in some cases all three replacements were thought suitable, and in others, only one or two, while the remaining replacement(s) were chosen from the list of possible replacements. The following examples will illustrate this.

61 substances dissolved by water and nutrients **taken up** by plants. In a humid climate, clay particles,

- a. substances dissolved by water and nutrients **absorbed** by plants. In a humid climate, clay particles,
- b. substances dissolved by water and nutrients **started** by plants. In a humid climate, clay particles,
- c. substances dissolved by water and nutrients **consumed** by plants. In a humid climate, clay particles,

71 and jamming with visiting celebrities. He **took up** C-melody saxophone, then alto, and finally tenor,

- a. and jamming with visiting celebrities. He **chose** C-melody saxophone, then alto, and finally tenor,
- b. and jamming with visiting celebrities. He **started** C-melody saxophone, then alto, and finally tenor,
- c. and jamming with visiting celebrities. He **supported** C-melody saxophone, then alto, and finally tenor,

The informant was asked to judge of the acceptability of each replacement for ‘take up’ (semantic, collocational, etc.); she could accept more than one if she thought more than one was suitable, and she could also comment on why she thought such replacement was not acceptable. Only the lines where the replacement was definitely accepted were counted as agreement.

The aim of this new method of testing the degree of agreement was to reduce the informant’s freedom so as to reduce the risk of chance disagreement (like disagreement due to the choice of a different replacement but with the same meaning in mind). The agreement was easier to assess as there was a fixed number of replacements to consider for each line. Total agreement corresponded to cases for which all three replacements were judged similarly by the informant and in the pilot (whether they were considered suitable or not). Overall agreement included all cases for which we agreed at least on two lines. Overall disagreement covered cases in which we agreed on less than two lines, and total disagreement was for cases in which there was no line with the same results.

Of the 40 lines, the overall agreement was 77.5%, and overall disagreement, 22.5%. Of this, 12 lines showed total agreement, and only one total disagreement. This was an appreciable improvement compared to the mere 50% overall agreement in the previous pilot study. Although total agreement did not really increase, total disagreement fell dramatically, to only 1 in 40 lines.

Still, there was a lot of room for improvement. The amount of context may have played a part in this as 100 characters per line could be insufficient for some ambiguous or otherwise

unclear cases. Also, the fact that there were several replacements in many cases made it difficult to reach total agreement. Some probably did not 'sound right', although the meaning of the replacement might have been the same as that of the SW. Alternately, others may have been accepted because they did 'sound right' although they did not fit semantically.

4.3.3 Pilot 3

For this study, two informants³¹ (the same as previously, and another, an English teacher and also a native speaker of English) were asked to perform the task. A different concordance was taken for this pilot. The lines were much longer, with 180 characters each. Thus the amount of context should be sufficient in all or almost all cases for the informants to be confident about the meaning of the SW. The SW was the same, and the sort was 3L/3R so as to randomise the lines maximally: the lines being ordered alphabetically by the third word to the left, the chance of patterns forming and influencing the informants' decisions was reduced considerably, or even possibly no longer existed. Similarly, the 'topic effect' - instances of the SW from one text and therefore having a very similar context which would influence the decision - was prevented as it was very unlikely that instances would appear in chronological order.

The first part of the study was the same, but the method for testing the results was different. The informants were asked to judge the acceptability of the sentence with the replacement, but only on semantic grounds. They were asked to ignore the other factors and in particular the collocational acceptability. The greatest difficulties seem to have been 1) that they did not always know the meaning of the word in the sentence, and 2) that the collocational acceptability was not always satisfactory. Thus some replacements were deemed incorrect on this basis, although the informants had been asked to look only at the semantic similarities between the SW and its suggested replacements.

The degree of agreement was assessed on the same basis as for the previous study: total at 3/3, overall at 2/3, overall disagreement below 2/3 and total disagreement when there was no answer in common. With the first informant the overall agreement was 31 out of 34, or 91.2%. When looking at complete agreement the figure fell to 64.7% (22 lines out of 34), which was much less satisfactory, but much better than in pilot 2.

With the second informant only 70.6% overall agreement was reached, and under 50% total agreement: 15 out of 34, 44.1%. The real agreement might have been slightly higher than this as the informant gave 'half points' when he thought a replacement might be suitable but there

³¹ The reason why there was another informant to perform this pilot study is that he was available to do it, while he was not for the other ones.

was something wrong with it. The half points were not counted as agreement but as disagreement, hence the much lower figure than for the first informant.

This clearly showed a need for improvement. Part of this disagreement may well have come from the fact that there were often more than one replacement deemed correct while it was rejected by the informant(s). Therefore another pilot study was made in order to reduce this.

4.3.4 Pilot 4

56 lines (60 lines minus 4 in which the SW was not a phrasal verb) were taken for this pilot study, from the same concordance as the one used in pilot 3: 180 characters each and sorted 3L/3R. Instead of taking up to three replacements for the meaning of 'take up' in each line, only one was taken for most lines, and two in a few cases. Again, the lines were then re-written with a choice of three possible replacements from the replacements found in the whole of the lines.

The informant was asked to judge of the relevance of the replacement, but again only as far as meaning was concerned; she was asked to ignore the 'sounds right' factor. The degree of agreement was assessed in the same way as previously.

For the replacement test total agreement reached 50 out of 56 lines, i.e. 89.29%. There were three lines for which the informant did not tick the word chosen as the only suitable replacement, and three where she ticked one of two possible replacements - this was counted as 2/3 agreement, and therefore as part of overall agreement. This gave an overall agreement of 94.64%. The overall agreement figure is higher than in the previous study, but more importantly, total agreement is very high, indicating that the method appears to work. Still, there are some points which are not quite satisfactorily solved. First, choosing only one replacement means risking taking a polysemous one, and thus confusing the informant. In other words, it is just possible that she may have agreed - ticked the intended replacement - although she was thinking of a different meaning for 'take up'. This point could possibly be answered by adding to the replacement a paraphrase for the phrases. This was the aim of the next and last pilot study.

4.3.5 Pilot 5

The aim of this study was not to test the replacement method (this was done in the previous studies), but to make sure that when the informant agreed with a replacement, it was for the right reason. The paraphrase was introduced in order to reduce the risk of agreeing with a

polysemous replacement while thinking of a different contextual meaning for 'take up' in the original line. Thus, the two parts complement each other: the paraphrase expands and disambiguates the synonym while the synonym specifies the paraphrase, for several replacements might have to be chosen for a single conceptual meaning, for collocational reasons.

For this study, 100 lines were taken, of 180 characters in length and sorted 3L/3R. The lines were studied individually for the meaning of 'take up'. A replacement plus a paraphrase were chosen for the SW; if it was part of a fixed (or near-fixed) phrase, then only a paraphrase was chosen for the whole phrase, which acted as replacement.

The lines were then re-written. When the SW was not part of a fixed phrase, the replacement was put in its place, while the paraphrase was added at the end of the lines, in brackets. When it was part of a fixed phrase, a paraphrase was put in place of the whole phrase, and it was indicated in the brackets that it was a fixed phrase. The following two examples should illustrate this:

e.g. 20 elayed to the French federation and the Davis Cup squad three weeks ago. But it **took up** the entire front page of yesterday's edition of L'Equipe, which carried a pin-up size colour

20 elayed to the French federation and the Davis Cup squad three weeks ago. But it **occupied** the entire front page of yesterday's edition of L'Equipe, which carried a pin-up size colour (**use [completely]**)

31 ith Palmer played as a ball-winner just in front of them. Steven and Webb would **take up position** in midfield with Sinton starting the game on the left and Platt looking for goals w

31 ith Palmer played as a ball-winner just in front of them. Steven and Webb would **get into position** in midfield with Sinton starting the game on the left and Platt looking for goals w (**fixed phrase**)

The informant was asked to indicate whether she agreed with the replacement, on a semantic criterion only, and then if she agreed with the paraphrase in brackets. Since the replacements could be polysemous, the paraphrases were taken to be of primary importance as disambiguating the former.

The agreement was easier to assess, as the informant only had to answer yes or no for each replacement and paraphrase. In cases where the SW was part of a fixed phrase, she only had to indicate if she agreed that it was indeed so, as fixed phrases are taken to count as a different meaning even if that of the SW is close to another one. Total agreement was given for lines where the informant agreed with both replacement and paraphrase. Overall agreement corresponded to cases where she agreed with the paraphrase but not the replacement. It meant

that she decided on the same meaning for the SW but did not think the replacement suitable to the particular case. Disagreement covered all cases for which no agreement was reached with the paraphrase, irrespective of whether the replacement was accepted or not.

From the 100 lines, total agreement was reached in 85, and in 11 more there was agreement over the paraphrase, giving an overall agreement in 96 lines (96% agreement). Overall disagreement only reached 4%, one case for which the paraphrase did not seem acceptable but the replacement did, and three for which there was total disagreement.

In most of the cases of agreement on the paraphrase only, the disagreement with the replacement was due to the fact that it did not 'sound right'. This was exactly what was to be suppressed by the paraphrase. Indeed, in these cases the informant agreed with the meaning of the SW in the sentence and it therefore does not invalidate the method. On the contrary, it shows that the paraphrase enables one to concentrate on the meaning of the SW.

From the three cases of total disagreement, one was because of a mistake on my part (which was later corrected, i.e. in establishing a list of conceptual meanings), and the other two concern the same type of phrase. It was considered as a fixed phrase in the pilot study, but again this was corrected in the later stage of the study, and a paraphrase was given instead. It can also be noted that the disagreement did not occur with all of the occurrences of that type of phrase; this shows if anything that it is not a fixed phrase as supposed at first, but that it could be covered by a paraphrase.

4.3.6 Discussion of the results

In this section, a brief comparison will be made between the results from the various pilot studies as detailed in the previous sections. The changes between the studies are summarised in Table 4.3, and the results of the studies are in Table 4.4.

	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Pilot 4	Pilot 5
Description	A list of possible replacements	The sentence is re-written; 3 possible replacements, 1, 2 or 3 are correct	Idem	Idem, but only one is correct, sometimes 2	The sentence is re-written with one replacement, and a paraphrase
Assessment	The informant ticks the ones thought fit	Idem: on semantic or collocational acceptability	Only semantic acceptability	Idem	Yes or no, on semantic grounds only
Agreement	On the replacements in common	On ticks in common	Idem	Idem	On agreement, mainly with the paraphrase

Table 4.3: summary of the pilot studies

	Pilot 1	Pilot 2	Pilot 3	Pilot 4	Pilot 5
Number of lines	50	40	34	56	100
Total agreement	28%	30%	64.7% (inf. 1) 44.1% (inf. 2)	89.9%	85%
Overall agreement	50%	77.5%	91.2% (inf. 1) 70.6% (inf. 2)	94.6%	96%
Overall disagreement	50%	22.5%	8.8% (inf. 1) 29.4% (inf. 2)	5.4%	4%
Total disagreement	28%	2.5%	0% (inf. 1) 0% (inf. 2)	0%	3%

Table 4.4: a summary of the degrees of agreement reached in the pilot studies

The figures clearly show that the methods used in first two pilot studies were inadequate, as they were confusing for the informant and she was asked to judge on all aspects of acceptability, including collocational acceptability (the ‘sound right’ factor). The third pilot showed great improvement, suggesting that the replacement method may be useful. This was confirmed when it was refined, in pilot 4, for which quite high figures of agreement were reached. On the other hand, it still had problems. One was that it took time to ‘treat’ the data and to assess agreement. Also, it was not absolutely certain that overall agreement as recorded in the pilot actually meant that the informant agreed with the contextual meaning chosen for the line. It may have happened that a replacement was chosen because it was a common collocate of the SW.

With the last pilot study, the figures were not quite as positive, but the degree of overall agreement was slightly higher. The design of the method made it more important that overall agreement was reached. Indeed, the most important part to be judged, the paraphrase, could not be subject to contextual restrictions and therefore if the informant agreed to the paraphrase, then I could be confident that she agreed with the meaning of the SW in the line. The replacement was not as important, and then it was not too much of a problem that other considerations than strictly semantic ones were taken into account in the informant's decision to accept a replacement or not. In all, semantic agreement could be taken to be higher with the method used in pilot 5, which was the aim of this last pilot.

What is more, this method is more practical, both for assessing agreement (since the informant only answers a yes/no question) and for pinning down meanings, than the others. This is due to the presence of the paraphrase alongside the replacement(s). It somehow 'decontextualises' the meaning, and it is easier to compare paraphrases, which are not ambiguous, than replacement words which might be. Thus the advantages outweigh the drawbacks, which are mainly statistical and due to non-semantic factors.

4.3.7 Conclusion from pilot studies 2: on pinning down meanings

The aim of this second series of pilot studies was to look at how numbers of meanings can be justified. A number of ways were tried to find a reliable method of pinning down meanings. Three criteria were considered when the methods were tried. First, the method had to be reasonably easy to apply to a large amount of data, i.e. it had to be easy to define consistently the contextual meanings decided upon from the concordance lines. Second, it had to be easy to test by informants. This means that it had to be simple and at the same time precise enough for an informant to be certain about their dis/agreement. Finally, it had to be reliable when it came to grouping contextual meanings into conceptual meanings. In other words, it had to go beyond collocational restrictions in some cases, as the same conceptual meaning may sometimes spread across several types of contexts (e.g. some extension which does not really change the meaning of the SW).

It was found that replacing the SW by several synonyms was not sufficiently easy to test as agreement is very difficult to get when using more than one replacement (pilots 1 and 2).

Then, one replacement only was not sufficient because synonyms are not reliable enough (they can be and indeed often are polysemous), and because they are subject to collocational restrictions to too high a degree for the method to be easily tested with informants.

Therefore, it was decided that a paraphrase would be added to a replacement synonym, to increase the reliability, as the paraphrase would disambiguate the replacement. Also, the paraphrase was not subject to collocational restrictions as it was decontextualised, which made it easier for the informant to test the results. Finally, the reliability was increased. Even if a different replacement was chosen for one reason or another, the presence of the paraphrase made it possible to put together instances of similar conceptual meanings while it would have been much more difficult or impossible on the basis of the replacement alone.

4.4 Conclusion

4.4.1 Summary of the chapter

The aim of the chapter was to describe the process of going from concordance lines to conceptual meanings. For this, it investigated several points, from looking at decisions on contextual meaning to justifying conceptual meanings.

First, a series of pilot studies looked at the way concordance lines are studied for the contextual meaning of a SW. It looked at different ways of reading the lines, and then at the amount of context required in order to make a confident decision. After looking at various possible amounts of context, from 2 to 10 words on either side of the SW, it was concluded that 10 words on each side, or roughly 100 characters for the whole line, was sufficient in most cases. For maximum certainty, it was then decided that for the main study of the research, 180 characters per line would be used. Then a hierarchy of contextual clues was established, which are used in deciding on the meaning of a word in context.

Second, another series of pilot studies was conducted in order to find a reliable method for pinning down the meanings of a SW. Several methods using replacements were tested with informants. It turned out that they were not very easy to conduct nor to test, and although the results with only one replacement gave good results, it was not reliable enough. Therefore another method was tried, using one replacement plus a paraphrase for the SW. The informant was asked to judge on both for each line. This enabled contextual restrictions to be ignored and only semantic considerations to be taken into account. The degree of agreement with the informant was also quite satisfactory, and the method was adopted as both the most reliable and the most practical. After all lines have been studied in that way, the contextual meanings are grouped together on the basis of similar paraphrase, and the groups of similar contextual

meanings are then taken to correspond to one conceptual meaning. This agrees with the definitions given in chapter 2 for contextual and conceptual meanings. On the one hand, one conceptual meaning can be realised in slightly different contexts. Because of these, the replacement chosen for the SW might be different in different instances although the conceptual meaning is sufficiently close to be regarded as the same. On the other hand, one meaning can be changed if it is often used in one particular context and thus becomes specialised. Then the paraphrase will be different and a different conceptual meaning will be assigned.

4.4.2 Next step

The next step in the study, now that a method has been adopted for pinning down meanings, is to look at how the meanings of PVs are going to be examined 'from the inside', i.e. as far as those of the parts are concerned. For this a third series of pilot studies has to be conducted. It looks specifically at one PV, 'take up', and aims to find out whether the meanings of the parts can be shown to contribute to that of the PV and if so how. In other words, the study will aim at presenting a model for this kind of analysis of the meanings of PVs. It also looks at more practical questions, in particular the amount and type of data to be used in the main study.

5. Methods 2: on looking at the meanings of phrasal verbs

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we looked at how to pin down the meanings of a word from a concordance. It was concluded, after a number of pilot studies, that a reliable method for doing this was by using a replacement word and a paraphrase. In the present chapter, this method is put to use, in a case study of 'take up'.

5.1.1 Aims of the chapter

There are two main aims for this chapter. First, it is intended, as an example of how the method is to be used, to look at a number of lines and at the number of conceptual meanings which can be defined from them. It also should be used to determine how many lines should be taken for each PV in the main study. For this purpose, a comparison will be made between the number of conceptual meanings found in the amount of data and that found in specialised dictionaries. The aim of the thesis is not to give an exhaustive list of the meanings of PVs, but at the same time it is hoped that the data will show enough variety to be worth investigating.

The second aim of this case study is to look at how the meanings of PVs can be explained in terms of those of the parts.

This presents some problems. Most of the work which has been done so far on the semantics of PVs has been done without a clearly defined method. Lindner (1981) does use some comparison, especially with single verb equivalents, but there is little theoretical basis for the comparison. Others, in particular Mohan (1997) and Hannan (1998), rely on their intuition and just say that the postposition in a PV has such or such meaning. Also, all of the studies of PVs concentrate on postpositions, although some do recognise some meaning in the verbs. In this respect, there are two different although related approaches. The first, like in Lindner (1981), looks only at the postposition but does not deny the importance of the verb although it does not study its contribution. The other, in particular Side (1990), Hampe (1997), Mohan (1997) and Hannan (1998), looks at postpositions and concludes that they are the more important part in the combination.

In this thesis, I want to argue that the relative importance of the parts is a matter of degrees. In other words, that neither the postposition nor the verb is necessarily more important one than the other, but that in one case it will be the verb, in another case it will be the postposition and in still another case both may be just as important.

Before this can be discussed with a number of PVs (in the next chapter), a method has to be devised to show convincingly that the parts do carry meaning, and this is the aim of the second part of the case study.

5.1.2 Organisation of the chapter

Most of the chapter is concerned with the case study of one PV. This is done in several stages, which correspond to three main parts in the chapter. The first looks at possible methods for studying the contribution of the parts in the meaning of the PV. The main method for this is to treat the parts as semantic constituents, following Cruse (1986). His tests are therefore analysed and a method is devised for this study.

In the second part of the study, I look at the number of lines - i.e. the amount of data - which is needed for the number of different meanings to be sufficient.

Finally, the study of the parts of 'take up' is reported in the last part, and an analysis of each meaning is conducted.

Following the study, a discussion considers the results which it yields. This includes first discussing the presence or absence of meaning of the parts of the PV. Then the degree of opacity of the different meanings of 'take up' is looked at, and finally the contentious question, on the relative importance of the parts in the meanings of the PV, is addressed in the light of the results of the study.

5.2 On investigating the meanings of phrasal verbs

In this section, PVs will be considered as compounds, although we decided in Chapter 3 to treat them as lexical units³². The reason for this is that compounds, and more particularly their meanings, have been studied more than PVs.

³² It was argued there (see chapter 3) that the difference with compounds was the degree of syntactic freedom, and that difference was the reason for calling PVs lexical units rather than compounds. Semantically, however, the two are very close indeed.

The aim of the section is to look for a convincing way of studying the meanings of the parts of PVs.

5.2.1 Cruse and semantic constituents

Cruse (1986) looks at lexical units, of which compounds are only one case. He defines a lexical unit as having (1986, p. 24):

- 'at least one semantic constituent
- at least one word'

The semantic constituent can thus be seen, in Cruse's argument, as the basic semantic unit. He then gives criteria, which he sums up as 'recurrent semantic contrast', for what is a semantic constituent:

A part X of a grammatically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S1 is a semantic constituent of S1 if:

- (i) X is either omissible or replaceable by some other element Y, yielding a grammatically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S2 which is syntactically identical (...) but semantically distinct in meaning to S1
- and (ii) there exists at least one other grammatically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S3, containing X, but otherwise having no other elements in parallel syntactic positions in common with S1, in which X is similarly omissible or replaceable by Y, yielding a syntactically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S4
- and (iii) the semantic contrast between S1 and S2 is identical to that between S3 and S4. (1986, p. 27)

For instance, in sentence S1 'My brother went to the market this morning', the word 'brother' is a semantic constituent of the sentence:

- (i) it can be replaced by another element, say 'sister', 'yielding a grammatically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S2 which is syntactically identical (...) but semantically distinct in meaning to S1': 'My sister went to the market this morning';
- (ii) it is possible to find 'at least one other grammatically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S3': 'Whatever she says, Mary does not really hate my brother', 'containing [brother], but otherwise having no other elements in parallel syntactic positions in common with S1, in which [brother] is similarly omissible or replaceable by [sister], yielding a syntactically well-formed and semantically normal sentence S4': 'Whatever she says, Mary does not really hate my sister';
- (iii) 'the semantic contrast between S1 and S2 is identical to that between S3 and S4'; it is the difference between 'brother' and 'sister'.

It is thus possible to put to use Cruse's criteria and to see that they work. There are also cases of compounds for which the test works.

For instance, one can find a 'tin-opener', or a 'bottle-opener' and invent sentences in which the two are in opposition:

I wanted a **tin-opener**, not a **bottle-opener**. Now how am I going to eat this corned-beef?

Here, one part conveys information on the object of the action (which was shown by the example with semantic contrast), while the other on the type of action ('open'). It is also possible to show the semantic role of the second part by again using semantic contrast:

Will you give me this **bottle**, please?

Will you give me this **bottle-opener**, please?

After giving his definition, Cruse then proceeds to discuss in some detail examples of lexical units, in order to see which are made of one and which are made of more than one semantic constituent. Among these, he looks at some compounds, in particular the names of berries, and argues that these are not cases of semantic constituents. Indeed, if one tries to apply the test given above, the parts of the various names of berries do not fulfil the criteria.

Using Cruse's test, it is possible to show that 'cran' and 'berry' are not semantic constituents of 'cranberry'; similarly, nor are 'blue' and 'berry' semantic constituents of 'blueberry'. Indeed the contrast between 'bluebell' and 'blueberry' is not the same as the one between 'bell' and 'berry', in the same way that the contrast between 'blueberry' and 'blackberry' is not the same as that between 'blue' and 'black'.

This could be linked to Aronoff's (1976) view on the semantics of compounds, again with respect to the names of berries. Aronoff's reason for denying the presence of meaning in the parts of 'blueberry' or 'blackberry' takes a different start, but is not fundamentally different.

His argument goes like this:

... when [the morphemes of the type *black* in 'blackberry'] do appear as independent words, they have meanings which bear no relation to the meanings they might be assigned [as parts of the compounds]. For example, one might think that a blackberry is black. However not all black berries are blackberries, and furthermore, many blackberries are red or green (...). There is therefore no way to assign a meaning to the item *black* which will be valid both when it occurs as an independent word and when it occurs in the word *blackberry*. (1976, pp. 10-11)

In both cases, the parts are compared to other uses of the words which they are made of: 'black', 'blue' etc.

What this implies is that if one follows Cruse's view, a lexical unit can only be made of semantic constituents when its meaning is the sum of the meanings of the parts. The examples of compounds with 'opener' discussed previously showed that in some cases compounds are made of semantic constituents. The examples with names of berries showed that in some cases they are not.

Looking at PVs, one can find examples where the Crusian test works quite well, e.g. 'go' and 'out' in the PV 'go out', or 'sit' and 'up' in 'sit up'. Let us look at these in terms of semantic constituents.

- spatial 'out': 'go out', 'walk out', 'run out'

All three PVs indicate a movement from inside a closed space to outside it.

Let us take an example with 'walk out' and 'run out' (see Figure 5.1).

The difference between the two phrasal verbs is carried by the verb: both PVs report on a movement from the inside and the outside of some space (the contribution of 'out'), and the difference is between the type of movement ('run' vs. 'walk').

The difference between these two and 'go out' is that the latter is neutral as to the type of movement. (In this case, the normal, unmarked meaning will be 'walk out' more often than not, unless the verb is used metaphorically.)

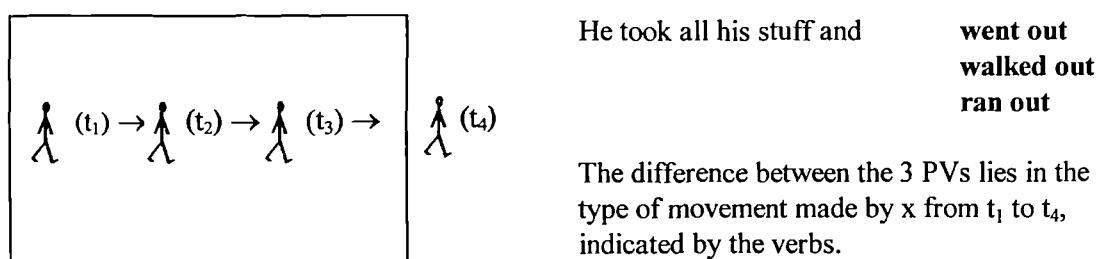
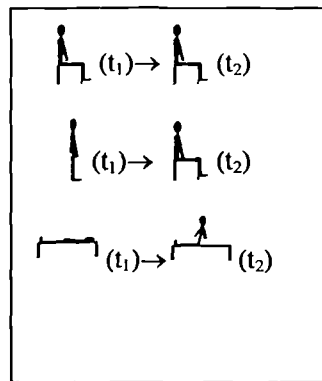


Figure 5.1: phrasal verbs with spatial 'out'

If one wants actual recurrent semantic contrast, one only needs one more set of sentences showing contrast between 'walk' and 'run'. For instance, 'He did not stop, he **walked on**.' and 'He did not stop, he **ran on**' show the same contrast between the two verbs, and show that the two verbs are semantic constituents of the two PVs considered.

- directions of 'sit': 'sit down', 'sit up'

The difference between the two PVs has to do with the direction of the sitting: in the first case, it is from a higher to a lower position (from standing to sitting), while in the second it is from a lower to a higher position (from lying to sitting, or the like).



I **sat** there for 2 hours and nothing happened.

She felt a sharp pain in her back and **sat down**.

She felt a sharp pain in her back and **sat up**.

The single verb corresponds to a state. The 2 PVs describe actions which lead to that state. The difference between the 2 PVs lies in direction, indicated by the postpositions.

Figure 5.2: phrasal verbs with 'sit'

Again, to get recurrent semantic contrast, we can look at two more sentences where 'up' and 'down' indicate a similar difference in direction. For example, the direction is towards a higher point in 'I **looked up** and saw that the man was wearing glasses', while it is towards a lower point in 'I **looked down** and saw that the man was wearing glasses'. The examples show that 'up' and 'down' are semantic constituents in 'sit up' and 'sit down'.

Using Cruse's test for defining semantic constituents offers some advantages. First, it is quite easy to verify, especially in the case of PVs which is the one we are interested in, by simply replacing one part or the other and comparing the results. Second, the test is rigorous and gives tangible proof of the meaning of a part. On the other hand, it seems very restrictive on the possibility of finding meaning in the parts of a lexical unit, and less straightforward when one is dealing with real data.

5.2.2 Some problems with semantic constituents

There are a number of problems with Cruse's test, which have to do with the nature of the test itself.

First, the fact that it is a yes/no test, although it is an advantage because it makes it fairly easy to verify, makes it deny partial desemanticisation or extensions. In other words, as soon as a lexical unit whose parts are semantic constituents loses part of its meaning or becomes slightly

specialised, the parts risk losing their status as semantic constituents. If one takes a strict view of the test, this means that the parts no longer carry any meaning. This poses a serious pragmatic problem. Indeed, if we consider that if the parts of a lexical unit are not semantic constituents then they cannot carry meaning, how can we explain the fact that people still understand words when their meaning changes slightly, or when they are used in a metaphorical way?

It has been argued (in particular Sinclair, 1990; Consigny, 1995; Allan, 1994 and 1998 among others) that when words co-occur, they lose some of their meaning. The absolute nature of Cruse's test does not allow for this.

A second, though related problem with the test is that it does not allow for fuzzy categories. It is in the nature of language that it does not work in neat categories with well-defined boundaries. This was a mistake that Fraser made when he tried to prove that all PVs are idioms or are not PVs, and for which he was harshly criticised by Lindner despite the quality and thoroughness of his argument. Cruse seems to be making the same kind of mistake by wanting to devise rigorous either/or tests in order to define clear-cut categories.

To go back to the examples of compounds, it is possible to look at them in a different way. Instead of equating the presence of meaning in the part of a given compound with that part being a semantic constituent, I want to argue that a part can retain some semantic properties although it may not satisfy the criteria of Cruse's test. Once again the examples looked at will be the names of berries.

Cruse claims that 'just because *-berry* can be associated with the meaning "berry", it does not follow that *cran-* carries the meaning "cranberry" minus the meaning "berry" (1986, note 10 pp 45-46). What this comes from is the fact that 'cran' is not a semantic constituent. It can be shown that 'berry' in 'cranberry' is not a semantic constituent either. Yet, it is not easy to believe that 'berry' in 'cranberry' does not carry any meaning whatsoever, just because of this. As Cruse does point out, '*-berry* can be associated with the meaning "berry"'. 'Berry' in all of these compounds does carry almost the same meaning as the word on its own - almost if one considers that the compounds refer to types of berries (hyponyms of the word).

The problem comes when we look at the first part, particularly 'blue' or 'black'. Technically speaking, blackberries are not black, but of a dark colour. Worse, they are not that colour for all of the time, but have several colours according to the stages in their maturity, ending in something dark (cf. the remark by Aronoff, quoted earlier).

The colour referred to in the name would then seem to fit in only with the mature stage of the berry, and take away from the fact that the word used to form the compound retains meaning.

But the fact that the colour does fit, in the mature stage, i.e. when it is edible (the important stage for the name-givers), does give quite a lot of psychological validity to the claim that not only was 'black' not a random appearance in the word 'blackberry', but that it has a meaning in the compound not very far from its original meaning.

It works similarly for 'blueberry' (though it may be argued that the blueness is less obvious than the blackness in 'blackberry'), and for the currants. It actually works better with currants as their etymology (raisins from Corinth, according to CED) gives additional semantic ground for different names: they are a slightly different type of berries, and can be red (redcurrants) or black (blackcurrants).

It is possible to look at another, similar example, with the word 'blackbird'. Since a blackbird is not really a black bird, but only the adult male is, then the meaning of the word is not the sum of the meanings of the parts. In other words, in Crusian terms, 'black' and 'bird' in 'blackbird' do not carry any meaning as they are not semantic constituents. Yet there are facts about blackbirds which weaken this claim. First, a blackbird is a bird, and this seems at least to give meaning to the second part of the compound. Second, it can be black. This last remark presents some problems, however:

- it is not the only black bird, e.g. crow, raven, cormorant (dark brown, almost black);
- only the adult male is black. The female is brown, and the young is brown with spots.

But at least it is black at one stage (male). The fact that it is only the male is not especially problematic, as it is the one most easily recognised, i.e. having the most distinctive (prototypical³³) features (pitch black plumage and yellow beak). It is possible to view each of these nouns as semantic categories (cf. Rosch, 1975 and 1978). Some members of these categories will be 'good members' while others will be 'medium' or 'low' (1975, pp. 196-200). The highest member will usually be the one which is described by the name of the category, if that name has any descriptive value, hence the naming of the blackberry as representing the mature stage. The other stages, where the blackberry indeed is not black, will be lower members of the category 'blackberry'. In the same way, 'goldfish' (a fish from China, it is not surprising that it has a compound word for a name) is descriptive, and countless other compounds keep semantic features from their constituent parts, although these

³³ If one was asked to describe a blackbird, one would probably describe an adult male; in the same way, one would describe only a mature strawberry, or at least explain that it is the way it is in the mature/adult stage. It works similarly in French, for instance with the compound 'rouge-gorge' (robin, literally 'red-throat' or 'red-breast'; not unlike the English 'robin redbreast', really).

cannot be said to be semantic constituents as they do not fulfil the criteria of recurrent semantic contrast.

5.2.3 On non semantic constituents

If, then, there is some meaning left from the original, free-standing words in the parts of at least some compounds, then there may possibly be some in the parts of PVs, as has been argued by most of the recent studies of them. What remains to be done is to find a method of giving validity to this claim. Before doing this, let us remind the reader of how meaning in lexical units will be considered.

If Cruse's view is to be taken, that a part is a semantic constituent or does not carry meaning, then only those PVs whose parts answer the criteria for semantic constituent are worth looking at. The meanings of the others are not the sum of those of their parts.

If the second view put forward is to be taken, namely that there is a lot of psychological validity in saying that at least for some compounds the meaning can be totally (in which case the parts are semantic constituents) or partly accounted for in terms of the meanings of their parts, then there is a priori no PV for which it is not worth looking at the parts. In the same way that some lexical units are completely opaque (e.g. the meaning of 'kick the bucket' cannot be explained by reference to those of 'kick', 'the' and 'bucket'), there are bound to be some totally opaque PVs. For the others, the meaning will be a combination of the meanings of the parts plus something else, which will come from the various processes of desemantisation, relexicalisation etc. after the parts are put together and the PV becomes a self-standing lexical unit.

This can be summarised using Lyons's (1977) definition of compositionality in the meaning of a compound (taking the example of 'country house'):

Its sense, we have decided for the sake of argument, is the product of three components 'X', 'Y' and 'Z' where 'X' is the sense of 'house', 'Y' is the sense of the expression 'in the country' and 'Z' is the idiosyncratic residue. (1977, p. 540)

Taking this view, we can now account for the meaning of the compounds of the type 'blackbird'. The meaning of 'blackbird' is the product of 'X' ('bird'), 'Y' ('black') and 'Z' (the residue). The residue will include such characteristics as 'only the adult male is black'; 'it has a yellow beak'; 'the female is brown with a brown beak' etc.

It would also be possible to do that for the names of berries, and probably for many more lexical units.

5.2.4 Conclusion: a method for studying the meanings of phrasal verbs

In this section we looked at views on the meanings of compounds. Cruse's view is that the basic unit of meaning in a lexical unit is the semantic constituent, which can be recognised with a rigorous test - recurrent semantic contrast. The test does work well in some cases, but it was seen that its very rigour is a problem due to the fuzzy nature of language. A different view was then adopted, which takes the meanings of most compounds to derive from those of their parts, plus what Lyons calls an 'idiosyncratic residue'.

Applying this to the case of PVs, we now have to see how to account for their meanings. They will be considered as lexical units but their semantic properties can be likened to those of compounds and consequently Lyons's definition still holds. There remains a problem, however. Because many PVs are formed from very frequent (and therefore highly polysemous) verbs and postpositions, it may be quite difficult, in the absence of a rigorous, easy-to-verify test of the type devised by Cruse, to find out where the meaning comes from.

In order to answer this problem, the following method will be used. It is a partly componential analysis (henceforth CA), as it uses predefined semantic values. The method is in 3 steps:

- first, a list of potential values for each part of the PV is established. This is done by looking at the semantics of these parts, whether as independent words or as parts of lexical units, from previous studies and dictionaries;
- second, by applying the lists to the meanings of the PVs defined from the data, hypothesise the presence of such or such value of each part in the meaning of the unit;
- third, by comparing with
 - other uses of the PV;
 - other uses of the parts;
 - items in lexical relations with the meaning looked at (e.g. opposites);

confirm or on the contrary deny the presence of each value as hypothesised. This should give more validity to the claim that such or such value actually comes from one part or the other.

Before going into the application of the method to PVs, a case study was done, with 'take up'. It is reported in the next two sections. The first is still part of the methods for the main study, as it will look at the number of lines required to obtain enough variety without using too many lines. The second specifically looks at which from some predefined values of 'take' and 'up' enter the meanings defined in the case study, using the method defined above.

5.3 A case study of 'take up' (first part): the meanings of 'take up'

The aim of this first part of the present case study is to give a full-scale example of how meanings are pinned down, and of how much data should be used to have sufficient variety without having to study too many concordance lines. The method used for studying the lines is the one defined in the previous chapter. Each concordance line is studied independently for its contextual meaning, which is defined by a replacement synonym and a paraphrase. When all the instances of the SW have been thus defined, the meanings are grouped together on the basis of similar replacement and paraphrase, the latter being the dominant criterion as it is not liable to collocational restrictions. Instances of the SW within a fixed phrase were taken as a different conceptual meaning, even if the SW also occurred outside fixed phrases with a similar meaning. The lists of conceptual meanings which the method yields are given in the results section.

5.3.1 The data

They are organised in two separate samples, each being studied for the number of conceptual meanings to be found. The reason for having two samples is that I want to see how many more meanings will be added by the second sample, ultimately to try and find a reasonable number of lines - one that yields a sufficient number of meanings, i.e. that shows variety in the meanings of the SW for the study. This will be expanded later as this part of the study goes on.

5.3.1.1 Sample 1

The data consist of 312 concordance lines of 'take up' taken from a 6.7-million-word file of *The Guardian* newspaper texts. They include the past forms as well (took/taken) and the -ING form. They were gathered using Scott's (1996) *Wordsmith Tools*. The lines are 180 characters in length, and sorted L3/R3 for maximum randomisation (i.e. to avoid groupings of phrases). The software used being a simple concordancer, it was not possible to avoid non-phrasal examples (of the type 'it can take up to 23 hours to complete the task'), and these were removed manually. There were 26 such lines, plus 6 for which the context proved insufficient to make a final decision on the meaning of the phrasal verb. In all there remained 280 lines.

5.3.1.2 Sample 2

The data for this sample were gathered from a 6.9-million-word file of *The Guardian* newspaper texts, and were gathered using Johns and Scott's (1993) *MicroConcord* (instead of Scott's (1996) *Wordsmith Tools* for the previous sample). They were sorted L3/R3 for maximum randomisation. The total number of lines was 314, reduced to 292 after manual editing: there were 21 lines where 'take up' was not a phrasal verb, and one line where the context proved insufficient for a decision on meaning. Compared to the previous sample, the amount of data is very similar, and comes from a very similar file as far as size is concerned (6.7 million words in the first, 6.9 in the second, i.e. a difference of just under 3%).

5.3.2 Results

5.3.2.1 Number of meanings

With sample 1, from the 280 lines for which a decision on meaning was reached, a total of 32 different conceptual meanings were identified. From the 292 lines of sample 2, also 32 different conceptual meanings for 'take up' were identified. It would take up too much space to give the whole lists here and it would not be very useful, especially as the two lists are quite similar (see below for a discussion of the differences). This part will only give a comparison between the meanings as found in the data and those found in dictionaries. The meanings themselves will be given with definitions and examples as they are studied in more detail in the next section of the chapter.

5.3.2.2 Comparison with dictionaries

In this part we look at the results in order to see if the amount of data shows enough variety to be interesting. First, the results will be compared with the meanings that can be found in specialist dictionaries. It should also be noted that in the data, the verb was always followed immediately by the postposition. In other words, not all the occurrences of 'take up' as a PV were investigated. The instances of PV where there is a pronoun between the verb and the postposition were not included in the data. It would be possible and even easy to change the way of collecting the lines, but it would also mean much more editing because asking the computer to look for 'take' with 'up' within the first words to the right would add many more

unwanted lines. Second, the results of the two samples will be compared to find out whether doubling the amount of data enables one to have many more conceptual meanings.

The number of different conceptual meanings determined in this case study was compared to those found in specialist dictionaries: *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (thereafter referred to as 'Cobuild'), *Longman Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (referred to as 'Longman') and *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English. Vol. 1: Verbs with Prepositions and Particles* (referred to as 'Oxford'). The first two dictionaries are dictionaries of phrasal verbs designed more specifically for learners of English as a Foreign Language, while the third is a more general dictionary of idioms one volume of which is dedicated to verb + particle (whether preposition or postposition) idioms.

'Cobuild' gives 15 entries for 'take up', plus 2 for 'take up on' and 2 for 'take up with'. It does not include fixed phrases based on the phrasal verb.

'Longman' is a much bigger dictionary and has 28 entries for 'take up', including 9 fixed phrases, plus 2 for 'take up on', 1 for 'take up to' and 3 for 'take up with'.

Similarly, 'Oxford' includes fixed phrases - which is expected from a dictionary of idioms. It gives 16 entries for 'take up', of which 5 are fixed phrases, plus 1 for 'take up on' and 2 for 'take up with'.

The differences are presented below, by dictionary, for each sample.

5.3.2.2.1 Sample 1

With 'Cobuild', 4 entries for 'take up' were not represented in the data, plus the 2 for 'take up on'. This means that 6 of the 19 entries are not represented, or just above 30%. On the other hand, 8 of the 32 senses (25%) which occurred in the data are not listed in this dictionary. In particular, as it does not have any entries for fixed phrases, these account for much of this aspect of the difference.

With 'Longman', 9 entries for 'take up', including 1 fixed phrase, did not appear in the data, plus 2 for 'take up on'. This makes 11 of the 34 entries, or just above 30%. Again, there were senses in the data which did not have an entry in the dictionary. There were 7 of these, including 2 fixed phrases.

Finally, 'Oxford' had 2 entries which were not represented in the data, plus 1 for 'take up on'. This makes 3 of the 19 entries, or just over 15%. On the other hand, many of the senses defined from the data - 15 of the 32, or just under 50% - were not listed in 'Oxford'. This can

be explained in part by the fact that it is primarily a dictionary of idioms and that some senses of 'take up' may not have been included as not fulfilling the criterion of idiomaticity.

5.3.2.2.2 Sample 2

With all three dictionaries, there were two entries which were present in the list from this sample and not that from the previous one. The first was the use of 'take up' meaning 'pull up, remove, usually by force', while the other one was 'pick up, collect, get into one's hands'. All the others which were not found in the previous sample were not found in this one either. As for the number of senses defined from the sample which were not listed in the dictionaries, the figures are as follows:

- 8 were not in 'Cobuild' (same number as for the previous study), including 5 fixed phrases;
- 7 were not in 'Longman' (*idem*), including 1 fixed phrase;
- 16 were not in 'Oxford' (1 more than for the previous study), including 2 fixed phrases.

5.3.3 Conclusion: on the amount of data

The number of different meanings may be the same in each list, but the overall number of meanings is slightly higher than this, because there are some which only appear in one. In all, the differences between the two lists are:

- there are 4 meanings which occur in the first sample but not in the second;
- there are 4 meanings which occur in the second sample but not in the first.

It can therefore be said that the extra 292 lines of 'take up' bring in an extra 4 meanings from the 32 previously defined. Also, 3 of the meanings from the first sample and 2 of those from the second only occur once. One may be inclined to think that these are due to chance and that it is hard to predict that more data will bring yet other meanings. As far as the present samples are concerned, the total number of meanings increased by 12.5% while the amount of data increased by over 100%, but on the number of lines which corresponded to common meanings, the differences were not great.

The aim of the thesis, as stated in the general introduction and repeated at the beginning of this chapter, is not to give an exhaustive list of all the meanings of PVs. What is needed is sufficient variety, and this seems to have been found in the data. All the most frequent uses of 'take up' occur in both samples. Each sample shows a high number of different meanings, and the two together do not give much more variety. Considering that 'take up' is one of the most

polysemous PVs³⁴, because it is formed from the very polysemous verb ‘take’ and one of the most commonly used and most complex of all postpositions³⁵, then there is a good chance that other PVs will not show much more variety in a similar amount of data. This implies that 300 lines for each PV may be a sufficient amount of data to yield a worthwhile number of meanings, while remaining within manageable limits for a line-by-line analysis.

5.4 A case study of ‘take up’ (second part): ‘takeness’ and ‘upness’ in ‘take up’

In this section, the list of meanings defined from the data is studied using the method outlined in section 5.2.4. For each meaning, the parts are compared to a list of ‘potential’ semantic values. These are taken from various previous studies and dictionaries.

5.4.1 Organisation of the discussion

The fixed phrases are given first, followed by the meanings of ‘take up’ outside fixed phrases. They are defined (the phrase and then the PV, or just the PV if it is not part of a fixed phrase) by a synonym and/or a paraphrase, and an example is given from the data.

Before each conceptual meaning is an indication between square brackets of whether the phrase/use occurs in sample 1 (s.1) or in sample 2 (s.2) or both.

The discussion of the semantic values of ‘take’ and ‘up’ is done in that order. As outlined in section 5.2.4, the discussion is partly componential: the meanings of the PV are compared to lists of semantic values. The ‘takeness’ is looked at first, with comparison - the meaning and the ‘takeness’ in the meaning are compared to other phrases or other uses of the same or other verbs - and then the ‘upness’ is discussed, also with comparison.

All examples, whether for the meanings studied or for other uses/meanings/phrases used for comparison purposes come from *The Guardian* newspaper texts unless stated otherwise.

³⁴ It was by far the most polysemous of PVs with ‘take’ in Consigny (1995).

³⁵ From Side (1990), p.149. For ‘Cobuild’, ‘up’ is ‘the commonest of the particles used in combinations’ (1989), p.487.

5.4.2 Lists of semantic values

5.4.2.1 'Takeness'

The values taken here come from Consigny (1995) where they are discussed in more detail than is possible here, and were established mainly from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1933) and concordances of 'take' which came from *The Independent* newspaper texts and from a sample of the 20-million-word COBUILD Corpus of spoken English (1994). The basic meaning of 'take' as defined in the OED is 'to transfer to oneself by one's own action or volition' (vol. xvii, p. 557). The basic values for 'take' are listed below. The examples come from the data in Consigny (1995):

- agent, i.e. the process involves a person who does the action; the agent is not always present but it often is.
- consciousness; voluntary action (this usually goes with 'agent': an active agent does an action voluntarily or at least consciously, as is explained in the OED definition)
e.g. '*... he simply took the microphone and sang a Keralan song...*'
- contact, when the object is material, as it is physically grasped by the agent
e.g. '*... they said Oh take your bag and you know get out*'
- removal from one place; this goes with the previous value, as when the subject 'takes' the object, it is at one place and afterwards it is in the subject's possession, therefore no longer in the same place (this can be extended to actual, voluntary removal for its own sake)
e.g. '*You're not allowed to take money out of people's Swiss bank accounts.*'
- movement from one place to another, for the same reason as previously; this includes causing the object to move, or driving the object to some place
e.g. '*But you took her against her will in your car to the place where this rape happened.*'
- making one's own; property: the object comes into the subject's possession, whether physically in the agent's hands, or not; it can be extended to gaining control
e.g. '*It would be unprincipled, and undemocratic to take that view.*
... they have taken one of the Conservatives safest seats...'
- retention, i.e. the subject usually keeps what has been taken
e.g. '*... they were given photographs of republicans to take with them on patrols.*'
- effort or whatever can replace it: in other words, in order to get hold of the object, the subject makes a physical (grasping) or other type of effort (e.g. money, by paying)
e.g. '*Okay thanks very much I'll take that then. That's fifty then.*'
- receive, as opposed to 'making one's own', corresponds to cases where the object goes to the subject without the latter making an effort for it (e.g. 'take a blow')
e.g. '*... when he got inside, taking punches in order to do so...*'
- as opposed to action/effort, the act of asking (first example) or requiring (second example) something
e.g. '*it acts as their agent and takes 40 per cent.*'

'The work could take 10 years and will be the trust's (...) biggest project.'

- usually perfective aspect, as the act of taking is usually self-contained and complete
- e.g. *'Villa took the lead in the 15th minute against the run of play.'* (compare 'have the lead')
- there is sometimes a different aspectual value, when the process is seen as a beginning, or the start of a new habit. This is mostly present in intransitive uses of the verb. For lack of a better word, this has been called 'shift'³⁶, as it is normally the sign of or brought about by a change in the subject or in the subject's habits.
- e.g. *'Karen, struggling with staff-problems at her new restaurant, takes to champagne binges after her workouts at the gym.'*
- (adapted from Consigny, 1995, p 20)

The verb *can* and normally *does* have more than one of these values in most of its uses, although some are incompatible as they are opposite extensions (e.g., 'receive', where the subject is not the agent of the action, vs. 'effort' + 'make one's own', where the subject is the agent). Also, other values may be added, but they are not what forms the core of 'takeness' and have consequently not been put in the list. They will be given and exemplified as they occur if they do.

Some values are more semantically significant than others. If 'agent' is a value of 'takeness', it is not a very characteristic one. Many a verb calls for an agent. On the other hand, the fact that the agent gains possession of an object is much more telling. In the same way, some correspond to the core meaning of the verb whereas others correspond to extensions from that core meaning. It is thus possible to divide values into the core meaning and its extensions, and between very characteristic and less characteristic values. For the present purpose, which is to find if the verb retains some meaning, the difference between the core and its extensions will be discarded. Even if the verb is used in a metaphorical or figurative way, the fact that it does carry meaning will be considered sufficient.

5.4.2.2 'Upness'

The values defined here are meant to apply to postpositions only, i.e. in PVs. The meanings and semantic values of 'up' as a preposition are not considered here. They come from Lindner (1981), Side (1990), Mohan (1997) and Hannan (1998). These studies mainly rely on the linguists' own intuitions on how PVs work. This does not mean that they are wrong or that the

³⁶ I would like to thank P. Caudal for pointing out to me that this is not an inchoative aspect and discussing it further with me, although he too was unable to give it a satisfactory name.

values which they give for postpositions are not correct. In particular, Lindner often quite convincingly justifies the ones she finds.

The values are:

- vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’ (concrete or abstract)
e.g. ... *they were able only to **stand up**, lie down, or move a few inches.*
*Oil prices **go up** while shares fall*
- extension from vertical: quantity, ‘increase’
e.g. *It has also **speeded up** the building of the Irish Film Centre, ...*
- (from Lakoff and Johnson’s conceptual metaphor UP IS GOOD, 1980, p. 15), ‘improvement’, ‘positive’
e.g. *Things are **looking up**, you said so yourself.*³⁷
*If YOU need **cheering up** after that, here is my Gulf joke: ...*
- goal-oriented: approach, ‘getting closer’, ‘entering perceptual field’, plus abstract extensions (e.g. levels)
e.g. *An old lady **came up** to me at the 8 o’clock service...*
*We are still behind other European countries, but we are **catching up** fairly quickly.*
- ‘from access to possession’. It can be extended to ‘for a purpose’ (though not necessarily) in cases where the postposition indicates that the action described is done in order to enable the subject to perform another one.
e.g. *Mrs Buchan ran into the kitchen and **picked up** a knife before running upstairs into the bedroom.*
- ‘from possession to access/non possession’, including ‘abandon’
e.g. *A Scottish estate (...) is to be **put up** for sale for between £650,000 ...*
*The government is to fund a £1 million project to help pregnant women **give up** smoking...*
- reflexive: this is used for cases where there is movement (concrete or not) within the subject leading to it being or seeming smaller, or where the movement draws two or more subjects/objects to a point of contact.
e.g. ... *two European car makers are **joining up** to cash in on the need for armaments.*
- completive: ‘completeness’; ‘achievement of goal’; ‘ending’. This is one of the aspectual values of ‘up’: perfective.
e.g. ... *the rock’s energy would have been **used up** and new boreholes would have to be opened...*
- There is another aspectual value, when the process is seen as a beginning or when there is a change leading to a new state or habit (although it is sometimes considered as the same as the previous, as opposed to duration). As for ‘take’, this will be called ‘shift’ (see the note on that value of ‘take’).
e.g. ... *Richard Daley **opens up** a used carriage business in the salubrious village of Highbury.*

Contrary to the values given for ‘take’, in the case of ‘up’ there is normally only one value, except the aspectual values which are compatible with most other values: vertical movement, for instance, does not forbid completion of the movement. Also the presence of the postposition tends to give the PV a more concrete interpretation than the verb on its own, or to

³⁷ From *The Full Monty* (1997), directed by Peter Cattaneo.

make the action more actual as noted by Rossi (1994, p. 204), already quoted in chapter 3: ‘en général, le verbe permet, la “particule” réalise’.

As for the verb, some of the values defined above seem contradictory. In particular, the values ‘into possession’ and ‘from possession to access’ are clear opposites. However, they correspond to two different extensions of the physical interpretation of ‘access’ and ‘possession/contact’ (see Lindner, pp. 122-125), which makes both compatible with ‘up’ although they are mutually exclusive in the same way that ‘receive’ and ‘make one’s own’ coexist in ‘take’ but not at the same time.

Also, as with ‘take’, some values are more important than others. In particular, the perfective value of the postposition is rather widespread among particles. This was already noted by Bolinger (1971, p. 81): ‘... phrasal verbs (...) denote an action and at the same time a result’. So if all that the postposition brings to the PV is an aspectual value, then its semantic weight, although it is something, is not very great. On the other hand, an indication of movement towards a higher point will be much more typical of ‘upness’.

5.4.2.3 Hierarchy of values

It was pointed out in the discussion of the values that some are somehow more important than others, in the sense that they are more typical of the meaning of the particular verb or postposition. This will be indicated in the subsequent analysis (see 5.4.3 below), but let us first define that hierarchy for each part of ‘take up’.

Three different degrees of typicality and semantic weight were defined. The first degree corresponds to defining values. By this is meant the values which correspond to what is typical in the meaning of a particular word, as opposed to others, and usually enables one to recognise that word. For instance, the handle is a defining characteristic of a cup or a mug, and the shape usually enables one to make the difference between these two vessels.³⁸ The semantic weight of these values is very high and when they are present it normally indicates that the word is used with its core meaning, or a meaning close to it. The second degree goes for values which exist both in the word and in others, but not just in any word. For instance, they will also be present in items in lexical relations with the word; they are typical of a more restricted semantic field, but not just of the word under study. Still, their semantic weight is not negligible although it is not very high. Finally, the third degree of typicality and semantic

³⁸ See the experiments of Labov (1973) on prototypes. See also Lehrer (1990) among others.

significance concerns values which are present in the word under investigation but are also frequently present in other words, and therefore their typicality is not high, nor is their semantic significance. For example, an agent is present in most uses of the verb 'take', but it is also present in most active verbs and therefore its typicality is greatly reduced although it is a component of 'takeness'.

To take the example of the blackbird discussed earlier, in the features which are to be considered, the yellow beak will probably be a more important feature than the black colour of the feathers, as the former is more typical of that bird than the latter which is nonetheless quite important. Thus the yellow beak would in this study be assigned the first degree of typicality and the black plumage would be considered a second-degree feature while the fact that it is a bird would only be a third-degree feature.

The degrees of importance will be indicated by three, two or one tick(s) for first, second and third respectively. In the present analysis, the values of 'take' and 'up' will be assigned the following degrees.

For 'takeness', the values for first degree of typicality ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$) are 'removal', 'movement from one place to another', 'making one's own/property', 'receive' and 'asking or requiring as opposed to action'; the values for second degree ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$) are 'contact', 'retention' and 'effort or whatever can replace it'; the values for third degree ($\sqrt{\quad}$) are 'agent', 'volition/consciousness' and the two aspectual values - 'perfective' and 'shift'.

For 'upness', the values for first degree of typicality ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$) are 'vertical: towards a higher point', 'extension from vertical: more', 'improvement/positive'; the values for second degree ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$) are 'goal-oriented: approach', 'from access into possession', 'from possession to access' and the 'reflexive' value; the values for third degree ($\sqrt{\quad}$) are the two aspectual values - 'completive/perfective' and 'shift'.

5.4.3 Analysis

The meanings are the ones defined from the data described in 5.3.1; they were not given there for the sake of brevity.

After each analysis, a table is given for the semantic value(s) of each part present in the PV. The key to the tables is the following:

F indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

++ indicates that the meaning/semantic value is present in both parts.

± indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(F) indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not, depending on the nature of the subject and/or of the object.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value in the meaning is not certain.

The position in the hierarchy of a value present in a meaning will also be clear, from the number of ticks it receives. Thus it should be easier to recognise typical uses of the word, or core uses. For example, if the value 'removal' is present in one meaning of 'take up', then it will appear in the table with three ticks, whereas if 'agent' is present it will have one tick.

All examples come from *The Guardian* newspaper texts unless stated otherwise.

1. [s.1 &2] 'take up arms' (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the phrase is 'start to fight', 'go to war'.

The meaning of the PV is 'take/seize weapons (arms), and use them'. It can be treated as a metonymic extension of arms and their taking up for actual fighting.

e.g. A GROUP of 200 women have **taken up arms** in northern Nicaragua to press President Violeta Chamorro's government

No synonym or paraphrase for the PV as it is part of a fixed phrase.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition/consciousness', 'contact' (in the literal use of the phrase), 'make one's own', 'retention', and possibly 'shift'.

Comparison with: - the opposite 'give up' arms (give ≠ take). The opposition 'give' vs. 'take' in the two phrases gives weight to the fact that the arms are 'taken', in the sense that some people do grasp them and keep them in their hands.

e.g. ... they were set free and pointed towards government lines, after **giving up weapons**, including rifles and side arms.

- 'take arms' is possible without the postposition. This shows that the 'takeness' is present in the PV: people seize weapons and keep them in order to use them.

e.g. ... those who **take arms** will win greater sympathy from the world than those who do not.

There seems to be 'upness' in 'for a purpose', plus possibly a shift. The value of purpose can be partly justified by the explanation given for 'up' by Lindner (1981, p. 125). She says that the 'upness' there corresponds to a change into possession, implying use. The fact that the verb on its own is possible does not deny the possibility. The meanings of the two parts only

confirm one another: ‘taking’, especially a weapon, often implies that one is going to use it and the postposition does the same as it indicates purpose.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√	√√ (F)			√√√ (F)
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√ (F)				√ ++

Table 5.1 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				√ ++

Table 5.1 b: ‘upness’

2. [s.1 & s.2] ‘take up the slack’ (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the whole phrase is ‘strengthen the weak parts, improve by tightening up the loose parts’ (comes from the slack of a rope).

The meaning of the PV is ‘move towards a higher position’.

e.g. 837 million worth of new Blue Arrow shares had flopped, and the advisers had decided to **take up the slack** themselves.

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition’, plus figurative ‘contact’, and ‘movement from one place to another’.

There seems to be ‘upness’ in ‘movement towards a higher point’ (the spatial value of ‘up’): there is a metaphorical movement from down (slack of a rope) to up (straight rope).

Comparison with: - ‘take up’, meaning 30, ‘cause to move towards a higher point’. This use is quite close to the one looked at here, which is also confirmed by

the meaning of 'slack' itself, since the slack of a rope typically is below the rest. It confirms both parts.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	√√ F		√√√ F	
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.2 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.2 b: 'upness'

3. [s.1& s.2] often - but not always - military context: 'take up position' (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the phrase is 'get into position and secure it'. It is usually associated with an order, and with a notion of imminent fight or confrontation (military or not, depending on the context).

The meaning of the PV is 'make one's own and secure it'.

e.g. two weeks before UN peacekeeping troops are due to **take up position** in the disputed areas of...

Soccer: Scots **take up position** as Rijkaard faces fitness fight

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'consciousness', 'make one's own', 'retention'.

Comparison with: - 'take position' exists but seems to have a different meaning. But it does still carry the main values of 'take' found for the PV - 'agent', 'consciousness', 'make one's own', 'retention'.

e.g. Only when the Lord Chancellor **takes position** at his control panel, called the Woolsack, and opens the proceedings, will the journey back...

There seems to be ‘upness’ in ‘for a purpose’, and possibly in strengthening the fact that the position is secured. Again, the comparison with the single verb is useful. Without the postposition, the phrase loses the idea of ‘securing the position’. Also, the single verb does not presuppose purpose, i.e. the aim of fighting or at least defending the position just secured. It is more a case of it being already the agent’s, or ready for the agent to ‘take’. This has been noted by Lindner (1981, p.123). She says that the difference between verb and PV is that the latter is more active.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.3 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				

Table 5.3 b: ‘upness’

4. [s.1& s.2] ‘take up residence/residency’ (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the phrase is ‘start to live, settle down in a certain place’.

The meaning of the PV is ‘start/choose to start/make one’s own (residence)’.

e.g. On his return, Samson noticed that a swarm of bees had **taken up residence** in the lion's carcass

THE LONDON Philharmonic Orchestra **took up residency** at the Royal Festival Hall yesterday, ...

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition/consciousness’, ‘make one’s own’, ‘retention’ and possibly ‘shift’.

Comparison with: - ‘take residence’, with the same meaning as the PV-fixed phrase, exists but is much less frequent. In about 45 million words, ‘take’ followed by ‘residence/residency’ with the meaning ‘start to live’ occurred 51 times; 50 of the instances were of the PV while the verb on its own only occurred once. Still, it shows that the ‘takeness’ is there.

e.g. the first thing she did when she **took residence** was to move her desk out of office eyeline and close the double doors.

- ‘have (a) residence’ is opposite to ‘take up residence’, as it does not mean ‘start to’ but just ‘live’ in a place. The opposition is carried by the opposition between ‘have’ and ‘take’, the former being the consequence of the latter, which also confirms the ‘takeness’.

e.g. Bono, U2’s lead singer, was born May 10, 1960 when the 19-year-old Bob Dylan **had a residency** at the Purple Onion Piazza Parlour in St Paul.

There seems to be ‘upness’ in possibly the aspectual value of the PV (goes with the verb).

Comparison with: - ‘start up’, where the postposition confirms the verb and reinforces the shift in the PV. It confirms that of ‘up’ in the PV. The two aspectual values - of the verb and the postposition - confirm and strengthen each other.

e.g. ... taxes on the few thousand private firms that have **started up** over the past year

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.4 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++

Table 5.4 b: 'upness'

5. [s.1] 'take up a stance' (fixed phrase); only one instance.

The meaning of the phrase is 'adopt or start to have a particular position (political or other)'.

e.g. Strauss, in his teens, had still to **take up** his revolutionary **stance**

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition/consciousness', 'make one's own', 'retention', 'shift'.

Comparison with: - 'take a stance' is possible and with a similar meaning. In fact it is even much more frequent than the PV, which only occurred once in about 45 million words. It therefore seems that the 'takeness' is very strong in the PV. This is also confirmed by the opposite 'give up a stance' (although it was only found once in about 45 million words) where 'give' confirms 'take'.

e.g. ... he has been unable to **take a stance** on whether he is a reactionary or a Modernist...
... will not easily **give up** its rigid **stance** on abortion and other issues.

There does not seem to be much 'upness' in this PV, except possibly in 'shift'. It would complement that of the verb. The bulk of the meaning is carried by the verb, and the postposition does not add or bring much to the PV.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.5 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++

Table 5.5 b: 'upness'

6. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up the torch' (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the phrase is 'take the leadership where it was left off'.

Synonym for the PV: 'grasp, pick up', the torch being a common metaphor for the leadership.

No paraphrase, part of a fixed phrase.

e.g. Britain has had three European indoor winners in recent years in David Sharpe, Steve Heard and Tom McKean. Steele looks capable of **taking up the torch**. Brian Whittle tried to burn the field off with a first half in 53sec but Steele reduced the gap

The films proclaim a new generation of directors **taking up the torch** of men like Dariush Mehrjui, Bahman Farmanara and Bahram Beyzai who, before...

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own', 'contact' (abstract), 'retention'.

Comparison with: - 'hold/carry a/the torch' means be in a position of leadership. Before one can 'hold' it, one has to 'take' it. This seems to confirm the 'takeness' of 'take up'.

e.g. ... the young people of Cuba **carry the torch** of the revolution into the future?

... coping with the responsibilities of **holding the torch** for country as well as club

- 'take the torch' on its own is possible, with a similar meaning. This has two implications. First, it confirms the meaning attributed to 'take'. Second, it seems to give the verb more semantic weight in the combination than the postposition.

e.g. ... a period during which the nations around the Pacific rim **took the torch** of leadership from those around the Atlantic.

There seems to be 'upness' in 'towards a higher point' (if it has been left off, it is not unreasonable to think of the torch as down on the floor), and 'for a purpose'.

Comparison with - 'pick up the torch' meaning the same as 'take up'. It seems to give weight to the spatial interpretation of the postposition, as 'pick up' is more naturally physical in interpretation than 'take up'. It reinforces the idea that the torch falls or somehow is down when a leader disappears, and then it can be 'taken up' or 'picked up', thus explaining the added meaning of 'where it was left off' from simple verb to PV. The comparison between 'pick' and 'take' confirms the values attributed to 'take'.

e.g. Might the All England Club even consider taking a cue - or rather, **picking up the torch** - trim the corporate hospitality sell-out and establish regular similar days in the future?

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	√√ F			√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.6 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√ F				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				

Table 5.6 b: 'upness'

7. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up the challenge' (fixed phrase)

The meaning of the phrase is 'go for it, accept/decide to face'.

The meaning of the PV is 'accept, accept to face (make one's own)'. No paraphrase, part of a fixed phrase.

e.g. ... did not relish dealing with Mr Le Pen's renowned debating skills. Tapie **took up the challenge**, and, arguably, won.

There seems to be 'takeness' in: 'agent', 'accept', 'volition', 'make one's own'.

Comparison with: - 'take the challenge' meaning 'accept'. In this context, 'take' on its own is possible, and 'accept', with the same meaning. It confirms the 'takeness' of 'take up', and at the same time the fact that the challenge, whether it is regarded as 'offered', is there for the taking.

e.g. You could **accept the challenge** to design one that reaches the classroom ceiling...

... Koke was one of those who **took the challenge** of setting up in BASF's shadow...

There seems to be 'upness' in: 'accept' (positive value of the postposition).

Comparison with: - refusal: 'turn down' is not found, which may question the positive value of 'up' in the PV. The refusal is expressed by 'decline', but this is rare in the data: only three instances of 'decline' followed by 'challenge' in about 45 million words. The verb, however, confirms the spatial metaphorical opposition 'up' for positive and 'down' for negative.

e.g. Steward birdied, having **declined the challenge** of getting up in two and instead...

This seems to give weight to the acceptance value of 'take', as well as to that in 'up'.

- 'lay/throw down' a/the challenge is used as an opposite to 'take up': it is the PV used to express the action of challenging. It seems to give a new value to the postposition. The postposition in 'throw down' is

essentially spatial and means that the challenge is viewed as something which someone throws at someone else's feet and that they can pick it up.

e.g. Walker, the 23-year-old England No 2 from Colchester, has **laid down the challenge** to top-ranked Marshall, 22, from Nottingham.

... Mr Gorbachev **threw down a challenge** to go way beyond the modest reductions awaiting ratification...

- 'take up the gauntlet' meaning 'accept (a challenge)'. It did appear in the data, although not very often (4 times in about 45 million words). On the other hand, I found 'throw down a/the gauntlet' more often, and 'pick up the gauntlet' with a similar meaning also appeared nine times. It would seem to confirm the hypothesis put forward in the previous example, that it has a spatial basis: the challenge is seen as a physical entity, which has to be metaphorically picked up or taken up from the ground as a sign of acceptance. Then, as extensions of the use of 'challenge' appear, the meaning of acceptance is sometimes replaced by facing something which is there (i.e. not 'offered' or 'thrown down'), with the same PV used.

e.g. This week a regional newspaper, Jiangxi Daily, **took up the gauntlet** by claiming that Zhuang Yong's rippling muscles, so evident when she won Olympic gold in the 100m freestyle, represent the appliance of science.

... if the F1 Constructors' Association president Bernie Ecclestone **picks up the gauntlet thrown down** by Roger Penske...

The last series of examples puts to question the positive value brought by 'up', as they seem to give it that of movement towards a higher point (spatial meaning of the postposition). But it is possible to find both values present to a certain extent. Also, it seems to add a physical value to the verb and make it closer to 'pick up', although it does not give it the 'movement' value. In fact it shows two facets of 'making one's own': the physical act of grasping, and the figurative act of accepting (cf. the opposite, 'throw down', clearly spatial both in verb and postposition, and the synonym, 'accept', clearly not).

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.7 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.7 b: 'upness'

8. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up the cudgels' (fixed phrase); usually 'for (someone)'.

The meaning of the phrase is '(choose to) defend someone'.

The meaning of the PV is 'pick up (weapons/cudgels) and use'. It is not very different from 1, only the aim is different: in 1 it is to attack, here it is to defend someone else.

e.g. Anthony Page, a one-time close colleague, **takes up the cudgels** on behalf of his friend, Jill Bennett, and others vilified by Osborne.

The 'takeness' and 'upness' in the PV are the same as in 'take up arms'. In both there is an idea of purpose, although that is not the same. This phrase seems more fixed than the other, in that there does not exist a single-verb equivalent, which makes the contribution of the verb less dominant in this PV than in the first. Also, it is difficult to account for the difference between the two. It probably has to do with the rather limited range of use of 'cudgels'. While 'arms' is quite frequent, 'cudgels' seems to be mainly used in this fixed phrase (it was found only once outside the fixed phrase in about 45 million words), hence its more specialised meaning.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	√√ F			√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.8 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				√ ++

Table 5.8 b: 'upness'

9. [s.1] 'take up the strain' (fixed phrase); only one instance.

The meaning of the phrase is 'absorb and resist a shock'.

The meaning of the PV is 'receive and absorb/resist'.

e.g. his rod bent and pelvic floor muscles impressively braced, Griffin **took up the strain**.
Big game fishing is

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'receive', (figurative) 'retention'.

Comparison with: - 'take', for instance 'a blow', meaning 'receive'. It is quite close to 'take the strain', and shows the notion of 'receiving' which is present in the PV.

e.g. ... when the tiring Cooper had **taken** 21 punches without reply and the referee, ...

There seems to be 'upness' in possibly 'completeness'. Whatever pain, shock or at least dragging force exists, it is completely absorbed.

Comparison with: - 'take the strain' exists with the same meaning but without the postposition. It is indeed much more frequently found in the data (29 times against only one for the PV in about 45 million words), thus

confirming some ‘takeness’ in the PV. The fact that with the single verb the strain is to a certain extent gradable also shows that completeness is not implied by the verb, which tends to confirm the value of the postposition.

e.g. A short crisis would not be a problem for the international banking system. Banks would **take the strain**. But what would happen to the system...

... healthy nations are the best building bricks for the federations and supra-national structures that may **take more of the strain** in the future.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
√√√	√√				

Table 5.9 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented; approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
			√	

Table 5.9 b: ‘upness’

10. [s1 & s.2] ‘take up’ followed by ‘with’ and a person.

The meaning of the PV is ‘go out with’. Paraphrase: ‘start a relationship/have a relationship’.

e.g. And when he leaves her, she **takes up** first with an elderly Czech emigre

Then he **took up** with a 14-year-old and, rather improbably, got her pregnant.

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘consciousness’, ‘start’ (the aspectual value of the intransitive use of ‘take’)

Comparison with: - intransitive use of 'take', meaning 'start'. It can also be found in phrases like 'take to something' meaning starting a habit. The use of the verb on its own normally indicates that something (a plant just planted, an experiment or an event which was waiting to happen) has successfully started/happened. It can be linked to the idea of grasping or catching, which if used in an intransitive way can describe the successful start for something planted (its roots actually take a firm grasp of the soil, then extended to its start in life). The shift is quite clear here.

e.g. ... her dog Kipper this morning. Kipper has **taken to** biting his leg. The vet said that he was bored.³⁹

There seems to be 'upness' in 'start' (aspectual value of the postposition)

Comparison with: - transitive use of 'take up' meaning 'start' (e.g. 'take up an activity', meaning 15). It is not only a trait of the intransitive use of 'take', or of the intransitive use of 'take up'. The verb often indicates a kind of change (shift), and is confirmed by the postposition (which also occurs with 'start up' and other verbs with transitional meanings, like 'break/split' in 'break/split up'), although the transitive is not normally associated with a start. In the case of activity, it is more a question of adopting (making one's own) a habit which one did not have before.

This seems to confirm the meaning of the verb as one of starting, and the use of the postposition. The verb on its own does occur with that meaning, but not in that particular context. The postposition enables the specialisation of the meaning from something aspectual (shift) to the actual starting, and probably makes that combination more natural as the verb on its own with 'with' would sound unnatural in that context, and there are other PVs of the same sort (verb + 'up') which indicate a start; this is a probable example of the analogous nature of many PVs noted by Side (1990).

³⁹ Although all dictionaries give the intransitive meaning of 'take' on its own, this was not found in the data. It was not found in Consigny (1995) either. Only 'take to' occurred.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
					√ ++

Table 5.10 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++

Table 5.10 b: 'upness'

11. [s1 & s.2] 'take up' an offer/invitation

Synonym for the PV: 'accept'. Paraphrase: 'give a positive response'.

e.g. Peter is professionally interested in substance abuse and **takes up** Amanda's invitation to go to a self-help group meeting
... she had offered this man friendship and she could not run away just because he **took up** her offer, so she wrote back...

The fact that it is a response is implied by the meaning of 'invitation' or 'offer', but not by the PV itself.

Comparison with: - 'take up the challenge', meaning 7, 'accept/make one's own'. It is not only 'accept'; a challenge is not always an offer. When it is, it can be accepted/taken up, or refused (but no instance of 'turn down the challenge' in about 45 million words). When it is not, it can be met, faced, evaded, taken up. It often is there for the taking, more than offered, or it is thrown upon someone. (There is one instance of 'take

the challenge’, but as it is in a title, it is possible that it was ‘take up’ and the postposition was deleted.)

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in: ‘agent’, ‘volition’, ‘receive’, ‘make one’s own’, ‘retention’.

Comparison with: - ‘take an offer’, meaning ‘accept it’. ‘Take’ on its own carries acceptance (‘receive’ + ‘agent’ + ‘volition’); however, it only works with ‘offer’.

e.g. ... there are fund managers who will instantly **take** a cash **offer** without going through the necessary valualational process.

- ‘take up a post/job’, meaning 14, ‘accept’. Again, ‘take’ on its own is possible, with the same meaning. The two uses of ‘take up’ are very close. The problem is that with ‘job’ and the like, there is often an idea of starting which is attached to the verb, and sometimes the two are blended, sometimes they are not. Also, again one opposite is ‘turn down’, confirming the positive value attached to the postposition.

There seems to be ‘upness’ in: ‘accept’ (positive).

Comparison with: - ‘turn down an offer/invitation’ meaning ‘refuse it’. The fact that the ‘traditional’ opposite of ‘up’ (‘down’) is used in the opposite of ‘take up’ confirms the hypothesis. This can be linked to Lakoff and Johnson’s conceptual metaphor UP IS GOOD (1980, p. 15).

e.g. Platt recently **turned down** a lucrative **offer** from Bari...

The Defence Secretary, Tom King, has **turned down** an **invitation** to attend but is sending...

The two parts then confirm and strengthen each other to make the meaning of ‘take up’ here.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√ (F)
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
√√√	√√ (?)				

Table 5.11 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.11 b: 'upness'

12. [s1 & s.2] financial context: rights issues or the like; can occur as a noun

The meaning of the PV is 'buy, or accept to buy (something which has been offered)'.

e.g. BM announced that its pounds 60 million rights issue had a near 96 per cent **take up**.
The cash...

BICC raised pounds 140 million after 92 per cent of shareholders **took up** its one-for-five rights issue at 285p per share.

Comparison with:

- 'take up an offer/invitation' meaning 'accept'. The object of the present PV (rights issues) can be seen as an offer, in which case the PV could be seen as having the same meaning and not worth separating, but it can also be seen as something you buy, which is what is done here, in which case it adds the idea of paying (i.e. effort/money) to the simple positive response.
- 'take up an opportunity' (meaning 29). These are quite close, but the meaning under study here is specifically financial.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'effort' (replaced here by money), 'make one's own', 'retention'.

Comparison with:

- 'take' meaning 'buy'. The verb on its own can have this meaning, which confirms the value of 'effort' (replaced by money) added to the other, usual values of 'take': 'agent', 'make one's own', 'retention'.

e.g. Okay thanks very much I'll **take** that then. That's fifty then.⁴⁰

- 'take' meaning 'accept'. This meaning also confirms the idea of a positive response added to the other of buying (see the discussion of the previous meaning).

⁴⁰ From the COBUILD 20-million-word spoken corpus, in Consigny, 1995, p. 15.

The positive value of ‘up’ can easily be found in the notion of acceptance carried by the PV and which is also confirmed by the opposite ‘turn down’ where ‘down’ is opposed to ‘up’ in Lakoff and Johnson’s metaphor UP IS GOOD referred to earlier.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√	√√			

Table 5.12 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.12 b: ‘upness’

13. [s.1 & s.2] ‘take up’ space/time (quantifiable concepts)

synonym: ‘use’ or ‘necessitate’. Paraphrase: ‘use (usually completely) or demand the whole of’.

e.g. the correspondence, drawings and the like, **took up** so much time and produced so much worry

Most of the foyer and ground floor of the Palais des Arts et des Congres was **taken up** by an exhibition of modern weather forecasting equipment: ...

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in: ‘requiring’ (which can be linked to ‘making one’s own’), and sometimes also ‘make one’s own’ and ‘retention’ (when the meaning is ‘use’).

Comparison with: - ‘take space/time’, meaning ‘necessitate’. The single verb normally only means that, and it therefore does not always compare completely

with the PV. On the other hand, it does carry the value 'requiring' (it is quite a basic meaning of 'take' on its own). In this case, the difference is not obvious at all and the postposition seems to have been added for no other purpose than making the verb sound more natural, as has already been noted by some linguists⁴¹.

- 'take space/time', meaning 'use'. Although this is less frequent than the previous use of 'take', it does occur in the data. It also does confirm the 'takeness' in this use of the PV.

There seems to be 'upness' in: 'completeness'.

Comparison with: - 'use up' meaning 'use completely'. In this PV the postposition clearly adds the value of completeness, which confirms the possibility of completeness in at least some of the cases of 'take up' followed by quantifiable concepts. This also adds another, which is that of actuality (see Rossi's remark, quoted in the discussion of the values of 'up'). While 'take' on its own can remain vague or theoretical, 'take up' is actualised by the presence of the postposition. Hence the phrasal verb can be used with (precisely) quantified nouns (e.g. 'they... **take up** 64.4 per cent of the federal budget'); also, the phrasal verb is more easily passivised (see the second example given for the PV) since the action is seen as actualised and more easily completed (the latter value may be present in the postposition).

⁴¹ Bolinger (1971) notes that in some cases Latinate verbs have acquired 'redundant' postpositions, which do not seem to add anything to the meaning of the verb: 'we would not feel **comfortable** now without the *through* in *With a little pressure the needle finally perforated through*' (1971, foreword p. xii, my bold).

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
					√√√ F
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√ F		√√√		

Table 5.13 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
			√±	

Table 5.13 b: 'upness'

14. [s.1 & s.2] a job, position etc.

A synonym is 'accept'; paraphrase: 'give a positive answer'.

e.g. It was a job she **took up** only after being refused all but seasonal work...

Comparison with:

- 'take up an invitation/offer', meaning 11, 'accept'. The two are very close, and could even be regarded as instances of the same contextual meaning. However, there is a difference, in that the use under study here also compares with another one:
- 'take up a job' meaning 'start to work'. Although the meaning is different, the fact that the type of context is rather close means that the two sometimes seem to blend, so that it is not always easy to make a difference. This is a good example of the tendency with PVs to be often slightly vague. The fact that one starts a job normally means that one has accepted beforehand.

The 'takeness' and 'upness' are the same as 'take up' meaning 'accept'. Similarly, one can 'take' a job when accepting it, e.g. 'distraught supporters besieged party headquarters,

begging him not to **take the job**', or 'turn one down', e.g. 'Some students have **turned down** three jobs to join Jaguar'.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
√√√	√√				

Table 5.14 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.14 b: 'upness'

15. [s.1 & s.2] an activity (sport, music etc.)

The meaning of the PV is 'start, especially as a new habit or pastime'.

e.g. There they **take up** sports very early and consequently develop earlier.

If they go on setting up greens like this I may as well **take up** topless darts

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'make one's own', 'retention', plus the aspectual value (shift).

Comparison with: - 'take' can be found with the names of academic subjects, but not quite in the same context: they can be seen as activities, but then the verb does not have the same meaning. It has a stronger emphasis on the idea of choice, while 'take up' here concentrates more on the mere fact of starting.

e.g. ... roughly the same subjects although some people **took** Latin and Greek',⁴²

The postposition disambiguates the verb. From 'choosing' it becomes 'starting'. Both meanings are with the verb on its own, but not with the PV.

There seems to be 'upness' in 'shift'. Also, the cooccurrence of the postposition with the verb reduces the latter's semantic input - it suppresses or at least reduces the possible idea of choice present in the single verb and gives precedence to its aspectual value.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√ F
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.15 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++

Table 5.15 b: 'upness'

16. [s.1 & s.2] a cause/crusade etc.

It means 'endorse/(start to) support or give support to'.

e.g. But, as for **taking up** new crusades at this stage, forget it, mate.

... it is constantly having to reinvent its own past, and **take up** causes which have been half-forgotten.

Comparison with: - 'take up' a case, meaning 'take to court/to an authority and defend' (meaning 19). The meaning of the PV is quite close in both cases, as

⁴² From *The Independent*, in Consigny, 1995, p. 14.

in both the agent ‘makes the cause/case theirs’ and gives it a support which is more than just moral. In both cases there seems to be a new kind of authority in the cause/case, which is brought by the agent of the PV.

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition’, ‘make one’s own’, ‘retention’ and in ‘shift’.

Comparison with: - ‘join’ a cause can also mean ‘start to support’. The difference, however, lies in the fact that in ‘take up’ the agent seems to become the main support of the cause, almost to take control, whereas with ‘join’ the agent only becomes part of it. This is due to the ‘takeness’ as defined, especially the value ‘make one’s own’.

e.g. ... appeal to voters ‘in every class of society’ to abandon the Conservatives and **join** his crusade for a freer, fairer Britain.

There seems to be ‘upness’ in ‘for a purpose’, as the cause/crusade is made one’s own by the agent for the purpose of defending or supporting it. The postposition also has its aspectual (shift) value. In this the use of ‘up’ can be compared to that in meaning 1 – ‘take up arms’.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.16 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				√ ++

Table 5.16 b: ‘upness’

17. [s.1 & s.2] ‘take up’ a song, etc.

Synonym: ‘repeat’, or ‘join in’. Paraphrase: ‘start singing, especially what has been sung before’.

e.g. “Let him resign, resign,” said the priest, and the crowd **took up** the chant

A tense crowd of several thousand people, mainly young students, **took up** the cry for Gen Suchinda's resignation...

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition’, ‘make one’s own’ (figurative) and possibly ‘shift’. This use is quite far from uses of ‘take’ on its own (Consigny, 1995, p. 41); the ‘takeness’ is not very obvious, and is limited to the fact that whoever ‘takes up’ a song or a chant somehow appropriates it.

comparison with: - ‘take up’, meaning 23, ‘resume’. The verb and postposition carry the same value of ‘shift’ and, in a way, there is the same notion of appropriation in the verb.

In the same way that ‘takeness’ is not obvious, neither is ‘upness’. There may be ‘upness’ in possibly ‘shift’, as the people start singing or shouting what was sung or shouted before.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√ F
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
					√ ++ (?)

Table 5.17 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++ (?)

Table 5.17 b: ‘upness’

18. [s.1 & s.2] in sports; in politics: a seat

The meaning of 'take up' here is 'win/seize'

e.g. ...the leader of Scotland's anti-poll tax campaign is not barred from the election and hopes to **take up** the seat on his release,...

... champion adjust his stance, recover his relish and, with a second-round 66, **take up** the lead with Parry.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'consciousness', 'make one's own', 'retention', 'effort'.

Comparison with: - 'take' meaning 'win' (e.g. in sports or politics). The meaning is fairly close, and confirms the 'takeness' in the PV: in both cases, there is 'agent', 'consciousness', 'make one's own' and 'retention', plus 'effort'.

e.g. ... they have **taken** one of the Conservatives safest seats...⁴³

He **took** four of six rounds and yet not making his supporters believe...⁴⁴

There does not seem to be much 'upness' in this PV. The fact that the single verb means almost the same shows that the postposition is not absolutely necessary. However, it does have the stylistic value (see meaning 13, and the note) and a strengthening value which makes the PV have a meaning more similar to physical 'pick up' although it is metaphorical here.

Comparison with: - 'take up' meaning 13. In that PV, as in this one, the postposition can be removed. Yet the postposition does make the verb more concrete (see the quote from Rossi), which makes one see the object (whether a seat in politics or 'the lead' in sports) as almost lying and at least 'there for the taking'. Thus it can be (metaphorically) 'picked up' or 'taken up'. In a way, it also gives a shade of verticality to the whole, in that it links the PV to the concrete, vertical value of 'up' although that is not strongly present.

The meaning of the verb is compatible with both meanings of the PV, while the postposition can easily have either some or no meaning. In the latter case it is added to the verb and 1) makes it sound more natural; 2) makes the PV more active than the single verb, and the whole action described more lively.

⁴³ From the COBUILD 20-word spoken corpus, in *Consigny*, 1995, p. 15.

⁴⁴ From *The Independent*, in *Consigny*, 1995, p. 15.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√	√√			

Table 5.18 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ ±F				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.18 b: 'upness'

19. [s.1 & s.2] usually legal context: a case, a complaint etc.

The meaning of the PV is 'take to court, and support or defend/bring before an authority'

e.g. confessing to crimes. The brothers' case was **taken up** by the international jurists' organisation

Now the Clerkins plan to **take up** their case with Banking Ombudsman Laurance Shurman.

The meaning of the PV here is quite close to that of 'take up a cause/crusade' (meaning 16). In both cases the agent starts to defend or support the object. Here, however, there is an added meaning, which is that the object (a case/complaint) is brought to an authority. In other words, there seem to be two different meanings put together into one: that of adopting and supporting, and that of moving towards an authority (i.e. a higher point).

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own', and also (figuratively) 'movement from one place to another' (before someone who is in a position to make a decision about it).

Comparison with: - 'take up' (meaning 16) followed by a cause/crusade has a similar meaning. The two confirm each other (see the discussion of that meaning of 'take up').

There seems to be 'upness', as for the use with 'cause/crusade', in 'for a purpose'. But the spatial meaning of the postposition is not ruled out, as in 'take up the challenge' (meaning 7).

Comparison with - 'drop', meaning 'abandon'. In both cases it is a legal context, during or just before a trial. It emphasises the (figuratively) spatial movement of the case when it is abandoned, and the fact that it is (again, figuratively) held by the person who has 'taken it up'. The opposition 'up' vs. 'down' (included in 'drop') confirms the reading of the postposition as having both values 'for a purpose' and 'towards a higher point'.

e.g. Leek were finally persuaded to **drop** the case just short of an FA inquiry.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√			√√√ F	√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.19 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				

Table 5.19 b: 'upness'

20. [s.1 & s.2] an idea, theme etc.

The meaning of the PV is ‘adopt, and develop as if it is one’s, something which was first introduced before, often by someone else’.

e.g. This is a theme **taken up** by his shadow, John Smith, in a matching article in which he accuses

... this place is as much European as American.” That point was **taken up** in the weekly news magazine Le Point.

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition’, ‘make one’s own’, ‘retention’.

Comparison with: - ‘take’ on its own when it means ‘seize/grasp’ something. The idea/theme is metaphorically seized (taken) by someone, who then uses it as if it were theirs.

There seems to be ‘upness’ in the idea that it is started again, as if the idea has been left for a while, or put into access and therefore has come into possession of the agent.

Comparison with: - ‘take up the torch’ (meaning 6); the postposition in the PV under discussion can be related to the spatial value present in the phrase, which gives it a link to the spatial meaning, and enables the verb to be detached from its core meaning. Thus the combination mixes the idea of appropriation (from ‘take’) with that of re-starting, which can be seen as an extension of the spatial meaning of the postposition.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.20 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√				

Table 5.20 b: 'upness'

21. [s.1 & s.2] a subject (failures), an issue, a problem etc.

The meaning of the PV is 'examine, investigate, tackle, get to grips with'.

e.g. The individual failings of doctors, nurses and managers are to be **taken up** with those concerned

A company spokesman said the issue had been **taken up** with Saatchi's and was now satisfactorily resolved.

Comparison with: - 'take up' an idea, meaning 33, 'bring about for discussion' is quite close; the difference is that there is not necessarily the idea of the object being a problem, and therefore the second use of the PV does not include solving or at least trying to solve.

The 'takeness', except in 'agent' and 'volition', is not at all obvious in this PV. It might possibly be found in the idea of 'movement from one place to another', as the issue or problem is not just left but (metaphorically) brought about for discussion.

In the same way, if we take 'takeness' as 'movement', then the 'upness' should be 'towards access' as a metaphorical extension of the spatial meaning.

Comparison with: - 'take up' in a legal context (meaning 19, 'take to court or before an authority') seems very similar to this one. However, there is no idea of support in the one under discussion here. Still, it seems to confirm the metaphorical movement, as the issue is brought to the attention of the people with whom it is to be tackled, and the meaning of the postposition as an indication of 'bringing to access'. The idea of purpose is not excluded either, as the aim is to solve, which accounts for the difference between the legal context and the one discussed here.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√			√√√ F (?)	√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.21 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F (?)				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√ (?)	√√ F			

Table 5.21 b: 'upness'

22. [s.1 & s.2] a job, position, etc.

A synonym for the PV is 'start' (working); a paraphrase is 'take office'.

e.g. They will be given intensive training during the August before they **take up** their posts and will spend time on residential courses

... presently senior lecturer in linguistics at the London School of Economics. She **takes up** her chair in January.

This meaning of the PV is very close to 'take up' an activity. The difference is that this one sometimes blends with another use, in a similar context, meaning 'accept' (meaning 14).

Whereas an activity does not need to be accepted, a job does.

The 'takeness' and 'upness' are the same as in the context of a sport/activity, with the acceptance sometimes lurking in (see the respective discussions of those two uses of the PV – 14 and 15).

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√ ++

Table 5.22 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√ ±F	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√ ++

Table 5.22 b: 'upness'

23. [s.1 & s.2] a job, an activity etc.

Although this meaning seems to apply to the same contexts as the one immediately above, it corresponds to a different meaning of the PV. The meaning of the PV here is 'resume/start again, after a period' whereas in the previous one it was only 'start'.

e.g. Michael, whom the club hopes to lure back to **take up** his former position as president of the Jockey Club.

Things haven't been the same since." Jill Wheater **takes up** the story. "The day after the broadcast we had 220 letters.

The meaning of 'resuming' can be seen from the context in the examples. In the first, the fact that what is taken up is 'a former position', and the anaphoric 'his' (linked to 'Michael') shows that the position had already been taken by the man, and that someone ('the club') is trying to make him take it again, former confirming that it had been left at one point.

Although the difference in context between sport/activity and job was maintained in the previous discussion (meanings 15 and 22), for this meaning of the PV it does not really matter. Indeed, as it is 'start again', it does not blend with the idea of acceptance.

The ‘takeness’ and ‘upness’ are close to those in ‘take up’ meaning ‘start’ (meaning 15). The difference seems to be carried by the postposition: the idea of resuming (where it was left off) which is the same as that in ‘take up the torch’ (meaning 6), can be explained by the metaphorical ‘dropping’ of the activity/job, and its ‘picking up’ later. This difference, however, and the fact that in fairly similar contexts the PV can have another meaning, make this use quite opaque.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				√++

Table 5.23 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F				
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
				√++

Table 5.23 b: ‘upness’

24. [s.1] responsibility, role etc.

The meaning of the PV is ‘accept, accept to take (charge)’

e.g. Many of the smaller, well managed practices will be able to **take up** the responsibility of becoming fundholders.

This is quite close to ‘take up the challenge’ (meaning 7). The difference is that one does not ‘throw down’ responsibility, hoping that an adversary will ‘take it up’. There is no idea of spatial movement, even metaphorical. Only the acceptance is there, which makes this use of the PV also close to meaning 11, ‘accept’ (an offer/invitation). The ‘takeness’ can thus be

defined as 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own' and 'retention' (as when one has the responsibility, one normally keeps it). It is also close to meaning 28 'take up an option'. The context of use is different, however. Here there is only one possible choice (one responsibility, taken or not) whereas in meaning 28 there are normally several options, of which the agent normally chooses one.

The 'takeness' is confirmed by the possibility of finding 'take' on its own in this context, and by the opposite 'give up'. The single verb on its own is actually much more frequent, with tens of occurrences while the PV only occurs once in about 45 million words.

e.g. Mr Ozawa, who stepped down to **take** responsibility for the LDP's crushing defeat in Sunday's election...

Many of the smaller, well managed practices will be able to **give up** the responsibility of becoming fundholders.

The 'upness' seems to be in the notion of acceptance (as in 'take up an offer') although the possibility of 'take' on its own reduces its strength. The problem is that 'turn down' was not found in the data. The closeness to the other use of 'take up' should be enough to confirm it, though.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.24 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.24 b: 'upness'

25. [s.1] 'take up' the benefit (of someone's action); only one instance

The meaning of the phrasal verb is 'pocket, almost steal'.

e.g. we have pioneered things like pocket calculators, but the benefit has been **taken up** by Japanese companies instead of the GECs of this world.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own', 'retention', 'effort'.

Comparison with: - 'take' can also mean 'grasp' or 'steal', although the idea here is that it is a moral more than legal theft. Still, the 'takeness' of 'take up' here is confirmed by the single verb.

There seems to be 'upness' in 'completeness'. All of the benefit has been pocketed by 'the Japanese companies', leaving none for others, hence the notion of a moral theft. The postposition here has a meaning similar to that in 'take up time' (meaning 13), 'use completely'.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√	√√			

Table 5.25 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
			√	

Table 5.25 b: 'upness'

26. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up' something

The meaning of 'take up' here is 'pick up, collect, get into one's hands'.

e.g. He should have settled down with a nice mug of cocoa, ignored the latest polls - three points lead or a half point deficit, as Douglas Hurd said "the polls have been remarkably uniform, and uniformly wrong" - and **taken up** the latest Garavi Gujarat journal, where the Indian astrologer, Mr Vasudev, who got 1987 right...

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'contact', 'effort', 'make one's own' and 'retention'.

Comparison with: - 'take' on its own often means 'grasp/pick up', which confirms the 'takeness' in the PV. The two are very close. However, with the single verb, there is often an idea of keeping the object with oneself, as for use, which is not present in the PV.

e.g. ... the police were already armed and you was going to **take** your shotgun you would think twice about doing it.⁴⁵

The postposition in the example given for the PV does not add much. If anything, it seems to reduce the meaning of the PV to just the act of picking up.

Comparison with: - 'pick up' has the same potential ambiguity, as 'pick' can mean 'choose'; the presence of the postposition gives preponderance to the physical value of 'pick' and the same happens with 'take up' here.

This is one of the manifestations of the analogous nature of PVs as noted by Side (1990, p. 146): 'Often, if not always, it seems that the new combinations are formed by analogy with existing phrasal verbs'.

⁴⁵ From the COBUILD 20-million-word spoken corpus, in Consigny, 1995, Appendix 2 l. 496.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	√√			√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√	√√			

Table 5.26 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.26 b: 'upness'

27. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up' nutriment etc.

A synonym for the PV is: 'absorb'. Paraphrase: 'get into one's body and retain'.

e.g. matter is decomposed into simple chemical compounds which may be **taken up** and re-used by plants.

... chlorine-36, which falls to the ground in rain, and is **taken up** by plants and animals.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'contact', 'removal', 'make one's own', 'retention'.

comparison with: - 'take' drugs etc. meaning 'swallow' exists on its own, and is fairly similar, as a paraphrase for it may also be 'get into one's body'. However, the single verb cannot be used in the context of a plant, and it refers more easily to a habit. The PV is more specific in meaning and although it does include an agent, it does not include a conscious one.

e.g. ... you get the same sense of unreality perhaps from **taking** drugs or booze or whatever...⁴⁶

The difference between the single verb and the PV can be explained partly by the sole presence of the postposition. Indeed, as was pointed out earlier about the effect of ‘up’ on ‘take’ followed by a measurable concept (meaning 13), the postposition makes the action more actual. This is the case here as well. Part of the difference is that in the single verb the action is often presented as abstract, as a habit, while in the PV it is more typically physical. On the other hand, although it does contribute to the meaning of the PV, the postposition does not seem to have any of its usual meanings. In other words the ‘upness’ is limited to actualisation which is not typical to ‘up’.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√		√√	√√√		√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.27 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.27 b: ‘upness’

28. [s.1 & s.2] usually but not necessarily in a contract: an option etc. (something offered or suggested).

The meaning of the PV is ‘accept/choose, especially one among several possibilities/offers’.

⁴⁶ Idem, l. 113.

e.g. Our counselling option is very rarely **taken up**. All they want is the basic information a similar rent-to-mortgage scheme operating throughout Scotland have been **taken up** by fewer than 300 tenants.

There seems to be ‘takeness’ in ‘agent’, ‘volition’, ‘make one’s own’, ‘retention’.

Comparison with - ‘take up rights issues’, meaning 12, ‘(accept to) buy’. The two uses of ‘take up’ are not very different; only in the one discussed here, the financial aspect is not usually present. The main difference is then that here, ‘take’ loses the value ‘effort or whatever can replace it (money)’.

- ‘take up a responsibility/role’ (meaning 24). The main difference lies in the fact that here the agent can choose one of several options whereas in meaning 24 it is either/or (there is only one responsibility or one role, which is taken up or not).

There seems to be ‘upness’ in acceptance (positive)

Comparison with: - ‘turn down’ is possible with an option, with the antonymous meaning ‘refuse’, which confirms the idea of acceptance rather than that of buying in both parts.

e.g. Sammy at 17 has **turned down** the university option for days of fantasy and betting shops,...

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	,			√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.28 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.28 b: 'upness'

29. [s.1 & s.2] an opportunity

The meaning of the PV is 'seize, make one's own'. It is different from the phrase 'take the opportunity' (though the two are probably somewhat related) and closer to meaning 11 ('accept/give a positive response'), because in the case of the PV the opportunity is seen as an offer. However it differs in that there are several potential 'takers', and one makes the effort of seizing the opportunity (which is not the case with an invitation). This also makes it close to meaning 12. Money is not included, however, which accounts for the difference in the treatment.

e.g. Ms Kravrsova appears bitter at the opportunities being **taken up** by cash-rich western telephone joint ventures.

"sometimes very difficult to persuade people to come within society and to **take up** the opportunities available".

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own', 'retention', in the same way as for 'take up' meaning 'accept' (meaning 11), plus 'effort (the metaphorical act of seizing the opportunity).

There seems to be 'upness' in 'accept' (the positive value of 'up').

Comparison with: - the opposite 'turn down' an opportunity which was there for the taking confirms the positive value of 'up', and the similarity with 'take up' an offer.

e.g. Most building societies have also **turned down** the opportunity to put in a bid.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√	√√ F			

Table 5.29 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
			√√√	
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.29 b: 'upness'

30. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up' something/someone

A synonym for the PV is 'drive upwards'. Paraphrase: 'cause to move towards a higher point'.

e.g. with the total amount allegedly **taken up** from pounds 163 million to pounds 376 million

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', '(usually) volition', 'contact' (metaphorical when the object is abstract), 'movement to another place' (the movement is often metaphorical).

Comparison with: - 'take' meaning 'drive'. The meaning of the single verb is almost the same as that of the verb in this PV. Both mean 'cause to move to another place'. Lindner explains this in terms of 'trajectory'. She argues, quite convincingly, that the verb describes the action, but needs a trajectory to complete it, i.e. to indicate where this particular action leads to (hence one does not normally find 'take someone' on its own if it means making them move, whereas you can 'take

someone home’, ‘take them up [to the attic]’ or ‘down [to the cellar]’).

e.g. He was on a train **taking** him home from a visit to his sister in Vienna.⁴⁷

There seems to be ‘upness’ in spatial ‘up’, ‘towards a higher point’. This can sometimes be a figurative movement, towards a higher point on a scale, for example. Sometimes it is changed to the most basic extension of the spatial meaning, ‘increase’.

The meaning of increase is evident from the first of the two examples given above for the PV: the (metaphorical: on a chart) movement is from 163 million to 376 million. The difference between the single verb and the PV is carried by the spatial postposition.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one’s own
√	√ ± (F)		√√√ (F)	√√√ (F)	
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.30 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ ± (F)	√√√ ±			
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.30 b: ‘upness’

31. [s.2] an attitude, an approach, etc.

Synonym: ‘adopt’. Paraphrase: ‘take on board and keep’

e.g. ... the Government’s cause has been compounded by the notably fair-minded attitude **taken up**, even in its leader pages, by the Daily Telegraph.

⁴⁷ From *The Independent*, in Consigny, 1995, Appendix 1 l. 345.

Like Rambo videos in post-Communist Russia, they have been **taken up** in fashionable circles as the last word in good taste.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own', 'retention'.

Comparison with: - 'take an approach' exists and can mean the same as the PV, which confirms the 'takeness'. The single verb is actually much more frequent with 'approach' and 'attitude' than the PV in the data. It does not quite work in other contexts, though. In particular, if one can 'take a certain approach or attitude', one cannot 'take a word or an expression' meaning adopt it, as is the case in the second example.

e.g. Those parents who **took** a lax attitude to family discipline now have hooligan children...

There seems to be 'upness' in possibly the strengthening value of the postposition; especially in cases where the single verb is not possible, the postposition disambiguates the verb by going further than simple 'use' which would be the default interpretation and makes 'adopt' the better interpretation. This can be linked to 'completeness' as the object becomes completely part of the subject's habits or way of life. Where the single verb is possible, however, the postposition is not necessarily meaningful: the strengthening value of the postposition is not always there.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√				

Table 5.31 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
			√ ±	

Table 5.31 b: 'upness'

32. [s.2] a mortgage, a contract etc.

The meaning of 'take up' here is 'confirm/complete a purchase, pay off'. It is not very different from 12 because the effect of the verb is the paying of money.

e.g. ... stronger upturn with net new commitments - mortgages promised but not yet **taken up** - showing a 28 per cent rise from February...

Leeds United will **take up** their option on Eric Cantona next week. Provided the French international...

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'consciousness', 'make one's own' and 'effort' (replaced by money).

Comparison with: - 'take' meaning 'buy' is possible, which confirms the 'takeness' in the PV. However, it is much weaker than the PV itself, which means 'pay off', i.e. completely. There is a problem here, which is that 'take up' can also mean 'buy' (meaning 12); the difference is that it is then closer to 'accept to buy' (the object is seen as something offered for purchase), while in the case studied here the emphasis is on the completion of payment or completion of the deal. Hence the difference in the value of 'take' in the two PVs.

There seems to be 'upness' in 'completion/end'.

Comparison with: - 'eat up' and 'drink up'⁴⁸, as opposed to the single verb equivalent, have the meaning of completeness added by the postposition. In this case of 'take up', the notion of purchase and payment brought about by the verb is pushed to completion by the postposition.

⁴⁸ Although Hannan argues that in 'drink up' there is a notion of enjoyment, it is at least not always the case (e.g. when a pub landlord asks the customers to 'drink up', it is because it is closing time, not because they want the customers to enjoy their drinks).

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
		√√			

Table 5.32 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
			√	

Table 5.32 b: 'upness'

33. [s.2] an idea, issue etc.

A synonym for 'take up' is 'raise', a paraphrase, 'bring about for discussion and talk about'.

e.g. Pro-choice Republicans plan to **take up** their cause at the party's August convention...

This use of 'take up' is fairly close to that meaning 'tackle/get to grips with' (meaning 21), in that in both cases, there is a problem or an issue which is raised and an outcome is expected. There is a difference, however, which is that in the previous use the idea of positive result is present while it is not in the one discussed here.

The 'takeness' and 'upness' in this PV are not more obvious than in the use with which it was compared, apart for 'agent' and 'volition' in the verb. Maybe the idea of 'purpose' is present in 'up' here, as the outcome is not included. Again, the spatial interpretation is possible, with the 'upness' corresponding to 'bring to access' and (here) to the fact that the idea/issue will be discussed at a higher level than that at which the people who raise the issue are themselves.

Comparison with: - 'raise' an issue/question etc. is possible in similar contexts. The same kind of metaphor applies as in the PV, namely that when it is

brought into access, the idea goes to a higher point. (The added value that there is a possible hierarchical rise is not in 'raise', though.)

e.g. Tam Dalyell, Labour MP for Linlithgow, said yesterday he intends to **raise** the issue when Parliament returns after the Easter recess.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√			√√√ F (?)	
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.33 a: 'Takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F (?)				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√ (?)	√√ (?)			

Table 5.33 b: 'upness'

34. [s.2] someone (often passive)

A synonym for the PV is 'adopt'; a paraphrase is 'adopt and look after, as one's protégé'.

e.g. She was promptly **taken up** by the Daily Mail's gossipist Nigel Dempster, who introduced her to influential...

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'make one's own' (metaphorically, as the person does not 'belong' to their protector), 'retention' (same as previously).

Comparison with: - in 'take something/someone with oneself', the single verb carries the same kind of retention as is the case here. It confirms the idea of someone getting (metaphorical) hold of someone else, even if in the

PV there is a difference as there is also a notion of protection and help.

e.g. ... the books given him by Gonzalo that Prospero **takes** with him when he is turned out of Milan...

There seems to be ‘upness’ in the metaphorical extension of the physical meaning: ‘towards a higher point’.

Comparison with: - ‘take up’ meaning ‘cause to move upwards’. In that use of the PV, the particle is clearly spatial, even though there may be metaphorical extension of the spatiality. In the one under discussion here, the particle retains some of this meaning: the person being ‘taken up’ is seen as lower than the one who ‘takes them up’ (since the latter is in a position of authority of a sort or another), and then brought ‘up’ to their level.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				√√√ F
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
	√√ F				

Table 5.34 a: ‘takeness’

vertical: space, ‘towards a higher point’	vertical: quantity, ‘more’		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√ F				
from access to possession, including ‘for a purpose’	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.34 b: ‘upness’

35. [s.2] something; occurs only once

The meaning of 'take up' here is 'remove, pull up, usually by force'.

e.g. We won't know quite how bad it is until we've **taken up** all the nets and that will take three days".

This use is comparable to that meaning 'cause to move to a higher point', as in both there is a movement of the object towards a higher place. But the idea of effort is more present in this one than in the previous one. The difference between the two is made more visible by the context than by the parts themselves.

There seems to be 'takeness' in 'agent', 'volition', 'contact', 'effort', 'removal', 'movement to another place'.

Comparison with: - 'pull up' has a similar meaning. 'Pull' enhances the idea of effort which is not self-evident in 'take' alone.

e.g. ... weed control was reduced to **pulling up** the occasional interloper fumitory seedling...

There seems to be 'upness' in the movement upwards. In this respect, it is the same as the use of 'take up' meaning 'cause to move to a higher point'. This is confirmed by the comparison with 'up' in 'pull up'.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√	√√	√√√	√√√	
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
		√√			

Table 5.35 a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
√√√				
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.35 b: 'upness'

36. [s.1 & s.2] 'take up one's right' or 'take up one's prize'; one occurrence of each

The meaning is '(decide to) use (one's right to do something or a prize one has won)'.

e.g. Cayte Williams, joint winner of last year's Jackie Moore award for fashion journalism, **took up** her prize last week a gilt chair at the Paris Haute Couture shows.
... unless of course she decides to **take up** her right to drive her carriage down the centre of the Mall...

The 'takeness' here is not at all easy to characterise, except for 'agent' and 'volition'. It is about something (a right/prize) which one already has, hence the 'takeness' is not like other cases. There is no idea of 'making one's own', or of movement. Possibly the idea of use can be linked to that in phrases of the type 'take one's time' meaning 'fully use one's time', i.e. 'not hurry'.

e.g. Gen. Schwarzkopf was determined to **take** his time before ordering a ground attack.

The 'upness' is just as vague; possibly the value of 'purpose' is present.

agent	volition, consciousness	contact	removal	movement from one place to another	making one's own
√	√				
receive	retention	effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, the act of asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift

Table 5.36a: 'takeness'

vertical: space, 'towards a higher point'	vertical: quantity, 'more'		improvement, positive	goal-oriented: approach, entering perceptual field
from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
√√ (?)				

Table 5.36b: 'upness'

5.4.4 Discussion

The present section presents and discusses the results of the previous one. First, two tables summarise the findings for the individual meanings of 'take up' studied in the section, as far as the meanings of the parts are concerned. Then the question of opacity is briefly discussed, and finally that of the relative importance of the parts in the meanings of the PV.

5.4.4.1 Tables

The tables summarise the findings for 'takeness' (5.37a) and 'upness' (5.37b). The tables are organised in the same way as those for individual meanings, with the first line of each giving the semantic values for 'take' and 'up' respectively, as in the main analysis. In the first column, the first nine meanings are marked 'FP' as 'take up' in those is part of a fixed phrase. The aim of these tables is to give the reader an overall idea of the presence (or absence) or semantic features of the parts in 'take up', and what features are the most frequently found.

	agent	volition, conscious-ness	contact	removal	movement from one place to the other	making one's own	receive	retention	Effort or whatever can replace it	as opposed to action, asking or requiring	perfective aspect	shift
use 1 FP	✓	✓	✓✓(F)			✓✓✓(F)		✓✓(F)				✓++
use 2 FP	✓	✓	✓✓F		✓✓✓F							
use 3 FP	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓				
use 4 FP	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓				✓++
use 5 FP	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓				✓++
use 6 FP	✓	✓	✓✓F			✓✓✓		✓✓				
use 7 FP	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓				
use 8 FP	✓	✓	✓✓F			✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓				✓++
use 9 FP							✓✓✓	✓✓				
use 10	✓	✓										✓++
use 11	✓	✓				✓✓(F)	✓✓✓	✓✓(?)				
use 12	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓	✓✓			
use 13						✓✓✓F		✓✓F		✓✓✓		
use 14	✓	✓				✓✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓				
use 15	✓	✓				✓✓✓F		✓✓				✓++
use 16	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓				✓++
use 17	✓	✓				✓✓✓F		✓✓				✓++(?)
use 18	✓	✓				✓✓✓		✓✓	✓✓			

Table 5.37 a: 'takeness' in the data

Key to Table 5.37 a

- F indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ++ indicates that the meaning/semantic value is present in both parts.
- ± indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (F) indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not, depending on the nature of the subject and/or of the object.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value in the meaning is not certain.

use 19	√	√				√√√ F	√√√					
use 20	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 21	√	√				√√√ F (?)						
use 22	√	√					√√√			√√		√ ++
use 23	√	√					√√√			√√		√ ++
use 24	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 25	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 26	√	√		√√			√√√			√√		
use 27	√	√		√√	√√√		√√√			√√		
use 28	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 29	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 30	√	√ ± (F)			√√√ (F)		√√√ (F)			√√ F		
use 31	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 32	√	√					√√√			√√		
use 33	√	√										
use 34	√	√					√√√ F			√√ F		
use 35	√	√		√√	√√√		√√√					
use 36	√	√										

Table 5.37 a: 'takeness' in the data

Key to Table 5.37 a

- F indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ++ indicates that the meaning/semantic value is present in both parts.
- ± indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (F) indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not, depending on the nature of the subject and/or of the object.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value in the meaning is not certain.

	vertical: space	vertical: quantity	improvement/ positive	goal- oriented: approach	from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
use 1 FP					√√				√++
use 2 FP	√√√F								
use 3 FP					√√				
use 4 FP									√++
use 5 FP									√++
use 6 FP	√√√F				√√				
use 7 FP	√√√F		√√√						
use 8 FP					√√			√	√++
use 9 FP									
use 10									√++
use 11			√√√						
use 12			√√√						
use 13								√±	
use 14			√√√						
use 15									√++
use 16					√√				√++
use 17									√++(?)
use 18	√√√±/F								

Table 5.37 b: 'upness' in the data

Key to Table 5.37 b

- F indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ++ indicates that the meaning/semantic value is present in both parts.
- ± indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (F) indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not, depending on the nature of the subject and/or of the object.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value in the meaning is not certain.

	vertical: space	vertical: quantity	improvement/ positive	goal- oriented: approach	from access to possession, including 'for a purpose'	from possession to access, including abandon	reflexive	completive; perfective aspect	shift
use 19	√√√F				√√				
use 20	√√√F				√√				
use 21					√√(?)	√√F			
use 22			√√√F						√++
use 23	√√√F								√++
use 24			√√√						
use 25								√	
use 26									
use 27									
use 28			√√√						
use 29			√√√						
use 30	√√√±(F)	√√√±							
use 31								√±	
use 32								√	
use 33	√√√F				√√(?)				
use 34	√√√F					√√(?)			
use 35	√√√								
use 36					√√(?)				

Table 5.37 b: 'upress' in the data

Key to Table 5.37 b

- F indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ++ indicates that the meaning/semantic value is present in both parts.
- ± indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (F) indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not, depending on the nature of the subject and/or of the object.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value in the meaning is not certain.

The first, obvious characteristic of the tables is that some features are totally absent (i.e. never found in the meanings of 'take up' studied from the data) while others are very frequent. It may be that some aspect of the meaning of each part is more important than others and consequently more frequently retained in combinations.

In Table 37a, the most frequently represented features for 'takeness' are 'agent'; 'volition'; 'making one's own'; 'retention' and the aspectual value 'shift'. It is clear that the first four are the most frequent; and they co-occur in most cases. This shows that the core meaning of 'take' from the OED definition 'transfer to oneself by one's action or volition' is still present in most cases although that does not imply that 'take' is semantically more important than 'up' in the PV in all these cases (see 5.4.4.3).

In Table 37b, the most frequently represented features for 'upness' are 'vertical: space' (though almost always used figuratively); 'from access into possession, including "for a purpose"'; 'improvement/positive' and the aspectual value 'shift'. Again, if one refers to Lindner, these are rather basic meanings - the most basic, spatial one is present in 12 cases.

The second thing one can notice is that many meanings have many features in common, which raises the following question: are there cases where all features are in common in some meanings of 'take up' which were deemed different at first?

After a careful checking of the tables, 13 such cases were found, falling into six clusters: meanings 1 and 8; 4, 5 and 15; 11 and 14; 12 and 29; 21 and 33; 24 and 28. One would be inclined to think that this shows the meanings are the same after all. However, this fact can be explained.

In the first two clusters the PV is part of fixed phrases and as pointed out at the beginning of this study, 'take up' in fixed phrases was assigned a particular entry, irrespective of whether it might have a similar meaning in another context.

The other four cases do present a problem. Since the PV there is not part of a fixed phrase, there does not seem to be a reason for not treating them as instances of similar meanings. In other words, a CA appears to give 32 meanings instead of the 36 claimed originally. However, there are differences, which are explained in the discussion of each particular meaning (see the relevant individual discussions in section 5.4.3), as comparisons were drawn between each use of the PV and others which displayed similarities. The CA is not used here to distinguish between different senses of a lexical unit, but to see if there is some meaning in the parts of the PV. The distinctions were made on the basis of synonyms and paraphrases given for the contextual meanings of the whole lexical unit. This implies that the context of use was sometimes more determining in sense distinction than the semantic features of the parts and justifies the treatment of these uses of 'take up' as different meanings. The semantic features

hardly take that into account as they are decontextualised characteristics. Thus it is possible that the parts of a PV will keep the same semantic features in contexts which are sufficiently different to justify assigning different senses. What is more, if the aim had really been to use a CA to distinguish between different meanings, there would have needed more features. These are not quite sufficient to cover all senses of the parts, although they cover many.

There is one other case which deserves discussion here - meaning 10. There are not many features of 'takeness' or 'upness' in this meaning of the PV. This is due to the fact that it is an intransitive use, the only intransitive use of 'take up' found in the data, and consequently the usual defining features for 'take' do not hold as 'take' is primarily a transitive verb. This confirms what was just said about the number of features; with the list of semantic values defined in section 5.4.2, this should be taken as an opaque case of 'take up'. However, the remaining values of the parts and the comparison with transitive uses are enough in themselves to explain the meaning.

From this a conclusion can be drawn. This study has shown some limitations of a componential analysis of meaning in distinguishing between close meanings of a very polysemous lexical unit with a finite and not too high number of semantic features. This was not totally unexpected and is the reason why context was taken into account in the process of defining meanings. However, for the chief purpose of this aspect of the study, namely to show whether the parts do keep some meaning when put together to form a PV, it proved sufficient and even quite efficient. Indeed, in very few cases did either part have none or very few of the features defined.

5.4.4.2 Degrees of opacity

Before actually getting into the findings, one word of explanation should be given. It is apparent from the tables that in most of the uses of 'take up' the parts keep some of their meaning. However, this is not strictly synonymous with transparency. It may be that in one use the parts show semantic features and yet the PV is fairly opaque either because the features are there but in a highly metaphorical or figurative way, or because the meaning has become specialised and can no longer be explained solely by the parts.

In the 36 meanings investigated from the data, there were cases of transparent PVs. In particular, meaning 30 can be completely explained in terms of the meanings of the parts. On the other hand, there are cases where the meaning does not seem to be explainable at all in terms of the meanings of the parts.

These two extreme positions on the continuum from transparent to opaque are not the most frequent, however. Only a few are really transparent or really opaque. Most cases of 'take up' are somewhere in between, neither transparent nor opaque. It is thus possible to define intermediate degrees of transparency and opaqueness. Although the PVs should be placed along a continuum rather than in clear-cut categories, five different, fairly broad categories have been defined, which correspond to different degrees of opacity. The corresponding meanings of 'take up' will be given for each degree.

- transparent cases (three meanings) are the ones which can be explained in terms of the parts, and the parts are not very far from their usual meanings:

meanings 13, 30 and 35.

- there are 12 fairly transparent cases in which the parts retain much of their normal meaning, but where the meaning of the PV has become slightly specialised and is not obviously the sum of the parts:

meanings 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 20, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31 and 33.

- there is a 'medium' category, for the 11 cases which are not transparent but not really opaque either. In these, the parts do retain some of their values, but they are not sufficient to guess the meaning of the PV. They can explain most of it once it is known, though.

meanings 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 16, 18, 24, 28 and 34.

- the seven fairly opaque cases are those where the meaning cannot be predicted nor explained accurately from those of the parts. However, these do retain some of their values and do account for at least part of the meaning of the whole. They are often specialised extensions of already non-transparent cases:

meanings 2, 10, 15, 19, 21, 22 and 32.

- finally, opaque cases (three meanings) are those which cannot be guessed nor explained from the meanings of the parts. The parts seem to have been put together by chance. But as Side points out⁴⁹ (1990, p. 146), 'these highly idiomatic examples form a small minority':

meanings 17, 23 and 36.

This confirms the findings of most other linguists, who said that most PVs are not opaque. The difference is the approach. Here, the results come from looking at the meanings as they appear in the data, and more importantly, looking at many meanings of the same PV instead of one or two meanings of many PVs. The same conclusion can be drawn, and at the same time the same reservations can be expressed - maybe other PVs behave differently (in the same way

⁴⁹ He is only concerned with cases where he cannot find meaning in the postposition, but the point remains valid.

that one could reproach other studies for not looking at all the meanings of the PVs they investigate).

Although this study only covers one PV, this is one of the most frequent and polysemous ones and the chances are that others will be less complicated as most are less frequent and polysemous.

5.4.4.3 On the relative importance of the parts

This sub-section presents the more important of the two types of findings, i.e. those about the semantic importance of the parts in the whole. First, a brief reminder of what was said in previous studies will be given, then the findings from the study.

5.4.4.3.1 The legacy of previous studies

As was noted in chapter 3, recent studies have tended to give preponderance to the postposition. Side (1990) compares various PVs with different verbs and the same postposition, where most of the meaning is carried by the latter. He gives the example of PVs with the postposition 'off' meaning 'leave' and used as a (not very nice) way of telling someone that their presence is unwanted (his example is 'bog off', p. 146, as it is a relatively inoffensive one compared to others). He argues that the verb is not very important to the meaning of the whole, as any speaker will understand what is meant by the PV, whether it is a 3- or 4-letter word. This is true, and indeed most of the meaning in this case comes from the postposition. Although he later gives examples of PVs where the verb is the more important part ('hang' vs. 'hang up' a coat, p. 146), he still concludes that a) 'in all phrasal verbs the particle carries some meaning' and b) 'in many, it carries most of the meaning'.

No study of PVs has, as far as I am aware, claimed that the verb is the more important part. The fact that dictionaries list PVs in alphabetical order of the verb is for practical more than theoretical reasons. The recent interest in postpositions comes from the fact that PVs were at first studied mainly from a syntactic point of view and often regarded as opaque (see in particular Fraser, 1974). When later studies took a fresh look at the meanings of PVs, following Bolinger's (1971) remarks on stereotyping and Lindner's (1981) study of the postpositions 'out' and 'up', it seems that everyone concentrated on the postposition. A reason may be that people already knew (or thought they knew) the meaning of the verb parts in PVs and did not find it useful to study them, whereas the postpositions were largely unknown.

Whatever the reason, the trend has continued and many people nowadays look at PVs as being driven by the postposition, as Mohan (1997) puts it. But there seems to be a flaw in these analyses. All studies which compare PVs and conclude that the postposition is preponderant give examples of different PVs with the same postposition. No one looks at PVs with the same verb. Yet if one considers examples given by Lindner, the question should take a different twist.

Lindner's aim was only to study the semantics of 'out' and 'up' in a space grammar perspective. She does not try to put emphasis on one part of a PV rather than another. This may explain why she does not discuss further examples where she looks at synonymous PVs with seemingly contradictory postpositions:

If I pick up, take up or take down the sword, I mean to use it.

If I put up, hang up or put down the sword, I'm through with it.

(1981, p. 125)

Lindner only explains that the postpositions are possible, as they code a different trajectory (into access and therefore into use in the first, from access and therefore no longer in use in the second). She does not seem to realise, however, that this is made possible by the meanings of the verbs. In the first example, the verbs mean 'get within one's hands' while in the second they mean something closer to 'dispose of'. Thus the meanings of the postpositions may be right, but the analysis itself misses some of the argument. This is the main fault in the more recent studies of PVs. They take as a starting point the postposition only.

5.4.4.3.2 Findings from the present study

The importance of each part can be seen from the discussion of the individual meanings (section 5.4.3).

Most of the time it was quite difficult to decide whether one part was more important than the other. There are cases where there seems to be a certain ambiguity in the PV. In particular, in 'take up the challenge', the parts can yield two interpretations. They can be seen as bringing only acceptance: one can 'accept/take up' a challenge or on the contrary 'refuse' it. In this case the acceptance is carried by both parts. On the other hand, they also can be interpreted as spatial if one considers that the challenge is metaphorically 'thrown down' and then 'taken/picked up'.

How was it possible, then, to decide on the relative importance of the parts? The existence of (near) synonyms with one of the parts and not the other helped. If the other part is not necessary to the meaning, then its semantic weight has a good chance of not being very great. (Unless it is replaced by another word of similar meaning, in which case it confirms its semantic weight rather than denying it.)

There were 10 cases where 'take' seems more important than 'up':

meanings 1 ('take up arms'); 4 ('take up residence'); 5 ('take up a stance'); 9 ('take up the strain'); 13 ('take up' space/time); 18 ('take up' a seat/the lead); 24 ('take up' responsibility/a role); 25 ('take up' a benefit); 26 ('take up' something - collect/pick up); 27 ('take up' nutriments).

There were 9 cases where 'up' seems more important than 'take':

meanings 6 ('take up the torch'); 11 ('take up' an offer/invitation); 19 ('take up' a case/complaint); 21 ('take up' a subject - raise); 22 ('take up' a job/position - start working); 23 ('take up' a job/activity - resume/start again); 32 ('take up' a mortgage/contract); 33 ('take up' an idea - bring about); 35 ('take up' something - pull up).

There were 15 cases where both seem to contribute more or less equally to the combination, or where neither seemed more important:

meanings 2 ('take up the slack'); 3 ('take up position'); 7 ('take up the challenge'); 8 ('take up the cudgels'); 10 ('take up' with someone); 12 ('take up' rights issues - buy); 14 ('take up' a job/position - accept); 15 ('take up' an activity - start); 16 ('take up' a cause/crusade); 20 ('take up' an idea - adopt and develop as if it is one's); 28 ('take up' an option - accept/choose); 29 ('take up' an opportunity); 30 ('take up' someone/something - drive upwards); 31 ('take up' an attitude/approach - adopt); 34 ('take up' someone - adopt and look after).

To these has to be added two cases where I cannot find enough 'takeness' or 'upness' to reach any conclusion: two cases of truly opaque phrasal verbs. They are 'take up' followed by 'song', 'chant' and other words from the same semantic field (meaning 17), and 'take up' followed by 'one's right' or 'prize' (meaning 36). In the other case of opaque 'take up' (meaning 23), there was some 'takeness' and/or 'upness' which could be compared, although these were not sufficient to guess or even explain the meaning.

In most cases, that is even when one part seems more important than the other, both do contribute to the meaning of 'take up', and often they have some value(s) in common. In other PVs, verb and postposition are often put together on the basis of some common semantic

ground; they confirm and strengthen each other. For instance in 'take up' meaning 'accept/give a positive response' (meaning 11), the postposition carries a positive value while the verb already has a potential meaning 'accept'. Each confirms the other's meaning of 'acceptance', although it is more emphatically present in 'up' as is shown by the opposite 'turn down', which otherwise would not necessarily be obvious.

5.5 Conclusion

5.5.1 Summary of the chapter

The main aim of the chapter was to present a model for looking at the meaning and relative importance of the parts of a PV. First it was shown that in lexical units (with the example of compounds, a special kind of lexical unit, treated in some detail) the parts more often than not do carry some of the meaning they have when they occur as independent items. Therefore an analysis of the meanings of the parts using a strict yes/no method, of the type described by Cruse (1986), was discarded. From this it was also concluded that PVs should be treated similarly, although some have argued the contrary (Side, 1990; Hampe, 1997 and Mohan, 1997, among others). In order to verify this, a large study of PVs is to be conducted, and a first study of one PV, 'take up', was done to show the procedure adopted for the next chapter. The model to be used for the study is the following. First, the conceptual meanings are established and defined. Then, the contribution of the parts is hypothesised and checked against other uses of the lexical unit, or of the parts, or against other lexical units which are in a lexical relation with the one studied. For all comparisons, examples are given, which come from the corpus (unless they came from another one, in which case that is indicated). Thus the semantic weight of each part can be assessed and compared to that of the other. In the case of 'take up' in the data analysed, it appeared that no part - neither the verb nor the postposition - showed a clear preponderance and that if one pattern was dominant, it was the equal importance of both parts.

It should be remembered, however, that this was only one case study, with one PV. More PVs have to be studied in order to verify the hypothesis that both parts are important and that neither is more often more important than the other. This is the aim of the next chapter.

5.5.2 Next step

In the next chapter the same model of analysis will be used for looking at other PVs. This should make it possible to check the results of the case study of 'take up', in particular as the conclusions drawn about the relative importance of the parts only apply to one PV and may not do so with others.

The hypothesis which the next chapter will put to test is that the relative importance of the parts in the meaning of 'take up' is applicable to other PVs. In other words, it aims at verifying (1) whether the tendency uncovered here that both parts contribute to the meaning of the whole is in fact a tendency of most PVs; (2) that there is not one main part in all PVs, namely the postposition, but that the relative importance of the parts is a matter of varying degrees. For this a number of PVs will be studied. These PVs will be frequent ones, as they are probably more polysemous and more often opaque than newly-formed ones, and therefore more likely to be problematic to learners of English.

6. More phrasal verbs

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Aims of the chapter

In the previous chapter, a partly-componential analysis of the meanings of 'take up' was conducted. It showed that at least part of the meanings of the verb and/or the postposition was present in most meanings of the PV. However, the fact that it was true of 'take up' does not guarantee that it is also true of other PVs. It is therefore the aim of the present chapter to check the results of chapter 5. For this, different PVs will be studied in the same way as 'take up': for the presence of the meaning(s) of the parts of the PVs. If the same results are obtained for other PVs than 'take up', then the claims made in chapter 5 will be strengthened.

The second aim of this chapter is to take the study of the semantics of PVs one step further and study another of its aspects - its polysemy. In order to do this, we will look at the possibility of grouping the conceptual meanings defined from the data.

6.1.2 The studies

The previous section stated that two kinds of results are to be reported in this chapter. This means that two studies were conducted. However, they are related and concern the same PVs. They will not be separated in this chapter but will be presented as two parts of one large study of the meanings of PVs. For the sake of clarity, in this introduction they will be described as though they were different. The section on the organisation of the chapter will make clear how each is presented and reported on.

The first study aims at checking the results of chapter 5. It will look at the conceptual meanings of a number of PVs and study the meanings of the parts - verb and postposition - to see if they are present and if they do bring some meaning to the whole of the lexical unit.

The second study is quite different in aim, though not in scope. There, the meanings are again studied, but for their similarities rather than their differences. The aim is to see whether these meanings can be grouped together and ultimately reduced to one overall meaning to which

they are related. In other words, it aims to see whether it is possible to define a hierarchy of meanings. This would then mean that the polysemy is relative rather than absolute.

6.1.3 Organisation of the chapter

The chapter will be organised in three parts - data and methods, results and discussion. First the data will be described, and problems of methods will be addressed. Since the data were gathered with the aim of comparing the results with those of chapter 5, it will be important to be sure that the data are comparable, both in amount and in definitional yield. In other words, the question of sampling has to be raised at some point in this chapter, as it was in the previous one. Also, the problem of the number of meanings will be briefly mentioned, and the problem of studying them. Finally, the methods used in the studies will be described (or the reader will be reminded of them, as the case may be).

Then, the results of the two studies (or the two parts of the study) will be presented. At this point, a difference has to be made between the two parts of the study. For the first, the results will be only given briefly and the way they are obtained (i.e. the justification of the meanings of the parts) will not be given at all. The reader is referred to the previous chapter for the method and the way the meanings of the parts are justified. For the second, there will have to be an explanation of how the results are obtained as well as the justification of their presentation. This will be given with the results as they are presented.

As for the practical presentation of the results, it will be done in two parts for each PV. It would make things less clear to give the complete results of the first part of the study for all PVs first and then those of the second part, as they concern the same conceptual meanings. Therefore, the results will be presented thus. The complete set of results will be given for each PV, in the following order:

- Conceptual meanings with definition and examples;
- Presence of the meanings of the parts in that of the lexical unit, for each meaning, i.e. directly following it;
- Tables summarising the results for each part of the unit (similar to the summarising tables at the end of chapter 5);
- Study of the similarities of the conceptual meanings;
- Definition of a hierarchy for the PV if sufficient similarities enable one to reduce the meanings to one overall meaning;
- Figure summarising and illustrating the hierarchy.

Finally the results will be discussed. For the first part of the study, since the aim is to compare the results with those of chapter 5, the results will be discussed in relation with that chapter. It will be seen whether other PVs than 'take up' give the same or comparable results as far as the presence of the parts is concerned, and similarly for the degrees of relative importance of the parts. It is not expected that the results will be identical. However, if they are fairly close, then this should give some additional credit to the results of chapter 5.

The results of the second part of the study will also be discussed. In this part of the discussion, the aim will be to look at the various hierarchies defined and see whether they question the polysemy of PVs and to what extent. This does not mean that the polysemy of PVs is to be denied. It is my firm belief that PVs indeed are polysemous. However, if the different meanings of PVs are somehow related to an overall meaning, then it would mean that this polysemy is not so strong as it would seem.

6.2 The data

6.2.1 The choice of phrasal verbs

For this study, the PVs were chosen so as to represent two groups. The first group corresponded to PVs with the same postposition but different verb parts, and in the second group they had the same verb part, but different postpositions.

The choice of the PVs took account of the previous chapter in that the verb 'take' and the postposition 'up' were discarded as they had already been used for a whole study although only in one and the same PV. The common postposition in the first group was 'out' as it is probably the second most polysemous after 'up'. If we look at the dictionaries of phrasal verbs and the publications on the subject, there does not seem to have been any actual study of the relative polysemy of postpositions. However, they all seem to agree that 'up' is the most common and complex (see chapter 5 for a discussion of this particular postposition). In COBUILD, 'out' is the second most common particle with 410 combinations, making both about twice as productive as any other particle. As far as the polysemy itself is concerned, there may be some disagreement as to the order of the very frequent postpositions. COBUILD, in an index of the meanings of the particles, assigns the greatest number to 'off' and 'out' with 14 different general meanings, while 'up' only has 12. Side, however, states (1990, p. 148) that 'out' is more complex than 'off' but less than 'up'. Still, the postposition 'out' is at least

very polysemous and should suffice for the purposes of the study⁵⁰. The verbs chosen were 'get', 'give', 'put' and 'turn'. In the second group, the common verb was 'put' and was followed by the postpositions 'in', 'out', 'on' and 'off'. The postpositions were chosen for their polysemy and for the fact that they occur in 'pairs': the first two and the last two are traditional opposites, in uses of the particle as pre- or postposition. This should give an additional assurance of the presence of meaning in the postpositions⁵¹. In all cases the choices were made with the aim of finding as many different meanings for the PVs as possible.

6.2.2 Concordances and lines

The concordances were gathered and studied in the same way as previously. The data came from *The Guardian*, the lines were 180 characters in length and were gathered using Scott's (1996) *Wordsmith Tools*; they were not sorted. For each PV, the lines were studied for the contextual meaning of the unit; then conceptual meanings were defined as described in chapters 4 and 5.

One problem was met when the data were gathered. It has to do with the frequency of the PVs: this was very different from one to the other, as instances of the PV co-occurred with instances of verb + preposition. The aim was to find an acceptable number of lines, as was defined in chapter 5 (section 5.3.3), for each PV. This will be discussed further in the next sub-section.

The number of lines and of conceptual meanings for each PV is given in Table 6.1 below:

	Get out	Give out	Turn out	Put out	Put in	Put on	Put off
Number of lines	239	222	311	278	300	310	289
Meanings	20	11	10	25	19	17	6

Table 6.1: numbers of lines and conceptual meanings

6.2.3 On the problem of sampling

Even though the number of lines for each PV was reasonably satisfactory (it gave a variety of different meanings for each PV), some meanings are very frequent and some are not. This

⁵⁰ In the second part - one verb and four postpositions - 'put out' has a higher number of meanings than all other combinations.

⁵¹ If the postpositions do keep some meaning, it is likely that they will have opposite meanings. This will not be a criterion for measuring the semantic weight of the postposition, but it can be seen as further justification.

poses a problem, especially as some of the differences between meanings may appear quite small. The method for distinguishing between conceptual meanings has already been discussed and exemplified. This does not mean that the number of meanings is absolutely right, but that one method, the one used here, comes up with such a number of meanings. Another linguist might disagree on one, possibly two, but very probably not on more. On the other hand, the numbers for each meaning have not been discussed. It could be argued that some meanings which do exist are not found in the data, while one or two that are there could be put under the same definition as another one. In some cases, there is only one occurrence of the meaning in the data. Does this mean that this particular use of the PV is rare? The answer to this question is that the corpus is relatively small (though it does have a fairly large number of words), and more importantly that it comes from one source only. In other words, the results reported in this chapter, as those of the previous one, are to be put into perspective. The corpus is not meant to be representative of the English language as a whole. As a corpus, it may be said to give a fair idea of quality-newspaper British English of the 1990's. However, the study does not aim to test the representativeness of the corpus, but to study the semantic behaviour of some PVs. For that aim, it needs to show sufficient variety, i.e. a good number of different meanings for each PV (taking account of the varying degrees of polysemy). This can only be reached by taking a good number of lines for each PV. But then, the question is 'what is a good number of meanings?' (And, consequently, what is a good number of lines?) The question was partly answered in the previous chapter and the conclusion was that 300 lines gave a variety which was considered satisfactory. In the present chapter, we need to see (1) if having about 300 lines is sufficient (i.e. yields enough different meanings) and (2) if the number of meanings is high enough so that comparisons and analyses can be made and give some results. In this respect, the corpus is satisfactory (and then its representativeness as far as the English language is concerned is secondary) as it does show variety. The results do have reasonable validity as they show how a certain number of PVs behave semantically in this kind of English, and there is a good chance that they behave in a comparable way in other varieties of English. This should not be understood as a claim that we have seen all (or even most) of the meanings of the PVs studied, but that we have found enough to analyse the semantics of those PVs with respect to the parts and also as to their relatedness. The comparison with dictionaries was done to give an idea of how varied the meanings were and how varied the meanings found in the data were when compared to what can be found in one or more dictionaries (since more than one were used in the previous chapter). Whether or not the English found in *The Guardian* is representative of the language as a whole is a completely different question, and one which falls outside the thesis.

6.2.4 Comparison with a specialised dictionary

In order to check on the question of whether the numbers of lines were sufficient, the lists of meanings from the data were compared to those of the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*. In the previous chapter, more dictionaries were used, and the conclusion was reached that 300 lines were a good number for sufficient variety considering our purpose, which is to look at the behaviour of PVs in general, not that of all PVs of English nor (not necessarily) of all the meanings of the ones under study.

The results of the comparison are summarised in the following table:

Verbs	Number of meanings in the data	Number of meanings in the dictionary		Meanings from the data not in the dictionary		Meanings from the dictionary not in the data	
			Of which PVs		As %		As %
Put on	17	23	12	7	41.2	1	8.3
Put off	6	7	7	1	16.7	2	28.6
Put in	19	18	12	7	36.8	2	16.7
Put out	25	20	19	13	52	6	31.6
Get out	20	11	11	6	30	0	0
Give out	11	5	5	4	36.4	0	0
Turn out	10	8	8	2	20	0	0

Table 6.2: comparison between the data and a specialised dictionary

The last two columns show the differences between what was found in the data and what is in the dictionary. The last but one column gives the number of meanings not given in the dictionary but found in the data, followed by the proportion of the number of meanings from the data, in percentage: (number of meanings from the data not in the dictionary / number of meanings in the data) x 100. The last column shows the opposite result: the number and proportion of meanings from the dictionary which did not occur in the data. The table shows that most of the meanings of the dictionary are found in the data, except in the case of ‘put off’ and ‘put out’⁵², in which still more than two thirds are. On the other hand, a greater number of meanings are found in the data and not in the dictionary (except, once more, for

⁵² Of the 6 meanings for ‘put out’ from COBUILD which were not found in the data, one is described as ‘rather old-fashioned’ and another as ‘very informal’.

‘put off’). On the whole, the table shows that the amount of data does give many of the meanings which are given by the dictionary, and more. Also, the entries in the dictionary being organised according to frequency⁵³, it was found during the comparison that the most frequent senses are often the same as in the data. The main conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the amount of data seems to give sufficient variety for the purpose of the present study.

6.3 Methods

6.3.1 On the meanings of the parts of the PVs

The study of the parts will be conducted in the same way as for ‘take up’ in the previous chapter. Thus it will be possible to see if the conclusions drawn from the study of ‘take up’ are verified with other PVs. If they are, then there is a better chance that the results are valid. Here, as with ‘take up’, the conceptual meanings are studied for the meaning of the parts of the unit, using semantic values defined beforehand, from studies (such as Lindner, 1981; Side, 1990 etc.) and dictionaries (especially the OED, and specialised dictionaries of phrasal verbs). Then the presence of the values is checked by comparing the conceptual meaning of the PV with other meanings of the same PV; with other uses of the part - in PVs or not; with other PVs with similar meanings etc. The reader is referred to chapter 5 (especially section 5.2.4). Since the method was largely exemplified in chapter 5, the whole process will not be presented here; only the semantic values present in the meaning will be given, not the discussion of each individual case (the reader can see them for ‘take up’ in chapter 5, section 5.4.3).

6.3.2 On the hierarchy of the meanings of PVs

The second part of the study of the PVs has to do with their polysemy. More particularly, it aims at defining a hierarchy of their meanings. The idea came from Lindstromberg’s (1991) paper on the meanings of ‘get’. It investigates the meanings of ‘get’ and concludes that they can be linked together and reduced to only one or two general meanings to which all others are related and can be traced. The same idea is taken up in the case of the PVs under investigation, but the present study goes further as it attempts to define a whole hierarchy with various levels, not just relate all the meanings to one overall meaning. The question is the

⁵³ Foreword to the Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs, p. viii.

following: is it possible to group together the meanings of PVs? And is it then possible to find one or two general meanings to which they are all related?

6.3.2.1 Basic principle

The study is conducted in several stages. First the meanings are looked at, for similarities in meaning. Meanings are put together into clusters on this basis. Then each cluster is given an overall definition, which does apply to all meanings in each cluster. This is the first stage. Each cluster is in turn looked at, and again reveals similarities with others, thus forming fewer clusters which are themselves assigned their own overall definitions, as the second stage is completed. It then goes on, each step bringing a smaller number of clusters, the definitions being more and more general, until the number of clusters is down to only one, which is the general meaning of the PV under discussion, and corresponds to the meanings as found in the data. Each set of clusters corresponds to one level in the thus defined hierarchy of meanings. The levels of the hierarchy are then explained, and the hierarchy is given as a figure.

6.3.2.2 Basis for the clusters

This part of the research is an analysis of the conceptual meanings of PVs. Here, the features used for the study of the parts of the meanings are used too, but are not the only basis for grouping. The groups are made on semantic similarities, which sometimes can be expressed in terms of the features defined for the parts. Other criteria include more specific things such as the collocational patterns, type of object/subject/action, and others. For instance, two meanings for which the difference is only on the kind of action (say, concrete or abstract), can be linked together at an early stage. Then, the further one gets in the stages, the more general the definitions become. The similarities are on more abstract aspects of the meanings. It can be on the transitivity of the verb, or on the fact that several clusters indicate movement and so on. Once the final stage is reached, with one general meaning for all PVs, then the levels of the hierarchy can be obtained. This is when the features are more prominent, as they often constitute a common basis for some meanings and a means to differentiate them from others. For instance, the transitivity related earlier often provides a sound basis for distinction between two rather different aspects of the meanings of a PV. If we consider 'give out', there are some transitive and some intransitive meanings for the PV. They correspond to two aspects of the meaning of the single verb, and to a major semantic difference both in the single verb and in the PV studied here. It therefore constitutes a level in the hierarchy

It should be pointed out here that the levels are not meant to be absolutely definite. Another linguist attempting to do the same kind of grouping of the meanings of the same PVs may well come up with different-looking hierarchies, with different levels. This is because constructing the hierarchy is done by assigning a first split to one major distinction, and another analyst could start with a different major distinction. The point is that given the meanings as they were defined from the data, it should be possible to define a hierarchy for the meanings of each PV, in which all or most meanings have a place, and which shows that these meanings are related to one overall meaning of the PV.

The results of both parts of the study are given for each PV in the next section.

6.4 The results

This section gives the results for the two parts of the study. First, the results are given for the first part, as lists of meanings for each PV, defined and with examples, followed by the semantic values of the parts which are present in each meaning thus defined. The hierarchies are given after the studies of the meanings of each verb.

6.4.1 Meanings of the PVs and meanings of their parts

The lists of meanings are, as was the case in previous studies, followed by a definition (one or two synonyms and an explanatory paraphrase) and one or more examples. The lists are ordered by the frequency of the meaning. The number given in brackets after each definition is the number of instances of each meaning in the data. The lists of values are given before each list of meanings, and the values are given degrees of typicality (see in chapter 5 the section on the importance of values - section 5.4.2.3). The results are then summarised in two tables per PV - one for each part.

6.4.1.1 Semantic values for the parts

For reasons of space and time, only the values are given here, without examples. The reader is referred to the various sources (see above, section 6.3.1, chapter 5 and the sources themselves) for the meanings and the justification of the semantic values for the parts of the PVs. They are listed below, and followed by the degrees of typicality in subsection.

As was the case for 'takeness' and 'upness', three degrees of typicality have been defined. The values for first degree of typicality are assigned (√√√). Those for second degree are followed by (√√), and those for third degree of typicality have only one tick (√).

The values can be used in a figurative or metaphorical way, which is indicated by (fig.). On the other hand, if the literal meaning is not very frequent, it can be highlighted (lit.). Also, if a value is sometimes present and sometimes not, the symbol used is (±), while in cases where the presence of a semantic value is not certain, a question mark will be shown.

6.4.1.2 Values for the verbs

- 'get'

agent (√); volition (√); effort/sometimes difficulty (√√√); contact (√√); make one's own (√√√); retention (√√); movement (intr.: move or tr.: cause to move) (√√√); change of state (intr.: become or tr.: make) (√√√); linked to the previous one, but not as typical: passive (use as or as if a passive auxiliary) (√√); aspectual value: perfective, result (√).

- 'give'

agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); loss of control (including intr.: yield/fail) (√√√); loss of possession (√√√); into someone else's possession (√√√); into access (√√); express (words) (√); aspectual value: perfective, result (√).

- 'put'

agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (√√√); contact (√√); removal (√√); loss of grasp/control/ownership (√√); change of state (figurative extension of change of position) (√√√); express (words) (√√); aspectual value: perfective, result (√).

- 'turn'

agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (with or without rotation) (√√√); change of state: alteration (√√); change of state: transformation (√√√); aspectual value: perfective, result (√); aspectual value: imperfective, no result, only action⁵⁴ (√).

⁵⁴ As opposed to the other verbs in the list, 'turn' can just as easily refer to an action with result as to an action without. The others express results more readily.

6.4.1.3 Values for the postpositions

- ‘in’

movement to the inside ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); abstract movement, where the subject or the object can be seen as a metaphorical container: approach ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$), into action ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); metaphorical container, but without movement: present ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$), in action ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$), having turn or right to play ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); aspectual value: perfective, result ($\sqrt{\quad}$).

- ‘out’

physical movement: from the inside ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$), geographical ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$), away from the origin ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); abstract movement: abstract container ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); choosing/rejecting ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); removal ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); into access/availability ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); distribution ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); into hiding⁵⁵ ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); completeness ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); aspectual value: perfective, result ($\sqrt{\quad}$).

- ‘on’

state: in contact ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); extension: working ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); change: into contact ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$), deposit ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); extension: into working ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$), into position ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$), approaching ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); into availability/view ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); covering ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); extension of ‘covering’: continue/add ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); aspectual value: perfective, result ($\sqrt{\quad}$).

- ‘off’

distance in time ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); distance in space ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); departure ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); separation/disconnection ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); removal ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); change of state: stop, from working to not ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); aspectual value: perfective, result ($\sqrt{\quad}$).

6.4.2 Meanings: parts and hierarchies

6.4.2.1 Meanings of ‘get out’

6.4.2.1.1 Meanings of ‘get out’: the parts

1. (intr.) Exit, go outside (mainly from a room/house, including spend some time out of home) (56)

⁵⁵ This value is opposite to and therefore incompatible with ‘into access’, because these correspond to different extensions of the overall meaning of ‘out’, as was already noted for ‘up’. See the discussion in chapter 5, section 5.4.2, and Lindner (1981).

e.g. *'I never used to get out, never did anything, now I've got a husband, a whole range of friends...*

...they're not moving. They could get out and get another cab, but they know their rights.

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (lit.) (√√√); result (±) (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (±) (√)

2. (intr.) Withdraw (leave an uncomfortable situation); can occur as a noun or an adjective (42)

e.g. *...I joined (...) as a simple factory worker and once you were in, you couldn't get out.*

...British membership of the ERM. Britain should devalue, or preferably get out, say the six.

...they do not want to provide any legal get-out for Germany in particular...

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (fig.: withdrawal) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.) (√√√); removal (fig.) (√√); result (√)

3. (intr.) Leave/escape (geographically: from a country/city) (24)

e.g. *...at least 5,000 people have left and many more were queuing to get out to both Serbia and Croatia.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (√√√); effort (±)(√√√); result (√)

Out: from a country (geographical movement) (√√√); result (√)

4. (intr.) Break free (come out, with an effort) (17)

e.g. *But underneath his dark double-breasted suit there was a war leader fighting to get out.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (fig.) (√√√); effort (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.): the person is seen as a container (√√√); result (√)

5. (intr.) Exit/leave (escape from an enclosed space) (17)

e.g. *...the block cell was completely secure and there was no way the men could get out.*

“... how somebody can be trapped in the mental health system and how difficult it is to get out.”

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (√√√); effort (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); from abstract container (danger) (√√); result (√)

6. (intr.) Exit/leave (be released from confinement) (14)

e.g. *‘...when I send people to jail, they don’t get out until the 21st century.’*

Get: agent (√); time (replaces effort) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (√)

7. (tr.) Take (out)/pick up (from inside, e.g. a pocket) (11)

e.g. *...the butcher’s own peers (...) get out their measuring forks...*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); make one’s own (√√√); contact (√√); retention (√√); result (√)

Out: from the inside (±) (√√√); into availability (√√); result (√)

8. (intr.) Leave/be eliminated (cricket) (8)

e.g. *...no batsman could count himself blameless for getting out.*

Get: agent (√); movement (lit.: from the pitch, and fig.: from the game) (√√√); passive (√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.: out of the game) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

9. (intr.) Leave, go away (from proximity); usually found as an order (5)

e.g. *‘I told them to get out. They were criminals. I refused to talk to them.’*

...she turned off the record and said now get out the pair of you...

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (√√√); strengthening value of ‘get’ (stronger than ‘go’), akin to ‘effort’ (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (±) (√√√); away from origin (√√√); result (√)

10. (intr.) Leave, go away (geographically: from a country) (4)

e.g. ... *he could not accept statements by Mr Bush or Mr Hurd that Iraq must either **get out** or there would be war.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (√√√); strengthening value of 'get' (stronger than 'go'), akin to 'effort' (√√√); result (√)

Out: from a region (geographical) (√√√); result (√)

11. (tr.) Produce/release (make a product and make it available, e.g. on the market) (4)

e.g. ... *WordPerfect still can't **get out** the first version of WordPerfect for Windows.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (fig.) (√√√); effort (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

12. (tr.) Obtain (3)

e.g. ... *because Shaney has no style: what you **get out** depends entirely on what you put in. A PC-compatible version of the Shaney programme...*

*"I only had to make the smallest puncture in it to **get out** as many parasites as I wanted."*

Get: agent (√); make one's own (fig.: obtain) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (sometimes fig.) (√√√); into availability (√√); result (√)

13. (intr.) Leave/be sent away (3)

e.g. ... *Only a thousand tonnes a day was **getting out** from Port Sudan...*

Get: movement (√√√); effort (√√√); passive (√√); result (√)

Out: from port (geographical movement) (√√√); result (√)

14. (tr.) Utter (with difficulty)/force (out) (words) (2)

e.g. ... *he wants Ms Travis for himself but can't quite **get out** the words 'I love you'.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (fig.: from inside the mouth) (√√√); effort (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); away from origin (√√√); result (√)

15. (tr.) Release oneself/escape (from a difficult position: golf) (2)

e.g. ...*Faldo was hopelessly in the muck beside the green and played three without getting out.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (√√√); effort (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (lit.) (√√√); from a situation (abstract container) (√√); result (√)

16. (tr.) Release/let go of (a feeling) [only one instance]

e.g. '*You get out all your pent-up aggression on the field, ...*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (fig.: the movement comes from both the subject [who lets go] and the object [which goes], which is abstract) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.: from the body/mind: abstract object) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

17. (tr.) Gather (and direct) supporters [only one instance]

e.g. *Labour strategists are still nervous about whether they can get out all their support tomorrow.*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); make one's own (fig.: obtain) (√√√); movement (tr.: cause to move) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into availability (√√); result (√)

18. (tr.) Release/free (someone: a prisoner) [only one instance]

e.g. *They did get out 66 of their prisoners...*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); movement (tr.: cause to move) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (√)

19. (intr.) Be sent/spread (a rumour) [only one instance]

e.g. *...when word gets out that the tunnellers are coming, kiosks spring up...*

Get: agent (√); movement (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into availability (√√); distribution (?) (√√√); result (√)

20. (tr.) Take (out)/borrow (a book, from a library) [only one instance]

e.g. ...*remembers going to the library to get out a tome on ...*

Get: agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); make one's own (√√√); retention (√√);
movement (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (√)

The presence of the parts in the meanings is summarised in Tables 6.3 a ('getness') and b ('outness').

	agent	volition	effort or difficulty	contact	make one's own / obtain	retention	movement (tr. or intr.)	change of state; passive	result
1	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓***
2	✓	✓					✓✓✓*		✓
3	✓	✓	✓✓✓***				✓✓✓		✓
4	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓*		✓
5	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓		✓
6	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
7	✓	✓		✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓			✓
8	✓						✓✓✓**	✓✓	✓
9	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓		✓
10	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
11	✓	✓	✓✓✓*				✓✓✓*		✓
12	✓				✓✓✓*				✓
13			✓✓✓				✓✓✓	✓✓	✓
14	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓*		✓
15	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓		✓
16	✓	✓					✓✓✓*		✓
17	✓	✓			✓✓✓*		✓✓✓		✓
18	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
19	✓						✓✓✓*		✓
20	✓	✓		✓✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓✓		✓

Table 6.3 a: 'getness' in 'get out'

Key to Table 6.3a

- * indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ** indicates that the meaning is used both literally and figuratively.
- *** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

	movement from the inside	geographical movement	away from the origin	abstract container	choosing / rejecting	removal	into access	distribution	into hiding	completeness	result
use 1	√√√										√***
2	√√√*					√√*					√
3		√√√									√
4	√√√*										√
5	√√√			√√							√
6	√√√										√
7	√√√***						√√				√
8	√√√*					√√					√
9	√√√***		√√√								√
10		√√√									√
11	√√√*										√
12	√√√**						√√				√
13		√√√									√
14	√√√		√√√								√
15	√√√			√√							√
16	√√√*					√√					√
17							√√				√
18	√√√										√
19							√√	√√√(?)			√
20	√√√										√

Table 6.3 b: 'outness' in 'get out'

Key to Table 6.3 b:

- * indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ** indicates that the meaning is sometimes figurative and sometimes not.
- *** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

6.4.2.1.2 Meanings of 'get out': a hierarchy

It is possible to find similarities among the conceptual meanings above. This section sets out to group them according to these similarities. It is done in several stages, ultimately reducing the number to one overall meaning. A general definition for each cluster of meanings is given, with the numbers of the conceptual meanings concerned.

- First step

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: movement from within a container (with an effort). The subject moves (intr.)

Meanings 1, 4, 5, 15

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: movement away from a place (with an effort). The subject moves (intr.)

Meanings 2, 3, 9, 10

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: change of state, result: change in ownership (with an effort). The object is affected (tr.)

Meanings 7, 12, 20

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: movement away from a place (without effort). The subject moves (intr.)

Meanings 8, 13, 19 (includes distribution)

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: movement from within a container (with an effort). The object moves (tr.)

Meanings 14, 17

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: movement from within a container (without effort). The object moves (tr.)

Meanings 16, 18

The remaining meanings do not group into clusters. However, for the sake of clarity and for easier grouping in the second step, they have been assigned clusters although these are made of single elements.

Cluster 7:

Overall meaning: movement from within a container (without effort). The subject moves (intr.)

Meaning 6

Cluster 8:

Overall meaning: change of state, result: production (with an effort). The object is affected (tr.)

Meaning 11

- Second step

Again, some similarities appear within these clusters. Particularly, there are features which co-occur among certain clusters: with/without effort; movement away/from within; tr./intr. We can thus reduce the number of clusters as shown below:

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: movement from within a container. The subject moves (intr.).

Clusters 1 and 7

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: movement away from a place. The subject moves (intr.).

Clusters 2 and 4

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: movement from within a container. The object moves (tr.).

Clusters 5 and 6

Cluster 4':

Overall meaning: change in ownership. The object is affected (tr.).

Cluster 3

Cluster 5':

Overall meaning: change of state: into existence, production. The object is affected (tr.).

Cluster 8

The direction of the movement can then be reduced to 'from within', if we consider 'out' in broad terms to cover 'leaving a container' and 'leaving a more or less bounded place' (see Lindner, 1981). This leaves us with clusters defined in the broader terms of movement (of the subject: intr. or of the object: tr.), or of change of state, which then leaves us with the last reduction between change affecting the subject or the object.

- The hierarchy

We have seen that the meanings of 'get out' are reducible to one overall meaning, in several steps. This subsection will now define the different levels of the hierarchy thus obtained. In the hierarchy, the levels that come first - such as levels 1 and 2 - will be called 'higher levels' while the lower levels are those that come later - like level 4 and 5 for instance. For the sake of brevity, the definitions given for higher levels are not repeated in the lower ones, unless they occur only in one or the other of the possibilities defined in higher levels.

Level 1: result: change of state/position, with movement (literal or metaphorical) from within.

Level 2: - change in the subject (intr.)
 - change in the object (tr.)

Level 3: type of change: - change of position (movement)
 - change of state

Level 4: - direction of movement: - from within a container
 - away from a place (only intr.)
 - type of change of state: - in ownership
 - in state (into existence)

Level 5: - with effort (all types)
 - without effort (except change of state)

(Level 6: - type of movement: - escape} (only for **some** intr. movements)
 - leave }
 - type of action (tr.))⁵⁶

Level 7: various restrictions (e.g. 'type of container'; 'type of object') which justify assigning different meanings to the instances.

The levels are summarised in figure 6.1.

The figures representing the hierarchies all include two rows of numbers at the bottom. These are, respectively, the number of the conceptual meaning corresponding to the branch and the number of instances in the data of that meaning. This is done in order to help the reader get an idea of where the very frequent uses (in the data) of the PV are in the hierarchy.

⁵⁶ This level does not concern all branches of the higher levels. It is possible to reduce intransitive movement meanings further than transitive ones. This is probably due in part to the fact that there were more instances of the intransitive PV than the transitive.

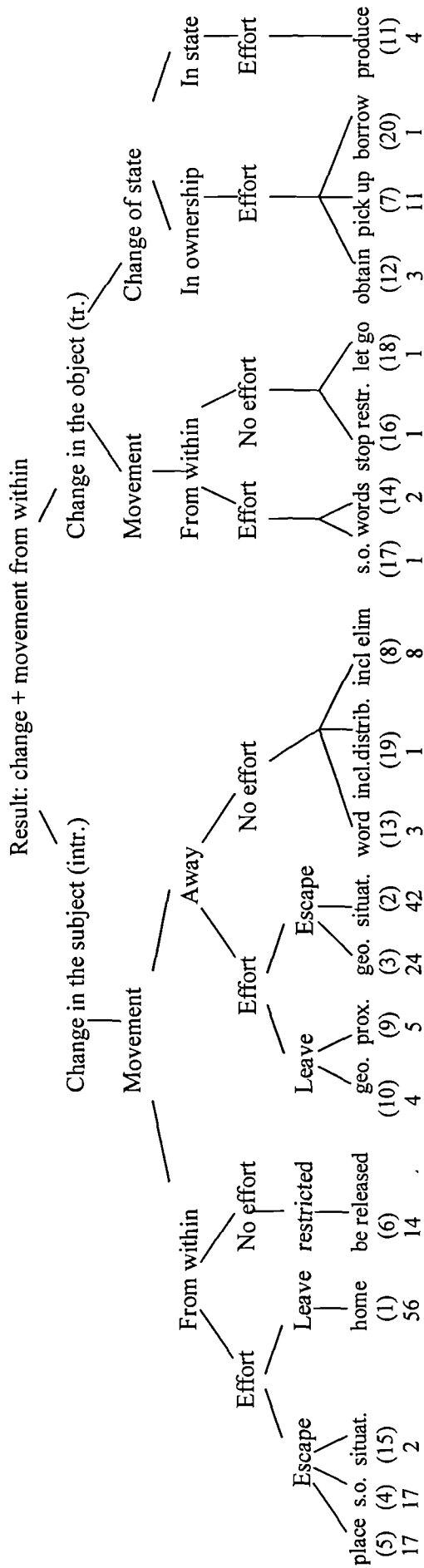


Figure 6.1: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'get out'

6.4.2.2 Meanings of 'give out'

6.4.2.2.1 Meanings of 'give out': the parts

1. (tr.) distribute, with a physical object in the plural (give to many people) (64)

e.g. *'He met a clown who gave out sweets.'*

Give: agent (√); volition (√); out of possession (√√√); into someone else's possession (√√√)

Out: distribution (√√√)

2. (tr.) declare out/dismiss (cricket) (44)

e.g. *... in the same De Freitas over, Dean Jones was given out lbw...*

Give: agent (√); volition (√); express (?) (√); result (√)

Out: removal (√√); movement (out of the pitch) (√√√); result (√)

3. (tr.) disclose/make public (tell everyone) (31)

e.g. *Most people would rather journalists gave out false information during the war than endanger...*

'It's a personal matter for ministers if they give out their exam results.'

Give: agent (√); volition (√); into someone else's possession (fig: into their knowledge) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); distribution (because to a lot of people, as opposed to only one) (√√√); result (√)

4. (tr.) send/produce/emit (a gas or wave) (19)

e.g. *... electrons collide with the mercury atoms, causing them to give out ultraviolet rays.*

... lay a dead pig giving out an awful stench,...

Give: agent (√); into access (√√); result (√)

Out: from a container (√√√); into access (√√); result (√)

5. (intr.) fail/collapse/stop working (12)

e.g. *The publisher's vulnerable heart happened to **give out** on the very day he was due to pay back a debt...*

Give: (intr. use of 'give') fail: loss of control ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

Out: completeness ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

6. (tr.) send/convey (a signal) (11)

e.g. *My recollections of Lacoste is that it **gave out** in those days what we called bad vibrations*
*... Gail Vines reports that acne may be **giving out** its own distinctive signals.*

Give: agent ($\sqrt{\quad}$); into access ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

Out: into access ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); idea of distribution (because the signal is spread more than in 4) ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

7. (tr.) disclose/make known (only to one person) (10)

e.g. *Naturally they didn't **give out** the number, and told the woman to ring back...*

Give: agent ($\sqrt{\quad}$); volition ($\sqrt{\quad}$); into someone else's possession (fig.: communication) ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

Out: into access ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

8. (intr.) stop/come to an end (10)

e.g. *... where the carboniferous shales **give out** to the massive limestones.*
*... when their money **gave out** in Russia these articles came in very handy for profitable sale...*

Give: (intr. use of 'give) yield: disappearance (gradual) ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); when followed by 'to' (\pm), into indirect object's control (fig.) ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

Out: completeness ($\sqrt{\sqrt{\quad}}$); result ($\sqrt{\quad}$)

9. (tr.) emit/sing (loud sound) (4)

e.g. *... while Dick **gives out** a full-hearted contralto rendition of If I Had A Hammer...*

... *with a stick (...) protruding from his chin, gave out a piercing whistle.*

Give: agent (√); sometimes volition (√); into access (√√)

Out: into access (√√); strengthening value of the postposition (akin to the aspectual value)
(√)

10. (tr.) declare/utter (words); no idea of loudness (compare meaning 9) (2)

e.g. *It was (...) a Scottish referee (...) who gave out the marching orders...*

Give: agent (√); volition (√); into access (√√); express (√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

11. (tr.) produce/release (a product) [only one instance]

e.g. *... every part of the plant gives out more or less of the juice.*

Give: agent (√); into access (√√); result (√)

Out: movement to the outside (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Tables 6.4 a and b give the results.

	agent	volition	contact	loss of control (incl. fail)	loss of possession	to someone else's	into access	express (words)	result
use 1	✓	✓			✓✓✓	✓✓✓			
2	✓	✓						✓ (?)	
3	✓	✓				✓✓✓*			✓
4	✓						✓✓**		✓
5				✓✓✓ (fail)					✓
6	✓						✓✓**		✓
7	✓	✓				✓✓✓*			✓
8				✓✓✓ (fail)		✓✓✓***/*			✓
9	✓	✓***					✓✓**		
10	✓	✓					✓✓**	✓	✓
11	✓						✓✓		✓

Table 6.4 a: 'givenness' in 'give out'

Key to Table 6.4 a

- * indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ** indicates that the value is present in both parts
- *** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

	movement from the inside	geographical movement	away from the origin	abstract container	choosing / rejecting	removal	into access	distribution	into hiding	completeness	result
use 1								√√√			
2	√√√					√√					√
3							√√	√√√			√
4	√√√						√√**				√
5										√√	√
6							√√**	√√√			√
7							√√				√
8										√√	√
9							√√**				√
10							√√**				√*
11	√√√*										√

Table 6.4 b: 'outness' in 'give out'

Key to Table 6.4 b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts

6.4.2.2.2 Meanings of 'give out': a hierarchy

- First step

As a pre-cluster, it is possible to put together meanings 9 and 10, for which the difference lies only in the intensity of the sound emitted.

The following groups have been made from the meanings.

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: send/emit/produce (waves etc.); there is loss (lit. or fig.) by the subject

Meanings 6, 9, 10

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: disclose/make known (information etc.); there is no loss from the subject:
sharing

Meanings 3, 7

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: produce (object); there is no loss for the subject

Meaning 4, 11

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: fail/collapse/stop by the subject

Meanings 5, 8

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: distribute something (give something to many people)

Meaning 1

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: dismiss (someone), declare (someone) out

Meaning 2

- Second step

The groups defined above can be further grouped, giving fewer clusters:

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: send to the outside world; make available (lit. or fig.)

Clusters 1, 2, 3, 6

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: yield, fail (loss of control)

Cluster 4

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: change of ownership, from the subject to someone else

Cluster 5

- The hierarchy

The second list of clusters can be further reduced by considering the more general aspect of the change: whether it affects the subject (intr.) or the object (tr.). It is thus possible to define a hierarchy for 'give out', with the following levels:

Level 1: result: change of control (actual or ownership) to another/elsewhere, or just loss of control

Level 2: - change in the subject's control of itself (intr.)
 - change in the subject's control of the object (tr.)

Level 3: type of change: - transfer of the control to another (tr.)
 - transfer of the object to the outside world (tr.)
 - loss of control (intr.)

Level 4: - (tr. only): cause of the change: - request (disclose)
 - no request (just give, or produce)

- (intr. only): type of result of the loss of control: fail/collapse or stop/come to nought

(Level 5 [only tr. meanings]: type of action, of object produced or recipient [just one or many])

(Level 6 [only some tr. meanings]: restrictions: type of object or action)

(Level 7 [sound emitted]: intensity)

The hierarchy is summarised in figure 6.2.

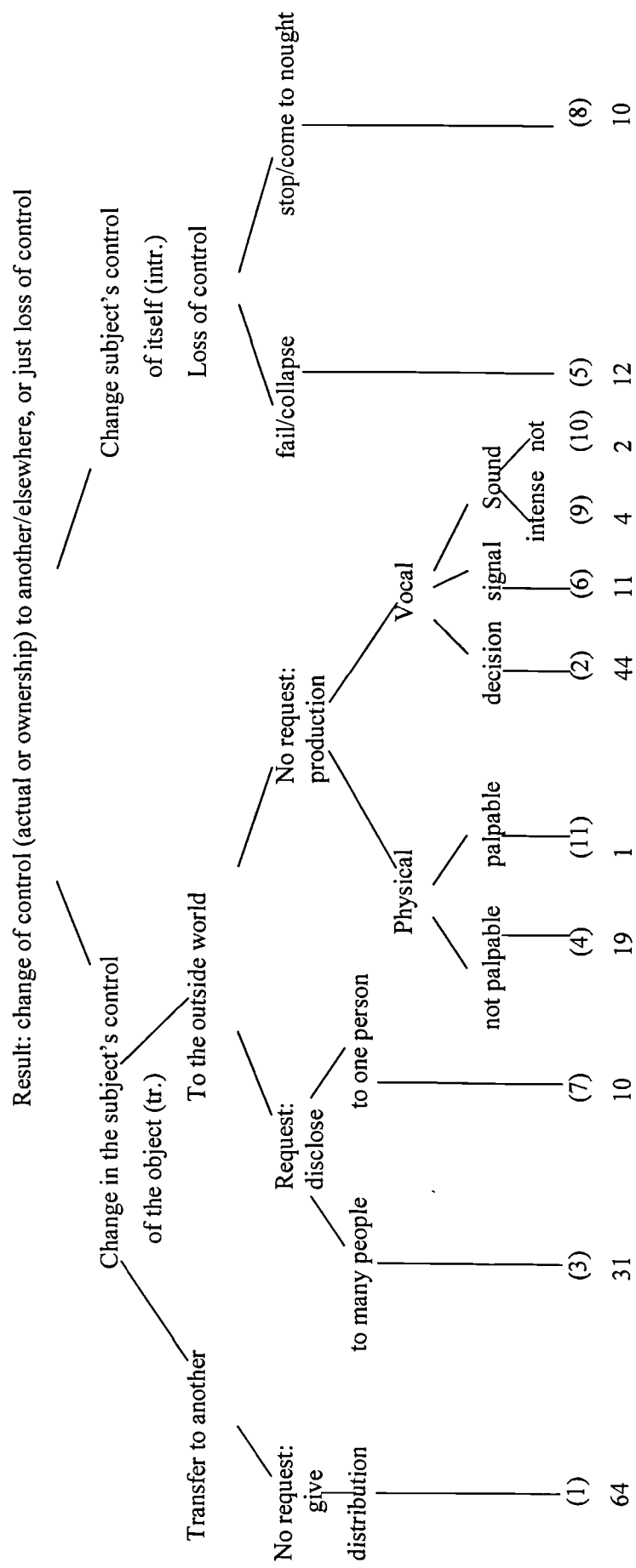


Figure 6.2: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'give out'

6.4.2.3 Meanings of 'turn out'

6.4.2.3.1 Meanings of 'turn out': the parts

1. (intr.) come to be known (revelation: no change) (188)

e.g. *It **turned out** that Cpl Williams had met a member of the Reservists Against the War,...*

Turn: change of position (fig.: the news moves metaphorically to knowledge) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

2. (intr.) come/turn up; can also occur as a noun (then it is about the number/proportion of people who came) (61)

e.g. *... 20,000 Edinburgh revellers were expected to **turn out** for celebrations outside Tron Church.*

*The **turn-out** was less than 30 per cent in one byelection in Lyons, ...*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access/view (√√); result (√)

3. (intr.) finally happen (result of an action: change) (35)

e.g. *... 'the United States wished things to **turn out** as they did, and worked to bring this about.'*

Turn: change of state (transformation) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (?) (√√); completeness (in the end) (√√); result (√)

4. (tr.) issue/produce (a document) (7)

e.g. *Most newspapers reporting the first attacks of the war **turned out** fresh editions after hostilities began.*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.: metaphorical move to knowledge) (√√√); change of state: production (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

5. (tr., usually passive) dress (appearance) (5)

e.g. ... *a clutch of black-bereted Iraqis, immaculately **turned out** in pressed khaki uniforms, ...*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of state: appearance (alteration) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access/view (√√); result (√)

6. (tr.) produce/make and release (a product, or fig.: people, at the end of school) (5)

e.g. ... *competition from Taiwan, whose factories could **turn out** the sacks substantially cheaper than British prisoners, ...*

*'Our schools are **turning out** some people who are illiterate. We have too many school leavers...*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (into existence) (√√√); change of position (fig.: into availability, for sale) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

7. (tr.) reject/expel (2)

e.g. *Every year, thousand of aged parents are **turned out** by their children.*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

8. (tr.) switch off/extinguish (lights) (2)

e.g. *According to witnesses, the staff had been ordered to **turn out** the lights by soldiers...*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of state: alteration (√√); result (√)

Out: to hiding (extinction) (√√); completeness (√√); result (√)

9. (tr.) show (turn inside out) [only one instance]

e.g. *Professor Potts **turned out** his empty pockets and offered the white glove of friendship...*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result(√)

10. (tr.) dispatch/send (guards) [only one instance]

e.g. ... *an area controlled by the Air Force which **turned out** armed guards to surround the intruders.*

Turn: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); into access/view (√√); result (√)

The summary is given in Tables 6.5 a and b.

	Agent	volition	change of position	change of state: transformation	change of state: alteration	result	no result: action
use 1			✓✓✓*			✓	
2	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓	
3				✓✓✓		✓	
4	✓	✓	✓✓✓*	✓✓✓		✓	
5	✓	✓			✓✓	✓	
6	✓	✓	✓✓✓*	✓✓✓		✓	
7	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓	
8	✓	✓			✓✓	✓	
9	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓	
10	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓	

Table 6.5 a: 'turnness' in 'turn out'

Key to Table 6.5 a

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

	movement from the inside	geographical movement	away from the origin	abstract container	choosing / rejecting	removal	into access	distribution	into hiding / extinction	completeness	result
use 1							√√				√
2							√√				√
3							√√*			√√	√
4							√√				√
5							√√				√
6							√√				√
7	√√√					√√					√
8									√√	√√	√
9	√√√										√
10	√√√						√√				√

Table 6.5 b: 'outness' in 'turn out'

Key to Table 6.5 b

* indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

6.4.2.3.2 Meanings of 'turn out': a hierarchy

- First step

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: finally happen (result or revelation). Some information is given on the subject (intr.)

Meanings 1, 3

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: produce/make. The object is produced and put into access (tr.)

Meanings 4, 6

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: show/make available. The object is put into view or access (tr.)

Meanings 5, 9

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: cause the object to move outside (tr.)

Meanings 7, 10

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: come/turn up. The subject moves (intr.)

Meaning 2

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: switch off/extinguish. The object changes states (tr.)

Meaning 8

- Second step

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: come into view or into access (intr.)

Clusters 1, 5

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: put into view or into access (tr.)

Clusters 2, 3

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: change the position in space (tr.)

Cluster 4

Cluster 4':

Overall meaning: change state from visible to not (tr.)

Cluster 6

It can be noticed that these clusters can be reduced further, first into change of position in the object, change of state in the object and change of position in the subject, then to change in the object (transitive meanings) and change in the subject (intransitive meanings), and finally to one overall meaning encompassing all: introduction of a result (change of position or state, to outside or the extensions of 'out').

- The hierarchy

This section presents the different levels of the hierarchy defined in the first two steps.

Level 1: result: introduction of a result (change of position or state, out – literal [movement] or figurative [into access])

Level 2: - result about the subject (intr.)
 - result (of action) on the object (tr.)

Level 3: type of change: position (tr. or intr.) or state (tr. only) leading to the result

Level 4:- type of change of position: - literal (tr., to the outside; intr., only actual movement)
 - figurative (into access/view, intr.)
 - type of change of state (tr. only): - to an end (tr., comparable to Lindner's 'hiding')

- into existence (includes into access)
- change in appearance

- Level 5: restrictions:
- type of action (tr. and intr.)
 - type of result (intr., whether there is change bringing about the result: information)
 - type of product (only tr.)

The hierarchy is presented in figure 6.3.

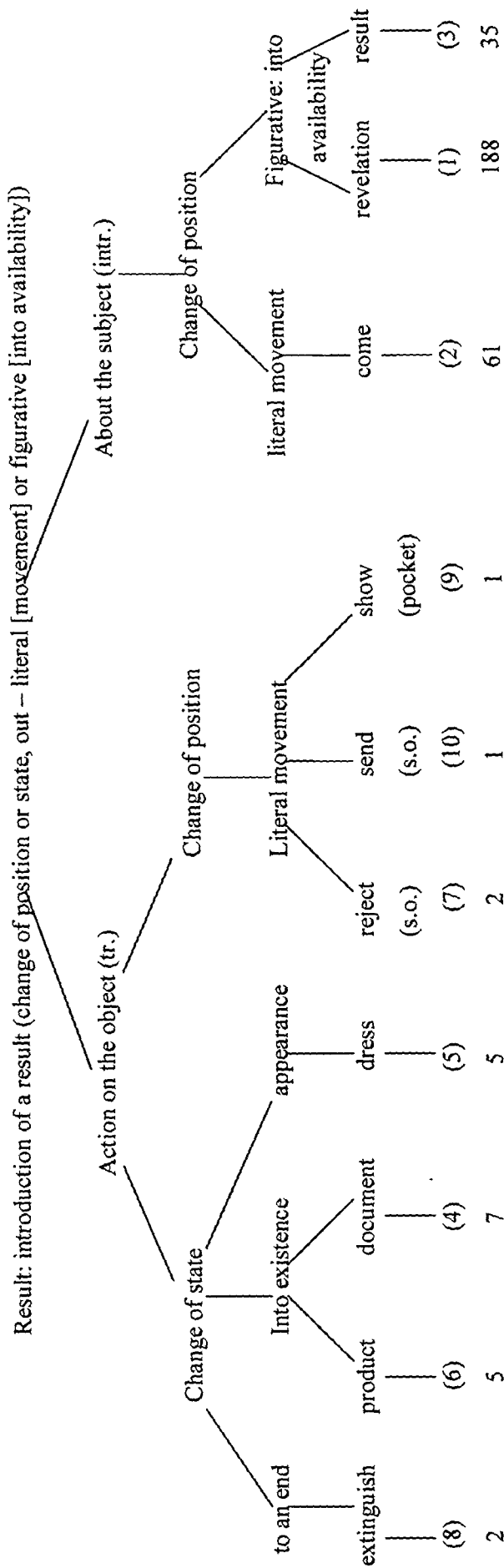


Figure 6.3: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'turn out'

6.4.2.4 Meanings of 'put out'

6.4.2.4.1 Meanings of 'put out': the parts

1. produce/send (information) (73)

e.g. *The message, which was greeted angrily by leftwing delegates, was **put out** too late to be raised during the conference proceedings.*

*You might have thought she would have told her friends to stop **putting out** that drivel about me. But it goes on.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

2. extinguish (fire, light etc.) (56)

e.g. *But they have more to offer the community than buckets of water to **put out** fires.*

*... if his punch had packed anything like its full force Robert's lights 'would have been **put out** permanently'.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

Out: to hiding (extinction) (√√), completeness (√√); result (√)

3. (fixed phrase) 'put out to tender'; make available (18)

e.g. *The current affairs department will also **put out to tender** coverage of the TUC conference...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of control (fig.) (because it is offered) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

4. show/broadcast (TV: a programme etc) (15)

e.g. *... urged Tories to jam the switchboards of the BBC and ITN if broadcasters continued to **put out** programmes unfair to the party.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

5. take outside (usually but not necessarily throw away) (11)

e.g. *Mrs McIlroy was shot at when she went to **put out** the rubbish.*

*... the lackadaisical insouciance of a fellow **putting out** the cat and milk bottles at night.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (lit.): movement (√√√); contact (√√); removal (√√); loss of grasp (√√); result (√)

Out: from inside to outside (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

6. place/scatter (with or without distribution) (11)

e.g. *The scientists **put out** a number of identical dumbbells with different scents for the dogs...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); contact (√√); loss of grasp (√√); result (√)

Out: distribution (±) (√√√); result (√)

7. produce and release (for sale) (11)

e.g. *... he couldn't be dishonest and just **put out** the song anyway if he couldn't find himself in the song personally.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of control (fig.) (because it is offered) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

8. eliminate/beat (in sports) (11)

e.g. *... win in the doubles at the Rotterdam indoor tournament when they **put out** the top-seeded Spaniards Emilio and Javier Sanchez...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); removal (fig.) (√√); result (√)

Out: removal (fig: dismiss from a game) (√√); result (√)

9. present/send (sports: a team/player) (11)

e.g. *So although the side Taylor is **putting out** against Turkey are notable for their attacking outlook,...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

10. annoy/surprise (10)

e.g. *In the normal run of things, she would have been **put out** and more than a little worried.*

Put: agent (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (from the original state, which was 'not unhappy') (?) (√√√); result (√)

11. (fixed phrase) 'put out feelers' (send someone to look for/investigate something) (7)

e.g. *Increased demand for vegetarian rations prompted the RNSTS to **put out feelers**. Sadly, when the questionnaires came back...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change position (√√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (√√√); distribution (fig.: to many different places) (√√√); result (√)

12. (fixed phrase) 'put out to grass' (force to retire/sack) (6)

e.g. *... plant her tulips and water her roses, are to be **put out to grass** by Michael Heseltine, the environment secretary...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change position (fig.) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (fig.) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

13. make available (for consultation) (5)

e.g. *Last week's announcement that the options will be **put out** for two month's consultation in mid-april...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of control (only partial: temporary) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

14. send/make and display (a call) (4)

e.g. *He said a crash call for help was **put out** and a resuscitation team quickly arrived.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (fig.: into existence) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

15. send/emit/produce (heat etc.) (4)

e.g. *He reckoned that the sperm must **put out** toxins to disable each other.*

Put: agent (√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); loss of grasp (fig.: loss from the 'body') (√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (√)

16. extend (a hand or arm) (4)

e.g. *He **put out** his hand and I shook it.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (√√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (√√√); result (√)

17. leave/go out (to sea) (intr.) [only one instance]

e.g. *A warning went out (...) to small boats: do not **put out** to sea.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (of the subject itself: intransitive use) (√√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (√√√); result (√)

18. leave/go out (to sea) (tr.) [only one instance]

e.g. *... you will be made redundant, which (...) means to be **put out** on the next tide, not necessarily in a boat and definitely not with a paddle.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (of the object: transitive use) (√√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (√√√); result (√)

19. bid/make an offer (tender) [only one instance]

e.g. *'showing us we're efficient because we put out tenders and win',...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of control (fig.) (because offered) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (but only to one) (√√); result (√)

20. offer/make available (for bids) [only one instance]

e.g. *In desperation, Mrs Calvey put out a contract on Mr Cook's life. There were no takers...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

21. assign/send (someone, outside: to patrol) [only one instance]

e.g. *... it is likely to result in far fewer being put out on extra patrols in the Belfast and Craigavon areas.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (lit.: movement) (√√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); result (√)

22. tell (give: quote) [only one instance]

e.g. *... Mr Reagan was in good spirits and even put out a succession of quotes such as 'Honey I forgot the duck'...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); extension of position: express (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

23. send/emit (a signal) [only one instance]

e.g. *Using it with a PC means adding a card which puts out a composite video or S-VHS video signal.*

Put: agent (√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); loss of grasp (fig.: loss from the subject) (√√); result (√)

Out: from inside (√√√); into access (√√); result (√)

24. give/assign (subcontract) [only one instance]

e.g. ... *such as the clothing company Benetton, which puts out all but strategic functions to a myriad of small firms...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of control (√√); result (√)

Out: away from origin (√√√); result (√)

25. invest/gamble (money) [only one instance]

e.g. ... *weaker banks 'that have been desirous to put out money to get margin on weak businesses and have widened the margin...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of ownership (akin to loss of grasp) (√√); result (√)

Out: into access (√√); result (√)

Tables 6.6 summarise the results.

	agent	volition	movement	contact	removal	loss of grasp	change of state	express (words)	result **
use 1	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
2	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
3	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓*			✓
4	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
5	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓***	✓✓			✓
6	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓		✓✓			✓
7	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓✓*			✓
8	✓	✓	✓✓✓*		✓✓/***				✓
9	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
10	✓						✓✓✓		✓
11	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
12	✓	✓	✓✓✓*		✓✓**				✓
13	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓			✓
14	✓	✓					✓✓✓*		✓

Table 6.6 a: 'putness' in 'put out'

Key to Table 6.6 a

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain

	agent	volition	movement	contact	removal	loss of grasp	change of state	express (words)	result **
15	✓		✓✓✓✓			✓✓*			✓
16	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
17	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
18	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
19	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓*			✓
20	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
21	✓	✓	✓✓✓						✓
22	✓	✓						✓✓	✓
23	✓		✓✓✓			✓✓*			✓
24	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓			✓
25	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓			✓

Table 6.6 a: 'putness' in 'put out'

Key to Table 6.6 a

- * indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.
- ** indicates that the value is present in both parts.
- *** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.
- (?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

	movement from the inside	geographical movement	away from the origin	abstract container	choosing / rejecting	removal	into access	distribution	into hiding	completeness	result **
use 1							√√				√
2									√√	√√	√
3							√√				√
4							√√				√
5	√√√					√√**					√
6								√√√***			√
7							√√				√
8						√√*/**					√
9							√√				√
10			√√(?)								√
11			√√√							√√√*	√
12	√√√*					√√**					√
13							√√				√
14							√√				√

Table 6.6 b: 'outness' in 'put out'

Key to Table 6.6 b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

	movement from the inside	geographical movement	away from the origin	abstract container	choosing / rejecting	removal	into access	distribution	into hiding	completeness	result **
15	✓✓✓										✓
16			✓✓✓								✓
17			✓✓✓								✓
18			✓✓✓								✓
19							✓✓				✓
20							✓✓				✓
21	✓✓✓										✓
22							✓✓				✓
23	✓✓✓						✓✓				✓
24			✓✓✓								✓
25							✓✓				✓

Table 6.6 b: 'outness' in 'put out'

Key to Table 6.6 b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

6.4.2.4.2 Meanings of 'put out': a hierarchy

- Pre-step

First it is possible to group together some meanings for which the differences are only a matter of restriction of use. For instance, meaning 3 ('put out to tender') is a fixed phrase (FP), but the meaning of the PV is quite similar to that of meaning 20 ('make available for bids'). However, this first grouping only concerns a few meanings. Thus the following pre-clusters can be defined.

Pre-cluster 1:

Overall meaning: make available for bids (ask for offers)

Meanings 3 (FP), 20

Pre-cluster 2:

Overall meaning: make move/place outside. There is no production by the subject, nor loss on the subject's part.

Meanings 5, 12 (FP)

Pre-cluster 3:

Overall meaning: send (someone) outside (or an extension of 'outside': away), for a purpose

Meanings 11 (FP), 21

Pre-cluster 4:

Overall meaning: produce/emit (something from inside the subject); the difference only lies in the kind of object 'put out'

Meanings 15, 23

Pre-cluster 5:

Overall meaning: leave, go out (to sea)

Meanings 17, 18

These could be regarded as one meaning, but they correspond to two uses of the verb – transitive and intransitive. For the purposes of the hierarchy, the two will be assigned separate branches (though only at the very bottom of the hierarchy) although they do correspond to one meaning.

- First step

The clusters defined in the pre-step can be augmented, and other clusters can be defined from the other meanings, as a first general step towards the hierarchy.

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: send (someone) away (or figuratively: out of a game), for a purpose; including in sports - present a team

Meanings 8, 9, 11, 21

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: make available for information; production (i.e. the subject does something to the object before it becomes available)

Meanings 1, 22

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: offer/make available for sale; no production

Meanings 3, 20

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: make available for information or view by other people; no production

Meanings 4, 13

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: cause to move outside (real container)

Meanings 5, 12

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: send/make known; no real production as the object is highly abstract

Meanings 14, 19

Cluster 7:

Overall meaning: produce/emit, cause to move outside (from the subject: loss)

Meanings 15, 23

Cluster 8:

Overall meaning: move/cause to move (no container, extension of outside: away from origin);
transitive or intransitive (see pre-step, pre-cluster 4)

Meanings 17, 18

Cluster 9:

Overall meaning: extinguish; change in the state of the object, from burning to not burning

Meaning 2

Cluster 10:

Overall meaning: place somewhere/scatter (can include distribution)

Meaning 6

Cluster 11:

Overall meaning: make available for sale; production

Meaning 7

Cluster 12:

Overall meaning: annoy/disappoint; change of state from happy/satisfied to
unhappy/dissatisfied

Meaning 10

Cluster 13:

Overall meaning: cause to move away/extend (part of the body)

Meaning 16

Cluster 14:

Overall meaning: change of state: change of control over the object, on the subject's part

Meaning 24

Cluster 15:

Overall meaning: change of state: change of ownership of the object, loss by the subject

Meaning 25

- Second step

On a more general level, it is possible to group meanings further, i.e. into a lower number of clusters.

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: cause to move somewhere (no container, extension of outside); with or without purpose

Clusters 1, 8, 10, 13

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: make available, for sale, information or other; no production

Clusters 3, 4, 6

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: make available, for sale, information or other; production

Clusters 2, 11

Cluster 4':

Overall meaning: cause to move outside (from a container, whether it is the subject or not)

Clusters 5, 7

Cluster 5':

Overall meaning: change in the state of the object; internal change

Clusters 9, 12

Cluster 6':

Overall meaning: change in the state of the subject; external change

Clusters 14, 15

- The hierarchy

From this it is apparent that some clusters have common points: availability; movement; change of state. It is thus possible to reduce the number of clusters from four to just two. The first corresponds to a change of position (literal or figurative) to the outside (or an extension

of that), while the second describes a change of state in the object. We then have a hierarchy with the following levels:

Level 1: introduction of a result: change of the object's position or state, to the outside (literal or figurative, or an extension of outside - into availability, away from origin [including original state], into hiding [i.e. extinction]).

Level 2: type of change: of position (movement) or state

Level 3:

- kind of movement:
 - literal movement: to the outside
 - figurative movement: into availability
- kind of change:
 - in the state of the object
 - in the control by the subject over the object (loss)

Level 4:

- change of position:
 - figurative movement: with or without production
 - literal movement: with or without actual container
- change of state:
 - state of the object: mood or actual state
 - state of the subject: control or ownership

Level 5:- change of state: restrictions: type of action

- change of position:
 - figurative movement: purpose: for sale, information or other
 - literal movement:
 - actual container: kind of container
 - no container: kind of extension of 'out': away from the origin, or no spatial extension of 'out' (just place)

(Level 6:

- literal change of position, no container: kind of movement: to sea, away for a task, from the body of the subject, away from a game (dismissal)
- other kinds of change of position: restrictions: kind of action, kind of object or purpose)

(Level 7 (only some literal changes of position): restrictions: kind of object, tr. or intr. (to sea), kind of action)

The complete hierarchy is given in figure 6.4 below.

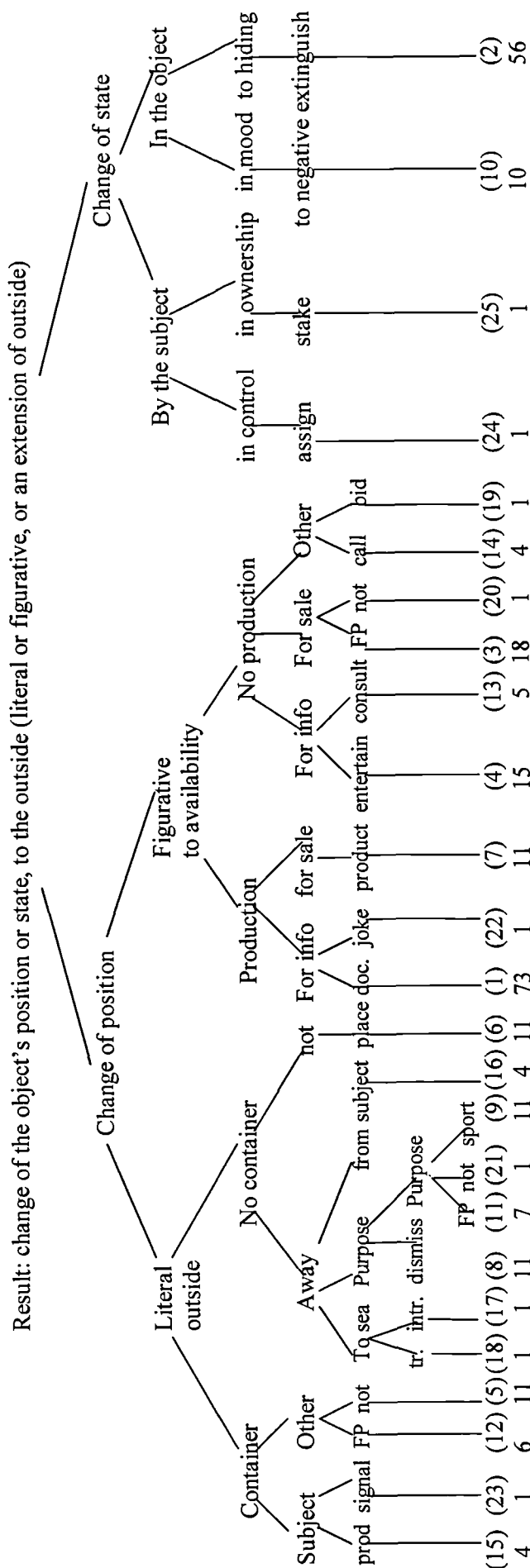


Figure 6.4: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'put out'

6.4.2.5 Meanings of 'put in'

6.4.2.5.1 Meanings of 'put in': the parts

1. enter/send (officially, e.g. a claim, and send to the relevant place) (76)

e.g. *Potential buyers need not be in a rush to **put in** their offers.*

*... there is always the possibility that the Russian Federation might **put in** a claim for the seat on the Security Council.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (to a company etc.) (fig.: send) (√√√); loss of grasp (fig.) (√√); result (√)

In: fig. movement: to an abstract container (√√√); result (√)

2. spend/dedicate (time, work etc.) (38)

e.g. *'I am disgusted because of the amount of work I have **put in** since I became a councillor'...*

*Last year, Jefferson parents **put in** 53,000 hours of their free time at the school.*

Put agent (√); volition(√); change of position: movement (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

In: fig. movement, to an abstract container (work etc.) (√√√); result (√)

3. produce/show (a performance, in sports, work etc.) (29)

e.g. *The Canadian, taking his third world title, **put in** eight triple jumps in total to earn 5.8s and 5.9s all round,...*

*Liz McColgan **put in** another winning performance on her way to her world championships...*

Put: agent (√); volition(√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

In: without movement: present (√√√); result (√)

4. install/set up (set in place or in working order) (27)

e.g. *Neil (...) **put in** a brand new one...*

*... it has got a new photocopier that works, it is **putting in** a modern telephone system and...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (√√√); change of position (√√√); result (√)

In: movement to the inside (√√√); into action (√√); result (√)

5. invest/spend (money etc. with the aim of profit or at least avoiding loss) (26)

e.g. *'The fact that you could win money just by putting in a little bit, that's what fascinated me'...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: (fig.) movement (√√√); loss of grasp (√√√); result (√)

In: fig. movement inside (√√√); result (√)

6. appoint (someone, for a job) (15)

e.g. *Notably, he has put in his own man as commander in chief of the Soviet army.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: (fig.) movement (√√√); result (√)

In: to the inside (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

7. make (an appearance) (14)

e.g. *... the army did not put in an appearance until 45 minutes after the rebels had withdrawn.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

In: no movement: presence (√√√); result (√)

8. start (the team: be the first batsman) (cricket) (13)

e.g. *Having been put in to bat by Viv Richards, they were once again subjected to trial...*

Put: agent (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); change of state (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

In: to the inside (fig.) (√√√); into action (√√); result (√)

9. bring/send (someone or something, where it is needed) (12)

e.g. *'We've put in here, in the last three-plus hours, 2,000 soldiers...'*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (√√√); loss of grasp (fig.) (√√); result (√)

In: movement to an abstract container (√√√); result (√)

10. place inside (a room, container etc.) (6)

e.g. *A prison doctor recommended he should be **put in** with another inmate to reduce the suicide risk.*

*What is the difference (...) between cups of tea prepared by **putting in** the tea or the milk first?*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); removal (±) (√√); result (√)

In: movement to the inside (√√√); result (√)

11. say/express (words, as help) (6)

e.g. *... reminding them gently of what the Corporation gives them and asking them to **put in** a good word: remember how we helped...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); express (√√); result (√)

In: movement to an abstract container (√√√); result (√)

12. (intr.) apply (for a post etc.) (6)

e.g. *'There is a job at the BBC, which you stand a good chance of getting.' So I **put in** for it. The BBC appointed me...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig., with no object: intransitive) (√√√); loss of grasp (fig.) (√√); result (√)

In: movement to an abstract container (a company etc.) (√√√); result (√)

13. say/insert (words in a conversation) (6)

e.g. *'That's one of your most famous books, isn't it?' I **put in**. A little later I mentioned...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); express (√√); result (√)

In: fig. movement inside (abstract container) (√√√); result (√)

14. insert (data in a computer/programme) (4)

e.g. ... *I do not write programmes. I simply **put in** the knowledge-base and ask it any questions I like...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

In: movement to an abstract container (√√√); result (√)

15. add/insert (words/parts, in a story) (4)

e.g. '*Oh, you can't do this kind of thing, **putting in** all sorts of scenes Shakespeare would never have thought of.*'

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); change of state (fig., ≡ express) (√√); result (√)

In: movement to an abstract container (√√√); result (√)

16. plant (place in earth: plants) (3)

e.g. '*We've **put in** 800 rose trees. Well, I didn't, but Shirley, our gardener, does all that.*'

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (√√√); contact (not really of the subject, but as if) (√√); loss of grasp (√√); result (√)

In: movement inside (√√√); result (√)

17. (N) (rugby) throw-in (ball in the scrum)

e.g. *By **slewing the scrum on Orrel's put-in**, Morris invariably found himself under pressure...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position: movement (√√√); contact (√√); loss of grasp (√√); removal (√√); result (√)

In: to the inside (√√√); into action (√√); result (√)

18. (football) score (send the ball inside the goal)

e.g. *But Norwich's reply was emphatic, Power **putting in** a header from close range after 13 minutes...*

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Put: agent (✓); volition (✓); change of position: movement (✓✓✓); contact (✓✓); result (✓)

In: to the inside (metonymic extension) (✓✓✓); result (✓)

19. make/give (a phone call) [only one instance]

e.g. ... *if only that glum-loving Observer* had bothered to **put in** a call to Jim at the zoo...

Put: agent (✓); volition (✓); change of position: movement (fig.) (✓✓✓); change of state (to existence) (✓✓✓); result (✓)

In: movement to an abstract container (✓✓✓); result (✓)

The results are summarised in Tables 6.7 below.

	agent	volition	movement	contact	removal	loss of grasp	change of state	express (words)	result**
use 1	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓*			✓
2	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
3	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
4	✓	✓	✓✓✓				✓✓✓		✓
5	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓			✓
6	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
7	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
8	✓		✓✓✓*				✓✓✓*		✓
9	✓	✓	✓✓✓			✓✓*			✓
10	✓	✓	✓✓✓*		✓✓***				✓
11	✓	✓	✓✓✓*					✓✓	✓
12	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓*			✓
13	✓	✓	✓✓✓*					✓✓	✓
14	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
15	✓	✓	✓✓✓*					✓✓*	✓
16	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓*		✓✓			✓
17	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓	✓✓			✓
18	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓					✓
19	✓	✓	✓✓✓*				✓✓✓		✓

Table 6.7 a: 'putness' in 'put in'

Key to Table 6.7 a

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

	to the inside	to inside (abstract container)	abstract, movement: into action	abstract, no movement: present	abstract, no movement: in action	having turn or right to play	result**
use 1		✓✓✓					✓
2		✓✓✓					✓
3				✓✓✓			✓
4	✓✓✓		✓✓				✓
5	✓✓✓*						✓
6	✓✓✓*						✓
7				✓✓✓			✓
8	✓✓✓*		✓✓				✓
9		✓✓✓					✓
10	✓✓✓						✓
11		✓✓✓					✓
12		✓✓✓					✓
13		✓✓✓					✓
14		✓✓✓					✓
15		✓✓✓					✓
16	✓✓✓						✓
17	✓✓✓		✓✓				✓
18	✓✓✓*						✓
19		✓✓✓					✓

Table 6.7 b: 'inness' in 'put in'

Key to Table 6.7 b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

6.4.2.5.2 Meanings of 'put in': a hierarchy

- First step

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: abstract change of position to the inside or abstract container or object

Meanings 9, 11, 13, 14, 15

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: change of position, to the inside of a container

Meanings 10, 16, 17, 18 (metonymic extension of a physical movement)

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: abstract movement to an abstract container, send officially (tr. or intr.)

Meanings 1, 12

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: loss of control (lit. or fig.): spend an amount of the object for efficiency or a profit; figurative movement (of money or time etc.)

Meanings 2, 5

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: change of state: produce/show (a performance or just oneself)

Meanings 3, 7

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: change of state (into existence and working) and of position (inside)

Meaning 4

Cluster 7:

Overall meaning: make the object come to work/appoint

Meaning 6

Cluster 8:

Overall meaning: change of state (into working) and position (fig.: into the game)

Meaning 8

Cluster 9:

Overall meaning: produce/make, abstract object (phone call)

Meaning 19

- Second step

The clusters can be grouped into fewer clusters. In particular, some clusters correspond to a real movement, whether physical or abstract, while others include figurative movement and others still combine change of state and change of position.

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: change of state combined with a change of position (literal or figurative)

Clusters 6, 7, 8

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: literal movement to the inside, whether physical or abstract

Clusters 1, 2

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: figurative movement to an abstract location or of an abstract object

Clusters 3, 4

Cluster 4':

Overall meaning: change of state, to existence and into access

Clusters 5, 9

- The hierarchy

Again, the clusters can also be grouped together, according to their similarities of movement (literal or figurative) or change of state, ultimately reducing them to one overall meaning: change, of position (or state), to inside a container (literal or figurative). We then obtain the following hierarchy.

Level 1: result: change of position or state (sometimes combined), to inside a container (real or figurative)

Level 2: type of change: of position (movement) or state

Level 3:- change of state:- with movement combined, install or give a task in a particular place
- without movement, change of state to existence
- change of position: literal or figurative movement

Level 4: - change of state: - when movement: literal or figurative
- when no movement: type of change
- change of position: - literal movement: physical or abstract
- figurative movement: with or without recipient, the object is or is not sent to a recipient

Level 5: - abstract movement: kind of object
- physical movement: kind of context
- other branches: restrictions: kind of object/action and result; for figurative movement with recipient, kind of use (tr. or intr.)

(Level 6: for physical movement and one branch of abstract movement only: restrictions: kind of action and purpose)

The hierarchy is shown as Figure 6.5.

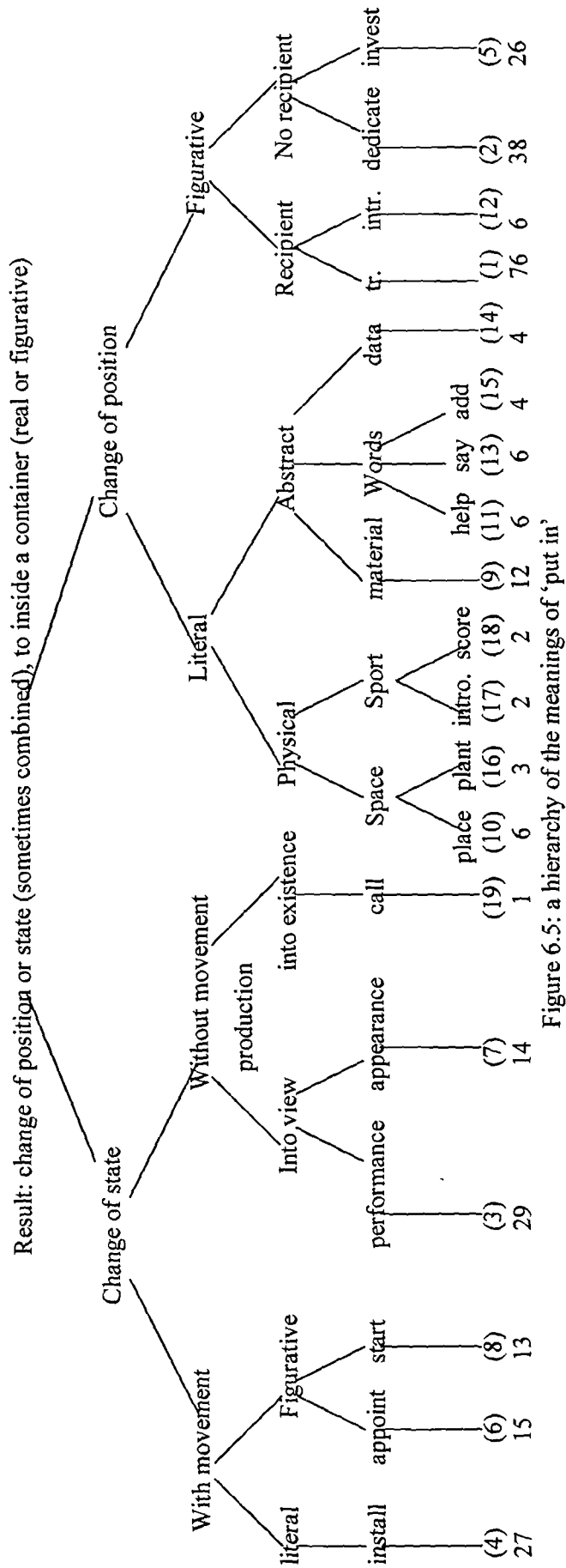


Figure 6.5: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'put in'

6.4.2.6 Meanings of 'put on'

6.4.2.6.1 Meanings of 'put on': the parts

1. dress with/cover oneself with (clothes etc.); sometimes figurative (76)

e.g. ... *urged their bureau chief not to open the window and to **put on** his gas mask.*
... *his father suggested he should work in his office. So Lean **put on** bowler and striped trousers and took the train each day...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); result (√)

On: into contact (√√√); covering (√√√); result (√)

2. stage/organise (a play, concert etc.) (54)

e.g. ... *who in the twenties had once loaned Martha Graham \$1,000 to **put on** a concert.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

On: into access/view (√√); into working (√√); result (√)

3. add (to a total)/increase (weight, value etc.) (44)

e.g. *Their youngest daughter, Ludinka, aged 10, had already **put on** several pounds, but they were still worried.*
*Scottish TV gained 23p to 628p and Central **put on** 10 p to pounds 10.38.*

Put: agent (√); volition (±) (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: add (√√); result (√)

4. display/exhibit (a show etc.: the subject 'shows off' [itself]) (36)

e.g. ... *planets on parade in our evening sky, including little Mercury **putting on** its best evening show of the year.*
*Both felt that, like Ball, they were there to **put on** a bit of a show and play the part of the visiting celeb.: ...*

Put: agent (√); volition (±) (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (?) (√)

On: into access/view (√√); result (?) (√)

5. add/combine (cricket: a partnership) (30)

e.g. *After Atherton and John Morris had **put on** 69 for the first wicket, the familiar slump duly arrived...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.: placing points on top of each other) (√√√); result (√)

On: add (√√); result (√)

6. adopt/show (a face, expression etc.) (17)

e.g. *The reality was you were going for visits and trying to **put on** a brave face and you came away tearing your heart out.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: covering (fig.: no contact, abstract object) (√√√); into access/view (√√); result (√)

7. switch on/make work (9)

e.g. *... when a character **puts on** the telly to watch snooker, you wish he'd let the rest of us enjoy it too.*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

On: into working (√√); result (√)

8. show/broadcast (TV: a programme etc.) (8)

e.g. *Meanwhile, the television networks began **putting on** the dozens and dozens of amateur films they had been forced to buy...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: into access/view (√√); result (√)

9. produce/show (a spurt, performance etc.) (6)

e.g. *They can also tell when they are shaded by **putting on** a furious spurt of growth until they reach daylight again...*

*We need to **put on** some golf and help out the organisers, who are going to suffer financially.*

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Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

On: into working (√√); into access/view (√√); result (√)

10. put/impose (pressure etc.) (4)

e.g. ... 'cause for concern', usually resolved by the CNAAs **putting on** gentle pressure and the rest are determined in favour of the examiners.

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (fig.) (√√); change of position (fig.) (√√√)

On: covering (fig.) (√√√); into working (√√)

11. stake/bet (money) (4)

e.g. ... the amount Alex was prepared to bet. He would **put on** pounds 50,000 to win pounds 5,000...

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); loss of ownership (akin to loss of grasp) (√√); result (√)

On: covering (fig.: like 'on the table', but metaphorically) (√√√); result (√)

12. fix/attach/fit (like 1, but not clothes) (3)

e.g. In a fifth incident a fox was put in a milk churn and the lid **put on**.

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); result (√)

On: covering (±) (√√√); into contact (√√√); result (√)

13. cover with (not clothes) [only one instance]

e.g. ... the 'gloss' put on the facts. But gloss involves **putting on** a shine. What has happened is more a shameless change of colour,...

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (fig.) (√√); change of position (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: covering (fig.) (√√√); into contact (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

14. imitate/laugh at [only one instance]; quite opaque

e.g. Although deeply read and himself university-educated, he loved **putting on** the literati with his loud, checked jackets and wide Day-Glo ties...

Put: agent (√); volition (√); result (√)

On: result (√)

15. organise (create and run: a course) [only one instance]

e.g. *'Now' we will put on anything if it will pay for itself. If we were asked to put on a course for one person...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); change of state (into existence and into working) (√√√); result (√)

On: into working (√√); into access (√√); result (√)

16. (+to) write down (on paper) [only one instance]

e.g. *Everything that he habitually put on to paper – his observations, plans, obsessions and fantasies...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); change of place (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: covering (√√√); into contact (√√√); result (√)

17. bring on (a player: substitute) (sports) [only one instance]

e.g. *After half-time Clemence took over in the Liverpool goal and Arsenal put on Rice (hardly changed)...*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (fig.) (√√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); change of state (fig.) (√√√); result (√)

On: into proximity (√√); into working (fig.) (√√); result (√)

The results are given in Tables 6.8.

	agent	volition	movement	contact	removal	loss of grasp	change of state	express (words)	result**
use 1	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓					✓
2	✓	✓	✓✓✓*				✓✓✓		✓
3	✓	✓***	✓✓✓*						✓
4	✓	✓***	✓✓✓*						✓(?)
5	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
6	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
7	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
8	✓	✓	✓✓✓*						✓
9	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
10	✓	✓	✓✓✓*	✓✓*					
11	✓	✓	✓✓✓*			✓✓			✓
12	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓					✓
13	✓	✓	✓✓✓*	✓✓*					✓
14	✓	✓							✓
15	✓	✓					✓✓✓		✓
16	✓	✓	✓✓✓*	✓✓					✓
17	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓*			✓✓✓*		✓

Table 6.8 a: 'putness' in 'put on'

Key to Table 6.8 a

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

	in contact	working	into contact	deposit	into working	into position	approaching	into access	covering	add	result**
use 1			√√√						√√√		√
2					√√			√√			√
3										√√	√
4								√√			√(?)
5										√√	√
6								√√	√√√*		√
7					√√						√
8								√√			√
9					√√			√√			√
10					√√				√√√*		√
11									√√√*		√
12			√√√						√√√***		√
13			√√√*						√√√*		√
14											√
15					√√			√√			√
16			√√√						√√√		√
17					√√*		√√				√

Table 6.8 b: 'onness' in 'put on'

Key to Table 6.8 b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

(?) indicates that the presence of the value is not certain.

6.4.2.6.2 Meanings of 'put on': a hierarchy

- First step

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: produce and make available to the public (a show: display)

Meanings 2, 4, 8

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: place something on (figurative)

Meanings 10, 11, 17

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: cover something/someone (not oneself) with

Meanings 12, 13, 16

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: cover oneself with something (or fig.: assume)

Meanings 1, 6

Cluster 5:

Overall meaning: add/combine (fig.: repeated contact, make a pile)

Meanings 3, 5

Cluster 6:

Overall meaning: make work, change to a state of working

Meanings 7, 15

Cluster 7:

Overall meaning: produce and show, a performance (showing is not necessarily the aim)

Meaning 9

Cluster 8:

Overall meaning: laugh at someone (opaque sense)

Meaning 14

- Second step

Again some of the clusters can be grouped together to yield fewer clusters. Not all clusters can be grouped at this stage, however. This does not mean that they necessarily have nothing in common with the other clusters; they may group with some on a higher level.

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: cover (someone or something, can be the subject itself) with the object

Clusters 3, 4

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: change of state, into working (lit. or fig.)

Clusters 6, 7

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: change of state, into existence and availability

Cluster 1

Cluster 4':

Overall meaning: change of position, into a position of contact (fig.)

Cluster 2

Cluster 5':

Overall meaning: add/combine; fig. contact repeated

Cluster 5

Cluster 6':

Overall meaning: laugh at (someone)

Cluster 8

- The hierarchy

The number of clusters can still be reduced as there are further similarities between them. For instance, some correspond to a broad change of state while others describe a change of position into some kind of contact (whether literal or figurative). It is then possible to reduce

the meanings to one overall meaning: change of position (or an extension of it: change of state), into a position of contact (or into some state of working). However, there remains one which does not display similarities with any other meanings, meaning 14 (clusters 8 and 6'). This is not surprising as meaning 14 is an opaque case, as was already noticed in the description of the meanings in terms of the parts of the PV. The remaining of the hierarchy still stands and can be described as follows.

Level 1: result: change of position (or an extension of it: change of state) into a position of contact, literal or figurative

Level 2: type of change: of position or state

Level 3:- change of position: kind of contact (covering, figurative contact or repeated contact)
- change of state: kind of state (working or an extension: into availability [display])

Level 4:- change of state to working: literal or figurative
- position into contact, simple contact: restrictions: kind of object
- other branches: application of the action to the subject itself or another object

Level 5:- change of position to covering: actual covering or not
- other branches: restrictions: kind of action; literal or figurative; kind of object

(Level 6: only change of position, actual covering: restriction: literal or figurative)

The hierarchy is summarised by Figure 6.6.

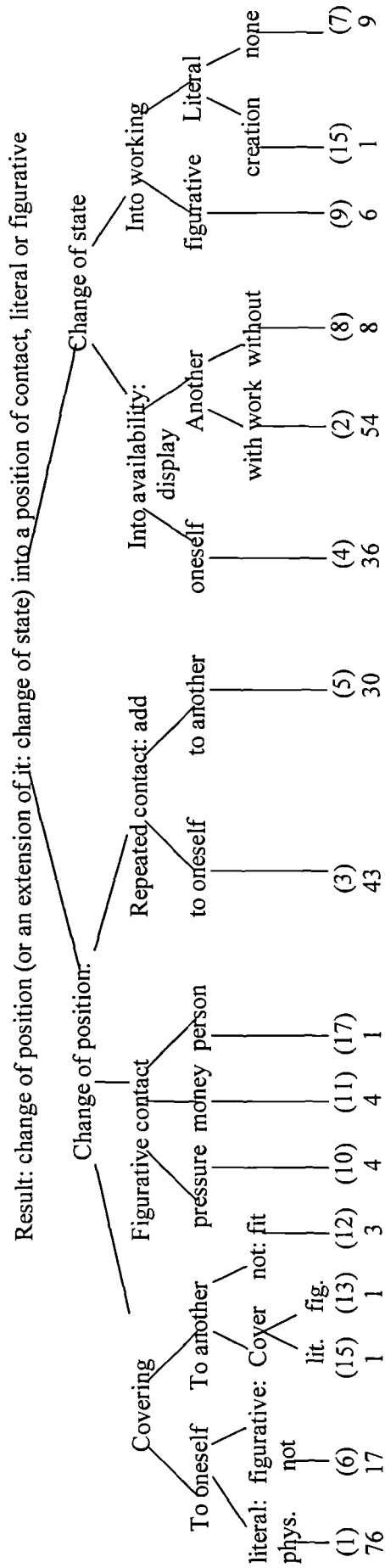


Figure 6.6: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'put on'

NB: meaning 14 ('laugh at') does not appear on the figure.

6.4.2.7 Meanings of 'put off'

6.4.2.7.1 Meanings of 'put off': the parts

1. postpone/delay (make or make happen later) (173)

e.g. ... *they should start looking for a job now, and not **put off** the search until after their exams.*

Put: agent (√); volition (±) (√); change of state (√√√); result (√)

Off: distance in time (√√√); result (√)

2. deter/scare (so that it changes one's decision) (89)

e.g. *The HTV area is similarly disparate and expensive to run, which could **put off** potential rivals.*

*'all this paraphernalia' will not only **put off** thieves but also potential purchasers if and when she tries to sell the house.*

Put: agent (√); change of state (fig.: state of mind) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

Off: stop (√√); departure (change) (√√); result (√)

3. upset/annoy (14)

e.g. *A parent, **put off** by the unresponsiveness, decides the baby is unaffectionate.*

Put: agent (√); change of state (fig.: state of mind) (√√√); result (√)

Off: departure (change) (√√); result (√)

4. distract (make one lose concentration) (2)

e.g. *The top-seeded Wilkinson, although **put off** by a more serious doubles encounter alongside, kept his blinkers on...*

Put: agent (√); change of state (fig.: state of mind) (√√√); removal (fig.) (√√); result (√)

Off: separation (disconnection) (√√√); result (√)

5. remove (clothes: take off) (2)

Chapter 6: More phrasal verbs

e.g. *'When the Lord sent me forth into the world, He forbade me to **put off** my hat to any, high or low.'*

Put: agent (√); volition (√); contact (√√); change of position (lit.) (√√√); removal (√√); result (√)

Off: removal (√√); result (√)

6. avoid/stop (change the outcome) [only one instance]

e.g. *... the French principle that a commitment to withdrawal would **put off** military action and that no threat would be made to Iraq...*

Put: agent (√); change of state (fig.: from forecast) (√√√); result (√)

Off: stop (√√); result (√)

Tables 6.9a and b summarise the results for 'put off'.

	agent	volition	movement	contact	removal	loss of grasp	change of state	express (words)	result**
use 1	✓	✓***					✓✓✓		✓
2	✓				✓✓		✓✓✓*		✓
3	✓						✓✓✓*		✓
4	✓				✓✓*		✓✓✓*		✓
5	✓	✓	✓✓✓	✓✓	✓✓**				✓
6	✓						✓✓✓*		✓

Table 6.9 a: 'putness' in 'put off'

	distance in time	distance in space	departure	separation	removal	stop	result**
use 1	✓✓✓						✓
2			✓✓			✓✓	✓
3			✓✓				✓
4				✓✓✓			✓
5					✓✓**		✓
6						✓✓	✓

Table 6.9 b: 'offness' in 'put off'

Key to Tables 6.9 a and b

* indicates a figurative meaning or metaphorical extension of the meaning.

** indicates that the value is present in both parts.

*** indicates that the value is not always present in the meaning of the PV.

6.4.2.7.2 Meanings of 'put off': a hierarchy

- First step

Because 'put off' is far less polysemous than the other PVs, it was to be expected that the number of clusters would be lower. What is more, the number of levels is to be quite low too. Still, it is possible to group the meanings into clusters.

Cluster 1:

Overall meaning: change the outcome of an action (postpone or avoid)

Meanings 1, 6

Cluster 2:

Overall meaning: cause someone to change their frame of mind

Meanings 3, 4

Cluster 3:

Overall meaning: make the object (someone or something) change their/its course of action

Meaning 2

Cluster 4:

Overall meaning: remove, change the position of the object

Meaning 5

- Second step

These clusters can be reduced to 3, on a more general level.

Cluster 1':

Overall meaning: change the outcome of an event

Cluster 1

Cluster 2':

Overall meaning: cause a change of mind in the object

Clusters 2, 3

Cluster 3':

Overall meaning: change the position of the object

- The hierarchy

These can in turn be reduced, on a more abstract level, to two kinds of change from contact, whether actual contact (hence change of position) or metaphorical contact (a state of mind or a state of affairs), which can themselves be reduced to a more general change from a state of positive contact (actual or metaphorical) to negative contact (disruption or removal). The hierarchy thus defined presents the following levels:

Level 1: change in state from positive (actual or metaphorical) contact to negative contact (actual: removal, or metaphorical)

Level 2: kind of contact:- actual contact, hence change of position
- figurative contact, hence change of state

Level 3: kind of object affected: - actual contact: physical object, from a position of contact to none
- figurative contact: - an event: change in the outcome
- a person: change in the frame of mind

Level 4 (only metaphorical contact): - event: kind of event changed: - scheduled: delay
- predicted: avoid
- frame of mind: kind of change:- in thought
- in a decision (neg.)

(Level 5: restrictions: kind of change of thought: happy to unhappy, or from present in mind to absent)

Figure 6.7 below shows the levels and branches of the hierarchy.

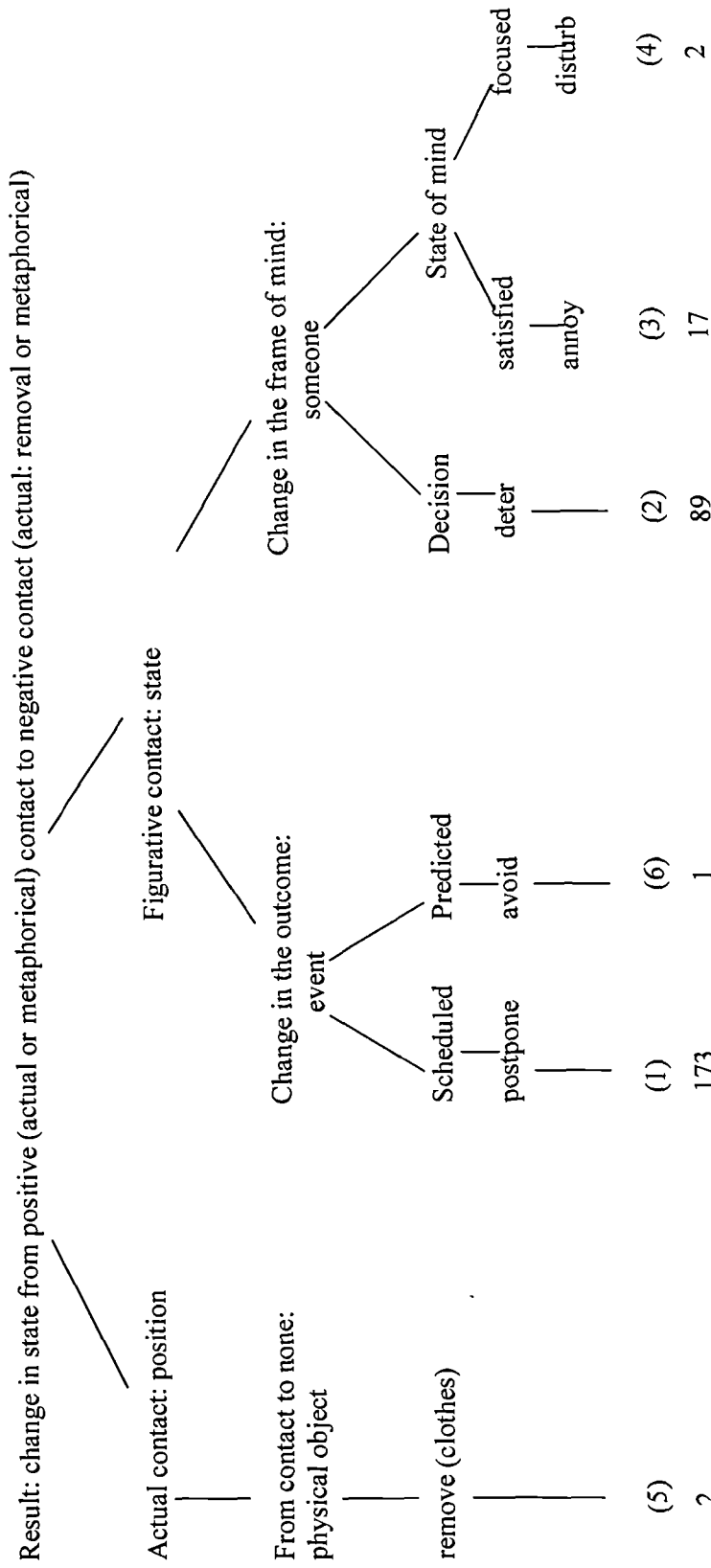


Figure 6.7: a hierarchy of the meanings of 'put off'

6.5 Discussion

In the same way as for the results, the discussion will be concerned with the two aspects of the study. First, it will look at the relative importance of the parts, which is the part of the study aimed to check on the results of chapter 5. Secondly, the hierarchies will be explained and discussed. This will be followed by a discussion of the possible implications of the study and its results.

6.5.1 On the meanings of the parts

The tables concerning the presence of the meanings of the parts of the seven PVs studied show that the parts do carry some meaning in each. From all the data and all the meanings, there was only one case for which the values were hardly present (one truly opaque case, meaning 14 of 'put on': laugh at). If we compare this with the number of meanings, it only gives one opaque case out of 108 meanings and seven PVs, which is very low and confirms both the findings of chapter 5 on this question, and many other linguists' claims, such as Side's remark on the frequency of opaque cases of PVs⁵⁷. It has been acknowledged throughout the thesis that the results apply only for the data studied in it. On the other hand, many concordance lines and many meanings have been analysed, and they probably account for most of the meanings of the PVs chosen; the chance of an existing opaque case that did not occur in the data, if it cannot be denied, is however fairly low and does not really question the present results. It would if many opaque cases existed which did not occur. This could be a question to be researched further, but for the present study, and in order to remain within reasonable limits of length for this thesis, some choices had to be made as to the amount of data and consequently the number of meanings looked at.

The second type of comparison to be made in this section is on the relative importance of the parts in the meaning of the PVs. Chapter 5 concluded that, as far as 'take up' was concerned, the most frequent case was when both parts seemed to contribute equally (or at least it was not possible to take a confident decision on the relative importance) to the meaning of the whole unit. In this chapter, and using the same method as in the previous⁵⁸, the relative importance of the parts of the seven PVs chosen for this chapter was studied and is presented in the

⁵⁷ Side, 1990, p. 146, quoted in chapter 5, section 5.4.4.2.

⁵⁸ cf. chapter 5, section 5.2.4: the method used comparison with other PVs, other uses of the same PV, other uses of the parts, whether in PVs or not.

following table. The table gives first the PVs, followed by the number of meanings for each, the numbers of uses for which the verb was more important (verb >), for which it was the postposition (postposition >) and for which neither was found more important (plus the opaque case, where obviously no such decision can be reached).

	Get out	Give out	Turn out	Put out	Put in	Put on	Put off	Total
Number of meanings	20	11	10	25	19	17	6	108
Verb >	3	8	3	7	4	2	0	27
Postposition >	2	2	3	6	5	4	2	24
Neither	15	1	4	12	10	11	4	57

Table 6.10: On the relative importance of the parts of PVs

In Table 6.10, one PV stands out, 'give out', for two reasons. First, it is the only one for which the 'Neither' row has fewer cases than the other rows. Second, there is a far greater difference between verb and postposition than for other PVs. It seems that 'give', although it does combine with the postposition 'out', not only retains much meaning but also makes most of the meaning of the unit.

For the rest of the table, cases where either both parts have more or less equal importance or no decision can be confidently reached are the most frequent. This agrees with the results of chapter 5, although in that chapter those cases were less frequent than in this one. Here, the 'Neithers' account for over 50% (52.8%) of all uses of the PVs studied.

If we compare the first two cases, where one part has dominance, a few remarks can be made. First, there are six PVs for which one is more frequently dominant, three on each side, and one where both have an equal number of cases. In other words, for the seven PVs considered in this study, there does not seem to be a dominant part.

In terms of totals, the picture is slightly more complex. We can find by looking at totals that the case of dominant verb corresponds to more uses of the PVs than cases of dominant postposition: 27 against 24. However, the difference is not very high, especially if we consider the total number of uses. Indeed, they only account for 25% of the uses while cases of dominant postposition account for 22.2% - in terms of number of uses, the difference is only 3 out of 108, or 2.8%.

If we add the meanings for 'take up' to these totals, we get the following results:

	Take up	Total
Number of meanings	36	144
Verb >	10	37
Postposition >	9	33
Neither	17	74

Table 6.11: adding 'take up'

With the results for 'take up', the figures stand at 25.7% for the first case, 22.9% for the second case and 51.4% for the third. The main difference is that the first two cases account for slightly more uses while the third goes down to 51.4% from 52.8%. However, this difference is not very high, and the difference between the first two cases remains the same - 2.8%. No tests were done for statistical significance. This is due to the fact that the number of PVs and of meanings is small.

This discussion seems to confirm the results of chapter 5 as far as the relative importance of the parts is concerned. First, the difference between the two parts did not change drastically overall, although some PVs did behave differently. This is not particularly problematic, as the odd behaviour of one PV or the other is neither avoidable nor surprising. Thus some meanings of PVs cannot be explained in terms of their parts, although most can. The fact that in one case the verb is often more important than the postposition is another example of the sometimes unexpected turns of language that a linguist encounters. The main trend, that exemplified by most other PVs, remains unchallenged by this. In other words, this study adds validity to the claim made in chapter 5 that the postposition is not to be taken as 'the main part in the combination' - nor is the verb, for that matter -, but that degrees and fuzziness seem to give a better description.

6.5.2 On the hierarchies

The aim of this part of the study was to see whether it was possible to group together the conceptual meanings defined from the data. This was done; clusters of meanings were defined on the basis of semantic similarities, then found themselves to have similarities. The hierarchies were thus obtained with one overall meaning from which the conceptual meanings could be traced, through branches and various levels.

The first comment to be made is that although the seven PVs studied were made of different parts, had different meanings and different degrees of polysemy, it was possible to define

hierarchies for all of them. Only one of the 108 conceptual meanings concerned did not find its place in the corresponding hierarchy - meaning 14 of 'put on', the opaque meaning. This does not threaten the hierarchy of the meanings of 'put on', nor indeed of the other PVs. The fact that one use of a PV does not fit in confirms its status as an opaque case. It would have been more problematic had a non-opaque use not fit in, but this did not happen, all other meanings did fit. The opaque case can therefore be considered as the exception; it does not deny the concept of hierarchies. It is not surprising either, because we are dealing with language and one might expect one or two uses of a PV to be radically different from the majority of the others.

The second kind of comment has to do with the hierarchies themselves. When one looks at the hierarchies, one cannot but notice that they are not symmetrical. Some branches have more meanings or lower branches stemming from them than others; some do not go down as low as others, the levels do not concern all branches. This again can be explained and in fact actually strengthens the hierarchies. The hierarchies have one overall meaning. After that, there is a separation into different branches, on semantic criteria. These criteria correspond to different aspects of the meanings of the PVs. If some criteria are more often present in the meanings, then they will correspond to bigger branches, or will be present in all (or almost all) branches. In the first case, it will make the hierarchy look asymmetrical while in the latter it will make it look more symmetrical. For example, let us look at the separation into transitive and intransitive meanings, which is often the first difference. If we look at the hierarchy of 'get out', there are many uses of each type. On the other hand, 'give out' is more often transitive than intransitive, and so is 'put out'. For these, there are two ways to deal with the question. If intransitive uses are very few (in the case of 'put out' there is only one), they may not be sufficient to make a whole branch. If they are less frequent than transitive uses (the case of 'give out) but correspond to a very important difference in meaning, they may still be assigned a separate branch. In this case, it will make the hierarchy very asymmetrical. It is the same for other features. Since the features which determine the levels and the separations into branches correspond to differences in meaning, they are bound to be linked to the meaning. Since it was seen that much if not most of the meaning of the PVs under study can be explained in terms of the meanings of the parts, the hierarchies both confirm and are confirmed by the meanings of the parts.

Another particularity of the hierarchies as defined in the previous section is that even within a single level there may be no symmetry. Indeed, some branches stop short as they correspond to meanings which are different but not numerous. In other words, there may be one branch from

which many meanings come while another might only yield one or two. The levels correspond to stages in the grouping, and are usually different from each other on the basis of semantic features. The features are not always present in all meanings, or there may be several features assigned to different branches at one level (see the hierarchies). Another part of the explanation can be found in the fact that the lower branches often correspond to extensions of one meaning. Since extensions are not a rigid or a homogenous phenomenon, it is to be expected that some meanings will have more, and more varied, extensions than others. The higher levels are more stable than the lower ones, since they normally correspond to important, easily found and relatively widespread features in the meanings.

6.5.3 Implications

6.5.3.1 On the relative importance of the parts

As shown in section 6.5.1, the study has confirmed the results of chapter 5. The relative importance of the parts does seem to be rather a matter of degrees than clear-cut cases: neither the verb nor the postposition can be said to be the more important part of the combination. On the contrary, the most frequent case is one of a blur, in which both parts contribute to the meaning of the lexical unit but neither has any kind of dominance. And the meanings in which one really is more important than the other are about as numerous in either case. The results are not claimed to apply to the majority of English PVs but only a small number, PVs which are very polysemous and potentially problematic for learners of English.

The main implication of this part of the study is that the claims of some linguists that the postposition is more important than the verb have to be questioned. Indeed, the examples given in those studies usually only consider one meaning of a given PV and not the others. When one looks at all the meanings of a PV, the results become much less clear-cut. An easy explanation of this may be found in the claim that words that co-occur usually change each other's meaning. If we apply this to the findings, we get a number of categories. First, we have the case where the words have influenced each other very much, and the lexical unit thus formed has become specialised in meaning, so that it is impossible to trace the original meanings of the parts. This is the classic case of an opaque meaning. At the other extreme, there are cases where the two parts co-occur almost independently, or hardly modify the meaning of each other, giving very transparent meanings. Between the two, there are degrees of mutual influence, as well as degrees of relative importance. In the present study, it was impossible, for reasons of space, to study in any detail the degrees of opacity for the PVs as was done in

chapter 5 for 'take up'. It may be interesting to study these degrees and also to look at the degrees of relative importance, to see whether the two are in any way related.

The main fact is, however, that there is no such thing as a single 'driving force' in PVs or at least not in the ones we have looked at. And the point remains that ordering PVs by the postposition or telling learners that they mainly need to learn the meanings of the postposition may just be more confusing than helpful. What would probably be helpful would be to tell learners that most PVs are not opaque and that their meanings can often be guessed at, using the meanings of the parts and the context surrounding the unit.

6.5.3.2 On the hierarchies

Three kinds of implications will be discussed as far as the hierarchies are concerned. First, the results and their discussion have shown an important implication of the hierarchies on the other part of the study. It was said in section 6.5.2 that defining the levels and branches was made easier by the common presence of features in the meanings. The fact that those features enable us to make sense groupings is another confirmation of their presence in the meanings of the PVs. In other words, the hierarchies are made thanks to the presence of the meanings of the parts (e.g. the transitive/intransitive distinction was one, but so was 'effort' in 'get out', which made a whole level, and so on). The implication of this on the whole study is that it confirms the results of the previous part of the study: it is further proof of the presence and of the importance of the features, i.e. of the meanings, of the parts which make the lexical unit.

Secondly, a probably more general application has to do with the semantics of PVs. If hierarchies have been made of the meanings of PVs, with one overall meaning to which all are related, it puts into perspective the polysemy of PVs. This is not to say that this study questions this polysemy. I strongly believe that PVs are polysemous; especially since earlier in the thesis, I distinguished various types of meanings, and drew conclusions about the importance of context. In context, the meanings of a PV can appear different and unrelated. The fact that this study has shown that they are related does not mean that they are not different; the first part of the study will hopefully have convinced the reader that it is the case. However, it is a slightly different sort of polysemy, neither random (two words being put together without reason, making different meanings which cannot be guessed or predicted) nor unrelated. The polysemy is limited because it is based on the polysemy of the parts of the PV and on the possibility of extensions which come from the language and the contexts of use. The polysemy is relative because the number of different meanings is reducible to only one or two for most cases and most meanings.

One problem has to be mentioned here. Although the meanings are indeed reducible to one overall meaning, the result is a very abstract one. The real-world conceptual meanings as defined from the data do fit in with the definition, but the reverse is not necessarily true. The definition is too abstract to be of any use as it is, which may be an impediment for the next paragraph, which is to discuss possible applications of the results to language teaching.

The third kind of implication of the study has to do with English teaching. As stated more than once in this thesis, and also widely acknowledged in the literature on PVs and teaching, PVs are a problem for learners of EFL. In the previous chapter, the claim was made that teaching both parts might be more useful because less confusing than teaching only the postposition and telling learners that it is the most important part anyway. Here, a second potential source of help has been uncovered by the hierarchies. Part of the problem of PVs is that they are often polysemous, sometimes very much so. If learners, instead of being just told that the meanings are not random (which is a very good first step), are also told that there is (1) some order in the meanings themselves, and (2) that this polysemy of theirs is relative in that the meanings are related and can often be linked to a general meaning from which they are derived and can be traced, they may realise that those two-word entities are not as polysemous as they first feared. In other words, the results of this study could help take away some of the awe which surrounds many aspects of PVs. As in the application to the previous part of the study (discussed in chapter 5), much of the help which this study can bring is in making learners stop fearing the phenomenon, and realise that it can be explained, and that meanings can be guessed at in context.

6.6 Conclusion

6.6.1 Summary of the chapter

The chapter had two main aims. First it was intended to check on the results of chapter 5, as far as the relative importance of the parts was concerned. The second aim was to take the study of the polysemy of PVs one step further, by looking whether it was possible to group their meanings.

Data were gathered for seven PVs: 'get', 'give', 'put' and 'turn' followed by 'out'; 'put' followed by 'in', 'out', 'on' and 'off'. The conceptual meanings were defined and then analysed, using the model devised in chapter 5, for the relative importance of the parts. It was concluded that the results were similar enough (though, not unexpectedly, not exactly the same) to give more weight to the claims of chapter 5: that both parts contribute to the meaning of the lexical unit and that relative importance is a matter of degrees.

The second aspect of the study was to attempt to group the conceptual meanings defined from the data. This was done, and clusters of meanings were defined and found also to display sufficient similarities to be grouped together in a second step towards a hierarchy of meanings. This hierarchy was established for all meanings of each PV (with the exception of only one meaning of 'put on' - one truly opaque case of a PV), and defined with various levels which corresponded to different branches, all going down from one general, overall meaning to the conceptual meanings defined from the data. The discussion which followed concluded that the polysemy of PVs, if it is not to be denied, may well be played down as most meanings of PVs found in the data turned out to be related to one overall meaning. This was the basis for a possible application to the teaching of PVs in EFL. Rather, it was concluded that the findings of the study may help learners of English to lose their fear of PVs by reducing the importance of their polysemy.

6.6.2 Conclusion

The present chapter has shown that the model developed in chapter 5 can be put to use with other PVs. More importantly, it has shown that the results of chapter 5 had not been obtained due to chance. On the contrary, there seems to be a pattern in the semantics of PVs, which is that both parts contribute to the meanings of the unit. What is more, the contribution of the parts is a matter of degrees. Sometimes the verb contributes more than the postposition,

sometimes it is the postposition, sometimes both have more or less equal status, and it also happens that it is impossible to find a dominant part. In a few rare cases, there does not seem to be any contribution from the parts. These are really opaque cases but only one was found in the 108 conceptual meanings analysed in the present chapter. A more refined analysis could have been conducted to find out the positions of the meanings along the cline of relative importance of the parts, which was hinted at in the previous chapter. However, this was made impossible by the limits in space of the thesis; other aspects had to be studied, and choices had to be made.

The study of the semantics of PVs has been taken as far as was possible within the limits of the dissertation. Two of its aspects have been investigated in some detail. The first has just been described. The second, polysemy, has yielded some interesting results, at least for the PVs concerned. Their polysemy has been found not to be so complex as first thought, since most meanings are related to one overall meaning. The hierarchies defined in the study have shown consistently that meanings can be seen as extensions of that overall meaning, on different levels and in different ways. Again, it would have been interesting to test the method on more PVs and this would have been done had it not been for time and space. However, the amount of data and the number of PVs and of their meanings make it quite likely that the pattern uncovered for those PVs is one that actually occurs in other if not most polysemous PVs.

The next chapter will be the general conclusion to the dissertation, where final remarks concerning the results of the various studies conducted throughout the work will be presented, along with directions for further research.

7. Conclusion

This chapter summarises the results of the research conducted for this dissertation. It will first recap the research questions, i.e. what the dissertation aimed at finding, then the methods used or devised for that purpose and the results themselves. A section will then be devoted to the limitations of the results and their implications and directions for future research.

7.1 Research questions

The bulk of the research was on the semantics of PVs. However, this entailed some sort of study of semantics itself; there are therefore two kinds of research questions.

7.1.1 Phrasal verbs

The aim of the dissertation was to study the semantic behaviour of PVs, mainly from two aspects. First, before this could be considered, one had to know what was meant by a PV. This was done mainly by reviewing the literature on the subject, as the syntactic behaviour of PVs has been studied for some time, and defining them has taken up many works before. The conclusion to this was that in the dissertation the position adopted would be the same as Lindner's (1981).

Once it was made clear what would be, for the purposes of the study, considered a PV, the real research questions could be asked. These had to do with an overall question: 'how do the meanings of PVs work?' Of course, it is not possible to survey all that concerns the meanings of PVs, and two broad questions were chosen, which are:

- on the relative importance of the parts in the making of the whole, is the postposition more important than the verb, as has been claimed in some of the previous studies of PVs (e.g. Side, 1990; Hampe, 1997 and Hannan, 1997)? Or is it a matter of degrees, sometimes one part or the other having predominance and sometimes both being of more or less equal status?
- on the polysemy of PVs, is it possible to define a hierarchy of the meanings of PVs, in the same way as Lindstromberg (1991) did for the meanings of 'get'? This meant

investigating the possibility of grouping together those meanings, on several levels, and finding out how the meanings were to be separated.

These two main questions involved more. First, before one could look at the parts of PVs, one had to make sure that PVs were not just opaque cases. This was already proved in previous studies (Bolinger, 1971; Lindner, 1981 and most or all of later studies). But then, if they were not a bunch of opaque ‘idioms’, how were they to be treated? A review of the various possible terms (‘idiom’, ‘compound’, ‘lexical unit’) made me come to the conclusion that PVs were best described as ‘lexical units’ which could sometimes be opaque and did share some characteristics with compounds. Then, how were the meanings to be treated? This last question raised more, especially in the field of semantics.

7.1.2 Semantics

Since the main questions as outlined in the previous section had to do with meanings, the question of meaning had to be addressed. Meaning is a very tricky concept, which has long kept not only linguists but also philosophers busy. However, the aim of the dissertation was not to redefine meaning. On the other hand, defining what would be meant by meaning had to be clear, and also how the meanings of PVs would be analysed. The choice for the study was that it would be data-driven, because following Firth and many after him, I think that actual language can yield more than only introspection⁵⁹.

Dealing with real data does have its problems, though. In the first place, what kind of data should be used? How should it be used? Also, the question of how much data should be used came up as an important one. These questions were looked at later, as the question of meaning was the first to be answered. After reviewing some of the literature on semantics, it was concluded that Leech’s (1981) notion of ‘conceptual meaning’ was the most convenient for my purpose. This was compatible with a moderate⁶⁰ Firthian approach, and the conceptual meaning was defined as a meaning stored in the mind but which could be and was often affected by its use in context. This was illustrated by the metaphor of meaning as a ball; this is thrown against a wall, which is context, and is then the contextual meaning. When it has been used (thrown), it bounces back to the utterer and is stored again (conceptual meaning), but

⁵⁹ It was pointed out, but may be worth reminding the reader, that I am not against introspection, which is an unavoidable part of linguistics. However, I do believe that dealing with actual data will yield better results than only looking at made-up examples.

⁶⁰ As pointed out in chapter 2, the terms ‘moderate’ used here and the term ‘extreme’ used here and in that chapter only describe a position, and should not be taken to include any personal judgement.

only after it has (ever so slightly) been modified by the context. Thus the metaphor accounts for changes in meanings, and the difference between contextual and conceptual meanings.

The reason for preferring conceptual meaning to only contextual meanings was that it was obvious that in the data there would be instances of similar meanings, although an extreme Firthian view would argue to the contrary. In other words, from the *x* lines of a concordance, there would be a certain number of instances for which the meanings seemed identical or close enough to be treated as such. This posed a new, and major problem which can be summed up by the next general question:

- if we are to look at the conceptual meanings of some lexical units from a number of concordance lines, how can we be sure of the number of meanings to be defined from the lines? In other words, how can one pin down the meanings of a lexical unit from a number of instances?

It seems that this question has been partly overlooked by most linguists, especially corpus linguists who usually dismiss it by saying that this is where the linguist's introspection comes in. It remained an important theoretical question in this dissertation, which deserved full attention.

The research in this dissertation therefore had two aims. First it had to look for a methodology, in corpus-based semantics, for pinning down meanings. This is not meant as an absolute method for pinning down meanings, but rather as a means to justify the number of conceptual meanings one gets from a concordance.

Then, once a convenient method for pinning down meanings was found, the second part of the research could start: a data-driven study of the meanings of PVs. This was itself in two parts, or rather it had two main aims. It was first aimed at checking on the claims of linguists about the dominance of the postposition in the meanings of PVs. The starting hypothesis for the present research was that the verb part kept at least some of its original meaning in most combinations with postpositions, even if sometimes it did appear to have lost most of it, and came from earlier research (Consigny, 1995). Secondly, the research was to investigate the polysemy of PVs. By looking if it was possible to group together the conceptual meanings defined from the data, this part was designed to see whether there was an overall meaning to each of the PVs under study, from which other meanings could be reached through levels of a hierarchy and specialisations of meanings. It should be made clear that the aim was not to question the polysemous nature of many PVs and particularly those studied here, but to find out if their meanings were in some way linked.

7.2 Methods

The questions of the previous section are easy enough to ask, but much more complicated to investigate. As far as 'methods' are concerned, again there are two main kinds of methods which had to be devised, and they correspond to the two main aspects of the study. The first has to do with semantics.

7.2.1 On pinning down meanings

This question has been mentioned in the literature before, as shown in chapters 2 and 4. However, there does not seem to be real answers to the question of how one justifies the number of meanings one gets from a concordance. This brought two different sets of studies: the first was to present the way to decide on the contextual meaning of a word in a concordance line, while the second tried to give a method for justifying a number of meanings with the lowest risk of error or disagreement with another linguist⁶¹.

The first series of pilot studies tested the level of certainty one can reach with different amounts of context surrounding a given word (SW). It tested 2 to 10 words on each side of the SW. The conclusion of the studies was that a satisfactory level of certainty was reached for the highest level (approximately 100-120 characters for the whole line), and that in the subsequent studies, for safety, a little more context would be taken, 180 characters per line. At the same time, this series of pilots looked at the contextual clues helping one to decide on the contextual meaning of the SW, and a hierarchy of contextual clues was given.

The second series of pilots aimed at finding a method for pinning down meanings. In order to do so, a series of methods were tried, all testing a different potential method. First, a number of possible replacements were offered to an informant who had to choose the ones she thought fit for the contextual meaning. The idea was that each cluster of replacements would constitute a conceptual meaning. However, the method did not work, and another was then tested. It offered only three possible replacement for each contextual meaning, and the informant had to choose one, two or three. Again, this posed problems: of collocational acceptability, and of practicality in general. The method was again discarded. The third and fourth methods yielded better results. The third gave three replacements, of which only one or two were acceptable.

⁶¹ As pointed out by other linguists (e.g. Ayto, 1983; Moon, 1987), it is very difficult and probably even impossible to reach complete agreement when one is looking at meanings, so varied are the interpretations and feelings of people on the subject of the meanings of words. However, this is not seen as a major problem by people but rather as a fact of linguistics - with which I tend to agree, at least partly.

Semantic acceptability was the only criterion to be judged upon and the amount of context was increased slightly, which gave a much higher level of agreement. However, this was not quite practical, as collocational restrictions still crept up in the informant's judgement. The third method was therefore refined and the fourth method was introduced, in which the replacement was accompanied by a paraphrase. The informant had to agree with the paraphrase, which meant showing agreement with the meaning only - thus getting rid of collocational acceptability. This gave satisfactory results, in that not only was agreement high, but the agreement could only be reached on semantic grounds, which was the aim of the whole series of pilot studies. Using this method made it possible to justify the number of different meanings found in a given amount of data (although, again, this number is obtained manually, i.e. by the linguist).

Once a satisfactory method for pinning down meanings was established, it was put to use in the following study, which also was to give a model for studying the meanings of PVs, which was the aim of the subsequent study.

7.2.2 Phrasal verbs

As stated in the section on research questions, two aspects of the semantics of PVs were investigated - the compositionality of their meanings, and their polysemy.

For the first, which involved examining the relative importance of the parts - verb and postposition -, the PVs were compared to compounds. This was done because their semantics has been studied much more often than that of PVs, especially by semanticists. Most studies of compounds found in the literature claim that the parts of compounds (e.g. 'black' and 'bird' in 'blackbird') do not have the meanings they have when they occur as individual elements. This was not very helpful, as it did not provide any tests for meaning. Cruse (1986) does give one, which defines semantic constituents on the basis of a rigorous test, recurrent semantic contrast. This was tried in the dissertation and shown to work for some PVs (e.g. movement PVs of the type 'walk out'). However, the test denies meaning whenever it does not fulfil the strict criterion. By looking at some compounds, it was shown that the fact that parts of some compounds do keep some of their original meaning has strong psychological validity, and that the test was too strict to be useful for the present study in which meanings were often fuzzy.

It was decided that the meanings of the parts would be hypothesised and then assessed by comparisons: with other meanings of the same PV; with the parts in other lexical units or on their own; with other lexical units in lexical relations with the PV. Thus it should be possible to test the presence of the meaning of the parts in a given PV. This method was used and reported in detail for one PV, 'take up'. Then it was used for the larger study.

The second aspect of the study, on polysemy, was based on Lindstromberg (1991). It compared conceptual meanings and tried to find similarities between them. When meanings were found sufficiently close, they were put together into clusters which were assigned an overall definition and then compared with others for the same purpose. The number of clusters was thus reduced until one overall meaning was reached. It was then possible to define a hierarchy of the meanings of the PVs studied, which went down from one overall meaning to the conceptual meanings defined from the data, step by step.

7.3 Results

In this section, the results of the various studies and their discussions are reported, except for their implications which will be dealt with in the next section.

7.3.1 Semantics

Most of the results obtained in this field were described in the previous section, since their aim was to define suitable methods for the study of PVs. However, some points are worth mentioning.

First, the question of finding the contextual and conceptual meanings of PVs brought about a discussion of what those are. The conclusion was that it is possible to reconcile a Firthian view with an approach based more on the componential analysis of meaning (Leech, 1981). The view adopted here was exemplified by the metaphor of meaning as a ball, which is stored in one's pocket (the conceptual meaning) and taken out and thrown against a wall when one uses a word - the contextual meaning. This affects the ball, which is elastic only to a certain extent and is therefore not quite the same but not very different from one use to the next. Thus one can say that the meaning is different in every context of use (following Firth), but that the meaning can be deemed sufficiently similar in two close contexts to correspond to two instances of one conceptual meaning.

Then, the dissertation looked at the question of pinning down meanings. Although this question has been raised by many linguists and lexicographers (Ayto, 1983; Moon, 1987; Sinclair, 1991; Ooi, 1998 and many more), it has only been partly answered. Most of the time, the answer to the question of justifying a number of conceptual meanings is largely taken to be the linguist's intuition which decides. In the present thesis, a method has been devised and

tested to reduce the reliance on intuition. By taking a synonym or a set of synonyms and a paraphrase, one can disambiguate the former and come up with a definition and a basis for sense-distinction which, in the thesis, reached a high degree of agreement and was not impeded by the ‘sound right’ factor. This should constitute an improvement, not only in semantics, but also in explaining or helping learners to understand meanings and stop confusing between different uses of a given lexical unit (cf. Watson-Todd, 2001).

7.3.2 Phrasal verbs

Two main questions were considered in the studies of PVs. The first was about the relative importance of the parts in making the meaning of this kind of lexical unit while the second was concerned with the polysemy of PVs.

As for the first question, the results were quite close to what was expected. Indeed, the study of a number of PVs revealed that both parts contribute to the meaning of the whole in most cases, although to varying degrees. Sometimes the verb was the more important, sometimes it was the postposition which proved predominant. A look at the whole of the study (‘take up’ and the seven other PVs which were studied) showed that the tendency uncovered in the case study seemed to be confirmed by the larger-scale one, namely that the most frequent case was when both parts were of more or less equal importance. What is more, there were about as many cases in which the verb was predominant as there were in which it was the postposition. These results would therefore seem to question the claim of most recent studies, that the postposition is ‘the driving force in each combination’ (Mohan, 1997, p. 15). On the contrary, degrees of relative importance along a cline from one part to the other seem to give a better description of the semantics of PVs.

The second question, on the polysemy of PVs, although it was based on Lindstromberg’s study of ‘get’, had never been raised before in the literature. So far, no linguist had thought to investigate the semantics of PVs from that angle. The study showed that it is possible to group together different conceptual meanings of a given PV, thus defining a hierarchy leading up to one overall meaning to which all⁶² are related. This study also showed unexpected results. First it confirmed the semantic values of the PV as found in the first part of the study, as those could be the basis for distinction or on the contrary grouping. It also confirmed this fact, since the meanings can be shown to be related to one overall meaning which itself can be linked to the meanings of the parts. Second, it confirmed the ‘analogous’ nature of PVs (Side, 1990),

⁶² Almost all, to be strictly correct. One very opaque meaning of ‘put on’ did not fit in the hierarchy.

which tend to be created or to evolve by analogy with other meanings of one PV or with other PVs which are close in use or meaning.

7.3.3 Limitations

As the reader was told in the introduction and reminded throughout the dissertation, the results reported here are not meant to be representative of the whole of the English language, for several reasons. The question of sampling was addressed in the description of the data, and it was acknowledged that the corpus was made of only one source, texts from the British newspaper *The Guardian* dating from 1991 to 1993. More sources would have greatly increased the reliability of the results. In particular, a spoken corpus may have shown uses which are not likely to appear in a quality newspaper. By comparing the meanings found in the data with those of dictionaries, it was shown that the data showed sufficient variety to be worth investigating, and that was their aim. However, it is possible that more data would have yielded more meanings, and that those would not match the results of the present study.

A second limitation to the validity of the results can be found in the number of PVs analysed. Although most other studies look at limited numbers of PVs, that does not take away from the fact that only eight PVs were studied in this one. Only Lindner (1981) and Fraser (1974) do give high numbers of PVs. However, their data are made of invented examples, with the restrictions that this implies and which were discussed in the dissertation. The choice here was that many meanings of the same PVs would be analysed rather than one or two meanings of many PVs. This means that the results are valid only for the PVs studied. They may not be correct with other PVs. This is also a reason why the PVs chosen were polysemous ones. The more polysemous the PV, the more likely it is that it will be complicated and interesting as far as its semantic behaviour is concerned.

7.4 Implications and directions for further research

7.4.1 Implications

There are a number of possible implications to the research presented in this dissertation. Two main areas will be covered - lexicography and EFL teaching. Since the results are of different kinds and most of them can have implications to both areas, they will not be separated into

‘semantics’ and ‘phrasal verbs’ as was previously done but will be arranged by area of implication.

7.4.1.1 In lexicography

There are two kinds of contributions which the present dissertation claims to have made. First, in methodology, the question of pinning down meanings has been addressed in some detail, and an approach has been suggested for the justification of a number of conceptual meanings from a given amount of data. This is not meant to be applicable in ‘automatic sense disambiguation’. The present method is a means to justify a number of meanings obtained manually from a concordance, and concordances are still being used manually in lexicography. Its aim is to reduce the risk of disagreement between linguists working on the same lexical units, but this does not mean that the intuition is suppressed from the work. However, it is a way of making intuition less liable to disagreement.

The second kind of contribution which the results can bring has to do with phrasal verbs. In this respect, it is linked to the next sub-section, as will become apparent. It has been suggested (especially Side, 1990) that PVs in learners’ dictionaries should be listed by order of the postposition as this is the more important part semantically and the order of the verb is more confusing to learners. The findings show that since the relative importance is a matter of degrees, it may be just as confusing to do this; leaving the order of entries in dictionaries as they are may be a better solution. On the other hand, it may well be useful to give more information about the parts. This means expanding the entries for some verbs as well as for the particles which enter PVs⁶³: giving entries for the particles and the most complex verbs would probably be more helpful.

In the case of dictionaries of PVs, the same is true. The order need not be changed, as the dominance of the postpositions is dubious. However, giving explanations of the semantic behaviour of PVs (in the introduction, or in the section on how to use the dictionary), would more probably be useful to learners; and entries for the most complex verbs entering PVs, in the same way as has been done for the postpositions (e.g. at the end of the [1989] *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs*) could help learners work out the meaning of PVs and understand those which are not listed, and help them find the patterns which underlie the different meanings of PVs.

⁶³ Here, I am widening the scope and also considering complex or opaque prepositional verbs, hence the use of ‘particle’.

7.4.1.2 In EFL teaching

The contribution of the first part of the dissertation is linked to an issue covered in a paper by Watson-Todd (2001). It reports a problem which some learners faced when asked to gather concordances of words they had used incorrectly. The problem is also mentioned, albeit in another form, in another paper (Owen, 1996) which doubted the usefulness of corpora in teaching. The problem seems to me to be the same in both. In the latter, Owen questions the use of corpora by students, who are likely to come up with unusual uses of words which would then invalidate what the teacher said. In Watson-Todd, the teacher actually tells the students to go and look for concordances on the internet, and they do have the kind of problem which Owen had warned against. If, however, the method described for pinning down meanings was explained to students, they might not have quite the same difficulties with new instances of a word. Because the method helps one to disambiguate a word, it is also possible that it would help students avoid making mistakes when dealing with data themselves.

As far as PVs are concerned, the contribution of the dissertation is two-fold. First, as was stated in the sub-section on lexicography, putting all the emphasis on the postposition means that the semantic contribution of the verb is ignored. This may well be confusing for students, because they are likely to come across uses of a PV where the verb is more important than the postposition, and make the mistake which they may have avoided had they been aware of the importance and of the meanings of both parts. In other words, teaching the postposition only does not provide a satisfactory answer. Both parts contribute to the whole, and accordingly both should be taught. If in some cases the postposition carries most of the meaning and there knowing it is sufficient, the same is also true of the verb.

A potential problem arises here. If the learners are told that both parts contribute to varying degrees, they may want a method to know when one is more important, and when both contribute equally. A detailed answer to this issue would take us beyond the scope of the present study. However, the study does show that PVs are made of two parts and that both need to be taught. In other words, especially in the case of very frequent PVs, the verb part is very often a very frequent, complex and polysemous verb, in the same way as the postposition. What the learners may need to know are the most frequent and important meanings of the verb and the postposition, and some of the most frequent semantic features which they keep when entering combinations. For instance, a teacher could tell their learners that 'take' can indicate the appropriation by the agent (or to make it simpler, the subject), active or passive (reception), but can also indicate movement of the object (in the sense of 'drive') and a few more frequent meanings; that 'up' can indicate a movement towards a higher point, but that it can also indicate completion or have a positive value. This, along with

examples of the meanings of the combinations, may be helpful in making the learners aware of the polysemy of the parts and of the way the parts combine so that they later can try to guess new meanings of the same PV, or are not afraid to find other PVs containing 'take' or 'up'. It can then be extended to other PVs, with other verbs or other postpositions, in order to show the 'analogous nature' of PVs.

At a later stage, the hierarchies could be introduced to learners, in order to show them that the polysemy of PVs is not an absolute, and certainly not a random phenomenon. Showing them that the many meanings of a given PV can in fact be reduced to only a few may be a way of demystifying them, of getting rid of the fear that too many EFL learners have when they see a PV. Here, it should be noted that the complete hierarchy would probably not be very helpful, as it would reach too high a degree of abstractedness for learners to see the links between various meanings. On the other hand, if they can see that many of the meanings, though they appear unrelated because they are used in very different contexts, are in fact only different extensions of the same meaning, then again it may help them stop fearing this highly frequent type of verb construction. Then, once the fear has gone, they will no longer fear to find them in texts and this should help them greatly to understand them, with the help provided by the teacher, and described above.

7.4.2 Directions for further research

Clearly more research is needed. Phrasal verbs may have been well studied already, but we still do not know everything about them. The present study uncovered a trend, but a larger study would be quite useful, in order to check on its results. Because only a limited number of PVs were studied, others might behave differently and it would be well worth studying other very common PVs, as well as less frequent and polysemous ones. The same is true of some of the meanings of the ones studied here. Not all of them could be found in the rather limited amount of data and time which I had at my disposal.

Secondly, the implications suggested in the previous section need testing. It would be interesting to see whether the methods and the results indeed can be helpful to lexicographers or learners of English. In particular, it should be possible to experiment explaining them both parts and see if it works better than only giving them the possible meanings of the postpositions, in the way that Sjöholm (1995) compared the use of PVs by non-native speakers of various levels of English and also native speakers.

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Appendix

This appendix shows a few lines from one of the concordances used for the study of 'take up' (sample 1). Only lines where 'take up' was a phrasal verb are shown in the appendix. The others have been deleted.

MicroConcord search SW: tak* up\took up

180 characters per entry

Sort : 3L/3R.

1 763 SOURCE: The Guardian DATE: 10 June 1992 SPO PAGE 14 Soccer: Scots take up position as Rijkskaard faces
fitness fight RUSSELL THOMAS IN GOTHENBURG >SCOTLAND arrive

2 arms in Nicaragua MICHAEL REID IN MEXICO CITY >A GROUP of 200 women have taken up arms in northern
Nicaragua to press President Violeta Chamorro's government for child care

3 !97 SOURCE: The Guardian DATE: 01 April 1992 FOR PAGE 5 Women rebels take up arms in Nicaragua MICHAEL
REID IN MEXICO CITY >A GROUP of 200 women have taken up arms

4 intensive government advertising campaign could not improve on the 50 per cent take up figure. Universality on
the other hand ensures that no one is missed. And progressive direct

5 cottish border farmer was the last of motor racing's great sportsmen, a man who took up grand prix almost as a
hobby. Like Mansell today, he often enjoyed a significant performance

6 lians led by 19 seconds. The final run to the finish was a heart-stopper. Davis took up the attack and began to
gain on Il Moro di Venezia. Eventually he was able to blanket her sa

7 tie, the STUC general secretary, on how to achieve a constitutional referendum. Taking up yesterday's call by
delegates for discussion with all opposition parties in the campaign f

8 down the noise of disco music wafting on to the centre court. A woman spectator took up the American's cause,
yelling at the bemused Gangji: 'We are here to enjoy a day's tennis,

9 mate of fear in the service. Mrs Bottomley said that while nurses had a duty to take up issues of concern, it was
reasonable for employers to expect them to do so without running t

10 m. After serving in North Africa during the war, he worked as a musician before taking up scriptwriting. In 1951
he collaborated with Michael Bentine on a BBC radio programme calle

11 concerned took precedence over the sensibilities of a little girl - a point we took up with Lord McGregor at the
beginning of this week. However, we have just received a letter fr

12 arted his vigil after the late Robert Maxwell allegedly reneged on a promise to take up the issue of tobacco
advertising in his papers, said it would be 'business as usual' for h

13 which opens in the West End next week. Anthony Page, a one-time close colleague, takes up the cudgels on behalf of
his friend, Jill Bennett, and others vilified by Osborne. >THERE i

14 the wedding dress offers one of the few remaining opportunities for a woman to take up space. Those skirts,
trains and veils are in fact a subversive form of liberation. Secondly,

15 at the conference: 'Nurses not only have a responsibility, they have a duty to take up situations where they are
worried about professional care of patients. I want to work to mak

16 ers champion adjust his stance, recover his relish and, with a second-round 66, take up the lead with Parry. >IAN
17 WOOSNAM, secure in his conviction only last Sunday that this week
18 g fellows'' would allow experienced practitioners from outside academic life to take up jobs teaching in subjects
19 such as architecture, management and pharmacy. A spokeswoman said
20 d pounds 220 compensation by the Nationwide Building Society after the Guardian took up her case. Following
21 problems getting both maintenance from her former husband and housing b
22 played to the French federation and the Davis Cup squad three weeks ago. But it took up the entire front page of
23 yesterday's edition of L'Equipe, which carried a pin-up size colour
24 cannot be completely watertight, though. Apart from the fact that all the water taken up by the roots has to get
25 out somehow, the gas carbon dioxide has to get in. It is a plant's
26 breadsheet commentators may well tell us something about the new-found accep
27 in Mr Garcia's Apra party and the weakened parliamentary left may also seek to take up arms against the
28 government. Though sections of the business community - and of the populati
29 manager since breaking a toe during the team's pre-season stay at an army camp, took up the challenge and swiftly
30 laid Gould out. JIMMY PARKER has been behaving with suspicious res
31 friends, and after a few falls I took off the skis, walked down and decided to take up some less alarming and
32 exhausting sport. I mention this because the situation is very much
33 a locksmith gave him hand skills that served him well in later life and when he took up large scale bee-keeping
34 he made hundreds of beehives, scattered amongst the gorse and heathe
35 our arrival in a lonely cove. And now for some good news. Maeve and Ailill have taken up residence on
36 Inishvickillaun, one of the Blasket Islands off the Kerry coast. They are iola
37 ith Palmer played as a ball-winner just in front of them. Steven and Webb would take up position in midfield with
38 Sinton starting the game on the left and Platt looking for goals w
39 This year, his long speech followed by a gruelling question and answer session took up more than six hours. The
40 worst of the 1989 losses have fallen on a disproportionately small
41 from its headquarters to the airport, where 83 French and Canadian technicians took up residence on Thursday as
42 part of the preparations for opening the airport to humanitarian fl
43 Kevin Ellis. The opposition, restricted to players from clubs outside B
44 turies as buyer and seller, ruler and victim; in other words, anyone willing to take up the burden of being very,
45 very small and at the same time just a little bit great - that per
46 from the Rickmansworth masonic girls' school choir, few women appeared to have taken up their invitation to join
47 in the celebrations, perhaps because the Grand Lodge still does no