

UNIVERSITA' DEGLI STUDI DI SALERNO



Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici

Dottorato di Ricerca in Studi Linguistici e Letterari

XIII CICLO

Tesi di dottorato

*Investigating Multi-word verbs in Spoken Late Modern English:
Evidence from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey (1750-1850)*

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ANNO ACCADEMICO 2015/2016

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Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Rita Calabrese for her unconditional support and professional guidance since the beginning my research career. I owe her a debt of gratitude for her encouragement and scholarly guidance throughout the course of my PhD. She introduced me to linguistic studies and has taught me so much. A special thank you for the valuable feedback she offered on the preliminary version of this thesis and for the suggestions provided during these past years.

My appreciation is also extended to the members of my PhD committee, to the Department of Humanities at the University of Salerno and to the coordinator of my PhD, Professor Lucia Perrone Capano. Finally, I would like to mention my family who have helped me to achieve my goal and all my friends.

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List of abbreviations

Linguistic terms

ADV	adverb
ADVL	adverbial
DO / Obj	direct object
MWVs	multi-word verbs
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
Prt	particle
Prt Mov	particle Movement
PP	prepositional phrase
PREP/P	preposition
PVs	phrasal verbs
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

Dictionaries

Oxford English Dictionary (OED)
Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (OxDCiE)
Macmillan Dictionary Online(MacmillanOnline)
Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus Dictionary (MacmillanPlus)
Collins COBUILD Phrasal Verbs Dictionary (COBUILD)

Stages of English

OE	Old English	449-1100
ME	Middle English	1100-1500
EME	Early Modern English	1500-1750
LModE	Late Modern English	1750- 1900
PDE	Present Day English	1900- current

Other terms

PIE	Phrases in English interface
VISL	Visual Interactive Syntax Learning

Conventions

Bold	words with emphasis
<i>Italics</i>	linguistic items cited in the texts foreign words
CAPITALS	name of corpora abbreviations for dictionaries acronyms
>,<	output, input in language- process of change
{ , }	forms in rivalry in language change

Layout of the examples

(1) *Q. Did you receive from the last witness 256 l. 4 s. 6 d. for a cheque of Mr. Marter's, and did he bring back the money for the cheque? - A. He did. (1790s)*

(number) Context - linguistic element of interest - Context. (source of corpus data)

Examples taken from the ARCHER corpus and from the Phrases in English (PIE) interface are followed by the indication of the source data, reported following the conventions adopted in the web interfaces. Quotations from the OED follow the conventions contained in the online version.

Reference corpora

Late Modern English - Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC)

Time span ---- 1750-1850

Genre ---- Legal-lay discourse

Source data ---- The Proceedings of the Old Bailey (online) ---- (1674-1913)
<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>

Phrases in English (PIE)

Time span ---- PDE

Selected genre ---- Spoken legal presentations and debates

Source data ---- British National Corpus (BNC) ---- (20th century)
<http://www.phrasesinenglish.org/>

ARCHER Corpus -- Legal section

Time span ---- 1750-1850

Selected genre ---- Legal -

Source data ---- ARCHER : A Representative corpus of Historical English Registers --
- (1660-1999)
<http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lcl/research/projects/archer/>

Introduction

The research examines the development of multi-word verbs (hereafter MWVs), namely phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs in the Late Modern English (LModE) period over the years from 1750 to 1850. The main aim is to investigate the changes which occurred in the spoken language drawing on a selection of texts taken from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey.¹

As widely emphasized in many diachronic studies (Brinton & Akimoto 1999; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]; Brinton & Traugott 2005; Rodríguez-Puente 2013b), the emergence and the loss of these verbs originated in the grammaticalization and/or lexicalization of the non-verbal element as well as in different structural analyses by speakers (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 9-18; Brinton & Traugott 2005: 122-129). From this perspective, MWVs are all representative of the ‘analytic drift’ occurred in English (Thim 2012: 38; cf. Brinton & Akimoto 1999) in its diachronic development and can be considered as the outcome of a process that, since the Old English (OE) period, has gradually led to the substitution of single verbs with periphrastic expressions (Denison 1981; Brinton 1988). The origin of MWVs is also associated with both ‘the structural shift from prefixes to post-verbal particles’ (Brinton 1988: 189), dating back to the Old English period and the ‘evolution of verbal periphrases’ (Brinton 1988: 96) through ‘purely language-internal’ changes (Claridge 2000: 87).

Moreover, these new forms have, in some cases, undergone further changes that caused the acquisition of opaque meaning due to the process of idiomatization (Kennedy 1920; Brinton & Akimoto 1999; Rodríguez-Puente 2013b). As a matter of fact, the relative compositionality in meaning that characterises some MWVs, especially phrasal verbs (PVs) is a very interesting feature because such clines are the result of diachronic processes resulting in the verbs as they are also known in Present Day English (PDE).

However, an area which still remains partially unexplored is that concerning the changes of MWVs in spoken Late Modern English (LModE). In particular, it is possible to hypothesise that, despite not being as operative as in the previous stages, the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization, and idiomatization continued to influence the verbal system. In particular, the process of direct formation, including both zero-derived verbs and analogical processes, as well as the syntactic reanalysis of the non-verbal element (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39) may have been at work in the LModE period.

At the same time, it is possible to assume that the semantic cohesion and the high degree of idiomatization of some MWVs derive from the ‘subtle movement between literal and idiomatic’ meanings (Denison 1981: 108) that influenced the LModE verbal system during its historical development.

‘Idiomatization, after all, does not emerge out of nowhere, but is based in some way or other on the regular patterns of the language’ (Claridge 2000: 47).

¹They are the official records of the Old Bailey, London’s central Criminal Court. The Proceedings of the Old Bailey are a reliable source for the study of spoken English in the years from 1634 to 1909.

Thus, literal verbs are closely connected with figurative forms and are the source from which idiosyncratic meanings derive.

‘In short, idiomaticity is evidence for lexical status, but not for grammatical wordhood or even constituency’ (Jackendoff 2002: 73).²

On these bases, considering that a few works in the literature focus on these topics, it is necessary to fill this gap making a substantial contribution to a theme that has been rather neglected by the scientific community due to the limited amount of data in a period predating the invention of audio recordings.

The availability of oral data from past ages is one of the most challenging problems when undertaking a diachronic study because it is highly unlikely to find data which reproduce the spoken dimension of the language with a high degree of accuracy (Archer 2005: 10-11). Consequently, given the lack of audio recordings, only texts reproducing in some ways the spoken dimension and ‘genres consisting of speech recorded in writing’ (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 3) such as trials and depositions, could be the sources of diachronic studies focused on spoken language. In this approach, the Proceedings of the Old Bailey are of particular value since they can provide relevant information on spoken English in general and on legal-lay discourse in particular.

The study is organized as follows: Chapter 1 provides a description of the linguistic features of MWVs in Present Day English (PDE) which can therefore be considered a point of reference for the explanation of some diachronic changes occurring in the period under investigation (1750-1850). The main concern will be first to provide a definition of ‘multi-word verbs’ as well as of their constituency, and a description of the syntactic and semantic features that each subgroup (phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs) shows. A brief description of the properties that are typically associated with MWVs will be also provided.

Chapter 2 will analyse the language processes involved in the emergence and loss of MWVs namely grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Late Modern period and on the problem of accessibility to ‘spoken data’. As for the first issue, I will outline past literature on the LMod age that, because of its ‘deceptive similarity’ to PDE, still remains unexplored and, therefore, it ‘invites rather than precludes further research’ (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 2). The chapter will also address the question concerning the growing need for material reproducing spoken language from the past. Specifically, it will discuss the speech-based genres (e.g. trials, sermons, plays, etc.) as source data in language studies and provide details on trials and depositions, the subgenres which are the main interest in the present study.

² The fact that PVs, phrasal-prepositional verbs and sometimes even prepositional verbs can be seen as lexical words is related to their frequent possession of idiomatic meaning and, thus, they form a constituent even when they are discontinuous from a grammatical perspective (Jackendoff 2002: 67)

Chapter 4 describes the research objectives and the collection of the Late Modern English-Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC 1750-1850), i.e. the corpus specifically compiled for this research. I will provide information on the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and its suitability for linguistic research.

In Chapter 5, I will move on to the description of the results and to the analysis of the syntactic and semantic changes that affected MWVs in the period under analysis. Along with a discussion about the corpus findings, I will also address the vexed question concerning the identification of the processes which were involved in the changes affecting MWVs.

Chapter 6 focuses on the analysis of the strategic use of phrasal verbs (PVs) in courtrooms and, in particular, it outlines the phraseological variation in the LModE-OBC considered as a source of analyses on 'legal-lay' discourse (Heffer 2005; Williams 2013) and, therefore, a valuable source for investigating the distinctive properties of this genre.

The last part of the dissertation will be devoted to conclusions and suggestions for future research.

PART I

Theoretical Perspective

Chapter 1

Linguistic Aspects of Multi-word Verbs

... multi-word verbs are neither exotic nor at the fringes of the English language; rather, they are part of the mainstream development (Claridge 2000: 1)

1.0. Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the linguistic features of multi-word verbs (MWVs).

The factors that appear to be the most relevant comprise the definition of MWVs and their internal constituency, the description of the syntactic and semantic properties of each subgroup and the difficulty in delineating clear-cut edges within the group of MWVs and between MWVs and other free combinations.

First, as far as the definition of MWVs is concerned, it would seem that no problems arise because all scholars agree that they encompass verbs composed of more than one word exhibiting a ‘close union’ (McIntyre 2015: 435) and behaving syntactically and semantically as single verbs (Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Carter & McCarthy 2006) (§1.1). Secondly, it is necessary to define the main features of MWVs, to look at their syntactic behaviour and to discuss the possibilities of their semantic categorization (§1.2.). Moreover, due to their linguistic features and the similarities that they bear with other free combinations (Palmer 1973: 214-215; cf. Fraser 1974: 2), it is difficult to delineate clear-cut edges between these two groups, a task that becomes even more challenging if MWVs are studied diachronically (§ 1.3).

Starting from the above assumptions, the focus on PDE and on the current features of MWVs seems to be a preliminary and necessary step to correctly place and evaluate the changes that occurred in this verb class from a diachronic perspective.

1.1. Multi-word verbs: a definition

MWVs are generally described as combinations consisting of more than one word and characterized by semantic and syntactic cohesion (Palmer 1973; Quirk et al. 1985). In particular, the term ‘multi-word verb’ is an umbrella term which is used to refer to different kinds of verbs such as *to have on*, *to look after*, *to come up with*, *to take care of*, *to take into account*, which are ‘idiomatic units and function like single verbs’ (Biber et al. 1999: 403). In this regard, many classifications are provided in the literature (Palmer 1973; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Claridge 2000; Carter & McCarthy 2006), and ‘all the individual types of multi-word verbs have received some sort of treatment’ (Claridge 2000: 31).

According to the classification provided by Biber et al. (1999: 403), which is the classification followed in the present dissertation, MWVs contain verb + adverbial particle combinations (e.g. *to go on*, *to take away*), verb + prepositions (e.g. *to listen to*, *to insist on*) and verb + adverbial particle + preposition patterns (e.g. *to go along with*, *to make up with*), together with other combinations, such as the V + PP combinations (e.g. *to take into account*, *to bear in mind*), V + V combinations (e.g. *to make do*) and V + NP combinations which are also known as ‘complex verbs’ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 2) or ‘verbal phrases’ (Hiltunen 1999: 136-137) (e.g. *to have a shower*, *to give birth*, *to take care of*, etc.). Table 1 represents MWVs and their subtypes:

Verb type	Grammatical structure		Example
Phrasal verbs	V+adverbial particle		<i>e.g. to break down</i>
Prepositional verbs	V+ preposition		<i>e.g. to ask for</i>
Phrasal-prepositional verbs	V+adverbial preposition	particle+	<i>e.g. to look forward to</i>
Other combinations	V+prepositional combination	phrase	<i>e.g. to bear in mind</i>
	V+V combination		<i>e.g. to make do</i>
	V+noun phrase combination		<i>e.g. to take care of</i>

Table 1: MWVs (Biber et al. 1999: 403-428)

The first thing to note is that these verbs possess similar features in that they consist of more than one word and they behave as single lexical items (Claridge 2000: 26). However, looking at each group some notable differences emerge due to the linguistic properties that they display and their syntactic behaviour. In fact, the group of MWVs is considered quite ‘heterogeneous’ (Thim 2012: 37) in its internal constituency because it comprehends verbs which are characterised by various constituent parts: The base verb

is followed by a post-verbal particle³ (as in phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs), in (1) - (3), by a noun phrase (NP) and a prepositional phrase (PP), in (4) and (5):

- (1) *They were dressed in soldiers clothes, they had on such clothes as the prisoner.*(1810s)
- (2) *We then went to look after the prisoner, but could not find him - we found Martha Parnell with whom he kept company; while we were in her apartments I saw three pair of gloves on the table; she went with us to her mother's lodgings. (1810s)*
- (3) *When I missed them I went out, and about forty yards off came up with the prisoner, and accused him of stealing them I did not accuse his friends I said, "You have stolen my pictures " he was agitated. (1830s)*
- (4) *How came you to do that, when you had found her attempting to pick your pocket - why did not you desire Mrs. Joyce to take care of your pocket-book for you? - A. I had not that thought about me.*(1790s)
- (5) *I accompanied Mr. Slack there, and returned for her, to take her there in the coach; in Blackfriars-Road, I told her it was no use deceiving me, for I was determined to find it out, she bust into tears, and said, "I cut it off myself," I asked where her brother and sister lived, she said, "at No. 4, Lower Whitecross-street," she said she delivered it to Ward.*(1810s)

In this regard, all the verbs listed above are categorised as belonging to the group of MWVs but they clearly show a different ‘internal make-up’ (Claridge 2000: 37) and this influences their syntactic properties. Regarding (1), for example, *to have on* is used with the meaning of ‘to wear something’ (OED) and, consequently, a representation like (1a) below makes it ungrammatical while (1b) is correct:

- (1a) *[[they had] on such clothes]]**
- (1b) *[[they had on] such clothes]]*

The same happens for example in (2) above, where the verb *to look after* is semantically and syntactically one single verb, which can be represented as in (2a):

- (2a) *[[looked after] the prisoner]*
V + P

The same considerations apply to example (3) where the verb *to make up with* can be written according to the pattern represented in (3a) which is not dissimilar from that represented in (2a) above:

³ In this work the word ‘particle’ is used as a cover term to refer to the non-verbal elements of PVs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs. All the free prepositions and adverbs are excluded from this definition.

included in MWVs, and specifically phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs, and phrasal-prepositional verbs, which are the combinations that represent ‘a kind of hard core of multi-word verbs’⁵ (Claridge 2000: 38) and the verbs that, from a linguistic perspective, are considered ‘stable categories with a rather well-defined membership’ (ib.: 39). In fact, unlike the other combinations, they are composed of a base verb plus a post-verbal particle in the shape of V + particle.⁶

Specifically, following the classification provided by Biber et al. (1999: 403), they are represented as follows:

- i. verb + adverbial particle --- phrasal verbs;
- ii. verb + preposition --- prepositional verbs;
- iii. verb + adverbial particle + preposition --- phrasal-prepositional verbs.

The following paragraphs will describe each verb group: phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs.

1.2. Categories of multi-word verbs

1.2.1. Phrasal verbs

Phrasal verbs can be defined as verbs consisting of ‘V + adverbial particle’ (Biber et al. 1999: 403) that possess a high rate of cohesiveness. The analysis of phrasal verbs is quite problematic (Claridge 2000: 46). On the one hand, the designation of ‘phrasal verbs’ is confusing due to the ‘plethora of designations’ (Thim 2012:3) they allow: ‘verb-particle constructions’ (Lipka 1972; Thim 2012), ‘verb-particle combinations’ (Fraser 1974; Elenbaas 2007), ‘discontinuous verbs’ (Live 1965), ‘verb-adverb combinations’ (Kennedy 1920) or ‘phrasal verbs’ (Palmer 1973; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Claridge 2000). On the other, the term ‘phrasal verb’ can be used as a ‘cover term’ (Claridge 2000: 46) to refer to a variety of structures and to indicate all the verbs composed of verb + post-verbal particle, that is phrasal verbs would also include prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs.

In the present dissertation I exclude this latter definition and I consider only the verbs which are composed of a V + adverbial particle structure as belonging to the group of PVs, reserving the terms prepositional and phrasal-prepositional verbs to the combinations which possess different non-verbal elements (§ 1.2.2 and 1.2.3).

Some examples of PVs include *to give up* and *to come in*, as represented in (6) - (7):

- (6) *Keeping him six months out of employ, and I would not live any more with him the prisoner said it was a bad job, that he had been on board the*

⁵ In the present work, following Biber et al. (1999) I reserve the term MWVs for phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs whereas the other groups will be referred to as ‘other combinations’.

⁶ As regard the status of the non-verbal elements, further details are presented in § 1.3.

Coromandel, and the cuddy servant said that I would give up the goods to Mr. Prew then the goods were brought out, and counted, and delivered by me to the prisoner my husband did not sail he came home the next day I did not know where he was gone he is here.(1830s)

- (7) *They all got up in the morning, and went out together; they did not come in again till four or five in the afternoon; they brought in bread and butter, and tea, and I gave them water; one of the prisoenrs desired me to go and get a quartern of gin. (1790s)*

Another challenging task in studying PVs, is that there is also a controversial discussion concerning whether literal combinations should be considered part of the PVs as a group or, alternatively, if only combinations conveying an opaque meaning can be said to belong to it. In fact, while some scholars exclude literal combinations from PVs (Quirk et al. 1985), others claim the inclusion of both literal and figurative meanings in this group (Palmer 1973; Brinton 1988; Elenbaas 2007; Thim 2012; Rodríguez-Puente 2013b). As a consequence, considering for example the verb *to come back*, it necessarily follows that, in Quirk et al.'s perspective (1985), it must be considered as a free combination consisting of the verb, i.e. *to come*, plus the adverb, i.e. *back*. In contrast, for other scholars (Claridge 2000), the verb *to come back* can be considered as a PV, it being syntactically a single lexical item, even though it is compositional from a semantic point of view.

Moreover, compositional combinations are commonly considered as cases which can be analysed either as PVs and free combinations, and thus as Biber et al. (1999: 407) state, cases such as *to come back* can allow both interpretations (Bolinger 1971: xii). The same is true in other cases conveying a compositional meaning, as in (8) and (9):

- (8) *I went to the Green Dragon, and never heard a sentence about the robbery I came back again, and went back a second time I took the turkey out in a basket, and met Mr. Thornhill (1830s)*
- (9) *The prisoner came in on the 26th of December, and asked me for a piece of paper, and a piece of string, which he paid me for, and went out. (1810s)*

The question that arises is why only idiomatic combinations are sometimes included in the category of PVs. The problem is that when the semantic opacity of verbs is considered as the most relevant feature of PVs, it is highly unlikely that an integration between literal and non-compositional combinations within the category of PVs is possible. Instead, considering both the syntactic and semantic features of combinations, it is necessary to embrace a wider view and to define PVs as composed of literal and idiomatic verbs (Claridge 2000:47; Denison 1981). Thus, it is possible to assume that both literal and idiomatic verbs can be classified as PVs but that only the compositional items share the full range of syntactic and semantic properties of PVs. In fact, it is well accepted that the 'restriction of the syntactic possibilities clearly goes along with different semantic properties' (Thim 2012:15).

On this basis, in contrast with those who claim a different treatment for compositional combinations and consider the test of idiomaticity (Quirk et al 1985:1162; Biber et al. 1999:404) as the most important tool in defining PVs, I emphasize the single unitary status rather than the division between compositional and non-compositional combinations. This means that it is possible to agree with those who support the integration of compositional combinations and idiomatic PVs and to assert that literal combinations are of great importance.

In fact, the existence of such a complex cline from compositional to idiomatic, first foreshadowed in Kennedy (1920), can be described as the result of a process of change (Brinton & Traugott 2005; Rodríguez-Puente 2012a; 2012b; Thim 2012) and as for idiomatic combinations, it can be assumed that they have undergone a ‘lexical development from compositional to non-compositional, with the earlier, compositional meanings lost, while the later non-compositional meanings fossilized’ (Thim 2012: 12) (§ 5.2.4.).

1.2.1.1 Syntactic features of phrasal verbs

Like the other simple verbs, PVs can be divided into two groups: transitive and intransitive, in the form V + Prt + DO⁷ and V + Prt, respectively. The basic patterns can be represented schematically as illustrated in Table 2:

PVs	Basic pattern	Examples
Intransitive	V + Prt	e.g. <i>to go on, to come out, to slip by, to get by</i>
Transitive	V + Prt + DO	e.g. <i>to slip on sth, to make up sth</i>
	V + DO+ Prt	<i>to look sth up, to make sth up</i>

Table 2: PVs: Basic patterns

Examples of intransitive PVs include *to go on, to come in, to go away*, whereas verbs such as *to slip on, to have on, to make up*, belong to the transitive group. Some examples are reported in (10)-(11):

- (10) *On returning from this transaction, they brought a pot of oil with them back; after that Follitt put some oil into a man's ap on that was with this person, Nash, and they went away.(1790s)*
- (11) *I made up a piece of paper in the form of a letter, and sent Mr. Taylor with it as a porter. I said, Knock at the door, and if he looks out, tell him there is a letter for him.(1770s)*

⁷ V=Verb; Prt= Particle; DO=Direct object.

As for the intransitive pattern, (10), the first thing to note is that the literal combinations as in *to go away*, *to come in*, *to go back* can be variously categorized in that non-idiomatic cases are at the cutting edges between free combinations and phrasal verbs (see above) due to the ‘fuzzy distinction between the verb particle and directional adverb’ (Thim 2012: 21). However, what distinguishes PVs is that the verb and the particle show signs of cohesion and the particle ‘functions like a predication adjunct or subjunct and usually cannot be separated from its lexical verb’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1152).

The main feature of transitive constructions is, instead, the fact that they allow two basic patterns (Fraser 1974: 16): one which is characterized by the particle placed before the DO [SV Prt DO] (continuous order), as in (12), and another pattern in which the DO precedes the particle [SV DO Prt]⁸ (discontinuous order), as in (13):

- (12) *And saw him on his coach-box still he had on a shiny hat. (1830s)*
 (13) *I arrived at the corner of John-street, and saw the prisoner run out from St. John-street towards Charlotte-street - he had no coat on at all, but was in his shirt-sleeves.(1810s)*

The first pattern is defined as ‘joined’ order whereas the second one is defined as ‘split’ order (Cappelle 2009: 190), or continuous vs. discontinuous order/construction (Dehè 2002: 3). ‘The possibility of particle movement, the optional position of the particle either before or after the object noun phrase’ (Biber et al.1999: 404) represents an important element in order to distinguish PVs from prepositional verbs because in the latter case, the position of the object before the particle would be ungrammatical and unacceptable to the speaker. For example, with a verb such as *to throw away*, it emerges that it can occur in both the continuous and discontinuous order, that is with the object placed in post-particle position or, alternatively, in between the verb and the particle, as in (14)-(15) respectively:

- (14) *He struck at me again and cut my ear, then one of them struck me a violent blow, which broke my head, it bled very much, some of the blood is yet to be seen, in my hat, I secured Dugard, my wife screamed out, and the watch came to my assistance, and then Dugard threw away the knife. The other prisoner was taken almost immediately. (1770s)*
 (15) *I ran out after the two men, and when I got as far as Broad-street. I heard the cry of, stop thief. I ran very hard, and when I got as far as Portland-street the prisoner was taken. He threw the stockings away. (1810s)*

In these cases, the sentence *He threw away the knife* is similar to the sentence *He threw the stockings away* and they are both grammatical and well-structured from a syntactic perspective.

⁸ S=Subject

This is a possibility which is not acceptable in the case of prepositional verbs where the object must always follow the preposition. In fact, in (a) and (b) below, only the first structure is grammatical, in contrast with the second pattern:

- (a) *He told me he had 900 l. lay in Sir Daniel Lambert 's hands, and insisted on my going there with him. (1750s)*
- (b) *He told me he had 900 l. lay in Sir Daniel Lambert 's hands, and insisted my going there with him on.**

Moreover, when the sentence contains a pronominal object, it must always be placed in mid-position in PVs, while in prepositional verbs it follows the non-verbal element, as in (16) and (17):

- (16) *Accordingly, I went down, and brought him up. When Chapman was produced, the prosecutor said he could not take upon himself to swear to him, but, to the best of his belief, he was one of them. (1810s)*
- (17) *He said he would go with me to see if he could find him. He ran down Ivy-lane and Paternoster-row with me; when we came to Lovell's-court, he ran up there, and pretended to look after him, I went up too. (1810s)*

This means that, when a verb is followed by a pronominal object and a particle, it is without any doubt an example of a PV rather than a prepositional verb.

Moreover, other restrictions apply to the particle movement of PVs, in that the post-particle position is compulsory when the verb takes a complement *-ing* or *to-infinitive* clause as direct object, as in (18) and (19):

- (18) *When he returned to me he told me I might go on shipping, and pass the entries. (1830s)*
- (19) *And they turn out to be forgeries. (1830s)*

In this respect, PVs with a copular function are the same, in that when they are followed by a subject predicative in the pattern [Subject Verb Subject predicative], as in (20), the attributes which are identified by the verb are always placed after the particle (Biber et al. 1999: 436):

- (20) *Did they turn out standard? (1770s)*

Many scholars state that there are sets of 'variables' that influence the position of the object (Gries 2002: 270), such as the length and complexity of the object (Cappelle 2009: 195) because direct objects composed of two to four words in length, are *usually* used in mid-position (Biber et al. 1999: 932) while longer objects are *always* placed in post-particle position. In many cases 'the syntactic properties depend on the semantics of phrasal verbs' (Thim 2012: 25) and also the degree of idiomaticity and focality

(Cappelle 2009: 194) can influence whether the object is placed in mid or post-particle position.

All these possibilities give rise to many questions concerning the identification of the factors that have influenced the choice between these two patterns in past time and how this is reflected in PDE.

On the whole, it can be assumed that the positional variability of the verb and the particle changes with a different degree in terms of idiomatization (Thim 2012: 25) and lexicalization (Cappelle 2009: 190-191), both absolutely as in the case of particle fronting and relatively, with respect to the alternative between the continuous and discontinuous order, due to the ‘strong idiomatic bond (...) between the phrasal verb and the object’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1155).

1.2.1.2 Semantic features of phrasal verbs

As for the semantics of PVs, the main feature is that their meaning can ‘range on a cline from purely compositional to highly idiomatic’ (Thim 2012: 11): the particle and the whole combination can convey a meaning which varies from completely literal (e.g. *to come in, to put on, to go back*) to totally figurative (*to give up, to beat on, to take off*). Some examples are reported in (21)-(23):

- (21) *Boswell came in. Jane Trueman said to him, What do you want here: He said, I want to come in.(1750s)*
- (22) *She did not take any away this bonnet was found in a deal box belonging to the prisoner, which had no lock to it, but it was nailed down it was kept in a cupboard in the nursery when she was told to give up all the things belonging to the children to the head nurse. (1830s)*
- (23) *The Dutchman said I want my money, my money, he had a stick in his hand and lifted it up to Boswell, who was stooping down; he said let him beat on, let him beat on.(1750s)*

These examples represent some phrasal verbs characterised by a different degree in terms of idiomaticity. In the first example, (21), the verb *to come in* has a literal meaning and refers to a movement in space, whereas in (22)-(23), the verbs possess idiomatic meanings of ‘to sell’ and ‘to blame’, respectively. They are in fact representative examples of cases where the base verb and the particle do not contribute to the meaning of the whole combination and the result is that they are totally opaque. According to the core meaning of PVs, many classification criteria have been proposed and many attempts at categorizing PVs have also been articulated in the literature (Palmer 1973; Fraser 1974; Cowie & Mackin 1975; Denison 1981; Quirk et al. 1985).

One of the most recent classification is that of Rodríguez-Puente (2012a) who identifies five different semantic categories of phrasal verbs: literal, aktionsart, aspectual, reiterative, figurative and non-compositional, placing in this way the whole category of PVs along a cline according to the degree of idiosyncrasy and idiomaticity. It is her assumption that what is worth analyzing is not the meaning of the single lexical

verb alone but, instead, the semantic properties of the particle and the additional function that it can fulfil.

A much more detailed classification, which accounts for both the meaning of the particle alone and the semantic properties of the whole V + particle construction in order to analyse the degree of compositionality in PVs, is that provided by König (1973 cited in Thim 2013: 13-20). Along the lines of classifications given by Live (1965), Bolinger (1971) and Fraser (1974), he considers it useful to distinguish two different groups:

1. Compositional, divided into two parts according to the meaning of the particle (directional or aspectual).
2. Non-compositional, consisting of idiomatic constructions.

The classification schema given by König (1973) can be represented as in the Figure below:

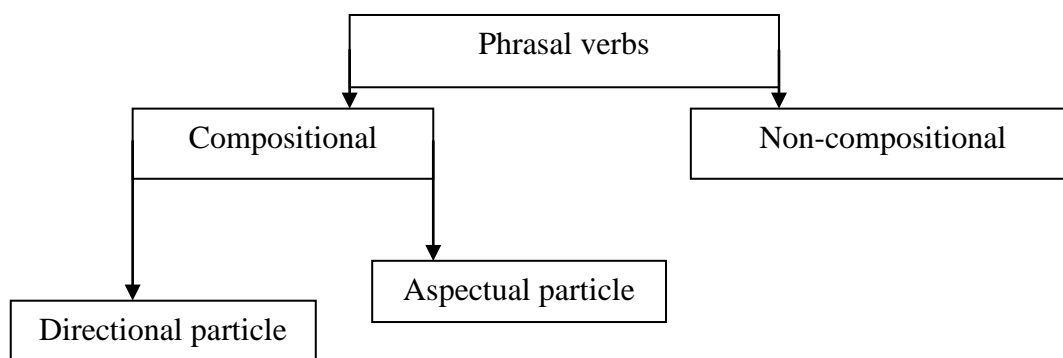


Figure 1: Classification of PVs (König 1973)

As for the group of compositional verbs, it contains PVs whose particle has directional meaning as with *to come in*, *to take up*, *to throw out* but also PVs with an aspectual meaning, such as in the case of *to go on*, *to work out*. In the first case, the verb is followed by a directional particle and both the verb and the non-verbal element contribute to the meaning of the whole combination:

- (24) *I changed him a guinea, he paid for what he had and went away; he came again a little before eleven and asked me to change him a 36 shilling piece. (1750s)*
- (25) *I saw the boy carry it to the watch-house, and it was opened there that night, directly as it was taken in, the boy was there, I saw it contained a gown and petticoat, and some bombazeen. (1770s)*

These examples show two instances of compositional verbs characterised by a verb followed by a particle which adds the meaning of motion and direction to the action which is expressed by the verb. In fact, the semantic properties of literal phrasal verbs are the outcome of the meaning of the particle and the verb, a fact which is particularly evident in literal combinations but also indirectly works in idiomatic cases. In particular, in the latter case, the contribution to the meaning provided by the base verb and particle is

still not evident because the meaning is the result of diachronic processes that led the whole combination to undergo the demotivation of the non-figurative connotation and its conventionalization in language use (Rodríguez-Puente 2012a). From a syntactic view, literal combinations are characterised by the fact that the particle can be substituted by a directional prepositional phrase (Thim 2012:15) but, in this case, unlike what happens to prepositions, the particle can stand on its own, a fact that ‘changes its status from preposition to adverbial’ (Claridge 2000: 49, quoting Lipka 1972: 175):

- (26) *"Powell, 2, Church-street, St. George's, Shadwell," which I immediately wrote on the note with a pencil, and gave it to William Curtis , our boy, to get change. He went out, returned, and went into the parlour to Mr. Hoskins - he brought no change - (looks at the note) - this is it. It has the pencil writing on the face. (1810s)*

This example confirms that in the literal combinations, the ellipsis of the complement is not inferred by the context and, moreover, the particle allows a replacement with another PP.

The aspectual PVs, instead, contain particles which mark the *aktionsart* of the verb rather than its aspect,⁹ and functionally, it can be considered as an aspectualizer both marking a telic and an atelic aspect (Thim 2012: 16-19). In these cases, in fact, the particle ‘may have an intensifying or aspectual force’ (Quirk et al.1985: 1152) and contribute to make the meaning of the whole combination in which it occurs as denoting both the aspectual meaning of completion /telicity (e.g. *to work out*, *to fill up*, *to catch up*, *to cut down*) and the atelic connotation of repetition/duration (e.g. *to carry on*) (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 125; cf. Brinton 1988: 243-246):

- (27) *Now this was in the middle of the day, was it? - At the time the oil was filling up on the Key, that was all day.(1790s)*
- (28) *Yes; I slept in mistress' room on the first floor; the two rooms are on the second floor - nobody slept in the other room on the first floor; the prisoner works out in the day time, and sleeps at the house in the winter, for protection.(1830s)*
- (29) *I suppose, that part in Tudor-street, where the business is carried on, belongs jointly to you and your partners, and is paid jointly by you? (1790s)*

Analysis of the examples (27)-(29) reveals that the particle in this group adds an aspectual force to the base verb, and specifically *up* and *out* convey a meaning of completion and mark a telic *aktionsart* (Denison 1985; Live 1965: 436; Kennedy 1020: 24), while *on* makes the action expressed by the verb as characterized by durative connotation. In fact, many differences in terms of meaning and function can be found among the particles. The particles *on* and *along*, for example, do not show telic *aktionsart*

⁹ Aspect is related to ‘the speaker’s viewpoint or perspective on a situation’ and represents a grammatical category. *Aktionsart* is ‘an indication of the intrinsic temporal qualities of a situation’ and is a lexical category (Brinton 1988: 3).

meaning which is shown by *away, down, off, out, over, through* and *up*. (Brinton 1988: 235). Instead, they ‘can be seen as marking ingressive, continuative/iterative, egressive, or habitual aspect’ (Brinton 1988: 235) and behave similarly to other aspectualizers such as *stop, begin* and *continue*. An interesting group of phrasal verbs belonging to the aspectual group is that characterised by particles which do not add any meaning to the verb but only emphasize the meaning of the preceding verb itself. This is a case of redundant use of the aspectualizer particle (Live 1965: 430; Bolinger 1971: xii; Thim 2012: 17), e.g. *to finish up*, the so-called pleonastic construction (Thim 2012: 17), redundant verb (Hampe 2002) or ‘echo particle’ (Denison 1981: 124), ‘where the aspectual value of the particle is also part of the aktionsart of the verb alone’ (Thim 2012: 19).

As for the idiomatic combinations, they are characterised by non-compositional meaning and they display a strong internal semantic cohesion which is also evident on the syntactic level:

- (30) *I am Saunders' master. I followed the prisoner she met a man about two hundred yards from my house he was dressed in a butcher's frock she said something to him they walked then to a window I saw him put his hand into his pocket, and draw out some money, and give to her she then seemed to count it, and put it into her pocket the man turned round he recognised me. (1830s)*
- (31) *I made up a piece of paper in the form of a letter, and sent Mr. Taylor with it as a porter. I said, Knock at the door, and if he looks out, tell him there is a letter for him.(1770s)*

These verbs, in fact, unlike the aspectual and literal combinations possess limited variability on the syntactic level in that the particle cannot be fronted and, in transitive constructions, the positional variability is quite reduced and the continuous order is usually more frequent (Thim 2012: 24-25).

Thus, it is relevant to analyse whether and how the meaning of the particle changed and also to take into account to what extent they influenced the whole construction. Such changes are not discrete but gradual (Fisher 2007: 77-82; Traugott & Trousdale 2010) and accepting this gradualness in language change would mean that it is necessary to look at the different ‘micro-changes’ which are part of ‘a larger macro-change’ (Harris & Campbell 1995: 48) and that, on the whole, are responsible for innovation and then change.

1.2.2. Prepositional verbs

1.2.2.1 Syntactic features of prepositional verbs

Prepositional verbs are generally defined as multi-word verbs composed of V + preposition (Biber et al. 1999: 403) which is both semantically and syntactically linked to the preceding verb (Quirk et al. 1985: 1155).

Common prepositional verbs include *to look after*, *to look at*, *to deal with*, *to insist on*, all characterized by a sort of ‘collocational fixity’ (Claridge 2000: 61), that is by the ability to select specific prepositions (Pullum et al. 2002: 273). (32) and (33) present examples of the prepositional verbs *to insist on* and *to look after*:

(32) Pearce insisted on my returning again, to do which I was very unwilling.
(1770s)

(33) I take it that was meant to get us to go and look after her that we might be pressed. (1770s)

However, it is not as easy as it appears at a first sight. In fact, when studying prepositional verbs, many challenging tasks arise, especially those related to the description of their syntactic and semantic features, since they are ‘the most difficult to define and the ones nearest the borderline of all possible multi-word verbs’ (Claridge 2000: 56). The most important element is that prepositional verbs allow two different ‘complementary analyses’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1156), one that might be understood as grammatical, as in (a), and the other considered as lexical, as in (b):

(a) She [looked] [after her son]

(b) She [looked after] [her son]

More specifically, the first representation underlines the unity of the preposition and the following NP which is, as a result, considered as the complement of the preposition rather than the direct object of the whole combination *to look after* (Quirk et al 1985: 1156). The second instead, mostly emphasizes the ‘semantic’ (ib.) cohesion between the verb and the following preposition. The controversy about whether it is better to accept one or other of the interpretations plays an important role in theoretical linguistics but also in a study, like the present one, that aims at analysing multi-word verbs and, more specifically, prepositional verbs. The problem is that prepositional verbs are grammatically [V] + PP (preposition + NP) but, from a semantic perspective, they can be represented as [V + preposition] + [NP]. The acceptance only of the first representation, in all likelihood, might even support the negation of the existence of prepositional verbs as a group characterised by semantic cohesion (Claridge 2000: 56), and the substitution of them with simply free combinations, i.e. V+PP (Claridge 2000: 56). However, modelling the knowledge on the second perspective would mean to

underrate important linguistic features that only prepositional verbs possess, firstly the fact that they are capable of selecting specified prepositions (Pullum et al. 2002: 273).

As many scholars underscore (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 126-127; Quirk et al. 1985: 1156; Claridge 2000: 56), there are in fact, many factors that support one or another representation, both ‘structural/syntactic and semantic’ (Claridge 2000: 56) properties. The fact is that the acceptance of the second supports linguistic transformations and the use of ‘various preposition stranding possibilities’ (Claridge 2000: 56) such as the formation of the prepositional passive with the preposition ‘DEFERRED (“stranded”) in its post-verbal position’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1164), as in (34), or the occurrence of a relative clause with stranded prepositions, as in (35):

- (34) *I am an officer. On Tuesday the 4th of March I was sent for by Mr. Wortner, it was Mr. Wortner's wish for me to go to his lodgings immediately. (1810s)*
(35) *Here is my master that I work with. (1770s)*

In these cases, the syntactic behaviour of prepositional verbs and, specifically the use of the preposition deferred, puts emphasis on the cohesion between the verb and the preposition (Denison 1981: 219-222). This feature highlights that the NP following the preposition is not its object but it is the object of the whole V + preposition combination, the ‘prepositional object’.

‘Preposition stranding therefore imposes a positional relationship on verb and particle [preposition] and on the particle and object (if any) which helps make possible the restructuring (...) by which the particle comes to be grouped with the verb syntactically’ (Denison 1981: 200-201).

In this regard, the different nature of this NP also explains why the question transformation requires a *wh*-question form, characterized by pronouns like *who(m)* and *what* (e.g. *what...come with?*), as in (36), rather than the adverbial question form *where* and *when* (Biber et al. 1999: 405; Claridge 2000: 59):

- (36) *What did the other man come with? - A. A gown patch. (1790s)*
where did he arrive?

These structural properties reveal the close union which exists between the verb and the following preposition, a unitary status which was established in the 13th century (Denison 1981: 212) and since then it has been the interpretation which has been most widely accepted.

In addition, what complicates the issue is the fact that some prepositional verbs have the pattern V + NP + preposition + NP, as in (37), that can be considered in contrast with the V + preposition + NP pattern, as in (38) (Biber et al. 1999: 403-423):

- (37) *I should miss them in a moment if they were gone when I missed them I went out, and about forty yards off came up with the prisoner, and accused him of stealing. (1830s)*

- (38) *I asked him to account for the money he said a Mrs. Perry, in Baker-street, had given the money to him to give to his mother, to take care of, for she did not wish her husband to know she had that quantity of money about her after he was locked up.(1830s)*

However, these combinations contain free objects and, thus, they can only be seen as a ‘special sub-type’ of prepositional verbs that displays specific linguistic features (Claridge 2000: 39) not properly associated to the core of prepositional verbs. Following Claridge's work (2000: 39-40), the present research will thus not treat these verbs, but it was considered appropriate to provide some consideration on a pattern which is not frequently used but part of the group of prepositional verbs.

1.2.2.2 *Semantic features of prepositional verbs*

As for the semantic features of prepositional verbs, it is generally accepted that the verb and preposition, on the whole, functions in various ways as ‘a single unit’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1150) which is semantically lexicalized and, in the majority of the cases, replaceable with a simple verb (Claridge 2000: 58).¹⁰ In fact, the base verbs are subject to ‘collocation restrictions’ (Palmer 1973: 212), that is the verb is able to select the following preposition which, due to the cohesion with the verbal element, cannot be substituted without a change in meaning. This means that, in the case of a base verb such as *to look*, when it is followed by different prepositions, e.g. *after*, *for* and *into* (also reported in Claridge 2000), it also conveys different meanings. Thus, the replacement of the non-verbal element also leads to further changes in meaning, as in (39)-(40):

- (39) *When he got to the corner of Bloomsbury-court, he turned and looked after the deceased; the deceased had got up and fell down again. (1770s)*
- (40) *But there was a light in the parlour the prosecutor gave an account of the person by whom he had been attacked in consequence of which I went and took the prisoner into custody, about an hour and a half afterwards, at the Sun public-house, Mason-street, which is about six doors from the prosecutor's I had looked for him elsewhere and had been in that house before for him, but he was not there at the time I did not tell him what I took him for I put my hand on his shoulder. (1983s)*

In the first example, (39), the verb *to look* conveys the meaning of ‘to tend to, take care of’ (OED), whereas in (40), the substitution of the preposition *after* with *for*, supports the different connotation of ‘to seek, search for’ (OED). Moreover, the semantic unity and collocational restriction are important elements to consider in treating this verb group from a diachronic perspective because:

¹⁰ The possibility of the replacement of a prepositional verb with another simple verb does not apply in all cases but only in the items which are highly lexicalized. Thus, while the verb *to look into* is substituted with *to enter*, this does not happen in *to look after*, etc. (Claridge 2000: 58).

‘if the preposition loses its spatial force so that it becomes, in synchronic terms, an arbitrary and unmotivated particle which just happens to be one that goes with a given verb, then that too will tend to associate it with the verb as part of a composite entity’ (Denison 1981: 208).

1.2.3. Phrasal-prepositional verbs

The last group of MWVs is that of the phrasal-prepositional verbs, which are verbs characterized by ‘multiple particles’ (Bolinger 1971: 132). These are generally defined as verbs composed of V + adverbial particle + preposition (e.g. *to get away with*) (Biber et al. 1999: 403) but they are generally ‘more than just that’ (Claridge 2000: 64):

(41) *What sort of an iron bar was you knocked down with?. (1750s)*

(42) *Her name is Mary Potter , there we divided them, and they each gave me a pair, because I went in for them. (1750s)*

Looking at some examples of phrasal-prepositional verbs, as in (41)-(42), the most important element to consider is that they are structurally composed of a verb which is followed by both an adverbial particle (*down, out, in*) and a preposition (*with, into, for*). This internal constituency explains why this group is considered ‘in some way the offspring’ of phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs and why they share many similarities on the linguistic level (Claridge 2000: 64). In particular, in common with prepositional verbs, phrasal-prepositional verbs have the same syntactic behaviour and, specifically, they occur with both the passive form and relative clause, with the preposition in a stranded position, as in (43)-(44):

(43) *I found a gimlet upon him, which she swore before the magistrate was the gimlet the window was fastened down with. (It was produced in court.)1770s*

(44) *There was no telling what the girl like that might come up with; they might beat Mavis bramley yet.¹¹*

This possibility makes clear that there is a strict cohesion between the parts and, thus, the verb and the following non-verbal elements are linked to each other, whereas the following NP behaves as the complement of the preposition and object of the whole combination rather than as the prepositional object (Thim 2012: 29). The fact that the string displays ‘an internal constituent structure’ (Claridge 2000: 65) is also confirmed by the occurrence of these verbs with the non-adverbial *wh*-words *who* and *what* in questions, as also happens to phrasal verbs and prepositional verbs:

(45) *What was you knocked down with? (1770s)*

¹¹This is an example taken from Claridge (2000: 64).

Moreover, the unitary status of phrasal-prepositional verbs is also evident in the fact that these sequences ‘are rarely interrupted’ (Claridge 2000: 65) and, as in the case of PVs, it is not possible to place PPs or adverbs between the verb and the following non-verbal elements. In this regard, a sentence like that represented in (46) would be ungrammatical if used with another element placed within the combination, as in (46a):

(46) *I thought it best to make away with them as soon as possible*

(46a) *I thought it best to make away on Monday with them as soon as possible**

The structural/syntactic cohesion of this verb group is reflected on the semantic level in that the string V + adverbial particle + preposition is ‘a lexical-unit’ (Claridge 2000: 64) characterised by a transferred meaning. This means that, phrasal-prepositional verbs, like phrasal verbs, range on a semantic cline but, differently, they ‘do not extend to the completely literal end of the cline’ (Claridge 2000: 64) and they always show ‘a certain degree of idiomaticity’ (Thim 2012: 28). This is a very important feature which also makes it possible to distinguish phrasal-prepositional verbs, as in (47), from pure phrasal verbs when followed by a PP and, moreover, from free combinations in the shape of V+PP introduced by a complex preposition, as in (48)-(49):

(47) *These hung on each side the fire-place, and I should miss them in a moment if they were gone when I missed them I went out, and about forty yards off came up with the prisoner, and accused him of stealing them I did not accuse his friends I said, "You have stolen my pictures " he was agitated, and said, "What! What!" and ran away he then fell, and was secured. (1830s)*

(48) *... running towards his horse with the whip in his hand, when they first broke out into the gallop if he had been at the head of either of the horses, I think the accident might have been prevented I saw not the slightest impropriety in Horne's conduct. (1830s)*

(49) *Do you recollect the night of the unfortunate accident? - A. Yes; the 6th of October, my son came home about twenty minutes past eight o'clock, and never went out of the house afterwards. (1790s)*

What emerges from the detailed analysis of some examples is that these verbs can be distinguished by the degree of idiomaticity. In fact, only the pattern in (47) can be considered to be an idiomatic unit (i.e. *to come up with*) and, consequently, a phrasal-prepositional verb, whereas in (48)-(49), the verbs partially lack this semantic cohesion. Indeed, in (48), it cannot be considered as belonging to the phrasal-prepositional group because the semantic cohesion is only placed between the base verb and the following particle (i.e. *to break out*) rather than in the whole string. Thus, this can be seen as a PV, followed by a preposition (i.e. *into*), functionally behaving as the head of a PP with locative meaning. In (49), by contrast, the verb itself (i.e. *went*) does not require any other element and the prepositional phrase (i.e. *out of the house*) can be questioned by a *where* question form (Claridge 2000), somewhat which is always excluded in the case

of phrasal-prepositional verbs.

This perspective is clearly at odds with those who state that, among phrasal-prepositional verbs, there are also strings with literal meaning (Cowie & Mackin 1975: xxxiv ff). However, my basic assumption is that even when a cline on the idiomaticity of purely phrasal-prepositional verbs can be attested, it is impossible to turn the other combinations with purely literal meaning into a phrasal-prepositional verb, otherwise, stating the contrary would have meant not to do justice to patterns such as V+ PP, which contains a complex preposition or PV + PP, as in examples (48)-(49).

All this is living proof that idiomaticity is to be considered the most important property in defining phrasal-prepositional verbs and in distinguishing them from other similar combinations. In this regard, in fact, phrasal-prepositional verbs are usually paraphrased with a one-word lexical verb (Kennedy 1920: 32; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Carter & McCarthy 2006), a feature that allows us to exclude all the combinations with little internal cohesion, even when they appear similar to proper phrasal-prepositional verbs in form.

On this basis, the following paragraph will deal with the description of the features that allow multi-word verbs to be distinguished from other combinations.

1.3. Distinguishing phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal -prepositional verbs

The formulation of criteria to distinguish phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs from free combinations and to distinguish these verbs from each other is a challenging task which is still now under debate in the literature. Many semantic and structural criteria have been selected (Bolinger 1971; Palmer 1973; Fraser 1974; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Claridge 2000) but they 'do not always result in clear-cut distinctions among the categories' (Biber et al. 1999: 405).

First of all, in the case of the structure of phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs, an important element to consider is the nature of the particle (Biber et al. 1999: 403). In fact, it is widely accepted in the literature (Palmer 1973; Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999; Claridge 2000; Thim 2012) that, in phrasal verbs, the non-verbal element is an adverbial particle whereas in prepositional verbs it consists of a preposition. On the other hand, phrasal-prepositional verbs are the result of a combination of both an adverbial particle and a preposition (Rodríguez-Puente 2013b: 16).

The whole system of basic patterns can be represented schematically as follows:

Verb type		
Phrasal verbs	Verb + adverbial particle	e.g. <i>to look up, to point out</i>
Prepositional verbs	Verb + preposition	e.g. <i>to listen to, to rely on</i>
Phrasal-prepositional verbs	Verb + adverbial particle + preposition	e.g. <i>to come up with, to look up on</i>

Table 3: The nature of the particle

The problem that arises is that there is a controversial debate concerning the definition of the features which can allow an exact definition of the nature of the non-verbal element (Claridge 2000: 39). As for PVs, adverbial particles are a ‘small group of short invariable forms’ (Biber et al. 1999: 78) generally with a literal meaning that mainly indicates direction, position and distance, such as *about, aside, away, back, by, forth, in, off, on, out, up* (ib.). The problem is that, in many cases, they are ‘homomorphic’ with adverbs and prepositions (Rodríguez-Puente 2013b: 16-17) despite being different in many ways on the syntactic level: First, when the non-verbal element is not followed by a NP, ‘the adverbial interpretation is enforced’ (Claridge 2000: 39); second, the NP never precedes the preposition, as happens in the case of particle movement in PVs. For example, taking into consideration the ‘word’ *up* (preposition and adverbial particle), it can occur displaying different functions in both verb groups, as in (50) and (51):

- (50) *I got the dinner, set it on the table, and used to go after him; he would be talking to himself when I came to him; I would hold up my hand; he would look at me, and turn to go away. (1770s)*
- (51) *I said I went up that way, thinking I might fall in with him there I do not know what houses he frequents I did not go to Shadwell with him on the Saturday night after I lent him the 12s.(1830s)*

In example (50), *up* is used as an adverbial particle in that it is syntactically linked to the preceding verb rather than to the following NP, whereas in (51) it is followed by a NP and it behaves as a preposition, at the head of the following NP. At the same time, what differentiates an adverbial particle from a pure adverb is that it possesses specific distributional properties. In fact, adverbial particles ‘but not adverbs may precede a simple definite noun phrase as direct object’ (Biber et al. 1999: 78), as shown in (a) and (b):

- (a) *Bring **in** the stool from the bathroom*

(b) *Bring **here** the stool from the bathroom**¹²

It is possible to state that the adverbial nature of the particles of phrasal verbs is only due to the fact that ‘they are adverbs in origin (Brinton 1988: 275; cf. Spasov 1966), which have come to form a (more or less bound) unit with the verb and, for this reason, behave differently from other adverbs’ (Rodríguez Puente 2013b: 22). In contrast, in the case of prepositions, they form a fixed structure with the verb and their substitution provokes a change in meaning due to the collocational restrictions that prepositional verbs possess. A free preposition is characterised by spatial, temporal uses whereas bound prepositions ‘as part of a prepositional verb should have very little or no meaning of its own independent of the verb and stand in no opposition to other prepositions’ (Claridge 2000: 61-62, referring to Köning 1973: 67-69). In this regard, scholars claim that when a preposition is ‘meaningful’ (Claridge 2000: 62) in the sense that it conveys manner, instrument, temporal uses and, thus, it is closely connected with the following NP rather than with the preceding verb, this is a case of pure preposition. Considering the examples reported by Claridge (2000: 62), as in (a) and (b), only (b) is a case of a bound preposition and, thus, the whole combination is to be considered an instance of a prepositional verb:

(a) *We will meet again on Monday*

(b) *They insisted on another meeting.*

In addition, another important feature which is typically associated with phrasal verbs, as also with phrasal-prepositional verbs (§1.2.3) is that related to the semantic properties of the construction. In fact, these verbs possess a specific feature, the so-called ‘lexical integrity’ (Booij 2012 [2005]: 22) and, consequently, the constituent parts are considered so tightly related to each other that even a single word cannot be inserted between them (Biber et al. 1999: 404-405). Thus, a syntactic test which can be used to distinguish these groups from free combinations and prepositional verbs concerns the insertion of an adverb between the verb and non-verbal element (Claridge 2000: 51). In fact, this is not possible for phrasal-prepositional verbs, whereas in PVs with only a few exceptions: the only case where an adverb can occur between the verb and the particle, is that of adverbs behaving as intensive modifiers such as *right* and *all* (Bolinger 1971: 135; Fraser 1974: 25-26).

The inseparability of the V + particle is a syntactic sign of cohesion (Quirk et al. 1985: 1152; cf. also Quirk et al. 1972) between the components and it especially applies to idiomatic combinations. Moreover, the unitary nature of PVs is also confirmed by ‘the juxtaposition of its two elements in other morphological configurations, with the particle prefixed or suffixed’ (Live 1965: 429) and their involvement in word-formation processes.

¹² From Biber et al. 1999: 78.

On the other hand, as for the distinction between PVs and free combinations, it is useful to consider the semantic features in that only PVs can be substituted with simple verbs (Biber et al. 1999: 404), as shown in (52) and (53):

(52) *I have had the house in my occupation since November, 1807, it was formerly occupied by Mr. Salkeld, who carried on the same trade; I have occupied it about four years and a half.*
~ [who conducted the same trade]

(53) *He had to appear on the next day, and would swear hard and fast against the d-d b-g-r. Walton was present.(1810s)*
~ [∅]

In fact, the verb *to carry on*, as in (52), is substituted for ‘to conduct, manage’ (OED), whereas this is not possible in free combinations, as represented in (53), where the verb *to appear* does not form a single item and it cannot be substituted for other verbs. The semantic test also applies to prepositional verbs (Quirk et al. 1985: 1163), in that, unlike free combinations, they can always select specific prepositions and, in the majority of cases, they can be substituted for simple verbs (Claridge 2000: 58):

(54) *I beg leave to refer to my Lord's notes, there is no evidence against either of them; Miles is not here.(1770s)*
~*I beg leave to mention my Lord's notes....*

This means that verbs like *to refer to*, as in (54), can be substituted for ‘to mention’. However, this does not happen in all the cases because there are verbs that do not have a corresponding simple form which possesses exactly the same meaning. Among the features which allow prepositional verbs and free combinations to be distinguished, there are the use of stranded prepositions in the passive and in relative clauses underlining the cohesion between the verb and the following preposition and allowing a distinction to be drawn between these verbs and V + PP combinations. In fact, in simple verbs followed by a PP, the NP behaves as the complement of the preceding preposition and, thus, it cannot be turned into the subject of the whole sentence, as instead happens to proper prepositional verbs. In the case of the verb *to send for*, the passive transformation results in a sentence such as that shown in (55), whereas in the case of V + PP, the passive is like that represented in (56):

(55) *I was sent for when the prisoner's boxes were searched Mr. Prew did not say the handkerchief were not his while I was there it was very nearly twelve o'clock when I went two handkerchiefs were taken out of the box in my presence. (1830s)*

(56) *I felt the mutton; it was quite warm. I then secured him, and took him to the watchhouse. I and the constable of the night searched him; we found a knife upon him; his pockets were filled with horse hair and cow hair. (1810s)*

This test combines with the fact that, in question forms, prepositional verbs ‘require a non-adverbial question form’ (Claridge 2000: 59) with the pronouns *who(m)* and *what*, rather than other adverbial question forms such as *where*, *when*, *how*, or *why*:

(57) *I went there, and saw a young man I said, "Your name is Hodges?" he said, "My name is not Hodges, my name is Parker; what have you come for?"(1830s)*

In the case of phrasal-prepositional verbs, the most important elements are the semantic idiomaticity and the internal cohesion. In fact, phrasal-prepositional verbs, as in (58), are characterised by a degree of idiomaticity, which is not displayed by free combinations:

(58) *I live in Catherine Wheel Alley, I was going to the butter shop, I saw the prisoner take the half firkin of butter and put it in a basket and cover it with straw and put it on his head and go off with it, I went and told Mr. Young of it. (1770s)*

In this case, the idiomatic meaning of the verb *to go off with* and the possibility of substituting it with the simple lexical verb ‘to steal’ (OED), is what helps to draw a line between free combinations and phrasal-prepositional verbs.

The following chapter will be devoted to a description of the factors which are involved in the diachronic development of MWVs and to the definition of the most important processes characterizing language change: grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization.

Chapter 2

The Development of Multi-word Verbs: Mechanisms in Language Change

Change manifests itself in new coinage, in the spread of a feature, in patterns and degrees of productivity, in the gradual assimilation of a new feature into the conventional lexicon, or its eventual departure. Changes can operate at any level of textual organization: lexical, lexico-grammatical and grammatical; semantic, referential, functional, pragmatic, sociolinguistic, and so on. (Renouf 2002: 29)

2.0. Introduction

The analysis of the development of MWVs is closely linked to the analytic tendency of the English language in its historical development (Bolinger 1971; Fraser 1974; Hiltunen 1999; Akimoto 1999) and, more specifically, their origin is generally associated with both ‘the structural shift from prefixes to post-verbal particles’ (Brinton 1988: 189), dating back to the Old English period and the evolution of verbal periphrases (Matsumoto 2008) through ‘purely language-internal’ changes (Claridge 2000: 87). However, even though there is evidence for such a complex process of change, what still remains under debate is the explanation of the mechanisms that promoted their conventionalization in language use. In fact, ‘the study of these constructions at the individual stages of English leads to diachronic questions (...) pertaining to grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiom formation’ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 1-2). The problem, as Brinton & Akimoto (1999: 11-12) also note regarding PVs, is that they ‘may be variously considered from the perspective of

grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization’ and the same is true for the other MWVs.¹³

Generally speaking, grammaticalization is defined as ‘the process by which a lexical item becomes a fully grammatical item, or a less grammatical item becomes a more grammatical item’ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 12), whereas lexicalization ‘can refer to a number of different phenomena’ (ib.: 12), and for this reason it is sometimes also considered synonymous with idiomatization (Schmid 2015: 16) that, in a narrow sense, can be seen as an independent process. However, the distinction between them is not easy because there are also features, such as the semantic extension or the increase in idiomaticity, which are operative in more than one case, a fact that makes the boundaries between these processes difficult to define.

The following paragraphs will analyse lexicalization, grammaticalization and idiomatization and define the ‘directional preferences in language change’ (Norde 2009: 103) which characterised the emergence of MWVs.

2.1. Processes and mechanisms in the development of multi-word verbs

2.1.1. Grammaticalization

According to Meillet (1912: 131), grammaticalization is a process of language change consisting in ‘*l’attribution de caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome.*’ This is the definition that is still now ‘the most commonly used’ among historical linguists (Fisher 2007: 58), who consider it as a gradual process which is characterized by a series of small transitions (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 6, also quoted in Fisher 2007: 120). However, in treating grammaticalization, many issues emerge and specifically those related to the identification of grammaticalization as both a theory and a process (Lightfoot 2011: Ch. 35; Newmeyer 1998) and to the description of its main features.

As for the first point, in addition to being a process in language change (Lehmann 2002: 1; Norde 2009: 46), grammaticalization can be conceptualized as a theoretical framework with a well-organized logical system (Newmeyer 1998: 234-235; Fisher 2007: 54; Norde 2009: 33-35). From this perspective, change cannot be explained as a random phenomenon; instead, it ‘takes place along certain paths’ (Heine & Narrog 2009: 402) and, thus, it is necessary to offer ‘an explanatory account of how and why grammatical categories arise and develop, and why they are structured the way they are’ (ib.: 401).

At the same time, grammaticalization is conceptualized as a process in the sense adopted by Brinton & Traugott (2005: 5-6) that is as a phenomenon resulting from the ‘microsteps that are included in the “>” typical of representations of change’ (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 5), as reported below:

¹³ For example, it is not clear whether composite predicates are the result of lexicalization or grammaticalization (Trousedale 2008: 33-67; Norde 2009: 12).

$$A < A \sim B > B \qquad A > \left\{ \begin{array}{c} A \\ B \end{array} \right\} > B$$

(From Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 49)

This assertion entails that grammaticalization is a process that operates on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic level, forming a ‘slot’ (Bisang 1998: 13) on which certain lexical items can be placed in rivalry and where the resulting forms can interact with other elements within the linguistic system.

This is a topic which is often linked to what is commonly known as the ‘linguistic cycle’ (Narrog & Heine 2011: 7; cf. Heine 2003: 593),¹⁴ a concept that includes the cyclical nature of change, in that the development of new forms can be seen as progressing along a specific path, as represented below (Narrog & Heine 2011: 7, quoting Givón's cycle 1971-1979):

Discourse > Syntax > Morphology > Morphophonemic > Zero

This means that, to some extent, grammaticalization as a phenomenon always proceeds ‘from major open categories such as nouns and verbs to minor closed categories such as adpositions, auxiliaries, conjunctions, demonstratives and pronouns, and not the other way round’ (Cristofaro 1998: 77), and, furthermore, it emerges from the interaction of different levels of analysis, morphosyntax, semantics, pragmatics and phonology (Eythórsson 1998: 3). More specifically, from a phonological point of view, grammaticalization involves coalescence, e.g. the reduction¹⁵ of phonological segments (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 105), attrition and loss (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 12), whereas semantically, it is often associated with ‘bleaching’, weakening, or loss of meaning, with a movement from a concrete to abstract’ (ib.) meaning.

Moreover, grammaticalization can affect both the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic levels of analysis. In fact, according to Lehmann (2002 [1995]: 108-153) this process operates on three parameters namely ‘weight’, ‘cohesion’ and ‘variability’, which represent the stages in the development of a linguistic structure that intertwine the paradigmatic as well as the syntagmatic processes of change.

¹⁴ ‘Linguistic cycle’ is ‘a name for changes where a phrase or word gradually disappears and is replaced by a new linguistic item’ (Van Gelderen 2009: 2).

¹⁵ Heine and Narrog (2009: 407) describe phonetic change as ‘erosion’ and define it as the process which ‘occurs at a later stage in the grammaticalization process’ and specifically, after the decategorialization of linguistic items. Thus, there are two different cases of erosion: 1) morphological erosion, i.e. change in the whole morphological unit; 2) phonetic erosion, i.e. loss of phonetic segments, of suprasegmental properties and phonetic autonomy, and phonetic simplification (ib.: 407-408).

Table 4 represents the diachronic stages in the process of grammaticalization:

Parameters	Paradigmatic processes	Syntagmatic processes
Weight	(Loss of) integrity	(Reduction of) scope
Cohesion	(Increase in) paradigmaticity	(Increase in) bondedness
Variability	(Loss of) paradigmatic variability: increase in obligatoriness	(Decrease in) syntagmatic variability

Table 4: Diachronic stages in the process of grammaticalization (Fisher 2007: 118)

These parameters acquire great importance in analysing the ways through which the verb system changed during the Late Modern period because they can provide information on the path followed by MWVs.

Starting from ‘weight’ (row 1), it is generally considered closely connected with reduction, a process that is operative through both the semantic bleaching and the phonetic erosion that a linguistic item can undergo. At the same time, on the syntagmatic level, it prompts the extension in the dependency of the affected item from the preceding elements. With regards to MWVs, for example, it is clear that an adverbial particle such as *on*, in (1), was affected by this kind of change over time:

- (1) *My husband was a founder and brazier, but he is dead, and I carry on the business. (1750s)*

It is clear that the particle *on* cannot occur without the preceding verb and it contributes an aspectual force to the verb that would have been otherwise impossible to express only by the use of the simple form of the verb. This feature reflects one of the distinctive features of PVs, so-called ‘semantic spreading’¹⁶ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 6; cf. also Bolinger 1971: 45) that leads to the ‘stretching’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1401) of a single lexical verb to a periphrastic construction with the particle ‘more central than the verb’ and able to convey further meanings (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 5).

As far as ‘cohesion’ is concerned (row 2), ‘the more grammaticalized a linguistic element is, the less choice there is formally’ (Fischer 2007:118) and, on the syntagmatic level, the lexical item moves towards a stronger internal cohesion. This means that in the case of prepositional verbs, for example, a grammaticalized preposition, after being involved in processes of change, cannot be used interchangeably with other prepositions when following one specific verb:

- (2) *I looked at the shilling, and found it was bad sure it was the one I received from him I kept it apart from other money. (1830s)*

¹⁶ This phenomenon is also called ‘structural compensation’ by Quirk et al. (1985: 1401-1402).

In (2), for instance, *at* undergoes grammaticalization and experiences an increase in bondness and becomes a bound preposition closely linked to the preceding verb, which cannot be replaced by another preposition, whatever it is, e.g. *after*, *on*, *up*, without a change in the meaning. Consider two examples containing the verb *to look after* and *to look up*:

- (a) *I looked after something*
- (b) *I looked up something*

In this regard, if the non-verbal element *at* in example (2) is substituted for another preposition, the whole combination results in a different prepositional verb. When observing the cases (a) and (b), in fact, it emerges that both *to look after* and *to look up* are grammatically acceptable but they show a connotation which is different from that shown by the verb *to look at*. This means that the verb *to look* is strictly linked to the following preposition and, moreover, it presents a high degree of cohesion with it within the sentence.

The last parameter to consider is ‘variability’ (row 3), which refers to ‘the degree to which a particular linguistic element is obligatory within the clause’ (Fisher 2007: 118) and, thus, it works by encouraging a decrease in syntagmatic variability due to the tendency of a grammaticalized item to acquire a ‘fixed’ position in the sentence. The cases which have been quoted in (a) and (b) clearly highlight that this parameter operates in MWVs in that prepositions are compulsory elements and there is no possibility of syntactic variation of the constituent parts within the clause. This means that in (a) and (b), the prepositions *after* and *up* cannot be deleted and that, moreover, they can only occur following the verb, that is in the pattern V + preposition. In contrast, in other examples of MWVs and specifically in PVs, the non-verbal element can display various distributional properties, due to the possibility of occurring in both the pattern V + NP + Prt and V + Prt + NP (§ Ch. 1). However, the possibility of an alternation of different patterns does not contrast the parameter of variation in that there are also many restrictions on the particle position (§ 1.2.1.1).

The general understanding is that grammaticalization operates when a new form is created to replace extant structures and to introduce new categories, but there is also ‘a third possibility’, which is that of the ‘renewal of function’ (Giacalone Ramat 1998: 108), a very important issue in the development of MWVs.

In fact, the problem is that, in the case of adverbial particles or prepositions, they can also be seen as the outcome of the renewal of function consequent on the decategorialization from one class to another. If the emergence of MWVs is linked to the innovative functions which are shown by the non-verbal element, it inevitably follows that MWVs are grammaticalized structures rather than lexicalized forms, in this way solving the debate concerning which process was mostly important in their development. Thus, according to the schema provided by Giacalone Ramat (1998: 108), stages I and II, that is the decategorialization consequent on the renewal of functions and the creation of new categories, can be seen as the types which specifically affected MWVs:

	function	form	type of grammaticalization
I	old	new	Formal renewal (e.g. negation)
II	new	new	Creation of new categories (e.g. Romance auxiliaries)
III	new	old	Exaptation (Lass 1990) ¹⁷

Table 5: Form/function relations in linguistic units (Giacalone Ramat 1998: 108)

From this perspective, particles, for example, can be considered as being involved in I when they first appeared during the Old English period in the transition from a verb system characterized by prefixes to a system with post-verbal particles (Denison 1981; Hiltunen 1983; Brinton 1988). At the same time, in the following stages, the new category of post-verbal particles were involved in the renewal of functions. For example, the free preposition followed by an NP in structures such as [to work [with somebody]], due to the renewal of functions consequent on the decategorialization of its status from a free preposition to a bound preposition, started to display cohesion with the preceding verb and to be used in structures represented as [to work with [somebody]].

This topic has been widely described by Brinton and Traugott (2005) in an important work *Lexicalization and Language Change* which focuses mainly on a discussion of the properties of grammaticalization and lexicalization as well as on the need to create a new integrated model. The reason behind the necessary integration within different processes is that some of the factors that are considered as typically associated with grammaticalization also apply to lexicalization when it is considered in a narrow sense, with the only difference that, in the latter case, the directionality of the change is towards an increase in autonomy of the affected items.

The scenario is complicated by the fact that both grammaticalization and lexicalization display similar syntactic properties and, they are ‘to a certain extent, parallel’ (Lehmann 2002: 1) in that they can involve reanalysis (§ 2.2), a mechanism that, in each case, possesses equivalent but not identical features (Brinton & Akimoto 1999:13). More specifically, in the case of lexicalization it results in a ‘deeper syntactic reinterpretation’ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 13) and in a low productivity (Himmelmann 2004: 28) whereas in the case of grammaticalization, in addition to a change in the cohesion among clausal components, the outcome is closely linked to changes in ‘(i) constituency; (ii) hierarchical structure; (iii) category labels; (iv)

¹⁷ Exaptation is a ‘specific type of refunctionalization’ (Van de Velde & Norde 2016: 8) ‘whereby ‘junk’ morphemes acquire a new function’ (ib.: vii).

grammatical relations and (v) cohesion' (Harris & Campbell 1995: 61; also quoted in Brinton & Traugott 2005: 107).

2.1.2. Lexicalization

The problems that arise with lexicalization are mainly related to the fact that several definitions can be found in the literature. As Brinton & Traugott (2005: Ch.2) emphasise it can be considered as: 1. An ordinary process of word formation; 2. A process of fusion resulting in a decrease in compositionality; 3. A process of separation resulting in an increase in autonomy. These definitions are of course important on both the synchronic (definition 1) and the diachronic level (definitions 2 and 3) and all converge on the definition of lexicalization as 'the process creating lexical items out of syntactic units' (Moreno Cabrera 1998: 214) and, as any adoption of a word into the lexicon of a community and its conventionalization on a social level.

The definition of lexicalization as ordinary word formation is 'probably the least satisfactory' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 33; cf. Norde 2009: 10), because, when it is considered in this sense, lexicalization operates mostly on the synchronic level telling little or nothing about the steps that gave rise to a new construction. On the contrary, where the alternative coinage of lexicalization as fusion is accepted, considerable attention must be paid from a diachronic point of view, because, to some extent, MWVs can be seen as the result of the 'unification, or univerbation' of a syntactic pattern to form one single word (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 48).

In fact, 'lexicalization obtains when a phrase or a syntactically – determined lexical item becomes a fully fledged lexical item in itself' (Moreno Cabrera 1998: 214) through a process of fusion which results in an increase of idiomaticity (Norde 2009: 10, quoting Brinton & Traugott 2005: 32-44).

If, for example, the verb *to move* is taken into account, as in (3), by comparing its simple use with the corresponding use in phrasal verbs, as in (4) and (5), it is clear that the meaning is not the same in all the combinations and, moreover, the sentences in which it occurs are also syntactically different:

- (3) *I went to see for Mr. Cole, and found he was moved. (1750s)*
- (4) *I suspected that this was part of the property; I took it from him, it was a kind of a stand for a watch to move in, a kind of a japan case. (1790s)*
- (5) *I had no particular reason for not going on indeed, we were moving on slowly I did not say. (1830s)*

For *to move in* and *to move on*, it is possible to argue that the syntagmatic structure loses its 'syntactic transparency' and merges into a single lexical item (Wisher 2000: 364, reported in Brinton & Traugott 2005: 48). This is confirmed by the fact that looking up the verb *to move* in a dictionary like the MacMillan Dictionary (MacmillanOnline), the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and the Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English (OxDCiE), it is possible to read the general definition of the

verb *to move* and the other forms, i.e. *to move in* and *to move on*, as placed in different entries:

	Macmillan Online	OED	OxDCiE
To move	To change position	To go from one place, position, state, etc. to another	-----
To move in	To move closer to a person or place	To take up residence with another person; to take possession of a new place of residence;	Move closer to sb or sth Occupy, take possession of, a house etc.
To move on	To leave one place and travel to another	To continue to move; to restart one's journey, advance to another place	Progress Tell sb to move along

Table 6: *to move*, *to move in* and *to move on*

This perspective is clearly in line with Biber et al. (1999: 58-59), that multi-word lexical units can be defined as ‘a sequence of words which functions as a single grammatical unit’ and that is characterized by ‘limited possibilities of substitution.’ These scholars also place emphasis on the fact that a typical example of a lexicalized form is represented by verbs of the kind *to move on* which are characterized by internal cohesion and semantic idiosyncrasy and fixedness. In particular, the non-verbal elements of PVs and prepositional verbs underwent a process of grammaticalization and then, the resulting form was affected by a process of lexicalization as adoption into the lexicon. The constituent parts were affected by a kind of phonologization that provoked the ‘erosion of segments’ (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 54) and the univerbation of the compound. It is, of course, worth noting that this is a case of phonologization, involving the fusion between words to form one phonological word which, in the case of PVs also resulted in the contrastive accent that allows us to distinguish PVs from prepositional verbs.

In fact, when considering the verbs *to call on* and *to switch on*, as represented in (6) and (7) below, it is possible to note that the stress usually falls on the adverbial particle, *to switch ón*. In the case of the prepositional verb *to call on*, however, the stress is placed on the verb preceding the preposition, *càlled on*:

- (6) *He càlled on the dean.*
 (7) *She switched òn the light.*¹⁸

¹⁸ Examples taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1167).

Wherever the position of the stress might be, by analysing these examples, it is clear that both PVs and prepositional verbs are phonologically one single unit despite being composed orthographically of two words. Consequently, the case of MWVs can be considered in line with what has been discussed so far, that is as an example of fusion of phrasal syntagmatic constructions that practically result in the fusion of words into a single lexeme, and, thus, in the ‘unification’ of syntactic phrases to form new lexical items (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 48). In this case, lexicalization as increase of autonomy does not apply to any of the elements of MWVs because both the verb and the particle grammaticalize and reduce their independence. Moreover, the fact that lexicalization goes from syntax to the lexicon entails the interpretation of this process as a ‘lexicotelic’ and as a ‘syntactogenetic’ process (Moreno Cabrera 1998: 218),¹⁹ which is often also affected by idiomatization and an increase in opacity. In this regard, the questions that remain to be addressed are how ‘idiomatization’ should be defined and how to identify the boundaries between this process and other processes involved in the dynamics of language change.

2.1.3. Idiomatization

The connection of lexicalized elements with different degrees of compositionality endows the relation of lexicalization with idiomatization. In fact, idiomatization is even placed among the semantic and pragmatic aspects of lexicalization namely fusion and demotivation and, thus, considered as a synonym for lexicalization (Schmid 2015: 16). At the same time other scholars consider it as an independent process (Brinton & Traugott 2005). Consequently, this means that for those who follow the former perspective, lexicalization is always characterized by a kind of reduction in the semantic compositionality, and it operates modifying the idiomaticity of the structures. On the other hand, those who follow the second approach also claim that this feature is not necessarily present in lexicalized forms which can also possess a compositional meaning. In this view, it is possible to assume that lexicalization and idiomatization are independent processes and that idiomatization can be ‘associated with routinization, which leads to univertation, compacting, obliteration of boundaries, and simplification’ (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 54; Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 13).

As regards MWVs, it is easy to regard their development also in terms of ‘lexical fixing and syntactic ossification’ (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 13) and connected with idiomatization, despite the fact that this does not happen in all cases. It would be otherwise impossible, for example, to explain instances of verbs such as *to come in*, *to look at* that display a high degree of compositionality from a semantic point of view. Instead, idiomatization plays an important role in the development of these verbs since the idiomatic forms can be seen as the result of the increase in idiomaticity and demotivation of the extant literal forms (§ Ch.5).

¹⁹ According to Moreno Cabrera (1998: 218) a ‘lexicotelic’ process goes from syntax to the lexicon, while a ‘syntactogenetic’ process affects all the elements on the syntactic level of analysis.

I will now discuss mechanisms in language change with specific attention to those that were mostly involved in the development of MWVs: reanalysis and analogy.

2.2. Reanalysis and analogy

When studying the diachronic development of MWVs, in addition to the problematic issues related to the possibility of analysing them as the result of lexicalization, grammaticalization and idiomatization, another aspect is discussed among scholars which is, specifically, the definition of mechanisms promoting changes in MWVs. The first point to note is that the existence of specific stances and paths of development are strongly connected with syntactic and morphological mechanisms operating on linguistic items. It is necessary to consider the 'how' of change (Traugott 2011: 20) and explain the ways through which the main mechanisms in language change, reanalysis and analogy, operated in both grammaticalization and lexicalization processes also specifically in the case of MWVs.

'Analogy and reanalysis are seen as the main mechanisms in morphosyntactic change, and, despite the fact that there is no general agreement on which mechanism is primary in grammaticalization' (Norde 2009: 233), in the majority of the cases, one precedes the other. Specifically:

'Reanalysis is the most important mechanism for grammaticalization, as for all change, because it is a prerequisite for the implementation of the change through analogy' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39).

As for reanalysis, the syntactic and semantic properties of forms are modified and these modifications comprise changes in structure and in interpretation, such as syntactic rebracketing and meaning extension, but not, at first, change in form. Analogy, instead, modifies surface manifestations and in itself, it does not affect rule change, 'although it does effect rule spread either within the linguistic system itself or within the community' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39). In this regard, it is possible to note that MWVs, when considered as composed of more than one word, can be seen as an example of grammaticalization that works on a clausal level *via* reanalysis and spread through analogy. In fact, reanalysis plays an important role in their emergence and represents the 'hidden hand' behind the renewal of the function of the non-verbal elements.

A mechanism at work in these cases is decategorialization, a 'defining characteristic of grammaticalization' and part of the 'much larger mechanism of change known as "reanalysis"' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 107). The fact that generally decategorialization encompasses 'change in constituency, change in hierarchical structure, and change in category labels' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 107) enhances the relationship between grammaticalization and reanalysis that, strictly considered, is a mechanism which 'involves changes in constituency (rebracketing of elements in certain constructions), and reassignment of morphemes to different semantic-syntactic category labels' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 51). In some cases, this strong

connection has given rise to positions among scholars that even consider grammaticalization as a ‘subtype of reanalysis (i.e. an epiphenomenon of it)’ (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 34), or consider them closely related so that it is even possible to see grammaticalization as ‘always’ the result of reanalysis.²⁰ However, the acceptance of these assumptions entails that grammaticalization has no power without reanalysis and that it only operates as ‘a random walk through space defined by the set of possible parameter values’ (Roberts 1993: 252; Quoted in Brinton & Traugott 2005: 70).

In the present work, following Brinton & Traugott (2005), the basic assumption is that reanalysis is part of grammaticalization. More specifically, there are two subtypes of reanalysis:

(a) ‘resegmentation’, i.e. boundary loss, boundary creation, and boundary shift, and (b) ‘syntactic/semantic reformulation’ (Langacker 1977: 64, as quoted in Traugott 2011: 21).

As emphasised at the beginning of this paragraph, another mechanism can be involved in the development of new structures: analogy. It ‘refers to the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions’ (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 63-64) and, unlike reanalysis, operates along the paradigmatic axis and ‘on the two dimensions of similarity (paradigmatic) and indexicality (syntagmatic)’ (Traugott 2011: 25). In fact, instances are also frequently found that show a strict interaction between reanalysis and analogy, with the former associated with innovation and the latter able to spread innovation ‘across the linguistic system’ (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 69).

Analogy is a mechanism that, in the majority of cases, precedes reanalysis in the grammaticalization process causing analogical extension or, on the contrary, it follows reanalysis promoting the spread of linguistic features through analogical generalization. The fact is that ‘most changes involve extant (sub)systems, and what we most often see is an intertwining of reanalysis and analogy’ (Traugott 2011: 24), the latter being either a ‘reduction of stem allomorphs’ (from a morphological point of view) or ‘extension and generalization’ (Traugott 2011: 25; cf. Bybee 2003: 605) *via* direct formation.

Analogy, in this sense, also operated in the development of MWVs, not only in the spread of innovative functions but also in the increase in idiomaticity due to a metaphorical shift. In fact, it is possible to consider that meaning change is ‘analogical in nature’ and that it interacts with grammaticalization through metaphorizations (Traugott 2011: 28). Metaphors, in fact, are ‘the major semantic factor in grammaticalization’ together with ‘non-analogical metonymic, contextually derived changes’ (ib.: 28)²¹ as in the case of lexicalized forms.

On the other hand, when considering lexicalization, analogy occurs through the semantic-pragmatic extension (Traugott 2003: 633) that allows the new forms to spread to new contexts and to undergo institutionalization. In the case of MWVs, analogical thinking plays an important role, in that, in all likelihood, after morphosyntactic change

²⁰ In more formal approaches to syntax, grammaticalization ‘may be reduced to reanalysis’ (Roberts 2007: 142)

²¹ Metonymy and metaphor are different phenomena: ‘in metonymy an entity *stands for* another, whereas in metaphor an entity is *viewed as* another’ (Dan 1988: 177).

each new item can be involved in a new semantic path. This especially happens through the pragmatic extension of meaning and the metonymic development of new connotative properties.

Chapter 3

The Late Modern English Period and the Problem of 'Spoken Data'

Much current work in historical linguistics is now based on corpora containing texts taken from earlier periods of English, corpora that permit a more systematic study of the evolution of English and that enable historical linguists to investigate issues that have currency in Modern linguistics... (Meyer 2004: 11)

3.0. Introduction

Before presenting the research objectives and the methodology in detail (§ Ch.4), it is necessary to give further consideration to the Late Modern period and the difficulty in getting access to material containing spoken data from past ages. Firstly, it is of great importance to elucidate the research background, dating back to the beginning of the Late Modern period because it is an era that, due to its 'deceptive similarity' to PDE (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 9), remains as yet unexplored and, thus, it invites 'rather than precludes further research' (ib.: 2).

The greatest problem is defining the starting point of this period, and this represents a significant theme which is still the subject of ongoing debate in the literature. Some scholars (Culpeper 2005; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009) state that the Modern English period can be subdivided into Early Modern English (EME) that spans from 1500 to 1750, and Late Modern English (LModE) for the remaining years until the beginning of the 20th century. Others (Hickey 2010; Van Gelderen 2006; Nevalainen 2006), instead, usually place the first half of the 18th century in the LMod period. From this perspective, the Late Modern English period (which is of interest in the present research) starts in 1700, despite the fact that in the English tradition it is also possible to place its onset even before this date, and specifically, in connection with two important works: John Dryden's *Of Dramatic Poesy* and Abraham Cowley's *Several Discourses by Way of*

Essays: In Verse and Prose (Traugott 1972: 162), i.e. in the middle of the 17th century. By contrast, according to Culpeper (2005), the beginning of the Late Modern English period is attested to be in the 1750s, a view which has also been adopted in the present dissertation.²²

Secondly, the need for reliable materials from past ages is the most challenging problem in undertaking a diachronic study because the ‘scarcity of appropriate data’ (Archer 2009: 10) has supported the misleading assumption that spoken language cannot be studied. In fact, as is widely recognized by scholars, ‘the biggest problems here are the absence of phonetic records and the chance of survival of the historical documents’ (Fischer 2007: 13). As a result, the majority of diachronic studies are based on speech-based genres, namely genres ‘consisting of speech recorded in writing, and intended to represent speech’ (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 3), and thus on data reproducing in some ways the spoken dimension. More specifically, the speech-based genre includes many kinds of text types, such as personal correspondence, plays, comedies, etc. (Culpeper & Kytö 2010) together with trials and depositions, which are considered the text types that mostly ‘resemble’ spontaneous speech.

This chapter will provide information on the Late Modern English period and discuss the value of speech-based genres in language studies. Moreover, particular attention will be given to trials and depositions as sources of ‘spoken data’ from the past.

3.1. Background: the Late Modern English period

The Late Modern English period represents an age of great interest from a historical perspective, in that this is an era that was characterized by a number of significant changes such as the widespread use of the printing press, the compulsory access to education also for women, the establishment of new ways of communication (mainly letters), an increase in the literacy rate and the reorganisation of society as a whole.

The LMod age ‘was a dynamic period in all respects, even linguistically’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 10) since it can be considered an ‘essential link’ (Aarts, López Couso & Méndez Naya 2011) between the syntactic innovations of Early Modern English and the system of PDE. This is, in fact, the period in which scholars attest to what is known as ‘the age of prescriptivism’ (Hickey 2010: xvii; cf. Watts 2000; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009; Beal 2010) and, moreover, the general concern is that the final stage of the standardisation process which started in the 15th century ended in these years.

²² The reason why the dividing line between EME and LModE is specifically placed in this decade is that in these years there was the culmination of the standardization process (Nevalainen 2006: 7-9). Moreover, it was in 1755 that the publication of Dr. Johnson’s Dictionary is attested, together with many normative grammars such as William Cobbet’s Grammar (1762-1835) and Lowth’s *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762), a fact that demonstrates a renewal of interest in language and the growing tendency to understand linguistic structures.

Prescriptivism is the term which is used by historians to refer to the process leading to the codification of the language, the reduction of variation and to the developing awareness of language as a system and to the tendency to define correctness in language use (Algeo 2010 [2005]: 158-160; cf. Milroy 2001: 535). This means that there was a growing need to ‘fix’ the language during the 19th century. Furthermore, variants started not to be tolerated and consequently, it was perceived as necessary to ensure only one of these and suppress the others. In particular, prescriptivism imposed a ‘model of correct use of language use’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 77) in general and aimed to ‘correct and ascertain’ the grammatical system.²³

The general assumption is that ‘the major shift in English grammatical structures was over by the time of the Renaissance’ (Crystal 2010: 70) but, at the same time, it is also recognized that, despite not being as numerous as in the previous stages, there were important changes in language (Hundt 2014: 5-9). Thus, LModE period ‘was far from fixed’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 77), and the language continued to change at the level of usage, despite it being well codified and fixed in grammars. For example, some of the most relevant changes which are attested in the LModE period include the decline of *be* as a perfect auxiliary (Anderwald 2014: 13-37), divergent developments of semi-auxiliaries (Mair 2014: 56-76) and also changes in the use of the subjective in adverbial clauses as well as in the proportion of inflectional and periphrastic forms in adjective comparison (Kytö & Romaine 2006: 194-214). This means that the Late Modern period has been erroneously excluded ‘*a priori* from syntactic examination’ (Rydén 1998: 223), a fact which is particularly significant when considering that the ‘knowledge of the immediate past is often crucial for our understanding of the language of the present day’ (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 1).

It is possible to assume that the LModE period shows a ‘tension between stability and change’ (ib.: 9), and given that research should cover both sides of the coin, the study of ‘state and development’ (ib.: 9) is a demanding requirement. In this regard, it is worth noting that the duties of a historical linguist are essentially twofold:

(1) to find out the ‘actual’ uses of language in past times and (2) to account for language stability and language change, i.e. continuity and discontinuity in language development, including for instance typology and directionality of change (Rydén 1998: 221).

This means that stability and change, far from being contrasting elements, are in close connection. In fact, language is characterized by static as well as dynamic features (Renouf 2002: 28), and while some obsolete structures are erased, others arise becoming frequently used in place of the previous ones, or they simply become established. This, as a consequence, indicates the importance of determining whether a language changes, in which way and if it does not happen, explaining the consolidation of structures and finding out mechanisms and motivations beyond this stability. In this

²³ This age is often identified with the so-called ‘ascertainment’ (Finegan 1998: 540-541) and with the interest in purifying language.

view, the analysis of ongoing changes in language use is as relevant as the study of processes of stabilization.

The above underlines the necessity of undertaking research into the syntactic and semantic changes which occurred during this period, firstly in the use of periphrastic forms like those represented by MWVs, which can be seen as a topic of great interest not only for studies on the grammatical system in a narrow sense but also for other linguistic fields, from morphology to prosodic analysis and so on.

In addition, when a diachronic study is being conducted, the limited number of sources must also be taken into account and this includes the availability of data which could be suitable for linguistic studies, especially when the spoken dimension from the past is involved.

The next section is an attempt to discuss these problematic issues and to clarify the nature of speech-based genres and their possible contribution to the study of spoken language.

3.2. Representing face-to-face interaction: speech-based genres

From a linguistic perspective, speech-based genres (such as trials, depositions, drama, comedies) are increasingly catching the attention of the whole scientific community (Culpeper & Kytö 2010) since they are the most important source of speech data ‘permanently preserved in writing’ (Biber & Finegan 1992: 689). However, the question that arises is the extent to which these materials would be useful for the study of spontaneous language, considering that they could only presumably reflect what spoken language at a particular moment in time was like (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 2) in that they suffer from a kind of ‘indirectness’ (Fischer 2007: 43).

It is generally accepted that they are ‘editing’ in different ways and thus, inevitably ‘one step removed from the original’ (Fischer 2007: 43). In particular, what linguists have access to is not the spoken data in the form of transcription but the manuscripts that report what was said at a specific moment in time and recorded by hand. This means that they are not the recordings of the speech event, rather the scripts that are realized afterwards which are to a certain extent distant from the original data. In addition, a second source of indirectness is that concerning the spelling conventions (Fischer 2007: 43) which can be easily misinterpreted nowadays. However, even when these materials cannot be considered as ‘an exact copy of the ‘spoken’ original, given the absence not only of audio recording technology but also of adequate transcription methods’ (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 78), they represent an important source of data. In fact, only these kinds of texts could be used for linguistic purposes, despite the fact that they are spoken in a particular way, i.e. through literary means. In particular, witness depositions and trials can be seen as an invaluable store of ‘real’ language even though some features have probably been taken away.

An additional issue in the analysis of speech-based genres concerns the identification of their status when compared with traditional spoken and written genres. Speech-based genre, in fact, bears similarities with the written form, due to the fact that it is

characterized by the same medium of communication but, at the same time, it can be assimilated into the spoken genre since it is not preplanned. In this sense, it is possible to consider it as written formally but structurally spoken, an assumption which seems to be confirmed by the contents and the linguistic functional features that it possesses.

On these bases, it can be placed in the middle between the well attested types in terms of linguistic features (Koch 1999; quoted in Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 10-12) and it should be treated as a third ‘independent genre’ that displays properties which do not characterize the other two genres:

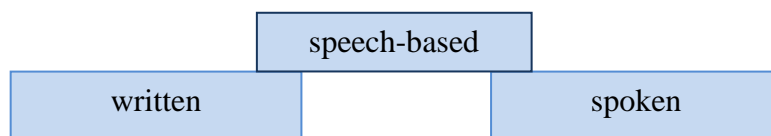


Figure 2: Speech-based genre and other traditional genres

In this view, if we consider, for example, some text types which are entailed in the speech-based genre, i.e. trials and depositions, many references to place and time (*yesterday, here, there*) indicate that the participants share the same context, a ‘context-dependent narrative mode’ (Heffer 2005: 35) which does not occur in the written genre. At the same time, all these considerations do not suggest that speech-based genre is to be assimilated into the properly spoken genre, because what distinguishes the former is that, even if it displays similar linguistic features, i.e. interactiveness, shared setting and readily identifiable participants, it does not possess ‘loudness, pitch and length’ (Biber & Conrad 2009: 86), which are typical of properly spoken conversation.

Table 7 shows some features of the speech-based genre and compares it with spoken and written genres.²⁴

	Participants	Relations among participants	Channel	Setting	Communicative purposes	Topics
Spoken genre	Readily identifiable	Interactiveness	Speech	Shared	Variable	Variable
Speech-based genre	Readily identifiable	Interactiveness	Written	Shared	Variable	Variable
Written genre	Not always identifiable	Low rate of interactiveness	Written	Not shared	Variable	Variable

Table 7: Speech-based genre as a third framework

²⁴ We consider here the situational characteristics of genres which were analysed by Biber & Conrad (2009: 40).

An important work on this topic, which also confirms what has been discussed so far, is Culpeper and Kytö's (2010) *Early Modern English Dialogues. Spoken interaction as writing* where they provide a detailed discussion on speech-based genres. Specifically, they do not use the term 'speech-based' but instead, they prefer using the more general label 'speech-related' to indicate the various subgenres within this category. In particular, these scholars distinguish three different categories each containing different text types (ib.: 14-19):

- Speech-like, e.g. personal correspondence
- Speech-based, e.g. trial proceedings
- Speech-purposed, e.g. plays

The leading criterion that differentiates each of these is that they possess a different degree of interactiveness. In this perspective, the texts belonging to the second group, i.e. speech-based texts²⁵ can be considered as the closest to the spoken interaction because they are 'based on an actual 'real-life speech event' (Culpeper and Kytö 2010: 17) whereas in the other cases, they possess features that place them at a distance from the properly spoken dimension despite being 'oral' in origin. As a consequence, speech-based texts would seem to be admirably suited to diachronic studies in the fields of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, and so forth.

On these assumptions, it follows that trial proceedings and depositions are 'the more promising [text types] (...) for the identification of LModE speech' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 132), due to their ability to represent what was said in the official context of the courtroom. The fact that they are the result of a refinement made by reporters during the act of transcription does not totally affect the reliability of their contents. In fact, 'the qualitative limitations' that transcribed data in general possess are not an obstacle to the study of verbal communication and thus, to the analysis of the features that quantitative findings can reveal (Heffer 2005: 58).

3.2.1. Trials and witness depositions as sources of spoken language

Trials and witness depositions represent the speech-based texts that are closely connected to spoken language, despite not being recordings in the modern sense of the word (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 49-53). They belong to the legal-lay discourse genre (Heffer 2005), that is the verbal communication between professionals and lay, which is characterized by specific situational variables: the setting of courtroom, speakers and audience.

²⁵ Speech-based genre consists of many kinds of texts: plays, trial proceedings, sermons, parliamentary records, etc.

From a linguistic perspective, trials are in ‘dialogue format generally in the form of questions and answers’ (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 49) and also contain information about conventions and habits within the legal sphere.²⁶

In past ages, as attested in the history of law, there was an inquisitorial system where defendants were considered guilty and were given the possibility to prove their innocence by themselves and with the intervention of a lawyer only from the mid-eighteenth century onwards (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 49-53). Noteworthy in the reform of the legal system is, of course, the Great Reform Act of 1836 which gave a more obvious role to lawyers and to defendants than in the previous era. Moreover, an important role was given to judges and court officials, not only in terms of final decisions but also in participation in the whole trial due to the fact that they could ‘ask questions from the defendant and the witnesses, either directly or then relayed via other court officials’ (ib.: 53). For example, from 1848 onwards, judges have not been allowed to interrogate the accused, whereas they could cross-examine the witnesses and there is clear evidence for this change in the structure of the trial itself (Culpeper & Kytö 2010: 49-53).

Linguistically, trials are considered to be marked by a kind of communication that is particularly intricate, not only due to the high number of participant roles during question and answer sessions (Heffer 2005: 47-50) but also because they are characterized by the strategic tension between the ‘production of the case’ and ‘the reconstruction of the crime’ (ib.: 65).

Witness depositions, instead, are in the form of monologues or sometimes dialogues, and they are defined as ‘an eye-witness account that was given orally, usually prior to a criminal, civil, or ecclesiastical trial, and recorded in writing by a scribe’ (Kytö, Walker & Grund 2007a: 66), before 1750 especially in the third person.

They also contain direct speech, a feature that mostly explains its importance for linguistic purposes. In fact, according to Kytö, Walker & Grund (2007b):

‘depositions are of particular interest to historical linguists because they give a hint of what the spoken interaction of the day might have been like, in different regions of England.’

Depositions can include frequent reference to time, place of the speech event and, from a linguistic perspective, they possess a relative low intervention of the person who transcribed them. An important source of this kind of materials which has been recently made available online is the Proceedings of the Old Bailey (<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org>) which represent an invaluable source of speech-based texts and legal-lay discourse subgenre dating back to the Late Modern era that has not been the subject of much in the way of academic study.²⁷

²⁶ Important works on this topic include: Rabin, D. (2004) *Identity, Crime, and legal Responsibility in eighteenth-century England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan; King, P. (2000) *Crime, Justice and discretion in England 1740-1820*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

²⁷ Many works focus on the Proceedings of the Old Bailey, but, in the majority of the cases, they do not discuss language change (<https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Publications.jsp>).

The following chapter will provide information on the Late Modern English-Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC) (1750-1850), the corpus used in the present research, its architecture and compilation process and it will discuss its source data, the Proceedings of the Old Bailey.

PART II

Data Analysis

Chapter 4

Research Design

... if the change is attested, we can see that a number of independent micro-changes have resulted in a single macro-change (Harris & Campbell 1995: 52)

4.0. Introduction

Research has revealed considerable variation both synchronically (Biber et al. 1999; Quirk et al. 1985) and diachronically (Thim 2012; Elenbaas 2007; Claridge 2000), but a few works have been carried out on the frequency and use of MWVs in the LMod period, and especially if the spoken dimension of language is taken into account. Thus, it is a demanding necessity to fill this gap in the literature and make a substantial contribution to a topic that has been rather neglected within the scientific community due to the limited amount of data available in the period predating the invention of audio recordings.

The following paragraphs will be devoted to the description of the current study providing details about the Late Modern English-Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC) and its compilation process.

4.1. The LModE-Old Bailey Corpus: an overview

The corpus used to carry out the present study is the Late Modern Spoken English-Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC), a corpus which consists of a selection of Late Modern English texts written in the period 1750-1850, retrieved in electronic form from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey (www.oldbaileyonline.org)²⁸ – a collection of texts containing transcriptions of over 100,000 trials published from 1674 onwards, amounting to 52 million words for the whole collection. They are the official records of the Old Bailey, London's central Criminal Court,²⁹ since 1778 when the City of London

²⁸ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey are the source data of another important corpus, the Old Bailey corpus (<http://www1.uni-giessen.de/oldbaileycorpus>) covering the period from 1834 to 1913 and compiled by the University of Giessen (Huber 2007; Huber, et al. 2012).

²⁹ The Old Bailey is also known as Justice Hall, the Sessions House and the Central Criminal Court.

decided to pay the publishers to guarantee continuity in the publication (Huber 2007). Moreover, the Proceedings represent an important source for crimes which were committed in London and Middlesex³⁰ and, in general, the *Old Bailey Session Papers*³¹ are considered ‘the best accounts we shall ever have of what transpired in ordinary English criminal courts before the later eighteenth century’ (Langbein 1978: 271, also quoted in Archer 2005: 14). In fact, the Proceedings began officially verbatim transcripts of trials and increased in length and accuracy (Emsley, Hitchcock & Shoemaker 2014).



Figure 3: The Old Bailey, London Central Criminal Court

The transcription of the Proceedings is part of a project launched in March 2003 and completed in July 2005, which was carried out by the Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, and the Higher Education Digitalization Service, University of Hertfordshire, directed by Robert Shoemaker and Tim Hitchcock. Despite not being created for the needs of linguists, the Proceedings can provide valuable information on language change in the 18th and 19th century and thus, they were chosen as the source data compiled in the corpus used in the present dissertation, the Late Modern English-Old Bailey Corpus (LModE-OBC).

The project to create the LModE-OBC corpus started in July 2012, and it was preceded by several studies on the subject and a careful plan (Meyer 2004: Ch. 2). In fact, considering that a corpus ‘is not simply a collection of texts’ (Biber et al. 1998: 246), the phase of planning and text collection is a very important point in language studies.

The main steps in the design and compilation were the following:

1. Definition of sampling criteria
2. Text acquisition
3. Annotation

³⁰ The Old Bailey court covered two legal jurisdictions: the City of London and County of Middlesex (<http://www.oldbaileyonline.org>).

³¹ The Proceedings of the Old Bailey are also known as *Old Bailey Session Papers* (Shoemaker 2008: 559).

The samples taken from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey were collected giving priority to the court records in the form of direct speech dated from 1750 to 1850, whereas the educational level and age of speakers were not taken into consideration. The reason why this time span has been specifically selected lies, first of all, in the availability of texts in the form of direct speech that are particularly frequent from 1750 onwards, but also in the increasing level of detail which has been provided for each trial since that date.

The main criteria used to select the data were that the texts should:

1. Be in the form of monologue or dialogue;³²
2. Contain only direct speech;³³
3. Represent the language in the period from 1750-1850

The texts were randomly selected with a maximum length of 10,000 tokens and saved in a Word document. Then, these documents were converted into the txt format in order to make them readable to linguistic tools and cleaned of any kind of extra linguistic information, such as reference numbers and web links. Moreover, all the typographical inaccuracies contained in the texts were manually corrected.

Figure 4 shows an extract taken from the LModE-OBC (file 1760 Jan 16) before the clean-up process:

Extract 1 - (file 1760 Jan 16)

Reference Number: t17600116-7

49. (M) William Saunders was indicted for stealing twenty deal scaffolding boards, value 20 s. and one piece of oak timber, value 20 s. the property of Joseph Clark. Jan. 4. *

John Abbot. I was commission'd by Mr. Joseph Clark to sell the materials on that spot, where were many scaffolding boards; the prisoner at the bar came there with a cord, to measure the lengths of some pieces, pretending to purchase, but did not buy any. I never saw him but that time, till he was taken up.

Q. How came you to take him up?

Abbot. There is a witness here to be examined, who cohabited with the prisoner, and came and told me there were some boards, our property, on his premisses. I went and found, as she had said, a piece of timber and some boards.

Q. When did you miss the boards?

Abbot. We had missed timber and boards for half a year past.

³² The term 'dialogue' is used in the sense of written texts that replace historical speech data. It includes public dialogues as court records.

³³ Some texts included in the Proceedings of the Old Bailey are characterized by the use of the third person instead of the first one, and this seems to be particularly frequent in the years predating the 1750s. For this reason, the texts were selected by excluding all the texts which do not contain direct speech.

Q. Where did the prisoner live?

Abbot. In Little Gilbert Street, Bloomsbury, they were in a vault in his house; this was on the 4th of January last.

Q. Are you certain they were Mr. Joseph Clark 's property?

Abbot. I am; here is a piece of board [producing a piece about sixteen inches long] that has Mr. Clark's brand mark on it. The constable took the prisoner that evening, and carried him before justice

[See original](#)



Welch, where the evidence made affidavit, that he had taken twenty three of our boards, and cut them into short pieces, some of which were burning on the fire when we went into the house. Upon our charging the prisoner with taking them, he acknowledged he was guilty, and beg'd for mercy. We lost several other boards, not laid in the indictment.

Figure 4: 1760 Jan 16. An extract taken from the LModE-OBC corpus before the 'clean-up process'. The elements that have been crossed out during the preparation of the final version of each text are shown in green.

In the text sample represented in Figure 4, I have coloured in green the elements that have been deleted during the preparation of the final version of each text: 1. The reference number (in this case *t17600116-7*); 2. The title of each text (i.e. *49.(M)*); 3. The hyper textual link *See original* (that is used to look at the original manuscript); 4. Each element (e.g. an asterisk) that makes reference to other information which is not relevant for the analysis.

The following extract (Extract 2), depicted in Figure 5, shows the final result of the process of 'clean-up' and represents the searchable text file:

Extract 2

William Saunders was indicted for stealing twenty deal scaffolding boards, value 20 s. and one piece of oak timber, value 20 s. the property of Joseph Clark. Jan. 4.

John Abbot. I was commission'd by Mr. Joseph Clark to sell the materials on that spot, where were many scaffolding boards; the prisoner at the bar came there with a cord, to measure the lengths of some pieces, pretending to purchase, but did not buy any. I never saw him but that time, till he was taken up.

Q. How came you to take him up?

Abbot. There is a witness here to be examined, who cohabited with the prisoner, and came and told me there were some boards, our property, on his premisses. I went and found, as she had said, a piece of timber and some boards.

Q. When did you miss the boards?

Abbot. We had missed timber and boards for half a year past.

Q. Where did the prisoner live?

Abbot. In Little Gilbert Street, Bloomsbury, they were in a vault in his house; this was on the 4th of January last.

Q. Are you certain they were Mr. Joseph Clark 's property?

Abbot. I am; here is a piece of board [producing a piece about sixteen inches long] that has Mr. Clark's brand mark on it. The constable took the prisoner that evening, and carried him before justice

Welch, where the evidence made affidavit, that he had taken twenty three of our boards, and cut them into short pieces, some of which were burning on the fire when we went into the house. Upon our charging the prisoner with taking them, he acknowledged he was guilty, and beg'd for mercy. We lost several other boards, not laid in the indictment.

Figure 5: 1760 Jan 16. A text after the process of 'clean-up'

4.1.1. Annotating the LModE-OBC (1750-1850)

After compilation, the LModE-OBC corpus was automatically parsed using the VISL (Visual Interactive Syntax Learning) interface,³⁴ a project developed at the Southern Denmark University covering 14 different languages (Bick 2001).

More specifically, VISL is an interface that is based on the Constraint Grammar (CG) methodology (Karlsson 1995) which contains many linguistic tools, such as parsing and POS tagging. Its central principle is that it is focused on 'surface structure (expressed as either dependency relations or syntactic tree structures) and the form-function dichotomy' (Bick 2001: 2). The parser adds a tag with upper case letters for each word token followed by 'the @-symbol to introduce function tags, and arrow heads (>,<) for head oriented dependency markers' (Bick 2001: 2). In addition, VISL provides lemmatization, inflection and shows the dependency links within a sentence.

The example below illustrates an annotated sample text taken from the LModE-OBC. Figure 6 represents the sample text which was reported in the search engine as an input for POS tagging, whereas Figure 7 shows the output in the vertical layout which is provided by VISL.

³⁴ Available at <http://www.beta.visl.sdu.dk/>

Sample 1: Untagged sample text

On the 11th of last month, between six and seven in the evening, as I was in Stepney-fields , two men came up to me, and demanded my money. I said, I had only two pence half-penny, and was a poor working man.

Figure 6: Untagged sample text taken from the LModE-OBC (1770s)

Sample 2: Tagged sample text

1. **On** [on] **PRP** @ADVL> #1->21
2. **the** [the] **ART S/P** @>N #2->3
3. **11th** [11th] **NUM** @P< #3->1
4. **of** [of] **PRP** @N< #4->3
5. **last** [last] **ADJ POS** @>N #5->6
6. **month** [month] **N S NOM** @P< #6->4
7. **,** [,] **PU** @PU #7->0
8. **between six and seven** [between=six=and=seven] **ADV** @ADVL>
[between=six=and=seven] **NUM P** @P< #8->21
9. **in** [in] **PRP** @ADVL> #9->21
10. **the** [the] **ART S/P** @>N #10->11
11. **evening** [evening] **N S NOM** @P< #11->9
12. **,** [,] **PU** @PU #12->0
13. **as** [as] **KS** @SUB #13->15
14. **I** [I] **PERS 1S NOM** @SUBJ> #14->15
15. **was** [be] <mv> **V IMPF 1/3S** @FS-ADVL> #15->21
16. **in** [in] **PRP** @<SA #16->15
17. **Stepney-fields** [Stepney-field] **N P NOM** @P< #17->16
18. **,** [,] **PU** @PU #18->0
19. **two** [two] **NUM P** @>N #19->20
20. **men** [man] **N P NOM** @SUBJ> #20->21
21. **came** [come] <mv> **V IMPF** @FS-STA #21->0
22. **up to** [up=to] **PRP** @<ADVL #22->21
23. **me** [I] **PERS 1S ACC** @P< #23->22
24. **,** [,] **PU** @PU #24->0
25. **and** [and] **KC** @CO #25->21
26. **demanded** [demand] <mv> **V IMPF** @FS-STA #26->21
27. **my** [I] **PERS 1S GEN** @>N #27->28
28. **money** [money] **N S NOM** @<ACC #28->26
29. **.** [.] **PU** @PU #29->0
30. </s>
31. **I** [I] **PERS 1S NOM** @SUBJ> #1->2
32. **said** [say] <mv> **V IMPF** @FS-STA #2->0
33. **,** [,] **PU** @PU #3->0
34. **I** [I] **PERS 1S NOM** @SUBJ> #4->5


```

35. had [have] <mv> V IMPF @FS-STA #5->2
36. only [only] ADV @>N #6->9
37. two [two] NUM P @>N #7->9
38. pence [pence] N S NOM @>N #8->9
39. half-penny [half-penny] N S NOM @<ACC [half-penny] N S NOM @<ACC
#9->5
40. , [,] PU @PU #10->0
41. and [and] KC @CO #11->2
42. was [be] <mv> V IMPF 1/3S @FS-STA #12->2
43. a [a] ART S @>N #13->16
44. poor [poor] ADJ POS @>N #14->16
45. working [working] ADJ POS @>N #15->16
46. man [man] N S NOM @<SC #16->12
47. . [,] PU @PU #17->0
48. </s>

```

Figure 7: Tagged sample text taken from the LModE-OBC (1770s)

Figure 7 shows a tag and other linguistic information added to each token. In particular, each word, typed in red, is followed by square brackets containing the base form (type) whereas tags in blue and green are the tags which indicate the POS and the function of the preceding word respectively. As an example, the word ‘on’ (Figure 7, line 1) can be analysed as follows:

On	→	token
[on]	→	type
PRP	→	part of speech = preposition
@ADVL	→	‘on’ behaves syntactically as the head of a PP with adverbial function

Each token possesses different tags and functions. For example, verbs are appended with tags indicating tense whereas pronouns are enriched with specifications on their class and person. In the case of the pronoun ‘I’, it is labelled with PERS indicating that it is a PERSONAL pronoun, followed by 1S NOM because it is a first person pronoun.

This kind of information is of great importance in linguistic analysis because it disambiguates similar tokens and selects specific grammatical features during the process of data retrieval.

4.1.2. Architecture and size

The LModE-OBC is a monolingual diachronic corpus; the domain is public and the selected texts belong to the legal genre, specifically the ‘legal-lay discourse’ subgenre (Williams 2013: 353; cf. Heffer 2005). All the selected texts are in the form of dialogue and date back to the years 1750-1850. The following Table shows the general characteristics of the LModE-OBC (1750-1850).

MONOLINGUAL - ENGLISH
DIACHRONIC- 1750-1850
TEXT TYPES - DIALOGUES
DOMAIN- PUBLIC
TRIALS (from the PROCEEDINGS OF THE OLD BAILEY)

Table 8: General characteristics of the LModE-OBC corpus

As shown in Table 9 below, the corpus used in this survey consists of five subcorpora of 200,000 words, each covering a different twenty-year period and the whole corpus amounts to a total of about 1,008,000 words. Table 9 represents the LModE-OBC architecture:

Subc-1	1750-1759 1760-1769	200,000 tokens per subcorpus	1,008,234 tokens
Subc-2	1770-1779 1780-1789		
Subc-3	1790-1799 1800-1809		
Subc-4	1810-1819 1820-1829		
Subc-5	1830-1839 1940-1849		

Table 9: The LModE-OBC corpus architecture

The reason for the inclusion of twenty years in each subcorpus lies in the fact that to conduct a fine-grained analysis of MWVs in the century under study, it is necessary to select short periods and compare them on a longer term basis. A more extended period for each subcorpus would have hidden the exact moment of change.

In addition to the main corpus, the LModE-OBC, other texts dating back to the 18th century were selected for comparative analysis. Specifically, the whole section of legal texts contained in the ARCHER corpus was taken into account.³⁵ All the texts belonging to the years 1750-1850 were selected to obtain spoken data within the legal sphere.

As for the reference to PDE, the materials which were used belong to the Phrases in English interface (PIE),³⁶ which allows searching through a selection of spoken legal

³⁵ ARCHER is a multi-genre corpus of British and American English covering the period 1600-1999, first constructed by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in the 1990s. It comprises many genres such as sermons, legal texts, drama, letters, diaries, etc. (Yáñez-Bouza 2011). It is available at: <http://www.alc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lcl/research/projects/archer/>

³⁶Phrases in English (PIE) is an interactive database which is available at <http://www.phrasesinenglish.org/>

presentations and debates included in the British National Corpus (BNC) and, in addition, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED).³⁷

4.1.3. Further considerations

All the texts which are contained in the LModE-OBC share some characteristics namely medium, field, genre and length but, at the same time, they possess variable features which are clearly determined by speakers' sociolinguistic background. Moreover, they are different in terms of content, crime, verdict and, of course, time of speaking.

As can be observed in the text represented in Figure 8 below, each text begins with a reference number (the same as the one used in the Proceedings available online), a short statement about the crime (in bold in the extract below), which may include age or profession, or other elements which are considered relevant for the jury.³⁸ Sometimes the scribe's intervention (in bold in the middle of the extract below) clarifies statements and adds information or simply detail on what was said or done in court.

Reference Number: t17500530-6

374. John Davis, was indicted for stealing one gold watch with a shagreen case, one diamond ring, a cornelian seal, one purse and ten guineas in gold, the goods of William Kirk , in the dwelling house of the said Kirk , May 7.

William Kirk . I live in Lillypot-lane, Aldersgate without. I am a shagreen case maker , the Prisoner is my apprentice , he has been bound, come August next, two years. He is seventeen years of age. I was in the country when this was done, a neighbour came on horseback, and told me of it. I came home directly, there I found my chamber door, which before was double lock'd, broke open; also a buroe, and a little till within it, were both broke open. I missed a 20 l. bank note out of the till, he cannot read, he denies ever taking it. Out of the chest of drawers, which I believe was not lock'd, I miss'd the gold watch. I found a little cupboard in the same room broke open. My wife came home and found a lock broke of a cupboard, where she miss'd ten guineas, this was in the room by the buroe. I took him with the things upon him, and he own'd every thing last Friday.

[Martha, wife to the prosecutor, who was out of town with him at that time, confirm'd the above account.]

Mary Asgue . I thought the prisoner went to bed on Sunday, the 6th of May, at past ten o'clock. In the morning, about six o'clock, when the man rung the bell, I went to let him in, I had like to have fallen down over an iron bar, where also lay a screw-driver. I saw my master's chamber door broke open that I had the key of, there were

³⁷ <http://www.oed.com/>

³⁸ The original version does not contain any underlined words.

two keys lay at the door when my master came home, he saw the buroe broke open.
The rest as the prosecutor had said.

Figure 8: An extract taken from the LModE-OBC corpus. The text belongs to the 1750s

As for its linguistic features, all the texts are in the form of direct speech, also sometimes containing instances of *embedded* direct speech of other people, as in examples (1) and (2) below:

- (1) *I asked the prisoner where he got the note from - he said, "It is mine" - I repeated the question, telling him to be cautious what he said, and he repeated, "It is mine."*
- (2) *He then said, "I found it in the hall of your house," alluding to Clapton - I then scolded him for having changed the note, saying, it was very curious for a servant to find a note in a house and not mention it.*

There are, however, some errors in spelling and in punctuation which were removed in the phase of text acquisition and the ‘clean-up’ process.

The next paragraph will describe the research objectives.

4.2. Research questions and objectives

It is widely accepted that MWVs were a well-established feature of the LModE period, since they emerged as a result of syntactic reanalysis affecting the verbs during the previous periods (Kennedy 1920; Brinton & Akimoto 1999; Claridge 2000; Thim 2012). Considering that with the exception of a few works (Denison 1981: Ch. 5), there is no specific reference to the description of the way the use of MWVs in spoken data changed from a diachronic perspective, it is a compelling necessity to fill this gap in the literature and to elucidate what happened in the years 1750-1850. In fact, the question that arises is whether and to what extent, MWVs were involved in the process of change, and what kind of effects this had on the whole linguistic system.

Specifically the aims are: 1. To analyse the development of MWVs in the years from 1750 to 1850; 2. To identify the syntactic and semantic features of MWVs and explain the factors that may have promoted variation across the decades; 3. To point out how and to what extent the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization were responsible for such changes; 4. To compare our results with the texts contained in the Legal Section of the ARCHER corpus, 1750-1850; 5. To compare the use of MWVs with their corresponding forms in PDE, making use of the Phrases in the English database (PIE) which contains texts taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) (§ 4.1.2.).

Many studies have been conducted on MWVs, in particular on PVs (Kennedy 1920; Live 1965; Bolinger 1971; Fraser 1974; Elenbaas 2007; Thim 2012; Rodríguez-Puente 2012a) or, in general, on MWVs (Claridge 2000).

Recent studies which have focussed on the verb system of the EME include Claridge (2000) who analyses MWVs using the Lampeter corpus³⁹ covering the years from 1640 to 1740, and Brinton and Akimoto (1999) who analyse PVs and complex predicates. With regards to the LModE age, an important work on the verb system is that conducted by Matsumoto (2008) who studies the development of periphrastic expressions, composite predicates and verb-particle combinations.

Other studies which are worth mentioning are those that concern one of the groups in MWVs, namely PVs, such as *Phrasal verbs the English Verb Particle Construction and its History* undertaken by Thim (2012) which focusses on ‘the evolution of the modern English phrasal verb from its early history up to the present’ (ib.: 1), and Rodriguez-Puente’s (2012a; 2012b) articles which provide a description of the syntactic and semantic changes that characterised PVs in the years from 1650 to 1990. This is a comprehensive study, which has been conducted on the ARCHER corpus, and it comprises the analysis of PVs from the EME to PDE.

On these bases, it is possible to assume that MWVs are well documented in the early stages of the development of English, in Old English (OE) as well as in Middle English (ME) (Denison 1981; Hiltunen 1983; Brinton 1988; Hiltunen 1999), but few works have focussed on the spoken LModE. Thus, my intention is to give a contribution to the understanding of these verbs in an era still neglected.

From a diachronic perspective, one of the most important aspects in the study of MWVs are their semantic properties since the clines between the literal and idiomatic are the result of historical processes resulting in MWVs as they are known in PDE. For example, in the case of PVs, the particles originally with a spatial meaning ‘come to be grammaticalised as markers of verbal aspect’ (Brinton and Traugott 2005: 124; cf. Brinton 1988) and some of them have also undergone a process of idiomatization making their meaning completely non-compositional. At the same time, prepositional verbs are said to be the result of a process of lexicalization (Brinton & Traugott 2005; Brinton & Akimoto 1999), in some instances followed by idiomatization. However, many aspects concerning the mechanisms which caused the innovation of the verb system still remain under debate.

Indeed, the present research is innovative in another way: it was undertaken using a selection of texts from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey, which has only been recently made available, and thus warrants special attention for linguistic purposes. In addition, they provide linguistic knowledge on spoken English in general but also on the legal-lay discourse in English trials (Kytö, Walker & Grund 2007a: 65; Heffer 2005: xvii) a genre which is characterised by a high level of complexity and which remains uncharted so far. In this sense, the transcripts of the Proceedings present many limitations, however, the general assumption is that they represent spontaneous language and thus, they have application also in the study of this dimension more generally.

³⁹ The Lampeter Corpus of Early Modern English Tracts is a collection of texts on various subject matter published between 1640 and 1740 by the Chemnitz University's REAL Centre information. Available at: <https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/lampeter/lamphome.htm>

4.3. Methodological issues

The methodological characteristics of this study are: 1) the compilation and use of a corpus to provide a database for linguistic analysis; 2) the use of computer tools to annotate the corpus enabling a Part of Speech (POS) analysis; 3) the selection of linguistic features; 4) the use of a concordancer to retrieve data; 5) the use of statistical techniques to compare the decades; 6) the qualitative interpretation of the results.

The following table shows the steps involved in the present research:

STEP 1	Preliminary analysis Corpus compilation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of previous research on MWVs, with specific attention to their diachronic development • Corpus compilation and annotation (VISL tagger)
STEP 2	Selection of linguistic features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of unit of analysis • Identification of semantic features
STEP 3	Frequency counts and statistical analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of raw frequency (RF) and normalised frequency (NF) • Use of parametric tests, i.e. Chi-square • Identification of type/token ratio and productive patterns • Identification of frequent base verbs and particles • Selection of verbs by semantic domain
STEP 4	Qualitative interpretation of the results	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification of changes in the syntax and semantics of MWVs • Explanation of mechanisms in language change • Functional analysis and strategic use of MWVs

Table 10: Methodological issues

4.3.1. Selection of linguistic features

As for PVs, all the combinations containing V + adverbial particle were selected and, following the general tendency in linguistics, all the instances of the verb *to be* were excluded due to the specific features of the base verb (Bolinger 1971: 89). In addition, all the verbs in which the adverbial particle was followed by another preposition as in the case of *to go out of* + NP were excluded because, in my perspective, this construction is to be considered as a free pattern occurring in the form of V + PP, that is verb + complex preposition followed by its object. Consequently, the number of PVs to be analysed was limited to the verbs that consisted of simple lexical base + adverbial particle displaying an internal cohesion. Following the classification provided by König (1973) the group of PVs, in addition to the idiomatic patterns, also includes literal combinations due to the role they perform in the diachronic development of non-compositional forms (§ Ch. 5).

Similarly to the verb group that has been discussed so far, the selection of prepositional verbs was conducted on the basis of the nature of the non-verbal element, in that the common concern is that they are always composed of a base verb which is

followed by a prepositional particle. As happens to PVs, it is of course necessary to consider the syntactic and the semantic features of the combinations in order to make a distinction between free patterns and prepositional verbs (§ 1.3). All the verbs characterised by a high idiomatic meaning and strong cohesiveness as in *to bear in mind*, *to take into account* were excluded from analysis. The reason is that, from the perspective of this study, they form idiomatic fixed combinations that possess different internal constituency. Moreover, they are diachronically characterized by a specific development which is different from that affecting prepositional verbs (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 122-129).

The criterion of idiomaticity was, instead, the test used to select phrasal-prepositional verbs. Specifically, all the combinations consisting of V + adverbial particle + prepositional particle with idiomatic meaning were included in the analysis. Some examples are given in (3) and (4) below:

(3) *That is according to their circumstances. If a man is poor, he will melt sooner, in order to make money, so as to go on with his business. (1750s)*

(4) *I heard them call out for the jemmy; I was nearly opposite then. (1790s)*

4.3.2. Data retrieval

The identification of MWVs is a labour-intensive task because the automatic retrieval of all the occurrences needs to be complemented by manual analysis. The extraction of linguistic constituents was conducted with the ConcApp4 concordancer, a program which visualizes concordance lines (as in Figure 9 below) and provides other simple operations like word frequency, alphabetical word list and word count in terms of tokens and types. It is also possible to calculate the token/type ratio⁴⁰ for each selected text.

Figure 9 shows an example which has been obtained by using the ConcApp4. In this case, the node word was the verb *to have*, in the past tense form, i.e. *had*, whereas the collocate was *on*, which is to be found to the right of the verb:

1	the shaft, and are obliged to attend to him we had not got a young horse on this occasion
	we had an
2	my eye intently, the omnibus stopping the dray had gone on <u>before</u> us I saw the near wheel
	of the
3	was not to be smuggled, it was agreed to be had on speculation <u>between</u> the captain,
	myself, and
4	him the prisoner said it was a bad job, that he had been on <u>board</u> the Coromandel, and the
	cuddy
5	This is the bundle containing the things that I had in my <u>cart</u> on that night, and which I lost
6	we were both standing up when he struck me he had not a <u>chance</u> of striking when I knelt
	on him

⁴⁰ The Type/token ratio is obtained by dividing the number of types in a corpus by the number of tokens (McEnergy & Hardie 2012: 50).

7 there, standing by a large clear fire Holliday **had** a blue coat **on** I believe the others were in their
8 his drawers were covered with blood, and they **had** also been cut I have been in attendance **on** him
9 he stated I examined his left arm, and found it **had** been previously dressed by a surgeon **on** re-moving
10 forwards after that, but I am not aware that he **had** anything to eat after another person waited **on**
11 as a bite would account for. COURT. Q. If there **had** been any external violence **on** the 4th could you

Figure 9: An example of data analysis: *had on*

This kind of analysis was used to retrieve all occurrences of MWVs and to select their main properties. In the present research, the extraction of syntactic constituents was carried out on the annotated version of the corpus. In particular, the tags and the functional categories which have been used are represented in the table below:

POS	Functional categories	Definition
V	<mv>	Main verb
ADV	@ADVL	Adjunct [free] adverbial
ADV	@MV<	Main- verb attached particle
PRP	@ADVL	Adjunct [free] adverbial
PRP	@[<]PIV[>]	Prepositional object

Table 11: Some VISL tags

The tag selected to analyse the pattern under investigation was V (verb) when followed by the tags ADV (adverb) or PRP (preposition). Specifically, the extraction of PVs was obtained by selecting all the Vs followed by the tag ADV with both @ADVL and @MV< tags. The problem is that the non-verbal element in this case is variously categorized: on the one hand it occurs with the tag ADV with @MV > function, while on the other hand, there are instances which are associated with the tag ADV with an adverbial function, i.e. @ ADVL. (a) and (b) below show two examples of PVs:

(a) I [I] PERS 1S NOM @SUBJ> **got** [get] <mv> V IMPF @FS-STA **up** [up] **ADV** @MV<, [,] PU @PU **and** [and] **KC** @CO **put** [put] <mv> V IMPF @FS-STA **on** [on] **ADV** @MV< **my** [I] PERS 1S GEN @>N **cloathes** [cloathe] N P NOM @<ACC1.

(b) I [I] PERS 1S NOM @SUBJ> **drove** [drive] <mv> V IMPF @FS-STA **on** [on] ADV @<ADVL to [to] PRP @A< **the** [the] ART S/P @>N **sign** [sign] N S NOM @P< of [of] PRP @N< **the** [the] ART S/P @>N **Cheshire Cheese** [Cheshire=Cheese] N S NOM @P<

In the first case, the verb *to get up* is annotated with V and ADV @MV<, whereas in the second example, *to drive on* occurs with the V and ADV @>ADVL tags.

The selection of phrasal-prepositional verbs was conducted considering all the combinations in which the adverbial particle ADV was followed by a prepositional particle PRP.

As for the prepositional verbs, all the combinations of V followed by the tag PRP with @[<]PIV[>] function were counted.

4.3.3. Frequency count and statistical analysis

This research makes use of raw (Rf) and normalised frequency (Nf),⁴¹ in addition to the other traditional counts, such as relative frequency, percentages and percentage points.⁴² Moreover, the findings were compared by using the Chi-square test.

The following table shows the tests which have been used in the analysis:

Mathematic counts	Descriptive statistics	Inferential statistics
Frequency and use of MWVs (for each verb group)	Raw frequency/ Normalised frequency (base of normalization 10,000)/	Chi-square test
Syntactic features/ Changes in the sentence structure	Percentages/Percentage points/ Relative frequency	

Table 12: Tests used in the analysis

Five steps were followed in the analysis:

1. Search for POS tags by using the annotated corpus, specifically V when

⁴¹ Raw frequency is ‘the actual count’ (McEnery, Xiao & Tono 2006: 52) of occurrences whereas normalised frequency is the result of ‘normalisation’, that is the ‘way to adjust raw frequency counts from texts of different lengths so that they can be compared accurately’ (Biber et al. 1998: 263). Specifically, it can be calculated by using the following formula:

$(N \text{ of occurrences} / \text{total words of the text file}) \times \text{base of normalisation} = n \text{ of occurrences per base of normalisation.}$

⁴² Relative frequency= Absolute frequency x number of words in the category.

Percentages refer to the relative frequency x 100.

Percentages points refer to the difference between two different relative frequencies.

followed by ADV and PRP, the tags which are provided by VISL for the non-verbal element.

2. Definition of raw frequency (Rf) and normalised frequency (Nf) (base of normalization = 10,000 words) and other statistical information.
3. Comparative analysis between the LModE-OBC and ARCHER corpus (Legal Section, time span 1750-1850).
4. Comparative analysis of the LModE-OBC and PDE (PIE interface and OED).
5. Functional interpretation of the results.

The next chapters will be devoted to the description of the data and the discussion of the results.

Chapter 5

Syntactic and Semantic Changes in Multi-word Verbs in the LModE-OBC

Imperceptibly, during the 18th century, English loses the most noticeable remaining features of structural difference which distance the Early Modern English period from us (...). However, despite this apparent continuity, the language at the end of the 18th century is by no means identical to what we find today (Crystal 2010: 76).

5.0. Introduction

This chapter describes the data taken from the LModE-OBC corpus and, specifically, the syntactic and lexical-semantic changes that affected MWVs in the LModE period (1750-1850). The analysis focuses on the spoken interaction, the dimension of language that is recognized as the *locus* of change and the place where variation and innovation are particularly strong (Milroy 1992),⁴³ and thus, the most informative dimension in language change.

This chapter is organized as follows: Paragraph 5.1 describes MWVs, their frequency in use across the decades and their main features, whereas the following paragraphs 5.2-5.4 will analyse each single verb group providing details on the processes of change, which were operative in those years, and underlining similarities and differences with the corresponding use in PDE.

5.1. Frequency and tendency of MWVs in the LModE-OBC (1750-1850)

If the LModE-OBC is considered as a *snap-shot* corpus of the LModE period, the first thing to note is that PVs represent the most frequent group among all the MWVs which have been analysed. Relevant frequency counts are shown in Table 13:

⁴³ ‘Linguistic change originates with speakers’ (Milroy 1992: 77) because ‘language changes are negotiating by speakers in face to face interaction’ (ib.: 72).

	Total occurrences	Nf (per 10,000 words)	% out of the total MWVs
Phrasal verbs	10.040	99.58	64%
Prepositional verbs	4927	48.86	31.7%
Phrasal-prepositional verbs	557	5.52	3.58%
Tot.	15,524	153.9	100%

Table 13: Total occurrences of MWVs in the LModE-OBC (1750-1850)

The study of the distributional properties of MWVs in the century under investigation reveals that PVs represent 64 % out of the total MWVs and reach a frequency which is double that of prepositional verbs. On the other hand, the phrasal-prepositional group displays a very low rate, the Rf being attested to 557 tokens.

These results confirm the general tendency in the use of MWVs as attested in the previous ages, especially in the EME period. In fact, the relative proportion of PVs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs in the LMod period is similar to that found in the years 1650-1750 as provided by Claridge (2000) in her study of the Lampeter Corpus (§ 4.2), as represented in Table 14:

	LModE-OBC Rf	LModE-OBC (Nf per 1.000 words)	Lampeter Corpus Rf	Lampeter Corpus (Nf per 1.000 words)
Phrasal verbs	10,040	9.9	4,266	3.6
Prepositional verbs	4,927	4.8	2,816	2.4
Phrasal-prepositional verbs	557	0.05	93	0.08
Tot.	15,524	15.4	7,175	6,12

Table 14: MWVs in the LModE-OBC and in the Lampeter Corpus

Looking at the overall frequency of these verbs, PVs are the group which displays the highest rate, immediately followed by prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs in both the EME and LModE periods. However, comparing the Nf of each group as found in the LModE with that of the EME, something different emerges: MWVs which are contained in the LModE-OBC possess a frequency per 10,000 words which is double that of the Lampeter Corpus.

This is a very interesting element because, considering that these corpora are different in terms of text types,⁴⁴ the high rate displayed in the LModE-OBC would suggest that the use of MWVs is particularly strong in legal discourse rather than in other domains. Thus, the high frequency in the use of MWVs may be related to the features of the texts included in the LModE-OBC, and it can be codified as a distinctive feature of the legal-lay discourse subgenre.

This means that, during the period from 1750 to 1850, there must have been factors promoting the increasing use of MWVs, especially PVs, rather than the corresponding simple forms, and that a general tendency to reinforce the functional-pragmatic cues favoured their use in legal contexts (§ Ch. 6). In fact, it might be supposed that, among the factors that have promoted the rise in the use of MWVs, there are the communicative functions that MWVs perform at a discourse level, which are linked to the pragmatic properties of legal lay discourse. In this sense, the use of MWVs can be truly connected with the choice in the lexis that was made by the speaker during the speech event to obtain specific effects on the audience, and as part of the narrative strategies which are used in trials.

In order to observe the development and tendency of each verb group in the LModE age and to describe quantitatively to what extent the verb system has changed and when exactly this happened, it is necessary to look at the data making use of a more fine-grained analysis and to consider the distributional properties for each decade. Table 15 represents MWVs in the LModE-OBC:

	Phrasal verbs	Prepositional verbs	Phrasal-prepositional verbs	Total
1750s	1,908	1,196	109	3,213
1770s	2,139	988	155	3,282
1790s	1,898	941	136	2,975
1810s	2,171	903	91	3,165
1830s	1,924	899	66	2,889
Tot.	10,040	4,927	557	15,524

Table 15: Distribution of MWVs for each decade (Raw frequency)

As shown in Table 15, the distribution of each single group shows that the overall frequency of MWVs in each decade remains relatively stable and it reaches about 3,100 tokens with the exception of the 1830s where there is evidence of a slight decline to 2,889 tokens. However, despite the existence of a certain degree of similarity in the general trend, considering the frequency displayed by each single group, there are some issues that require further explanations: the ‘relative’ instability in the use of PVs; the amount of continuity in the frequency of prepositional verbs and the decline of phrasal-prepositional verbs.

⁴⁴ The Lampeter Corpus contains text types from different domains: religion, law, politics, science, economy and miscellaneous.

In this regard, the Rf of PVs shows a relative amount of instability in that shifts upwards and downwards characterize the decades whereas prepositional verbs show the most stable trend since, with the exception of the 1750s, the frequency is attested to the same level in all decades. Yet, this does not mean that no variation and innovation affected them because, not surprisingly, even when the frequency reveals a sort of continuity, subtle divergences can be found in both the syntactic and semantic features as will be analysed in § 5.2ff.

A very interesting finding is that phrasal-prepositional verbs steadily declined in number over time after having experienced a slight increase in the years 1750 to 1790. This could be due to the gradual restructuring, following the process of reanalysis and the systematic changes, by way of ellipsis of the prepositional or adverbial particle,⁴⁵ that promoted them to the status of phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs or, in some cases of simple verbs (§5.4). In fact, phrasal-prepositional verbs are said to be the “mergers” of phrasal and prepositional verbs (Claridge 2000: 107) and the result of a process of “replacement” (Denison 1998: 223) which operated *via* reanalysis and *via* analogical generalization on the syntagmatic level. This allows us to identify instances like the verb *to set up in* which moved into the category of PVs after the process that led the preposition *in* to change its function and to become a redundant element within the clause. In this way, the syntactic restructuring of the basic form gradually caused the ellipsis of the preposition *in* and the reanalysis of the verb *to set up* as a transitive PV.

However, the opposite tendency was the basis of a more complex process which favoured the emergence of new free combinations as it happens in the case of the verb *to make up towards* that was progressively used in the shape of a single verb, *to make*, after the ellipsis of the adverbial particle, i.e. *up*, and the renewal of function of *towards*, which started to behave as the head of the following NP. These processes will be analysed in § 5.4., but suffice it to note that the weakness of phrasal-prepositional verbs is to be interpreted as either the outcome of the reanalysis of PVs and prepositional verbs which caused the development of new instances or as the result of the opposite tendency, that is of the reanalysis of the internal constituents as free combinations. Thus, considering that all the verb groups are strictly connected from a diachronic perspective, the fact that the number of phrasal-prepositional verbs and prepositional verbs declined from the 1790s and 1770s onwards, whereas that of PVs steadily increased, can be seen as indicative of the existence of different convergent processes which were responsible for the switch of verbs from one status to another (§ 5.2ff.).

⁴⁵ In this chapter the word ‘particle’ is used as a cover term to refer to the non-verbal elements of PVs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs. All the free prepositions and adverbs are excluded from this definition.

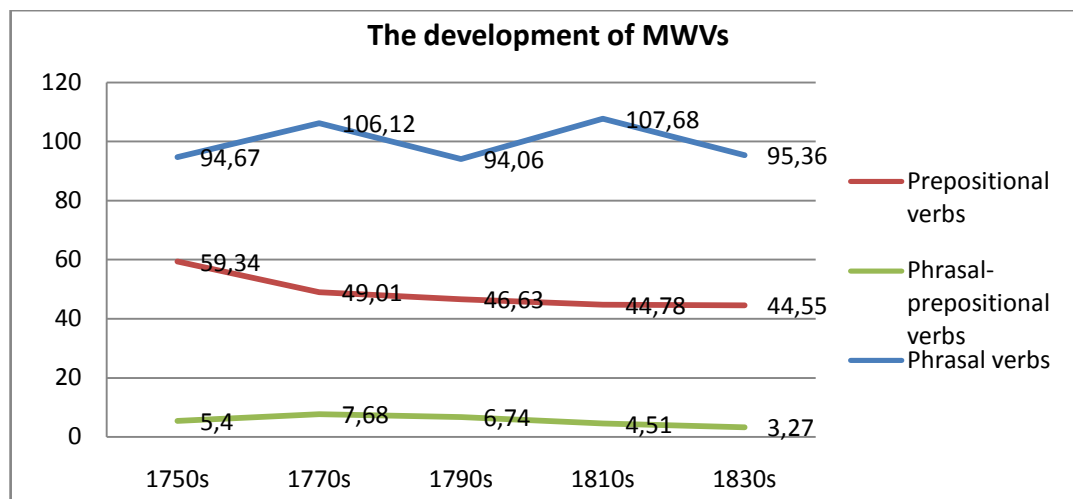


Figure 10: The development of MWVs in the LModE-OBC (Nf)

In order to approach the differences in the frequency of each verb group in a more accurate way, it is necessary to set up a 5 x 3 contingency table⁴⁶ (Table 16 below) to calculate the chi-square⁴⁷ at the default 0.05 significance level. The results are shown in the following table:

	Phrasal verbs	Prepositional verbs	Phrasal-prepositional verbs	Totals	χ^2
1750s	1908 (2078.51) [13.99]	1196 (1019.18) [30.68]	109 (115.31) [0.35]	3213	105.9 p-value < 0.00001
1770s	2139 (2123.15) [0.12]	988 (1041.06) [2.70]	155 (117.79) [11.76]	3282	
1790s	1898 (1924.55) [0.37]	941 (943.68) [0.01]	136 (106.77) [8.00]	2975	
1810s	2171 (2047.46) [7.45]	903 (1003.95) [10.15]	91 (113.59) [4.49]	3165	
1830s	1924 (1866.33) [1.78]	895 (915.13) [0.44]	66 (103.54) [13.61]	2885	
Totals	10040	4923	557	15520 (Grand Total)	

Table 16: Statistical significance of MWVs in the LModE-OBC (Chi-square test)

Given that the chi-square is 105.9 (p -value = < 0.00001), the result is significant at $p < 0.05$. On these bases, it is possible to conclude that the differences between each single group are particularly relevant and, consequently, that behind the general assumption that spoken LModE remains unchanged and that the whole period is a stable

⁴⁶ The contingency table provides information on the observed cell totals, (the expected cell totals) and [the chi-square statistics for each cell].

⁴⁷ The chi-square test is a technique for 'testing statistical significance' (McEnery, Xiao & Tono 2006: 55). It 'compares the difference between observed values (e.g. the actual frequencies extracted from corpora) and expected values (e.g. the frequency that one would expect if no factor other than were affecting the frequencies' (ib.). The basic computational equation is:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(\text{Observed Frequency}) - (\text{Expected Frequency})^2}{(\text{Expected Frequency})}$$

period, there are many elements, such as MWVs, that continued to evolve and that new linguistic patterns emerged while others completely disappeared.

5.2. PVs in the LModE-OBC

This section describes the lexical features of PVs as well as the syntactic and semantic changes that affected this group in the LModE period, paying attention to the processes which are responsible for linguistic variation and change.

5.2.1. The lexical features of PVs in the LModE-OBC

As described in Chapter 1, PVs can be defined as verbs composed of V + adverbial particle, two elements that from a diachronic perspective are usually treated separately since the features of the base and those of the following element can favour or, conversely, limit syntactic reanalysis.

As for the formative, the base verb is studied and classified according to both the number of syllables it contains and its etymology (Live 1965: 430; Denison 1981: 148; Claridge 2000: 116; Thim 2012: 193). These two elements are considered to be particularly relevant in the definition of the verbs that can potentially undergo processes of change and in the prediction regarding whether a simple lexical verb can combine with other elements to form proper PVs. In fact, as Fraser (1974: 13; cf. Denison 1981: 148) states, there are some phonological constraints that have shown to be of particular importance in the emergence of new combinations. In fact, the phonetic form of the base can favour the reanalysis of the following element, specifically the fact that monosyllabic verbs are initially stressed promotes the cohesion with the following unstressed element (Fraser 1974: 14-15).

The study of PVs in the LModE-OBC reveals that, in the majority of the cases, the base verbs are monosyllabic or disyllabic. For example, base verbs which are frequently used are: *to double*, *to carry*, *to come*, *to connect*, *to consult*, *to move*, *to pass*, *to put*, *to run* and *to turn*.

A large number of the base verbs also occur in PDE with the exception of the verbs *to hallowe*, *to halloo*, *to halloa*, as in (1)-(3), which do not have any entries in dictionaries, neither as base verbs in PVs nor as simple lexical verbs:

- (1) *Before they came in, Hooper hallowed out "Follow me! Follow me!" upon that a rush was made at the door. (1810s)*
- (2) *He was not two minutes there before he turned round, and hallooed out that he was murdered. (1810s)*
- (3) *He galloped past the chaise first, and halloaed out, stop; we did stop, and he laid hold of the reins. (1790s)*

Looking at these examples taken from the LModE-OBC, what emerges is that the verbs *to hallowe*, *to halloo*, *to halloa* could be used interchangeably and, moreover, considering that they all possess the meaning of 'to say, to state', it is even possible to suppose that they represent different variants of one verb that is orthographically written with different spellings.

In fact, the OED reports that the verb *to halow* changed its spelling from *halow*, as attested from ME in the 16th century, to the variant of *to hallow* dating back to the 15th–17th centuries. However, from then onwards, another spelling started to be acceptable and, after a period of coexistence, it became well attested, i.e. *to hallo*, *halloo*:

- (4) *He was halowid and y-huntid, and y-hote trusse. (OED 1399 LANGLAND Richard Redeles III. 228)*
- (5) *To hallow home cardinall Poole their countriman. (OED 1587 A. FLEMING et al. Holinshed's Chron. (new ed.) III. 1003/1)*
- (6) *They [fox hounds] were then halloed back. (OED 1812 Sporting Mag. 39 184)*

They all possess the same semantic properties and they apparently represent different verbs but each one is a derivative form of another, an assumption that is confirmed by the fact that they possess the same etymology, i.e. the 'Middle English *halow-en*, (...) and probably < Old French *hallo-er*' (OED) with the meaning of 'to pursue crying or shouting'.

These considerations, however, do not clarify why the verb *to hallow* and its different variants were used followed by a non-verbal element and behaved as a single unit. In this regard, the only possible explanation lies in the fact that, as described in § Ch. 6, the additional use of an adverbial particle can function as a pragmatic and discursive item which is able to put emphasis on specific elements within the sentence.

As for the etymology of the PVs found in the LModE-OBC, two different groups occur: verbs of Germanic origin and those with a Latin or, more generally, a foreign background. In the LModE-OBC, in fact, there are verbs like *to cry*, *to carry*, *to pack*, *to take* (OED) that have Romance or Scandinavian origin and that are followed by different adverbial particles to form PVs, especially idiomatic verbs as in the case of *to carry out*, *to cry out*, *to pack up*, *to take on*.⁴⁸ This confirms that both the Latin and Scandinavian influence promoted the emergence of new forms and, especially in the case of Latin, it contributed to the use of 'verb-adverb collocations as translation-equivalents of Latin compounds, and secondly to a rather greater use of compounds' (Denison 1981: 156), a linguistic use of verbs which would have been unforeseeable without the reference to the corresponding Romance items.

As for the non-verbal elements in PVs, the findings reveal that there are 18 out of the 20 searched adverbial particles in the LModE-OBC and specifically: *about*, *along*,

⁴⁸ The identification of the base verbs characterised by a Romance or a Scandinavian origin was obtained from the OED.

apart, ashore, aside, away, back, by, down, forth, in, off, on, out, over, through, together and up.

The overall frequency is represented in Figure 11:

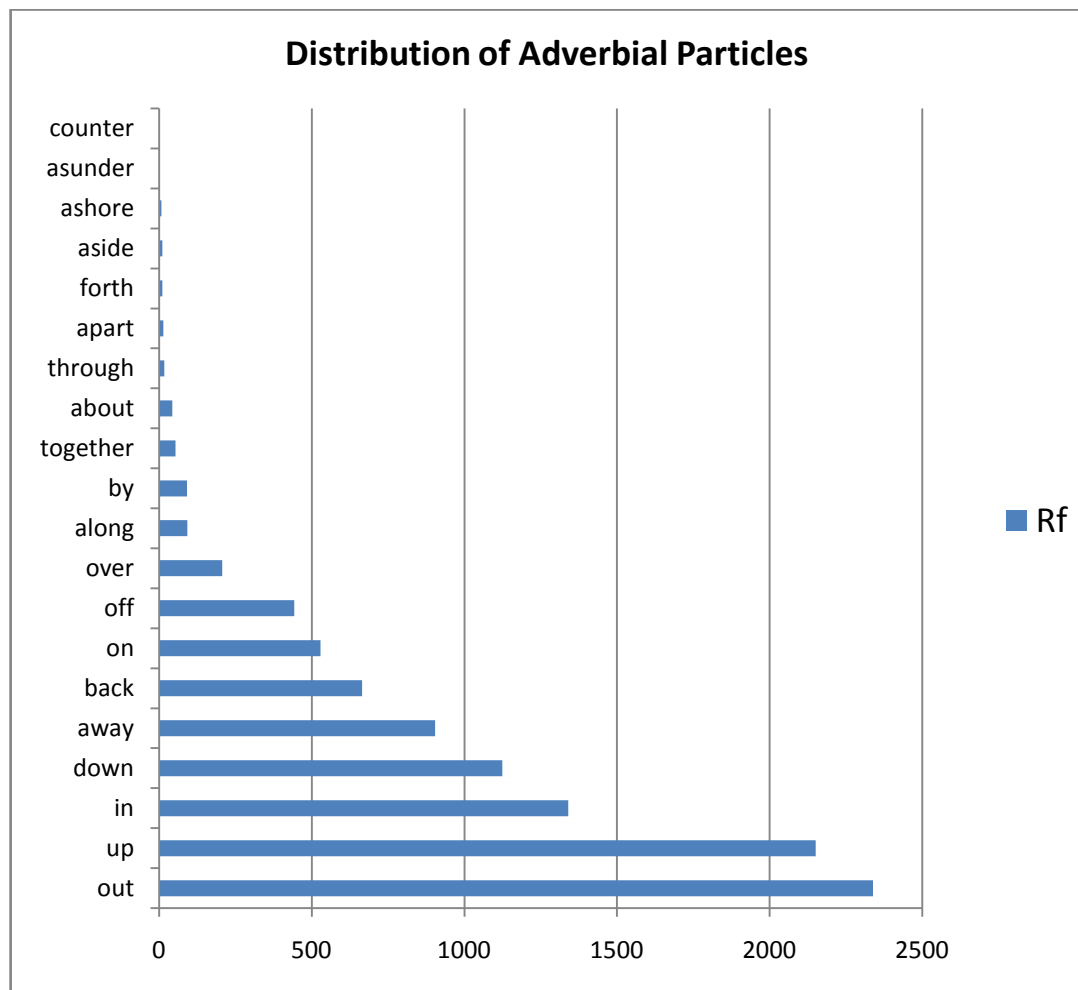


Figure 11: Distribution of adverbial particles in the LModE-OBC (1750-1850)

Out, up, in, down, away, back are the most important particles. The particle *out* is in fact the particle that attains the highest number of occurrences across the decades, with 2339 tokens, immediately followed by *up* with a total of 2151 tokens and *in, down, away* that have 1340, 1124 and 904 respectively.

Two particles that even appeared not to occur in any decade, are *asunder* and *counter* which, interestingly, do not occur in either the ARCHER corpus or the PIE. This suggests that these two particles have completely disappeared and that the instances that were still attested in EME as reported by Claridge (2000) and Hiltunen (1999), underwent some processes of replacement that led them to disappear completely. In fact, a look at the OED has shown that these are particles which are not used in PDE and, specifically that they originated during the OE period but they gradually disappeared.

As for *asunder*, in fact, the OED reports that it derives from the Old English phrase *on sundran* which was characterised by the meaning of ‘in or into a separate

placement or condition' or, more generally, to indicate motion and position, as in (7) and (8):

- (7) *Unhand her—Murder! Tear them asunder.* (OED 1721 E. YOUNG *Revenge* IV. i)
- (8) *Lochiel..while forcing them asunder, received a wound.* (OED 1855 T. B. MACAULAY *Hist. Eng.* III. 685)

In contrast, the particle *counter*, is mainly attested following verbs such as *to act*, *to go*, *to run* until the 19th century (OED), and it predominantly conveys the meaning of 'in the opposite direction, back again', as in (9) and (10):

- (9) *Here am I sitting as candidly disposed to make the best of the worst, as ever wight was, and all runs counter.* (OED 1768 L. STERNE *Sentimental Journey* I. 132 *Nampont, Postillion*)
- (10) *Let us go counter to Tradition rather than to Scripture.*(OED 1837 J. H. NEWMAN *Parochial Serm.* (ed. 2) III. xix. 302)

As with *asunder*, this particle also underwent a complete disappearance and no entries are found in PDE.

However, *ashore* and *forth*, despite being relatively unpopular, still occur in the LModE-OBC. As also other scholars point out with reference to the previous stages of English (Kennedy 1920: 17; Akimoto 1999: 222; Claridge 2000: 125-126), in fact, these particles frequently occurred following different base verbs and the fact that, in the case of the LModE period, they show only 4 and 10 occurrences respectively, is a very interesting finding. In this regard, it can be assumed that these are the particles that were firstly involved in the process of grammaticalization, probably by means of bleaching and then they gradually disappeared.

As for *ashore*, no instances occur in the ARCHER corpus and this is in line with their complete absence from PDE. In fact, *ashore*, as the OED reports, emerged from the fusion between *a*, which was a frequent preposition during the OE, and *schore*, during the ME period, as in (11), and it was only attested at the end of the 19th century:

- (11) *'I must be getting ashore now.'* (OED 1876 W. BLACK *Madcap Violet* viii. 75)

In contrast, in the case of *forth*, the ARCHER corpus shows 13 examples but, in all the cases, the verb which is used together with *forth* is *to set*, whereas in the LModE-OBC it occurs also following *to stand*, *to hold* and *to draw*, as in (12)-(14):

- (12) *And the manner in which he has stood forth to do all he could to restore that property he had taken, is something more than the general conduct of a criminal in his situation.* (1790s)
- (13) *It therefore becomes necessary for the safety of society, and to deter others from offending in the like, that your sufferings should hold forth an example*

to those who cannot be restrained from the commission of crimes by any laws. (1770s)

(14) *He wanted the young man to do a private job for him, drawing forth a slip of paper from his pocket; after that I was called to bring a pair of scissars from above-stairs. (1750s)*

These findings are in line with those reported by Hiltunen (1994: 129-140) in a study conducted on the EME period using the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts,⁴⁹ who confirms the use of this particle in the Trial section and reports a frequency of 5 tokens and 4 types in the time span 1500-1770. This means that, from the EME period onwards, the productivity of *forth* greatly declined eventually, after the 1830s, it suddenly disappeared.

The fact that it apparently increases in popularity in the LModE period is indicated by the high number of occurrences, even attested to 6 tokens in just one decade: the 1810s. Considering that this use may have been influenced by the preference of individual speakers in the choice of lexis, it is possible to conclude that, overall, this particle shows properties which are similar to those of the previous stage. This assumption is also confirmed by the OED, which registers its use only until 1800 and provides many examples of this particle following different base verbs, in all the cases ‘expressing continuity or progressiveness of action; and giving the sense of “to go on doing” to what the verb denotes’ (OED), as in (15) and (16):

(15) *He bigged furth the Dortour. (OED a1615 Brieue Cron. Erlis of Ross 17)*

(16) *Now, men of death, work forth your will. (OED 1808 SCOTT Marmion II)*

Overall, this particle became less frequently used due to the emergence of alternative forms that were involved in the paradigmatic variation that leads to innovation and progressively to change across the centuries.⁵⁰ In order to shed light on the use of particles across the years, it is important to look at the micro-level of analysis and to describe the distributional properties of the particles as found in the LModE-OBC for each decade:

	1750s	1770s	1790s	1810s	1830s
1	out	up	up	out	out
2	up	out	out	up	up
3	in	in	in	in	in
4	down	down	down	down	down
5	away	away	away	away	away
6	on	back	back	back	back

Table 17: Particle distribution for each decade

⁴⁹ The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts is a multi-genre diachronic corpus covering the years c. 730–1710. Further details are available at: <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HelsinkiCorpus/>

⁵⁰ According to Akimoto (1999: 232), for example, the particle *forth* was replaced by the adverbial particle *out* after a period of rivalry.

Out and *up* are set within the top three positions in the LModE-OBC in all the decades and this also happens in EME where they are placed in the first and second position (Claridge 2000: 126). This would mean that, from the EME period onwards, these are among the most frequently used particles and those characterized by a stable use. These assumptions support the idea that the use of PVs in the spoken dimension does not differ too much from the general use of PVs within different genres.

5.2.2. Frequencies and tendencies in intransitive and transitive constructions

From a syntactic point of view PVs can be divided into two groups: transitive and intransitive verbs.

As for the intransitive verbs, some of the most frequent verbs include *to come on*, *to go on*, *to stand up*, *to look about*, *to run away*, *to go away*, *to sit down* and *to make over*. Many of them, as represented in (17) - (19), display features which are not dissimilar from those that they possess in PDE:

(17) *No; the prisoner was taken to the Mitre, in Islington, to be further searched; I was sitting down at the Mitre when Hodgson came, for I was not well.*(1790s)

(18) *Was it a slight or dangerous wound? A. Dangerous, had inflammation come on, but it did not, and it went on very well.*(1830s)

(19) *Were not the company desired to stand up - A. I knew him immediately I went into the room.* (1810s)

In fact, comparing the occurrences of these verbs as found in the LModE-OBC with those contained in the PIE interface, as in (20) - (22), it emerges that, in both cases, they occur with no significant variation in both linguistic use and contextual features:

(20) *Yes. I told the witnesses yesterday, you may sit down or stand just as you wish. Thank you.* (PIE JJV S_courtroom)

(21) *...which they often did come on Mr don't generally pass on the cost no, that is not correct, in many cases went well beyond what they were legally obliged to do* (PIE JK0 S_courtroom)

(22) *Could I ask sir Yes, stand up Mr we listening to those three charges and maybe you'll no test certificate in those two . Er* (PIE F7WS courtroom)

These examples put emphasis on the relatively acquired stability that the majority of verbs display during this period (Kytö, Rydén & Smitterberg 2006: 1; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2009: 97). Moreover, the absence of intervening elements between the verb and the following particle, is an indicator of the increase in terms of cohesion between the verb and the particle (§ Ch.1). This feature confirms that PVs possess a strong union on the syntagmatic level, as it also is to be found in LModE as well as in PDE (McIntyre 2015: 435). Nonetheless, this is not always the case. In fact, the existence of some

verbs, such as *to run away*, occurring with intervening elements and displaying behaviour which distances them somewhat from other well established forms, can be interpreted as examples of the progressive syntactic modification and indicative of ongoing processes of change in the degree of cohesiveness of the verbs. Consider some examples:

- (23) *The reason why we run away upon Sir John's coach stopping, was, because we knew it very well by the pace: a common stage goes much faster.*(1770s)
 (24) *The prisoner and his companion ran quick away.* (1750s)

The two examples above make clear the verb *to run* is used without any element in mid-position, as in (23), or with an intervening adverb, i.e. *quick*, as in (24), a fact which suggests a low degree in terms of cohesion between the first and the second element. In fact, as is to be found in PDE, PVs do not allow any adverb to be inserted between the two components (Fraser 1974: 25) and thus, from a diachronic perspective, these are the most interesting cases, representing as they do the ongoing process of internal restructuring.

In this case, it is possible to assume that the verb progressively underwent a syntactic reanalysis together with the grammaticalization of the particle that started behaving as an adverbial particle. Thus, the base verb became bonded and the same happened to the particle, allowing a different syntactic segmentation as represented below:

[ran[quick]away] > [ran away]

As for the second category, i.e. transitive verbs, PVs behaving similarly to their corresponding forms in PDE, include *to bring in*, *to bring out*, *to clear up*, *to give up*, *to put on*, *to throw away*, and *to take off* and *to write down*. Some examples are illustrated in (25)-(27):

- (25) *I wrote down what he desired, and he signed it.* (1810s)
 (26) *And the cuddy servant said that I would give up the goods to Mr. Prew then the goods were brought out, and counted, and delivered by me to the prisoner.* (1830s)
 (27) *I did not go into the yard at that time, but I did at day light; the lock was taken off; the screws were put upon a chair; it was unscrewed.*(1770s)

As stated in Chapter 1, in the LModE-OBC there are also verbs used in both the transitive and intransitive constructions such as *to go on*, represented in (28) and (29):

- (28) *I went on hearing the conversation about a robbery I had committed.* (1750s)
 (29) *“Go on, go on;” the prisoner then went on before me to the tail of the waggon, and attempted to take a box.* (1810s)

In example (29) the verb behaves intransitively, while in (28) it is transitive but in both cases an aspectual meaning is displayed (§ 5.2.4).

Taking into consideration the syntactic features of the verbs, a very interesting feature is that there is a clear preference for intransitive constructions:

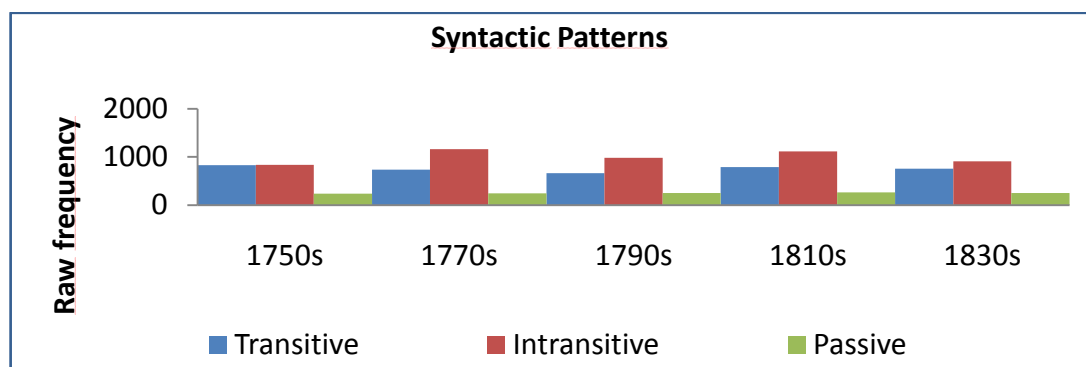


Figure 12: Transitive and intransitive patterns

This trend can have been influenced by a high number of particles used with locative/directional meaning, e.g. *to come in*, *to go away*, together with a large number of verbs containing particles with an aspectual meaning, as in *to come in*, *to fall down*, *walk on*. The LModE-OBC reveals that the passive form is not frequently used and, in the majority of the cases, it is an agentless passive. Thus, considering that this is a construction which predominantly occurs in written legal texts (Heffer 2005: 11), it is possible to conclude that the court records under investigation, are characterized by the specific narrative features of the spoken dimension. The 'actional strategies' (Heffer 2005: 25), in fact, are evident in narrative verbs, usually used in the past tense but they also work through the use of agentless passive forms with human subjects, as in (30), which underline the paradigmatic approach to the regulation of society encoded in the law:

(30) *I was at the watch-house that night. I remember the prisoner being brought in. The prosecutor was so excessively drunk, he could hardly give his charge. (1770s)*

The main feature of transitive PVs is that, in the transitive constructions, they allow two different syntactic patterns. In this regard, as described in Ch. 1, there is the possibility of placing the object both in mid-position, that is between the verb and the particle, and in post-verbal position following the V + Prt + NP construction. The findings represented in the table above show that the V + DO + Prt construction is preferred to the V + Prt + DO one, and that it is relatively more popular, exceeding 50% in all the decades:

	Discontinuous pattern (V+DO+Prt)	Continuous pattern (V+Prt+DO)
1750s	55.9 %	44.1%
1770s	56.6%	43.4%
1790s	50.6%	49.4%
1810s	63.0%	37.0%
1830s	52.7%	47.3%

Table 18: Continuous and discontinuous order in the LModE-OBC⁵¹

With regard to the factors that can influence the position of the object, it is important to consider both the length and the complexity of the noun phrase (NP), together with pragmatic and functional motivations. In fact, long direct objects (those with more than two words) may be found in mid-position, despite the fact that they usually follow the V + Prt + DO combination, as in (31)-(33):

- (31) *I took him before the justice, and he had one of my shirts on then marked at the tail. (1750s)*
- (32) *I received four guineas and a sixpence, I had the same jacket on then that I have now. (1800s)*
- (33) *They awaked me, and I awaked myself, and saw he had a white great coat on. (1750s)*

The occurrence of the discontinuous order is particularly high in PVs with an idiomatic meaning (Biber et al. 1999: 933), whereas when the particle has literal spatial meaning, in the majority of the cases, there is a preference for the V + Prt + DO construction. Moreover, variation in the word order and the specific use of a marked choice, as in the discontinuous order, can convey additional meanings to the message and, at the same time, can 'vary the focus and emphasis of the message and produce structures with a balance of weight at the ends' (Biber et al. 1999: 898).

The next paragraph will focus on a description of the syntactic changes that accounted for the emergence as well as the loss of PVs in the LModE period.

5.2.3. Syntactic changes

As widely emphasized in diachronic studies (Brinton & Akimoto 1999; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]; Brinton & Traugott 2005; Rodríguez-Puente 2012b), the emergence and the loss of specific PVs originated in the grammaticalization or lexicalization of the particles and in the existence of competing alternative structural analyses (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 122-125). More specifically, in the establishment

⁵¹ Counted out of the total of transitive PVs per subcorpus.

of new PVs, among the mechanisms that were at work in the LModE period, there are the process of direct formation, consisting of both zero-derived verbs and analogical processes, and the syntactic reanalysis consequent on the decategorialization of the non-verbal element. In fact, the progression of a linguistic item over time is influenced by both internal and external factors, and among them analogy and reanalysis are recognized as the most significant mechanisms in language change (Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39), and the mechanisms which also operated during the LModE period, despite not being as operative as in the previous stages.

First, it is well known that the emergence of PVs such as *to pass on*, *to look down*, *to run down*, *to do up* and *to pay down* can be seen as being strictly connected with the processes of reanalysis that affected the elements within the clause and sentence over time. In this regard, the decategorialization of the non-verbal element determined a shift from a prepositional to a particle status with the consequent lexicalization of the whole V+ particle construction. The non-verbal element of PVs is first considered as a kind of adverb or preposition that then acquired a particle status (Brinton 1988).

Moreover, it is undeniable that external factors such as the Scandinavian influence (Thim 2012: 185) may have played a role in their establishment together with the Old Norse phrasal constructions that acted as a sort of 'catalyst, stimulating the further development of the post-verbal construction type already present in OE' (Claridge 2000: 87). Specifically, the development of PVs is strictly linked to both the Latin and Scandinavian influence that gave rise to the use of new forms and that, especially in the case of Latin, contributed to the use of complex verbs, a linguistic use of verbs which would have been unforeseeable without reference to the corresponding Romance items.

Among the internal factors, instead, direct formation as a process of language change was favoured by analogy, considered as both a 'mechanism of spreading change' (Wanner 2006: 49) and a process of change itself 'modelled from one set of expressions to another' (Campbell 2013 [1998]: 91; cf. also Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 35-39). This means that base verbs which possess similar meaning and also the connotative properties of the whole combination can be considered important elements that, potentially, can promote new linguistic items and that can resort to direct analogical formation. These processes promoted the rise of new lexical items but they also favoured the spread of innovative forms through rule generalization.

More specifically, direct formation, rather than involving grammaticalization in a narrow sense, operates on linguistic items modifying the external surface and, in some cases, leaving unchanged the syntactic structure. This entails that there would not be any kind of decategorialization or boundary creation and boundary shift (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 33) because the formation of new lexical items can be seen as the result of 'the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions' (Brinton 1988: 64).

As regards PVs, it should be noted that, in the majority of cases, during the EME period the particle possesses a high degree in terms of productivity and a significant force on the paradigmatic level. This involves that the non-verbal element can combine with verbs of the same word-field giving rise to new PVs that could also undergo further changes at the syntactic as well as at the semantic level. In addition, the freedom displayed by the particle to extend its context of use is also linked to the formation of

zero-derived verbs involving nouns and adjectives (Denison 1981: 164) and to the emergence of antonymous pairs of particles as in the case of *off/on*, *in/out* and *up/down*.

On these bases, it is possible to hypothesize that the LModE period was characterized by tendencies that were similar to those of the previous era and, thus, PVs developed through direct formation and that they spread via analogy to other contexts of use.

5.2.3.1 Direct formation and analogical generalization

The analysis conducted on the LModE-OBC reveals that analogy and direct formation were the processes which, during the LModE period, gave rise to many verbs, such as *to pass by*, *to deliver back*, *to count out*, *to clear up*, *to pay down*, to quote some.

More specifically, looking at the data, a verb that makes a case for this perspective, is the most frequently used verb conveying the meaning of 'cause to return' (OED), *to bring back*, that gradually promoted the emergence of different PVs characterized by the same particle *back*, but with a different basis, in each case a basis conveying a meaning similar to the verb *to bring*.

For example, as represented in (34), the verb *to bring back* was used as a transitive PV, and it gradually promoted the establishment of different forms through analogical direct formation, as in the case of *to deliver back*, as in (35), and *to take back*, as in (36), that first appeared in 1770 and 1790 respectively:

(34) *The hat is a very coarse hat; he sent it out once when he wanted money to pledge for a shilling; the pawnbroker would not lend a shilling upon it, and it was brought back; I believe the wig to be the same, I am positive the hat is. (1770s)*

(35) *Yes, I delivered up the property, that is, I was the loser of the money, when Johnson told me the horse was advertized, and I was present when Johnson delivered back the horse to Houseman. (1770s)*

(36) *So that if any solder was taken back to Mess. Oakes and Brown's, the only omission was their not being acquainted with your course? - A. They ought to have called us to see it weighed. (1790s)*

In fact, the verbs *to take* and *to deliver*, despite not being literal, all convey the meaning of 'to take someone or something from one place and have them with you when you arrive somewhere else' (MacmillanOnline) or more generally 'to get something for someone and give it to them' (MacmillanOnline). In this perspective, the additional particle puts emphasis on the action expressed by the verb and conveys the aspectual meaning of goal and purpose which is hidden in the base verb itself. In this regard, it should be noted that the particle *back*, as reported in the OED, is usually used with the general meaning of 'in a position to the rear, or away from the front', a meaning first attested c1300. Furthermore, this specific and well established

connotation allows the particle, when used in complex verbs, to add some extra semantic meanings to the formative, contributing in this way to the lexicalization of the whole combination.

In the case of *to bring back*, for example, as reported in the OED, this verb was first used in the year 1662, as in (37), but it was only from the 19th century that it started to become established in use and meaning, as in (38), and thus also to show new combinatory properties:

(37) *Yet didst thou..at length by a wonderful providence bring him back. (OED 1662 Bk. Com. Prayer, Chas. Martyr)*

(38) *I brought him back secretly into the city. (OED 1839 E. W. LANE tr. Thousand and One Nights I. 395)*

In this regard, the ability to select different base verbs to combine with gave rise to other lexicalized forms such as *to deliver back*, *to take back*, in both cases first used as simple verbs that then acquired a particle making the action expressed by the verb characterized explicitly by a directional path, as in (39) and (40):

(39) *I was present when Johnson delivered back the horse to Houseman, he took the horse home with him; I was the Rotation-office six or seven days after, I cannot tell the day; Justice Staples granted me a warrant to take the party if I found him, which I did not. (1770s)*

(40) *I took him back - he tried to get from us. It is worth 18 d. per yard; there are forty-five yards. The shop is part of the dwelling-house; we both live there. (1810s)*

Looking at these examples, it is evident that the verb *to bring back* has attracted other verbs and stimulated the use of the additional particle to the formatives which were similar in meaning. In this sense, this behaviour can be seen as the starting point of an analogical process, considered in terms of 'generalization or optimization of a rule from a relatively limited domain to a far broader one' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 64). What emerges is that this kind of change, rather than involving grammaticalization in a narrow sense and reanalysis, operates on linguistic items modifying the external surface and, in the majority of cases, leaving unchanged some elements within the syntactic structure of the clause. In fact, in the examples discussed so far, the particle *back* and the whole syntactic structure V + Particle remains the same, the only change being the base verb that the particle is able to combine with. Thus, it can be assumed that the frequent use of *to bring back* has favoured the combination of the particle following different base verbs that were able to convey similar meanings, as in the case of *to take* and *to deliver*. Analogy, in fact, enables the existent form to behave as a catalyst for change contributing to the extension of a specific pattern in different linguistic contexts. This means that there would not be any kind of decategorialization or syntactic rebracketing. Instead, the formation of these new verbs was due to 'the attraction of extant forms to already existing constructions' (Hopper & Traugott 2003

[1993]: 64). In this regard, the syntactic bracketing of *to take back* and *to bring back* is the same, and the additional particle does not change the basic structure of the preceding base verb; in this case *to take* continues to be transitive and followed by a direct object.

To take back-- [[to take back] something] to bring back --[[to bring back]
something]

To take ----- [[to take] something]

In fact, when a particle acquires a 'combinatory meaning' (Denison 1981: 163-165) it is also able to be involved in direct formation and, in addition, it may give rise to analogical generalization. In this regard, the particle that is characterized by a high degree in terms of productivity also possesses a significant force on the paradigmatic level (ib.: 164).

The reason beyond the additional use of the particle following a different formative could be explained by the fact that the particle *back* was largely used with other verbs, like *to get back*, *to give back*, *to bring back*, all with the meaning of 'to give/bring something to the person who already owns it' (MacmillanPlus). If some instances, like *to bring back* (41), *to give back* (42) and *to get back* (43) are taken into consideration, it should be noted that they have many similarities to the other derived forms that, once established, are also able to expand their meanings and to acquire additional contexts of use:

(41) *I lost two pair of silk stockings, with my private mark upon them. I saw them about a quarter of an hour before she was brought back. (1770s)*

(42) *I told them that was the man and pointed to the prisoner; one went up to him, upon which the prisoner held a bayonet to his breast to keep him off and he was obliged to give back. (1770s)*

(43) *“Captain, you are anxious to get back your ring? it is in pledge at so and so
“ I said nothing to him before he said that my solicitor was with me I went by the Lord Mayor's permission. (1830s)*

These verbs are in fact potentially involved in language change due to the acquired stability that they perform, an essential element to promote direct formation and analogical generalization. Looking at the occurrences of these verbs in the ARCHER corpus, in fact, they are similar to the instances found in the LModE-OBC, as in (44), but there are also different combinations characterised by the same features, as in (45):

(44) *The express judgment is, “that he shall be taken back to the place from whence he came, and from thence to the place of execution. (ARCHER 1784doan 14a)*

(45) *The premium cannot be recovered back on account of the want interest, because the question of interest has nothing to do with. (ARCHER 1811cous 15b)*

However, the direct formation of new patterns and the establishment of new items is only the most relevant change in lexical terms, because there is also evidence for an extension in meaning of the new combinations and a semantic shift to different contexts of use. This kind of change, for example, affected the verb *to take back* as represented in (46):

(46) *I laid hold of them both and asked them where they were going with the barrel? They asked what it was to me? I said they should soon know what business it was to me. I called to some of the neighbours, as I was known there. They did not resist; I took them back to the shop and left two people in care of the arrel. (1770s)*

The verb *to take back*, in fact, in addition to its literal use, acquired also the meaning of 'to accept someone again after they have left a relationship' (MacmillanPlus), showing an innovative connotation that is also attested from the year 1799 onwards by the OED, as in (47), and since then, it became established in use and it is still frequent in PDE, as represented in (48). In this regard, there are no occurrences of this verb in PIE legal texts, but this verb is reported in another genre, that is spontaneous spoken language, a fact which confirms that the lack of instances is to be treated as connected with the speakers' choice rather than to its existence:

(47) *Holmes was with him for 15 or 16 months as an apprentice... He had no doubt of his honesty, and would take him back if acquitted of this charge. (OED 1799 *Edinburgh Advertiser* 10 Dec. 382/3)*

(48) *I knew I remember as clear as day, standing talking to Penny and I was calling their plumber, I'll always remember that and er I was quite took back and Penny said ooh she's been very good to me Yeah. (PIE KCP)*

Similarly, the emergence of the verb *to count out*, first attested in the year 1830 in the LModE-OBC, can be seen as the outcome of a process of direct formation and a deriving form of other well established verbs like *to pick out*. This verb probably emerged by analogy through changes in the 'paradigmatic organization, change in surface collocations, and in patterns of use' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 68) and, in addition, it can presumably be linked to the analogical generalization of the particle *out* in other contexts of use and in combination with different bases. More specifically, *to pick out* is a verb that conveys the meaning of 'to recognize someone or something from a group' (MacmillanPlus), as in (49), and as a synonym of 'to select from a group with care or deliberation' (OED), as shown in (50):

(49) *Hodgson picked out the prisoner directly; Hodgson had seen the pistols and the cutlasses before we went to the Mitre; his shop was in the way to the Mitre: he observed there was a notch in the stock of the pistol. (1790s)*

- (50) *Dolphin picked out two of the largest screws, and put them into his pocket - we went to the Britannia public-house, in Golden-lane - Marr was with us. (1810s)*

The fact that this is a well established use is confirmed by the OED, which reports some examples of it as far back as 1539, as in (51), and also some instances dating back to the LModE period more specifically, as in (52):

- (51) *Whan he had picked out ten thousand of the most valyant men of his hoost. (OED 1539 R. MORISON tr. Frontinus Strategemes and Policies Warre I. sig. Aiiii)*
- (52) *She has picked out such an ugly little devil, that strangers might imagine my wife was vulgar enough to be jealous of me. (OED 1810 MRS. S. GREEN Romance Readers and Romance Writers I. 171)*

These considerations should suggest that *to pick out* behaved as a model that other different simple lexical verbs followed, and that it was able to promote via analogy the use of the additional particle with other formatives, to provide the base verb itself with the meaning of 'select' among different parts.

In this regard, a verb that can be considered as a representative case for direct formation through analogy is *to count out*, which first occurs in the 1830s as a hapax legomena, as in example (53):

- (53) *I am now living with my mother and father Hallan got this lodging for me he is eighteen years old, I believe I am seventeen next April, and I believe Hughes is seventeen there was only one bed in the room Hughes used to sleep on a chair they knew I could see them while they were counting the things out. (1830s)*

The fact that it is only used in one single sentence is not indicative of its own irrelevance in linguistic terms because, on the contrary, it is to be seen as the starting point of an ongoing process of change that got it established over time. This assumption is also confirmed by the OED, which outlines the origin and the use of this verb reporting that it first appeared in the year 1833 conveying the meaning of 'to count and give out or take out (from a stock)', as in (54):

- (54) *If no counting out of the House took place, the House might resume at 5. (OED 1833 [implied in: Ann. Reg. 34])*

It is worth noting that there are no occurrences of this verb in the PIE legal texts, and more importantly, that it can only be found in the written texts, belonging to the newspaper section, as reported in (55). Of course, this could suggest that the use of *to count out* may have acquired a specialized use as a formal verb and, thus, not very frequently used in spoken language:

- (55) *Detached garage PRICE: £75,500 Maths tests counted out MORE than half a million children have been spared three hours of national curriculum maths tests today. (PIE K3X)*

In this regard, the verb *to count out* is to some extent similar to the verb *to count*, and, this would mean that the only function that the particle performs is to provide the base verb with a specific semantic force. It is possible to hypothesise that the introduction of innovative ways to express the same concept to reach a high level of expressiveness is connected with both the necessity of an enrichment in the informative contents and the functional pragmatic reasons orienting the discourse utterances (Heffer 2005: 36).

A more complex issue, in addition to what has been discussed so far, is the emergence of antonymous forms through analogy, as in the case of the pairs *up/down*, *in/out* and *on/off*. As Denison (1981: 165) claims the use of the verb containing one particle within the pair can promote the rise of the corresponding alternative form, and he reports *to switch on /to switch off* as an example. However, the particle does not convey an antonymous meaning in all the cases, and, on the contrary, there are also instances where the particles can be considered in some contexts as alternative choices (Live 1965: 436). A representative example of the latter case is the pair *to break up /to break down*, two verbs that are diachronically connected and, thus, very similar in use. The first element to be noted is that they do not possess contrasting meanings, a fact confirming that they are not properly 'antonymous' in a strict sense but equivalent and different variants to express the same concept. In this regard, the OED reports that *to break down* and *to break up* have the meaning of 'to demolish, destroy' and 'to break into many parts' respectively and, thus, it can consequently be assumed that they may be used interchangeably but with a slight change in meaning, as in (56) and (57):

- (56) *I did not see Driscoll's windows smashed, and his shutters broken down when I came back from the hospital I saw they had been smashed I do not know who did it after Murphy was knocked down several women came round him and jumped on him I was not there the night before. (1830s)*
- (57) *It struck me that it was about the middle of May the firm was broken up, because I should have gone on the first Monday in June for the remainder of the bill, but I must be wrong this invoice is dated the 31st of August it must have been in September they were broken up it was about quarter-day. (1830s)*

In examples (56) and (57), both the verb *to break down* and *to break up* convey the meaning of 'to remove, destroy' (MacmillanPlus) and possess the same syntactic and semantic features. From a diachronic perspective, looking at the data contained in the LModE-OBC, it should be hypothesized that the verb *to break up*, by analogy, modelled the emergence of the corresponding alternative verb *to break down* with a closer meaning. In fact, there are no instances of this verb conveying the meaning of 'to break

into small pieces' (OED) before the 1830s and this absence proves its connection with another verb, *to break up*, which was well established with this meaning at that time. In fact, considering that *to break up*, conveys, in the majority of cases, this last meaning, as in (58), it is possible to suppose that its frequent use has given rise to the same connotation also in the verb *to break down*, as in (59):

- (58) *We found that on the table; here is a piece that appears to be an old mourning ring broke up (producing two pieces of gold, about three or four inches long) the other may be to make a new ring. (1750s)*
- (59) *I am a headborough. I examined the premises on the 12th of December, between eleven and twelve o'clock in the morning - the paling was broken down, and appeared as if somebody had climbed over: I found two hats just by there, and took them to the watch-house: Alderton claimed one of them. (1810s)*

In this case, analogy occurred through the semantic-pragmatic extension of an existing form and it consequently spread to new contexts of use and gradually underwent institutionalization. A possible explanation lies in the analogical direct formation that led the verb *to break down* to acquire a new meaning similar to that of the other verb, as in (60), due to the generalization of the meaning among antonymous pairs. This hypothesis is in line with what is expressed by the OED that, since 1382, attests that the verb *to break down* has the more general meaning of 'to demolish, to destroy', as in (61), whereas the other connotation of 'to break into small piece' is only attested from 1859 onwards, as in (62):

- (60) *If a Ship be broken up, or taken in Pieces..and afterwards..be rebuilt..she is now another, and not the same Ship. (OED 1752 W. BEAWES Lex Mercatoria Rediviva 52)*
- (61) *I shal breke down his wal. (OED a1382 Bible Wycliffite, E.V.)*
- (62) *With delicious light French roll broken down into it. (OED 1859 J. M. JEPHSON and L. REEVE Narr. Walking Tour Brittany iv)*

Turning to the case of direct formation consequent on the shift of a word from one grammatical class to another, there are no instances of direct formation and rule generalization resulting in zero-derived forms in the LModE-OBC. This is probably due to a well established process in the previous stages of English and, thus, a process that does not promote the emergence of new forms during the 18th century. In this regard, it is possible to confirm the occurrence of specific verbs that contain an adjective or a noun as the base verb, but they display a high degree of stability and their emergence can be found as far back as the 17th century. Among them, some significant occurrences found in the LModE-OBC include the verb *to clear up* that, as also confirmed by the OED, first appeared in 1594, as in (63), and, as it happens in PDE, it conveys the meaning of 'to make clear', as in (64)-(65):

- (63) *Cleare vp faire Queene that cloudy countenance. (OED 1594 SHAKESPEARE Titus Andronicus 1. i. 263)*
- (64) *I asked him at what time; and he said, at nine o'clock, at his house in Bedfont-lane, that was all that passed on the Sunday; accordingly I went on the Wednesday to the prisoner's house, having first gone to Sir William Gibbons, a Magistrate, to clear up the point, that I might not be thought to buy stolen goods. (1790s)*
- (65) *He said there was some mistake in it, he could not find any such claim the prisoner then said that he knew Bouch had a claim, that Dr. Blundell had made it out, and sent it in for him the prisoner proposed that Bouch should go to Dr. Blundell's, and get the letter that conveyed the award paper to the doctor, to which I objected, and said he had better remain till the matter was cleared up. (1830s)*

Similarly, the verb *to light up*, despite not being very frequent, is attested since the 1790s, as in (66) and (67), and it is used with the meaning reported in the OED, that is 'to furnish or to fill with abundance of light; to illuminate in a special manner; to bring into prominence by means of light', as in (68):

- (66) *Had there been fire-arms used by idle people to induce the neighbours to light up? - A. Yes. (1790s)*
- (67) *They boy is a notorious character; his master keeps fifteen or sixteen lodging-houses for common prostitutes, and it is his employment to light them up to bed. (1790s)*
- (68) *An huge Room lighted up with abundance of Candles. (OED 1711 J. ADDISON Spectator No. 50)*

These considerations confirm that analogy influenced the emergence of new PVs, but, it also influenced the loss of PVs and, in some contexts, favoured the emergence of the simple verb instead of the original complex one. This must be seen in terms of direct formation of simple verbs from PVs, a process that has great importance in talking about PVs, because the appearance of new simple verbs is the outcome of the analogical process affecting PVs. In such cases, the PVs consisting of V + Particle gradually underwent syntactic changes characterized by the ellipsis of the particle after a process of progressive bleaching and functional weakness. For instance, this is the case of *to turn about*. Some examples of *to turn about*, as in (69) and (71), can give further elucidation on the process discussed so far. The verb *to turn about* is an intransitive PV relatively frequent in the 1750 – 1770 decades but that gradually disappeared from the 1790 onwards:

- (69) *Then he turned about and clapped the bayonet to my breast and demanded my money. I said friend I have but very little money for you. (1770s)*
- (70) *He and I followed her into Smithfield; he overtook her; she turned about directly, and said she had nothing of his; at which time I saw her drop it*

again behind her; Mr Thorn went and took it; then the prisoner was very much confused. (1750s)

(71) *I turned about and saw the prisoner delivering my handkerchief to another young man; he ran across the street, and I followed him, and stopped him and charged him with picking my pocket; he denied it; I took him to the Compter, and charged a constable with him. (1750s)*

Interestingly, there are no instances of this verb either in the ARCHER corpus or PIE, a fact that confirms the gradual disappearance of this verb. All this can be placed in line with what is expressed in the OED, which does not report examples containing this verb until the year 1609, with no other instances after this date, as in (72):

(72) *Through al monethes, that succede one another as the yeare turneth about. (OED 1609 Bible I. Num. xxviii. 14)*

Another verb that can show how reanalysis caused the loss of PVs is for example *to walk up*, a verb that underwent a syntactic restructuring together with the category change of the non-verbal element. Specifically, the verb *to walk up* was found as a PV until the 1770s, while it started to behave as a simple verb after this date, a fact that seems to be indicative of the gradual change started in the EME period and transferred to the era which is under analysis. Example (73) shows the verb *to walk up* behaving as a PV:

(73) *He would walk up in my parlour, look up against the wall, and talk to himself. I looked upon him as a man insane; I never looked upon him as any thing else.(1770s)*

In this example, the verb *to walk up* means 'to go in another place' and it can be substituted with a single verb without any change in meaning. This means that it behaves as a PV, and, moreover, the possibility of rewriting the sentence *he would walk up in my parlour* as *he would go into my parlour*, confirms the high degree of cohesion between the verb and the particle and the periphrastic status of the whole combination *to walk up*. In this case, *up* does not behave as a pure adverb nor as a preposition because it cannot be substituted with *upwards* and it does not refer to any other element in the clause. Similar behavior is displayed in example (74) below, where the verb *to walk up* can be seen as an intransitive PV:

(74) *Fitch down with his carbine he laid hold of his carbine with both hands, and struck him over the side of the head Fitch laid down he seemed stunned, to me I walked up, as quickly as I could, to lay hold of him I said, "You are cut" the blood streamed down his face the prisoner turned coolly round. (1830s)*

However, from 1810 onwards, the number of instances of *to walk up* classified as a PV gradually declined and other instances which were similar in structure but different in functional terms, started to occur. In fact, many examples containing the PV *to walk up* were set in rivalry with other instances behaving as free combinations characterized by a different syntactic structure, as in (75) and (76):

(75) *Do you remember Wednesday morning, the 14th of September - A. Yes, I heard of this robbery that morning; I got up about seven o'clock, I walked up the street, I met the prisoner Ringrose she said I am a pretty one to be up all night, smiled and past.* (1810s)

(76) *Young walked up to me with some tongs, and said, "Here is another b—cockney" he struck me on the forehead with the tongs.* (1830s)

This suggests that, despite being placed consecutively, the verb and the following element which are represented in (75), cannot be seen as a single lexical element, as is the case in (76). Thus, it is possible to assume that the verb *to walk up* was affected by syntactic reanalysis together with the grammaticalization of the particle and the regeneration of its functions to a prepositional status due to the progressive increase in autonomy of both elements. In (75) the word *up* is interchangeably used with *upwards*, the whole meaning being conveyed by the context of occurrence and, consequently, the verb *to walk* forms an independent simple verb. This means that, syntactically, this is a kind of verb that rebracketed its structure due to the decline in the degree of autonomy of the following element, i.e. *up*. However, this process was not followed by the complete disappearance of *to walk up* as a PV, and the verb continued to display features which are associated with PVs, despite the fact that other free combinations increased in use. The status of the word *up* behaving as an adverbial particle is also confirmed by the possibility of a coordination with another adverb such as *down*, as in (77) and (78):

(77) *I told him I came for another 5 l. screen, we went together down Seward-street, to the Leopard, public-house, and had a pint of beer - he went out, and I went out, and walked up and down by the house; he went away, and brought a 5 l. note, and gave it to me.* (1810s)

(78) *On Saturday morning, the 28th of Dec, I was on duty in High-street, Kensington, about five o'clock, and saw the prisoner walking up and down in front of the prosecutor's shop he passed it twice he continued to do so about twenty minutes I then lost sight of him for about two minutes.* (1830s)

Similarly, this process of reanalysis ending in the emergence of new free combinations also affected other verbs.

A very interesting case that helps us to reach a complete understanding of the decline of PVs is *to examine apart*, a PV which does not occur many times in the data (14 tokens) but which is a significant example in outlining how the connection between the verb and the following element can vary over time and give rise to new linguistic

patterns. The progression of the particle *apart* towards the independent status of adverb is evident in the weakness of the cohesion between the base verb and the non-verbal element, together with the functional shift from a grammatical status to a lexical one:

(79) *The witnesses were examined apart at the request of the prisoner. (1770s)*

(80) *Isaacs did make an assault, putting him in corporal fear and danger of his life, and violently taking from his person, one man's hat, val 5 s. and one perrewig, val. 5 s. the property of the said Henry, Nov. 30 . At the desire of the prisoner the witnesses were examined apart. (1750s)*

As reported in (79) and (80), *to examine* is used as a PV and the whole verb is semantically a unit of meaning. The particle *apart* steadily gained semantic content and syntactically independent from the preceding verb. This is confirmed by the co-occurrence of different variants in the syntactic usage of the verb itself which, from the 1750s onwards, was used alternatively followed by both *separate* (81) and *separately* (82):

(81) *With two women, and they rob'd him in their own room. They are here now to prove it. He making such an extraordinary defence, his witnesses were all sworn together, and taken into another room and examined separate, as follows: Elizabeth Spurr . Jane Trueman said in my iing she pick'd up the prosecutor.(1750s)*

(82) *They were both examined separately; they were detained, and the horses were detained.(1810s)*

It is interesting to note that, contexts such as those reported in (81)-(82) where *to examine* occurs, represent a source of potential change. In particular, the alternative use of *separate* and *apart* and the complete disappearance of *apart* from 1810 onwards would suggest a kind of rivalry between different constructions ending in the predominance of the former. This is explicable on the assumption that the particle *apart* first undertook a decategorialization to the status of an adverb, along with the contextual acquisition of new meanings, and then further changes put it in contrast with other adverbs such as *separately*.

5.2.4. Semantic features of phrasal verbs in the LModE-OBC corpus

From a diachronic perspective, the relative compositionality of PVs is a very interesting feature because such clines are the result of diachronic processes resulting in PVs as they are known in Present Day English (PDE). It can be assumed that, diachronically, PVs 'have undergone a lexical development from compositional to non-compositional' (Thim 2012:12; cf. Kennedy 1920: 16; Denison 1981: 108) due to the semantic shift of particles from a directional to a resultative connotation (Brinton &

Akimoto 1999: 9). In fact the 'relative compositionality' (Thim 2012: 12) of PVs, that is the 'cline (...) from completely literal to totally opaque cases' (Claridge 2000: 47) is a very interesting feature because the particles originally with a spatial meaning acquired an aspectual connotation (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 124) and some of them have also undergone a process of idiomatization making their meaning completely opaque.

In this regard, one of the most interesting particles characterized by an aspectual meaning is the particle *on*, as academics such as Poutsma (1926) have underlined in their works. In fact, this particle can be considered *sui generis* in that, unlike with other particles, it is also used in grammaticalized periphrastic expressions, as in *to go on* and *to keep on*, with a focus on the continuation and duration of the action.

On these bases, the intention is to study the changes in compositionality of PVs containing the particle *on* and to describe the processes involved in such a relevant aspect of the English verbal system trying to point out the factors promoting the gradual increase in idiomaticity of PVs in the LModE period.

5.2.4.1 A case study: the development of the aspectual meaning of the particle *on*

Many studies have been conducted on PVs (Bolinger 1971; Fraser 1974; Brinton 1988; Cappelle 2005; Elenbaas 2007) and many of them also focus on the aspectual use of the particle *on* along with the description of its general semantic features (Kennedy 1920; Poutsma 1926; Bolinger 1971; Brinton 1988; Claridge 2000). The reason for such great interest can be explained by considering the nature of this particle itself because, in addition to being a preposition, it is also frequently used as an adverbial particle with locative, directional and aspectual meaning. More specifically, it can be used as an aspectual marker denoting a continuative/durative aspect (e.g. *to carry on*, *to go on*) and it can also occur with inceptive meaning in periphrastic constructions such as in the aspectual quasi-auxiliaries (or aspectualizers) (Brinton 1988: 4) *to go on* and *to keep on*. In this regard, it should be observed that the semantic properties of the particle *on* are particularly interesting.

The first thing to observe is that this particle is extensively used conveying the meaning of expressing 'motion through space' (Thim 2012: 15) and it may mark direction with verbs expressing path, as in example (83):

(83) *He then told me to go on to the Obelisk, in St. George's-fields, and I sat him down near the Elephant and Castle.(1790s)*

In addition, it may indicate a continuative/iterative aspect and, at the same time, in different contexts, it can mark 'a situation which may otherwise have stopped as continuing' or the 'situation as repeated' (Brinton 1988: 175), as in example (84):

(84) *Then you may go on swearing anything, you are a bad man.(1790s)*

Considering that, from a diachronic perspective, aspectual PVs emerged as a consequence of a process of grammaticalization that led the particles to undergo a 'metonymic shift' from directional to a telic meaning (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 124) but also to an aspectual connotation (Brinton 1988), it is possible to suppose that the particle *on* was also involved in these changes. In fact, as has been proved in many studies (Brinton 1988; Hiltunen 1999; Thim 2012; Rodríguez-Puente 2013a), the particle in PVs can be affected by a gradual increase in opacity in meaning over time and then they may start to show different connotative properties resulting in both semantic idiomaticity or simply extension in meaning.

It can be hypothesized that the same path affected the particle *on* during the LModE period and, thus, that it underwent a similar development as that of the previous stages (Denison 1981; Brinton & Traugott 2005; Elenbaas 2007). In this case, the particle could display an aspectual meaning and provide the verb which precedes it with an aspectual connotation. In particular, processes like grammaticalization and metonymization⁵² can lead to an increase in opaqueness and to the acquisition of an aspectual connotation in consequence of the demotivation at the semantic level and of the extension in the context of use of linguistic items.

This happens when, in consequence of the grammaticalization of the particle and its reanalysis, the non-verbal element loses its independence and starts behaving as part of a single lexical item together with the preceding verb. Further changes promote the semantic extension in meaning and the shift from the literal meaning of 'status and position' to mark 'the persistence' of an action (Brinton 1988: 112).

The whole corpus does not present many instances of verbs containing the particle *on* but this particle, despite its relative low frequency, is very interesting in that it can provide information on the way the meaning of the base verb can acquire new connotative properties. In fact, the meaning of the particle contributes to the meaning of the whole combination. The resulting verb can thus display different semantic properties and, on the whole, each one is characterized by a "core" meaning that links it with a single specific domain.

In this view, PVs containing *on* can be divided into two groups: activity and aspectual verbs. Following Biber et al.'s perspective (1999: 360-428), PVs and more generally, every lexical verb, possess multiple meanings.

⁵² Metonymization is a process operating in the context of grammaticalization which contributes to the development of aspectual forms (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 28; cf. Brinton 1988: 111-114). Grammaticalization, in fact, entails semantic reanalysis which prompts changes in 'interpretation, (...) and meaning' (Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]: 39).

Table 19 shows the most frequent PVs containing *on* with aspectual meaning grouped together by semantic domain:

Type	Verb	Rf	Nf (per 10,000 words)
Activity transitive	To have on sth	198	1.96
	To try on sth	8	0.08
	To put on sth	71	0.70
	To get on sth	10	0.09
Activity intransitive	To come on	14	0.13
Aspectual transitive	To carry on sth	34	0.33
	To go on sth	9	0.08
	To keep on sth	2	0.01
Aspectual intransitive	To go on	117	1.16
	To drive on	5	0.04
	To pass on	5	0.04
	To move on	6	0.06
	To walk on	15	0.14
	To run on	1	0.009

Table 19: PVs containing the particle *on*

In the case of the activity verbs, it is possible to state that they denote actions and events whereas the aspectual ones convey information also on the state of the action or event, describing it as ingressive, continuative or egressive.

For example, *to go on* is specifically used as an exhortation to act, (85), or also to 'mark continuation' (Biber et al. 1999: 411) of an action taking a complement *-ing* or *-to* clause as its direct object, (86) and (87):

(85) "Go on, go on;" the prisoner then went on before me to the tail of the waggon, and attempted to take a box. (1810s)

--- Aspectual intransitive---

(86) When he returned to me he told me I might go on shipping, and pass the entries. (1830s)

--- Aspectual transitive---

(87) I got up at the same time in the morning as usual to dress my goods; I went on to work the servant came down stairs. (1810s)

--- Aspectual transitive---

These examples confirm that the particle *on* can be considered synonymous with 'onwards' (Kennedy 1920: 21). This also suggests that, as expressed in (85)-(87), the

intrinsic function of the particle under analysis is to contribute to the meaning of the preceding verb, adding the meaning of duration and continuity.

As represented in Table 19 above, among the transitive verbs, in addition to the verbs *to carry on* and *to keep on*, there is also the verb *to go on*. This is not surprising if we consider that in PDE this is a verb frequently used to indicate the duration of an action with a *-to* infinitive and *-ing* clause as complement (Biber et al. 1999: 411), together with *to keep on*. However, only a few instances can be found in the whole corpus and specifically, four in the years 1750-1799, as in (88), and five in the years 1800-1850, as in (89)-(90):

- (88) *I went on hearing the conversation about a robbery I had committed. (1750s)*
 (89) *The Defence then went on to state, at a considerable length, circumstances which appear in the following evidence. (1810s)*
 (90) *When he returned to me he told me I might go on shipping, and pass the entries. (1830s)*

Significantly, they show a syntactic behavior similar to that found in PDE: two of these forms, (88) and (90), are syntactically composed of the base verb + *ing*-clause whereas the other one, as in (89), takes a *to*-infinitive clause as its direct object.

Furthermore, looking at the syntactic construction, it is evident that the aspectual force of the particle can also be emphasized by the use of the following verb in the progressive form, as in (88) and (90), and this continuative and iterative aspect is linked to the syntactic restriction that does not allow any stative verbs to follow an aspectual particle such as *on* (Brinton 1988: 175). In this regard, it is worth noting that *on* frequently occurs with a continuative aspect when it is preceded by durative verbs, like in the case of *to go on* and *to keep on* (Poutsma 1926: 307).

As for the different use of transitive and intransitive patterns, in general, there is a tendency to use aspectual verbs in the intransitive form, as represented in Figure 13 below:

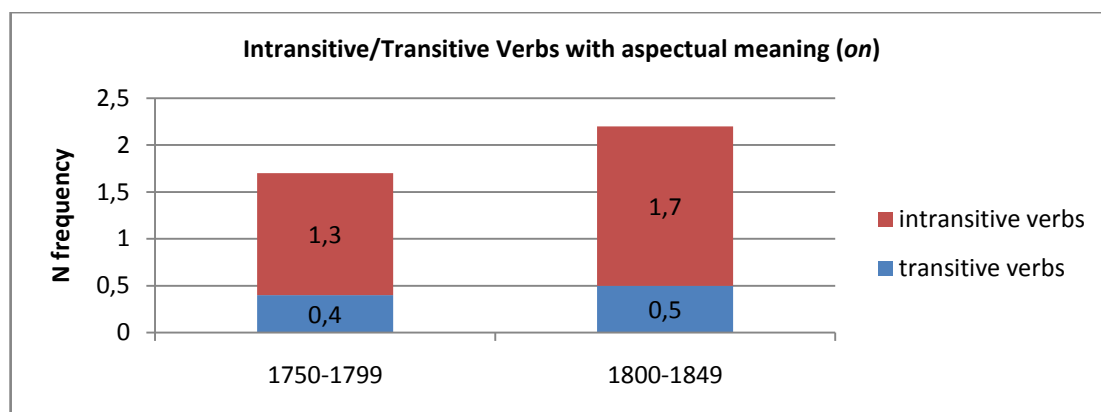


Figure 13: Transitive and intransitive verbs with an aspectual meaning (Nf per 10,000 words)

In general, there is a strong preference and a steady increase in the use of the intransitive pattern in both the years 1750-1799 and 1800-1849, whereas the transitive

pattern on the whole shows a tendency towards stability over time. This trend can be explained by the fact that only three types of transitive verbs occur in the corpus, specifically *to carry on*, *to go on*, and *to keep on* as represented in Table 20 below:

	1750-99 (Nf)	1800-49 (Nf)	Change in frequency Diff (n/10,000)
To carry on	0.33	0.33	+/-0.00
To go on	0.07	0.09	+ 0.02
To keep on	0.02	0.04	+0.02

Table 20: Transitive verbs containing *on* with aspectual meaning

As is evident by observing Figure 13, transitive verbs containing *on* are used only rarely in comparison with the intransitive patterns. In fact, these transitive verbs constitute only 25.5% of all occurrences of the verbs containing *on* in the years 1750-1799 and 28% in the years 1800-1849.

Analysis of the intransitive verbs shows that by comparing the verbs found in the years 1750-1799 and in the years 1800-1849 there are some PVs that are only found in the first case (e.g. *to run on*) whereas others are only attested from the 1830s onwards (e.g. *to move on*).

In the following table, we consider in detail the most frequent aspectual intransitive PVs containing the particle *on*:

	1750-99	1800-49	Change in frequency Diff (n/10,000)
To drive on	0.07	0.02	-0.05
To go on	1.00	1.32	+ 0.32
To move on	0.00	0.11	+0.11
To pass on	0.02	0.08	+0.06
To run on	0.02	0.00	-0.02
To walk on	0.16	0.14	-0.02

Table 21: Aspectual intransitive PVs (Nf per 10,000 words)

The first thing to note is that there is a relative stability in use of the aspectual intransitive PVs. However, an interesting element is that a new aspectual verb emerges over time, namely *to move on* and another increases in use, *to go on*.

The question that arises is whether this relative stability in the lexical and syntactic features also characterized the semantics of the PVs containing *on*.

As for transitive verbs, with the exception of the instances of *to go on*, no relevant changes can be found. Both *to carry on* (the most frequent verb) and *to keep on* are used in the syntactic pattern as they are in PDE. In the 18th and 19th centuries, on the other hand, the semantic changes consisted of a simple extension in meaning and in the acquisition of new contexts of use, and, in a few cases they resulted in the shift from a directional to aspectual connotation. In fact, as far as *to carry on* is concerned, there is a slight change in its semantic preference and an extension in its context of use.

Specifically, the combination *to carry on* is used with the meaning of 'to conduct, transact, pursue' (OxDCiE) and often occurs with a NP denoting the kind of activity conducted, as in the examples below:

- (91) *My husband was a founder and brazier, but he is dead, and I carry on the business. (1750s)*
- (92) *Mr. Coyde told me he would not let me have it. He said he did not understand carrying on any correspondence with Mr. Weeley in Newgate.(1750s)*
- (93) *By whose expence is this prosecution carried on? (1790s)*
- (94) *I am a pawnbroker , I live in Fleet-street , my house is exactly opposite the Temple, I have had the house in my occupation since November, 1807, it was formerly occupied by Mr. Salkeld, who carried on the same trade; I have occupied it about four years and a half. (1810s)*
- (95) *I reside at Edmonton, and carry on business in London, as a stock-broker the prisoner was in my service about seventeen months. (1830s)*

These examples suggest that, while in the years 1750-1799 *to carry on* can be used mainly with words such as *correspondence*, as in (92), and *prosecution*, as in (93) along with a well-established use in collocation with the word *business* (91), from 1810 onwards it is almost exclusively followed by *trade* (94) and *business* (95). In fact, according to the OED, this verb denotes the meaning of 'to practise continuously' and appears as a collocation of *business* from the year 1644, as reported in the following example and this confirms that the aspectual connotation has been a well established feature of this particle since the earlier stages:

- (96) *Carrying on his business with so much success. (OED 1644 H. SLINGSBY Diary (1836) 127)*

Consequently, it is possible to assume that the use of *to carry on* with words referring to the activity of buying, selling or supplying goods goes back to the early periods of the history of English and that it became stable through the LModE period.

Moreover, these findings are also completely supported by what Claridge (2000: 242) states in her work on multi-word verbs when discussing the aspectual features of the particle *on* in the Early Modern English period (EME). In fact, in line with our results, she reports that the word *trade*, for example, is the lexical item that this kind of verb usually collocates with (ib.: 242) displaying a pattern of use which is also attested in PDE. However, turning to the specific case of the Late Modern period, it should be noted that,

despite showing a kind of continuity with the Early Modern period, *to carry on* underwent a change in its meaning and specifically, an increase in abstractness and in the number of collocates. As for (93), in particular, *to carry on* was used in a specific way to indicate the duration of the prosecution and this case is not only important to prove the emergence of a new set of collocates in the LModE period but it can also be seen as the starting point of an ongoing process of change that resulted in an extension in the meaning of the verb *to carry on* itself. In fact, this innovative use is attested in the OED which confirms that the occurrence of the verb *to carry on* with the new meaning of 'to conduct', 'to manage', 'to work at', 'to prosecute' in collocation specifically with the word *trial*, first appeared in 1810, as in (97):

(97) *His trial must be carried on in open day. (OED - 1810 M. EDGEWORTH Prussian Vase in Moral Tales III. 28)*

Interestingly, this use was also found with the verb *to conduct*, as in (98), which became more frequently used with this meaning with the word *prosecution*, especially in the 1830s:

(98) *I believe this is the first time I ever made that statement I never made it to the gentleman conducting this prosecution. (1830s)*

These examples make clear that *to carry on* was increasingly used followed by different collocates and that the occurrence in various contexts of use resulted in an extension in the meaning and in the reinforcement of the aspectual force.

As for the intransitive verbs, one of the most interesting PVs is *to go on*, which increases in use, but it did not undergo any change in meaning. It is used with both spatio-directional meaning, that is in contexts in which it can be replaced by a prepositional phrase and the aspectual meaning expressing the duration/continuation of an event. It is interesting to note that this verb continued to be used with the meaning of 'to proceed, continue, progress' (OED), contributing to the reinforcement of the aspectual connotation that first appeared in the 16th century, as in (99), and that was established in the 18th century, as in (100):

(99) *The losses and detriments thereof partly are, and more wil be irrecoverable and aboue all recompense, if it go on vnpreuented in time.(OED 1572 *Treat. Treasons against Q. Elizabeth II. f. 131^v*)*

(100) *Go on, then, I say; banish the occupants or owners, or kill them,..and take their land and property as spoil. (OED 1844 J. SMITH *Let. 2 Jan. in B. H. Roberts Rise & Fall Nauvoo (1900) App. I. 375*)*

In fact, considering the distributional properties of this verb in the LModE-OBC, there is an increase in use from the 1800s onwards. *To go on*, in fact, represents 62.8% and 66% out of all instances of the verbs with aspectual meaning containing *on*, as

represented in Table 22, and increased by +3.2 percentage points from the years 1750-1799 to 1800-1849:

	Raw Frequency (Rf)	Nf (per 10,000 words)	Relative frequency (Rf)	%	Percentage points
1750-1799	54	1.07	0.62	62.8	+ 3.2
1800-1849	72	1.42	0.66	66.0	

Table 22: Difference in the frequency of the verb *to go on*

Functionally, *to go on* is used as an exclamatory exhortation and also to mark continuation of some general actions as in (101) and (102) respectively:

(101) *"Send them on" upon that one of them said, "Hit them with your carbine" I could not see who it was said that the prisoner upon that said, "Go on," in a very imperative tone. (1830s)*

(102) *For some days the thing went on very well. After a time they sent word the serjeant was very ill. (1750s)*

The use of these verbs with the function of 'to encourage or persuade a person to do something or proceed with a course of action' (OED) is not new in that the imperative form is frequently used from the 16th century onwards, as in (103) and (104):

(103) *Yet be not thou dismayd, go on, and bolden well thy selfe. (OED 1566 T. NUCE in J. Studley tr. Seneca Agamemnon sig. Ciii)*

(104) *The managers..expected she would continue to go on in the pageant as long as she was able. (OED 1769 S. BARRY Let. 27 Oct. in D. Garrick Private Corr. (1831) I. 370)*

Moreover, as is the case in PDE, this verb was associated with the meaning of 'to continue, persevere, or persist in doing something, or in making, dealing with, or using something' (OED), as in (105):

(105) *If you go on to learn at this rate, you will soon puzzle me, in Greek especially. (OED-1739 LD. CHESTERFIELD Let. 16 Apr. (1932) (modernized text) II. 362)*

To come on, on the other hand, is always used with the idiomatic meaning of 'to start', as in (106) and (107), and it is not affected by significant changes. In fact, in the majority of the cases, it denotes an activity or an event with an ingressive meaning as can be found in PDE:

(106) *I know nothing of the robbery; my trial came on so soon, I could send for none of my friends; I am innocent. (1770s)*

(107) *Why is not he here? - A. He did not know that the trial would come on tonight; I saw some of the things at the watch-house. (1790s)*

Two examples that make a case for the emergence of the aspectual connotation of *on* are *to pass on* and *to move on*, which underwent a process of grammaticalization that caused the decategorialization of the preposition to an adverbial particle status, the reanalysis of the items within the clause and the consequent fusion of the non-verbal element with the verb, from a phonological point of view. As a consequence, *on* in addition to being used as a preposition in the pattern V+PP, started to occur, displaying an increasing boundedness with the preceding verb and showing a change in its linguistic features. In fact, when *on* performs as an adverbial particle, it tended to lead to the phonological reduction of the verb through a process involving coalescence and started to be used without any other following NP. Thus it occurred as a preposition followed by a NP, as in (108), but also as an adverbial particle characterized by an aspectual meaning of continuity and duration, as in (109)-(110):

(108) *What passed on the subject of inlisting? - Harris talked of going for a soldier. (1770s)*

(109) *I did not speak to them, but looked at them very hard - they passed on, and I soon afterwards heard a scream. (1830s)*

(110) *Here, "Bill, take it" he said it was not him, it was someone who had passed on. (1830s)*

More specifically, the occurrence of *on* as a preposition as in (108), followed by a NP, i.e. *the subject of inlisting*, was set in rivalry with other cases characterized by a reduction in autonomy and by an increase in the cohesion with the preceding verb. Specifically, considering (108), *to pass* has the meaning of 'to spend time doing something' (MacmillanOnline) whereas the non verbal-element introduces the states which the verb refers to.

Instead, in (109) and (110), *on* displays the function of a particle and it contributes to the meaning of the whole V+ particle combination *to pass on*, and it is used with the meaning of 'to move from one activity to another' (OxDCiE). This means that *on* does not show autonomy within the clause and that it forms a single lexical item with the preceding verb *to pass*. In this regard, the fact that the verb *to pass on*, behaving as a unit first appears from the 1800 onwards, is indicative of the ongoing structural and semantic change that *on* underwent over the centuries and that led it to the acquisition of an aspectual force.

Moreover, these considerations are particularly important in that they confirm what other scholars state with reference to other periods in the history of English, among others Claridge (2000: 342; cf. Elenbaas 2007: 215-219) who describes MWVs in the EME and explains that the emergence of the aspectual particles underwent semantic reanalysis and came through the specific meaning of motion and direction to denote aspectual meaning.

In fact, the preposition *on* firstly appeared with verbs expressing the connotation of 'motion through space and time, as in (108), and then acquired another status, that of a particle, and an aspectual force, as in (109) and (110). In particular, the particle *on* came to indicate a durative aspect (Brinton 1988: 113).

A similar trend can be observed with regard to the verb *to move on*, as represented in the examples below:

(111) *We did not think proper to lend any money upon it; I seeing the name on the bottom, bid her carry it to the right owner; I went to see for Mr. Cole, and found he was moved.* (1750s)

(112) *I saw him on the following morning; he was then moved down to a better apartment.* (1770s)

(113) *I had no particular reason for not going on indeed, we were moving on slowly I did not say.* (1830s)

(114) *he certainly should not run away, in a very temperate tone we moved on. I was moving on when the blow was struck.* (1830s)

At the beginning of the 1750s the verb *to move* was used only as a single lexical verb denoting the taking of action or the change in the position of something or somebody, as in (111), or followed by a complex preposition, as in (112). In the 1830s, instead, the verb *to move* was followed by *on* functionally behaving as a particle, as in (113) and (114), in addition to its prototypical use as a single lexical verb still frequent in PDE. For example, in the case of (113), the verb *to move on* shows the literal meaning of 'to progress, to move along' (MacmillanPlus) and the particle adds the aspectual meaning of duration and continuity to the verb. In particular, the whole verb+particle construction is used with idiomatic meaning and, specifically, with the meaning of 'to leave a place when somebody in authority tells you' (MacmillanPlus).

On these bases, it is possible to state that, despite the aspectual PVs containing the particle *on* not being very frequent in the data, they nevertheless suggest important elements in the comprehension of the establishment of aspectual particles in the LModE period.

The emergence of new forms can be connected with a process of change that led a specific item to the acquisition of an aspectual meaning, along with the well-established meaning of motion and direction. The findings demonstrate that the LModE period was characterized by the emergence of aspectual meanings and by the gradual increase in the idiomaticity of the V+particle combinations. This means that during the LModE period, PVs continued to evolve following the path attested in the previous stages (Denison 1981; Hiltunen 1983; Elenbaas 2007).

5.3. Prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC

5.3.1. Lexical features of the prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC

As described in paragraph 5.1, prepositional verbs represent the second group among MWVs in terms of frequency of occurrence. In fact, despite not being as frequent as PVs, they play an important role in the multi-word system considered as a whole, much more than phrasal-prepositional verbs that possess, in comparison, very few instances.

The study of the constituent parts of prepositional verbs shows that in the majority of cases, the base verbs are foreign rather than native words as is also attested in the previous periods (Claridge 2000: 116). In fact, loan words and especially Romance words, are those that have shown a tendency to be followed by a preposition over time (ib.: 116) 'as much as most of the romance verbs' (ib.: 117). The explanation of this feature could lie in the fact that, especially during the Middle English (ME) period, a significant external influence contributed to the borrowing of new forms from Latin, Scandinavian and French languages (Denison 1981: 210-211). *To do with*, *to enter into*, for instance, are considered by Denison (ib.: 211) as examples of new verbs derived from French periphrastic verbs by analogy. Once entered into the linguistic system, of course, these innovative patterns spread in other contexts of use and also underwent further changes that made them as they are known in PDE.

The base verbs that appear to be the most significantly used in prepositional verbs are *to look*, *to go*, *to call*, *to come*, *to run*, *to join*, *to wait*, *to deal*, which are also the bases that possess the ability to be selected with different prepositions to form various prepositional verbs. The verbs which even occur followed by more than 8 different prepositions are *to look* and *to go* and, in each case, a different meaning is conveyed. For instance, the verb *to look* can occur as *to look into*, *to look for*, *to look after*, *to look upon*, etc, as in (115)-(118) below:

(115) He looked into a drawer, and took up two shanks of seals, and a watch set with stones. I desired him to deliver them to the constable. (1750s)

(116) I told him yes I had been in the cellar before the policeman came, but had not looked for anything I afterwards found these things in the cellar with the policeman. (1830s)

(117) I told them how I came by the pail, and the officer said he knew the man, but never looked after him. (1810s)

(118) He does not pay me, because I looked upon him as a man that pays me for my washing, and I give him victuals when he is out of work. (1790s)

However, with the exception of these verbs and a few others (e.g. *to come* is followed by *after*, *at*, *by*, *for*, *into*, *of*, *to* and *upon*; the verb *to agree* by *for*, *in*, *to* and *with*; and *to call* occurs with the prepositions *for*, *on*, *to*, *up*, and *upon*), the majority of the formatives do not occur with more than 3 prepositions.

Table 23 reports the verbs that take different prepositional particles to form prepositional verbs:

BASE VERB	N. PARTICLES	BASE VERB	N. PARTICLES	BASE VERB	N. PARTICLES
TO LOOK	10	TO FALL	5	TO FIRE	3
TO GO	9	TO AGREE	4	TO GET	3
				TO ASK	3
TO COME	9	TO RUN	4	TO JOIN	3
				TO WAIT	3
TO CALL	5	TO SPEAK	4	TO PART	3
				TO TALK	3
TO ENQUIRE	5	TO SWEAR	4	TO SEARCH	3
TO INQUIRE	5	TO DEAL	3	TO TALK	3

Table 23: Base verbs and particles in the LModE-OBC

In the LModE-OBC there are only 20 base verbs that collocate with 3 or more particles. There are, in fact, many verbs that only take one particle and this reveals that a relative degree of productivity affected these verbs in the period under investigation. As for the prepositions, the most frequent prepositional particles include *for*, *to*, *at*, *of*,⁵³ followed by *with*, *upon*, *after* and *by*.

Figure 14 represents the frequency of prepositional particles found in the LModE-OBC:

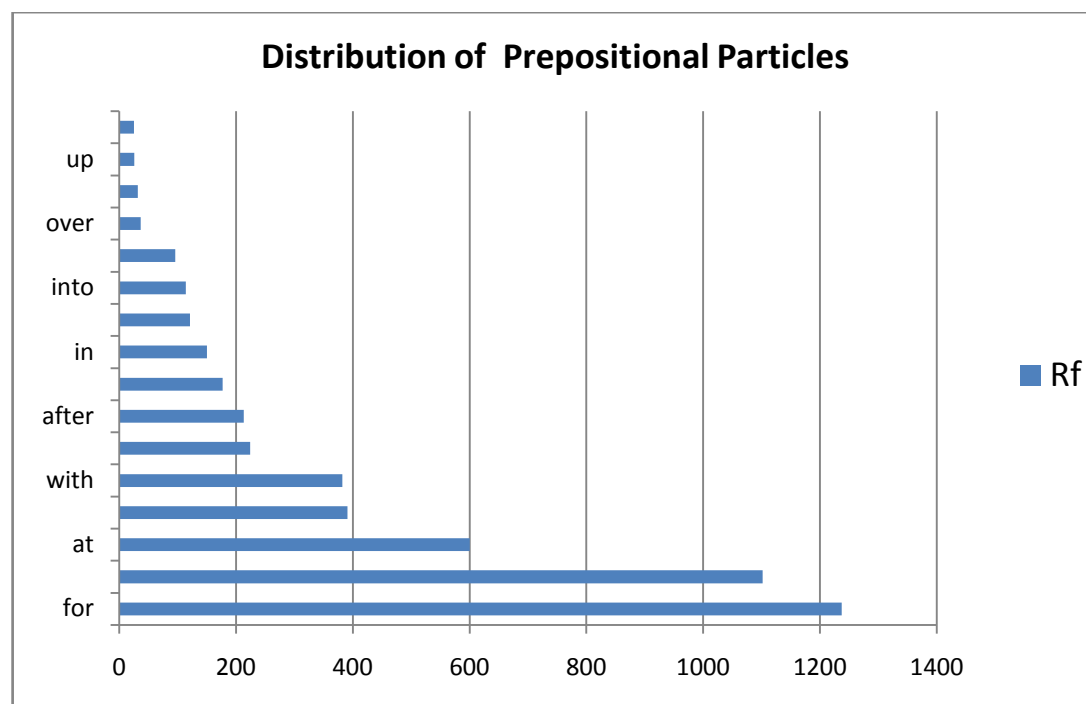


Figure 14: The distribution of prepositional particles in the LModE-OBC

⁵³ The preposition *of* is often written as *off*, two forms which are used interchangeably in the LModE-OBC, as also revealed in the Lampeter corpus by Claridge (2000: 129)

This Figure clearly shows that, among prepositional particles, there are many that are also used in different contexts as adverbial particles, namely *about*, *by*, *in*, *on*, *over* and *through*. In fact, these are the most problematic cases since they occur in both classes and thus they can be considered to be positioned at the cutting edges between prepositional and adverbial status.

Specifically, they occur without apparently any difference in shape, as for instance happens to verbs such as *to go through* and *to come by*, as represented in (119) and (121) and in (120) and (122):

(119) *Instead of going into the tap-room I went through the passage to go to the water-closet, and as I came back, the prosecutor was in the passage with a light in his hand . (1830s)*

(120) *I went through to Hatton-garden, and came up to them; I suspected her, and said to Ann King, you have something that does not belong to you? (1790s)*

(121) *The Coroner's Jury have decided that they could not find evidence how Connell came by bis death, and there is the same evidence before the Court.(1830s)*

(122) *I saw Field at Wolverhampton, but don't know the day of the month; it was on a Wednesday, in May 1749. I and the other Evidence were buying goods in a Shop and he came by, and we met him on the road afterwards.(1750s)*

In these cases, as happens in PDE, both the base verbs and the non-verbal elements are the same: *to come by* and *to go through*. However, it is the syntactic behaviour that makes it possible to distinguish them from each other: only in (119) and (121) do the verbs need a prepositional complement for syntactic completion, and thus are prepositional verbs, whereas in the other cases (120) and (122) the absence of a NP following the non-verbal element is sufficient to attribute an adverbial status to the particle. In fact, both *to go through* and *to come by* in (120) and (122) are intransitive verbs and lack the main feature of prepositional verbs, which is the necessity to be used with a following NP (Claridge 2000: 129).

Interestingly, the similarity between the prepositional verbs in the LModE period and PDE also emerges in the use of some verbs that occur as simple verbs as well as prepositional verbs. This is not new in that this behaviour has also been registered in the EME period and discussed by Claridge (2000: 117) who takes *join* vs. *join with* and *miss* vs. *miss of* as examples. In many respects, it is in these cases that the additional prepositional particle does not contribute in any way to the overall sense and structure of the sentence, a fact which is confirmed by the absence of variation in syntax as well as in semantics, it being only different at a lexical level.

Examples of the verbs *to join* vs. *to join with* taken from the LMod-OBC, makes a case for these considerations. In fact, the analysis of these forms confirms that they possess identical syntactic and semantic features when occurring as both a simple transitive verb and as a prepositional verb, as represented in (123) and (124) respectively:

(123) *Hooper was with them, he was close to the flags they were carried, and he joined them. When they came to Coppice-row they made their way towards the City.(1810s)*

(124) *I'll join with you, I have a shilling and am willing to spend it. He called for a pint of beer, and we drank out of it. He gave Mrs. Murphy a guinea instead of a shilling.(1750s)*

This means that the verb *to join* can be replaced by *to join with*, without leading to changes at any levels of analysis, the only difference being a matter of lexis, since the verb *to join* can be used with an additional preposition strongly linked to the preceding verb or as a simple verb.

In the case under analysis, there is also another possibility in the case which is under analysis, since the verb *to join* can be also used interchangeably with the form *to join in*. This means that *to join*, *to join with*, but also *to join in* are different variants of the same base verb as also confirmed by OED entries. They are, in fact, all placed in the same entry under the lemma of *to join*, and used with the same meaning, as in (125)-(127):

(125) *All the ships being joined, the Commodore made a signal to speak with their Commanders. (OED 1748 B. ROBINS & R. WALTER Voy. round World by Anson II. xi. 256)*

(126) *Some of them were singing. Presently other voices joined in. (OED 1901 N.E.D. at Join, Mod.)*

(127) *Their own security will oblige them to join with the enemy. (OED 1745 in Colonial Rec. Pennsylvania (1851) V. 5)*

A different case concerns verbs which display prepositions in the LModE-OBC which are totally different from those of PDE. This is the case with verbs that do not have any entry in the dictionaries of PDE and that in the 18th century occurred followed by a different prepositional particle, as happens in *to seek after* (replaced by *to seek for*), *to search about* (replaced by *to search for*), *to deal for* (replaced by *to deal with*) and *to wait on* (replaced by *to wait for*) etc. This means that, for example, in the course of the LModE period, well-established use in the shape of *to wait on* and *to deal for*, as in (128) and (129), gradually started to be followed by different non-verbal elements, i.e. *for* and *with*:

(128) *On the 3rd of January, the prisoner came to my master's house and had refreshment, which came to 4s. 8d. I waited on him with his bill, and he gave me this cheque (looking at it) he wished me to take his bill out of the cheque I took it to my master, who returned it to me. (1830s)*

(129) *Do you mean to say it is customary to buy goods without taking an account of them? - A. What I deal for in ready money, I never make any memorandum of.(1790s)*

In fact, when searching for the same base verbs followed by the prepositions *for* and *with* in the texts of PDE, i.e. *to wait for* and *to deal with* instead of *to wait on* and *to deal for*, it is easy to retrieve instances conveying the same meaning as the verbs occurring in the LModE-OBC but characterised by a different internal constituency, as in (130) and (131):

(130) *So when Mr said that the firearms office majority of language, when the firearms officer said wait for the C I D and then some other policemen arrived and then you, that may well be right because from what you say it may well be that the C I D did get to the flat after the officers but before ? That's right. (PIE JJWS_courtroom)*

(131) *At the same we said this much to Mr that you would except that many of the people who the company deal with are old and concerned with a limited income on fixed pensions, you know that don't you? (PIE JKOS_courtroom)*

In the examples above, *to wait on* and *to deal for* were substituted by *to wait for* and *to deal with*, with no change in meaning and, more specifically, they continued to be used conveying the meaning of ‘to await an event hopefully; to stay where one is until sb comes or sth happens’ and ‘to trade with’ (OxDCiE) respectively.

The possibility of the substitution of the particles *on* and *for* with those found in PDE, i.e. *for* and *with*, as attested in the 18th century, underlines that these verbs are closely connected from a diachronic perspective. This suggests that, despite being in all the cases prepositional verbs, the base verbs were followed by different particles and that, over the course of years, the rivalry between alternative variants resulted in the emergence of one single form characterised by the meaning of the extant forms. This ongoing process of replacement of one particle by another also affected other verbs, such as *to seek after*, as in (132), and *to search about*, as in (134), which were alternatively used also with the particles *for* as reported in (133) and (135):

(132) *I was sent for; hearing the seamen had been robbed of fourteen guineas I went to seek after the woman, and was informed she was gone over the water. (1770s)*

(133) *And then you had to seek for another situation as an accomptant. - A. Yes.(1810s)*

(134) *I went up stairs soon after the other officers, and took charge of the prisoner I searched about the room, and in the drawer of a small table I found three white-metal: spoons I asked the prisoner if it was his place he said it was, and that the goods belonged to Mr. Mason, his landlord, except two small boxes.(1830s)*

(135) *It was locked; I broke it open to search for things belonging to Mr. Theed, but found none of his things there.(1770s)*

Moreover, given that the majority of cases which are found in the LModE-OBC occur in the verb form which is attested in PDE, i.e. *to search for* and *to seek for*, with a

few instances of occurrences containing variation in the prepositions, it is possible to assume that this process of replacement was almost over by the middle of 1700. This assertion is also confirmed by the ARCHER corpus, as in (136)-(137), where all the verbs discussed so far occur in the form which they possess in PDE:

(136) *And that it was the obligor's fault that the money was not got in; therefore his Lordship did not think fit to give the appellants the relief sought for by their original bill. (ARCHER 1731rich_13b)*

(137) *That Clifford told deponent he remembered having such bill of sale in his custody, and had seen it some few months before, and that he would search for it amongst his papers...(ARCHER 1768holl_14b)*

5.3.2. Syntactic properties of prepositional verbs in the LModE period

Many prepositional verbs to be found in the LModE-OBC have the same features as they show in PDE such as in the case of *to agree with*, *to belong to*, *to cope with*, *to depend on*, *to go for*, *to join with*, *to insist on*, *to listen to*, *to look after*, *to look for*, *to object to*, *to refer to*, *to think of*, etc.

In fact, on a theoretical level, they are characterised by the passive with a preposition which occurs in stranded position (Claridge 2000: 91). Preposition stranding also occurs in relative clauses with the personal pronouns *who* and *what* (Denison 1981: 197), and in the cases the verb is closely linked to the following prepositional particle and its complement (Biber et al. 1999: 403; Carter & McCarthy 2006: 434). A comparison of instances taken from the LModE-OBC as reported in (138) and (139), and from PDE, as in (140) and (141) shows that no differences arise in either syntax and meaning:

(138) *Now look at these notes? - A. They agree with the numbers of the notes in the book; I cannot swear that these are the notes.(1790s)*

(139) *At this time, the Lord was pleased to afflict me with a fever, and I was obliged to depend on my benefit club; and after the Lord was pleased to raise me out of my affliction. (1770s)*

(140) *Lord Justice went on, quote, I agree with this indeed when making the calculations the judge had to make, those who die early are the only ones which matter because the fact of living longer than the expectation is immaterial. (PIE JJT S_courtroom)*

(141) *A date was put on the service charges each year, that's not to say they were, th they automatically changed, it depends on how long the scheme had been open I wonder if we can get to the point of my question, it may be my fault but I will try again. (PIE JJY S courtroom)*

This assumption is confirmed by the examples provided by the legal texts contained in the ARCHER corpus, as in (142) and (143), where the use of prepositional verbs

shows well established features resulting from the process of stabilization that started in the previous stages of English and that continued in the LModE period:

(142) *"As this is a matter of practice, and, therefore, must depend on my decision, I shall request Miss Turne to be called. (ARCHER 1827wake_15b)*

(143) *Now, I agree with the observation of the King's Advocate, that it would have been better, perhaps, if the blockade had been more specifically described. (ARCHER 1818napl_15b)*

As for the syntactic features of prepositional verbs, as illustrated in Table 24, it emerges that verbs belonging to this class are mainly used in the active form, the rate of which is significantly higher than the passive where the Nf even goes down to 2.37 in the 1790s:

	Active		Passive	
	(Rf)	(Nf)	(Rf)	(Nf)
1750s	1108	54.97	88	4.36
1770s	923	45.79	65	3.22
1790s	893	44.25	48	2.37
1810s	820	40.67	83	4.11
1830s	850	42.13	49	2.42
Tot.	4,594	45.56	333	3.3

Table 24: Active vs. passive patterns (Rf and Nf per 10,000 words)

The question that arises is whether the preference for the active form is a feature connected to the nature of the texts themselves, i.e. legal proceedings, or, instead, it is only an unmarked choice made by speakers with no functional motivations. The fact is that, differently from what is to be found in PDE, in the LModE-OBC there are verbs which are mainly used in the passive form that show a high number of occurrences, as in the case of *to send for* and *to swear to*. In fact, these instances can be seen as factors that influence the overall frequency of the passive, in the sense of making the frequency much higher, but they are not useful in order to explain why other verbs that admit use of the passive form with stranded prepositions do not occur in this pattern. In this regard, it is only possible to hypothesise that beyond this choice, there is a functional motivation linked to the dynamics of the narration in legal contexts. Considering that the use of the passive accounts for discourse pragmatic choices (Biber et al. 1999: 934), which make the involvement of the speaker less evident, it is conceivable that these are also at work in the texts under analysis. Thus, the predominant use of the active pattern may be seen as related to the communication purposes of narration in courtrooms.

The preference for the active form is also confirmed in the ARCHER corpus, which contains many instances of prepositional verbs used in the active form such as *to account for* and *to appeal for*, as in (144) and (145), but few cases of the passive:

- (144) *Hopkins, Joplin, and Langstaff to account for our not having complied with the mode of practice. (ARCHER 1768holl_14b)*
- (145) *He never authoorised any person to appeal for him in the cause brought by Holland about the moneis proceeding from the sale of the said ship. (ARCHER 1768holl_14b)*

5.3.3. Syntactic changes

As far as the syntactic level is concerned, the analysis does not reveal significant changes. In fact, in the case of prepositional verbs, unlike the other MWVs, rather than discussing how grammaticalization and lexicalization work on the syntactic frame, it is necessary to consider these processes as operating especially at a semantic level. The reason is that, in the LModE period, prepositional verbs were quite a stable group resulting from the structural changes that had occurred previously and given rise to new members through the syntactic reanalysis of the constituents within the clause (Denison 1981: Ch. 6). Thus, during the LModE period, despite the cases of syntactic change being limited in number and mainly restricted to the change from prepositional verbs to simple verbs, many extant forms underwent semantic reanalysis by way of lexicalization and idiomatization.

As for structural changes, the decline in use of some prepositional verbs encouraged the emergence of simple verbs *via* reanalysis, such as in the case of *to steal of*, that, as a result of the ellipsis of the prepositional particle, started behaving as a simple verb with the V+ DO pattern. The data reveals that *to steal of* was first characterized by the structure V+ preposition + DO but, from the 1770s onwards, after a short period of co-occurrence of different contrasting patterns, i.e. status of simple verb vs. prepositional verb, as in (146)-(147), it became established as a simple verb, *to steal*, as in (148):

- (146) *Branch stole all the things, and left them at the house on the other side the water.(1750s)*
- (147) *Thomas Ward did not belong to my ship; I took him on the 3d of January on stealing of this tobacco, on the evidence of the witness.(1770s)*
- (148) *Did not you plan that I should go into the country, and steal geese, and send them up to you in a hamper?(1830s)*

In fact, the PIE interface does not report any example of the verb *to steal of* but only the corresponding simple form *to steal*, as in (149), confirming that the ellipsis of the prepositional particle was over by the LModE period:

- (149) *"Yes, my child, yes." "But in the night, puss stole my cream..." "Yes, my child, yes --" (PIE AC7)*

Moreover, the loss of prepositional verbs is also connected with the concurrent use of alternative variants of the same basic structure as happens to verbs such as *to see after* and *to look after*, which were used interchangeably until the 1790s without any difference in meaning, as shown in (150)-(151):

(150) *When it was morning, the prosecutor came to my house, about breakfast, and said, will you go down to see after these people?* (1750s)

(151) *I was afraid they would shake out, so I went to look after them beyond Whetstone; then I saw the truss was safe.*(1770s)

In these cases, the formatives *to see* and *to look* are semantically equivalent and this is the reason why these different variants were diachronically set in rivalry through analogy. In fact, the coexistence of analogue verbs represents the first step in the substitution of one form for another (Akimoto 1999: 229). In this regard, the analysis of the LModE-OBC reveals that the verb *to see after*, gradually decreased in use, as represented in Table 25, and started to be replaced by the verb *to look after* without any change in meaning:

	1750s	1770s	1790s	1810s	1830s
To look after	4	7	7	7	4
To see after	2	1	2	0	0

Table 25: *To look after* vz. *to see after* (Rf)

In particular, while the verb *to look after* increased in frequency, *to see after* declined and completely disappeared in the 1810s. *To see after* does not occur in the ARCHER where it is replaced by *to look after*.

The next paragraph will focus on the semantic changes that affected prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC corpus.

5.3.4.Semantic features

Among the most important features of prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC, there are the extension in meaning and, much more significantly, the ongoing process of idiomatization affecting some verbs. In fact, the prepositional verbs which were characterized by syntactic fixity and stability, gradually experienced the development of transferred meanings as happened in the EME (Claridge 2000: 117) and shifted to other contexts of use. *To agree with*, *to call for*, *to do for*, *to enter into*, *to look after*, *to pay for* are among the verbs that started to occur followed by other collocates and that also began to convey a much more extensive range of meanings. Examples (152) - (154)

reported below show the use of the verb *to enter into* which is considered particularly significant in representing the general trend of this period:

- (152) *As I have said now; if we entered into any discourse he generally went off, and went into something else: I judged him to be an insane man.*(1770s)
- (153) *One of them entered into a kind of discourse with her; is she here. - A. She said they were cheap.*(1790s)
- (154) *My feelings will scarcely allow me to enter into a defence on a capital charge, but it is a duty I owe to my wife and sister, and to my late employer, to assert my innocence. (1810s)*

As for *to enter into*, despite not being very frequent in the data, it reveals its ability to occur in different contexts of use followed by various collocates, for example *discourse* in the 1770s and 1790s, illustrated in (152)-(153), and *defence* in 1810s, as in (154), with the meaning of ‘to start, to begin’ (OxDCiE). In addition, it also continued to be used with locative meaning followed by words denoting real or figurative places, as confirmed in the ARCHER corpus, in (155)-(156):

- (155) *I cannot think that it is; for here no agreement appears to have been entered into between the parties. (ARCHER 1802frie_15b)*
- (156) *Without apprizing the assured that he has no interest, he commits a fraud, by persuading the other to enter into a contract possessing incidents which do not belong to his real situation. (ARCHER 1811cous_15b)*

These are, however, only some of the meanings that this verb conveys in the LModE period, because, from the 1790s onwards, it also started to be used in the sense of ‘to make a record of it by writing it’ (OxDCiE) occurring with *business* and *bill*, as in (157) and (158):

- (157) *You pretend to swear this business was entered into before the magistrates the first time. (1790s)*
- (158) *Quantock said he would enter into a bill for £20, to be guarantee for Leather, which bill I have got it has come to maturity. (1830s)*

This proves that, despite being established as a semantic unit at the end of the 18th century, this verb continued to be involved in processes of change with the consequent acquisition of further meanings. This is also confirmed by instances of *to enter into* used in collocation with *a long detail of defence*, as in (159), which is a clear case of figurative meaning:

- (159) *My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury, I am incapable, from indisplacement created by the horrid confinement of a prison, of entering into a long detail of defence, nor is it my wish, in a case which has originated in my own imprudence; I hope for mercy from God. (1790s)*

On this basis it is possible to assume that, diachronically, prepositional verbs underwent lexicalization in so far as they resulted 'in the production of new lexical contentful forms' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 96) and idiomatization due to the increase in opaqueness. In the case of *to enter into* rather than conveying the meaning of 'to enter into a physical place', it was in fact used to denote the starting point of an action and to refer to the other meaning of 'to enter in a figurative place'.

Another verb that makes a case for this process is *to look into*, which was first used with a directional meaning, as in (160), but then acquired the figurative use of 'to examine', as in (161)-(162), consequent to the acquisition of a more idiomatized status:

(160) *When I missed her I looked into my cupboard directly; I found twenty pounds was gone, and the bag with it. (1790s)*

(161) *But at the Justice-room the word an was not entered into I should not think of looking into an article of that kind he told me he was errand-boy. (1830s)*

(162) *I did not advance it; on looking into a book, I observed the watch had been advertised, and some handbills I have here. (1770s)*

The example reported in (160) reveals that *to look into sth* conveys the literal meaning of 'turning eyes somewhere', whereas in the cases represented in (161)-(162), it shows the much more conventional use of 'investigating' (COBUILD). The different degree of compositionality indicates that this item increased in its 'semantic specificity, contentfulness, and idiosyncrasy' (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 105) in consequence of the semantic reanalysis of its constituents and the increase in lexicality. To some extent, this item can also be considered partially idiomatized in so far as it became syntactically and lexically fixed despite not being semantically characterized by a complete loss of compositionality. The shift in meaning and the conventionalization of an idiomatic meaning is also confirmed by the fact that it co-occurs with a greater number of collocates such as *the street*, *the tin box*, as represented in (163) and (164):

(163) *Before I went to bed I was awoke about two by a noise in or about the house I got out of bed, went to the front window, looked into the street for a policeman. (1830s)*

(164) *Malcolm came back, and then I looked into the tin box, and found the bright one still there the one I had given Malcolm was very dull, and very smooth. (1830s)*

The use of this verb conveying a figurative meaning is still frequent in PDE, as in (165) and (166):

(165) *...in evidence well could that be further looked into oh certainly (PIE JK0 S_courtroom)*

(166) *Exactly the same to make sure there's nobody behind it and if there is they would be quickly located. Did you look into the room? I shuffled into the*

room got out of the doorway and the light was turned on, I can't remember with whether I turned it on or whether P C turned it on. (PIE JNE S_courtroom)

A path similar to that followed by *to look into* also characterized other verbs, for example *to get into*, *to seek for*, *to wait for* which progressively undertook both a partially demotivation and the acquisition of new semantic properties.

In the case of *to get into*, in addition to being a verb with locative directional meaning, it also conveyed the meaning of ‘to begin to discuss something’, ‘to become involved in a bad situation’, ‘to start enjoying something’ (MacmillanPlus). However, *to wait for* developed differently because instead of losing its semantic transparency it started to express a much more lexicalized status, with an increase in its ability of taking various collocates belonging to different semantic fields. In fact, its exclusive use followed by animate objects ended and it started to coexist in combination with inanimate things and with words denoting activities (e.g. *work*), states (e.g. *employment*) and events (e.g. *his coming*), as in (167)-(169):

(167) *There were about 150 men waiting for work, and I saw him throw his whip over the wheel horse's neck, which brought the horse and the wagon nearer to him. (1830s)*

(168) *I was waiting for employment on 16th Dec., at F gate I saw the prisoner with his wagon he threw his whip over the shaft horse's head. (1830s)*

(169) *She waited for his coming in several nights? - I cannot be positive to any other night. (1770s)*

These considerations suggest that prepositional verbs, overall, underwent a process of internal modification due to the gradual involvement in an extension in meaning and in the demotivation of their constituent parts.

5.4. Phrasal-prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC

5.4.1. Lexico-syntactic features of phrasal-prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC

Phrasal-prepositional verbs which occur in the LModE-OBC do not reveal significant variation on the lexical level.

In fact, the most frequent verbs are almost the same in all the decades, as represented in Table 26:

1750s	1770s	1790s	1810s	1830s
To go along with	To come up to	To come up to	To go up to	To come up to
To come up to	To go down to	To go up to	To come up to	To go down to
To go down to	To go up to	To go down to	To go over to	To go up to
To come along with	To come along with	To come along with	To go down to/to come down to	To go along with

Table 26: Phrasal-prepositional verbs in the LModE-OBC

Verbs such as *to go along*, *to come up to*, *to go up to*, *to go down to* show the highest frequency, and they are considerably ahead of *to run away with*, *to make away with* and *to go off with* with frequencies of 20, 7, 4 tokens respectively:

	No. of Tokens
To come up to	111
To go up to	75
To go down to	57
To run away with	20
To make away with	7
To go off with	4

Table 27: The most frequent phrasal-prepositional verbs

Interestingly, in the majority of cases, the phrasal-prepositional verbs found in the LModE-OBC have *to go* (255), *to come* (177) immediately followed by *to run* (32), *to make* (12) as base verbs and these are the verbs that more frequently form phrasal-prepositional verbs due to their ability to occur in combination with different particles. For instance, *to go* and *to come* combine with 12 and 8 particles respectively and this confirms that they are easily prone to the creation of new lexical items. More specifically, *to go* is followed by different particles such as *down with*, *in for*, *over to*, *up to* whereas *to come* takes *away from*, *in for*, *up to*.

Some examples of the verb *to go* and *to come* are illustrated below:

(170) *Did your husband go down with you? F. Pearce. No, he did not.*(1750s)

(171) *About twenty minutes after, as soon as I had settled with my passengers, I went in for it, to take it to the lady, and it was gone.* (1790s)

- (172) *I was in the tap room when the woman came in for the box, she came in for the box, and my sister told her there was eighteen-pence to pay for the box, she looked at the box and said, my box is open! says I, what then? (1790s)*
- (173) *I said, with all my heart. I was the first that came up to the prosecutor.(1750s)*

Moreover, almost all the phrasal-prepositional verbs which occur in the LModE-OBC are still used in PDE, as in (174)-(177) which confirms that the majority of the changes were over by that time:

- (174) *Three people in my office have gone down with the flu.(MacmillanOnline)*
- (175) *I don't go in for golf much.(MacmillanOnline)*
- (176) *In London, she went in for the job of Labour Party international secretary. (OED 2003 Observer (Nexis) 20 July 16)*
- (177) *Revenge with him seemed to lie..in the victim's realization that he was being come up with. (OED 1901 S. E. WHITE Westerners xi. 78)*

This continuity can be linked to the general tendency of the English verb system of that time which was oriented to the consolidation of the major changes affecting the earlier stages (Hundt 2014: Ch.2-6; Brinton & Akimoto 1999: Ch.5 and 7) in the process of codification and standardization of the English language which was almost over by the LModE period (Milroy 2001).

As for the non-verbal elements, the most relevant groups are *up to* (8 types), *away from* (6 types), *over to* and *out of* (5 types), which are mainly used in highly figurative verbs as they are in PDE, illustrated in (178)-(179), where the verbs *to get out of* and *to go away with*, convey the meaning of 'to go away from dangerous situations' and 'to steal and carry away' (OxDCiE) respectively:

- (178) *To pay my dividend. I did not like the company, and wanted to get out of it. I threw down a half crown, they gave me but a shilling out of it. (1770s)*
- (179) *I told him I would give him no more than the two guineas, it was the full value of them; then he went away with them again up the street, and returned again, and said, I might have them; I gave him a guinea, a twenty-shilling note, and one shilling. (1790s)*

5.4.2. Syntactic changes

From a diachronic perspective, the analysis of phrasal-prepositional verbs is closely connected with the path followed by the other multi-word verbs, because the emergence of both PVs and prepositional verbs can be the consequence of the loss of one of the constituent parts of phrasal-prepositional verbs, i.e. the adverbial or the prepositional particle and the consequent restructuring of the whole construction. In contrast, some instances of phrasal-prepositional verbs first established themselves after the reanalysis of the V and the non-verbal following element together with the insertion of an

adverbial or prepositional particle in the clause. These considerations would suggest that the verbal system was characterised by a bidirectional process, from phrasal-prepositional verbs to PVs and prepositional verbs and from these to phrasal-prepositional verbs. In other cases, instead, it resulted in new free patterns due to the decategorialization of the constituent parts of phrasal-prepositional verbs and their reanalysis as free items. For example, the verbs *to go out for*, and *to toss up for*, *to set up in* underwent a gradual change to the status of prepositional and phrasal verbs, respectively. In particular, the phrasal-prepositional verbs in the pattern V+ adverbial + prepositional particle moved from the structure represented in (a) and (c) to the other shown in (b) and (d):

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (a) > [[V+ adverbial + prepositional particle] NP] > | [[to go out for] NP] |
| (b) > [V+ prepositional particle] NP]> | [[to go Ø for] NP] |
| (c) > [[V+ adverbial + prepositional particle] NP] > | [[to set up in] NP] |
| (d) > [V+ adverbial particle] NP]> | [[to set up Ø] NP] |

In these cases, the verb *to go out for* underwent a process of reanalysis and became a prepositional verb, i.e. *to go for*, whereas the verb *to set up in* shifted to the status of a phrasal verb occurring in the form of *to set up*. More specifically, the verb *to go out for*, as shown in (180) and (181), came into the syntactic use of prepositional verbs, as in (182) and (183):

- (180) *On the day these things were stole, at about two o'clock I was going out for a loaf, and I met Oldgate in our passage; Mr. Theed lodges in the next room to me. (1770s)*
- (181) *I went next day, after my sister's box, as she was going to a situation - I was told the box was not there; my sister said she was going out for bread. (1810s)*
- (182) *When they were gone, I was going for some bread, I took a candle and lantern in my hand; as I was returning with the loaf under my arm, a man ran out at the door. (1770s)*
- (183) *He at first said, he was going for a light; I insisted upon knowing what he had got; he said he had got some wood; I followed him up stairs, and before I could overtake him, he had placed the wood in the room above his lodging. (1790s)*

A closer look at these examples shows that the verb *to go out for* occurs in all cases with the meaning which is typically associated with the verb *to go for*, which is ‘to depart from a place in order to fetch; to fetch’ (OED) and with the syntactic structure V + Prt (one on more) + NP, the only difference being the occurrence of the adverbial particle *out* in (180)-(181). This means that the ellipsis of the adverbial particle in (182)-(183) does not change its linguistic features and the syntactic pattern of the verb itself but it is, on the whole, a kind of ‘simplification’ due to the reduction and consequent restructuring of the V + non-verbal pattern. In fact, the verb *to go out for* modified its syntactic representation from (a) to (b) below:

- (a) *[[to go out for] sth]* —————→ *She was going out for bread*
 (b) *[[to go for] sth]* —————→ *I was going for some bread*

The existence of syntactic ambiguity is potentially connected with the concurrent use of different variants of the same verb which gradually may establish its use only in one of the alternative forms, i.e. *to go for* and *to go out for* in the examples above. The disappearance of the verb *to go out for* is also confirmed in the OED, which reports instances of *to go for* and *to go out*, but there are no instances of *to go out for* behaving as a phrasal-prepositional verb:

- (184) *Why the devil somebody didn't go for a doctor?* (OED 1873 L. M. ALCOTT *Work* iii. 54)
 (185) *Mr. Peggotty went out to wash himself in a kettleful of hot water.* (OED 1849 DICKENS *David Copperfield* (1850) iii. 24)

At the same time, a similar process of reduction affected the verb *to set up in*, which changed its status but, unlike *to go out for*, it moved to the class of PVs rather than that of prepositional verbs. In fact, the verb *to set up* started to be used as the alternative form of *to set up in* during the 1750s. This rivalry suggests that this verb turned out to behave as a member of the group of PVs after the decategorialization of the prepositional particle and its increasing redundancy within the clause, as in (186)-(187):

- (186) *I believe I had seen the prisoner on the Friday or Saturday before this communication of Mr. Smalley to me the prisoner had been-acting as a commission-agent, till about ten weeks before this, when a young man of mine left, and the prisoner went with him I believe the young man set up in my business, and the prisoner became his commission-agent.* (1830s)
 (187) *Yes, he said he dealt among his friends and acquaintance, that he was going to marry a lady, and then his father would set him up; he said he had bought them.* (1750s)

In example (186), the verb *to set up in* is followed by the word *business* which is also the collocate that occurs following the verb *to set up* in PDE, together with *shop*, *flat*,

house as reported in the OxDCE. In contrast, in the second example, (187), the verb *to set up* behaves as a PV composed of V + Prt and it also conveys a different meaning, which is ‘to put someone in a position of power’ (MacmillanOnline). Thus, the ensuing result is that these two forms are closely connected and, moreover, in the first example the preposition *in* is completely redundant.

As for the semantic properties, it is possible to assume that, after the emergence of *to set up*, a metonymic shift provoked the extension of the original meaning of ‘to start’ from denoting activities to a figurative connotation which refers to the act of helping somebody to start a relationship. At the same time, the LModE-OBC contains an example where the verb *to set up* is followed by *in*; however, in this case, it is not linked to the preceding verb but instead, it behaves as the head of the PP which follows:

(188) *I had told the prisoner if I saw he had an opportunity of setting up in the world, I might assist him, and I should have assisted him. (1810s)*

This example shows that an ongoing process of reanalysis affected *in* when used following the verb *to set up*, and, thus, that the whole combination started to lose internal cohesion. The fact that the verb *to set up in* + NP was undergoing an internal modification is confirmed by the lack of instances in the ARCHER corpus, where there are only instances containing the verb *to set up* with the meaning of ‘to take notice of, advertise’, as in (189)-(190), or ‘to start’ (OED), as in (191):

(189) *This is a claim set up by the father in direct contradiction to the intent of the parties in these marriage-articles. (ARCHER 17751hube_l4b)*

(190) *The defendant, by his plea, admitted his exercising the office, and, by way of justificatio, set up a title. (ARCHER 1756phil_l4b)*

(191) *That the master having set up the vessel of sale, without any orders of the court of admiralty... (ARCHER 1764rich_l4a)*

It seems clear that the reanalysis promoted the use of the verb without the prepositional particle *in*, as in (189)-(191) above, due to the ellipsis of a clausal element and the partial restructuring of the whole pattern.

The emergence of free combinations from phrasal-prepositional verbs, in contrast, similarly to what happens in the other cases discussed so far, is linked to the ellipsis of one of the constituent parts of phrasal-prepositional verb and to their lexicalization. This means that the verb continues to be followed by a non-verbal element but, in this case, it does not show signs of cohesion with it. An example taken from the LModE-OBC is useful in defining this trend. Considering, for instance, the verb *to make up towards*, as in (192)-(193), even though it occurs only two times, it is meaningful in that these two instances can be seen as the ending point of a process started in the previous era:

(192) *I saw nobody else; he then made up towards me; and I kept walking down towards him, to meet him. (1790s)*

(193) James Chapman . *I am a watchman. On the 4th of February instant, the prosecutor called, Watch! I made up towards him; but he being in another parish, I went no farther. (1770s)*

In examples (192) and (193), the verb *to make up towards* is used with the meaning of ‘to start moving towards sth’ and it can be represented as [[make up towards] sth]. This means that it behaves as a typical phrasal-prepositional verb but, if the sentences are rewritten with the ellipsis of the adverbial particle, i.e. in the shape of *to make ∅ towards*, it emerges that there is no change in meaning but the whole combination occurs with innovative syntactic features. Thus, the alternative variant of this verb in the form of *to make towards* started to operate in rivalry with the phrasal-prepositional verb *to make up towards*, and then, after the establishment of the pattern V + Prepositional particle, it underwent further changes that led the whole construction to behave as a free combination, composed of a simple verb + the preposition *towards*, functionally behaving as the head of the following NP, as in (194)-(195):

(194) *I saw the prisoner coming across the fields, and I made across the fields, and I made towards him, until he crossed the ditch, with the last witness after him.(1810s)*

(195) *I made towards the middle of the street: I saw a man with a pistol cocked in one hand, and a horsewhip in the other, running. (1750s)*

The shift from a complex to a much simpler form can be linked to the principle of economy operating in language change, that led to the ellipsis of a redundant element within the clause. This underscores that, from a previous use as ‘operative word’ in the sense of word functionally contributing to put emphasis on the *aktionsart* of the situation expressed by the verb, the adverbial particle *up* turned out to be unnecessary and, thus, to be avoided. At the same time, the preposition *towards* started to acquire autonomy and demonstrate behaviour that is typically associated with free prepositions.

5.4.3. Semantic features

Apart from the change in the syntactic structure, phrasal-prepositional verbs do not show a significant change in their semantic features because they were only involved in an extension in their meaning. In fact, in the majority of the cases, the verbs are used with a meaning that is already well established in PDE. This happens, for example, to the verb *to run away with* and *to come up with*, as in (196)-(199), which show a behaviour which is similar to that of PDE:

(196) *They never had the character of swindlers I lent them 500l.;, which I got again I was usher at a school at Brompton a long time ago I do not know why I was discharged I am married I do not know that there was some young lady about to be run away with.(1830s)*

- (197) *On parade his untrained horse regularly ran away with him, and three times in a week he was thrown. (OED 1990 N.Y. Rev. Bks. 6 Dec. 44/2)*
- (198) *When I missed them I went out, and about forty yards off came up with the prisoner, and accused him of stealing them I did not accuse his friends I said, "You have stolen my pictures " he was agitated. (1830s)*
- (199) *Revenge with him seemed to lie..in the victim's realization that he was being come up with. (OED 1901 S. E. WHITE Westerners xi. 78)*

In contrast, in other cases, the verbs were only affected by a process of semantic extension, in their occurrence followed by a higher number of collocates and in the possibility of occurring in various semantic fields. The most significant case, in this perspective, is the verb *to get out of*, which, in addition to being used in connection with physical activities, as in (200), underwent a shift to figurative contexts by way of idiomatization. It started to occur in collocation with *cart* in the 1790s, as in (201), conveying the meaning of ‘to abandon’ (OxDCiE) but also with words like *difficulty* and *omnibus* from the 1830s onwards with the meaning of ‘to avoid’ (MacmillanPlus) and ‘to leave’ (OxDCiE), respectively, as in (202) and (203):

- (200) *Council for the prisoner. You say you heard nothing of the prisoner after five; if he had gone out you must have heard him?Cripple. Yes, it was not possible for him to get out of his room without my hearing him.(1770s)*
- (201) *Was that a fair price? - A. No, not near the value of them; I then got into the cart, and drove away; when I had got to the turnpike, I stopped my horse, got out of the cart, and returned back to his house.(1790s)*
- (202) *" he said two men were with him, whom he had got out of one difficulty already, today, and he did not think they would have served him in that manner. (1830s)*
- (203) *in the road I first saw the deceased hanging to a part of the dray or shaft I did not notice any cart till after I got out of the omnibus to request the policeman to let us go on. (1830s)*

This suggests that it gradually gained additional meanings such as ‘to avoid’, ‘to obtain’, to ‘escape from’ somewhere, ‘to make sb yield sth’ (OxDCiE), meanings that are still present in PDE as represented in (204) and (205):

- (204)*The contract would in fact have been rescinded on the thirteenth or the nineteenth of November nineteen eighty five and the plaintiff would therefore have been able to get out of the contract and that, as I say, is admitted in the amended dissent. (PIE JJUS_courtroom)*
- (205) *Behind him was a black woman and I believe two small children. At that time P C then was speaking to the man telling him to get out of the bed. Did the man get out of bed?(PIE JNE S_courtroom)*

This demonstrates that *to get out of* acquired new connotative properties in addition to the original meaning of ‘to evade, escape from, avoid’ as reported in the OED and illustrated in (206) and (207):

(206) *I do not see how to get out of the language of the Act. (OED 1885 SIR N. LINDLEY in Law Times Rep. 53 479/1)*

(207) *He is like a schoolboy in getting out of things that are disagreeable to him. (OED 1888 J. PAYN Myst. Mirbridge I. xxiii. 282)*

On the basis of what has been described so far, it is possible to conclude that phrasal-prepositional verbs are well established in the LModE period but, at the same time, they underwent some kinds of syntactic and semantic changes, the results of which are still evident in PDE.

Chapter 6

Phraseological Variation in ‘Legal-lay Discourse’: the Functional Use of PVs

It is a constant source of frustration for the language historian that all observations and analyses of the early periods have to be based on written evidence only, while the importance of speech in the development of the language is self-evident.(...).But by a careful comparison of texts which stand at different distances from spoken language (...), it is possible to present hypotheses about whether a certain construction is favoured or avoided in the spoken language of the period (Rissanen 1999: 188).

6.0. Introduction

The assumption that PVs are extended units of meaning and that they possess ‘semantic versatility’ (Hiltunen 1999: 160) makes it very important the investigation of phraseology which is perceived as the most relevant feature in legal-lay discourse. In fact, considering that semantic properties are defined by ‘patterns of meaning’ (Sinclair 2004: 3) rather than by individual words, the case of periphrastic expressions of the kind of PVs can give insights into the phraseological profile of court records matching the use of PVs with the informational purpose of criminal trials. Formulaic words and phrases, lexical bundles, grammatical patterns all contribute to the efficient enhancement of communicative purposes through the functions that they can perform, from relation of time and space to other propositional relations such as goal and direction, purpose and agency. In particular, when the rhetoric and stylistic motivations are taken into account, it emerges that it is likely that propositional and textual components could switch from being formal syntactic elements to expressive items able to contribute to the overall functional pragmatic features of the clause itself.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ By way of of illustration, the whole structure of legal lay discourse is characterised by various kinds of participants, who are prone to using specific ‘questioning strategies’ (Heffer 2005: 84).

Therefore, in the case of MWVs, the use of PVs is particularly relevant in that they can be added to the ‘**narrative cues** consisting in certain specific patterns of eliciting words (*what, did*) and lexical sets (*HAPPEN, DO, then, anything*)’ (Heffer 2005: 111) that characterise legal-lay discourse. A particular interest in PVs and more generally, in legal phraseology arises from the fact that the increase in the use of MWVs in the LMod English, as attested from a diachronic perspective, can be seen as partly linked to the dynamics of language change leading mainly towards an analytic tendency (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 1), but it can be also rhetorically and stylistically motivated, as also happens in the case of expanded predicates (Algeo 1995: 205). In this regard, the question that arises is the extent to which the use of PVs is linked to the pragmatic conventions of the discourse and whether their occurrence helps to make the communication teleologically oriented and able to manipulate the audience and to influence the final deliberation. In fact, it can be assumed that the decision given by the jury could be influenced by the language used in discussions and testimonies and that it can be heavily based on the features characterizing the whole speech event.

6.1. Legal phraseology in the LModE-OBC

The analysis of the data contained in the LModE-OBC confirms the occurrence of many linguistic features that are generally considered to be closely connected to the complex nature of legal-lay discourse subgenre (Heffer 2005: 3). Among them, the most relevant are the inclination towards coordinating structures, the use of embedded direct speech that reports what was previously said emphasizing the agents and the participants in events, the frequent use of exclamations and discourse markers that combine with the setting of courtrooms to give concrete evidence of the discourse conventions used in order to mitigate what is conveyed in the texts (Heffer 2005: 18). In addition, the focus on the dynamics of events, the low rate of subjectivity in the presentation and description of events and the frequent use of deictic expressions to provide details on situated events in both time and space, represent some of the cues that allow speakers to have a considerable degree of freedom in the lexical choice.

In order to analyse phraseological variation in the LModE-OBC in detail, it is necessary to present some examples of PVs and look at both their collocations and context of use, providing explanation of semantic and formal variation. In this regard, the LModE-OBC presents many examples of PVs that convey meanings specifically connected with legal language, such as *to bring down, to bring in to carry on, to draw out, to steal out*, some of which are also used in PDE. However, there are also a number of instances that do not occur any longer and that have diachronically undergone a change in both structure and use.

To bring down	<i>Q. You have been in custody ever since, and <u>brought down</u> in custody to the court? – Yes (1790s)</i>
To bring in	<i>I was at the watch-house that night. I remember the prisoner <u>being brought in</u>. The prosecutor was so excessively drunk, he could hardly give his charge. (1770s)</i>
To carry on	<i>By whose expence is this prosecution <u>carried on</u>? (1790s)</i>
To draw out	<i>It is hoped this will warn prosecutors not <u>to draw out</u> confessions with promises of favour. (1750s)</i>
To steal out	<i>On the Saturday morning that the sheep <u>was stolen out</u>, Daniel Oakley came to my room in Portpool-lane, and he called me up about half past six. (1770s)</i>

Table 28: Some examples of phraseology in the LModE-OBC

As for the verb *to draw out*, it is a transitive verb that is used with the meaning of ‘to encourage someone to talk’ (MacmillanOnline) as in the example (1):

- (1) *It is hoped this will warn prosecutors not to draw out confessions with promises of favour. (1750s)*

In addition, it collocates with human objects, as in (2) below, and it occurs with the meaning of ‘leave, depart (from)’ a place (OxDCiE), also against participants' will:

- (2) *When we came home, he had my father by the collar, drawing him out at the door: he knocked me down in the kennel. (1750s)*

Moreover, as happens in PDE, this verb is used with the meaning of ‘to produce’, as in (3), or ‘to extract’ (OxDCiE), as in (4):

- (3) *I there saw a person who answered to the name of Leather he told me to draw out the form of a guarantee and he would sign it. (1830s)*
- (4) *Had you seen him take his purse out of his pocket? M. Cartwright. He had drawn his purse out twice.*

The verb *to bring in*, instead, is typically used in legal contexts in the sense of ‘to bring in a verdict to say officially whether someone is guilty or not’ (MacmillanOnline), as in (5), or with the meaning of ‘to arrest’ (OxDCiE) in collocation with human objects in general, as in (6), or with *prisoner*, as in (7):

- (5) *I was at the watch-house that night. I remember the prisoner being brought in. The prosecutor was so excessively drunk, he could hardly give his charge. (1770s)*
- (6) *I work among the Jews. I am generally at the King's Arms in Houndsditch on a night. While I was telling the story, some of the Jews went out and brought the prisoner's wife in. (1750s)*
- (7) *Mr. Carter brought in the prisoner, and took him up stairs, and call'd me to unlock the office door. (1750s)*

The use of *to bring in* conveying those meanings is a very frequent in the LModE-OBC, a tendency that, however, is not confirmed when another corpus like the ARCHER corpus is analysed. In the latter case, in fact, despite the verb *to bring in* being used with the same meaning as that expressed in the LModE-OBC, as in (8), it also shows a different context of use, as represented in (9):

- (8) *But their Lordships further declared, that if the Countess bring in the said Lease and Deed, and can thereby avoid the Fine. (ARCHER 1632hard_11b)*
- (9) *As it is the usual practice of the Court of Admiralty for the party who prays the money to bring in the bill of sale of the ship annexed to his affidavit. (ARCHER 1768holl_14b)*

In the examples (8)-(9), in addition to conveying the traditional and well attested use with the meaning of 'to arrest', *to bring in* occurs with a meaning that seems to be rather far removed from what is generally associated with the legal sphere. In fact, as reported in (8) and (9), this verb also occurs with the meaning of 'to introduce' and 'to produce' (OxDCiE), respectively. Thus, by way of comparison, it is possible to conclude that the LModE-OBC contains a great number of occurrences of this verb with the meaning of 'to arrest' (OxDCiE) but, few instances of *to bring in* in the sense of 'to earn, to produce':

- (10) *I live at No. 12, Royal Hospital-row, Chelsea; my brother keeps the Royal Hospital; about six o'clock this night I see a large box in the tap room, and it was open, then I see Mr. Green at the bar door, but I did not see him bring in the box, I don't know who brought it in. (1790s)*

The occurrence of different meanings is not a distinctive property of the LModE period because they are also attested in PDE, as shown in (11) and (12):

- (11) *My Lord well no doubt then the answer is that erm that would eventually have to meet them through funds which they will bring in to the market and which will go into the, the central fund yes and how are they going to bring those funds in? (PIE K73 S_courtroom)*

(12) *Oh fine. Would you deal with an additional matter please your worships er, not on your list he's only been brought in almost at the start of the court of this morning. Carl Robert. (PIE F7W S_courtroom)*

According to what is reported in the OED, in particular, *to bring in* first appeared in the year 1684 conveying the meaning of ‘to bring in a verdict’, as in (13), but also in collocation with human subjects in 1865, as in (14):

(13) *Ought we not in this, as well as in other things, to..bring in an honest verdict for nature as well as art? (OED 11684 T. BURNET Theory of Earth II. 295)*

(14) *He's mad... There ain't a doubt as t'what the doctors 'd bring him in... Lunatic's the word! (OED 1865 G. MEREDITH Rhoda Fleming xviii)*

However, much more variation in use characterises the verb *to bring down*, which is mainly used to express the meaning of ‘to reduce the rate, level, or amount of something’ (MacmillanOnline), in this case personal liberty, as in (15), with an emphasis on the changing status of the prisoner:

(15) *You have been in custody ever since, and brought down in custody to the court? – Yes (1790s)*

Moreover, this verb also displays the meaning of ‘to transfer’, as in (16) and (17), a specific literal meaning and a redundant use of the particle *down* that cannot be found in PDE:

(16) *I had brought down three guineas, and put it in the till in a letter, just before. When I came up stairs the till was taken away. (1770s)*

(17) *Yes, I fetched it down to pay the brewer; I expected the brewer in every minute; I brought down four score pounds. (1790s)*

In fact, the use of *to bring down*, as in the examples (16) and (17), does not correspond to any of the meanings reported by dictionaries of PDE. Moreover, it seems that the additional particle, semantically, does not add anything to the verb itself. In this view, it is possible to assume that the use of *down* is an empty element in these cases since it does not transmit the two main connotations that are usually associated with it: *down* does not express ‘a purely directional force’, nor does it have shades of meaning connected with a sense of ‘diminution or complete cessation of a state or action’ (Kennedy 1920: 19). Thus, the only explanation regarding the occurrence of this particle in post-verbal position lies in the ‘emphatic use’ that can characterize linguistic elements in specific contexts of use, as is also attested in the previous stages of English (Denison 1981: 125). In fact, the meaning that the whole combination is able to convey is that of the simple verb *to bring* and the particle is used in order to intensify the action which is expressed by the verb.

Considering some examples of the simple verb *to bring*, the first point to note is that it occurs with the meaning of ‘to carry sth’ (OED) and of ‘to cause to fall to the ground; to overthrow’ (OED) as in (18) and (20), and thus, its connotative properties are not much dissimilar from those associated with *to bring down*, as in (19) and (21):

- (18) *He was to bring his shield home, or to be borne upon it. (OED 1839 C. THIRLWALL Hist. Greece (new ed.) I. 335)*
- (19) *The flotsam harvest which the river was continually bringing down. (OED1885 H. O. FORBES Naturalist's Wanderings III. viii. 258)*
- (20) *Ar he sua brathly don be broght. (OED a1300 Cursor Mundi 63)*
- (21) *Perhaps a German machine had been brought down. (OED 1917 ‘CONTACT’ Airman's Outings 23)*

In addition, the fact that *to bring*, as the OED reports, also conveys the meaning of ‘to cause (punishment, judgements, etc.) to alight’, as in (22), makes it difficult to discern reasons behind the occurrence of the form *to bring down*, (23):

- (22) *The crying sins of this Nation, which brought down this heavy judgement upon us. (OED 1662 Bk. Com. Prayer, Chas. Martyr)*
- (23) *To bring down on themselves the hostility of the most powerful maritime State. (OED 1865 Times 2 Jan)*

These considerations suggest that, if the PV is substituted for the corresponding simple verb, the meaning of ‘to fetch’ (OED) remains unchanged and, thus, the use of the PV rather than the simple form can be linked to specific pragmatic motivations and to speakers' hidden intentions. In this regard, it is possible to assume that the use of a redundant element in the case of *down* can be attributed to the speaker's intention to make the conversation less formal, a fact which is in line with the nature of texts in legal-lay discourse that are said to be ‘message-oriented’ but, at the same time, ‘listener-oriented’,⁵⁵ in functional terms.

6.1.1. PVs and their strategic function: some case studies

Phraseological variation is particularly evident in verbs which display a specific use involving the alternation of the PVs with their corresponding simple verbs and conveying different meanings, such as *to carry on* and *to steal out*

To carry on and *to steal out* are two examples taken from the LModE-OBC that can be considered important to match the use of phraseological variation with the aspectual force of the particle in specific contexts of use. If the verb *to carry on* and the corresponding simple lexical verb *to carry* are compared, what emerges is that the verb *to carry* can be used as both a single lexical verb, as in (24), and as a PV, as in (25):

⁵⁵ Message-oriented speech is interested in the contents of a text while listener-oriented speech is focussed on the feelings of participants (Fischer 2007: 47).

- (24) *Were you to get any thing for carrying these cloaths? - A. Yes, I had a shilling for my trouble. (1790s)*
- (25) *Do you carry on business on your own account? A. I do, as a tea and coffee dealer I go rounds and solicit orders for myself I have carried on business nine months in Lawrence Pountney-hill. (1830s)*

It is clear from these examples that the verb *to carry* is used with the meaning of ‘to take someone/something somewhere’ (MacmillanOnline), and in this case it specifically collocates with *cloaths*, a word frequently co-occurring with this verb type in the data. This reveals that the speaker intends to establish a sort of proximity to the facts he is talking about and, consequently, there is an attitude involving the reconstruction of reality without any kind of personal involvement. However, there are also cases which display other meanings, in that the verb *to carry* is frequently used also with the meaning of ‘to take or deliver a message to somebody’, as in (26), or ‘to have something with you in your pocket or bag’ (OED), as in (27), similar to what is found in PDE:

- (26) *I took them up the next day and carried them before Sir Samuel Gower . They own'd they had sold the buckles and watch chain for seven shillings. (1750s)*
- (27) *I went there immediately, and carried it with me; Sir John asked me, if I should know the man that brought it; I said, I could pick him out from 500. (1750s)*

In contrast, a great deal of linguistic variation is exhibited by the verb *to carry on*, which is used with the meaning of ‘to continue’ doing something (OxDCiE), as in the example reported below, where it is followed by the word *business*:

- (28) *I carry on the business of an upholsterer , in Moorfields ; the prisoner has been with me eight or nine years, I had a very good opinion of him, so good, that I gave him 2 s. a week more than any other man I keep; these curtain rods were deposited in the cellar, I lost such, I believe them to be my property.(1790s)*

Business is in fact the word that more frequently collocates with the verb *to carry on* in the LModE-OBC together with other inanimate entities such as *law-suit, trade, prosecution* (§5.2.4). In this case, the use of the particle following the verb represents a carefully selected lexical choice in that *on* reveals the aspectual meaning of repetition/duration (e.g. *to carry on*) (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 125), and the particle conveys an attempt to emphasise the various emotional states and conditions which are presented in courts.

The use of the verb *to carry on* as described so far, is not dissimilar from that found in PDE where it usually collocates with the word *business*, as in (29), and conveys the meaning of ‘to practise continuously or habitually’ (OED):

(29) *I mean a, erm, erm I just certain, satisfy certain erm cattle requirements and carry on business in the sugar trade and of must done so for a period of time, I'm looking at this, the third page in, top of the page, erm trade in office in London established without purpose(PIE K73 S_courtroom)*

The high number of occurrences is indicative of the tendency to emphasise the aspectual features of the action expressed by the verb itself. This kind of use is also confirmed in the ARCHER corpus, as in (30) below:

(30) *The master had taken on board the cargi, knowing it ti have come from Hamburgh, in breach of the blockade, and under an engagement to carry it on to the ultimate port of illegal destination.(ARCHER 1822tart_15b)*

The use of the simple verb *to carry* is not absent from this corpus, but the shortage of examples of both simple and periphrastic forms does not allow an evaluation of its linguistic use and of any functional motivation which is linked to the preference for one or another. An example of the simple use is reported in (31):

(31) *It was alleged on the other side, that, in October 1818, the ship was chartered to carry passengers to a port of discharge in or near the River Oronko, in South America. (ARCHER 1822tart_15b)*

In this regard, looking at the LModE-OBC, it can be assumed that, in legal-lay discourse, the use of PVs rather than simple verbs can give an impulse to the progression of the story of crimes and can provide evidence of the narrative strategies which are used in trials as a speech act. PVs in fact can express locative meanings but also progress in the temporal sequences of the narration revealing what is conveyed implicitly. On the other hand, the aspectual force of PVs as well as the repeated use of redundant particles (Thim 2012: 17; Live 1965: 430) emphasises the actions or processes narrated and helps to make the whole interaction less focused.

Comparable behaviour is shown by the verb *to steal out*, which, similarly to the verb *to carry on*, can be seen as marking aspectual meanings, but in contrast, it shows a telic connotation, as in (32) and (33):

(32) *On the Saturday morning that the sheep was stolen out, Daniel Oakley came to my room in Portpool-lane, and he called me up about half past six. (1770s)*

(33) *On the same day, the dwelling-house of James Frances did break and enter; and steal out thence, two brass candlesticks, one copper coffee-pot, two ells of cloth, the property of the said James. (1750s)*

In this case, in fact, the use of *to steal out* rather than *to steal* seems to be connected with the intention of adding a meaning of completion to the whole action rather than to mark the continuity and duration of the events. Moreover, it can be assumed that, due to

the emotional participation of the speaker in the event, it can be functionally linked to the awareness of minimizing the facts which are narrated. In fact, if some examples of simple verbs, as in (34) and (35), are compared with the corresponding PV, as in (36), it is possible to state that, in its simple use, the verb *to steal* only conveys the referential meaning of ‘to take something that belongs to someone else without permission’ (MacmillanOnline), and that the whole structure does not reveal the participation of speaker in the event:

- (34) *He turned about. I said, You have stole these stockings out of the shop window . (1750s)*
- (35) *The prosecutor came and laid hold of me, saying I had broken his window, and at the watch-house he said I attempted to break it, and steal a decanter. (1810s)*
- (36) *John Powney , was indicted, for that he, on the 12th of February , about the hour of two in the night, the dwelling-house of John Downes , did break and enter, and stealing out thence three table spoons, value 30 s. one silver half-pint mug, one silver milk-pot, five silver tea spoons, a pair of tea tongs, a pair of silver shoe buckles, a pair of silk garters, and two linnen waistcoats, the goods of the said John.(1750s)*

In this sense, the OED reports that the simple verb *to steal* is used with the meaning of ‘to take dishonestly or secretly’.

In these cases, the meaning has remained unchanged over time, and the verb has been characterised by the same features across the centuries, from c1000, as in (37), when its first use is attested, to the 19th century and PDE, as in (38):

- (37) *Wenst þu, þæt we þines hlafordes gold oððe his seolfor stælon? (OED c1000 ÆLFRIC Genesis xlv. 8)*
- (38) *Whoever steals sticks from the fence will have a swollen head. (OED 1909 J. G. FRAZER Psyche's Task iii. 23)*

These considerations highlight that the simple verb *to steal* possesses constant semantic features over time and thus, an acquired stability. The question that arises is why many instances of *to steal* followed by *out* appear in the LModE-OBC, considering that there are no entries in the OED. Reference to the OED, in fact, shows that the base verb does occur in PDE, but it is characterized by different patterns, as in the case of its occurrence being followed by *away*, as in (39) and (40) or *of*, as in (41):

- (39) *A Pickpocket, who during his kissing her stole away all his Money. (OED 1711 R. STEELE Spectator No. 78. ¶5)*
- (40) *The sorcerer has other means of attacking his victim:..he can steal away his kidney fat. (OED 1883 E. B. TYLOR in Encycl. Brit. XV. 199/2)*
- (41) *Judas..bare the purse..and stale of that whiche was gyuen to cryst. (OED 1483 CAXTON tr. J. de Voragine Golden Legende 112/2)*

In examples (39) and (40), the non-verbal element *away* behaves as an adverbial particle conveying further information on the action expressed by the preceding verb, whereas in the case of the preposition *of*, it is only used partitively to put emphasis on the quantity or on the amount of what has been stolen. The adverbial particle *out* is not entailed in any of these definitions, and thus, its use in the LModE-OBC can be seen as a rare form associated with the intention of making the whole sentence in which it occurs less focused. This behaviour enhances the assumption that *out* is a functional element that contributes to the emphasis of specific aspects within the clause. These considerations are confirmed in the PIE where there are no occurrences of the verb *to steal out* which is substituted by *to steal*, as in (42); this underscores that PVs are able to convey functional meanings that would be impossible in the case of the corresponding simple lexical verbs:

- (42) *There are apparently further charges to be put to him Your Worships. A charge of theft and a charge of handling stolen property. He's only charged with one offence of criminal deception at the moment. (PIE F7X S_courtroom)*

In fact, the meaning that appears to be closest to what is expressed by *to steal out* is ‘to take away dishonestly (portable property, cattle, etc., belonging to another)’ (OED), as in (43):

- (43) *He who steals a little steals with the same wish as he who steals much. (OED 1875 B. JOWETT tr. Plato Dialogues (ed. 2) V. 512)*

Interestingly, the legal section of the ARCHER corpus does not contain any examples of this verb either in the simple or in the complex use. In contrast, this is a verb that, despite not being very frequent, occurs in drama and journal as a simple verb:

- (44) *Though Ned sometimes treated him basely, and stole his things, yet Charles never troubled his mother with any complaints against. (ARCHER 1793hitc_f4a drama)*
- (45) *... and says that the Snake guide, who deserted us last fall, stole and took two of our horses. (ARCHER 1806gass_j5a Journal)*

These considerations confirm that the use of *to steal out* is attested in the LModE period, nonetheless, its occurrence is connected with various linguistic and extra linguistic factors promoting its use. In the LModE-OBC the preferred use is *to steal out* when there is the intention of emphasizing the aspectual force of the verb. In addition, it is used to convey a sense of continuity and duration in time but also a sense of connection between past and present events. The courtroom is the privileged context where the communicative purpose is achieved not only through words but also by the

selection of recurrent patterns functionally contributing to the overall structure of the verbal communication. In this regard, it is possible to assume that, in consequence of the fact that texts in legal-lay discourse are ‘message-oriented’ but, at the same time, ‘listener-oriented’ in functional terms, they tend to contain speech which is ‘characterized by inexplicitness and vagueness’ (Milroy 1992: 39, quoted in Fisher 2007: 47). Thus, it is feasible to approach linguistic items paying ‘primary attention to the feelings and attitudes of conversational partners’ (ib.: 47) in addition to the analysis of their propositional contents. Strictly speaking, there are in fact no reasons to consider court records as simply affected by an ‘information focus’ (Tannen 1985: 124) because the degree of involvement is rather high due to the intensive reference to the specific communicative situation of the courtroom.

Comparing the use of the verbs *to steal*, *to steal out*, *to carry* and *to carry on* with their use in PDE, in fact, it emerges that these verbs bear strong similarities, with the exception of the verb *to steal out* that does not occur in any dictionaries of PDE as previously stated. The OED and the MacmillanPlus dictionary, in fact, do not possess any entry for this PV; instead, they only provide the meaning of the simple form, i.e. *to steal*.

	OED	MacmillanPlus Dictionary	LModE-OBC
To steal out	NO	NO	Emphasis (telic meaning)
To steal	YES	YES	Activity simple verb
To carry on	YES	YES	Emphasis (aspectual meaning)
To carry	YES	YES	Activity simple verb

Table 29: PVs in PDE and in the LModE period

On these assumptions, it is possible to conclude that both *to carry* and *to steal* are used in the syntactic patterns as they are in PDE. However, the occurrence of these verbs followed by a non-verbal element is generally preferred to the simple use in contexts in which the narration, rather than being based on ‘detached analysis following logical principles’, shows ‘the subjective reconstruction of personal experience’ (Heffer 2005: 3) of the speaker and the emotional participation in the events.

Moreover, it can be concluded that trials are a deep genre characterized by a tension between ‘the construction of the case (...) and the reconstruction of the crime’ (Heffer 2005: 65), and linguistically, between the story of the crime, the narrative structure and its contents, and discourse, that is the representation that any individual speaker makes giving utterance to his or her own thoughts (ib.: 68). Thus, PVs can be placed among the linguistic elements which may be used strategically to achieve hidden purposes and

to minimize or emphasize specific facts revealing speakers' intentions which are locked within the clausal elements.

6.2. Concluding remarks

The analysis of the legal phraseology occurring in the LModE-OBC, reveals that PVs play an important role in the 'patterns of meaning' (Sinclair 2004: 3) of the trials. They can contribute to the description of events and provide details on what happened in a specific moment of time adding new interactional meanings to the overall communication structure of legal proceedings. The comparative analysis with PDE reveals that, in the majority of the cases, the core meaning of the verbs shows a degree of stability over the centuries. At the same time, it can be observed that there is a remarkable use of particles with aspectual and telic meanings and this can be seen as the consequence of the tendency to put more emphasis on actions and processes involved in the narration.

Conclusion and future research

The present study has been focussed on the development of multi-word verbs, namely phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional verbs in Late Modern English (LModE). Its aims were, on the one hand, to give insights into the use of these verbs in the spoken language selecting texts from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey dating back to the years 1750-1850; on the other, to describe how the processes of grammaticalization, lexicalization and idiomatization were involved in the changes affecting the verbal English system at that time. As for the first issue, the study shows that MWVs possess features which are similar to those of PDE, in both syntax and semantics, thus confirming the widespread assumption that the language spoken during the LMod period was characterised by linguistic stability and consolidation of the changes that had occurred in the previous age.

As regards the frequency of MWVs in the spoken language, the comparative analyses of the LMod and the EME periods as provided by Claridge (2000) in her study of the Lampeter Corpus (1650-1750), reveal that, in the former period, PVs, prepositional verbs and phrasal-prepositional display a higher number of occurrences. Considering that these corpora are different in terms of text types,⁵⁶ this would suggest that the use of MWVs is particularly strong in legal discourse rather than in other domains. Thus, the high frequency in the use of MWVs may be related to the features of the texts included in the LModE-OBC, and it can be interpreted as a distinctive feature of the legal-lay discourse subgenre. In fact, it might be supposed that, among the factors that have promoted a rise in the use of MWVs, there are the communicative functions that MWVs perform at a discourse level, which are linked to the pragmatic properties of legal-lay discourse. In this sense, the use of MWVs can be truly connected with the lexical choices that were made by the speaker during the speech event to obtain specific effects on the audience, and as part of the narrative strategies which are commonly used in trials.

As for the second issue, the results show that the language processes which were operative in the previous stages continued to influence the use of MWVs in the LModE period. In line with the widespread claims in the literature (Claridge 2000: 114-116; Denison 1998: 222-224; Rodríguez-Puente 2012a: 77-88), this research proves that during the LModE period, these verbs were affected by systematic processes of internal restructuring and paradigmatic variation that gave rise to the emergence of new lexicalized forms.

More specifically, the processes of reanalysis, direct formation and analogy were also at work in the period under analysis, operating as a catalyst for the establishment of new linguistic structures. In particular PVs, prepositional verbs, and phrasal-prepositional verbs were all involved in syntactic reanalyses as a consequence of the grammaticalization of the non-verbal element and the renewal of forms and functions within the clause. This process of decategorialization of the non-verbal element and the

⁵⁶ The Lampeter Corpus contains text types from a number of different domains: religion, law, politics, science, economy and miscellaneous.

fusion with the preceding verb can be seen as a reflection of a typical tendency of the language at that time and of the mechanisms which operated in the innovation of the linguistic system. Further changes affected some MWVs, especially PVs, and led to the idiomatization of the new forms and the gradual demotivation at the semantic level.

The present analysis which has been carried out so far to investigate the factors influencing the use of MWVs in the Proceedings of the Old Bailey thus can contribute to the understanding of MWVs in PDE and, at the same time can stimulate further research on the LModE period which has to date been considered a stable period.

The current results could benefit from a comparison with written legal texts dating back to the Late Modern English period to investigate the use of MWVs in a different medium. This would allow the evaluation of the findings to determine whether there are differences in use and if they can be typically associated with the spoken dimension of legal language. In this last case, it would be interesting to analyse the pragmatic and functional characteristics which some MWVs can perform and to attempt to investigate legal-lay discourse and its distinctive features in more detail.

Moreover, I would suggest the extension of the analysis, which has been focussed on the general use of MWVs in spoken legal English, to sociolinguistic variation. Given that the legal-lay discourse studied in the present dissertation is characterised by the interaction between lay people and professionals, the major aim should be the understanding of the extent to which social features such as age, profession, gender, and speakers' background may influence the choice between simple and MWV verbs and whether there are specific factors promoting the occurrence of MWVs in this genre.

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- <http://www.oed.com>
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- <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LC/index.html>
- <http://www1.uni-giessen.de/oldbaileycorpus/>
- <http://www.cqpweb.lancs.ac.uk>
- <http://www.lexically.net/wordsmith/>
- <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/CED/>

Appendix I

VISL Tagset

The following Table presents a selection of tags provided by VISL and available online at <http://www.beta.visl.sdu.dk/>

Category	Definition
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ART	article
COM	comparative degree
CONJ	conjunction
DET	determiner pronoun
GEN	genitive case
IMPF	past tense (v)
INF	infinitive (v)
N	noun
NOM	nominative case
NUM	numeral
P	plural
PAS	passive
PCP1	present participle
PCP2	past participle
PERS	personal pronoun
PROP	proper noun, name

PRP	preposition
V	verb
1P	1. person plural
1S	1.person singular
2P	2. person plural
2S	2.person singular
3P	3. person plural
3S	3.person singular
<mv>	main verb (v)
<pass>	agent of passive
<prp-strand>	stranded preposition (fronted argument)
<prp-stray>	stray preposition (without argument)
@>A	adverbial pre-adject
@A<	adverbial post-adject
@[<]ACC[>]	direct/accusative object
@ADVL	free adverbial not attached to verb
@[<]ADVL[>]	adjunct [free] adverbial
@MV<	main verb-attached particle
@P<	argument of preposition
@[<]PIV[>]	prepositional object

Pos categories (word classes) are blue

Syntactic function tags are green

Appendix II

The Late Modern English- Old Bailey Corpus

LModE-OBC -- 1750-1850

THE CORPUS

MODE-SPOKEN
MONOLINGUAL - ENGLISH
DIACHRONIC- 1750-1850
DIALOGUES
DOMAIN- PUBLIC
LEGAL CROSS EXAMINATIONS (from the PROCEEDINGS of the OLD BAILEY)

TIME SPAN	1750-1850
n TYPES	18.210
n TOKENS	1.008.234
CORPUS ANNOTATION – VISL (Visual Interactive Syntax Learning)	
CONCORDANCER- ConcApp4 --- WordSmithTools 6.0	

The LModE-OBC (1750-1850): SUBCORPORA

	TIME SPAN	Tokens	Types	Type/Token ratio
Subcorpus-1	1750-1769	201,533	7,224	27.9
Subcorpus-2	1770-1789	201,562	6,998	28.8
Subcorpus-3	1790-1809	201,770	6,640	30.4
Subcorpus-4	1810-1829	201,614	7,108	28.4
Subcorpus-5	1830-1849	201,755	7,937	25.4

Appendix III

List of MWVs in the LModE-OBC (1750-1850)

Phrasal verbs		
	to call out	to come up
	to call over	to communicate together
to act together	to carry off	to connect together
to ascend up	to carry away	to consult together
to ask over	to carry back	to converse together
to assemble together	to carry down	to convey back
to bail out	to carry on	to copy off
to bawl out	to carry out	to count out
to bear through	to carry up	to count over
to beat on	to cast back	to cover over
to beat out	to chain up	to cross over
to blow out	to chalk down	to cry out
to blow up	to change away	to cut away
to bottle off	to choose out	to cut down
to bound over	to chunk down	to cut off
to break away	to clap together	to cut out
to break down	to clean off	to cut over
to break in	to clean up	to cut through
to break off	to clear off	to cut up
to break out	to clear out	to deliver back
to break up	to clear up	to deliver over
to bring ashore	to come about	to deliver up
to bring away	to come along	to demand back
to bring back	to come ashore	to do away
to bring down	to come away	to do over
to bring in	to come back	to do up
to bring on	to come by	to double up
to bring out	to come down	to doze off
to bring over	to come in	to draw away
to bring up	to come off	to draw back
to brush up	to come on	to draw down
to bundle over	to come out	to draw forth
to burst out	to come over	to draw in
to button up	to come together	to draw off
to call back		to draw on
to call in		to draw out
		to draw up
		to dress out
		to drink away

to drink out	to give down	to hold on
to drink up	to give in	to hold out
to drive off	to give out	to hold up
to drive on	to give over	to join together
to drop out	to give up	to keep away
to erase out	to go about	to keep back
to examine apart	to go along	to keep down
to faint away	to go ashore	to keep off
to fall back	to go aside	to keep on
to fall down	to go away	to keep out
to fall off	to go back	to keep up
to fall out	to go by	to kick out
to fetch back	to go down	to kick up
to fetch in	to go in	to kneel down
to fetch out	to go off	to knock down
to fetch up	to go on	to knock off
to fetch up	to go out	to knock off
to file off	to go over	to knock out
to fill up	to go through	to knock up
to find out	to go together	to lay down
to fire off	to go up	to lay out
to fit out	to halloo out	to lead on
to fit up	to halloo out	to lean down
to fling down	to hallowe out	to lean over
to fling up	to hand down	to leave off
to fly back	to hand in	to let down
to fold up	to hand out	to let in
to force off	to hand over	to let out
to force up	to hang up	to lift up
to get away	to haule down	to light down
to get back	to haule off	to light up
to get down	to haule out	to lock out
to get in	to have back	to lock up
to get off	to have down	to lock up
to get on	to have off	to look about
to get out	to have on	to look back
to get over	to have out	to look down
to get though	to help off	to look out
to get together	to help out	to look over
to get up	to help over	to look through
to give away	to hold down	to look up
to give back	to hold forth	to make away

to make by	to pull up	to run down
to make off	to purchase off	to run off
to make out	to push aside	to run on
to make over	to push off	to run out
to make up	to push on	to run over
to mark down	to put ashore	to run through
to mark out	to put aside	to run together
to minute down	to put away	to run up
to mix together	to put back	to rush in
to move in	to put by	to rush out
to move on	to put down	to save up
to nail down	to put in	to screame out
to nail up	to put off	to seal together
to offer back	to put on	to seal up
to order back	to put out	to search down
to order off	to put over	to sell down
to order out	to put through	to sell off
to pack up	to put together	to send away
to part off	to put up	to send back
to pass by	to quarrel together	to send down
to pass off	to rag on	to send in
to pass on	to reach over	to send off
to pass over	to read over	to send on
to pay away	to receive back	to send out
to pay back	to remand back	to send up
to pay down	to remit over	to separate out
to pay off	to return back	to set aside
to pay over	to ride by	to set down
to peep in	to ride off	to set forth
to persuade off	to ride on	to set off
to pick out	to ride up	to set on
to pick up	to rise off	to set out
to pile up	to roll away	to set out
to plunk off	to roll up	to set up
to point out	to row ashore	to sew on
to pour down	to row away	to shake out
to pour out	to row off	to share out
to pull about	to rub off	to shove in
to pull apart	to rub out	to shove out
to pull down	to run along	to shove up
to pull off	to run away	to shut down
to pull out	to run back	to shut down

to shut in
to shut out
to shut out
to shut up
to sign over
to sing out
to single out
to sit down
to sit up
to slip on
to snatch out
to snatch up
to sort out
to speak off
to speak out
to spit out
to stand back
to stand by
to stand forth
to stand off
to stand up
to start back
to start off
to start up
to stay up
to steal away
to steal out
to step down
to step out
to step up
to stoop down
to stop down
to strip off
to sum up
to swear away
to swear in
to take aside
to take away
to take back
to take down
to take in
to take off

to take on
to take out
to take over
to take up
to talk over
to tear off
to tear out
to tear up
to tell down
to tell out
to tell over
to throw away
to throw back
to throw down
to throw out
to throw over
to throw up
to thrust out
to tie back
to tie down
to tie up
to toss up
to tread off
to try on
to tumble down
to turn about
to turn aside
to turn away
to turn back
to turn down
to turn in
to turn off
to turn out
to turn over
to turn up
to walk along
to walk in
to walk off
to walk on
to walk up
to ward off
to wash out

to weigh off
to whip up
to wrap up
to write down
to write down
to write out
to write up

Prepositional verbs

to abide by	to be concerned with	to concur with
to abscond from	to bear through	to confess of
to accept of	to bear upon	to confess to
to accompte for	to beat of	to connect with
to account for	to beg for	to consent to
to account to	to beg of	to consider upon
to acknowledge to	to belong to	to consist in
to act for	to bleed to	to consist of
to act on	to break into	to continue on
to adjudge to	to break through	to continue with
to administer to	to buy fro	to contract for
to agree for	to call for	to contract for
to agree in	to call on	to converse with
to agree to	to call to	to copy with
to agree with	to call up	to correspond in
to aim at	to call upon	to correspond with
to allude to	to care for	to cry for
to amount to	to carry of	to cut at
to answer for	to cast up	to dash in
to appeal to	to catch at	to deal for
to appear for	to catch upon	to deal in
to appear for	to cohabit with	to deal with
to appear upon	to coin of	to decide upon
to apply for	to come about	to depend on
to apply to	to come after	to depend upon
to approve of	to come at	to depose to
to arise from	to come by	to determine upon
to arrange for	to come for	to die from
to ask after	to come into	to die of
to ask for	to come of	to disagree with
to ask of	to come to	to dispense with
to assist in	to come upon	to dispose of
to associate with	to commit in	to do for
to attend on	to commit of	to do of
to attend to	to communicate with	to down with
to bargain for	to complain of	to draw upon
to bargain with	to complain to	to dry up
to be concerned in	to comply with	to engage for
	to compound of	to engage in
		to engrave upon

to enquire about
to enquire after
to enquire for
to enquire into
to enquire of
to enter into
to entreat of
to escape from
to exchange with
to fall from
to fall into
to fall on
to fall over
to fall to
to feel for
to fight with
to fill in
to fire at
to fire on
to fire upon
to fix upon
to fly at
to fly into
to gain upon
to get into
to get over
to get through
to go about
to go after
to go at
to go by
to go for
to go into
to go of
to go through
to go upon
to hear of
to hear to
to hope for
to inquire about
to inquire after
to inquire for

to inquire into
to inquire of
to insist on
to insist upon
to inspect after
to inspect into
to intercede for
to intercede with
to interfere with
to intrude upon
to join in
to join to
to join with
to judge from
to judge of
to keep for
to laugh at
to light of
to list up
to listen to
to live by
to live on
to look about
to look after
to look at
to look for
to look in
to look into
to look on
to look through
to look to
to look upon
to marry into
to match with
to meddle with
to meet with
to nose at
to object to
to oblige in
to observe upon
to owe to
to own to

to part from
to part into
to part with
to partake of
to pass by
to pass for
to pawn for
to pawn with
to pay for
to persist in
to pilfer upon
to pitch upon
to plan of
to play at
to point to
to pray for
to press upon
to prevail on
to prevail upon
to proceed from
to pronounce upon
to pull at
to pull of
to pursue after
to quarrel about
to quarrel with
to read of
to recollect of
to refer to
to rely for
to rely upon
to remark on
to rub over
to run after
to run into
to run to
to run upon
to say of
to say upon
to search about
to search for
to search of

to see after
to see for
to see of
to seek after
to seek for
to sell of
to sell upon
to send for
to shoot at
to snatch at
to sort for
to speak for
to speak in
to speak of
to speak with
to spit at
to split upon
to spread of
to stare about
to steal of
to stick at
to stop of
to strike at
to struggle with
to subscribe to
to succeed in
to suffer by
to suffer from
to swear at
to swear for
to swear to
to swear upon
to take upon
to talk about
to talk of
to talk with
to tell of
o think of
to threat of
to try at
to wait for
to wait on

to wait upon
to whip at
to withdraw from
to work at
to work with
to wrestle with

Phrasal- prepositional verbs

to break out of
to bring out of
to call out for
to close in upon
to come along with
to come away from
to come down to
to come in at
to come in for
to come over to
to come up to
to come up with
to cross over to
to draw back from
to fall in with
to fall in with
to fetch in for
to get away from
to get out of
to get over to
to get up to
to go along with
to go away from
to go down to
to go down with
to go in at
to go in for
to go off with
to go out for
to go over to
to go over with
to go through with
to go up to
to halloo out for
to help out with
to keep away from
to knock down with
to lead up to

to look down to
to look out for
to look up at
to make away with
to make up to
to make up towards
to push out from
to put in with
to put up to

to put up with
to run away from
to run away with
to run off with
to run over to
to run up to
to sell out of
to send out for
to set up in

to stain over with
to strike back at
to strike out at
to toss up for
to turn away from
to turn out of
to work along with