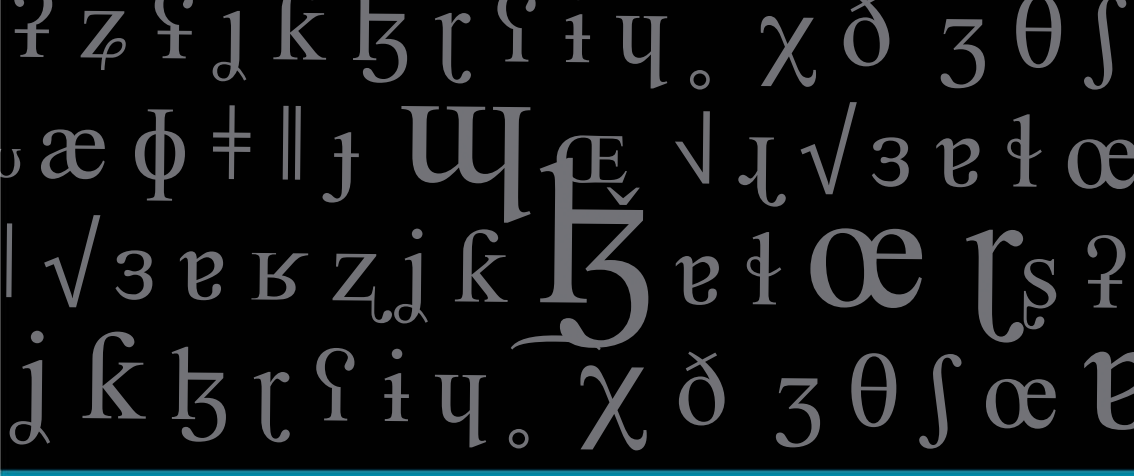

PHRASAL VERBS THROUGH THE LENS OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

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PHRASAL VERBS THROUGH THE LENS OF COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

A STUDY OF ADVERBIAL PARTICLES IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN VARIETIES THROUGH TV CRIME SERIES

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PREFACE

Linguists, philosophers, and psychologists have been concerned for a long time with the notion of *space* as well as the relationship between spatial experience, language and thought (cf. Tyler & Evans, 2003: ix; Paradis, Hudson, & Magnusson, 2013). This book explores the nature of *embodiment* and how human understanding of spatial relations is linguistically coded in English. To achieve this goal, we look at English spatial particles by drawing from the expertise of Cognitive Linguistics, which combines knowledge from psychology, neuroscience, and philosophy (Evans, Bergen & Zinken, 2007: 5). Together with the lexical verb, the English particle is one of the components included in the semantic makeup of phrasal verbs. The multiple meanings of phrasal verbs represent a well-known challenge in English as linguists have usually considered them as arbitrary and unpredictable (Lipka, 1972; Fraser, 1976). However, Cognitive Linguistics outshines more traditional perspectives by offering a systematic approach to phrasal verbs, which enables language users not only to decipher their meanings but also to find patterns of use and memorize them faster (Boers, 2000; Kurtyka, 2001; Condon, 2008). In our book we provide a comprehensive theoretical analysis of the most productive English particles while explaining how spatial meanings might be extended to create a variety of non-spatial, figurative meanings (Lindner, 1981; Lakoff, 1987; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Tyler & Evans, 2003). Although we base our interpretation of phrasal verbs primarily on Rudzka's (2003) meaning extensions, we also acknowledge the existence of Tyler and Evans' (2003) concept of 'spatial scenes' which lay the foundation for the extension of meaning from the literal/spatial to the figurative.

For all the reasons enumerated above, this book might be regarded as a powerful explanatory tool for English lecturers who wish to make phrasal verbs accessible for their students. It could also be considered as a starting point for MA or PhD students who wish to delve deeper into the study of phrasal verbs. In a nutshell, it is a written record for researchers interested in the analysis of phrasal verbs from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics.

Another aspect that turns this book into a valuable resource is the fact that it offers a comparative investigation of the most productive phrasal verbs between American and British English by examining a popular subgenre, namely television crime drama. Despite the existence of previous corpus-based studies focusing on the frequency of phrasal verbs (e.g. Biber *et al.*, 1999; Gardner & Davies, 2007; Trebits, 2009; Liu, 2011; Breeze, 2012; Lee, 2015), none of them is as encompassing and specialized as the one carried out in the present book. Our study goes a step beyond as it does not limit itself to merely determining the usefulness of phrasal verbs in terms of their frequency of use, but it expands the scope by providing a solid theoretical framework of analysis for these verbs.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Phrasal verbs pose a real challenge to English language learners and teachers alike. Many authors have been concerned with the various factors that affect the avoidance or the difficulty of acquiring phrasal verbs: (1) the overwhelming amount of phrasal verbs; (2) their polysemous nature; (3) their complex and unpredictable syntactic rules (e.g. the transitive/intransitive dichotomy, tense and aspect requirements); (4) cross-linguistic differences (e.g. absence of phrasal verbs in L1 – Dagut & Laufer, 1985; Liao & Fukuya, 2004); and (5) substandard textbook presentation (for a more detailed overview see Sinclair, 1989: iv; Trebits: 2009; Alejo, 2010a; Alejo *et al*., 2010). When discussing the pervasiveness of phrasal verbs, Gardner and Davies (2007: 347) highlight that "learners will encounter, on average, one [phrasal verb] in every 150 words of English they are exposed to". Aside from the ubiquity of these constructions, Gardner and Davies (2007: 353) corroborate their polysemy by attributing an average of 5.6 different meanings to each of the 100 most frequent phrasal verbs. On top of that, English speakers create new phrasal verbs with ease (Bolinger, 1971). One such example is the phrasal verb *google out* which is a more specific variant of the verb *find out* 'discover information by using the Google search engine' (e.g. *I had Googled out a relevant website*)[1].

Given the sheer number of phrasal verbs, L2 learners may find it confusing to decide which ones are more important to learn. Thus, it is

[1] This example was retrieved from the monthly webzine of the Macmillan English Dictionaries: https://bit.ly/3CddO1e.

the linguists' responsibility to prioritise certain phrasal verbs or meanings based on learning objectives, contexts of use, students' level, and frequency of occurrence. As Liu (2011) pointed out, the frequency of phrasal verbs is genre and register specific and as such, L2 learners should be exposed to the most productive phrasal verbs in their own field of study. Regarding the L1 transfer as an inhibiting factor in the acquisition of phrasal verbs, Alejo (2010b) used the MICASE learner corpus to compare the usage patterns of learners with a satellite-framed L1 background (e.g. English, Dutch, German) with those of learners with a verb-framed L1 background (e.g. Spanish, Italian, Portuguese). His findings indicate that learners who speak verb-framed languages show significant evidence of avoidance of phrasal verbs. In addition, even more advanced learners of English display rather impoverished knowledge of the different senses of phrasal verbs as they tend to use the prototypical (locational) meanings instead of the metaphorical ones. This suggests that teachers should provide explicit instruction to raise learners' awareness of the fact that phrasal verbs operate within radial categories and help them explore the more peripheral or figurative meanings. Moreover, it has been claimed that, as a result of the disconnect between the findings of corpus studies and the commercial grammar textbooks, the contents of a syllabus remain largely "based on isolated examples and the intuition of the author as to correctness" (Hughes, 2010: 402). Thus, L2 learners are presented with innumerable lists of phrasal verbs accompanied by their corresponding definitions and explained by means of decontextualized examples, matching or gap-fill exercises (Darwin & Gray, 1999; Gardner & Davies, 2007).

The purpose of this book is threefold. First, it aims to determine the usefulness of phrasal verbs for L2 learners based on their frequency

of occurrence. To this end, we decided to focus on phrasal verbs formed by nine of the most productive particles in the English language: *down, in, into, off, on, out, over, through*, and *up* (cf. Sinclair, 1989; Biber *et al.*, 1999). The second goal of this book is to offer a comparative exploration of the most common phrasal verbs in spoken American and British English across the subgenre of television crime dramas. This study emerged from the need to fill the gaps related to phrasal verbs about police investigative work. McCarthy and O'Dell's (2004) textbook includes only phrasal verbs denoting purely criminal activities, such as *break out of sth, beat sb up, tip sb off*, among others. On the basis of corpus analysis, we propose an alternative list of phrasal verbs that also describe the steps taken by the police in the investigation of a crime. Thus, detectives verify the information received from witnesses or criminals (*check sth out*), take suspects to the police station to be interrogated or arrested (*pick sb up*), broadcast alert notifications to their personnel or other police agencies about a wanted person (*put out an APB*) or can stop people from entering a dangerous area (*close sth off*). For our study, we compiled two corpora composed of spoken dialogues extracted from the transcripts of two TV series: *New Tricks* for British English, and *Castle* for American English. The third goal of this book is to show the crucial role that adverbial particles play in decoding the meaning of phrasal verbs. Regarding the analysis of phrasal verbs, we relied mainly on Rudzka's (2003) cognitive motivations for the different particles as her approach combines both verbal explanations and visual imagery for meaning extensions. For each particle we will explain its central meaning, which is grounded in our spatio-physical interaction with the world. After that, we will present the other figurative meanings extended from the basic one. In

some cases, descriptions were complemented through the addition of cognitive notions proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Langacker (1987, 2008). Our preference for a cognitive perspective is motivated by previous empirical studies according to which a Cognitive Linguistics (CL) proposal to phrasal verbs can enhance their comprehension, retention as well as knowledge transference from learnt to novel phrasal verbs (Kövecses & Szabó, 1996; Boers, 2000; Kurtyka, 2001; Condon, 2008).

This book is structured as follows. Chapter 2 explains the theoretical framework adopted for the interpretation and analysis of phrasal verbs, viz. Cognitive Linguistics. Chapter 3 details the methodological steps followed to carry out this study. Chapter 4 provides information about the frequency results of phrasal verbs combined with each of the abovementioned particles. We will as well pay close attention to the basic meanings and semantic extensions for each particle. In this chapter we also offer an overview of previous corpus-based studies that examined the frequency of phrasal verbs in English. The main objective is to establish connections between these different studies and explain how ours stands out from the rest. Chapter 5 summarizes the main results, discusses the main limitations of this study, and puts forward some pedagogical applications for second language learning and teaching.

CHAPTER 2. CONSTRUALS IN COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

1. CONSTRUALS

Construals are cognitive operations which determine the way language is used. In the words of Langacker (2008: 43), the term 'construal' represents "our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways". We will now focus on five dimensions of construal that are relevant for the understanding of phrasal verbs. The first two relate to viewing operations (e.g. *viewpoint*, and *mental scanning*), whereas the latter three relate to prominence (e.g. *windowing of attention*, *figure* and *ground* or *trajector* and *landmark*, and *profiling*).

In visual perception, the default viewpoint or *vantage point* is the actual location of the speaker observing a scene. In cognition, we may mentally switch and adopt another person's perspective. Let us compare the use of the motion verbs *go* and *come* in the sentences *I'm going to your party* and *I'm coming to your party*. In the first one, the verb *go* helps the speaker keep his/her viewpoint. In using *come* in the second example, the speaker takes the hearer's point of view. The second option is preferred when we wish to sound sympathetic and polite (cf. Radden and Dirven, 2007: 24).

Mental scanning enables us to visualize a situation with respect to its phasing in time. When we hear a sentence like *Our neighbours* ***have*** *just* ***got divorced***, we mentally scan the whole process of divorce as it occurs in time. *Fictive motion*, a subtype of mental scanning, refers

to the construal of a static scene in terms of spatial motion. The sentence *The road **rises** steeply from the village* illustrates an instance of fictive motion. To process the sentence, we trace a mental path along the road in an upward direction.

Windowing of attention is a cognitive operation whereby our brain performs a subconscious selection of the most salient stimuli for our attention. At a linguistic level, the explicit mention of certain words is intended to direct our attention to selected elements of a scene. For instance, we may decide to 'window' the whole route of a bus journey or just its final stretch to the endpoint (e.g. *This bus goes from Birmingham to London* vs. *This bus goes to London*).

The dichotomy figure-ground is intimately linked to attention, in that we automatically categorize the elements of a visual scene into a prominent figure (also called trajector) and a non-prominent background or ground (also landmark). For example, a sudden noise would stand out as a figure against a background of silence. The principle of figure-ground/trajector-landmark alignment also applies to how we think of or conceptualize a situation. Let us take the following sentences *The hunter shot the deer* and *The deer was shot by the hunter*. Although both describe the same scene, they differ with respect to the degree of prominence conferred on the relational participants. In the first example, the hunter appears as the most salient participant (figure/trajector) whereas in the second example, the deer acquires the status of figure/trajector.

A special type of figure-ground relation is the relation holding between an expression and its conceptual *base*. The base is identified as the immediate larger scope that characterizes an expression and

profiling designates a conceptualization by means of a linguistic expression. The word *Monday*, for instance, evokes the conception of a week as its base, within which it profiles the first day.

One last type of construal is *metaphor*, which reflects humans' ability to construe one thing in terms of another. Metaphor is based on *conceptual mapping* or a set of correspondences between two separate domains: a *source domain* which enables us to think, talk and reason about a *target domain* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). For the sake of illustration, consider the sentence *We started out from these assumptions* (cf. Taylor, 2002: 12). This makes use of the metaphors STATES ARE LOCATIONS and CHANGES OF STATES ARE CHANGES OF LOCATIONS. The combination of these metaphors enables us to see an initial assumption as a starting point or source location, and mental activity as a journey along a path from a source to a destination. The example also windows our attention only on the starting point of the journey.

2. IMAGE-SCHEMAS

Apart from construals, we consider that the notion of *image-schema* is also crucial for interpreting the central meaning of particles as well as their extended senses. As Johnson (1987) suggested, image-schemas represent pre-conceptual configurations arising from everyday bodily experiences, perceptual interactions, and ways of manipulating objects. For example, the image-schema CONTAINER derives from our recurrent experiences with containers, as pointed out by Johnson (1987) when describing the start of an ordinary day:

> You wake **out of** a deep sleep and peer **out from** beneath the covers **into** your room. You gradually emerge **out of** your stupor, pull yourself **out from** under the covers, climb **into** your robe, stretch **out** your limbs, and walk **in** a daze **out of** the bedroom and **into** the bathroom. […] You reach **into** the medicine cabinet, take **out** the toothpaste, squeeze **out** some toothpaste, put the toothbrush **into** your mouth, brush your teeth **in** a hurry, and rinse **out** your mouth. (Johnson, 1987: 331, our emphasis)

As highlighted by the spatial prepositions *in, into, out, out of* and *out from*, many objects and experiences can be classified as specific instances of the schematic concept CONTAINER. Some of the examples included in this extract may be considered prototypical containers (e.g. bathroom cabinets, toothpaste tubes) whereas others qualify as less canonical containers (e.g. bed-covers, clothing, rooms, or states like daze, sleep, stupor, and hurry).

A basic image-schema can give rise to more specific concepts (cf. Evans and Green, 2006: 180). Consider the visual representation of the CONTAINER schema in Figure 1. This image-schema is composed of structural elements such as an interior, a boundary, and an exterior (Lakoff, 1987).

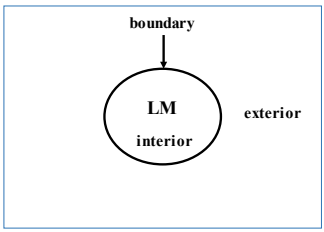

Figure 1. Basic CONTAINER image-schema

The landmark (LM), which is represented by the circle, contains two structural elements: the interior – the area within the boundary –

and the boundary. The exterior is the area outside the circle, contained within the square. From this fundamental schema, other more specific and detailed image-schemas may emerge. A sentence like *Mary went out of the house* may instantiate a different variant of the CONTAINER schema. The related image-schema is diagrammed in Figure 2.

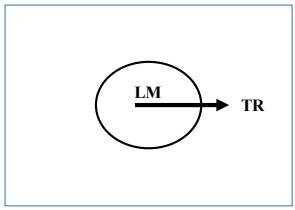

Figure 2. Specific CONTAINER image-schema

The trajector (TR) Mary, which is the entity that undergoes motion, moves from the interior of the LM to a location outside the LM. It should be noted that the second image-schema is more detailed than the first one in that it involves both motion and containment.

Image-schemas can also be internally complex (Evans and Green, 2006: 185). Take for instance the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL (also called PATH schema) illustrated in Figure 3. This schema, which is based on our bodily experience of moving from one location to another, consists of several structural elements: a SOURCE or starting point, a destination or GOAL, a PATH (a series of contiguous locations connecting the source and the destination), and a DIRECTION (orientation toward the destination).

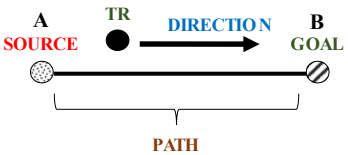

Figure 3. The PATH image schema

Due to its internal complexity, we can profile different components of the PATH schema, as shown in the discussion of windowing of attention (e.g. SOURCE: *Susan left Spain*; GOAL: *Susan travelled to Germany*).

Other image-schemas relevant to the interpretation of the adverbial particles found in our work are the VERTICALITY, the CONTACT, and the SUPPORT schemas. The first one underlies the particles *up* and *down* whereas the second and the third one help us explain the linguistic unit *on*. The VERTICALITY schema is based on the UP-DOWN organization of the human body and the fact that we use this orientation to discern meaningful structures of our experience. As Johnson (1987) states, the structure of verticality arises from daily perceptions and activities such as perceiving a tree, our sense of standing upright, the activity of climbing stairs or watching water rise in the bathtub. For Navarro i Ferrando (1999), the conceptual schema of *on* combines three types of image-schema belonging to three dynamic configurations: a topological configuration, a functional configuration, and a force-dynamic configuration. The interaction of these image-schemas is illustrated in Figure 4 below.

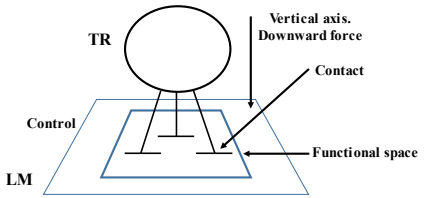

Figure 4. Basic CONTACT and SUPPORT schemas

Thus, *on* describes a topological relation of two entities in contact: a TR and a LM (CONTACT image-schema), where the TR performs a function of control over the LM through contact of its resting side with the external part of the LM (SUPPORT schema). Finally, the force exerted by the TR is directed downwards along a vertical axis (UP-DOWN schema).

3. PHRASAL VERBS IN COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

In the late 20th century, Bolinger (1971: 6) dwelt upon the lack of consensus about what qualifies as a phrasal verb by asserting that "being or not being a phrasal verb is a matter of degree". Similarly, Gardner and Davies (2007: 341) pointed out that "linguists and grammarians struggle with nuances of phrasal verb definitions" even though such distinctions matter very little for the average L2 learner. Most English grammars agree that a phrasal verb is a combination between a lexical verb and one or more prepositions or adverbial particles whose meaning cannot be strictly predicted from its component parts (Quirk *et al.*, 1985).

As Kovács (2011) claims, the traditional lexico-semantic analyses from the 70s and 80s (Bolinger, 1971; Lipka, 1972; Fraser, 1976) are clearly opposed to the cognitive perspective on language (Lindner, 1981; Lakoff, 1987; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Tyler & Evans, 2003). Regarding phrasal verbs, traditional grammarians are mainly concerned with their syntactic properties as well as the spatial and aspectual meanings of the particles that form them. Bolinger (1971: 99-104) makes a distinction between literal (e.g. *I reached out for it*) and figurative particles (e.g. *fall out with a friend*) and puts forward a core of literal senses surrounded at various distances by figurative meanings (cf. also Neagu, 2007). However, there is no systematic connection between such meanings. Similarly, Lipka (1972) states that particles can only contribute meaning to phrasal verbs when combined with semantically empty verbs such as *make, do, have, get*, among others. In contrast, Fraser (1976: 77) adopts a more radical view by asserting that "there is no need to associate any semantic feature with the particle, only phonological and syntactic features".

Cognitive grammarians suggested that the arbitrariness of phrasal verbs seems to be given by particles as the meanings of verbs are less debatable. They showed that the meanings of particles form a network of connected senses where one or more meanings are prototypical (central) while the rest are less prototypical (peripheral) (cf. Lindner, 1981; Lakoff, 1987; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Tyler & Evans, 2003). While the central meaning of a particle denotes spatial locations or movements, the peripheral senses, usually abstract, are extended from the concrete, spatial meaning "by means of generalization or specialization of meaning or by metonymic or metaphoric transfer" (Cuyckens & Radden, 2002: xiii).

Our study relies heavily on Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) work for two main reasons: (i) her analysis covers a large number of phrasal verbs and particles (16 adverbial particles: *out, in, into, up, down, off, away, on, over, back, about, around, across, through, by*, and *along*); and (ii) her research makes use of clear visual imagery which facilitates the comprehension of the meanings of adverbial particles. In the following sections we will compare Rudzka-Ostyn's meaning extensions with the ones put forward by Tyler and Evans (2003). Tyler and Evans' (2003) *Principled Polysemy Model* provides a replicable method for identifying the central sense of a particle and explains how the peripheral meanings are extended from the central one. Although Tyler and Evans offer an insightful analysis, we could not base our entire study on their account. One main reason is that their polysemy networks were mostly designed to account for prepositions. In other words, many of their semantic extensions do not correspond to any phrasal verb construction. Another drawback stems from the fact that these authors consider a more limited range of prepositions/particles than Rudzka-Ostyn (2003), viz. 11 particles: *above, after, before, below, down, for, in, in front of, into, out, over, through, to, under,* and *up*. Also, the particles *off* and *on*, which are among the most recurrent ones in our corpora, were not dealt with by Tyler and Evans (2003).

The central meaning associated with a given particle is labelled *proto-scene* by Tyler and Evans (2003), and it involves a spatial relation between a trajector (TR) and a landmark (LM), as well as a functional element. Both Tyler and Evans (2003) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) use Langacker's (1987) notions of TR and LM to describe the relation between the participants evoked by phrasal verbs.

In the ensuing subsections we will briefly discuss the central meanings and the peripheral cluster of senses associated with the particles dealt with in this book. Owing to space constraints, particles will be examined in dichotomic pairs (e.g. *up-down, out-in/into, on-off*). The last subsection will focus on two marginal particles, namely *over* and *through*.

3.1. The semantics of *up* and *down*

The particle *up*, together with *out*, are two of the most researched particles in CL (Lindner, 1981; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Tyler & Evans, 2003; Lindstromberg, 2010; Mahpeykar & Tyler, 2015).

Tyler and Evans' (2003: 136) definition of the central sense of *up* centers on the relation between a TR which is directed towards the top of an oriented LM. Thus, the LM is understood as having a top and a bottom part, whereas the TR is conceived as being oriented. Nevertheless, these authors' definition can only apply to prepositions as particles in phrasal verbs do not overtly express a LM (e.g. ***Susan*** [TR] *climbed* ***up*** [preposition] ***the stairs*** [LM] vs. ***Mary*** [TR] *stood* ***up*** [particle] *when the dean entered* – no overt LM). Therefore, Rudzka-Ostyn's more generic description for the central sense of *up* is suitable for all literal phrasal verbs, i.e. spatial motion of an entity (TR) from a lower to a higher place. According to Radden and Dirven (2007: 313), *up* is an orientational particle which involves two landmarks mentally linked to form a line of orientation. This implies that the lower position can be regarded as one reference point (LM1) and the higher place as the second reference point (LM2).

Tyler and Evans posit a functional element for each proto-scene which refers to the humanly salient consequences of the interactive

relation between the TR and LM. In the case of *up*, the functional element is one of a positive value in that entities which are in a high position are also in a state of readiness and increased control over the environment.[2] In addition, when entities are physically elevated, they may become visible, accessible, or salient to human beings. In line with Mahpeykar and Tyler (2015), this set of experiential correlations gives rise to another meaning extension of *up*, which was not explored by Tyler and Evans, but was mentioned by Rudzka-Ostyn ('higher up is more visible, accessible, known' – e.g. *How many people* ***showed up*** *at his party?*).

Most meaning extensions of particles are based on our embodied experience and understanding of the spatial-physical world. The notion of embodiment originated from Merleau-Ponty's (1945) work *Phenomenology of Perception*. Merleau-Ponty stated that, as humans, we experience the world through our bodies, and not through our minds. As a consequence, language does not reflect the real, objective world, but a conceptual world, formed through our embodied experiences in the objective world. In Tyler and Evans' (2003) account, the remaining senses of *up,* namely the *More Sense* and the *Completion Sense,* are grouped under the *Quantity Cluster*. This cluster stems from the experiential correlation between quantity and vertical elevation, where an increase in quantity correlates with an increase in height. Note that the concept of 'increase in amount' has become so strongly associated with *up* that it can function as an independent meaning, which no longer

[2] Nonetheless, not all extended meanings denote a positive value, e.g. *Shackleton's men* ***broke up*** *the furniture to use for firewood* (Tyler and Evans, 2003: 138). The result of *breaking up* an object is in clear opposition to the meaning expressed by the functional element: the object loses its functionality and its state of readiness.

makes reference to the original spatial scene of vertical elevation (e.g. ***Turn up*** *the volume*). The Completion Sense developed from another experiential correlation created in the context of our daily interaction with different containers, such as cups, glasses, or baths. Apart from vertical elevation, another consequence of increasing quantity is that a limit is reached, and we can thus say that the increase in quantity is complete. When we pour water into a glass, the quantity of the liquid increases to a point where the limit of the glass is reached. As such, our mind establishes a connection between the increase of the amount, the vertical elevation of the water, and the capacity of the container being completely used (e.g. *He* ***filled*** *my glass* ***up*** *with wine*). Due to pragmatic strengthening, the association between the particle *up* and the completion meaning has become conventionalized, enabling us to use this meaning in contexts where no increase in amount or vertical elevation are present (e.g. *Let's* ***finish up*** *the paperwork*). The More Sense and the Completion Sense overlap with two of Rudzka-Ostyn's semantic extensions for *up*, viz. 'moving to a higher degree, value, or measure' and 'covering an area completely/reaching the highest limit'. Rudzka-Ostyn's account for the particle *up* is more encompassing in that it also includes the notion of *approach* triggered by the meaning 'aiming at or reaching a goal, an end, a limit' (e.g. *The taxi driver* ***drove up to*** *the airport*).

In contrast with *up*, the functional element linked to *down* is one of a negative value. Being physically down correlates with invisibility, limited access, or loss of control or vulnerability (e.g. *He* ***stepped down*** *as director*). Rudzka-Ostyn considers this set of experiential correlations as a meaning extension and classifies it under the heading 'decrease in quantity, intensity, quality, status, etc.'. This semantic

extension gathers various abstract domains such as degree, value, activity, strength, among others. Rudzka-Ostyn's semantic extension overlaps with Tyler and Evans's the *Less Sense*, which was subsumed together with the *Worse/Inferior Sense* and the Completion Sense, under the Quantity Cluster. The Less Sense is the inverse of the More Sense associated with *up*. Being physically down is connected with smaller quantity. Through the continued use of *down* in contexts based on this experiential correlation, the meaning element of 'less' has become entrenched, licensing the use of the 'less' meaning in situations where vertical elevation is absent (e.g. ***Turn down*** *the TV*). The Completion Sense might draw on the connection between three simultaneous experiential scenes: (i) food consumption, which involves feeling food or drink move down the oesophagus, (ii) the observation that the amount of food diminishes; and (iii) the completion of the act of eating and drinking. Tyler and Evans acknowledge a second source for a Completion Sense connected with *down*. This might originate from the experience that entities which perform a particular function are often found in a standing erect position whereas those which have completed their functionality are in a horizontal position. The Completion Sense was also encountered in Rudzka-Ostyn's research under the name 'reach a goal, completion, extreme limit down the scale' (e.g. *They* ***closed down*** *the factory*). Finally, Rudzka-Ostyn adds two more semantic meanings for *down*, namely 'time as downward motion' and 'movements of eating and writing as downward motion'.

3.2. The semantics of *out, in,* and *into*

Tyler and Evans (2003) argue that *out*, *in*, and *into* are spatial particles which are sensitive to certain dimensions of the LM in the

sense that the LM refers to a bounded area. Bounded LMs can be defined as three-dimensional[3] objects (e.g. boxes, rooms) which possess an interior, a boundary and an exterior. The way in which humans interact with these objects has functional consequences, one being the notion of containment associated with *in*. Containment itself involves several functional consequences: (i) restriction of the movements of the TR (e.g. a prison cell constrains the movements of a convict); (ii) provision of support (e.g. a straw in a cup); (iii) blockage of the interior view of the container (e.g. a walled garden); and (iv) provision of protection (e.g. a jeweller's safe), among others. Equally, the notion of non-containment and its different aspects are coded in the particle *out* (e.g. freedom of motion, visibility to the external world, lack of protection, etc.).

While for Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) *out* implies motion of a TR out of a container/LM, for Tyler and Evans this particle simply indicates a spatial relation in which the TR is exterior to a bounded LM (e.g. ***Get out*** *of my house* – the house is the LM).

To account for the extended meanings of *out*, Tyler and Evans acknowledge the existence of four main clusters of senses: (1) the *Location Cluster* containing the *No More Sense* and the Completion Sense, (2) the *Vantage Point is Interior Cluster* comprising the *Exclusion Sense* and the *Lack of Visibility Sense*, (3) the *Vantage Point is Exterior Cluster* including the *Visibility Sense* and the *Knowing Sense*, and (4) the *Segmentation Cluster* composed of the *Distribution Sense* and the *Reflexive Sense*. There is a complete overlap between the

[3] The Euclidian system of space acknowledges three dimensions: one dimension for length, two dimensions for length and width, and three dimensions for length, width, and depth (cf. Radden and Dirven, 2007: 309).

second and the third clusters and two of Rudzka-Ostyn's semantic extensions, namely 'states/situations are containers' and 'non-existence, ignorance, invisibility also function as containers'. Tyler and Evans' second cluster derives from our experience with bounded LMs where the experiencer's perspective on the scene is from the interior region of the LM (e.g. a person inside a building [LM] observing through a window objects or events located outside the LM). As the TR is exterior to the LM, it will be excluded from the interior environment, hence the Exclusion Sense (e.g. *The report* ***left out*** *essential information*). In spatial scenes where the experiencer's perspective is exterior to the bounded LM, the TR, which is also exterior, becomes visible, accessible to the experiencer (the Visibility Sense: e.g. *Two names on the list* ***jumped out*** *at me* – Cambridge Online Dictionary).

Rudzka-Ostyn considers three additional meaning extensions which do not coincide with the remaining clusters mentioned by Tyler and Evans: 'sets, groups are containers', 'bodies, minds, mouths are viewed as containers', and 'trajectors increasing to maximal boundaries'.

For Rudzka-Ostyn the central meaning of *in* encodes either location or motion into a container while Tyler and Evans focus exclusively on the notion of location of the TR within a LM. According to Rudzka-Ostyn, *into* marks the motion of a TR into a LM whereas Tyler and Evans' proto-scene for *into* suggests that the TR is simply oriented, but not moving towards the LM.

With respect to the meanings extended from the proto-scene, Tyler and Evans identified four clusters for *in,* which are identical to the ones enumerated for *out.* Although the individual senses differ in

the case of *in*, we will not discuss them here as most of the examples involve prepositions, and not adverbial particles. The three meaning extensions mentioned by Rudzka-Ostyn, i.e. 'situations, circumstances as containers', 'psychological, physical states viewed as containers', and 'sets or groups viewed as containers', vary greatly from the cluster of senses encountered by Tyler and Evans. Finally, Tyler and Evans do not provide any in-depth analysis for the particle *into*, probably due to its low productivity. By contrast, Rudzka-Ostyn mentions a single figurative meaning for this particle, viz. 'change is motion from one state into another' (e.g. *She suddenly* ***burst into*** *tears*).

3.3. The semantics of *on* and *off*

As the particles *on* and *off* were not examined by Tyler and Evans (2003), we will only look at the meaning extensions proposed by Rudzka-Ostyn.

The central meaning of *on* emphasizes the presence of contact between a TR and a supporting surface or LM (e.g. *I* ***put on*** *the coat and went out*). This particle might also appear in phrasal verbs which suggest the idea of progress along a landmark or the continuation of an action despite previous interruption (e.g. *Please* ***go on*** *with what you're doing and don't let us interrupt you* – Cambridge Online Dictionary). Another meaning extension of *on* is grounded in the experiential correlation between two objects touching upon each other and one having a physical impact upon the other (e.g. a falling domino [TR] causing an entire row of upended dominos to fall). Through continued use, the cause-effect meaning becomes entrenched to a point where *on* can evoke this meaning in the absence of real physical impact (e.g. *Stress can* ***bring on*** *an asthma attack* – Longman Online Dictionary).

The basic meaning of *off* describes a separation of a TR from a supporting landmark (e.g. *The plane* ***took off*** *from Heathrow*). The concept of separation can give rise to different meaning extensions for the particle *off*. Thus, separation can be understood as a result of 'loss of contact' between the TR and the LM (e.g. *Her parents went to the airport to* ***see*** *her* ***off***), but also as a result of, on the one hand, an interruption of flow or supply (e.g. *Please* ***turn off*** *the lights*), and, on the other, motion away from a former state or condition (e.g. *We went for a swim to* ***cool*** *ourselves* ***off*** – Macmillan Online Dictionary).

3.4. The semantics of *over* and *through*

The proto-scene activated by *over* describes a spatial configuration in which the TR is located higher than the LM (*They built a bridge* ***over*** *the river*). The main difference between Tyler and Evans (2003) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) is that the latter argues that *over* can also trigger the idea of motion of a TR above a LM. An important consequence resulting from this spatial relation is that the LM is construed as being within the sphere of influence or control of the TR.

Tyler and Evans (2003: 80-106) represent the extended meanings of *over* in a semantic network built around five distinct clusters of senses: (1) the *A-B-C trajectory* (e.g. *The old government* ***handed*** *its power* ***over*** – the *Transfer Sense*); (2) *Covering* (e.g. *The tablecloth is* ***over*** *the table*); (3) *Examining* (e.g. *Mary* ***looked over*** *the manuscript quite carefully*); (4) the *UP cluster* (e.g. *I like Beethoven* ***over*** *Mozart* – the *Preference Sense*), and (5) the *Reflexive* cluster (e.g. *After the false start, they* ***started*** *the race* ***over*** – the *Repetition Sense*). Since the examples given in (2) and (4) contain prepositions, we will not deal

with these clusters. The clusters (1) and (3) might correspond to two of Rudzka-Ostyn's meaning extensions, namely 'crossing a certain distance to get closer' and 'examining thoroughly from all sides'. Even though Tyler and Evans provide no examples with phrasal verbs for the Covering Cluster, we believe that this cluster might overlap with one of the meaning extensions mentioned by Rudzka-Ostyn, i.e. 'motion viewed as covering completely or even in excess'.

The proto-scene for *through* designates a TR which occupies a contiguous series of spatial points with respect to a LM: the entrance point, the exit point, and the locations between the entrance point and the exit point. The implication of the particle *through* is that the LM is either a container or is perceived as a container. For Rudzka-Ostyn, the basic meaning of *through* conveys motion of a TR inside a LM from end to end.

Tyler and Evans identify several senses for *through*, but in most examples, *through* functions as a preposition. The Completion Sense is the only one which has a counterpart in Rudzka-Ostyn's work, namely 'activities viewed as completed motions'. However, for Tyler and Evans a sentence like *She read through the book* can only express an *Extended Action Sense*. In other words, there is no entailment that the woman finished examining the book.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY AND DATA GATHERING

Although not numerous, there are several corpus-based studies that examined the frequency of phrasal verbs in English (Sinclair, 1989; Biber *et al*., 1999; Gardner & Davies, 2007; Trebits, 2009; Liu, 2011; Breeze, 2012; Lee, 2015). A connection can be established between Sinclair (1989) and Biber *et al.* (1999) in that both investigate the order of productivity of English adverbial particles. Liu's research (2011) bears some resemblance with Biber *et al*.'s (1999) pioneering study in the sense that both focus on the frequency of phrasal verbs across different registers from US and UK sources, namely spoken, fiction, newspapers and academic writing. Although Gardner and Davies (2007) provide an invaluable account of the most frequent phrasal verbs in British English, their study does not render a cross-register analysis of phrasal verbs. Moreover, Trebits (2009) and Breeze (2012) look at written specialized texts; while the former relies on EU documents, the latter explores market reports from the Financial Times and academic articles from financial journals. A second point of convergence is that both Trebits and Breeze's studies are oriented towards the creation of teaching materials for English for Specific Purposes (ESP) learners. However, Breeze (2012) goes a step further by exploiting the potential offered by Cognitive Linguistics in this area. Finally, Lee (2015) compares the frequency of phrasal verbs in two corpora: an academic spoken corpus (the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English or MICASE) and a casual conversation corpus (the *Friends* sitcom transcripts). It might be concluded that our research is closely connected to Liu's, Breeze's (2012) and Lee's (2015) as it shares some of their

aspects: a cross-English variety exploration, the use of Cognitive Linguistics as a theoretical framework, and the examination of the spoken register through TV series. Our work uses all these previous studies as a starting point and reference. As will be seen in chapter 4, section 1, our results will be interpreted in the light of prior research.

As Basturkmen (2010) mentioned, it is quite difficult to obtain real police-spoken data owing to privacy issues. For this reason, we compiled our own corpora composed of spoken dialogues extracted from the scripts of TV series. For British English, we made use of the transcripts of the TV series *New Tricks*[4] (seasons 1 to 9), broadcast from 2003 to 2013. As for American English, our corpus is based on the scripts of the TV series *Castle*[5] (seasons 1 to 4), aired from 2009 to 2011. Both TV series belong to the same genre, namely *police procedural* or police crime drama, which gives a lot of details about official legal or police methods and processes (cf. *Cambridge Online Dictionary*). The corpora were manually cleaned of stage directions, character names, and all incidental language, leaving a total of 507,078 words for *New Tricks* and of 504,124 words for *Castle*. As far as the choice of the TV series is concerned, this is motivated by their growing viewer popularity in their respective countries and Europe (around 9.2 million viewers for the British series and approximately 10 to 12 million viewers for the American series). It should also be noted that in both TV series the composition of the investigation team is almost identical: a female lead detective (Sandra Pullman in *New Tricks*, and Kate

[4] The transcripts for New Tricks were retrieved from the following website: https://bit.ly/3ngJKvm.
[5] The transcripts for *Castle* were obtained from the following website: http://dustjackets.wikifoundry.com/page/Transcripts.

Beckett in *Castle*) helped by two or three male detectives (three former police officers in *New Tricks* – Gerry Standing, Brian Lane, and Jack Halford; in *Castle*: two fellow detectives – Javier Esposito and Kevin Ryan; and a best-selling mystery novelist, who shadows and assists the investigation team – Richard Castle). Another reason for selecting *New Tricks* is that one of the screenwriters, Nigel McCrery, is also an ex-police officer. We believe that his own experience in the police force might be reflected in the scripts through the creation of authentic language.

Building on McCarthy and O'Dell's (2004) work on crime-related phrasal verbs, our study aims to broaden the scope from purely criminal activities (e.g. *break out of jail*, *beat sb up, tip sb off*) to phrasal verbs describing actions carried out by the police in their investigation, the processing of evidence, and the reactions of crime victims. After the preparation of the corpora, searches were conducted using the *AntConc* concordance tool (version 3.5.7) to obtain all the combinations with 9 adverbial particles: *down, in, into, off, on, out, over, through,* and *up.* We decided to focus on these particles for three main reasons: (i) they are among the most productive ones in the English language (cf. Sinclair, 1989; Biber *et al.*, 1999); (ii) their meaning extensions are much better documented than others' in Cognitive Linguistics (Lindner, 1981; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Tyler & Evans, 2003, 2004; Mahpeykar & Tyler, 2015), and (iii) they enable us to study them in dichotomic pairs (e.g. *up* vs. *down*, *out* vs. *in/into*, and *on* vs. *off*).

We went through the gathered tokens with a fine-tooth comb by discarding idiomatic expressions[6] such as *clean up one's act, get out of hand, keep an eye on someone, rot in prison* or *work off the books*. Next, we sifted through the phrasal verbs to divide them into two categories, viz. those related or unrelated to a criminal context. For example, verbs like *grow up* (e.g. *Roger was my friend. We* ***grew up*** *together* – [*Castle*, S02E24]), *order in* (e.g. *I didn't realise you were just gonna* ***order in*** *a couple of pizzas* – [*New Tricks*, S01E06]), or *put on* (e.g. *No, you* ***put on*** *a lot of weight* – [*New Tricks*, S09E02]) were considered as unrelated to the context of crime. This classification left us with: (a) a total of 165 and 294 tokens for the adverbial particle *down* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (b) a total of 166 and 186 tokens for the particle *in* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (c) a total of 72 and 191 tokens for the particle *into* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (d) a total of 144 and 246 tokens for the particle *off* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (e) a total of 234 and 176 tokens for the particle *on* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (f) a total of 333 and 870 tokens for the particle *out* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (g) a total of 72 and 85 tokens for the particle *over* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively; (h) a total of 93 and 109 tokens for the particle *through* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively, and (i) a total of 337 and 487 tokens for the particle *up* in *New Tricks* and *Castle* respectively. Overall, we retrieved a total of 1,616 and 2,644 tokens of phrasal verbs in *New Tricks* and *Castle,* respectively.

[6] The identification of the idiomatic uses of phrasal verbs was done with the help of online dictionaries. For instance, Cambridge Online Dictionary classifies the phrase *clean up* as a phrasal verb. By contrast, *clean up your act* is listed as an idiom due to the obligatory presence of the Direct Object *your act* and the fixed order of the components.

It is noteworthy to mention that our phrasal verbs are distributed differently on the cline of prototypicality. Thus, phrasal verbs like *alibi out* (e.g. *Anyway, they alibied out. They were in New Paltz when Zack was killed* [*Castle*, S03E21]) or *lawyer up* (e.g. *The second you lawyer up and leave, you become the focus of a major investigation* [*Castle*, S03E06]) are undoubtedly more prototypical than *take out* (e.g. *[…] I took out the .38 […] went out the service exit, and I hunted him down* [*Castle*, S04E07]) or *open up* (e.g. *Charlie Coleman! NYPD! Open up!* [*Castle*, S04E22]). This can be accounted for by the fact that the semantic meaning of the former allows for an automatic association with a criminal context, i.e. it is normally law offenders that need a solid alibi or the services of a lawyer to prove their innocence. In the case of the latter, it is the surrounding context that triggers the connection to crime (e.g. using a firearm to shoot someone is a felony and suspects can be requested to provide access to their homes if the police want to search premises).

Moreover, the nature of the TR or the LM is what guided us in the classification of phrasal verbs. Consider for instance a verb like *get out* which means to leave an enclosed space. In the sentence *You would come over after I got out of class […]* [*Castle*, S02E12], it is evident that no crime is involved since the motion out of the landmark only designates the end of a period of time during which students are taught a lesson. By contrast, in the sentence *My dad gave him a job in our restaurant […] when he got out of juvie* [*Castle*, S02E22], the landmark of the same phrasal verb evokes a criminal context in which a juvenile offender is released from a detention centre. Let us now look at how the nature of the trajector can hint at a criminal setting. Compare the following examples *Lift up my shirt, pull off my boots […]* [*Castle*,

S04E10] and *Forensics pulled a print off Jack's car* [*New Tricks*, S07E05]. In both sentences the meaning of the phrasal verb *pull off* is the same, namely 'to forcibly remove something'. Nevertheless, the action in the first example is set in a non-criminal context in which an Agent energetically removes someone else's shoes. In the second utterance the trajector of the phrasal verb contributes to the creation of a criminal setting in which a forensics analyst removes evidence from a surface. All these fine-grained distinctions prove that determining the frequency and meaning extensions of phrasal verbs can be a rather laborious task.

CHAPTER 4. ANALYZING PHRASAL VERBS

1. OVERALL FREQUENCY AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 illustrates the 25 most productive phrasal verbs in the British English and the American English corpora. Their frequency of occurrence is shown in raw numbers and percentages together with their cumulative counts. As mentioned in chapter 3, in the British English corpus, we found a total of 1,616 tokens of phrasal verbs related to the context of crime and police investigative work. Out of this, we also identified a total of 255 different phrasal verb-types, and a total of 210 lexical verb-types. By contrast, the number of tokens encountered in the American English corpus is much higher, viz. a total of 2,644 phrasal verbs. As expected, this second corpus also displays a greater richness of phrasal verb-types which amounts to a total of 331. As for the number of lexical verb-types, this totals up to 204.

Moreover, the cumulative percentages in Table 1 indicate that the top 22 phrasal verbs in the American English corpus account for 50% of all phrasal verbs while the top 25 phrasal verbs in the British English corpus make up almost 50% (more precisely, 49.94%) of all phrasal verbs. This might seem to suggest that police crime dramas make use of a relatively small set of phrasal verbs.

By considering the overall size of the corpora, viz. 507,078 words for British English and 504,124 words for American English, we can predict that, in 1,000 words of text, one may encounter at least three phrasal verbs connected to crime in the British English corpus and

respectively, five phrasal verbs related to a criminal context in the American English corpus.

A closer look at Table 1 reveals that 17 phrasal verbs (4.01%) are present in both British English and American English (viz. *break into, bring in, check out, come in, come up, end up, find out, get into, get off, get out, go on, go through, look into, run down, set up, track down*, and *turn out*). Throughout the whole of both corpora, the number of overlapping phrasal verb types amounts to 158 (37.26%). From this, we can infer that there are more non-overlapping phrasal verb types than overlapping ones (i.e. 62.74% vs. 37.26%). Thus, it can be claimed that the two corpora show more differences than similarities.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks PVs**	**Raw frequency**	**% Total**	**Cumulative %**	**Castle PVs**	**Raw frequency**	**% Total**	**Cumulative %**
1	find out	131	8.11%	8.11%	find out	187	7.07%	7.07%
2	go on	97	6.00%	14.11%	figure out	137	5.18%	12.25%
3	track down	49	3.03%	17.14%	get out	114	4.31%	16.56%
4	come in	43	2.66%	19.80%	check out	91	3.44%	20.00%
5	get out	39	2.41%	22.22%	turn out	91	3.44%	23.44%
6	go through	38	2.35%	24.57%	look into	64	2.42%	25.86%
7	look into	38	2.35%	26.92%	end up	63	2.38%	28.24%
8	get off	36	2.23%	29.15%	track down	54	2.04%	30.28%
9	check out	30	1.86%	31.00%	pick up	53	2.00%	32.29%
10	come up	30	1.86%	32.86%	bring in	48	1.81%	34.10%
11	get on	28	1.73%	34.59%	go through	46	1.74%	35.84%
12	bring in	25	1.55%	36.14%	run down	42	1.59%	37.43%
13	work out	25	1.55%	37.69%	get off	39	1.47%	38.90%
14	turn out	22	1.36%	39.05%	put down	39	1.47%	40.38%
15	go down	19	1.18%	40.22%	base on	38	1.44%	41.81%
16	turn up	19	1.18%	41.40%	get into	35	1.32%	43.14%

17	rule out	18	1.11%	42.51%	go off	35	1.32%	44.46%
18	get into	17	1.05%	43.56%	go on	34	1.29%	45.75%
19	run down	16	0.99%	44.55%	break into	33	1.25%	46.99%
20	end up	16	0.99%	45.54%	come up	32	1.21%	48.20%
21	set up	16	0.99%	46.53%	run through	29	1.10%	49.30%
22	break into	14	0.87%	47.40%	narrow down	26	0.98%	50.28%
23	dig up	14	0.87%	48.27%	set up	26	0.98%	51.27%
24	give up	14	0.87%	49.13%	come in	24	0.91%	52.17%
25	hand over	13	0.80%	49.94%	take out	22	0.83%	53.01%

Table 1. The top 25 phrasal verbs in the British English and American English corpora

We also noticed that the order of productivity of our adverbial particles does not seem to coincide with previous findings. For instance, in the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary* (Sinclair, 1989), the six most productive adverbial particles are *up, out, off, in, on*, and *down*. For Biber *et al.* (1999: 413), the order is slightly different, viz. *up, out, on, in, off*, and *down*. Both studies agree on the fact that *up* is the most recurrent particle whereas *down* is placed at the bottom of the productivity list. In our case, the order is as follows: i) in the British English corpus – *up* (20.85%), *out* (20.61%), *on* (14.48%), *in* (10.27%), *down* (10.21%), *off* (8.91%), *through* (5.75%), *over* (4.46%), and *into* (4.46%); and ii) in the American English corpus – *out* (32.90%), *up* (18.42%), *down* (11.12%), *off* (9.30%), *into* (7.22%), *in* (7.03%), *on* (6.66%), *through* (4.12%), and *over* (3.21%). As can be seen, our data reveal that *up* is the most common particle in the British English corpus while *out* is the predominant adverbial particle in the American English corpus. What is more, the order of productivity for our British English corpus slightly overlaps with Biber *et al.*'s, except for the last two particles, namely *down* and *off*, which are inverted in our data. Surprisingly enough, the particle *down* is listed among the first three most productive particles in the American English corpus and as the fifth most frequent particle in the British English corpus. Additionally, our productivity list contains three particles that were not mentioned in the two previous studies, namely *into, over*, and *through*. Another discrepancy between these studies and our results is that *on* does not appear among the six most recurrent particles in the American English corpus; instead, it occupies the seventh position from the top.

The differences in the order of productivity might be explained by two main reasons. First of all, none of these two previous studies

discriminates between different varieties of English. For example, the corpus used by Biber *et al.* (1999), i.e. the *Longman Spoken and Written English corpus* (LSWE), comprises four registers (e.g. conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose), two of which combine sources from both American English and British English (e.g. fiction and academic prose). Likewise, the COBUILD Corpus contains mainly British English texts, but content from American English, Australian English, New Zealand English, among others, is also included. Due to space constraints and the broader focus and purposes of the *Longman Grammar*, the treatment of phrasal verbs is restricted to a small set of 31 phrasal verbs. As explained at the beginning of this section, our work covers many more phrasal verbs than Biber *et al*.'s (1999) study, specifically 255 phrasal verbs for British English and 331 phrasal verbs for American English, respectively.

Let us now check the validity of our findings against other corpus-based studies that examine the frequency of phrasal verbs across different varieties of English. Drawing on examples extracted from the British National Corpus (henceforth BNC)[7], Gardner and Davies (2007) focused on the top 100 most frequent phrasal verbs in British English. If we compare our data from *New Tricks* with Gardner and Davies' (2007) results, we can observe that only nine of our most prolific phrasal verbs appear among the top 25 phrasal verbs in the BNC (e.g. *come in, come up, find out, give up, go down, go on, set up, turn out,* and *work out*). Other 38 phrasal verbs[8] that were encountered in our

[7] The British National Corpus (BNC) is a 100-million-word corpus of British English spoken and written registers.

[8] These verbs are as follows: *bring down, bring in, carry out, come out, come through, get in, get off, get on, get out, get through, get up, go in, go off, go over, go through, go up, hold up, look up, make out, make up, move in, move on, pick out, pick up*, *put down,*

corpus were also found among the top 100 most productive phrasal verbs in the BNC. Overall, 18.43% of our phrasal verbs overlap with those presented by Gardner and Davies.

The dissimilarities between Gardner and Davies' (2007) findings and ours might be motivated by several factors. As Liu (2011: 662) points out, Gardner and Davies' (2007) list includes only phrasal verbs composed of the top 20 phrasal verb-producing lexical verbs such as *come, go, get*, and *take*[9], to name a few. In other words, their list considers a narrower set of lexical verbs functioning in phrasal verb forms (viz. Gardner & Davies: 20 lexical verbs vs. our data: 210 lexical verbs). Nonetheless, 19 of our lexical verbs[10] (i.e. 11.58%) overlap with the ones ranked by Gardner and Davies among the top 20 lexical verbs found in phrasal verbs constructions. Our list also includes other less common lexical verbs that appear in phrasal verb constructions (e.g. *check, dig, end, hand, rule, run,* and *track,* among many others). These verbs convey a more specialized meaning connected to a criminal context and police investigative work. Some of the lexical verbs found in our corpus are so specific that they can only be used as phrasal verbs (e.g. *clam up, cotton on, dob in, grass up, jack up, jot down, prey on, rat on, rely on, spliff up*, and *wall up*).

Also, Gardner and Davies (2007) take into account a wider range of adverbial particles than us (e.g. BNC: 16 adverbial particles vs. *New Tricks*: 9 adverbial particles). Although their work does not mention the

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put in, put on, put out, put up, set off, take down, take in, take on, take out, take over, take up, turn over, and *turn up*.

[9] These verbs, together with *put*, were also acknowledged by Biber *et al.* (1999: 412) as being the most productive in combining with adverbial particles to form phrasal verbs.

[10] These lexical verbs are the following: *break, bring, carry, come, find, get, give, go, hold, look, make, move, pick, put, set, sit, take, turn*, and *work*.

particle *into*, it examines 8 more particles than the ones included in our study, namely *about, across, along, around, back, by, round,* and *under*. In addition, Gardner and Davies' work does not differentiate between the spoken and written registers. By contrast, our study concentrates on TV scripts which might be classified under the category of spoken register (see Biber & Egbert, 2018). Finally, it should be pointed out that the two corpora (i.e. the BNC and *New Tricks*) cover different time periods in the English language which might also account for some of the variations. Thus, the BNC covers the 1980s to 1993 whereas the examples in our corpus were extracted from Seasons 1 up to 9, which were broadcast between 2003 and 2013.

Liu's (2011) is another important study which offers a cross-English variety and cross-register examination of the use of phrasal verbs. Based on a comparison between the BNC and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (henceforth COCA), this author provides us with a list of the 150 most common phrasal verbs in American and British English. When comparing our results from the American TV series *Castle* against Liu's (2011) findings, we may notice that eleven of our most productive phrasal verbs are also listed among the top 25 phrasal verbs in the COCA (e.g. *come in, come up, end up, figure out, find out, get out, go on, pick up, set up, take out*, and *turn out*). However, upon closer scrutiny of their frequency of occurrence in the spoken register of the COCA, we find that the rank orders of these 11 phrasal verbs are not exactly identical to ours (COCA: *go on, come up, find out, get out, come in, pick up, turn out, end up, figure out, set up*, and *take out* vs. our results: *find out, figure out, get out, turn out, end up, pick up, go on, come up, set up, come in*, and *take out*). In addition, other 72 phrasal verbs from our corpus were

found among the top 150 phrasal verbs listed by Liu (2011). Altogether, 21.75% of our phrasal verbs coincide with those mentioned by Liu for COCA. The differences between Liu's results and ours may be justified by two main reasons. First, the sources of the spoken register are different in each case. Thus, the spoken register of COCA includes transcripts of unscripted conversation from around 150 TV and radio programs. This implies that the samples from COCA illustrate general English language. As explained in chapter 3, the examples selected for our corpus are more specialized, relating to a criminal context and police investigative work. The discrepancies might also stem from the fact that Liu's study covers five more particles than our research, namely *about*, *along*, *around*, *back*, and *round*.

One last comparison can be drawn between our results obtained from *Castle* and Lee's (2015) research. She contrasted the frequency of phrasal verbs in two American spoken corpora: *MICASE* for academic settings, and the transcripts of the sitcom *Friends* for casual conversation. A careful examination of Lee's findings reveals that seven of the most frequent phrasal verbs in *Castle* also appear among the top 25 phrasal verbs in the sitcom *Friends* (e.g. c*ome in, come up, find out, get out, go on, pick up*, and *take out*). Although Lee (2015) identified 160 phrasal verb constructions, the author did not include the complete list of phrasal verbs, which hindered further comparison between the rest of her corpus and ours. The variation between results may be brought about by several factors. Inspired by Gardner and Davies's (2007) study, Lee selected their top 20 lexical verbs (e.g. *go, come, take, get, set, carry, turn, bring, look, put, pick, make, point, sit, find, give, work, break, hold*, and *move*) and 8 adverbial particles (e.g. *out, up, on, back, down, in, off*, and *over*). As explained at the beginning

of this section, we detected a total of 204 lexical verb-types in *Castle*, among which the above-mentioned lexical verbs were also included. Only eleven of Lee's top 20 lexical verbs appear among the 20 most productive lexical verbs in our American English corpus (e.g. ***get***, ***go***, ***break***, *check,* ***come***, *run,* ***take, turn, bring, look***, *pull,* ***put***, *back, cut, dig, kick,* ***make***, *send, shoot*, and ***sit***)[11]. Moreover, we can find differences in the selection of adverbial particles: only seven of Lee's particles were chosen for our study. Even if our list did not include the particle *back*, two other particles were considered for analysis, i.e. *into*, and *through*.

2. UP: MOVING HIGHER

2.1. Frequency results of *up*

As anticipated in chapter 3, we gathered 337 and 487 tokens for the particle *up* in the British English corpus and the American English corpus, respectively. In section 1, it was also explained that *up* is the most frequent particle in the British English corpus (20.85%), and the second most common in the American English corpus (18.42%), after *out*.

Table 2 below offers an overview of the 25 most productive phrasal verbs formed with the particle *up* in both corpora. This table also provides the raw frequency of these phrasal verbs, as well as their percentages in relation to the total of phrasal verbs in the corpora and

[11] Twelve of these lexical verbs also overlap with the 20 most frequent lexical verbs found in New Tricks (e.g. ***get, put, go, check, cut***, *knock,* ***look, run, send, bring***, *build, call, close,* ***come, dig***, *keep,* ***kick***, *let, move,* and *pick*).

to the total of phrasal verbs with the particle *up*. These figures indicate that the top 25 phrasal verbs in *New Tricks* make up 16.21% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 77.74% of all phrasal verbs with the particle *up*. As for *Castle*, the 25 most frequent phrasal verbs represent 15.56% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 83.84% of all phrasal verbs formed with *up*.

A closer look at Table 2 reveals that 15 phrasal verbs occur in both corpora (42.86%; e.g. *come up, back up, beat up, clean up, cover up, dig up, end up, follow up, give up, look up, make up, pick up, put up, set up*, and *turn up*). Also, there are other 12 phrasal verbs whose counterparts can be found in the remainder of the frequency list of both corpora (e.g. *bang up, blow up, clear up, cut up, get up, lead up, lock up, open up, pull up, tie up, wind up*, and *write up*).

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with UP**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with UP**
1	come up	30	1.86%	8.90%	end up	63	2.38%	12.88%
2	turn up	19	1.18%	5.64%	pick up	53	2.00%	10.84%
3	end up	16	0.99%	4.75%	come up	32	1.21%	6.54%
4	set up	16	0.99%	4.75%	set up	26	0.98%	5.32%
5	dig up	14	0.87%	4.15%	turn up	19	0.72%	3.89%
6	give up	14	0.87%	4.15%	clean up	17	0.64%	3.48%
7	make up	12	0.74%	3.56%	cover up	17	0.64%	3.48%
8	put up	12	0.74%	3.56%	dig up	17	0.64%	3.48%
9	cover up	10	0.62%	2.97%	open up	17	0.64%	3.48%
10	stand up	10	0.62%	2.97%	give up	16	0.60%	3.27%
11	follow up	9	0.56%	2.67%	make up	15	0.57%	3.07%
12	grass up	9	0.56%	2.67%	follow up	14	0.53%	2.86%
13	look up	9	0.56%	2.67%	blow up	12	0.45%	2.45%
14	pick up	9	0.56%	2.67%	pull up	11	0.42%	2.25%
15	bang up	8	0.50%	2.37%	beat up	10	0.38%	2.04%
16	clean up	8	0.50%	2.37%	lock up	10	0.38%	2.04%
17	clear up	8	0.50%	2.37%	put up	9	0.34%	1.84%

18	crop up	7	0.43%	2.08%	back up	7	0.26%	1.43%
19	drag up	7	0.43%	2.08%	lawyer up	7	0.26%	1.43%
20	lead up	7	0.43%	2.08%	look up	7	0.26%	1.43%
21	tie up	7	0.43%	2.08%	write up	7	0.26%	1.43%
22	cut up	6	0.37%	1.78%	break up	6	0.23%	1.23%
23	fit up	6	0.37%	1.78%	get up	6	0.23%	1.23%
24	beat up	5	0.31%	1.48%	mess up	6	0.23%	1.23%
25	back up	4	0.25%	1.19%	wind up	6	0.23%	1.23%

Table 2. The top 25 phrasal verbs with UP in the British English and American English corpora

It is important to point out that even if *bang up, cut up*, and *write up* occur in both corpora, they illustrate variety-specific meanings. In British English, *bang up* refers to the action of imprisoning someone while in American English, it describes the action of damaging someone's vehicle. In British English, the transitive use of the phrasal verb *cut someone up* may have a more specialized meaning, denoting the action of overtaking a vehicle in a dangerous manner. Likewise, in American English the phrasal verb *write someone up* has the meaning of reporting someone's criminal behaviour.

In Table 2, there is also a total of 8 phrasal verbs that do not have any cross-variety counterparts (e.g. in British English: (1) *crop up*, (2) *drag up*, (3) *fit up*, (4) *grass up*, and (5) *stand up*; in American English: (1) *break up*, (2) *lawyer up*, and (3) *mess up*). The absence of some of these verbs in the other English variety may be motivated by the fact that they depict variety-specific meanings. A phrasal verb such as *lawyer up* is a newly coined American English verb which refers to a person's action of retaining the services of a lawyer. Additionally, *fit someone up* and *grass someone up* are British English phrasal verbs which describe the action of incriminating falsely a presumably innocent person and the action of informing the police about someone's wrongdoings, respectively.

2.2. Semantic extensions of *up*

Many researchers coincide that the particle *up* should be understood as a radial category, with the basic meaning located in the centre and the figurative meanings radiating out towards the edges (Lindner, 1981; Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003; Neagu, 2007; Lindstromberg, 2010; Mahpeykar & Tyler, 2015). Although all of them agree on the

central meaning of the particle, there is slightly less consensus about how to categorize its figurative meanings. For our own classification of meaning extensions, we mainly followed Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) cognitive motivations, which were complemented with explanations from various cognitive linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Sweetser (1990), Tyler and Evans (2003), Neagu (2007), and Langacker (2008). Thus, in our corpora we have identified five semantic clusters for the particle *up*:

(1) **motion of a TR from a lower (LM1) to a higher place (LM2) –** *dig up*, *get up*, *go up* (flames), *pick* (gun) *up, put sth up, set sth up, stand up, wall sb up.*

(2) **arrival of a TR at a goal or limit (LM2) –** *back up*, *catch up with sb*, *chase sth up*, *cut sb up*, *fill up*, *follow up*, *give up* (an activity), *give sb up to sb else*, *grab up, have sb up, hook sb up to sth*, *lead up to sth*, *lock sb up, bang sb up, match up sth to sth else, pick sb up, tie sth up with sth else.*

(3) **increase in degree/value or measure of a TR is upward motion of a TR –** *back up, build sth up, blow up* (enlarge picture), *change sth up, jack up, keep sth up, lawyer up, partner up, shoot up* (drugs), *shore sth up, stack up sb, stand (sth) up, straighten up.*

(4) **higher position of a TR is visibility, accessibility or knowledge of a TR –** *bring up* (issue), *bring up* (on a screen), *call sth up* (screen), *clear up, come up* (appear), *come up with sth*, *cook up* (drugs/a scheme), (information) *crop up*, *dig up* (information), *drag sth up*, *draw up* (document), *dredge sth up*, *fit sb up*, *flag up sth*, *give up* (information), *grass sb up*, *head sth up*, *kick up, look up, make up* (falsify), *mock up sth, offer up sth, own up to sth, pick up* (scent/chatter)*/pick up on sth*,

pop up, pull up (screen), *read up on sb, round sb up, run sb up, set sb up*, *set* (a protection detail) *up, show up, size sb up, spliff up, stir up, stitch sb up, study up on sb, throw up* (red flags/details), *turn up, wire up sth, write sth/sb up.*

(5) **TR covers completely a LM/TR reaches the highest limit of a LM** – *bang up, bash sb up, beat sb up, blow up* (explode), *break up* (fight), *chop sb up*, *clam up*, *clean up, cover up, cut sb up, end up, finish (sth) up, hack sb up, hole up, hold up, mess sth up, open up, rough sb up, screw (sth) up, seal up, sew* (case) *up*, *shut (sb) up, smash sth up, tear sth up, tie sb/sth up, wind up, wipe up sth, wrap up* (case), *wrap up* (dead body).

The first meaning of the particle *up*, which is also the central one, involves literal/spatial motion of a TR from a lower to a higher place. As indicated in chapter 2, *up* presupposes the existence of two landmarks mentally connected to form a line of orientation (Radden and Dirven, 2007: 313). Thus, the lower position of the TR may be understood as the first landmark (LM1) whereas the higher position may function as the second landmark (LM2). The conceptual schema of *up* combines two image-schemas: the UP-DOWN schema, as part of the VERTICALITY schema, and the PATH schema. We contend that the central meaning of the particle *up* evokes the conception 'vertical axis' as its base (the UP-DOWN schema) while profiling the upward motion of a TR on this axis (the PATH schema). This meaning is exploited by the transitive use of the phrasal verb *put up* which may describe the motion to a higher position of human body parts, i.e. hands (e.g. ***Put*** *your hands* ***up****, Dunn, or I will take you down – Castle*, S02E18). Figure 5 includes a visual representation of the basic meaning of the particle *up*. The deprofiling of the first landmark is marked by

the use of brackets. Conversely, the magnifying glass conveys the idea that in this construal of scene our attention is drawn to the upward motion of the TR (the path of the TR).

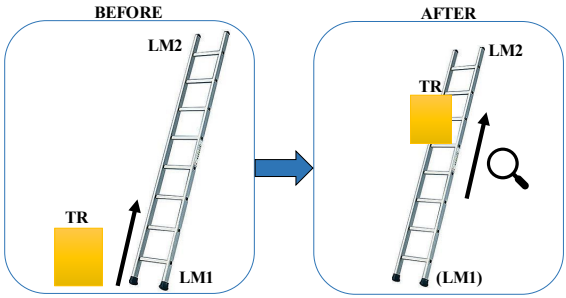

Figure 5. Central meaning of the particle *up*

The second meaning of *up* denotes either spatial or abstract motion of a TR towards a goal or a limit, with a focus on the endpoint of a path. This meaning relates to motion along the horizontal, not the vertical axis. Consider the following sentence *He escaped but was caught a week later and* ***was banged up*** *for 8 years* (*New Tricks*, S05E04). In section 2.1 of this chapter, we specified that the phrasal verb *bang up* expresses a different meaning, depending on the variety in which it is used. Thus, in British English it refers to the action of putting someone in prison, where prison is implicitly seen as a goal or destination (see Figure 6). Neagu (2007: 133) argues that the notion of *approach* is linked to the particle *up* through experiential correlation. As we move closer to an entity, it comes to occupy a larger area of our retina. As a result, the ocular experience of entities which are approaching or which we are approaching correlates with an upward motion in our visual field.

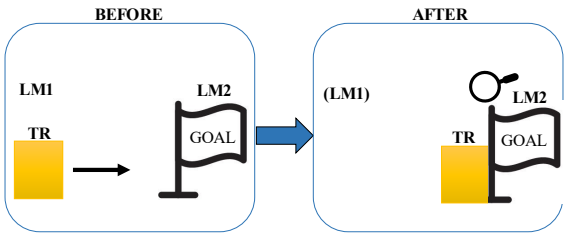

Figure 6. Figurative meaning of *up*: arrival of a TR at a goal or limit (LM2)

The particle *up* can also be associated with an increase in degree, value, or measure of a TR, which is metaphorically perceived as spatial motion of the TR along a vertical axis. This meaning extension is licensed by Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) orientational metaphor MORE IS UP. This metaphor has an experiential basis according to which if you add more of a substance or of objects to a container or a pile, the level will go up.

In the sentence *Yo, tech was able to* ***blow up*** *and enhance that ATM video* (*Castle*, S03E20), the phrasal verb *blow up* enables us to construe an increase in size of an image in terms of upward motion on a vertical scale. Figure 7 provides an illustration of this third meaning of *up*. Note that, in this case, the TR coincides with the LM in that the TR will always increase with respect to its former value, degree, or measure.

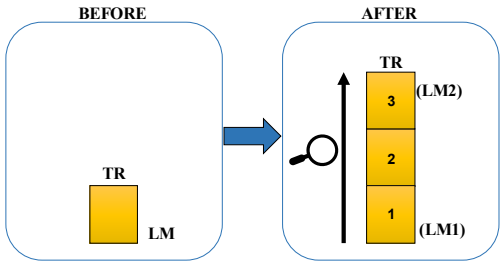

Figure 7. Figurative meaning of *up*: increase in degree/value or measure of a TR is upward motion of a TR

In the scene depicted in Figure 7, our attention is directed to the increase of the TR whereas the landmarks are deprofiled.

The fourth meaning extension of *up* relates to the mental connection between a spatial scene involving a higher position of a TR and abstract notions such as the visibility, accessibility, or knowledge of that TR. This is so because when an entity is located or moves to a higher level or location, it is be noticed more easily (cf. Rudzka-Ostyn, 2003: 86). This meaning extension is diagrammed in Figure 8. The visibility sense is contributed by a third participant, the conceptualizer (C), who perceives the TR emerging against the LM. Moreover, in this spatial scene, we window our attention on the visibility implication while downplaying the upward motion of the TR.

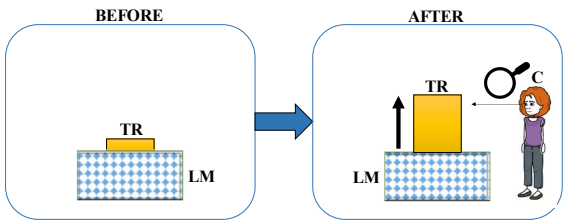

Figure 8. Figurative meaning of *up*: higher position of a TR is visibility, accessibility, or knowledge of a TR

By way of illustration, let us focus on the sentence *Mark Johnson was a name that kept* ***cropping up*** *– crop up* 'appear, or come to one's notice unexpectedly' (*New Tricks*, S07E07). The presence of *crop up* in the example is motivated by the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, which enables us to understand the abstract domain of knowledge in terms of the concrete domain of sight. Sweetser (1990) explains that this metaphor is grounded in a bodily experience according to which in early childhood humans receive cognitive input through their sight. Also, entities which are physically elevated become visible to human beings (cf. Tyler and Evans, 2003). As a result, from a young age, human beings establish a basic correlation between the notions of physical elevation, intellectual input, and vision. At a later stage, these notions separate from one another. That is why it is possible to use a phrasal verb like *crop up* with the sole meaning of awareness, i.e. detectives realized that Mark Johnson could be a suspect.

The fifth meaning extension, which is visually represented in Figure 9, derives from the conflation of three notions that are simultaneously manifested in our everyday interactions with prototypical containers such as cups, glasses or baths: (i) vertical elevation of a liquid (TR) being poured into a container, e.g. a glass (LM); (ii) the attainment of the highest limit of the container (LM) if the glass is filled to the top; and (iii) the capacity of the container being completely used. The attainment of the highest limit of the LM is also made possible by the fact that the amount of the liquid is increased.

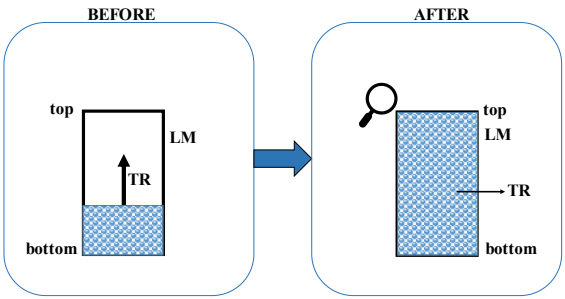

Figure 9. Figurative meaning of *up*: TR covers completely a LM/TR reaches the highest limit of a LM

The mental association between the particle *up* and the completion sense and the attainment of the highest limit have become so entrenched that we may use these meanings in contexts where no vertical elevation or increase in amount are present. In Figure 9, the focus of attention is placed on either the completion sense or the attainment of the highest limit. For example, a phrasal verb like *bash up* denotes that the person who is physically attacked is completely affected by the brutal beating (e.g. *What about some of the other boxers that Eddie* ***bashed up****? – New Tricks*, S07E09).

This last semantic extension may also be exemplified by phrasal verbs that designate destruction or lack of functionality (e.g. *You* ***smashed*** *Johnny's car* ***up****? – New Tricks*, S05E03), and division or separation (e.g. ***Breaking up*** *a bar fight is a sure way to get hit – Castle*, S02E09), among others. Tyler and Evans (2003: 138) also ponder on how destruction and separation came to be connected with the notion of verticality. For instance, the meaning of *smash up* would derive from "human observation of an upward motion which occurs when downward pressure is placed on two ends of a rigid object until the object snaps (upward) in the middle". According to these authors, the

separation sense is based on another experiential correlation between an object being lifted up in the air and the subsequent separation caused by the object moving away from the observer.

It is important to mention that the same phrasal verb can have different meaning extensions. For instance, *dig up* can instantiate the central meaning (e.g. *Vales got Glitch to* ***dig up*** *the bodies – Castle*, S04E21), as well as the fourth meaning extension (e.g. *Jack and I will* ***dig up*** *some info on the IRU* [Investigative Response Unit] *– New Tricks*, S05E08).

3. DOWN: MOVING LOWER

3.1. Frequency results of *down*

As indicated in chapter 3, we collected 165 and 294 tokens for the particle *down* in *New Tricks* (British English) and *Castle* (American English), respectively. In section 1 of this chapter, we also claimed that *down* occupies the fifth position in *New Tricks* (10.21%), and the third position in *Castle* (11.12%).

Table 3 gives a bird's-eye view of the 25 most prolific phrasal verbs formed with *down* in both corpora. Just like with the particle *up*, the data are displayed in raw numbers and percentages. A quick glance at the table makes it evident that *down* is less productive in our British English corpus where we identified only 22 different phrasal verbs containing this particle.

With respect to *Castle*, the top 25 phrasal verbs constitute 10.89% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 97.96% of all phrasal verbs with the particle *down*.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with DOWN**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with DOWN**
1	track down	49	3.03%	29.70%	track down	54	2.04%	18.37%
2	go down	19	1.18%	11.52%	run down	42	1.59%	14.29%
3	run down	16	0.99%	9.70%	put down	39	1.47%	13.27%
4	burn down	13	0.80%	7.88%	narrow down	26	0.98%	8.84%
5	put down	11	0.68%	6.67%	go down	19	0.72%	6.46%
6	narrow down	10	0.62%	6.06%	take down	18	0.68%	6.12%
7	close down	9	0.56%	5.45%	shut down	13	0.49%	4.42%
8	send down	8	0.50%	4.85%	sit down	12	0.45%	4.08%
9	bring down	6	0.37%	3.64%	calm down	8	0.30%	2.72%
10	knock down	4	0.25%	2.42%	hunt down	8	0.30%	2.72%
11	mow down	4	0.25%	2.42%	get down	7	0.26%	2.38%
12	calm down	3	0.19%	1.82%	burn down	5	0.19%	1.70%
13	shut down	3	0.19%	1.82%	chase down	4	0.15%	1.36%
14	shoot down	2	0.12%	1.21%	cut down	4	0.15%	1.36%
15	clamp down	1	0.06%	0.61%	lock down	4	0.15%	1.36%
16	gun down	1	0.06%	0.61%	back down	3	0.11%	1.02%

17	hunt down	1	0.06%	0.61%	gun down	3	0.11%	1.02%
18	jot down	1	0.06%	0.61%	knock down	3	0.11%	1.02%
19	lock down	1	0.06%	0.61%	shake down	3	0.11%	1.02%
20	scribble down	1	0.06%	0.61%	wipe down	3	0.11%	1.02%
21	take down	1	0.06%	0.61%	bring down	2	0.08%	0.68%
22	write down	1	0.06%	0.61%	crack down	2	0.08%	0.68%
23					nail down	2	0.08%	0.68%
24					shoot down	2	0.08%	0.68%
25					strike down	2	0.08%	0.68%

Table 3. The top 25 phrasal verbs with DOWN in the British English and American English corpora

As for the similarities between the two corpora, there is a total of 15 phrasal verbs that co-occur in both (46.87%; e.g. *bring down, burn down, calm down, go down, gun down, hunt down, knock down, lock down, narrow down, put down, run down, shoot down, shut down, take down*, and *track down*). Furthermore, the phrasal verb *track down* is the most frequent verb in both corpora.

Regarding the differences between the corpora, 17 phrasal verbs do not have any cross-variety counterparts (53.13%; e.g. in British English: (1) *clamp down*, (2) *close down*, (3) *jot down*, (4) *mow down*, (5) *scribble down*, (6) *send down*, and (7) *write down*; in American English: (1) *back down*, (2) *chase down*, (3) *crack down*, (4) *cut down*, (5) *get down*, (6) *nail down*, (7) *shake down*, (8) *sit down*, (9) *strike down*, and (10) *wipe down*). Lastly, the phrasal verbs *knock someone down* and *send someone down* belong to the British English variety and refer to the action of hitting someone with a vehicle and the action of imprisoning someone, respectively.

3.2. Semantic extensions of *down*

In this section, we will explore the meanings evoked by the phrasal verbs formed with the particle *down*:

(1) **motion of a TR from a higher (LM1) to a lower position (LM2)** – *get down, knock sth down, knock sb down, put down* (weapon), *run down* (a person/list), *shoot down* (plane), *sit down.*

(2) **occurrence of a temporal event as downward motion of a TR** – *go down* (happen).

(3) **decrease in degree/value or measure of a TR is downward motion of a TR –** *back down, calm down, crack down on sth/sb, clamp*

down on sth, cut down (reduce), (probabilities) *go down*, *narrow down*, *narrow sth down to sth else, shake sb down*.

(4) **TR reaches the extreme limit down a scale (LM)** –*boil down to sth/sb*, *break sth down to sth else, bring sb down, burn sth down*, *chase sb down, close sth down, come down to sth, cut down* (kill), *go down* (die), *go down* (be put in prison), *gun sb down*, *hunt sb down*, *lock sth down*, *mow sb down*, *nail sth down*, *pin sb down*, *put sb down* (kill), *put sth down to sth*, *scrub down*, *send sb down*, *shoot sb/sth down*, *shut (sth) down*, *strike sb down*, *take sb down*, *track down*, *track down sth to sb, wipe sth down.*

(5) **movements of eating and writing as downward motion of a TR** *– jot sth down, put sth down, scribble sth down, write sth down.*

The first meaning of the particle *down* is spatial motion of a TR from a higher (LM1) to a lower position (LM2). The central meaning may also involve a change of an entity from a vertical (LM1) to a horizontal position (LM2), as illustrated in Figure 10. The first landmark (the upright position) is deprofiled as indicated by the use of brackets and the dotted lines. The base for the particle *down* is the same as for *up*, namely the 'vertical axis', but the profiling is different, viz. the downward motion of the TR.

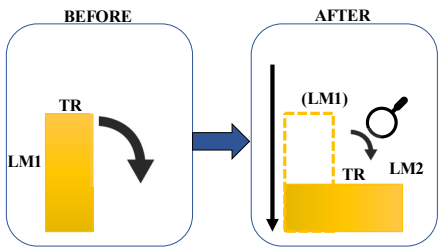

Figure 10. Central meaning of *down*: change from a vertical (LM1) to a horizontal position (LM2)

A clear example of this meaning is the phrasal verb *run down* (e.g. *[…] the accused confessed to me that he was the driver of the car that* ***ran down*** *my wife – New Tricks*, S05E01). When you hit someone with your car, the victim is likely to fall on the ground; thereby, change from their upright position to a horizontal orientation.

The second meaning enables us to perceive the occurrence of a temporal event as a TR moving downwards on a vertical axis (e.g. *go down* 'happen' – *So, this is where the sting* ***is going down****? – New Tricks*, S03E07). Figure 11 provides a visual illustration for this semantic extension.

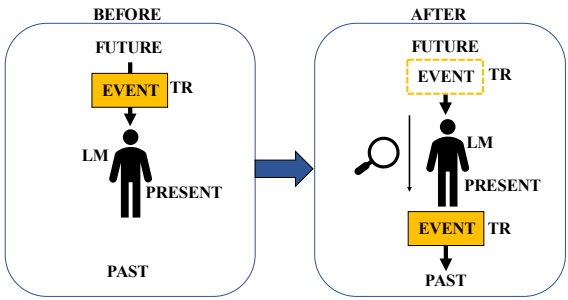

Figure 11. Figurative meaning of *down*: occurrence of a temporal event as downward motion of a TR

We believe that the second meaning of *down* is motivated by the MOVING TIME metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). One of the mappings of this metaphor, viz. TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF OBJECTS (ALONG A PATH) is held to account for linguistic examples such as *Christmas is fast approaching (us)*. A temporal event like Christmas is ascribed motion with respect to a stationary conceptualizer or observer (LM). The future, present and past are construed as regions of space located in front of, co-located with and

behind the observer (e.g. *Winter zoomed by*). The example drawn from our corpus adds the orientation of the moving TR: downward along a vertical path. The notion of verticality is contributed by the vertical axis of the human body as the motion verb *go* inherently adopts the speaker/observer's viewpoint. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) postulate the metaphor FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD) to explain why the particle *up* may be used in connection with temporal events (e.g. *Christmas* ***is coming up***). An event, which is conceptualized as an object approaching the observer, appears larger as it comes closer to him/her. As the ground is perceived as being fixed, the top of the object seems to be moving upward in the observer's field of vision. Once experienced, the event moves away from the observer and is no longer visible, hence the use of the particle *down*.

Decrease in intensity, amount, or importance of a TR may also be understood as downward movement of that TR. Figure 12, which schematizes the third meaning of *down*, shows that the TR overlaps with the LM in that the TR decreases with respect to its former degree, value, or measure. As we window our attention on the decrease of the TR, the landmarks (portions of the TR) are out of focus or deprofiled.

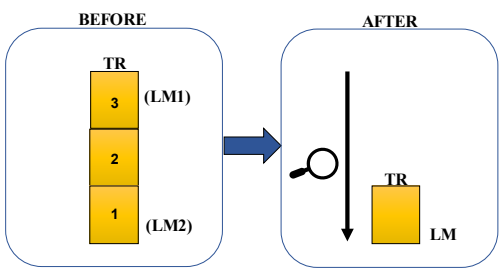

Figure 12. Figurative meaning of *down*: decrease in degree/value or measure of a TR is downward motion of a TR

This meaning relies on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) orientational metaphor LESS IS DOWN. The metaphor stems from an experiential correlation between (i) a decrease in amount of a substance or of objects caused by their removal from a container or a pile; and (ii) the vertical descent of the substance or the pile. The particle *down* has become so strongly connected with the meaning of 'decrease in amount' that it is possible to use this meaning extension in contexts where there is no physical descent of an entity. Take, for instance, the phrasal verb *narrow down*, e.g. *So we fed her descriptors in the DMV database and got it* ***narrowed down*** *to two women* (*Castle*, S03E13). When used in the context of police investigative work, it may refer to the reduction of a list of suspects with the aim of identifying a criminal. Therefore, *narrow down* does not express any downward motion of the suspects but only a decrease in their number.

The fourth meaning, viz. a TR reaches the extreme limit down a scale (LM), is represented in Figure 13.

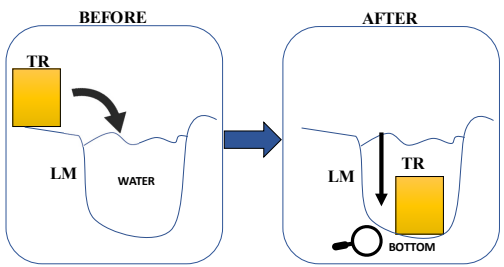

Figure 13. Figurative meaning of *down*: TR reaches the extreme limit down a scale (LM)

It can be observed that the focus of attention is not on the downward motion of the TR, but on the fact that the TR is located at the bottom of a scale, be it literal or abstract.

This semantic extension gathers phrasal verbs conveying the destruction (e.g. *[…] he **was** just **gunned down** in his own apartment – Castle*, S03E14) or the precise identification of a given entity, among others (*There might be security cam footage that might **nail down** how long she was gone from her apartment – Castle*, S02E23). The association of a phrasal verb like *gun down* with this meaning extension can be accounted for by the orientational metaphor SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN which has an experiential correlation. When a person undergoes a serious illness or dies, they lie down physically, in bed or in the grave respectively (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As for the phrasal verb *nail down*, this is motivated by another orientational metaphor BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN. Since physical size usually correlates with physical strength, the winner in a fight is usually on top (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In this case, detectives might use a camera footage to control the movements of a suspect (the TR).

Figure 14 provides an illustration for the fifth meaning of the particle *down*, whereby movements of eating and writing are interpreted as downward motion of a TR. In our corpus we only found examples of phrasal verbs denoting movements of writing as detectives usually take notes of the most important aspects related to a case (*Mr Lane, you **scribbled down** a name that you didn't follow up at the time – New Tricks*, S01E05). Handwriting involves a movement that leaves a visible trace of ink (TR) which is perceived as going down the page or paper (LM).

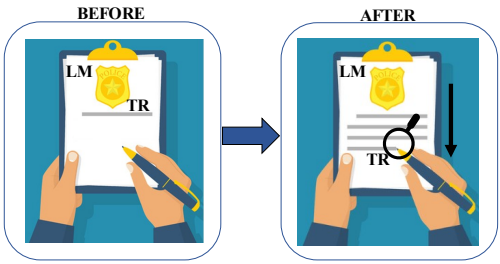

Figure 14. Figurative meaning of *down*: movements of eating and writing as downward motion of a TR

Finally, some of these phrasal verbs are closely related in meaning which enables us to use them interchangeably in certain contexts. Let us take the case of phrasal verbs like *clamp down on* and *crack down on*, which have the meaning 'reduce illegal activity' (e.g. *Yeah, it was a drugs team, set up to* ***clamp down on*** *supply in West London – New Tricks*, S07E07; *What did Horn do,* ***crack down on*** *the ecstasy dealers? – Castle*, S01E04). Other similar examples are *cut down* and *narrow down* meaning 'reduce a number or a list of things', *run down* and *knock down* meaning 'injure or kill someone by hitting them with a vehicle', *close down* and *shut down* meaning 'cause to cease business or operation', or *boil down to* and *come down to* meaning 'be the most important aspect of a situation/problem'.

4. DICHOTOMIC PAIRS: UP VS. DOWN

In this section we will briefly compare the meaning extensions for the particles *up* and *down*. Thus, there are eight semantic extensions that present opposite meanings: (1) (a) motion/change of a TR from a lower/horizontal (LM1) to a higher/vertical position (LM2) (*up*) vs. (b)

motion/change of a TR from a higher/vertical (LM1) to a lower/horizontal position (LM2) (*down*); (2) (a) increase in degree, value or measure of TR is upward motion of a TR (*up*) vs. (b) decrease in degree, value or measure of a TR is downward motion of a TR (*down*); (3) (a) TR reaches the highest limit of a LM (*up*) vs. (b) TR reaches the extreme limit down a LM (*down*); and (4) (a) occurrence of a temporal event as upward motion of a TR (*up*) vs. (b) occurrence of a temporal event as downward motion (*down*). Even if the meaning extension in (4a) was not identified in our corpus, we know that it can be instantiated by a phrasal verb like *come up* (*Christmas is* ***coming up*** – the temporal event is seen as an object moving upward in the observer's visual field).

There are also three meaning extensions that are specific to either *up* or *down*: *up* – (1) arrival of a TR at a goal or limit (LM2), and (2) higher position of a TR is visibility, accessibility, or knowledge of a TR; *down* – (1) time as downward motion; and (2) movements of writing as downward motion of a TR.

In CL, the particles *up* and *down* were often associated with positive or negative verticality, respectively. However, most of the meaning extensions of *up* and *down* derive from sensory experiences that do not have any positive or negative valences. Consider the phrasal verbs *blow up* (a video) or *narrow down* (a list of suspects) which are licensed by the metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN, respectively. Nevertheless, adding higher resolution to a video or removing suspects from a list do not entail that these actions or their results are either positive or negative. The only meaning extension that is more prone to negative connotations is the 'TR reaches the highest

(*up*) or the lowest limit of a LM (*down*)'. We have already seen that the phrasal verb *gun down* has a negative experiential basis whereby a person's death correlates with their being physically down. In the case of *up*, the negativity may be contributed by the lexical verb (*beat, smash, bash*) which alludes to violence or destruction.

5. OUT: LEAVING A CONTAINER

5.1. Frequency results of *out*

In chapter 3 it was claimed that we identified a total of 333 and 870 tokens for the particle *out* in the British English corpus and the American English corpus, respectively. Based on the striking difference between the number of tokens, we may hypothesize that *out* is more frequent in the American English corpus. This is indeed confirmed by the order of productivity of particles provided in section 1 of this chapter (e.g. *New Tricks* –20.61%, second particle after *up* vs. *Castle* – 32.90%, most productive particle).

Table 4 presents the 25 most common phrasal verbs containing the particle *out* in both corpora.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OUT**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OUT**
1	find out	131	8.11%	39.34%	find out	187	7.07%	21.49%
2	get out	39	2.41%	11.71%	figure out	137	5.18%	15.75%
3	check out	30	1.86%	9.01%	get out	114	4.31%	13.10%
4	work out	25	1.55%	7.51%	check out	91	3.44%	10.46%
5	turn out	22	1.36%	6.61%	turn out	91	3.44%	10.46%
6	rule out	18	1.11%	5.41%	pull out	20	0.76%	2.30%
7	black out	4	0.25%	1.20%	take out	22	0.83%	2.53%
8	carry out	4	0.25%	1.20%	put out	19	0.72%	2.18%
9	come out	4	0.25%	1.20%	rule out	16	0.60%	1.84%
10	knock out	4	0.25%	1.20%	alibi out	15	0.57%	1.72%
11	sort out	4	0.25%	1.20%	come out	13	0.49%	1.49%
12	single out	3	0.19%	0.90%	reach out	13	0.49%	1.49%
13	sniff out	3	0.19%	0.90%	go out	11	0.42%	1.26%
14	bail out	2	0.12%	0.60%	help out	11	0.42%	1.26%
15	cross out	2	0.12%	0.60%	rat out	11	0.42%	1.26%
16	cut out	2	0.12%	0.60%	knock out	10	0.38%	1.15%

17	dig out	2	0.12%	0.60%	run out	10	0.38%	1.15%
18	figure out	2	0.12%	0.60%	throw out	9	0.34%	1.03%
19	keep out	2	0.12%	0.60%	want out	9	0.34%	1.03%
20	lash out	2	0.12%	0.60%	keep out	8	0.30%	0.92%
21	make out	2	0.12%	0.60%	walk out	8	0.30%	0.92%
22	pimp out	2	0.12%	0.60%	cut out	7	0.26%	0.80%
23	put out	2	0.12%	0.60%	look out	6	0.23%	0.69%
24	stake out	2	0.12%	0.60%	make out	6	0.23%	0.69%
25	stand out	2	0.12%	0.60%	send out	6	0.23%	0.69%

Table 4. The top 25 phrasal verbs with OUT in the British English and American English corpora

Concerning *New Tricks*, the top 25 phrasal verbs account for 19.49% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 94.59% of phrasal verbs formed with *out*. In the case of *Castle*, the 25 most prolific phrasal verbs cover 32.14% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 97.70% of phrasal verbs with the particle *out*.

We will now examine the similarities and differences between the phrasal verbs included in Table 4. With respect to the similarities, we noticed that 12 phrasal verbs co-occur in both corpora (31.57%; e.g. *check out, come out, cut out, figure out, find out, get out, keep out, knock out, make out, put out, rule out*, and *turn out*). The phrasal verb *find out* is also the most productive phrasal verb in both corpora. In addition, there are other 12 phrasal verbs whose counterparts can be found in the remainder of the frequency list of both corpora (e.g. *bail out, black out, carry out, dig out, help out, lash out, sort out, stake out, stand out, take out, throw out*, and *work out*). It should be highlighted that even though *sort out* appears in both corpora, this phrasal verb may also express a specialized meaning in British English, namely 'stop someone from causing problems by attacking them physically'.

When it comes to the differences, in Table 4 there are 14 phrasal verbs that do not display any cross-variety counterparts (e.g. in British English: (1) *cross out*, (2) *pimp out*, (3) *single out*, and (4) *sniff out*; in American English: (1) *alibi out*, (2) *go out*, (3) *look out*, (4) *pull out*, (5) *rat out*, (6) *reach out*, (7) *run out*, (8) *send out*, (9) *walk out*, and (10) *want out*).

5.2. Semantics extensions of *out*

In what follows we enumerate the meanings triggered by all the phrasal verbs containing the particle *out*. Overall, we encountered six meaning extensions, as can be observed below:

(1) **motion of a TR out of a container (LM)** – *bail sb out*, *break sb out* (*of* prison/the big house/a courtroom), *bust out of* (prison), *dig* (slugs) *out* (*of* a wall), *fish* (slugs) *out*, *get* (incriminating evidence) *out* (*of* a place), *get* (sb) *out* (*of* a dangerous place), *look out*, *send out* (a search party/photos/mouth swabs), *skip out*, *sign out*, *slip out* (*of* a place under surveillance), *take out* (gun), *throw sb out* (*of* a place), *walk out*, *watch out*.

(2) **bodies, minds, mouths are containers (LM) –** *beat* (a confesion) *out of sb, bleed out, curse out, dish out* (violence), *gouge* (eyes) *out, hear sb out, hit out at sb, lash out, yell out*.

(3) **sets, groups are containers (LM)** – *alibi out*, *close sb out of* (a scam), *cross sth out*, *filter sth out*, *pick/point sb out* (*of* a lineup), *rule sb out*, *single sb out*, *sort out*, *stand out*, *throw sb out of* (a squad).

(4) **states/situations are containers (LM)** – *back out* (*of* an illegal commitment), *black out* (patient information/license plate), *cut sb out* (*of* millions/a fortune/a deal/the score/an investigation), *drop out* (*of* the drug game), *freak (sb) out*, *hide out*, *hold out on sb* (the police), *kick sb out* (*of* an interrogation/of the force), *knock sb out* (make sb unconscious), *leave out* (information), *miss out on* (information), *pull out* (*of* a scam), *run out* (*of* time), *stamp out* (crime), *take sb out* (kill), (court) *throw out* (a lawsuit), *want (sb) out* (*of* a scam), *wipe sb out*.

(5) **non-existence, ignorance, invisibility are containers (LM)** – (a fight) *break out*, *carry out* (an operation/hits), *case (sth/sb) out*, *check (sth/sb) out*, *come out* (truth), *dig sth out*, *feel sb out*, *find out*, *figure out*, *get out* (*of* prison), *get out* (secret information, an APB), *help* (sb/the police) *out*, *jump out at sb*, (information) *leak out*, *make sth out* (be able to see/hear sth), *pan out*, *pimp sb out*, *plead out*, *pop out at sb, put out* (an APB), *rat sb out*, *reach out to sb* (the police), *scope* (a place) *out, sell sb out, shake out, sniff sb out, stand out*, *stick out*, *straighten sb*/one's life *out*, *take out* (restraining order), *turn out*, *work sth out*.

(6) **TR increasing to maximal boundaries (LM)** – *clean/clear out* (a place), *keep* (press/the courts) *out*, *sit* (an operation) *out*, *spread out, stake out* (a place).

The first meaning of the particle *out* is also the central one, namely spatial motion of a TR from an interior region to an exterior region of a container (LM). Figure 15 offers a schematic representation of this basic meaning.

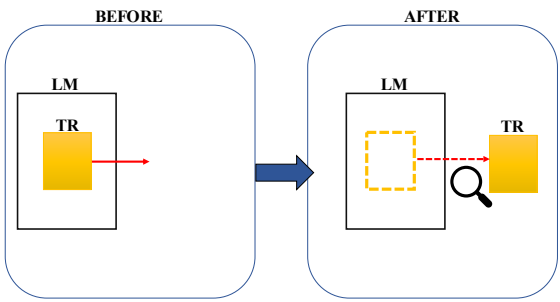

Figure 15. Central meaning of *out*

This spatial-prototypical meaning is best instantiated by the phrasal verb *take out* which describes a spatial relation in which a human hand

removes an entity from a bounded container (e.g. *He **took out** his gun [..] and told me […] he would paint the walls with my brains – Castle*, S04E07). In this particular example, the landmark is covert or deprofiled probably because the purpose of coercing someone at gunpoint gains conceptual prominence over the acknowledgement of its source (e.g. a drawer, a safe, a pocket, etc.).

The second, third, fourth and fifth meanings of *out* emerge from the variety of landmarks that can be perceived as containers. For example, our bodies, minds, and mouths constitute instances of less prototypical containers.[12] The phrasal verb *curse out* implies that angry and offensive words are viewed as TRs coming out of a person's mouth (LM) and being directed at someone else (e.g. *[…] this guy **was cursing** Doc Cosway **out** big-time! – Castle*, S02E02). Figure 16 provides an abstract illustration of this second meaning. In this case, our attention is focused on several TRs seen as units that can be individually taken out of a container (LM).

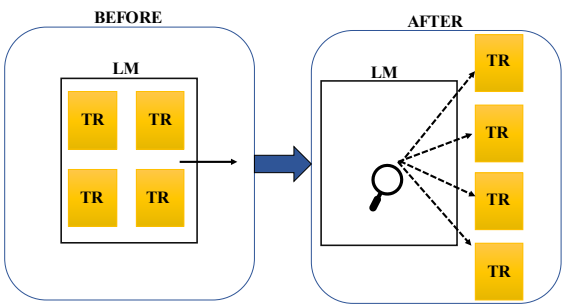

Figure 16. Figurative meaning of *out*: bodies, minds, mouths are containers

[12] According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 30), humans are physical beings, bounded and separated from the rest of the world by the surface of their skins. This makes them experience the world as being outside them. Each person is seen as a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. By extrapolation, our body parts (minds, hands, mouths) are also conceptualized as containers.

Not only can the human body and its body parts be conceptualized as containers, but also sets or groups of objects or people. This third meaning extension is diagrammed in Figure 17. Contrary to the second meaning extension which involves a multiplex TR, this extension suggests that the landmark is composed of several elements out of which the TR is removed.

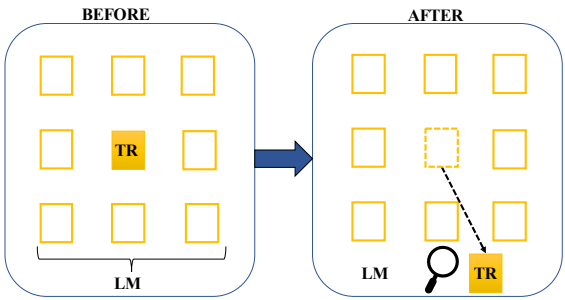

Figure 17. Figurative meaning of *out*: sets and groups are containers

In the sentence *But you later **picked** Richard Dunne **out** in an identity parade* (*New Tricks,* S04E05), the phrasal verb *pick someone out* indicates a scenario in which a potential criminal is removed from a group of suspects lined up to allow identification by either a victim or a witness to a crime.

The fourth meaning of *out* enables us to construe different states and situations as containers (LMs): (a) existence (e.g. *[…] you were right about the Jamaicans **taking out** Glitch – Castle,* S04E21); (b) visibility (e.g. *That's odd. All the patient information* is **blacked out** – *Castle*, S01E10); (c) knowledge (e.g. *In fact, you'**ve left out** some rather salient details – New Tricks,* S07E07); (d) consciousness (e.g. *So somebody hit her hard enough to **knock** her **out** […] – Castle*, S01E08); and (e) being in a normal state (e.g. *I saw the blood […] I **freaked out***

– *Castle*, S03E04). All these examples are licensed by the metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS, according to which the more concrete CONTAINER image-schema structures the abstract conceptual domain of states (cf. Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987).

Figure 18 schematizes this fourth meaning which presupposes the existence of two landmarks. While LM1 is the state the TR moves out of (existence, visibility, knowledge, consciousness, and normality), LM2 is a state opposite to the one encoded by LM1 (non-existence, invisibility, ignorance, unconsciousness, abnormality). The second landmark is deprofiled as our attention is focused on the TR leaving the interior region of LM1. It should also be noted that the states represented by LM1 imply the presence of a conceptualizer (C) who experiences them.

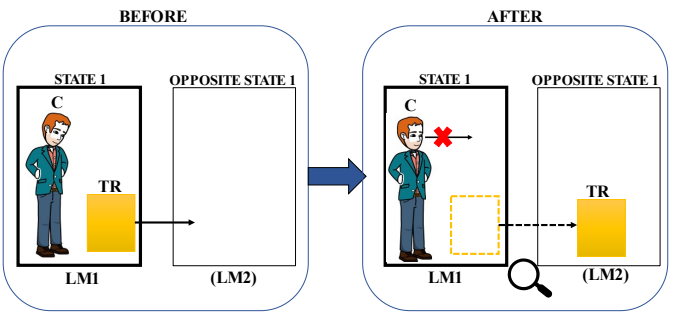

Figure 18. States and situations are containers

The fifth meaning gathers the states opposed to those grouped under the fourth meaning: (a) non-existence (e.g. *And I'**ve put out** a nationwide APB*[13] *on Petty – New Tricks,* S03E06]); (b) invisibility (e.g.

[13] An APB is the acronym for All-Points Bulletin, an alert issued by the police on a wanted suspect or person of interest.

It's the same old friends, family associates, but none of them ***stand out*** *at all – New Tricks,* S08E09]); (c) ignorance (e.g. *[…] let's* ***figure out*** *where he went – Castle*, S04E22]), and (d) an abnormal social life (e.g. *[…] he was […] willing to* ***straighten*** *his life* ***out*** *– Castle*, S03E03).

The notions of viewpoint/vantage point and profile may help us understand why the particle *out* can be associated with such contradictory interpretations (Tyler and Evans, 2003; Radden and Dirven, 2007; Langacker, 2008). For the sake of clarity, consider the schematization of the fifth meaning in Figure 19. The difference between the schematizations in Figure 18 and Figure 19 resides in the vantage point adopted by the conceptualizer with respect to the profiled landmark. In Figure 18, the conceptualizer is located inside the profiled landmark (LM1) whereas in Figure 19 the viewpoint of the conceptualizer is exterior to the profiled landmark (LM1). One of the most immediate consequences of the viewpoint illustrated in Figure 18 is that the conceptualizer has no access or visibility outside the boundaries of LM1. This is made evident by phrasal verbs like *black out* (information) or *leave out* (details), which suggest that the conceptualizer is unable to see or know the missing information or details.

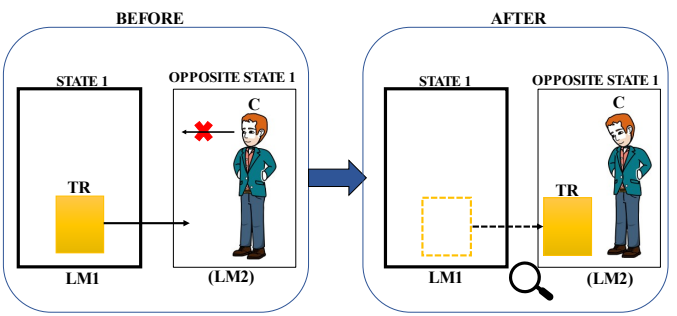

Figure 19. Non-existence, ignorance, and invisibility are containers

The final meaning of *out* reflects the idea that a TR with a minimal shape increases to maximal boundaries. Figure 20, which represents this sixth meaning, draws our attention to two aspects: (i) the TR itself is profiled as a container, and (ii) the extension of the TR's boundaries results in an overlap between the TR and the LM.

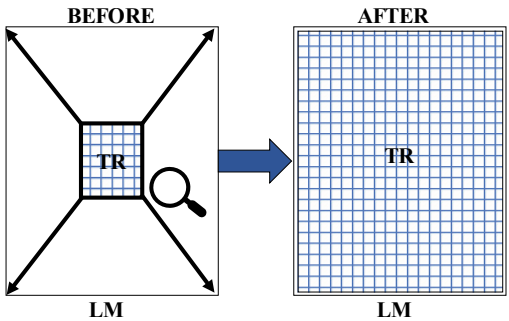

Figure 20. TR increasing to maximal boundaries (LM)

A clear example of this last meaning is the phrasal verb *stake out*, e.g. *So what's our next step? Are we going to* ***stake out*** *the house?* (*Castle,* S04E06). The implication is that the whole perimeter around the house is under police surveillance. In other words, police surveillance (TR) spreads beyond the boundary of its original location (the house).

6. IN AND INTO: ENTERING A CONTAINER

6.1. Frequency results of *in*

We encountered a total of 166 and 186 tokens for the particle *in* in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. In terms of the order of

productivity of particles, *in* occupies the fourth position in *New Tricks* (10.27%), and the sixth position in *Castle* (7.03%).

Table 5 helps us compare the main findings related to the 25 most frequent phrasal verbs with the particle *in* retrieved from both corpora. The sums of the percentages included in the table indicate that the top 25 phrasal verbs in *New Tricks* amount to 10.21% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 99.40% of all phrasal verbs formed with the particle *in*. The 25 phrasal verbs mentioned in connection to *Castle* comprise 6.84% of all phrasal verbs included in the corpus and 97.31% of all phrasal verbs containing the particle *in*.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with IN**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with IN**
1	come in	43	2.66%	25.90%	bring in	48	1.81%	25.81%
2	bring in	25	1.55%	15.06%	come in	24	0.91%	12.90%
3	hand in	12	0.74%	7.23%	call in	18	0.68%	9.68%
4	call in	11	0.68%	6.63%	break in	14	0.53%	7.53%
5	break in	10	0.62%	6.02%	go in	9	0.34%	4.84%
6	get in	10	0.62%	6.02%	turn in	9	0.34%	4.84%
7	pull in	6	0.37%	3.61%	send in	7	0.26%	3.76%
8	go in	5	0.31%	3.01%	zoom in	6	0.23%	3.23%
9	put in	5	0.31%	3.01%	check in	5	0.19%	2.69%
10	result in	5	0.31%	3.01%	fill in	5	0.19%	2.69%
11	barge in	4	0.25%	2.41%	close in	4	0.15%	2.15%
12	let in	4	0.25%	2.41%	deal in	4	0.15%	2.15%
13	deal in	3	0.19%	1.81%	take in	4	0.15%	2.15%
14	sit in	3	0.19%	1.81%	cash in	3	0.11%	1.61%
15	tie in	3	0.19%	1.81%	move in	3	0.11%	1.61%
16	cut in	2	0.12%	1.20%	blend in	2	0.08%	1.08%
17	draft in	2	0.12%	1.20%	factor in	2	0.08%	1.08%

18	kick in	2	0.12%	1.20%	kick in	2	0.08%	1.08%
19	send in	2	0.12%	1.20%	listen in on	2	0.08%	1.08%
20	take in	2	0.12%	1.20%	muscle in	2	0.08%	1.08%
21	zoom in	2	0.12%	1.20%	put in	2	0.08%	1.08%
22	dob in	1	0.06%	0.60%	rake in	2	0.08%	1.08%
23	fill in	1	0.06%	0.60%	walk in on	2	0.08%	1.08%
24	look in	1	0.06%	0.60%	book in	1	0.04%	0.54%
25	move in	1	0.06%	0.60%	clue in	1	0.04%	0.54%

Table 5. The top 25 phrasal verbs with IN in the British English and American English corpora

Careful scrutiny of Table 6 throws light on the similarities and differences between the two corpora. In this way, 13 phrasal verbs seem to overlap in both corpora (e.g. 35.13%; *break in, bring in, call in, come in, deal in, fill in, go in, kick in, move in, put in, send in, take in*, and *zoom in*). Three other phrasal verbs from *New Tricks* can be found further down the frequency list for *Castle* (e.g. *pull in, sit in*, and *tie in*). Despite the similarities, the non-overlapping phrasal verbs seem to abound in Table 5 (21 phrasal verbs in total; in British English: (1) *barge in*, (2) *cut in*, (3) *dob in*, (4) *draft in*, (5) *get in*, (6) *hand in*, (7) *let in*, (8) *look in*, and (9) *result in*; in American English: *blend in, book in, cash in, check in, close in, clue in, factor in, listen in, muscle in, rake in, turn in*, and *walk in*). Some of these non-overlapping phrasal verbs express meanings specific to the British English variety, e.g. *dob someone in* 'inform the police about someone's wrongdoings', and *get someone in* 'ask a suspect/witness to come to the police station for an interview'.

6.2. Semantic extensions of *in*

For the particle *in*, we pinpointed three meanings which are triggered by the following phrasal verbs:

(1) **TR entering a container (LM)**: *barge in, blend in* (enter other entities' space), *break in, bring sb in*; *call in sth*; *call sb in*; *close in on sb* (enter sb's personal space); *come in*; *dob sb in*; *get sb in*; *go in*; *kick in sth*; *look in* (enter sb's house); *move in on sb*; *pull sb in*; *rake in sth* (enter a person's possession); *send sb/sth in*; *take sb in; zoom in on sb* (enter the object/person's personal area/environment).

(2) **states, situations, circumstances are containers (LMs)**: *call in sth* (metaphorical – the police become involved); *cash in on sth*; *check in*

on sb; *check in with sb*; *clue sb in*; *cut sb in on sth* (to involve sb); *factor in sth*; *fill sb in*; *get sb in on sth*; *hand oneself/sth in*; *let in on sth*; *listen in on sb*; *put in sth*; *put sb in*; *result in*; *sit in on sth* (become involved); *tie sb in with sb else* (connection); *trade sb in to sb else*; *turn sb/oneself in* (also metaphorical); *walk in on sth* (circumstances surrounding a crime).

(3) **sets or groups are containers (LMs)**: *bring sb in* (in a team); *book sth in*; *deal in sth*; *draft in sb*; *traffic in sth*.

The central meaning evoked by the particle *in* is spatial motion of a TR from an exterior region to an interior region of a container (LM). It should be noted that this meaning arises in contexts with verbs of motion (e.g. *bring, come, pull, send*, etc.), change of state verbs (e.g. *break*), or verbs which might cause or involve some motion (e.g. *call, look*). Figure 21 schematizes the basic meaning of *in* while windowing our attention on the interior cavity of the LM. The phrasal verb *break in,* which constitutes a prototypical example for this meaning, indicates the manner in which the TR enters the LM, i.e. by damaging a window or a door (e.g. *A WPC* [woman police constable] ***broke in*** *and found him dead – New Tricks*, S02E05).

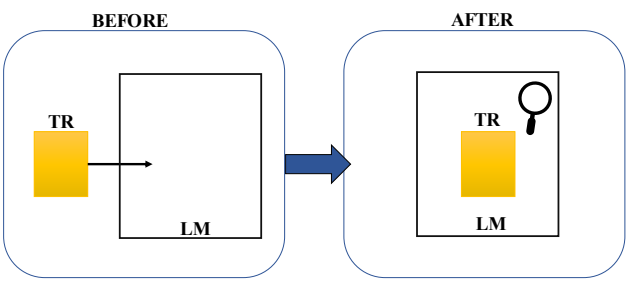

Figure 21. Central meaning of the particle *in*

As in the case of the second, third, fourth and fifth semantic extensions of *out*, the two remaining meanings of *in* highlight the variety of landmarks which can be seen as containers. Thus, different states, situations or circumstances might be conceived as containers (second meaning). Figure 22 schematizes the first of the two possibilities invoked by this semantic extension: (i) the TR coincides with the conceptualizer of the state, situation, or circumstances; and (ii) the conceptualizer is not identical with the TR and is located within the LM.

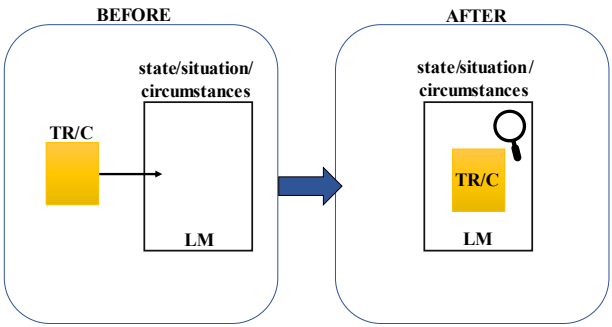

Figure 22. States, situations, circumstances are containers

This second meaning is best instantiated by the phrasal verb *walk in on something* which means 'come upon (a person or situation) suddenly or unexpectedly' (e.g. *Trafficking them* [tigers] *is illegal*. *We* ***walked in on*** *their operation – Castle*, S04E10).

Sets or groups of objects or people can also be viewed as containers. In Figure 23, which shows a schematic representation of this third meaning, the TR becomes part of the LM as a result of the former's motion into the latter.

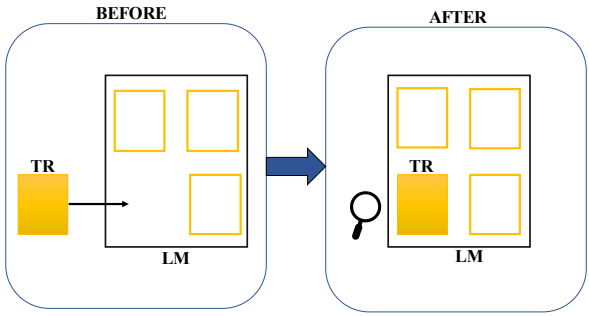

Figure 23. Sets or groups are containers (LMs)

The landmark may be explicitly coded at the linguistic level or may be left implicit (overt LM: e.g. *I still can't believe Fink* ***was trafficking in*** *forgeries – Castle*, S02E11; vs. covert LM [the implicit LM is 'team']: *I* ***can draft in*** *some new officers to work with Detective Superintendent Pullman – New Tricks*, S09E01).

6.3. Frequency results of *into*

In this section we will summarize the main findings connected to the frequency of the particle *into* in the two corpora under consideration. We retrieved a total of 72 and 191 tokens for this particle in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. As for the order of productivity, *into* is the least frequent particle in *New Tricks* (4.46%), and slightly more productive than *in* in *Castle* (e.g. *into* – 7.22% vs. *in* – 7.03%). While in *New Tricks into* holds a marginal place, in *Castle* it occupies the fifth position out of nine. Table 6 offers detailed information about each of the phrasal verbs formed with this particle.

A glance at Table 6 reveals the scarcity of phrasal verb-types which characterizes the British English corpus: only 6 phrasal verbs – *look into, get into, break into, check into, dig into*, and *lay into*. We can

notice that the first five ones also appear in the American English corpus. What is more, the order of productivity of the first four ones is identical in both corpora. Although there is greater richness of phrasal verb-types in *Castle*, the top 25 phrasal verbs make up 99.47% of all phrasal verbs formed with the particle *into*.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with INTO**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with INTO**
1	look into	38	2.35%	52.78%	look into	64	2.42%	33.68%
2	get into	17	1.05%	23.61%	get into	35	1.32%	18.42%
3	break into	14	0.87%	19.44%	break into	33	1.25%	17.37%
4	check into	1	0.06%	1.39%	check into	13	0.49%	6.84%
5	dig into	1	0.06%	1.39%	turn into	9	0.34%	4.74%
6	lay into	1	0.06%	1.39%	go into	7	0.26%	3.68%
7					dig into	6	0.23%	3.16%
8					bring into	2	0.08%	1.05%
9					bust into	2	0.08%	1.05%
10					fall into	2	0.08%	1.05%
11					hack into	2	0.08%	1.05%
12					draw into	1	0.04%	0.53%
13					fly into	1	0.04%	0.53%
14					force into	1	0.04%	0.53%
15					insinuate into	1	0.04%	0.53%
16					jam into	1	0.04%	0.53%

17					make into	1	0.04%	0.53%
18					patch into	1	0.04%	0.53%
19					plow into	1	0.04%	0.53%
20					plug into	1	0.04%	0.53%
21					plunge into	1	0.04%	0.53%
22					poke into	1	0.04%	0.53%
23					scare into	1	0.04%	0.53%
24					step into	1	0.04%	0.53%
25					trick into	1	0.04%	0.53%

Table 6. The top 25 phrasal verbs with INTO in the British English and American English corpora

6.4. Semantic extensions of *into*

The shortage of phrasal verb-types containing the particle *into* seems to correspond to the small number of meaning extensions, viz. only two:

(1) **TR entering a container (LM)**: *break into sth*; *bust into sth*; *fall into sb's hands*; *force sb into sth*; *get into sth* (a place); *hack into sth*; *jam sth into sth else*; *lay into sb*; *patch into sth*; *plow into sb*; *plug sth into sth else*.

(2) **TR undergoing change is motion of the TR into a container (LM)**: *bring sb into sth*; *check into sth*; *dig into sth/sb*; *draw sb into sth*; *fall into sth*; *fly into sth*; *get into sth* (a fight); *go into sth*; *insinuate oneself into sth*; *look into sth*; *make sb into sth*; *plunge sb/sth into sth/sth else*; *poke into sth*; *scare sb into sth*; *step into sth*; *trick sb into sth*; *turn sth into sth else*; *walk into sth*.

As in the case of *in*, the central meaning of the particle *into* expresses spatial motion of a TR into a container (LM). Nevertheless, the difference between them lies in the fact that the former profiles the interior cavity of a LM whereas the latter profiles a series of locations occupied by the TR which "collectively make up a path which terminates in the interior of the LM entity" (Taylor, 2002: 218). In Figure 24, the different profile has been indicated by means of dotted rectangles and dotted arrows.

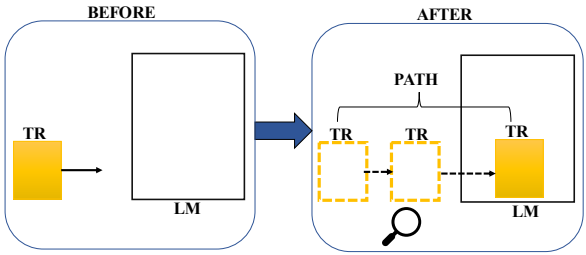

Figure 24. Central meaning of *into*

The phrasal verb *force into* serves to exemplify the central meaning of *into*, e.g. *He must have grabbed her. Maybe **forced** her **into** a car?* (*Castle*, S04E04). Note that the landmark can range from concrete (e.g. *car*) to more abstract entities. In the sentence ***Hack into** the photo archives and run facial rec* (*Castle*, S04E16), the computer system is conceptualized as a container that can be broken into.

The second meaning of the particle *into* enables us to understand a change of state of a TR in terms of that TR's motion into a container (LM). Figure 25 offers a visual representation of this semantic extension.

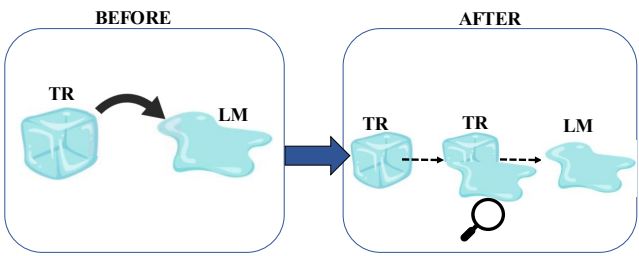

Figure 25. TR undergoing change is motion of the TR into a container (LM)

Let us take the following sentence *So what happened, Maddie? Did you guys **get into** a fight?* (*Castle*, S02E22). In this case,

involvement in a bad situation (i.e. *a fight*) is described as movement into a container. Sometimes the situation can be expressed metonymically as in *His marriage failed, his daughter **fell into** drugs, and he was just gunned down in his own apartment* (*Castle*, S03E14). Here, the noun *drugs*, which refers to an illegal substance, is used to metonymically stand for the activity in which such substances are consumed.

Given the low productivity of phrasal verbs formed with the particle *into*, most of them display a single meaning. The most polysemous phrasal verbs with *into* are *fall into* and *get into*. Their two meanings are strictly associated with the two semantic extensions activated by the particle *into*: (i) motion into a concrete container (e.g. *fall into enemy hands*, *get into a database*); and (ii) change from one state into another (e.g. *fall into drugs, get into a fight*).

7. DICHOTOMIC PAIRS: *OUT* VS. *IN* AND *INTO*

This section is devoted to the comparison of the meanings for the particles *out, in*, and *into*. The particles *in* and *into* are both opposites of *out*. One of the differences between *in* and *into* is that the former may have a double meaning, namely location of a TR inside a container/LM (e.g. *The gift is **in** the box*) and motion of a TR into a container/LM (e.g. *Find this kid Brent and **bring** him **in** for questioning –Castle*, S01E02), whereas the latter can only encode motion of a TR into a container/LM (e.g. *It still doesn't explain why Random **broke into** Stuckey's apartment – Castle*, S03E03). When *in* expresses location inside a container, it can only function as a preposition, and not as an adverbial

particle. Therefore, as a component of phrasal verbs, the particle *in* always conveys motion into a container. The second difference between *in* and *into* is that they profile different parts of the motion scene. Thus, *in* profiles the interior region of the LM whereas *into* profiles the path followed by the TR which terminates in the interior region of the LM.

Overall, there are six meaning extensions of *out, in*, and *into*, which display opposite meanings: (i) spatial motion of a TR from an interior region to an exterior region of a container/LM (*out*) vs. spatial motion of a TR from an exterior region to an interior region of a container/LM (*in* and *into*); (ii) motion of a TR outside a container/LM formed by a set or a group of objects or people (*out*) vs. motion of a TR into a container/LM composed of a set or a group of objects or people (*in*); and (iii) experiencing a state is moving out of a container/LM (*out*) vs. experiencing a state is moving into a container/LM (*in*).

We also identified three meaning extensions which are specific to either *out* or *into*: *out* – (1) TR increasing to maximal boundaries/LM, and (2) bodies, minds, and mouths are containers; *into* – (1) change of a TR is motion of a TR into a container/LM.

The high productivity of the particle *out* might be justified as follows. First, both corpora are police procedurals which focus on a team of professionals and their investigation techniques (Priestman, 1998). As such, many of the phrasal verbs with the particle *out* describe the detectives' routines of crime solving (e.g. *find out, figure out, check sb out, rule sb out, put out an APB, work sth out*). Three main metaphors seem to contribute to the final interpretation of these phrasal verbs formed with *out*: (1) A PROBLEM/A MURDER CASE IS A (LOCKED) CONTAINER, (2) VISIBLE IS OUT, and (3) KNOWING

IS SEEING (see also Morgan, 1997). Therefore, on most occasions, the vantage point adopted by detectives is exterior to the murder case understood as a mysterious container whose details must be taken out for the case to be cracked. When the vantage point is from the interior of the murder case, the particle *into* is employed: *check into, get into, look into, poke into* (e.g. *The original murder squad* ***looked into*** *forensics and motive […] – New Tricks*, S05E03). Another recurrent container in both corpora is the police station. Usually, detectives adopt an internal view for which reason the particle *in* is used: e.g. *bring someone in, call someone in, pull someone in, take someone in*.

8. OFF: SEPARATION

8.1. Frequency results of *off*

This section presents the frequency of the phrasal verbs formed with the particle *off*. Table 7 gives detailed information about the top 25 phrasal verbs with *off* in relation to all the other phrasal verbs included in the corpora and in relation to the phrasal verbs containing *off*.

In chapter 3, we mentioned that the phrasal verbs containing the particle *off* amounted to a total of 144 and 246 tokens in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. Also, as already explained in section 1 of this chapter, the particle *off* occupies different positions on the scale of productivity in the corpora under scrutiny: the sixth position in the British English corpus (8.91%), and the fourth position in the American English corpus (9.30%).

Based on the information gathered in Table 7, we can confirm that the 25 most productive phrasal verbs in *New Tricks* account for 8.54% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 95.83% of all phrasal verbs formed with *off*. Concerning *Castle*, the top 25 phrasal verbs correspond to 8.20% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 88.21% of all phrasal verbs containing the particle *off*.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OFF**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OFF**
1	get off	36	2.23%	25.00%	get off	39	1.47%	15.85%
2	tip off	12	0.74%	8.33%	go off	35	1.32%	14.23%
3	rip off	11	0.68%	7.64%	throw off	18	0.68%	7.32%
4	warn off	11	0.68%	7.64%	pull off	14	0.53%	5.69%
5	pay off	9	0.56%	6.25%	cut off	13	0.49%	5.28%
6	knock off	8	0.50%	5.56%	back off	12	0.45%	4.88%
7	kick off	6	0.37%	4.17%	pay off	12	0.45%	4.88%
8	scare off	4	0.25%	2.78%	tip off	11	0.42%	4.47%
9	send off	4	0.25%	2.78%	set off	9	0.34%	3.66%
10	blow off	3	0.19%	2.08%	drop off	6	0.23%	2.44%
11	bump off	3	0.19%	2.08%	run off	6	0.23%	2.44%
12	chop off	3	0.19%	2.08%	take off	6	0.23%	2.44%
13	go off	3	0.19%	2.08%	keep off	4	0.15%	1.63%
14	let off	3	0.19%	2.08%	rip off	4	0.15%	1.63%
15	pass off	3	0.19%	2.08%	write off	4	0.15%	1.63%
16	pull off	3	0.19%	2.08%	burn off	3	0.11%	1.22%
17	strike off	3	0.19%	2.08%	finish off	3	0.11%	1.22%

18	cut off	2	0.12%	1.39%	make off	3	0.11%	1.22%
19	finish off	2	0.12%	1.39%	ping off	3	0.11%	1.22%
20	live off	2	0.12%	1.39%	boot off	2	0.08%	0.81%
21	seal off	2	0.12%	1.39%	buy off	2	0.08%	0.81%
22	set off	2	0.12%	1.39%	call off	2	0.08%	0.81%
23	call off	1	0.06%	0.69%	check off	2	0.08%	0.81%
24	drive off	1	0.06%	0.69%	chop off	2	0.08%	0.81%
25	frighten off	1	0.06%	0.69%	close off	2	0.08%	0.81%

Table 7. The top 25 phrasal verbs with OFF in the British English and American English corpora

After contrasting the 25 phrasal verbs with *off* in both corpora, we notice that 11 of them co-occur (28.20%, e.g. *call off, chop off, cut off, finish off, get off, go off, pay off, pull off, rip off, set off*, and *tip off*). The matches of other 9 phrasal verbs can be found in the remainder of the frequency list of both corpora (e.g. *blow off, keep off, kick off, knock off, run off, seal off, send off, throw off*, and *write off*). Although *knock off, kick off*, and *write off* are present in both corpora, in British English they may also illustrate variety-specific meanings. Thus, in British English, the phrasal verb *knock something off* may refer to the action of stealing money or property from a place, whereas in American English it is associated with the reduction of an amount of something, in this case the reduction of a prison sentence. While the intransitive use of the phrasal verb *kick off* may mark the start of something in both varieties, in British English it has an additional specialized meaning, viz. 'suddenly become very angry and start fighting or arguing'. Furthermore, in British English, the transitive use of the phrasal verb *write something off* describes the action of damaging someone's vehicle to such an extent that it can never be used again.

Lastly, a total of 18 phrasal verbs in Table 7 do not have any cross-variety equivalents (e.g. in British English: *bump off, drive off, frighten off, let off, live off, pass off, scare off, strike off*, and *warn off*; in American English: *back off, boot off, burn off, buy off, check off, close off, drop off, make off, ping off*, and *take off*). Out of these verbs, *strike someone off something* is specific to the British English variety, where it refers to the legal exclusion of a lawyer or a doctor from their profession.

8.2. Semantic extensions of *off*

We will now move on to examine the semantic clusters for the phrasal verbs with the particle *off*:

(1) **spatial separation of a TR from a LM** – *back off* (move backwards), *bite off* (part of an ear), *blow off* (illegal fireworks), *burn off* (prints), *chop off* (victim's body parts), *come off* (become detached as a sign of struggle), *cut off* (body parts), *drop off* (body, bomb), (criminal) *drive off*, *fight sb off*, *file* (serial numbers) *off* (a gun), *fire off* (a gun), *frighten sb off*, *get off sb*, *get* (prints, DNA) *off* a surface, *go off* (bomb), *jet off* (depart hurriedly), *lop off* (body parts), *ping off* (a tower), *rip* (purse) *off* (one's arm), (criminal) *run off*, *send sth off*, *set off* (bomb), *shoot sth off* (sever sth by shooting), *take off* (depart hurriedly), *take* (cuffs) *off*, *take* (head) *off*, *throw sb off* (a building), *wander off*.

(2) **loss of contact between a TR and a LM** – *close off* (an area), *get sb off* (the streets), *grab sb off* (the streets), *rope off* (an area), (criminal) *run off*, *seal off* (an area), *split off* (of a team).

(3) **interruption of flow/supply (LM)** – *back off sb* (stop investigating a person), *cut off* (avenues of investigation), *cut off* (money supply), *cut sb off* (on the road), *get off* (the phone).

(4) **motion of a TR away from its former state, condition or point of reference (LM)** – *blow* (someone's head) *off*, *boot sb off* (a case), *bump sb off*, *buy off sb*, *call off* (a protective detail), *check sb off* (a list), *cross sb off* (a list), *finish sb off*, *get off* (avoid punishment), *hold off on* (an APB), *keep sb off* (a case), *keep sb off* (sb else's trail), *kick off* (start), *kick sb off* (a case), *kill sb off*, *knock* (years) *off* (a sentence), *knock sb off*, *knock* (a place) *off*, *let sb off*, *live off sth*, *make* (money) *off sb*, *make*

off with (money), *pass oneself off as sth*, *pay off sb*, *piss sb off*, *pull off* (a scam), *rip sb off* (steal), *scare sb off*, *send sb off*, *set off* (an alarm), *sign off on sth*, *strike sb off* (a profession), *take* (name) *off* (report), *take* (detail) *off* (sb's place), *take sb off* (a case), *throw sb off* (an investigation), *tip sb off*, *warn sb off*, *wear off* (about a drug), *write off* (a case) (as sth less important), *write* (a car) *off*.

The basic meaning of the particle *off* is physical separation of a TR from (the surface of) a supporting LM (see Figure 26).

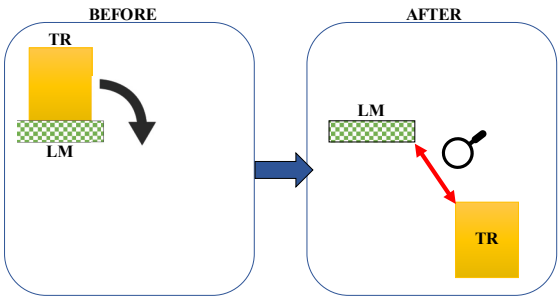

Figure 26. Central meaning of the particle *off*

This meaning can be exemplified by the phrasal verb *get off,* which is defined as 'make an aggressor (TR) stop touching his/her victim (LM)' (e.g. *You're hurting my arm!* ***Get off****! – New Tricks*, S04E02).

On a continuum, literal loss of contact extends into more abstract loss of contact between a TR and the neighbouring LM. Figure 27 is similar to Figure 26, but what is profiled here is the loss of contact rather than the spatial separation between the TR and the LM.

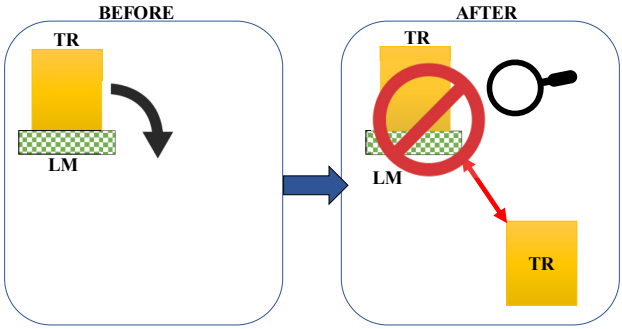

Figure 27. Figurative meaning of *off*: loss of contact between a TR and a LM

Consider the sentence *Patrol cars **have closed off** all streets in a five-block radius* (*Castle*, S03E09). In this example the phrasal verb *close off* describes how the police can prevent people from entering a place, usually because of dangerous activities carried out in that area.

The particle *off* can also be used to indicate an interruption of a flow or a supply of water, gas, and electricity. As an illustration of this semantic extension, consider the notion of traffic, which is defined as the movement of vehicles from one location to another and can be viewed as consisting of a flow. According to Radden and Dirven (2007: 68), this is possible due to a conceptual affinity in visual perception of multiplex objects and homogeneous substances. As the human eye is unable to pick out individual cars speeding on a highway, the resultant perception is that of an unbounded, homogeneous flow of traffic. In such a situation we would refer to the high number of non-individuated, non-discrete cars by means of the mass noun *traffic*.

To illustrate this third meaning, take the use of *cut someone off* in the sentence *Hell, maybe he even **cut** you **off** on the highway* (*Castle*, S02E11). In this context, the phrasal verb refers to a criminal's action

of separating a road user (TR) from the traffic flow (LM) by blocking their way. Figure 28 schematizes this meaning extension. It must be pointed out that, before the separation, the TR was part of the LM.

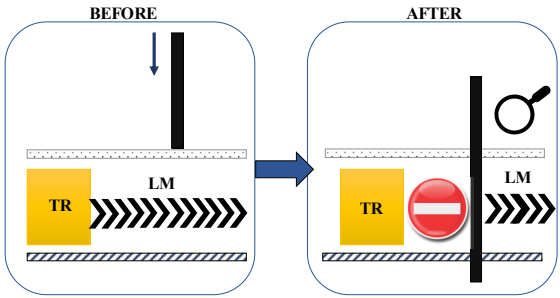

Figure 28. Figurative meaning of *off*: interruption of flow/supply (LM)

The fourth meaning gathers phrasal verbs that refer to a situation in which a TR becomes dissociated or is freed from a former state or condition (LM), as schematically represented in Figure 29. Take the following example *Cooper was allowed to* ***get off*** *on a bribery charge […]* (*New Tricks,* S08E10). The phrasal verb *get off* denotes an abstract separation of the defendant from the legal punishment that proceeds from the crime he/she was charged with.

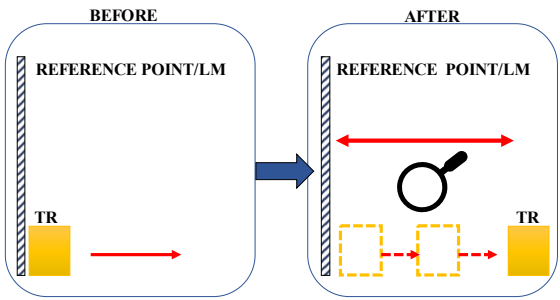

Figure 29. Figurative meaning of *off*: motion of a TR away from former condition, state or point of reference (LM)

Moreover, some phrasal verbs with the particle *off* have such related meanings that they can also become interchangeable in certain contexts. The phrasal verbs *boot off*, *keep off, kick off*, and *take off* (a case) constitute a clear illustration of this phenomenon (e.g. 'remove a detective from an investigation' *Montgomery* ***booted*** *us* ***off*** *the Raglan murder* [*Castle*, S03E13]). Similar examples are *chop off*, *cut off*, and *lop off* with the specialized meaning 'separate a victim's body parts from the trunk' or *go off* and *set off* '(of a bomb) explode', among others.

9. ON: CONTACT

9.1. Frequency results of *on*

As stated in the methodological part, we encountered a total of 234 and 176 tokens of phrasal verbs combined with the particle *on* in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. Based on these results, we may hypothesize that the particle *on* is more productive in the British English corpus than in the American English one. Indeed, the data put forward in section 1 of this chapter corroborates that *on* is the third most frequent particle in the British English corpus (14.48%), and the seventh most common in the American English corpus (6.66%).

Table 8 provides exhaustive information about the frequency of the top 25 phrasal verbs followed by the particle *on*. As usual, the frequency is given in raw numbers and percentages calculated with reference to, on the one hand, the total number of phrasal verbs in the corpus, and, on the other hand, the total number of phrasal verbs containing the particle *on*.

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with ON**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with ON**
1	go on	97	6.00%	41.45%	base on	38	1.44%	21.59%
2	get on	28	1.73%	11.97%	go on	34	1.29%	19.32%
3	pass on	10	0.62%	4.27%	work on	17	0.64%	9.66%
4	move on	9	0.56%	3.85%	check on	9	0.34%	5.11%
5	spy on	9	0.56%	3.85%	move on	7	0.26%	3.98%
6	check on	7	0.43%	2.99%	pin on	6	0.23%	3.41%
7	depend on	7	0.43%	2.99%	turn on	6	0.23%	3.41%
8	pin on	7	0.43%	2.99%	get on	6	0.23%	3.41%
9	take on	7	0.43%	2.99%	wait on	5	0.19%	2.84%
10	concentrate on	6	0.37%	2.56%	put on	5	0.19%	2.84%
11	rely on	6	0.37%	2.56%	depend on	5	0.19%	2.84%
12	base on	5	0.31%	2.14%	prey on	4	0.15%	2.27%
13	focus on	5	0.31%	2.14%	focus on	4	0.15%	2.27%
14	let on	5	0.31%	2.14%	force on	3	0.11%	1.70%
15	lean on	3	0.19%	1.28%	catch on	3	0.11%	1.70%
16	wait on	3	0.19%	1.28%	hang on	3	0.11%	1.70%

17	call on	2	0.12%	0.85%	spy on	3	0.11%	1.70%
18	hang on	2	0.12%	0.85%	lean on	2	0.08%	1.14%
19	prey on	2	0.12%	0.85%	plan on	2	0.08%	1.14%
20	rat on	2	0.12%	0.85%	push on	2	0.08%	1.14%
21	bank on	1	0.06%	0.43%	beat on	2	0.08%	1.14%
22	build on	1	0.06%	0.43%	sign on	1	0.04%	0.57%
23	cotton on	1	0.06%	0.43%	let on	1	0.04%	0.57%
24	crack on	1	0.06%	0.43%	roll on	1	0.04%	0.57%
25	decide on	1	0.06%	0.43%	add on	1	0.04%	0.57%

Table 8. The top 25 phrasal verbs with ON in the British English and American English corpora

On balance, the top 25 phrasal verbs in *New Tricks* constitute 14.05% of all phrasal verbs in the corpus and 97.01% of all phrasal verbs formed with the particle *on*. With respect to *Castle*, the 25 most frequent phrasal verbs account for 6.43% of all phrasal verbs present in the corpus and 96.59% of all phrasal verbs with *on*.

A closer examination of the data included in Table 8 brings to light that 14 phrasal verbs appear in both corpora (38.89%; *base on, check on, depend on, focus on, get on, go on, hang on, lean on, let on, move on, pin on, prey on, spy on*, and *wait on*). Moreover, the phrasal verb *put on*, which is listed in the American English column, has its counterpart among the 32 phrasal verb-types found in the British English corpus. When combined with the preposition *to*, the phrasal verb *get on to someone* acquires a variety-specific meaning in British English, namely 'speak to someone in order to ask them to do something for you' (e.g. *He robbed a taxi driver in Belfast at gun point, so I* ***got on to*** *the police over there – New Tricks*, S07E08).

In Table 8, there are also 21 phrasal verbs that do not coincide across varieties (e.g. 11 in British English: *bank on, build on, call on, concentrate on, cotton on, crack on, decide on, pass on, rat on, rely on*, and *take on*; 10 in American English: *add on, beat on, catch on, force on, plan on, push on, roll on, sign on, turn on*, and *work on*). Out of them, *roll on* and *crack on* display variety-specific meanings. The phrasal verb *roll on someone* is an exclusively American English verb which refers to the action of divulging private information, in this case to the police, about a person, usually a criminal. By contrast, the intransitive phrasal verb *crack on* is a British English verb which refers to the continuation of hard work with the aim of finishing it.

9.2. Semantic extensions of *on*

In this section we introduce the reader to the meanings evoked by the particle *on* and the phrasal verbs connected to them. For this particle we combined Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) cognitive motivations with the meanings proposed by Navarro i Ferrando (1999). Altogether, we identified four different meanings, as can be seen below:

(1) **TR is in contact with a LM or gets closer to make spatial contact with a LM** – *add on sth*; *beat on sb*; *call on sb*; *force oneself on sb*; *get on sth* (become part/member); *hang on sth* (evidence); *prey on sb*; *put sb on* (the phone); *take on sb*; *turn on sb*.

(2) **LM seen as support for a TR/TR seen as a burden for a LM** – *bank on sth*; *base sth on sth*; *build sth on sth*; *count on sth*; *depend on sth*; *go on (to sth)*; *hang sth on sb*; *pin sth on sb*; *rely on sth*; *rest on sth*; *stick sth on sb*.

(3) **TR exerts control over the LM** – *border on sth*; *catch on to sth*; *check on sb/sth*; *concentrate on sth/sb*; *cotton on to sth*; *decide on sth*; *focus on sth/sb*; *get on sth* (start sth); *get on to* (BE); *lean on sb*; *let on*; *look on*, *move on sb*; *put sth on sb*; *rat on sb*; *roll on sb*; *sign sb on*; *snitch on sb*; *spy on*; *start on sth; take on sth*; *tell on sb*; *work on sth* (deal with sth).

(4) **continuation of an action/situation over time as continued physical contact between a TR and a LM** – *crack on*; *expand on sth*; *get on with sth* (make progress); *go on* (intr. – continue an investigation/talking/working); *move on*; *move on to sth*; *pass on sth*; *pick on sb*; *plan on sth*; *push on sth*; *sit on sth*; *wait on sth*.

Both Navarro i Ferrando (1999) and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) agree that the central meaning of the particle *on* involves the spatial contact between a TR and a larger surface (LM). In combination with verbs denoting motion (e.g. *put, turn*) or contact by impact verbs (e.g. *beat, force*), we may also window our attention on the approach of the TR to make physical contact with the LM. The abstract representation of this basic meaning with its two foci is provided in Figure 30.

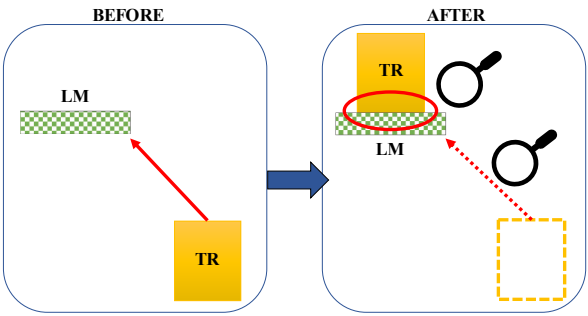

Figure 20. Central meaning of *on*

The phrasal verb *add on something* 'include an extra thing in something' serves to illustrate this central meaning, e.g. *We found two other reports where Napolitano's name* ***was added on*** (*Castle*, S03E24). The meaning implication of this sentence is that there is physical contact between the name of a suspect (i.e. Napolitano) and the report sheets on which it is written.

As already explained in chapter 2, the particle *on* receives input from three image-schemas: the CONTACT schema (physical contact between a TR and a LM), the SUPPORT schema (the TR rests on the external part of the LM), and the UP-DOWN schema (the TR exerts a force which is directed downwards along a vertical axis) (cf. Navarro i Ferrando, 1999). While the central meaning of *on* activates the

CONTACT schema, its second meaning extension relies primarily on the SUPPORT schema. The second meaning of *on* gathers phrasal verbs belonging to the domains of thought and knowledge which are conceptualized in terms of the SUPPORT image-schema. As in the case of the central meaning, we may adopt two viewpoints, either that of the TR, where the LM is interpreted as support, or that of the LM, where the TR is conceived of as a burden (cf. Navarro i Ferrando, 1999: 150). These two vantage points are represented schematically in Figure 31.

To understand how this meaning extension works at the linguistic level, let us focus on the sentence *Your entire case* ***is based on*** *the statement of a woman who would say anything to reduce her sentence […]* (New Tricks, S07E10). The phrasal verb *base something on something else* describes how a woman's unreliable statement (LM) brings support to a murder case (TR) and may even justify certain measures taken by the police. This example is accounted for by the metaphor HELP IS SUPPORT whereby help offered or received from people is understood as the support for action (Ferrando i Navarro, 1999: 150).

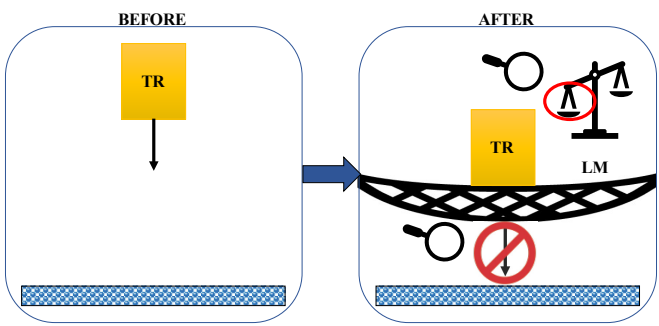

Figure 31. Figurative meaning of *on*: LM seen as support for a TR/TR seen as a burden for a LM

The third meaning extension of *on* profiles the control relationship between the TR and the LM which is contributed by the UP-DOWN schema (see the visual representation in Figure 32). A clear example of this meaning is supplied by the phrasal verb *spy on someone*, e.g. *Mr. Fallon, the Syrian Consulate is strictly a diplomatic mission. Certainly not in the business of* ***spying on*** *U.S. citizens* (*Castle*, S03E17). For Navarro i Ferrando (1999: 160), this phrasal verb is licensed by the metaphor SEEING IS CONTROL, according to which the sight of the TR (in this case, the spy working for the Syrian Consulate) is conceptualized as if he/she controls the visual field where the LM (U.S. citizens) is included.

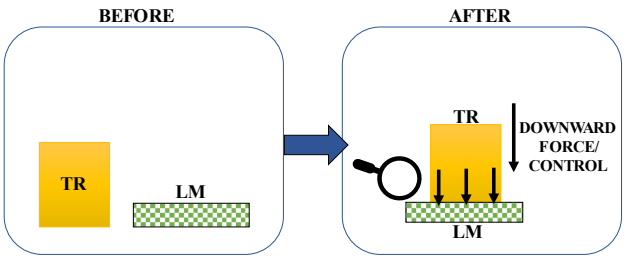

Figure 32. Figurative meaning of *on*: TR exerts control over the LM

The particle *on* can also suggest the continuation of an action or a situation over a time span. The metaphor ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS (cf. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 31) makes it possible to conceptualize the continuation of actions through time as continued physical contact between a TR and a LM. Figure 33 offers a visual representation of this last meaning extension of the particle *on*.

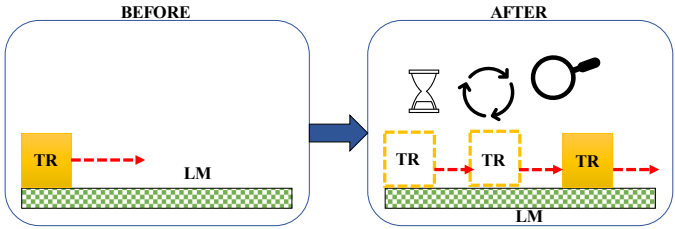

Figure 33. Figurative meaning of *on*: continuation of an action/situation over time

Consider the sentence *I'm not stupid enough to* ***beat on*** *cops, but you on the other hand are a different story* (*Castle*, S04E07). A phrasal verb such as *beat on someone* lends itself easily to illustrating the idea of continuity of an action through time as it involves hurting someone by hitting them repeatedly. In this example, the repeated blows of the aggressor on the victim are metaphorically seen as sustained physical contact between the aggressor (TR) and the victim (LM).

10. DICHOTOMIC PAIRS: *OFF* VS. *ON*

This section tries to establish a comparison between the meaning extensions evoked by the particles *off* and *on*. The central meanings of these particles reflect two opposed basic scenes: *off* – physical separation of a moving entity (TR) from the surface of a static LM vs. *on* – physical contact between a TR and the surface of a LM. The rest of the meaning extensions exploit the mental associations connected to these two scenes.

The notion of separation can be interpreted differently depending on what is being separated (either concrete or abstract entities) and

depending on the type of connection they were sharing. Thus, the emphasis can be placed on the loss of contact which impedes the use of the landmark (e.g. *close off an area* – the citizens cannot freely circulate through the streets or have access to the buildings in the area, among others) or which prevents the component parts from functioning as a whole unit (e.g. *split off* [of a team of detectives] – used in the context of a team dividing to control a perimeter). Telephone communication between two or more people is a type of connection which presupposes auditive and/or visual, but not tactile (physical) contact. As a result, the disconnection or separation between the interlocutors is conceptualized as an interruption of a flow or supply of electricity (e.g. *get off [the phone] with someone* 'finish a phone conversation' – the landmark is the device which enables us to maintain a conversation with another interlocutor). The participation of a person in an activity can be metaphorically seen as contact between the two entities (e.g. a detective is ***on*** a case or is ***put on*** a case – the noun *case* is used metonymically to stand for the activity involving the case). Consequently, the cessation of the activity implies the person's motion away from his/her former condition or activity. Take the sentence *Agent Shaw was right to* ***kick*** *me* ***off*** *the case* (*Castle*, S02E18). Note that the idea of separation between two entities (viz. the detective and the case) is expressed by the adverbial particle *off* while the idea of motion is conveyed by means of the lexical verb *kick*.

The notion of contact can extend from the concrete act or state of touching of two objects or surfaces to the idea of proximity or nearness in distance between two entities. The phrasal verb *rat on someone* 'inform the police about someone's illegal behaviour' does not entail any physical contact between the informant and the alleged criminal.

The particle *on* suggests that the informant had previously spent some time in the company of the alleged criminal, which makes him/her knowledgeable about the criminal's bad behaviour. Apart from the notion of proximity, the phrasal verb *rat on someone* also windows our attention on the fact that the informant has the upper hand over the criminal, owing to the information that the former possesses about the latter.

Another important variable linked to the notion of contact is the duration of exposure between the two entities. For instance, activities or repeated actions imply prolonged contact between entities. A phrasal verb such as *beat on someone* may trigger two meaning extensions: (i) central meaning – the close physical contact between an aggressor and his/her victim, and (ii) meaning extension 4 – the temporal continuation of the hitting action.

The notion of contact may also be mentally linked to (i) the idea of providing support when the scene is viewed from the perspective of the TR or (ii) the idea of imposing a burden when we adopt the viewpoint of the LM. In the sentence *The whole case* ***rested on*** *Mullat being a witness* (*New Tricks*, S08E03), a favourable state of affairs (LM – Mullat making a statement) may be interpreted as support for solving the case (TR). By contrast, judicial penalty (TR) is considered a burden for the person who receives it (LM), e.g. *Think you're gonna* ***pin*** *this murder* ***on*** *me?* (*Castle*, S02E11).

11. OVER: HIGHER THAN

11.1. Frequency results of *over*

This section deals with the frequency of the phrasal verbs followed by the particle *over*. As announced in chapter 3, we retrieved a total of 72 and 85 tokens of phrasal verbs with *over* in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. These figures indicate that *over* is one of the least productive particles in the corpora; it occupies the eighth position in the British English corpus (4.46%), and the ninth position in the American English corpus (3.21%).

Table 9 below contains the top 17 and 19 phrasal verb-types formed with *over* in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. Out of these, 12 appear in both corpora (50%; e.g. *get over, go over, hand over, hang over, look over, pull over, run over, send over, start over, take over, turn over*, and *work over*). The remaining 50% do not display any cross-variety counterparts (e.g. 5 phrasal verbs in British English: *do over, email over, knock over, preside over*, and *read over*; 7 phrasal verbs in American English: *bring over, cross over, fax over, pore over, screw over, shoot over*, and *stand over*).

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OVER**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with OVER**
1	hand over	13	0.80%	18.06%	go over	21	0.79%	24.71%
2	go over	12	0.74%	16.67%	send over	19	0.72%	22.35%
3	run over	8	0.50%	11.11%	turn over	11	0.42%	12.94%
4	send over	7	0.43%	9.72%	take over	10	0.38%	11.76%
5	take over	7	0.43%	9.72%	pull over	4	0.15%	4.71%
6	turn over	6	0.37%	8.33%	get over	3	0.11%	3.53%
7	pull over	4	0.25%	5.56%	screw over	3	0.11%	3.53%
8	look over	3	0.19%	4.17%	fax over	2	0.08%	2.35%
9	get over	2	0.12%	2.78%	hand over	2	0.08%	2.35%
10	preside over	2	0.12%	2.78%	bring over	1	0.04%	1.18%
11	start over	2	0.12%	2.78%	cross over	1	0.04%	1.18%
12	do over	1	0.06%	1.39%	hang over	1	0.04%	1.18%
13	email over	1	0.06%	1.39%	look over	1	0.04%	1.18%
14	hang over	1	0.06%	1.39%	pore over	1	0.04%	1.18%
15	knock over	1	0.06%	1.39%	run over	1	0.04%	1.18%

16	read over	1	0.06%	1.39%	shoot over	1	0.04%	1.18%
17	work over	1	0.06%	1.39%	stand over	1	0.04%	1.18%
18					start over	1	0.04%	1.18%
19					work over	1	0.04%	1.18%

Table 9. The top 19 phrasal verbs with OVER in the British English and American English corpora

Finally, there are 3 phrasal verbs that are specific to either the British or the American English variety, namely *do over*, *knock over* and *turn over*. The phrasal verb *do someone over* is a British English verb that describes the action of attacking a person by hitting and kicking them. Another British English phrasal verb is *turn something over* which has the meaning of searching a place thoroughly or stealing things from it, making it very untidy. Conversely, *knock over something* is an American English phrasal verb which refers to the action of robbing a place (e.g. a shop/bank) and threatening or attacking the employees from that place.

11.2.Semantic extensions of *over*

In this section we discuss the meaning extensions conveyed by the phrasal verbs combined with *over*. Overall, we found four different meanings which are associated with the following phrasal verbs:

(1) **TR moves higher than or from one side to the other of a LM** – *do sb over* (metaphorical); *email sth over*; *fax sth over*; *hang over sb* (metaphorical); *knock over sth*; *preside over sth* (metaphorical); *pull over*; *run sb over*; *screw sb over* (metaphorical); *send sth over*; *shoot sth over*; *stand over sth*.

(2) **TR crosses a distance (LM) to approach a goal** – *bring sb over; get sb over*; *hand sb/sth over*; *turn sb/sth over*.

(3) **motion of a TR covers an area (LM) completely or in excess** – *cross over sth*; *get sth over with*; *take sth over*; *work sb over.*

(4) **TR examines LM thoroughly from all sides** – *go over sth*; *look over*; *pore over sth*; *read over sth*; *start over*; *turn sth* (a place) *over.*

The central meaning of the particle *over* refers to the motion of an object (TR) above another object (LM) or from one side to the other side of this second object. Figure 34 offers a visual representation of the path followed by the TR: upward motion, motion from one side to the other of the LM, and downward motion.

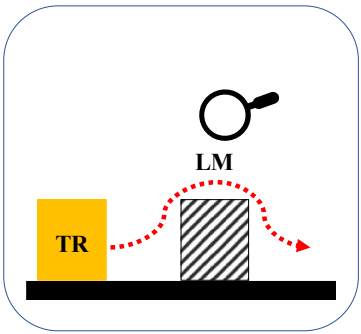

Figure 34. Central meaning of *over*

As an illustration of the central meaning of *over*, consider the sentence *Do you really think someone **ran** him **over** on purpose?* (*New Tricks*, S08E05). The phrasal verb *run someone over* indicates that a vehicle (TR) hits a man (LM) and drives over his body.

The particle *over* may also designate that a TR must cover some distance (LM) – either spatial or mental – to be closer to an object or a goal. This second meaning is displayed in Figure 35.

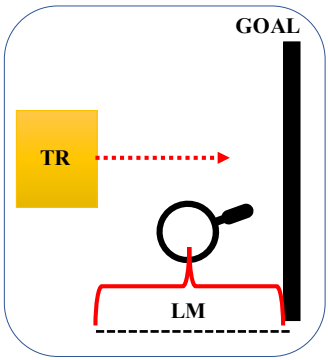

Figure 35. Figurative meaning of *over*: TR crosses a distance (LM) to approach a goal

Let us focus on the sentence *All right, why don't you guys take Monica to the ER, get her checked, then* ***get*** *her* ***over to*** *Narcotics* (*Castle*, S03E20). In this example, the moving entity (TR) is a witness by the name of Monica. The LM, which is left implicit, refers to the distance between the casualty department of a hospital (ER – Emergency Room) and the Narcotics Division, a police department investigating drug activities in a city. The phrasal verb *get someone over* describes how the witness is dispatched from a source (ER) to a destination (Narcotics).

The third meaning of *over* enables us to perceive motion as covering a surface completely or in excess. As can be seen in Figure 36, an area (LM) can be covered spatially or figuratively.

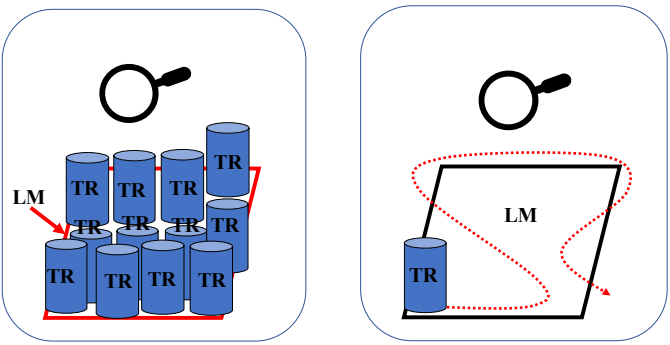

Figure 1. Figurative meaning of *over*: motion of a TR covers an area (LM) completely or in excess

This meaning is best instantiated by a phrasal verb such as *take over*, e.g. *If the feds take down the Spolanos, then the other families can* ***take over*** *their territories* (*Castle*, S01E10). In this example, the Spolanos represent a secret organized group of criminals who control most businesses in New York. The phrasal verb *take over something* suggests that, after the arrest of the Spolanos, the other criminal families (TR) will assume the control of the area previously administered by the Spolanos (LM).

The fourth and last meaning extension of *over* gathers phrasal verbs that refer to the thorough visual examination of an entity (LM) in terms of motion of a TR from one side to the other of a LM (see Figure 37 for a schematic representation).

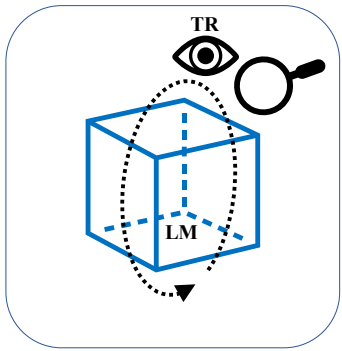

Figure 37. Figurative meaning of *over*: TR examines LM thoroughly from all sides

Take the following sentence *We've got a couple of things we'd like to **go over** with you* (*New Tricks*, S08E07). The phrasal verb *go over something* enables us to construe a static scene in terms of physical motion. Detectives ask a witness or a suspect to make a statement by mentally scanning a situation involving a crime as it unfolds in time. The witness/suspect is the TR reviewing all the details of a situation whereas the event itself represents the LM. Thus, the event is treated as if it were an object that can be held in your hands and turned on all sides for a careful examination.

12. THROUGH: CROSSING A CONTAINER

12.1. Frequency results of *through*

This section examines the frequency of the phrasal verbs formed with the particle *through*. In chapter 3, it was mentioned that we encountered a total of 93 and 109 tokens of phrasal verbs with *through* in *New Tricks* and *Castle*, respectively. Moreover, *through* is one of the least productive particles in both corpora. Thus, it occupies the seventh

position in the British English corpus (5.75%), and the eighth position in the American English corpus (4.12%).

Table 10 shows the 28 phrasal verb-types found in *New Tricks* and *Castle*. 8 of these phrasal verb-types co-occur in both corpora (40%; e.g. *check through, come through, get through, go through, look through, run through, take through*, and *wade through*). Furthermore, a total of 12 phrasal verbs do not display any cross-variety counterparts (e.g. 7 in British English: *follow through, plough through, put through, rush through, talk through, trawl through*, and *work through*; 5 in American English: *break through, comb through, dig through, sift through*, and *walk through*).

	British English				American English			
Rank	**New Tricks**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with THROUGH**	**Castle**	**Raw frequency**	**% of all PVs**	**% of PVs with THROUGH**
1	go through	38	2.35%	40.86%	go through	46	1.74%	42.20%
2	get through	12	0.74%	12.90%	run through	29	1.10%	26.61%
3	run through	9	0.56%	9.68%	look through	9	0.34%	8.26%
4	put through	6	0.37%	6.45%	get through	5	0.19%	4.59%
5	talk through	4	0.25%	4.30%	comb through	4	0.15%	3.67%
6	trawl through	4	0.25%	4.30%	come through	4	0.15%	3.67%
7	come through	3	0.19%	3.23%	walk through	3	0.11%	2.75%
8	look through	3	0.19%	3.23%	dig through	2	0.08%	1.83%
9	work through	3	0.19%	3.23%	sift through	2	0.08%	1.83%
10	check through	2	0.12%	2.15%	wade through	2	0.08%	1.83%
11	follow through	2	0.12%	2.15%	break through	1	0.04%	0.92%

12	plough through	2	0.12%	2.15%	check through	1	0.04%	0.92%
13	take through	2	0.12%	2.15%	take through	1	0.04%	0.92%
14	wade through	2	0.12%	2.15%				
15	rush through	1	0.06%	1.08%				

Table 10. The top 13 and 15 phrasal verbs with THROUGH in the British English and American English corpora

Two of the phrasal verbs that appear in *New Tricks* are specific to the British English variety, viz. *trawl through* and *plough through*. The first one refers to the action of looking through a lot of things to find something. The second one describes the action of reading all of something, even though it is boring and takes a long time.

12.2.Semantic extensions of *through*

The low productivity of the particle *through* corresponds to its small number of meaning extensions. Thus, there are only two meanings for *through*:

(1) **TR passes from one side of a LM to the other side** – *get through* (perimeter); *go through sb/sth* (bullet/checkpoint).

(2) **TR's activities are completed motions of that TR from one end to the other end of a LM** – *break through, check through sth, comb through sth, come through, dig through sth, follow sth through, get through sth* (check)*, get through to sb, go through, go through with sth, look through sth, plough through sth, put sb through to sb else, run sth through sth else, run through sth, rush sth through, sift through sth, take sb through sth, talk sb through sth, wade through sth, walk sb through sth, work through sth*.

The central meaning of the particle *through* is motion of a TR inside a LM from end to end. This meaning is schematically illustrated in Figure 38.

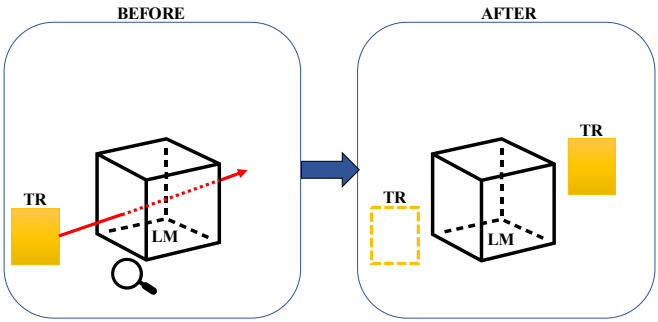

Figure 38. Central meaning of *through*

A phrasal verb such as *get through something* serves to exemplify this basic meaning, e.g. *So Peter* ***got through*** *the perimeter because he was wearing one of these suits* (*New Tricks*, S06E02). The information provided in the subordinate clause (i.e. the TR's use of adequate equipment) adds the meaning implication that the perimeter (LM) was only accessible to authorized personnel.

The second meaning of *through* is figurative and suggests that mental activities can be conceptualized as completed motions of a TR from one end to the other end of a LM (see Figure 39).

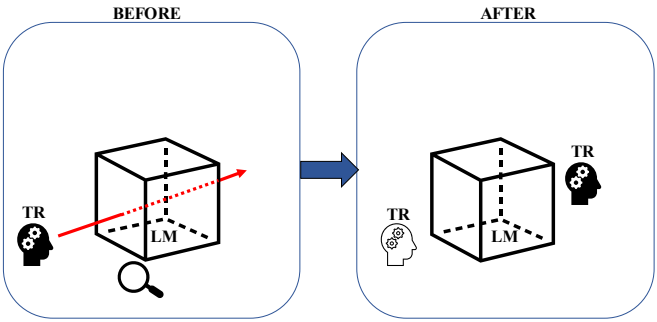

Figure 39. Figurative meaning of *through*: TR's activities are completed motions

Consider the following sentence *Well, I've got unis* ***looking through*** *mug books and I sent a team up town to canvass* (*Castle*, S04E10). In this example, the phrasal verb *look through something* describes the mental activity performed by police officers (TR), namely examining pictures of criminals (LM) in an attempt to identify the killer. This phrasal verb is also an instance of fictive motion in that the police officers' eyes mentally scan an imaginary path made up of all the pictures contained in the mug books.

CHAPTER 5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter gives an outline of the main results and conclusions that can be extracted from the analysis of the meaning extensions of the particles under scrutiny. It will also discuss the limitations of this study. Lastly, it will highlight some pedagogical implications for second language learning and teaching.

We will now reconsider the initial goals of the book and assess to what extent they have been met. The first goal of the study was to determine the usefulness of phrasal verbs for L2 learners on the basis of their frequency of occurrence. As this aim is closely related to the second one, they will be assessed together. Thus, the second goal was to offer a cross-variety examination of the most frequent phrasal verbs in spoken American and British English across the subgenre of television crime dramas. To narrow down the search, we decided to focus on phrasal verbs followed by nine of the most common particles in English, namely *down, in, into, off, on, out, over, through*, and *up*. With respect to the selection of the corpora, we relied on the transcripts of two different TV series: *New Tricks* (seasons 1 to 9, 2003-2013) for the British English variety, and *Castle* (seasons 1 to 4, 2009-2011) for the American English variety.

Regarding the productivity of phrasal verbs, we provided overall information about the 25 most common phrasal verbs in both corpora, as well as a more detailed overview of the 25 most frequent phrasal verbs formed with each of the particles analysed. In terms of frequency, in the British English corpus, we encountered a total of 1,616 tokens of phrasal verbs connected with crime and police investigative work. It

was also shown that phrasal verbs are more frequent in the American English corpus where we retrieved a total of 2,644 tokens. We also noticed that the American English variety is much richer in phrasal verb-types, i.e. 331 vs. 255 for the British English variety. Cumulative percentages also revealed that overall, the top 25 phrasal verbs in both corpora account for 50% of all phrasal verbs, which indicates that police crime drama uses a relatively small set of phrasal verbs. With respect to the variety of phrasal verb-types, we found that there are more non-overlapping phrasal verb types than overlapping ones (viz. 62.74% vs. 37.26%) across both corpora. From this, it can be inferred that the two varieties show more differences than similarities. The growing number of non-overlapping phrasal verb-types may be partly motivated by the fact many of these verbs convey variety-specific meanings. Examples of exclusively British English phrasal verbs are *fit someone up* 'incriminate an innocent person', *dob someone in* 'inform the police about a criminal', *do someone over* 'attack a person by hitting and kicking him/her', and *trawl through* 'look through a lot of things to find something', among others. Some other phrasal verbs are specific to the American English variety, e.g. *lawyer up* 'retain the services of a lawyer', *alibi out* 'be excluded from a list of suspects owing to one's alibi', *roll on someone* 'divulge private information about someone', *knock over something* 'rob a place and threaten or attack the employees who work there', etc. It is also possible to express the same meaning using different phrasal verbs. Thus, in the British English variety, phrasal verbs such as *grass someone up* and *dob someone in* refer to the action of informing the police about a person's wrongdoings. In this case, the particles *up* and *in* profile different outcomes of the action of informing: (i) *up* – the criminal becomes a visible target for the police;

and (ii) *in* – the criminal goes to prison which is seen as container. We also discovered that although the same phrasal verb may appear in both varieties, the animacy or inanimacy feature of the TR can completely alter its meaning. Take for instance the phrasal verb *bang up*. In British English, the TR is always animate (*bang* ***someone*** [TR] *up*) and refers to a person going to prison. In American English, the TR is always inanimate (*bang* ***something*** [TR] *up*) and indicates an object (e.g. a vehicle) which is damaged by a person. While in British English *up* profiles the goal reached by a TR (i.e. prison), in American English the emphasis is placed on the loss of functionality of a TR.

Moreover, the order of productivity of our adverbial particles does not seem to corroborate the findings presented in previous studies (Sinclair, 1989; Biber *et al*., 1999). Probably the most striking difference between prior studies and ours concerns the position occupied by the particle *down*. For Sinclair (1989) and Biber *et al*. (1999), *down* is the least productive particle. By contrast, our results for the British English and American English corpora demonstrate that *down* ranks among the most frequent particles (3rd position in the American English corpus – 11.12%; 5th position in the British English corpus – 10.21%). The difference in productivity of *down* between previous studies and ours may be motivated by different reasons: (i) neither Sinclair (1989) nor Biber *et al.* (1999) discriminate between different varieties of English; (ii) their findings cover both the spoken and written register while our study only covers the spoken register; (iii) previous studies focus mainly on general English whereas our research narrows down on phrasal verbs related to either criminal activity (e.g. *run sb down, gun sb down*) or police investigative work (e.g. *crack down on sb; track sb down*).

There are also differences in the order of productivity of adverbial particles across both corpora. For instance, *up* is the most frequent particle in the British English corpus whereas *out* predominates in the American English corpus. Many of the phrasal verbs included in our data are formed with very common lexical verbs such as *come, get, go, put, take,* to name a few. Other lexical verbs express a more specialized meaning related to crime and police investigative work, e.g. *check, dig, end, shoot, gun, track*. The meaning of some forms is so specific that they cannot function as lexical verbs, but only as phrasal verbs (e.g. *clam up, cotton on, dob in, grass up, rat on, spliff up*, etc.).

We will now move on to summarizing the main findings related to the third goal set for this book. Our third aim was to show that adverbial particles play an essential role in helping us decode the meaning of phrasal verbs. The present research adheres to a Cognitive Linguistics approach to phrasal verbs according to which particles are organized in networks of connected meanings with a central or literal meaning accompanied by other peripheral or figurative meanings. The central meaning of a particle denotes spatial movements of a TR with respect to a LM (e.g. a container, a surface, etc.). The peripheral meanings are usually figurative and are extended from the central one by means of mainly metaphoric processes. For this study, we adopted the semantic networks proposed by Rudzka-Ostyn (2003) and applied them for each of the nine particles under consideration. In some cases, we complemented our analysis with explanations put forward by other CL authors such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Langacker (1987, 2008), Navarro i Ferrando (1999), or Tyler and Evans (2003). The central meaning of the particles analysed in this research differs with

respect to the kind of motion they illustrate: (i) *up* and *down* – upward or downward motion on a vertical axis; (ii) *out, in*, and *into* – leaving or entering a container; (iii) *off* and *on* – motion away from a surface/entity or motion towards a surface/entity to make contact; (iv) *over* – motion above an entity; and (v) *through* – motion inside an entity from end to end. We also encountered some overlapping areas between the figurative meanings of the particles under study. For example, *up* and *out* are both connected to the notion of visibility (*Gerry talked to his snout and Ricky Hanson's name* ***came up*** *– New Tricks*, S06E06; *I knew that if the truth* ***came out*** *we'd all be screwed – Castle*, S01E03). When entities are physically elevated, they become visible to humans. In a similar fashion, when an observer's vantage point is exterior to a container (LM), the TR, which is also exterior, becomes visible to the observer. The particles *up, down, out*, and *over* can all convey a sense of completion (e.g. *break up a fight* – the fight is over; *shoot someone down* – a person's life is over; *clean/clear out something* – a place is completely tidy; *get something over with* – an activity is completed). We also compared dichotomic pairs such as *up-down*, *out-in/into*, and *on-off*. It was discovered that several meaning extensions of the particles *up, out*, and *on* display opposite meanings to the particles *down, in*, and *off*, respectively. Take for instance the semantic extension 'increase in degree, value or measure of a TR is upward motion of a TR', which is the opposite of 'decrease in degree, value or measure of a TR is downward motion of a TR' (e.g. *blow up an image* 'enlarge a picture' vs. *narrow down a list of suspects* 'reduce the number of suspects'). In addition, we challenged the belief that *up* and *down* usually encode positive or negative verticality, respectively. It was argued that most meaning extensions of these particles stem from

sensory experiences that do not have any positive or negative connotations. For instance, the aforementioned phrasal verb *blow up* (an image), which is grounded in an experiential correlation between the concepts of quantity and vertical elevation, does not entail that the action of adding higher resolution to an image or its results are either positive or negative. It was also demonstrated that phrasal verbs are a multi-faceted word class, as the same phrasal verb can be classified as either related or unrelated to crime depending on the nature of the TR or that of the LM (*get out of* ***juvie*** vs. *get out of* ***class***; *pull off* ***boots*** vs. *pull off* ***prints***). It was also pointed out that some phrasal verbs are so closely related in meaning that they can be used interchangeably (e.g. *rat out* and *sell out*, *clamp down on* and *crack down on*, among many others). We also highlighted that the same phrasal verb can instantiate different meaning extensions. For example, a verb like *dig up* can illustrate the central meaning of *up* 'motion of a TR from a lower (LM1) to a higher place (LM2)' (e.g. *dig up a body*), as well as a figurative meaning extension, i.e. 'higher position of a TR is visibility, accessibility or knowledge of a TR' (e.g. *dig up information*). It was also found that a low productivity of a particle may correspond to a small number of meaning extensions. For example, most of the phrasal verbs formed with *into* display a single meaning as this particle has a low productivity in both British English and American English.

We will now discuss the limitations of the present research. Despite the relatively thorough treatment of particles offered by this study, we believe that focusing on a higher number of particles would enable us to establish even more connections between their extended meanings. Another area that we have left unaddressed concerns the interaction between the meanings contributed by adverbial particles and

prepositions in phrasal-prepositional verbs (e.g. *drive up* [particle] *to* [preposition]). Although our semantic networks rely on solid theoretical frameworks within CL, we consider that experimental research is necessary to appraise the validity of the central and peripheral meanings, as well as the relations between them.

In what follows we will explain how our findings might be beneficial for L2 learners. As pointed out in the preface, this book is intended for English lecturers who wish to explain the intricacies of phrasal verbs to their students. CL offers a systematic approach to particle meanings which facilitates the comprehension of phrasal verbs for L2 learners. Enlightening L2 learners on the motivation behind the particle opens up pathways for insightful learning which is thought to be superior to rote learning (Boers, 2013). The concrete meanings of particles stimulate mental imagery and the association of particles with images is believed to make phrasal verbs more memorable (cf. Gehring and Toglia, 1989, Stevick, 1996). Also, the effectiveness of CL applications to the teaching of phrasal verbs has been confirmed by several empirical studies which showed that the identification of the connection between literal and figurative meanings of particles is likely to foster faster acquisition and longer retention of phrasal verbs (e.g. Boers, 2000; Kurtyka, 2001; Condon, 2008).

Moreover, we consider that the frequency lists provided in our study could help English lecturers decide easily which phrasal verbs might be more important to teach depending on the context of use and the learning objectives established for their classes. English lecturers might also decide to give their students information about frequency which could increase their motivation for studying particular structures

in that they see them as useful and relevant for their learning. As specified by Alejo (2010b), even advanced L2 learners tend to use spatial meanings of particles more often than the figurative ones. This could be remedied by explicitly presenting particle meanings to them and by raising their awareness of how spatial meanings are connected to the non-spatial ones by means of metaphors, experiential correlations, profiling, or windowing of attention.

Our reliance on the scripts of TV series gives English lecturers the opportunity of using a corpus-based approach to the teaching of phrasal verbs. This might be highly motivational for L2 learners in that (i) it gives them access to authentic and updated samples of language; (ii) it caters to the generation of 'digital natives' who expects to find answers online and via creative and/or cooperative means; (iii) it favors an exploratory and inductive approach to grammar teaching where the learner discovers patterns in language and checks the validity of their hypotheses about structures (see also Hughes, 2010). As all our examples belong to the spoken register, they could also be used in the context of a communicative approach. Thus, English lecturers could ask L2 learners to discuss either in pairs or groups the scenarios cued by phrasal verbs (e.g. compiling evidence, arresting, negotiating with criminals) or to conduct a briefing on a homicide and present the case in front of the class.

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This book has three main aims: (i) to determine the usefulness of English phrasal verbs for L2 learners based on their frequency of occurrence; (ii) to offer a comparative exploration of the most common phrasal verbs in spoken American and British English across the subgenre of television crime dramas, and (iii) to show the crucial role that adverbial particles play in decoding the meaning of phrasal verbs.

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