

**Particle Verb Productivity in Kenyan  
and Tanzanian English**

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Tämä tutkielma selvittää, kuinka Kenian ja Tansanian englannissa käytetään partikkeliverbejä (eli fraasiverbejä). Partikkeliverbit ovat moniosaisia verbejä, jotka koostuvat verbi-osasta ja adverbien ja/tai preposition muodostamasta liiteosasta. Tarkemmin sanoen tutkielman tarkoitus oli selvittää viiden eri verbi + partikkeli-yhdistelmän tuottavuutta sekä esiintymistiheyden että semanttisen käytön suhteen. Tuottavuudella tarkoitetaan tässä yhteydessä niitä eri verbi + partikkeli-yhdistelmätyyppejä joita kielessä on käytössä. Tutkimuskohteena olivat seuraavat verbit: *come, go, get, put, ja take* ja niiden kanssa mahdollisesti käytetyt partikkelit: *down, in, off, on, out, ja up*. Nämä yksinkertaiset verbimuodot ovat englannin kielessä usein esiintyviä verbejä, jotka muodostavat herkästi partikkeliverbejä monen eri partikkelin kanssa. Semanttisesti ne muodostavat yhtenäisen ilmaisun, joka on usein merkitykseltään ei-kirjaimellinen. Siten ne muodostavat haasteen englantia toisena tai vieraana kielenä puhuvalle. Keniassa ja Tansaniassa suurin osa englannin puhujista on juuri tässä asemassa; ja siten oli oletettavissa, että joitakin eroja ko. partikkeliverbin suhteen löytyisi.

Tutkielma sisältää empiirisen osuuden lisäksi kappaleet englannin kielen historiallisesta ja nykyisestä asemasta (ja käytöstä) Keniassa ja Tansaniassa, kieliopillisen osuuden partikkeliverbien olemuksesta sekä analyysimenetelmistä, sekä katsauksen kahteen Itä-Afrikan englantia ja partikkeliverbien käyttöä koskevaan tutkimukseen.

Tutkielman empiirisen osuuden aineistona käytettiin erään elektronisen korpuksen (*The International Corpus of English*) kahta osaa, joihin on koottu tekstiotteita Itä-Afrikan ja Iso-Britannian puhutusta ja kirjoitetusta englannin kielestä. Itä-Afrikan osakorpus puolestaan koostuu Kenian ja Tansanian englannista. Näitä kolmea korpusta tarkasteltiin puhutun ja kirjoitetun aineiston suhteen erikseen. Analyysissä käytettiin apuna kahta eri sanakirjaa, sekä luvussa 3 selostettuja semanttisen analyysin menetelmiä.

Tutkimustulokset osoittivat, että Kenian ja Tansanian englanti eroaa selkeästi Iso-Britannian englannista partikkeliverbien käytön suhteen. Tämä näkyi Kenian ja etenkin Tansanian englannin osalta alemmina esiintymistiheyksinä mutta myös siinä, että partikkeliverbejä käytettiin semanttisten merkitysten suhteen suppeammin kuin mitä vertailukorpuksessa tapahtui. Lisäksi Itä-Afrikan aineistossa eräät partikkeliverbit esiintyivät eri merkitysyhteyksissä kuin mitä Iso-Britanniassa. Oli myös selkeästi havaittavissa, että Kenian ja Tansanian englanti ei aina tee eroa puhutun ja kirjoitetun kielen välillä käyttäessään partikkeliverbejä. Iso-Britannian englannissa puolestaan ero oli selvempi, sillä monien partikkeliverbien katsotaan kuuluvan enemmän puhekieleen kuin kirjakieleen. Tutkielmassa havaittiin myös, että sekä Kenian, mutta etenkin Tansanian englannissa vältettiin eräiden partikkeleiden käyttöä melkein kaikkien tutkittujen verbien kanssa. Nämä partikkelit olivat *off* ja *down*.

Avainsanat: partikkeliverbi, variaatio, Kenian ja Tansanian englanti, elektroninen korpus, tuottavuus

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# 1 Introduction

The spread of the English language all over the world during the past two centuries is a well acknowledged fact. This global status has also brought along many changes to the language, including lexis, phonology, and grammar. This study aims to take a look at a narrow slice of the possible differences occurring among some varieties of English, namely East African and British varieties.

A giant portion of the success story of the English language can be traced back to the times of the British Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Britain's presence in Africa, and also in East Africa, left a permanent mark in the form of introducing and merging the English language with the local cultures. Thus, even nowadays, English has a semi-official status both in Kenya and Tanzania. However, English is still mostly used as a second or foreign language there although there might be some winds of change blowing among the middle- and upper class people in Kenya (and its capital Nairobi) implying that people are beginning to use English as the first language in bigger and bigger numbers (Abdulaziz 1991, 398). Whatever might be the case, my interest herein lies in the investigation of Kenyan and Tanzanian way of using English, and more precisely, in how some simple verbs are used in the creation of particle verbs.

Particle verbs are multi-word verbs formed by a simple verb followed by a particle, which can be an adverb, preposition, or both of these, e.g. *take in*, *get off* or *put down*. The subsets of these verbs are called phrasal, prepositional, and phrasal-prepositional verbs. In this study, I will use the term *particle verb* when discussing these special set of verbs whose meaning is often semantically opaque, i.e. the meaning cannot be retrieved directly from the meanings of the verb and the particle. Moreover, on some

occasions, the meaning changes from its literal sense (transparent) to a metaphorical one. Thus, this adds to the peculiar and complicated nature of these verbs. This then results in causing various challenges to the non-native speakers of English. Adding to this the probable interference of the speakers mother tongue (together with other local languages), it becomes fairly obvious that variation on the use of particle verbs is extremely likely to exist.

Thus, my intention is to find out details about this possible variation, and particle verb productivity in particular. As the field of particle verbs is fairly wide, I will concentrate merely on two subsections of particle verbs, namely phrasal and prepositional verbs. In order to study productivity in particle verb formation, I have chosen 5 common verbs which are known to favour several adverbs and prepositions in forming particle verbs. The verbs are *come*, *get*, *go*, *put*, and *take* and the particles, with which the verbs possibly combine, are *down*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out*, and *up*<sup>1</sup>.

The data for the study is drawn from two sub-components of the Corpus of International English (ICE). These components are the East-African corpus (ICE-EA) and the British equivalent (ICE-GB). The corpus of ICE-EA consists of two separately collected sections, namely the Kenyan (ICE-K) and Tanzanian (ICE-T) modules. Moreover, these together with the ICE-GB are further divided into spoken and written texts. Thus, I will study the spoken and written parts separately with the Kenyan, Tanzanian and British sub-components.

My hypothesis for this study is based on the observations made by Schneider (2003) and Mwangi (2004) who found actual variation in the use of particle verbs or

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<sup>1</sup> These verbs along with the particles are mentioned to be among the most common ones in the formation of phrasal verbs (Biber et al.1999, 412-413). With prepositional verbs the list of the most productive verbs and prepositions is slightly different (1999, 422-423). However, I base my choice on the fact that all the verbs (*come*, *go* studied herein and *get*, *put*, and *take* studied later on) are still fairly productive in the formation of particle verbs and that all of the chosen particles (*down*, *in*, *off*, *on*, and *up*) except *out* can occur both as an adverb and a preposition (See other comments on these verbs and particles in Biber et al 1999, 412-413; 422-423).

particles (prepositions) in East African English. This variation is mostly exhibited in the difference in frequencies but also in the form of particle omission, substitution, and addition. Some results also suggest a probable disappearance of some of the particles, at least with prepositions (these findings will be discussed in chapter 4 on previous studies). Thus, I assume that this variation in the use of particles will also have an impact on which types of verb + particle combinations exist in Kenyan and Tanzanian English, i.e. how the combinations present particle verb productivity<sup>2</sup>. To further investigate these issues, and from the vantage point of particle verb productivity in particular, I have set up the following study questions, the first two on the frequency of occurrence and the third question on the semantic use:

- 1) Is there any difference in the frequency of the particle verbs between the ICE-K, ICE-T, and ICE-GB?
- 2) If there is difference, do the frequencies differ also regarding spoken and written corpora?
- 3) Are there any differences on the semantic use of the particle verbs in the ICE-K, ICE-T, and ICE-GB

The different issues discussed and explained in this study are arranged in the following manner. Chapter 2 presents a general overview on the historical and sociolinguistic situation in Kenya and Tanzania regarding the English language in particular. Chapter 3 sheds light on the topic of particle verbs, explaining the different types of particle verbs and explaining methods for semantic analysis. In the following chapter some of the previous studies relevant for this study are discussed. The data and methods are explained in chapter 5. Chapter 6 for one consists of the analysis of the results, and the final chapter includes a discussion on the meaning of the results

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<sup>2</sup> In linguistics, productivity is defined in various ways (e.g. Bauer 2001). In this study I have chosen to apply the meaning Schneider (2004) uses, i.e. productivity describing the types of different verb + particle combinations in a variety of English, and the semantic contexts in which they are used. Thus, the investigation of productivity includes both frequency counts and semantic analysis of these particle verbs. Regarding productivity, *The Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (1989, vi) gives a list of 38 simple verbs which (in British English/ standard English) occur with a large variety of particles in the creation of particle verbs. The verbs *come*, *get*, *go*, *put*, and *take* are among these.

regarding the use of particle verbs in East African English. This said, I will now continue on the sociolinguistic background of Kenya and Tanzania.



## **2 Sociolinguistic background**

### ***2.1 The History and Current Status of English in Kenya and Tanzania***

Schmied sheds light on the history of Kenya and Tanzania<sup>3</sup>, and points out that, together with other East African countries, their history has strongly been coloured with the actions of the former world-empire Britain. As the colonialists were not really interested in East Africa initially, the European languages entered the area fairly late, and even then they were restricted mainly to the coastal areas of e.g. Mombasa, Malindi and Zanzibar. English was an important means of communication in the administrative field. Also missionaries had their share in affecting people's lives: the first mission centre was in Mombasa, Kenya where from they moved towards the inland up to Lake Tanganyika (2006, 189-192). As the colonialists decided to use a widely established language, Kiswahili together with English, to communicate with the different ethnic groups in the inland, dominated by speakers of Kikuyu and Masai, missionaries also took advantage of this, using Kiswahili as the main means of communication<sup>4</sup>.

However, in developing the educational system, missionaries strongly promoted the use of English, creating a foundation to the prestigious status of English felt even today, especially in Kenya (Michieka 2005, 175-6). Regarding the establishment of the educational system in Kenya, Zuenger (1982, 113) points out an interesting phenomenon taking place in the 1930s. The language policy of the colonialist was to

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<sup>3</sup> See map of East Africa in Appendix 1.

<sup>4</sup> Already in the end of the 19th Century, Kiswahili was widely used along the East African coast as the language of trade between Bantu groups and Arabs. However, in the inland, e.g. Nairobi, to where the administrative centre was relocated, the main languages were Kikuyu and Masai (Michieka 2005, 176).

introduce English at a later stage of education. However, some schools were against this view and they started to teach English already earlier.

Nowadays, as Schmied points out, the role of white East African English is relatively insignificant. Instead, it is the Black African English in East Africa that has the lead role. Its use can be described as a socio-educational continuum, highly dependent on an individual's level of education together with their social status. The higher the education, and the better the position one has in the society, the greater the chance of near-native use of the English language. Thus, it can be said that Kenyan and Tanzanian varieties of English are also representatives of New Englishes. This assumption is based on the evidence found in sociolinguistic facts, the history and development of English and its current functions in these societies (2006, 191).

However, there are also some considerable differences in the use of English in these countries. After Kenya and Tanzania became independent countries in the 1960s, their language policies began to differ from each other. This was due to the differing socio-political and economic views that each of the countries held. In Tanzania, it was the Arusha Declaration in 1967 by which the government chose Kiswahili as the only language in education, administration, and other official domains. However, English language is still largely used in many fields, e.g. banking and commerce. In Kenya, the language policy was different. Even after independency the English language was taken as a second official language (Abdulaziz 1991, 393).

Nowadays, English is seen as the prestige language which offers a chance to a brighter – and a wealthier future. It is also the language of the education already in primary education in Kenya (while in Tanzania it is used as the language of instruction in post-primary education). Although Kiswahili is the official language of administration and government in Kenya, the knowledge of English is a requirement

for every self-respectful officer, let alone politician (Michieka 2005, 177, 182).

Schmied points out that in Kenya Kiswahili is associated in a more clear fashion with lower education and lower social positions (2006, 192). Abdulaziz adds that Kiswahili can be seen as having the status of lingua franca in both Kenya and Tanzania. This, for its part, enables communication in larger circles and across geographical borders (1991; 391, 393).

In spite of this semi-official use<sup>5</sup> of English in Kenya and Tanzania, there are no exact percentages of English speakers to be given. Schmied (2006, 192) gives some rough estimations that could be seen as indicators concerning the number of English speakers in Kenya (20%), Tanzania (5%), (and Uganda, 30%). Chrystal, for one, presents a table illustrating the number of non-native and native speakers of English in the world. According to this, there are 2, 7 million non-native speakers of English in Kenya (8, 9 % of the total population) while in Tanzania the number is 4 million (11 %) (2003, 109). However, deciding on an individual's level of competence in English is extremely difficult. This also is because as the language of prestige, many people claim to have a higher competence in English than they actually have (Mesthrie 2004, 807; Michieka 2005, 179).

According to Kanyoro (1991, 415), the use of English in Kenya and Tanzania will continue along different paths. He notes that since the economy of Kenya is highly dependant on the success in foreign affairs, the status of English will remain strong in the future as well. However, this does not mean that there is no dispute taking place on its position since many other national languages exceed English in the number of language users. Also Hancock and Angogo (1984, 318-319) hold

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<sup>5</sup> The official status of English in Kenya and Tanzania remains to be clarified. According to Chrystal (2003, 103) English has an official status in Kenya but not in Tanzania. However, Kahru and Angogo (2000, 11) present a table adapted from Chrystal (1987) where both Kenya and Tanzania are indicated as having English as an official language. Also Kanyoro (1991; 404, 411) states that English has a official status in both of the countries.

optimistic views in the future of English in Kenya. However, regarding Tanzania, the views of Hancock and Angogo, and Kanyoro differ to a certain degree. While Hancock and Angogo (1984, 319) see the use of English in Tanzania in a rather gloomy light, predicting that it will continue to be used by only some people, Kanyoro has a more positive insight on this matter. He bases his view on the letters published in newspapers which present a positive attitude towards the increase of English language use in education. Thus, the political decisions allowing, English could reach a stronger position in Tanzania in the future (1991, 415). Whatever the reality might be, it is true that the English used in Kenya and Tanzania deviates from the standard varieties to a certain degree. Next, I will discuss some of these differences, regarding grammar in particular.

## ***2.2 Grammatical Features of Kenyan and Tanzanian English***

Since English is still used mainly as a second or foreign language in Kenya and Tanzania, this has affected – and still affects – the way the language is used. Kachru (2000, 13) uses a model of three concentric circles to describe the use of English around the world. In this model Kenyan and Tanzanian varieties are situated in the *Outer Circle*, a term used for non-native varieties with institutionalized or official status while the old or traditional varieties of English belong to the *Inner Circle* (e.g. the United States, Britain, and Australia). The *Expanding Circle* then consists of countries where English is used but it does not have any official status.

Kachru further emphasises that this model does not, however, directly correlate with the frequently used concepts of *native vs. non-native speakers of English* or *English as a second or foreign language* (ESL and EFL). Instead, this model offers a view into the relationship that exists between language variation and its functions in

society. This is an important observation when considering the concepts of a standard or native variety vs. non-standard or non-native variety. Kachru points out that linguistic variation does not necessarily have anything to do with an individual's linguistic proficiency or if the individual is a native or non-native user of the language (2000, 14).

Thus, the variation occurring in East African English(es) should be carefully interpreted together with sociolinguistic aspects, and the functions of English language in the society. Abdulaziz notes that there have been several general observations made on the use of English language in East Africa despite the fact that there has not been any large and systematic study conducted yet (except for Mwangi 2003 and Schneider 2004, to a certain degree). Many of these observations concern phonological features which deviate from Standard English (1991, 393). Many linguists<sup>6</sup> also have detected differences in lexis and grammar but it remains to be seen if these deviations truly are features of East African English or simply features characteristic of ESL/EFL speakers.

Hancock and Angogo (1986, 316) have made a number of observations on the characteristics of East African English. Since phonological and lexical aspects are out of the scope in this study, I will only mention some findings regarding the grammatical deviation. One distinctive feature seems to occur with the use of particle verbs wherein the particle is often omitted, e.g. *crop* instead of *crop up*, or *pick* instead of *pick up*. Another type of variation on particle verbs is the addition of a particle to a verb which usually does not take a particle, e.g. *stay with*, *remain with*, and *go with* (These features are also mentioned in Mwangi 2003, 125-136; Todd and Hancock 1986, 172-173).

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<sup>6</sup> See Hancock and Angogo 1984; Kanyoro 1991; Schmied 1991, 2004b, 2006, and Zuegler 1982.

Schmied (2006; 188, 197-198), who defines the use of English in East Africa as typical of ESL varieties has detected a number of differences regarding the use of the verb. Firstly, the verbs do not always have inflectional endings; secondly, there is a tendency to avoid complex tenses. This concerns particularly the past perfect and the conditional. One additional deviation occurs in the overuse of the conditional *-ing* construction. Also verb complementation varies, particularly in the case of infinitives and gerunds.

Further on, some nouns exhibit non-standard plural forms while they are still taken as singular nouns. Here are some examples of these words: *behaviours*, *bottoms*, *bread*s, *mind*s, and *nose*s (Hancock and Angogo 1986, 316). Schmied add to this that the use of *-s* plural in East African English can be described as extension of the structure in collective nouns to non-count nouns. This variation is typical of New Englishes. Other deviations concern the omission of articles and other determinants, redundancy of pronouns, disuse or pronouns based on gender, simplification of the prepositional system, the substitution of adverbs by adjectives, and the deviation on the use of question tags (2006, 198-199). Having discussed the features of East African English, I will now move on to explain the nature of particle verbs.

### 3 Particle Verbs

Particle verbs are an interesting grammatical phenomenon in the English language, and as Schmieid points out, they are an important part in the word formation of English (2004b, 30). As already mentioned, these verbs consist of a verb followed by an additional prepositional or adverbial particle. Due to the complex nature of these verbs (often highly idiomatic structures that are fairly opaque semantically), chances are that they show difference in their patterns of use, as well. In this study I have chosen to use the term *particle verb* since it vividly describes the formation of these special verbs, i.e. verbs consisting of more than one part<sup>7</sup> (Schneider 2004, 227). This term covers three subgroups or types of particle verbs, namely prepositional verbs<sup>8</sup>, phrasal verbs, or phrasal-prepositional verbs (Biber et al 1999, 403; Quirk et al. 1985; 1150<sup>9</sup>). As the study concentrates on the first two of these groups, only these will be further discussed in the following sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) have a different view on the issue of particle verbs. They accept only the concept of *prepositional verb* when discussing the tendency of a verb existing together with a particular particle. In their view, however, the verb + particle construction does not form a syntactic unit but the particle (preposition) takes its own complement. The verb then has this structure as its own complement. Thus, Huddleston and Pullum, in support of the transformational grammar, view the verb + particle structure from a syntactic point of view while Quirk et al. (1985) and Biber et al. (1999) look at the structure from a more semantic point of view (although they

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<sup>7</sup> These verbs are also known as *multi-word verbs* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1150), *multi-word lexical verbs* (Biber et al. 1999, 403), *compound verbs*, *discontinuous verbs*, *verb-particle constructions* or *phrasal verbs* (Lindstromberg 1998, 243).

<sup>8</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Biber et al. (1999, 403) use a four-partite division, the fourth signifying other particle verb constructions such as verb followed by a noun phrase of another verb. However, in this study the term *particle verb* is taken to signify the subgroups mentioned before, namely prepositional, phrasal and phrasal-prepositional verbs. From these groups, the first two will be studied.

present strong justification for the structure being interpreted as a syntactic unit as well). In addition, Palmer (1987, 216) states that “there are syntactic features that mark off some of these [phrasal or prepositional] combinations as grammatical [syntactic] units.” This view will be followed in this study but the insights on this issue offered by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) will also be taken into account to a certain degree.

Concerning the etymology of particle verbs, Bolinger (1971, xi-xii) notes that the existence of these verbs can be traced back to Old English (450-1066 A.D.) although during that period their usage was fairly rare. However, during the Middle English period (1066-1485 A.D.) their use began to increase gradually until the influence of single-word equivalents of Latin origin slowed down the growth. Thus, there was competition on the use of these “virtual doublets” such as *blow out* vs. *extinguish*, or *come in* vs. *enter*.

Since that time, however, there has been a tendency for the Latinate verb forms themselves to be used with a particle that often happens to be redundant by nature. For example, nowadays, the particle *through* is used with the verb *perforate*, or *out* with *extend*. Bolinger (1971, xii) claims also that particle verbs nowadays probably form a majority in the creation of new expressions concerning verbs. By this he means the easiness of using a set of frequently used adverbs and prepositions with a monosyllabic Germanic verb e.g. *head off*. Bolinger (1971, xii-xiii) also suggests that another reason for the rather expanded use of these verbs could be the fact that they can easily be used in metaphorical expressions. As an example of this use, he gives the following particle verb *step out*:

- (1) I’m stepping out for a few minutes. (absenting myself)
- (2) We’re stepping out tonight. (celebrating)
- (3) She’s stepping out on him. (two-timing him)



Further on, he points out that particle verbs are, in fact, used as single lexical units which derive their meaning as a whole, and not as multi-lexical ones interpreted as the sum of their parts (also known as free combinations, Quirk et al. 1985, 1152 and Biber et al. 1999, 403). However, making a distinction on a particle verb and an ordinary lexical verb + particle combination is not always that simple. Concerning this discussion, Biber et al. (1999, 403) observe that often the constructions interpreted as particle verbs can also be interpreted as free combinations. This means that both the verb and the particle can have their own distinct meanings. Thus, in reality, many verbs together with the particles following them (prepositions or adverbs) form a continuum between particle verbs and free combinations. However, one can use different elicitation tests to define into which end of the continuum the verb in question belongs. These tests together with explanations of different types of particle verbs and free combinations (see table 1 by Quirk et al. 1985, 1161) will be discussed in the following sections.

Table 1 (Types of particle verbs and their free combinations)

	Lexical verb	Direct Object	Particles		+ second object
			Adverb	Preposition	
1 a) Free combination b) Intrans. phrasal Verb	come crop	- -	in up	- -	- -
2 a) Free combination b) Trans. phrasal Verb	send turn	someone someone	away down	- -	- -
3 a) Free combination b) Pattern 1 prep. Verb	come come	- -	- -	with across	+me +a problem
4 a) Free combination b) Pattern 2 prep. Verb	receive take	something someone	- -	from for	+it +an answer

### **3.1 Types of Particle Verbs**

The first of the two types of particle verbs are phrasal verbs which are formed with an adverbial particle following the verb in question (e.g. *find out*, *pick up*, and *carry out*). Items in the other group, the prepositional verbs, consist of a verb followed by a preposition (e.g. *talk about*, *listen to*). The biggest difference between phrasal and prepositional verbs is that the latter always requires an object or its equivalent (e.g. a noun phrase) following the preposition while phrasal verbs do not necessarily demand this. Another point to consider, as Quirk et al. (1985, 1151) interestingly point out, is a phenomenon occurring with the formation of particle verbs: the lexical verbs used in these phrases can change a normally intransitive verb into a transitive one or vice versa. Some examples of these are as follows:

- (4) They are *living it down*.    \*They are *living it*.  
(5) The plane *took off*.        \*The plane *took*.

In the first example (4), a normally intransitive verb changes into a transitive one when combined with the particle *down* while in the second example (5) it is exactly the opposite that happens. Both phrasal and prepositional verbs will be discussed in the following sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.

#### **3.1.1 Phrasal Verbs**

According to Biber et al. (1999, 408, 409) and Palmer (1987, 222), phrasal verbs fall into groups of intransitive and transitive verbs. Intransitive phrasal verbs are e.g. the following: *come on*, *shut up*, *brake down* and transitive types: *point out*, *turn on*, and *bring up*. With transitive verbs it is also possible for the object to occur between the particle (adverb) and the verb. Some phrasal verbs such as *turn on*, *end up* and *wind*

*up* are interpreted as copular. Biber et al. note also, based on a wide corpus<sup>10</sup>, that “overall, phrasal verbs are used most commonly in fiction and conversation” and that “they are relatively rare in academic prose”. In the two domains mentioned first, the occurrence of phrasal verbs is approximately 2,000 instances per million words. Biber et al. also make an interesting observation concerning the semantic nature of the phrasal verbs. They mention that activity verbs form a majority concerning their frequency of usage. Phrasal verbs belonging to other semantic fields, i.e. mental, communication, occurrence or aspectual, although occurring fairly often (over 10 instances per million words), fall far behind when compared to the frequency of activity verbs (1999, 408-409).

Quirk et al. point out that intransitive phrasal verbs are often considered fairly informal by nature (1985, 1152). They are often used in colloquial speech (or colloquial writing that often resembles or mimics speech features), which seems fairly natural since the syntactic structure of the intransitive particle verbs (verb immediately followed by the adverb) facilitates interpretation<sup>11</sup>.

The transitive phrasal verbs differ from intransitive phrasal verbs in the sense that they take an object. The object can either follow the verb + adverb construction or it can occur before the adverb, e.g. ‘Shall I *put away* the dishes?’, ‘They *turned on* the light’ or ‘They *turned* the light *on*’. In addition, as we can see from the last two

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<sup>10</sup> The *Longman Grammar* uses a computer-aided, corpus-based approach to look at the use of grammatical features in four registers (conversation, fiction, news, and academic prose) from American English (AmE) and British English (BrE). Each of the core registers consists of approximately 5 million words. The core conversation corpus is from BrE, fiction from AmE and BrE, news from BrE, and academic prose from BrE and AmE. In addition to the four registers, the full corpus includes AmE texts for conversation and news for dialect comparisons and two supplementary registers: non-conversational speech (BrE) and general prose (AmE and BrE). The two supplementary registers are used for two kinds of analyses: for the overall findings from the complete corpus and for a few analyses that specifically target one or the other of these registers. The total corpus has over 40 million words. The majority of the texts were spoken or written after 1980. All of the findings are normalised to frequencies of occurrence per 1 million words. Thus, this large corpus based grammar guarantees a presentation of real, up-to-date use of the English language by its native users (1999).

<sup>11</sup> With transitive verbs the particle can be moved after the object. Thus, it follows that comprehension might require more effort, especially in the context of a rapidly proceeding conversation.

examples, some phrasal verbs can be used with both structures. Quirk et al. note that in actual use, there are instances where one of these structures shows clear preference compared to the other (1985, 1154). As the status of the particle here is that of an adverbial, one would assume that this would lead to the choice of an SVOA<sup>12</sup> word order, in spite of that causing separation of the particle from the verb it belongs to. Indeed, there are some instances in which a phrasal verb allows only this pattern. One of these cases is when the object is a personal pronoun. In addition, the SVOA pattern is often used to avoid ambiguity, as is the case in the next examples (ibid, 1155): ‘*Get that parcel off right away!*’ (i.e. send) instead of ‘*Get off that parcel right away!*’ In the latter case, the transitive verb *get... off* could easily be confused with the intransitive equivalent *get off* that has the meaning of dismounting (from a horse), alighting from (a train), being disinclined for, giving up or obtaining release from something (OED<sup>13</sup> 1989). Quirk et al. mention that another instance for having the adverb follow the object is the case of coordinating particles, e.g. ‘*I switched the light on and off*’ (compare: \**I switched on and off the light*). There are also certain strongly conventionalised idiomatic expressions that allow only the SVOA order. Some examples of these are given in the following (1985, 1155):

<i>crying my eyes out.</i>	<i>crying out my eyes.</i>
(6) I was { <i>laughing my head off.</i>	(7)*I was { <i>laughing off my head.</i>
<i>sobbing my heart out</i>	<i>sobbing off my heart.</i>

Similarly to instances favouring or insisting on a SVOA word order, there are also cases where the other pattern, namely the SVAO structure is preferred. This is often the case if the object consists of multiple parts. In addition, there are also some transitive phrasal verbs that strongly prefer the SVAO structure regardless of the

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<sup>12</sup> SVOA stands for subject+verb+object+adverb word order.

<sup>13</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, OED Online.

length of the object. This often happens with expressions that show ‘a strong idiomatic bond (frequently matching a change from literal to metaphorical) between the phrasal verbs and the object’ One additional requirement for the use of a transitive phrasal verb is that it cannot occur in the SVAO pattern when the object consists of a clausal object, e.g. *-ing* clause. The following is an example of this: ‘She *gave up* trying’ – ‘\*She *gave trying up*’ (Quirk et al. 1985, 1155).

### 3.1.2 Prepositional Verbs

All prepositional verbs are transitive, i.e. they take an object after the preposition. According to Biber et al. (1999, 413- 414) prepositional verbs can be divided into two groups according to their structural pattern. The first group is called Pattern 1 and it is structured as follows: *NP + verb + preposition + NP*, for example ‘It just *looks like* the barrel’ or ‘Britannia said he had *asked for* permission to see the flight deck’. The second group is formed with the object NP and preposition changing places with each other, namely *NP + verb + NP + preposition + NP*. Some examples of this pattern are the following: ‘They like to *accuse* women *of* being mechanically inept’ and ‘But McGaughey *bases* his prediction *on* first-hand experience’.

The corpus findings in the Longman corpus reveal that prepositional verbs are relatively common in all contexts, i.e. conversation, fiction, news and academic context, where their occurrence is approximately 5,000 times per million words. Thus, prepositional verbs are three times more frequent than phrasal verbs (Biber et al. 1999, 414). As with the phrasal verbs, prepositional verbs with an activity meaning at their core are the most frequently found in the corpus. In the following sections I will discuss both patterns of prepositional verb usage and how to interpret into which end of the continuum they belong i.e. whether they are free combinations or particle verb constructions.

Biber et al. mention that there are two different possibilities for analysing these prepositional verbs. Firstly, a verb + preposition structure can be analysed as presenting merely a case of a simple lexical verb followed by a preposition, which is taken to be (a part of) “a prepositional phrase, functioning as an adverbial” (1999, 414). Palmer (1987, 229) also notes that there are several cases of verbs followed by a preposition that actually do not form a syntactic unit with the verbs. However, he further points out that there are also true prepositional verbs which can be identified on the basis of the verb + particle construction to acting as a syntactic (and semantic) unit, with the preposition containing a sense of direction, and often also a terminal point.

However, Quirk et al., for one, are in support of the view according to which a phrase following the preposition should be interpreted as the object of the preposition, and not of the verb (1985, 1156)<sup>14</sup>. Some justification for this interpretation is retrieved from the observation that it is possible to add an adverbial between the verb and the preposition without dramatically affecting the grammaticality or semantic meaning of the phrase, e.g. ‘She looked *exactly* like Kathleen Cleaver’ (Biber et al. 1999, 414) or ‘The people looked *disdainfully* at the picture’ (Quirk et al. 1985; 1156). Also Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 274-275) share this view of a prepositional phrase acting as a complement to the verb. They describe the prepositional verb as one which has a specified preposition in the prepositional phrase (i.e. the complement). Other, non-prepositional verbs have an unspecified preposition in this position. In other words, the choice of a preposition in the latter case is freer

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<sup>14</sup> Instead of dividing prepositional verbs into two groups according to their usage pattern, Quirk et al. call them as Type I and Type II verbs. Type I verbs take the noun phrase to be the object of only the preposition while Type II verbs have two noun phrases, the first usually occurring between the verb and the preposition, and the second after the preposition. Of these, the former noun phrase is interpreted as a direct object to the verb and the second as a prepositional object (1985, 1158).

while in the former situation, only a certain preposition is approved with the construction.

However, Quirk et al. (1985, 1156) and Biber et al. (1999, 414) offer also another option for the analysis of the verb + preposition structure according to which the construction is interpreted as a single syntactic and semantic unit formed by two words, i.e. a verb and a preposition. It follows that the meaning of this unit is derived as a whole, not as a sum of its parts. Syntactically, the object following the verb + preposition acts as an object for the whole structure. Thus, continuing with this argumentation, this kind of prepositional verb can then often be replaced by a simple transitive verb without really altering the meaning, e.g. '*looks like* the barrel' – '*resembles* the barrel', or '*deal with* parking problems' – '*handle* parking problems'

Similarly to phrasal verbs (as well as with verbs in general), prepositional verbs can be semantically categorized according to their core meaning. Other additional meanings are also frequently found, meaning that prepositional verbs are often highly polysemic. This is often the case with activity verbs, e.g. *get into*, *go through*, *look at*, and *get through*. Moreover, one has to take into account the fact that verb + preposition construction can act as a phrasal verb or as a free combination as well. For example, *come from* is also commonly used as a free combination. In addition, some prepositional verbs can occur with both Pattern 1 and 2:

(8) Pattern 1: The regulations also *apply to* new buildings.

(9) Pattern 2: They were cosmologists wrestling *to apply* quantum mechanics *to* Einstein's general theory of relativity.

### 3.1.2.1 Pattern 1 Prepositional Verb

As mentioned above, the first type of prepositional verbs (or Pattern 1 verbs) is formed with the verb followed directly by a preposition. The preposition on its side is

then followed by a noun phrase. Thus, the order of the particles seem fairly easy to detect but the interpretation of the syntactic relations between the constituents is where different grammars have different views (Biber et al. 1999, 414 Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 274-5; Quirk et al. 1985, 1155-1156 ). As has been mentioned already earlier, according to Quirk et al. (also Huddleston and Pullum 2002) the noun phrase following the preposition is taken to be a complement; an obligatory constituent of a clause (ibid.). The term *clause* is used to predicate a description of the subject or the object of the clause. In other words, the phrase following the preposition is taken to complement the preposition exclusively, and thus should not be interpreted as an object for the verb.

However, I believe that the definition and description given by Biber et al (1999, 414, see also discussion in 3.1.2) is more relevant for my study. I base my view on the semantic criteria given for distinguishing particle verbs from free combinations (discussed generally in section 3). Thus, if a particle verb (and in this case a prepositional verb) derives its meaning as a whole, not through the sum of its parts, then clearly the constituent following it should be interpreted as the object. In other words, in such case, the verb + preposition combination acts as one word, semantically speaking. In the other case, if either the verb or the preposition can be substituted with another verb or preposition, this strongly points to a free combination of a verb and the preposition. Thus, in this study, I will follow the description of prepositional verbs given by Biber et al.

As with verbs followed by an adverb, so can verbs with prepositions be interpreted differently according to their context. Quirk et al. explain this issue by giving the following sentence as an example: 'She *looked after* her son' (1985, 1156). This verb + preposition structure can be interpreted in two different ways. Firstly, the



preposition *after* can be seen as indicating a concrete direction: following with her eyes, the mother looks in the direction of his son who is moving away from her. However, the other possibility is to interpret the word pair *look after* as a single semantic unit, signifying the action of attending or taking care of someone or seeing to the safety or well-being of someone (OED). Quirk et al. (ibid.) also point out that this ambiguity describes the different semantic associations that verbs such as *look after* might have. In other words, while in some instances a prepositional verb is used in a more literal sense, in other contexts it can be used to express a more idiomatic or metaphorical issue (these issues will be discussed in section 3.3).

### 3.1.2.2 Pattern 2 Prepositional Verb

The second type of prepositional verb (or Pattern 2 verb) is where the preposition follows the object noun phrase, and in addition, there is *a second object NP* following the preposition, e.g.

- (10) But McGaughey *bases* his prediction *on* [first hand experience].  
(11) No, they like to *accuse* women *of* [being mechanically inept].

Here both Quirk et al, (1985, 1158) and Biber et al. (1999, 414) share the same view, i.e. they agree on the prepositional verb (clause) having two noun phrases. However, Quirk et al. (ibid.) claim that the second NP, that following the preposition, is actually a prepositional object while the former one is the direct object (for the verb). Biber et al. (1999, 414) also mention this option but argue strongly for the other interpretation according to which both of the NPs should be interpreted as objects of the prepositional verb. Biber et al. (ibid.) base their view on the fact that since pattern 1 prepositional verbs can be substituted by a single lexical verb<sup>15</sup>, this supports the view

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<sup>15</sup> *Looks like* the barrel – *resembles* the barrel

that also pattern 2 prepositional verbs (see examples 10 and 11 above) can be interpreted as having two objects (direct and indirect) rather than a direct object of the verb and a prepositional object for the preposition.

In this study I will follow this interpretation as well. However, I will utilize the categorization given in Quirk et al. (1985, 1158) for dividing Pattern 2 (NP+V+NP+prep+NP) prepositional verbs further into three subtypes. These three subgroups can be illustrated through the following examples given by Quirk et al. (ibid.), in which the italicised words show the different grammatical status for the phrases:

Type A

- (10) The gang *robbed* her *of* her necklace.
- (11) This clothing will *protect* you *from* the worst weather.
- (12) He *deprived* the peasants *of* the land.

Type B

- (13) They have *made a* (terrible) *mess of* the house.
- (14) Mary *took* (good) *care of* the children.

Type C

- (15) Suddenly we *caught sight of* the lifeboat.
- (16) *Give way to* traffic on the major road.

Type A is said to be the most common one, and the phrases (such as those mentioned in the examples) can also be used in their passive form, e.g. ‘The peasants were *deprived of* their land’. Moreover, with Type B there are two possible ways to passivise these clauses: the regular passive and the construction wherein the second object becomes the subject of the passive sentence, e.g. ‘A (terrible) *mess* has been *made of* the house’ passivised into ‘The house has been *made a* (terrible) *mess of*’. However, the latter expression is more marked than the first one. Conversely, Type C phrases accept only this irregular passive, i.e. the indirect object of the active clause

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*Asked for* permission – *requested* permission  
I won’t *stand for* it – I won’t *tolerate* it  
(Biber et al. 1999, 414)

becoming the subject of the passive clause, e.g. 'The lifeboat was suddenly *caught sight of*'. Moreover, in addition to these three types, there is also a fourth type that differs from the others in the respect of not having a passive form at all. These prepositional verbs are highly idiomatic expressions including a reflexive pronoun, e.g. 'He *prided himself on* his craftsmanship' – '\**Himself was prided on* his craftsmanship' (Quirk et al. 1985, 1158-9).

Thus, the categorisation of pattern 2 prepositional verbs presented above is based on the idiomatic status of the verbs. This issue will be explained next, with the help of Quirk et al (ibid). First of all, in type A, the verb and the preposition form a cohesive tie, i.e. the structure is seen as semantically indivisible. Nonetheless, the level of idiomaticity itself can vary from transparent to opaque combinations.

Quirk et al. make an interesting observation concerning the relationship between the verb and the preposition claiming that it is the verb that chooses the preposition, not the other way around. In other words, the choice is not of semantic nature but of the verb, and thus, structural/syntactic. They give the following examples as a proof for this:

(17) I *accused* him *of* the crime. – I *blamed* him *for* the crime.

(18) \*I *accused* him *for* the crime. – \*I *blamed* him *of* the crime.

Here we can see that verbs denoting a similar meaning choose different prepositions in spite of their identical context of appearance. However, the more transparent prepositional verbs seem to organize themselves into groups with a similar pattern and a shared preposition, thus the preposition can somehow be said to have power over the verb in these cases, e.g. rob N *of*, cheat N *of* or accuse N *of* (1985, 1159).

Continuing on the discussion of Type A prepositional verbs, one has to note that it is not compulsory in all cases for the verb to occur with the preposition and the

indirect object, e.g. ‘They *cheated* the boy *of* his savings’ – ‘They *cheated* the boy  $\emptyset$ ’. However, in the next example, the omission of the preposition is not allowed: ‘They *deprived* the boy *of* his savings’ – ‘They \**deprived* the boy  $\emptyset$ ’. In some cases, the second object is also an inherent part of the idiomatic expression, e.g. *lick N into shape* or *put N to rights* (ibid.).

Regarding the discussion of Type B verbs, Quirk et al. (1985, 1159-60) make several observations. First of all, one must note that ‘the head noun of the direct object forms part of the idiom’ in expressions such as *make a mess of*, *pay attention to*, *take notice of* or *make mention of*. However, the object in question can be modified to a certain degree. For example, one may add an open-class adjective or a determiner before the object noun, e.g. ‘make a *horrible* mess of’, or ‘take *unfair* advantage of’. This then leads into the weakening of the idiom in a way that enables passivisation of the expression. Taking the examples mentioned above, they could be transformed in the following manner

- (19) Make a horrible mess of... - A horrible mess was made...
- (20) Take unfair advantage of... - Unfair advantage was taken...

Finally, concerning Type C verbs, Quirk et al. (ibid) state that passivisation is not possible at all as the object is closely attached to its place inside the idiom. It is also fairly difficult to modify the object noun that often happens to be a countable noun. Nevertheless, some modifications are accepted, e.g. *keep close tabs on*, or *give sudden rise to*.

### **3.2. Particle Verb or Free Combination?**

As already mentioned, particle verbs fall along a continuum of free combination and semantically opaque idioms. What complicates the issue is the fact that on some occasions even one and the same verbal construction can be interpreted either as a true particle verb or a free combination depending on the context. As the differences of these aforementioned terms have already been discussed earlier, I will continue on some methods of how to distinguish particle verbs from free combinations. This will be of help in the analysis of the data both in detecting particle verbs and in their semantic analysis in cases where a dictionary definition is difficult to combine with the data.

The first method concerns the detection of idiomaticity<sup>16</sup>. If the verb + preposition (or an adverb) structure can be substituted by a single word verb this usually points towards prepositional verb. However, this method is not valid with every structure, as some prepositional verbs do not have a one-word equivalent. There are also some free combinations that can be substituted with one word, e.g. *go across* – *cross* or *sail around* – *circumnavigate* (Quirk et al. 1985, 1162). Moreover, Bolinger (1971: 6-22) points out an important issue here and that is the question of synonymy. It is a well acknowledged fact that full synonymy does not exist, or then it is extremely rare. This means that if a word is replaced by another the meaning changes as well although the difference might not be significant. Nonetheless, one should be aware of this when using this test.

The next test concerns also the possibility of substitution. Quirk et al. (1985, 1152) explain that in the case of a free combination, either the verb or the particle, can be

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<sup>16</sup> Palmer (1987, 216) notes that the “idiomaticity [of a particle verb] is essentially a lexical feature, something to be dealt with in the lexicon or dictionary rather than the grammar.” However, in this study it is indispensable in order to be able to analyse the data correctly.

substituted by another verb/adverb, e.g. '*He waded across*'. In this phrase the verb *wade* could be substituted by *walk*, *run*, *swim*, etc. and the adverb *across* could be replaced by *in*, *through*, *over*, *up*, etc.<sup>17</sup>. However, this is not possible with a particle verb since it derives its meaning as a whole, not as the sum of its parts. Therefore, substituting either the verb or the particle changes the meaning of the whole clause.

In addition to these semantic clues, there are also syntactic signs. The next test is applicable with phrasal verbs. One can try to insert a modifying adverb *right* (or sometimes also *straight*) between the verb and the adverb. In the case of a free combination, the structure still remains grammatical, e.g. '*Go right/straight on*', while in the case of a phrasal verb this leads to an ungrammatical or otherwise peculiar structure e.g. '*She turned right up at last*'. This same test can be tried for distinguishing transitive phrasal verbs from the free combinations, as can be seen from the following example:

- (21) The pilot  *jerked* the level  *right back* (free combination)
- (22) \*They  *put* the meeting  *hurriedly off* (transitive phrasal verb).

Quirk et al. (1985, 1154) also mention that in the case of ambiguity, the intensifier modifying the adverb always fits only on the non-idiomatic expression, namely the free combination:

- (23) She  *brought* the girls  *up* (She reared the girls)
- (24) She  *brought* the girls  *right up* (Indicating special direction of the action)

In addition, with verb-adverb construction, the syntactic structure can be tested by moving the adverb to the front of the verb, while also changing the place of the subject and the verb. However, if the subject is a pronoun, inversion cannot be applied in any case. It follows that free combination allows this fronting and inverting while

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<sup>17</sup> Naturally, changing either the verb or the particle in a free combination, changes also its meaning but structurally speaking the act of substitution is possible.

most cases of phrasal verb do not. The following are examples of both of these structures (Quirk et al. 1985, 1153):

- (25) The sun *came out* – *Out came* the sun (free combination)
- (26) The tank *blew up* – \**Up blew* the tank (intransitive phrasal verb)

One further test in ambiguous cases is the test of passivisation. This can normally be applied with all transitive verbs e.g. ‘Aunt Ada *brought up* Roy’. – ‘Roy was *brought up* by aunt Ada’. In addition, Quirk et al. (1985, 1155, 1164) note that some transitive particle verbs exist only in passive forms, e.g. *be fed up*, *be run down*, *be asked for*, and *be stared at*. Thus, the possibility of passivising a verb-preposition construction often implies that the construction might be presenting a prepositional verb. However, Quirk et al. (1985, 1164) point out that this test does not qualify on its own. Moreover, looking at the passive constructions given above, it becomes clear that these examples mentioned above are not all representing true passives but ‘pseudo-passives’. This seems to be the case with the phrases *be fed up* and *be run down*. The fact that these expressions can be used with both copular verbs and intensifiers confirms this view, e.g. ‘He *looked thoroughly* fed up’ and that they do not allow an agent *by*-phrase, e.g. ‘\*I was fed up *by* the noise’.

Despite all these tests, some cases remain vague. For instance, in the case of metaphorical use of spatial adverbs, Quirk et al. point out that inversion does not affect the grammaticality, e.g. ‘*Down* came the prices and *up* went the sales’ (1985, 1152-3). Thus, to sum up the discussion of criteria for particle verbs, a good many variables affect it. The syntactic construction has to fulfill certain requirements but also the semantic issue cannot be ignored. The tests explained above are of great help when identifying true particles, and should cover for most of the cases of making a distinction between particle verbs and free combinations. And, as was mentioned

earlier (see e.g. section 3), verb + particle combination forms a continuum between the two extremes of semantically opaque and semantically transparent structures, i.e. true particle verbs and free combinations.

### **3.3 Semantic and Syntactic Analysis of Particle Verbs**

There are several ways of analysing particle verbs semantically and syntactically. These methods concern both phrasal and prepositional verbs. Lindstromberg (1998, 244), whose categorization I will partly follow herein, states that particle verbs can semantically be categorized according to their idiomatic features, number of metaphorical elements, or types of metaphors. These have already been discussed in the previous sections to a certain degree but here I will expand to a more detailed explanation of idiomatic and/or metaphorical nature that many particle verbs have.

Concerning idiomaticity, first of all, one has to note that some particle verbs are considered non-idiomatic e.g. *put up your hand* or *grow up* (Lindstromberg 1998, 244). The meaning of these verbs can be derived directly from the words forming the phrase. One may also call these verbs as being semantically more or less transparent. Parker (1987, 224) further stresses that in order for a particle verb to have a literal meaning, the verb has to include a meaning of motion while the particle should reveal the direction of the motion.

Moreover, as Lindstromberg points out (*ibid.*), other particle verbs can be classified as semi-idiomatic since their interpretation partly depends on a literal interpretation and partly on the recognition of an idiomatic phrase, e.g. 'knock someone out'. This also means that either of the parts (verb or preposition) is semantically opaque. Quirk et al (2005, 1162) give the following examples of this: *find out* (discover), *cut up* (cut into pieces), and *slacken off* (reduce pace/energy). Here the verb itself is easy to interpret literally while the meaning of the particle needs to be learned. A further



example of this is the following where the verbs can be divided into broad semantic categories according to the particle they share. As with the previous examples, also here it is the particle that does not lend itself to literal interpretation:

‘Persistent action’: *chatter away, fire away, work away, and beaver away*  
‘Completion’: *drink up, break up, finish up, and use up*  
‘Aimless behaviour’: *play around, mess around, fool around, and wait around*  
(ibid.)

Regarding the semantic status of the particle, Palmer (1987, 219) points out that the notion of direction is an essential part of a non-idiomatic interpretation of a particle verb.

Finally, some particle verbs can be categorised as (purely) idiomatic (Lindstromberg 1998, 244). Idioms are defined as “relatively invariable expressions with meanings that cannot be predicted from the meanings of the parts” (Biber et al. 1999, 988). Thus, they form a group of expressions that need to be learned as such; it is not enough to know the meanings of the words separately from each other. In many cases, idiomatic particle verbs can be substituted by a simple lexical verb bearing the same meaning, e.g. *get up - rise, carry out - undertake, perform, or put off - postpone* (Biber et al. 1999, 988).

Another way of looking at the semantic interpretation of particle verbs is to search for the number of elements that are used metaphorically. According to OED (sense 1) metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogous to, that to which it is literally applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression.” While some verbs have zero metaphorical elements (e.g. *put down your hands*), meaning that they are interpreted literally, others have one (e.g. *cut up the onions*) or two (e.g. *His remark really cut her up*) metaphorical elements. As can be seen from the two last examples,

some particle verbs have a different number of metaphorical elements depending on their context of use (Lindstromberg 1998, 244). Thus, in the first example the expression *cut up* is interpreted fairly easily from its context (the onions), whereas it seems quite obvious that the particle *up* is not meant to be taken as an indication of direction. Conversely to this, the particle verb in the last example cannot be interpreted literally at all, as it describes the causes of one person's actions (remark) on another person. Therefore it is clear that *cut up* here needs to be interpreted as a case of a non-literal expression or a metaphor. The action of cutting up awakes an image of causing mental damage on the other party, not actual physical damage.

This brings us to the third way of analysing particle verbs as types of metaphors. According to Lindstromberg, "phrasal [i.e. particle] verbs can be grouped into those which (1) derive from a stereotypical image of a vivid one-off event, activity or sequence of events or (2) are expressions of abstract systemic metaphor" (1998, 245). In addition, the whole of the particle verb construction belonging to the first group is seen as metaphorical whereas with the second group only a part (either the verb or the particle) is interpreted as such. Thus, in the first group, the vivid image idioms, e.g. *bump someone off* or *beam someone up* (to kill someone), are used to describe more or less stereotypical single instance occurrences. In the second group, it is the prepositions themselves "expressing an abstract conventional metaphor". Lindstromberg notes also that especially verbs with a perfective aspect followed by the particle *up* are a good example of this, e.g. *cut up* (1998, 246).

Continuing on the subject of different means of categorising particle verbs, one can also consider the syntactic features. As Lindstromberg explains one can study how fixed the expressions are or whether there any explicit or implicit Landmark. By Landmark, Lindstromberg basically means the existence of an object (syntactic role),

or the patient (semantic role) of the action. This often is in the form of a noun phrase but can also be a prepositional phrase. Some particle verbs insist on an explicit Landmark (e.g. *She takes after her mother*) while others refer to it implicitly (e.g. *put the cat out*). In the last example one could also say 'put the cat out of the house' but the Landmark is not essential to the understanding of the sentence. One may also count the number and type of components forming the phrase, sub-categorise particles into groups of directional adverbs or 'adpreps', or, finally, study the separability of particles from their verbs (1998, 246-250).

Some particle verbs are, or gradually become to be used in certain fixed contexts with certain nouns or noun phrases, e.g. *turn over a leaf* or *lay down the lawn*. Another option is a more or less restricted number of noun phrases that collocate with a certain particle verb, e.g. *come across an old friend/an interesting book/a new justification* (Lindstromberg, 1998, 246-7). The third way of analysing the syntactic structure of particle verbs is to count what are the number and type of components in the phrase. Lindstromberg (1998, 247-8) has applied the categorisation of Dixon to enable an all-at-a-glance picture of the different possibilities. (p=particle, N=noun phrase)

1. p: turn in (go to bed)
2. pN: come by s'thing (acquire N)
3. Np: put s'one up (provide N with accommodation)
4. NpN: hold s'thing against s'one (bear a grudge against N)
5. ppN: go in for s'thing
6. NppN: put s'thing down to s'thing (attribute X to Y)

Lindstromberg points out that in some of the more complex structures (e.g. NppN) the pN combination is often interpreted as a prepositional phrase (1998, 248). However, the structures described in the last two categories (5 and 6), discussing sentences with phrasal-prepositional verbs are excluded from this study and will not be dealt with

here. An important question to ask concerning the categories 1-4 is how to decide on the criteria for true particle verb membership. Is the particle in question bound more to the left (to the verb) or to the right (towards to the noun phrase; or object). As this issue has already been discussed earlier, in subsection 3.2 I will not repeat it here. Instead, in the next chapter I will discuss some previous studies conducted on particle verbs and/or prepositions.

## 4 Previous Studies

There have been several studies conducted on the use of phrasal or prepositional verbs. These include both historical studies (e.g. Claridge 1996) as well as studies on ESL and EFL variation<sup>18</sup>, to name just a few. Some of the studies rely on the data retrieved from large computerized corpora. However, many of the studies on ESL or EFL have used different forms of questionnaires which have been answered by a restricted number of ESL/EFL speakers, often university students

The project for gathering specifically defined data around the world of actual up-to-date use of English has already succeeded in gathering a large database of international varieties of English. This corpus is called the International Corpus of English (ICE)<sup>19</sup>. It has been extremely useful in variation studies concerning both lexical and grammatical issues. There have been two major studies made so far utilizing the sub-component of the ICE, namely the East African corpus (or ICE-EA). I will discuss these studies in the following sections, and explain the first of them rather thoroughly as it is the only study looking at particle verb variation among different Englishes.

### ***4.1 Schneider's Study on Six Varieties of English***

A study on particle verb variation was conducted by Schneider (2004). This study investigates both incidence and frequency of particle verbs as well as some other topics regarding particle verbs among six varieties of English, namely British, Singaporean, Philippine, Indian, and East-African (the ICE East-Africa subcomponent

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<sup>18</sup> To find out more on EFL/ESL studies conducted in non-East African varieties, see Kao 2001 and Liao and Fukuya 2004.

<sup>19</sup> The details of the ICE corpus will be explained in the section of corpus linguistics (5.1)

consists of both Kenyan and Tanzanian parts). The study is a pilot study, utilizing the possibilities of the recently conducted ICE- corpus. Being a pilot study, it presents some methodological weaknesses, e.g. the reasoning for the choice of particle verbs and creation of semantic frames. Despite this, it is the only variationist study on particle verbs so far, and, as already mentioned, it is based on the data retrieved from the ICE.

The starting point for Schneider's study was an interest towards variation of English in general, and especially on its current stage among world Englishes. The title of the study, "How to trace nativization: particle verbs in world Englishes", reveals Schneider's claim that

...these new world Englishes...ultimately can be accounted for by a uniform underlying process of mutual identity adjustments and linguistic accommodation between the parties involved in the colonisation process. At the heart of this process there is the stage of nativization when varieties of English develop and adopt distinctive linguistic features of their own on all levels of language organization.

The reason for choosing particle verbs for the study is justified by the fact that it is widely acknowledged to be one of the most complex features of the English grammar. Thus, the likelihood for variation is great. Moreover, it is suitable for corpus research due to its frequent appearance. Even in a corpus of merely one million words, as is the case with the subcomponents of ICE, it occurs frequently enough enabling some relevant observations. In addition, Schneider notes an interesting phenomenon on the characteristics of varying linguistic items, and mentions that 'distinctive phenomena tend to concentrate at the interface between grammar and the lexicon' (2004, 229). Thus, particle verb constructions are also likely to undergo some changes or modifications.

The study concentrates on both phrasal and prepositional verbs, which in this study are called *particle verbs* (or shortly, PVs). All of the ICE subcomponents were searched separately for PVs, also treating their spoken and written components separately. The study questions were as follows:

- 1) *Incidence and frequency of use*: Are PVs in general or certain PVs in particular, preferred in certain world Englishes?
- 2) *Structural behaviour*: Is there any evidence for particular PVs being used and categorized grammatically differently in different varieties?
- 3) *Productivity range*: Is the propensity to coin new PVs stronger in some varieties than in others, or are certain new PV uses characteristic of any specific WE?

The method for selecting the verbs in Schneider's study was a rather peculiar one. Basically, the selection of verbs was based both on a random choice using the *Longman Phrasal Verb Dictionary* (Summers 2000 in Schneider 2004) and on remarks or suggestions given in grammars. The main intention was to acquire both high and low frequency PVs keeping the criterion of representativeness in mind. However, this method was not really successful, as many of the chosen PVs did not exist in (almost) any of the corpora at all (including ICE-GB). Thus, Schneider had to re-choose some of the verbs afterwards while already collecting the data.

The results show that there truly is variation between world Englishes concerning particle verbs. The biggest frequencies for PVs were found in Singaporean English. It also showed highest numbers for PV productivity. In many respects, the number of tokens exceeded even those of British English. However, with all other non-British varieties this was quite the opposite. This was especially clear with Tanzanian English and with the East African varieties generally. The differences of frequencies between spoken and written data also revealed some interesting results. In Singapore particularly, PVs seem to appear more in spoken than in written texts. With other varieties this could not be concluded so clearly. Some varieties, e.g. India and East

Africa, appeared to be using PVs more in written texts, and thus marking a more official style.

Regarding the question of preference of either a PV or its simple verb equivalent, Singaporean English seems to prefer PVs over simple verbs in many instances, exceeding again the number of tokens found in British English. In East Africa (especially in Tanzania), India, and the Philippines, the figures are much lower. With regard to East Africa, Schneider interestingly suggests that there seems to be ‘no awareness of any stylistic value of these complex verbs’ (2004, 238). Moreover, there appeared to be some variation-related differences concerning the preferred use of some single PV - simple verb pairs. For instance, in East Africa, the use of the PV *help out* is extremely rare, while the corresponding simple verb form *assist* is extremely frequent.

The token numbers for different patterns were rather low, and those that resulted in some cases were not worth mentioning in detail. Regarding the patterns of phrasal verbs, they seem to be in line with the syntactic tendencies of British English. This means that the particle follows their object (either a noun or a pronoun). With prepositional verbs no coherent patterns could be found. However, Schneider concludes that the evidence found in the East Africa corpus could imply an innovative tendency. He gives the particle verb *read through* as an example of this. This is commonly taken to represent a phrasal verb, as it allows the insertion of the particle both before and after the object noun phrase. In East African English, however, this PV could rather be interpreted as a prepositional verb.

Investigation of the preference between pre- or post-nominal placement of the particle partly failed due to the fact that many of the chosen PVs allow only the other of these patterns. This was compensated by re-analysing an additional five PVs used



for investigating the PV versus simple verb preference earlier on (through test 1b), The results showed a clear preference of the pre-nominal pattern, all except for one instance of *find-NP(lex)-out*. This contradicting case was found both in the British and Kenyan data. Schneider notes that according to the results, there seems to be a clear tendency for East African English to place the particle immediately after the verb whenever this is possible. Concerning this he then suggests that this tendency might be true for ESL in general. However, as he also points out, one should not draw on any definite conclusions regarding this since the number of PVs investigated is so limited. Thus, this could be a subject of some further studies.

The study on particle omission revealed that at least with those PVs used in the study, the results varied from one PV and one variety to another. Some verbs were extremely rare while with others the inclusion of the particle was merely a theoretical option. However, there were three verbs with which the particle addition was generally clearly preferred. These verbs were *pick up*, *sort out*, and *wake up*. In regard with the results found in the East African corpus, however, the use of the verb *pick* without the particle *up* seems to be the convention. Moreover, this use is especially visible in the data drawn from the Kenyan spoken sub corpus. Another particle verb found fairly frequently in Tanzanian English, namely *wake up* appears to prefer the form deleting the particle *up*. Generally speaking, the tendency in Singaporean English seems to be to use particles with particle verbs, whereas in India, the Philippines, and East Africa (Tanzania) the exact opposite is preferred. Schneider mentions that this tendency might be explained through the fact that ESL/EFL speakers generally seem to want to avoid complex structures. Thus, the phenomenon of particle omission might draw on the explanation of trying to avoid separation of the

particle from its verb, which would be the case in many instances. Thus, omission works as a means for simplifying language use (and understanding).

Finally, concerning the last study questions, the tokens found for each single verb-particle combination were relatively low. However, the results reveal some tendencies regarding the productivity of the three chosen verbs. The figures were quite naturally highest for British data but the Singaporean and Philippine varieties came only slightly behind. With regard to India and East Africa the productivity levels were considerably lower. However, regarding these results, one must remember that only a limited set of particles were searched combining with the three verbs *count*, *help* and *sign*. Moreover, the results on innovative use reveal that the Singaporean data yields the highest number of tokens again, exceeding those of British corpus. Moreover, the productivity concentrates on the spoken texts. Indian English was close to British both quantitatively and qualitatively speaking, whereas East Africa gave the lowest numbers. Concerning the different meanings of a certain PV, Schneider states that some of the meanings seem to be slightly more prevalent than others in some varieties. He gives the use of *put up* in different varieties as an example of this nativisation tendency. Thus, in Kenya, this word combination is used to signify 'physical building' whereas in Singapore it means 'fixing for display' or 'getting onto a stage', and 'raising an issue' in both Singapore and India. However, he notes that one must be aware of the limited data here, and thus not draw on any drastic conclusions concerning the evidence for nativisation taking place.

#### **4.2 Mwangi's Study on the Use of Prepositions in Kenya**

Mwangi's corpus based study was conducted in 2003 with its main target being the investigation of prepositions in Kenyan English, and comparison of the results to those found in British English, which was taken to be an example of a standard

variety. This study also is based on the data found in ICE-EA, but only on its Kenyan component (ICE-K<sup>20</sup>; 2003, 22-23). In addition, Mwangi compiled another corpus of written texts published in five online newspapers. This corpus is referred to as the Extended Corpus of Kenyan English (or EC-K)<sup>21</sup>. The comparative data, for one, was drawn from the ICE-GB. Similarly to the previous study by Schneider (2004), the corpus texts of spoken and written language were studied separately. Prepositions were considered a favourable field of study for two main reasons. Firstly, prepositions are among the most frequently occurring words in English<sup>22</sup>, and secondly, they are also considered to be among those areas in the English grammar that cause clear difficulties for many ESL or EFL learners, and sometimes even to native speakers of English. Thus, investigating the possible variation occurring in Kenyan English seems well-grounded. Mwangi's aim (2003, 3) was to

...find out if any stable Kenyanisms are exhibited in the way prepositions are used and how the local languages spoken in the country (among other factors) may have contributed to the development of such patterns of usage.

Thus, a further objective was to investigate whether the observations made in previous studies on Kenyan English were exhibiting actual cases of Kenyanisms or if they, in fact, just reflected the manner English is used among ESL or EFL users in general.

A total of 55 prepositions were investigated, together with 8 prepositions of foreign origin and 16 prepositional verbs. In addition, the semantic meanings of prepositions were drawn from standard dictionaries, such as the *Collins Cobuild Dictionary*. These different senses were then divided into broader categories (often leaning on the senses given in Quirk et al. 1985).

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<sup>20</sup> However, Mwangi failed to recognise that the spoken part also is divided into Kenyan and Tanzanian sections. Thus, she actually studied both Kenyan and Tanzanian spoken English.

<sup>21</sup> The main sources for EC-K were the *Daily Nation*, the *East African Standard*, the *Analyst*, the *Coastweek*, and the *Kareng'ata Chronicle*.

<sup>22</sup> Mind and Weber (in Mwangi 2003, 2) state that "12.21% of all words in the Brown Corpus are prepositions while they make up 12.34% of the words in the London Oslo-Bergen (LOB) corpus."

Mwangi found significant differences regarding the use of prepositions and prepositional verbs in Kenyan English and in British English. However, most of these differences were of quantitative nature. Thus, the forms and meanings did not differ so much from British (i.e. Standard) English. In spite of this, there were cases of single prepositions which yielded differences in their usage conventions, in addition to the frequency divergence. But, in spite of these somewhat surprising results which contradict with the common hypotheses of Kenyan English (or East African English), Mwangi warns that one should not give in to the temptation of accusing the methodological approach for the results. One should remember that frequency numbers do not reveal everything about the data. For instance, it does not tell whether the data contained cases with a missing preposition. This is actually what Mwangi suggests taking place in Kenyan English. She also claims that the results of the study support this argument.

Firstly, regarding the use of prepositional verbs, the results revealed several deviations on the use of the preposition in the prepositional verb. To put it short, there were cases of omission, addition, and substitution. Omission was tested on four particle verbs (*protest against, attend to, plead with and dictate to*). According to the results, omission occurs but not more than in the British corpus. Thus, Mwangi claims that the assumptions made on East African English featuring this deviation might be wrong. This deviation might be characteristic to general variation, and not a sign of nativisation. Continuing on the results, addition of a preposition was found with the seven investigated verbs. The verb *discuss* occurred several times with *about*, *comprise* with *of*, and *request* with *for*. However, the other verbs, namely *demand, advocate, stress, and emphasize* did not occur with prepositions frequently at all, as was the hypothesis. On the results on the substitution of a preposition by another

preposition, Mwangi notes that this type of variation was found with several prepositional verbs. For example, the verb *congratulate* was often seen with the preposition *for* instead of *on*. Also the verb *result* was found with *into* instead of *in*. Further on, the verb *concentrate* that normally occurs with the preposition *on* occurred with several prepositions such as *with* and *in*. Finally, the last investigated prepositional verb *go for* yielded interesting results. While in BrE<sup>23</sup> this construction is often used with an idiomatic sense e.g. *go for somebody* which means ‘to attack somebody’ in KenE it was used with more literal meanings denoting the action of attending something instead of going somewhere with a special purpose as is the meaning in BrE. Thus, in the Kenyan data Mwangi found instances such as *go for lectures*, *go for meetings*, and *go for parties*. To sum up, the results on prepositional verb usage in Kenyan English revealed deviation but some previously made assumptions were proven wrong.

On the results on prepositions, Mwangi points out that Kenyan English does not seem to differentiate between directional and positional use of prepositions. In other words, the directional use is clearly preferred over the positional. She also observes that this is the reason why the data gives so high frequencies for prepositions such as *in* and *on* whereas the figures for *into* and *onto* are much lower. Another explanation given for this oddity is the influence of some other major languages spoken in Kenya, namely Kiswahili and Kikuyu. Mwangi notes that these languages use the same preposition to express both direction and position.

Another interesting finding regards some semantic restrictions occurring together with certain prepositions. For example, the preposition *off* is not used similarly to British English but is restricted to senses expressing negative position and rarely a

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<sup>23</sup> Occasionally British English will be referred to as BrE whereas the equivalent abbreviations for Kenyan and Tanzanian English will be KenE and TanE. East African English is also shortened to EAfE occasionally.

source, as is the case in British English. On the contrary, the preposition *from* seems to be used in the context wherein BrE would have *off*.

One further point of preposition frequencies gives evidence of a possible deletion happening in Kenyan English regarding some prepositions. Mwangi notes that for example the preposition *underneath* did not occur even once in ICE-K while it appeared 28 times in the British corpus. Keeping in mind the request for diachronic studies on prepositional behaviour before jumping into any further conclusions, however, Mwangi assures that in the case of *underneath* this conclusion seems fairly justified. In addition, she mentions some other prepositions e.g. *off*, *past* and *beneath* which might be facing a similar destiny. In these cases, some other prepositions have taken over the functions previously and/or usually addressed to them. Thus, this leads to reductions and simplifications of the prepositional system in Kenyan English.

Mwangi further points out a distinction found between spoken and written data. It seems that it is especially in spoken KenE that the differences between Kenyan and British English are found. This appears quite reasonable, as it is generally acknowledged that change in language occurs in the spoken form first and then in written language. However, there are some major failures in Mwangi's study, as she did not take into account the specific composition of the spoken data, which consists mostly of Kenyan English but has also a Tanzanian part in it. Thus, the results should not be taken to present the use of prepositions in Kenya alone, but in both Kenya and Tanzania.

## 5 Data and Methods

The empirical part of my study is based on the data drawn from two subcomponents of the International Corpus of English, namely ICE-EA and ICE-GB. In the following sections I will explain the composition of these corpora, and explain the methods I intend to utilize in order to retrieve the correct data. In addition, I will discuss some issues concerning the analysis of the data.

### ***5.1. Corpus Linguistics and the Corpora Used in This Study***

Since the field of corpus linguistic has acquired a stable position among linguistic research, I will just mention a few points significant for this study. First of all, concerning the topic (productivity of some frequently occurring simple verbs in forming particle verbs), I must note, that this subject is favourable concerning corpus studies. Verbs are an essential part of the language helping people to describe various forms of activities. Thus, their occurrence in the computerized text collections is not an issue. In addition to this, as the previous studies (Schneider 2004 and Mwangi 2003) together with studies on ESL/EFL speakers (see Kao 2001 and Liao and Fukuya 2004) have observed, the field of particle verbs is an excellent topic for studying variation. This said, I will continue on a more detailed description on the corpora I used in this study.

#### **5.1.1 ICE-EA**

As mentioned in the beginning, the ICE-EA<sup>24</sup> is a subcomponent of a larger corpus called *The International Corpus of English* (ICE). It consists of a collection of texts drawn from spoken and written Kenyan and Tanzanian English. These texts were

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<sup>24</sup> The information of ICE-EA is based on the ICE-EA manual, accompanying the corpus (Hudson-Ettle, Schmied Joseph 1999)

collected according to the guidelines given for the project of ICE which should guarantee comparability between the different subcomponents. The texts for East African corpus were collected between 1990 and 1996.

Despite the project being successful in taking care of the non-linguistic criteria (requirements for the text producer e.g. the speaker), the actual collecting of the texts was not that simple. In the original plan by the ICE team, each component should have included 300 spoken and 200 written texts, each text containing 2,000 words, resulting in a 1 million word corpus. However, due to the different status of English in Kenya and Tanzania, some of the text categories were impossible to find. There was also a problem regarding the required 2,000-word length of text, as many of the EA texts were shorter than that. With written text, after some frustrating efforts in acquiring them, the researchers decided to slightly change the composition of the corpus. In other words, since the guidelines of the ICE project could not be followed, the ICE-EA team decided to compose a separate corpus for both Kenyan and Tanzanian English. Thus, in the end they had a collection of 200 texts of Kenyan and another 200 texts of Tanzanian written English (KenE 401.863 and TanE 401.712 words). Moreover, regarding the difficulties of retrieving long enough spoken texts, the researchers decided to add a category to the corpus, namely the written as spoken category<sup>25</sup>. Putting together this category and the category of (purely) spoken English texts in both Kenya and Tanzania, results in a total of 603.633 words (KenE 389.832 and TanE 213.801). The length of the spoken texts varies between 850 and 2,400 words. Thus, the whole EA corpus consists of appr. 1.4 million words.

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<sup>25</sup> The written as spoken category consists of written recordings of legal cross-examinations in the court and the Hansards in Kenya.



### 5.1.2 ICE-GB<sup>26</sup>

Similarly to the East African corpus, also the ICE-GB<sup>27</sup> is a subcomponent of the ICE. It consists of the standard 200 written and 300 spoken texts, each text being 2.000 words long. Thus, in total, it includes 1 million words. The project with ICE-GB started in 1990 and the first version was released in 1998 with a computer program, ICECUP 3.0. The corpus is also fully parsed, unlike the ICE-EA (or most of the other subcomponents of the ICE).

## 5.2 Methodical Discussion

The choice of particle verbs for this study was made with the help of two grammars of the English language (Biber et al. 2007, Quirk et al. 2005), together with observations given in some other sources (Liao, Fukuya 2004, 222; Sinclair et al 1989). As there already is one study conducted on the frequencies of particle verbs in Kenyan and Tanzanian English (Schneider 2004), I decided to take a slightly altered view on the use of particle verbs in East African English. I chose 5 verbs for this study which are stated to be among the most productive ones, namely *come*, *get*, *go*, *put*, and *take* (Biber et al 1999, 413 and 422-423). Biber et al. also give a list on the most frequently occurring particles that appear together with these simple verbs. Of these, I chose six which occur with all of the verbs in the formation of particle verbs. These particles are *down*, *in*, *off*, *on*, *out*, and *up*, of which all except for *up* (that is an adverb) can be used as either an adverb or a preposition. Thus, my aim is to study the use and frequencies of particle verbs formed by combining the aforementioned simple verb

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<sup>26</sup> In this study, the ICE-GB, which presents current use of British English, is used merely as an example of a native and standard variety of English. However, its use should not be taken to imply anything about the status or value of the Kenyan or Tanzanian English. Instead, it serves as a data source for making comparisons between an older variety of English and a newer one, or between native speakers and non-native speakers.

<sup>27</sup> Most of the information on ICE-GB was found in Nelson et al. (2002).

forms with these particles. I assume that these verbs that are fairly productive in BrE in the creation of particle verbs (occurring with a variety of particles), will appear in the East African data as well, enabling the possibility of drawing some conclusions on their use in EAfE. This hypothesis also provides a possibility of finding out something more about the variation in East African English. Thus, my intention is to find out how frequently each of this verb+particle combination occurs in the three corpora. In addition, I will also look at the semantic meanings with which these verbs are used, i.e. whether the particle verbs are used in their more literal sense (i.e. non-metaphorical), or in non-literal sense (i.e. semi-metaphorical or metaphorical).

In order to collect my data, I used two computer programs, namely Antconc and ICECUP<sup>28</sup> which are created for performing searches on computerized text files. They allow variable search options, such as searching for keywords, collocations, and patterns. In the case of particle verb formation on *come*, *get*, *go*, *put*, and *take* with the chosen particles, the parts of the structure do not always occur next to each other but allow objects of modifiers to come between them. Thus, this would have complicated the analysis of the data. Thus, I decided to apply the method Schneider (2004) had used in his study and set the search frame at 5R from the verb (five verbs right from the verb). In this sense, the searches done on these verbs were fairly straightforward<sup>29</sup>.

After collecting the data, I analysed it manually, drawing on the dictionary definitions given in *the Collins Cobuild Dictionary of Phrasal Verbs* (from hereon referred to as CDPV; 1989) and the OED. (When in doubt, or confronted with meanings that were not in the dictionaries, I used the diagnostic tests (see 3.2) and

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<sup>28</sup> Antconc was used for the ICE-K and ICE-T corpora meanwhile data from the ICE-GB was drawn with the help of ICECUP.

<sup>29</sup> With some prepositional verbs there is a possibility that in the case of wh-clauses (relative clauses) the preposition particle can occur before the verb (and before the wh-clause, e.g. *The house in which he went...*). However, in this study, I restrict my searches into sentences in which the particle follows the verb.

dictionary definitions in making a distinction between particle verbs and free combinations. These tests proved useful in some cases, especially with particle verbs with a variety of metaphorical senses, e.g. *put* + particles. However, in most cases the definitions given in the dictionaries were sufficient. Then I compared the frequency accounts of particle verbs in the ICE-K and ICE-T to those in the ICE-GB. I used both total numbers and normalised frequencies (instances per million words) in reporting the findings, thus acknowledging the differences in sizes between ICE-K, ICE-T and ICE-GB.

Further on, in order to carry out the semantic analysis, I looked at the OED and the CDPV for the senses given there for each of the investigated particle verb<sup>30</sup>. In the case where senses were fairly close to each other, I collapsed these senses into broader categories. Then, with the help of the tools offered for semantic analysis in section 3.3, I collapsed these senses into the two categories of literal and non-literal senses. This categorization was fairly straightforward as the senses which were not strictly literal automatically ended into the other category (non-literal senses). However, the degree of non-literalness naturally varies within this category since the number of metaphorical elements in the senses varies. In the semi-metaphorical senses either the verb or the particle can be interpreted literally while the other one confines to demand a non-literal (i.e. metaphorical) interpretation. For one, with the metaphorical senses, both the verb and the particle receive a non-literal interpretation<sup>31</sup>. Having explained the methods used in the study, I will now continue with the results and analysis of the data.

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<sup>30</sup> I have chosen to analyse and discuss in detail the semantic meaning of those particle verbs which yield in a minimum of 10 instances in total in at least two of the corpora in either spoken or written data.

<sup>31</sup> The possibilities of semantic categorization are explained in more detail in section 3.3.

## 6 Analysis and Results

In this section I will discuss each of the verb + particle combination on its own, presenting some charts and tables which will give an overview on the results. I will start by first discussing the results of the spoken data and then continue on results on the written data. After this, I will carry out an analysis on the semantic results.

### 6.1 Come + particles

#### 6.1.1 Frequency of *come* + particles

For a general overview on the spoken data on *come* + *down/in/off/on/out* or *up*, here is the chart showing the total number of instances and the normalized frequencies (i.e. instances per one million words). The chart is then followed by a table (table 2) which gives a detailed account of both total and normalised frequencies.

Chart 1

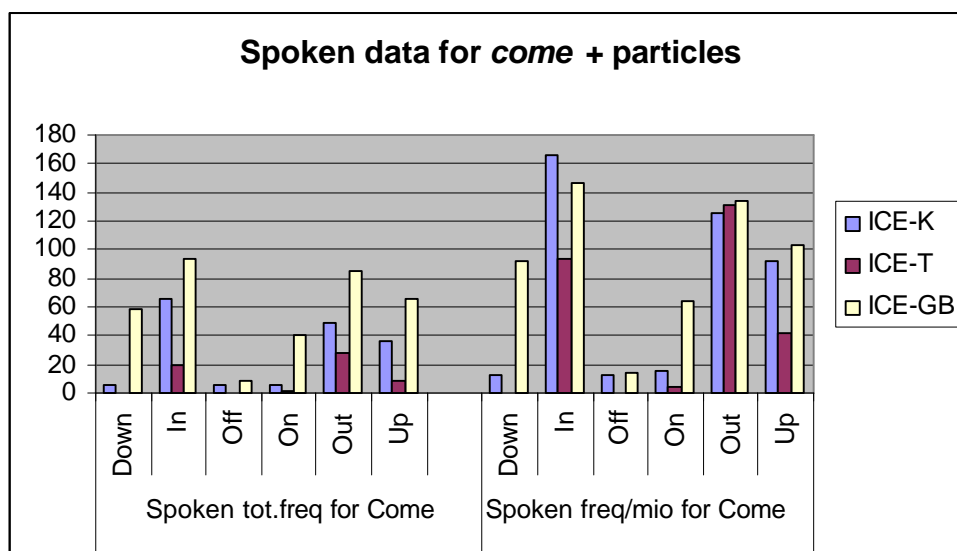


Table 2 (*Come* + particles in the spoken data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Come down</b>	5	12,8	0	0	59	92,5
<b>Come in</b>	65	166,7	20	93,5	93	145,9
<b>Come off</b>	5	12,8	0	0	9	14,1
<b>Come on</b>	6	15,4	1	4,7	41	64,3
<b>Come out</b>	49	125,7	28	131	86	134,9
<b>Come up</b>	36	92,3	9	42,1	67	105,1
total	166	425,7	58	271,3	355	556,8

Looking at table 2 above, it is obvious that with regards to at least some of the verb+ particle combinations there is huge variation between the different corpora. Firstly, the combination *come+down* seems to be fairly rare in the ICE-K data (12, 8 cases per mio) while in the ICE-T it is totally non-existent. In the ICE-GB, however, *come+down* occurs 92, 5 times/mio.

Further on, with the second combination *come in*, the differences in frequencies are not so dramatic. Instead of figures in the ICE-K dragging behind those in ICE-GB, the normalised frequencies exceed them: 166, 7 cases/mio in ICE-K while there are 145, 9 cases/mio in the ICE-GB. The ICE-T for one has 93, 5 instances of *come in* per mio.

Regarding the results for *come off*, they resemble those of *come down* in ICE-K and ICE-T; i.e. this particle verb is rare or non-existent in the ICE-EA sub-corpus. In ICE-K there are 12, 8 instances/mio while in ICE-T there are no instances at all. Also in ICE-GB there are only 14, 1 instances/mio which barely exceeds the number of cases in ICE-K. Thus, *come off* does not seem to be used so frequently as a particle verb.

The fourth combination, *come on*, resulted in 15, 4 cases/mio in ICE-K while in ICE-T there are 4, 7 cases/mio (which in the data realizes as a total of one single instance), and 64, 3 cases/mio in ICE-GB. Thus, the use of this combination seems to be fairly frequent in BrE while in TanE it is nearly non-existent.

Regarding *come out*, the normalised frequencies are almost level in all three corpora, approximately 130 instances/mio.

Finally the last combination, *come up*, follows the pattern seen in most of the particle verbs in this group. In the ICE-K there were 92, 3 cases/mio, in the ICE-T 42, 1 instances/mio while in the ICE-GB there were 103, 5 cases/mio. Thus, while some of the results seem to be in the line with the hypothesis presented earlier (i.e. particle verb usage is lower in EAfE), some of the results remain surprising. For example, regarding the particle verb *come on* and its rareness in TanE makes one wonder if the results really represent reality. It is mentioned in many instances (e.g. Mwangi ) that in East African English, the particle *on* is among the most frequent particles regarding particle verb formation. However, I will not ponder more on the possible reasons here but will continue with the analysis of the written corpora, hoping that it will shed some light on this dilemma. The semantic analysis following in section 6.1.2 can also be of help.

Chart 2

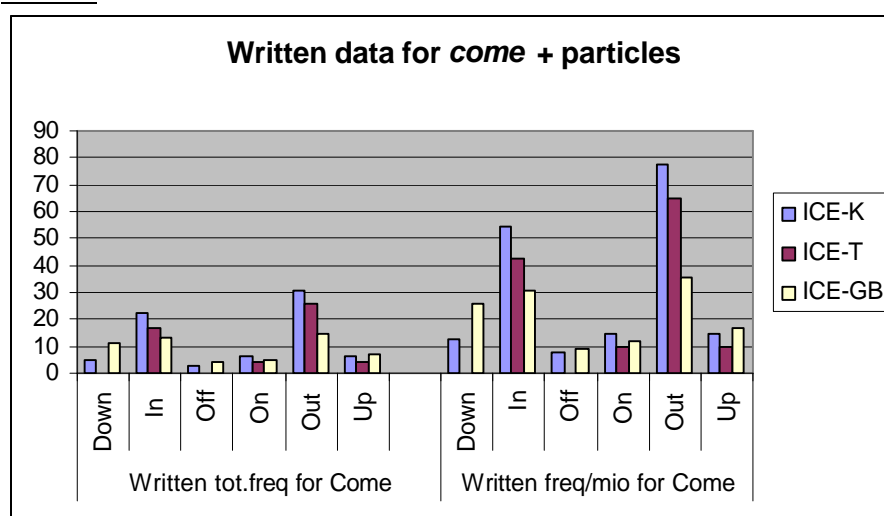


Table 3 (*Come* + particles in the written data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Come down</b>	5	12,4	0	0	11	26
<b>Come in</b>	22	54,7	17	42,3	13	30,7
<b>Come off</b>	3	7,5	0	0	4	9,4
<b>Come on</b>	6	14,9	4	10	5	11,8
<b>Come out</b>	31	77,1	26	64,7	15	35,4
<b>Come up</b>	6	14,9	4	10	7	16,5
total	73	181,5	51	127	55	129,8

As is clear from a general overlook on table 3 presenting the results for the written corpora, the total number of the cases in the three corpora is lower than in the spoken data. The most drastic differences are found in the written ICE-GB where the frequencies of most particle verbs are clearly lower than in the spoken data. This tendency also is perceived in both of the East African sub-corpora but to a lesser degree.

The particle verb *come down* seems to follow the same pattern with the spoken data, regarding ICE-K and ICE-T: the figures for the previously mentioned are 12, 4/mio and with ICE-T there are no instances at all. With ICE-GB the figures are also much lower: only 26 instances/mio.

*Come in* occurs 54,7 times/mio in the ICE-K, 42,3 times/mio in ICE-T while in ICE-GB the normalised frequency numbers are 30,7. Thus, the frequencies in the ICE-K and ICE-GB in particular are remarkably lower than in the spoken data (ICE-K 161, 6 and ICE-GB 145, 9 per mio). With ICE-T however, the differences are not as significant (99, 2) although still noticeable. With *come in* the highest frequencies in written data are found in the ICE-K, with ICE-T only slightly behind. Thus, the lowest frequencies here are found in the ICE-GB.

Regarding the next particle verb, *come off*, the results reflect those in the spoken data, except that now even ICE-GB has only 9, 4 cases/mio (4 instances in total).

Next, *come on*, presents some interesting figures although one has to be careful in drawing conclusions as the frequencies remain fairly low. However, in the ICE-K there are 14, 9 cases/mio of *come on* while in the ICE-T the figure is 10 cases/mio (or 3 instances in total). In the ICE-GB there are only 11, 8 cases/mio. What seems rather interesting here is that the normalised frequency regarding ICE-T is higher here than what it was in the spoken data (10/mio vs. 4, 7/mio), although only slightly. However, this result does not necessarily mean anything specific. As said, this is difficult to conclude as there are so few instances of *come on* in the ICE-T.

Continuing on the results for the next verb, *come out*, the frequencies are the following: ICE-K 77, 1/mio, ICE-T 64, 7/mio, and ICE-GB 35, 4/mio. Thus, in the ICE-K the particle verb *come out* is the most frequent, and then in ICE-T leaving ICE-GB last. However, in the spoken data it was in the ICE-GB data that most of the instances were found (142, 7/mio). With ICE-K and ICE-T the differences between the written and spoken corpora are not that remarkable (115, 4/mio for ICE-K and 93, 9/mio for ICE-T).

Finally, looking at the results for *come up*, the frequency numbers are clearly lower for ICE-K and ICE-GB compared to the spoken data results: ICE-K has 14,9 cases of *come up*/mio while in the spoken data the results were 94,9/mio. With written data in ICE-GB the frequency numbers are 16, 5/mio (spoken data: 106, 7). With ICE-T the results of *come up* between spoken and written corpora differ also: spoken data 46, 8 cases/mio and written 10 /mio.

All in all, there seems to be a clear difference in the spoken and written corpora of both Kenya and Tanzania when compared to the British one. Basically, in ICE-K and ICE-T the usage of *come*+particles does not seem to differ that much between the spoken and written corpora when compared to these results in the ICE-GB. Thus, this



might confirm to the view held by Schneider (2004), according to which East African English seems to present a lack of awareness in using particle verbs in a stylistically conventional manner (i.e. in BrE many of the particle verbs are regarded as colloquial by nature and thus used less in the written domain). However, this phenomenon must be studied more carefully and with more verbs before one can state anything conclusive about the usage patterns in Kenyan or Tanzanian English. Now I will continue on the semantic analysis on those combinations that were the most frequent ones in either or both the spoken and written data with the given particles (i.e. those that resulted in 10 or more instances).

### 6.1.2 Semantic Analysis of *come in*, *come out*, and *come up*

Here is the table of results on the semantic analysis on *come in* in the three corpora, both spoken and written<sup>32</sup>.

Table 4 (Semantic categories for *come in*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	29	13	7	10	50	7
<b>Non-literal</b>	36	9	13	7	43	6
<b>total</b>	65	22	20	17	93	13

The senses given in the OED and the CDPV were collapsed into 13 main senses<sup>33</sup>. In the case of *come in* the division of data into literal and non-literal categories is fairly even in all of the corpora. Moreover, regarding the spoken ICE-K, the data covered 8 out of 13 senses while in ICE-T this figure was 6/13 (ICE-GB 9/13). In the written corpus, the data in ICE-T concentrated on 4/13 senses, while in the ICE-K and ICE-GB the figure was 6/13.

<sup>32</sup> The figures show the total number of cases.

<sup>33</sup> For detailed tables of the semantic analysis of all the studied particle verbs, see appendices 2-14.

In the ICE-K and the ICE-T (and also ICE-GB) most of the literal cases belong to sense 1, which covers the action of entering to a place, or inviting somebody to enter.

Here are some examples of this sense:

- (27) ...the chaplains *come in* the counsellors *come in* the doctors *come in* and so on... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (28) How was I blamed by the way <> *Come in* <> Yes <> Hi's <> Yes Joyce How are you... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (29) ...but his eyes looked bright and exited. "*Come in* Mr. Kilingwa," I said trying to be indifferent (ICE-T, written)
- (30) Karim you want to *come in* <> Yes just *come in* to say that in 1930 in the thirties Japan also... (ICE-T, spoken)

This sense also was often found in the ICE-GB, but sense 2 expressing arrival or approaching also was common in the spoken British data.

The other category, namely the non-literal one (in the spoken data), consisted mostly of cases with sense 11 (“to enter into a narrative, account, or list; to intervene in the course of anything; to take its place, *esp.* with reference to the place or manner”). The following examples illustrate this use:

- (31) ...fighting uh amongst themselves with Russia *coming in* uh this seeming to uh frighten the interests of... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (32) ...and this is where uh the service provision *comes in* by uh private sector by the government... (ICE-T, spoken)

In addition to this use in the ICE-GB, the spoken data had even more cases of sense 10 (“to join in a discussion, sometimes interrupting it; to join a group and participate in its activities”), whereas this sense was not common in the East African data.

However, here are some examples of this use in Kenyan and Tanzanian English, the first one on joining in a discussion and the second on joining a group:

- (33) ... is about hatred It's about hostility And here you *come in* and say be kind to the enemy when you... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (34) The lawyers give legal advice The doctors *come in* they they help us with medical advice... (ICE-T, spoken)

To sum up, it seems that semantically the particle verb *come in* is used fairly similarly in all of the three corpora, except for the cases mentioned above. Thus, it is mainly in the frequency of use that any significant difference occurs.

The division into semantic categories of the next particle verb *come out* is shown in the following table:

Table 5 (Semantic categories for *come out*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	22	15	3	8	25	3
<b>Non-literal</b>	27	16	25	18	61	12
<b>total</b>	49	31	28	26	86	15

There are 13 main senses for *come out*. The data in the ICE-K and ICE-T cover approximately half of these in the spoken and one third in the written corpus while in the ICE-GB *come out* is used with 9 senses in the spoken and 5 in the written data. Thus, the differences are not so significant. The uses have also spread fairly evenly across the two semantic categories in the ICE-K, while in the ICE-T and ICE-GB, *come out* is more often used with non-literal senses.

In the literal category, sense 1 was clearly the most favored use, expressing the action of leaving a house or a place; and/or going somewhere to be with other people. However, in the ICE-T it was used more often in the written data, while in the ICE-GB it was almost solely found in the spoken data. In the ICE-K, the use of *come out* in this sense was almost evenly divided between the spoken and written corpora. Thus, it can be concluded that in the ICE-GB this sense is used mostly in the spoken language, while the East African corpora does not seem to differentiate between spoken and written usage. This, once again, supports the view according to which the EAfE does not exhibit stylistic awareness unlike the BrE does. Here, once more are some cases of *come out* in the written data:

- (35) All my children *came out* to see me off. I was like a person going on...  
(ICE-K, written)
- (36) At such times, the whole street would *come out* to witness excitedly  
(ICE-T, written)
- (37) Paul was due to *come out* this weekend but has had decided not to now  
(ICE-GB written)

In the non-literal use, one particular sense was extremely prevalent in all of the three corpora (spoken data), namely sense 10 that expresses the disclosure of information or a secret; or emergence of something. The following examples are taken from all three corpora:

- (38) So actually it's the disability which *comes out* as a bad consequence of this disease. (ICE-K, spoken)
- (39) ...where uh by reaching a consensus they're able to *come out* with some uh brighter and more articulate idea... (ICE-T, spoken)
- (40) Can you think of any other categories which *come out* from that...  
(ICE- GB, spoken)

Regarding the difference between spoken and written corpus, this sense clearly is used more often in the spoken language of EAfE. However, in spite of some cases exhibiting stylistic variation, one has to look at the use of *come out* in its totality; and thus the differences between spoken and written usage in East African English might not be so significant in the end.

Next I will analyse the last of the particle verbs in the group of *come* + particles.

Here is the table of the semantic results:

Table 6 (Semantic categories for *come up*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	8	2	4	1	28	5
<b>Non-literal</b>	28	4	5	3	39	2
<b>total</b>	36	6	9	4	66	7

As one can notice, in the spoken data of the ICE-K, the senses in which *come up* is mostly used belong to the non-literal category. This also is true for the spoken

ICE-GB although the differences between literal and non-literal use are not that drastic. However, in the spoken ICE-T there is (almost) no difference. The reason for this possibly is the low number of cases; and therefore no conclusion can be drawn from the semantic use of *come up* in TanE. Of the two senses belonging to the literal category, only sense 1 occurs in any of the three corpora. It is used when referring to the action of moving from a lower position to a higher one, or moving towards something or somebody, or moving towards a place. Here are a couple of examples of this usage as it occurs in the spoken Kenyan and Tanzanian data:

- (41) ...he insisted very much that I should be the one to *come up* I refused then when we were coming from Soweto... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (42) ...so for example BAWATA we are encouraging women to *come up* and <>and <>and <>and <>and contest (ICE-T, spoken)

The non-literal use of *come up* covered several senses in all of the spoken corpora. One interesting finding concerns senses 6, and 8. Of these, sense 6 was only found in the ICE-GB (“To appear in a certain way in the end of a process or a period of time or activity; to take rise, originate, come into use, or become the fashion”): there were 9 cases in the spoken and 1 in the written corpus. Here are some examples of this usage:

- (43) ...but John Major has *come up* very fast to get close to him even perhaps alongside him. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- (44) It is funny that the all the houses that have *come up* have been in Lisburne Shirlock Estelle Road

It is difficult to reason why this sense does not occur in the East African data at all without knowing if there are some other means of expressing this sense. Some simple verb expressions such as *appear* and *occur* perhaps may be used in East African English. However, this remains a speculation as long as no further investigations on this issue are conducted.

Another sense that occurred mostly in the Kenyan spoken data was sense 8. There also were some cases in the Tanzanian and British data. This sense is used to express

the state of something being the subject of attention, or the emergence of some issue in the mind. Here are some examples of the use of this sense in the ICE-K and

ICE-GB:

- (45) The idea of the assessment centres also *came up* as part of the institute quite (ICE-K, spoken)
- (46) The point is when does my femininity *come up* and when does my professionalism *come up* (ICE-K, spoken)
- (47) Now he's not a practicing Catholic as far as I know and he never talks about it but if it the subject *comes up* and... (ICE-GB, spoken)

All in all, the semantic use of *come up* in all of the three corpora was fairly similar although there were some (rare) exceptions on some of the senses. Next, I will continue on discussing the results of *get* + particles, followed by the semantic analysis of one of its combinations, namely *get out*.

## 6.2 Get + particles

### 6.2.1 Frequency of *get* + particles

The following is the chart presenting the frequencies of *get* + particles in the spoken data. This is then followed by a table (table 7) with the exact number of cases and normalised frequencies.

Chart 3

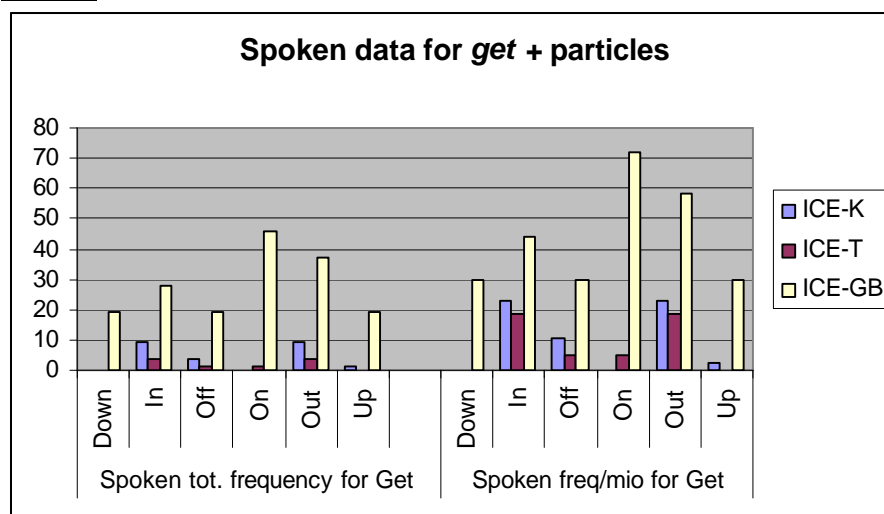


Table 7 (*Get* + particles in the spoken data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Get down</b>	0	0	0	0	19	29,8
<b>Get in</b>	9	23,1	4	18,7	28	43,9
<b>Get off</b>	4	10,3	1	4,7	19	29,8
<b>Get on</b>	0	0	1	4,7	46	72,1
<b>Get out</b>	9	23,1	4	18,7	37	58
<b>Get up</b>	1	2,6	0	0	19	29,8
<b>total</b>	23	59,1	10	46,8	168	263,4

It becomes clear that in the spoken data the normalised frequency counts for *get* + particles are generally much lower than with the previous verb + particle combinations. There also are considerable differences between the three corpora.

Firstly, *get down* is non-existent in both of the ICE-EA subcomponents. However, in the ICE-GB this particle verb clearly occurs with 29, 8 cases/mio. Thus, in this sense *get down* reflects the results of *come down* although with the former the frequencies are considerably lower in the ICE-GB as well.

The next verb + particle combination, *get in*, exists in all of the three corpora. The ICE-T gives the lowest frequencies (18, 7 cases/mio) while ICE-K has slightly more cases (23, 1/mio). The highest frequencies are found in the ICE-GB which results in 43, 9 instances/mio.

*Get off* is noticeably rarer in both of the East African corpora: the ICE-K has 10, 3 cases/mio (or 4 instances in total) while the ICE-T has only 4, 7/mio (or only a single instance in total). However, for the ICE-GB the frequencies are higher again: 29, 8 cases/mio. Thus, similarly to *come off* in the previous verb + particle group, *get off* also seems to be rarely used in the ICE-EA.

Next, the particle verb *get on* gives a rather surprising result regarding the East African corpus: ICE-K has no instances at all while ICE-T results in 4, 7 cases/mio (or one instance in total). However, in the ICE-GB this verb + particle combination is

the second most frequent in the group of *get* + particles investigated in this study: 72, 1 cases/mio. Therefore the result on the EA component remains reasonably disconcerting.

The fourth particle verb, *get out*, has 23, 1 cases/mio in the ICE-K, while the frequencies for ICE-T are 18, 7/mio and 58/mio for ICE-GB. Finally, the last verb, namely *get up* is again rare in the ICE-EA corpus: ICE-K has only 2, 6 cases/mio while ICE-T has zero cases. In the ICE-GB, however, it is fairly common: 29, 8 cases/mio. With this figure it is on the same level with *get down* and *get off* in the ICE-GB yielding the lowest frequencies in this verb + particle group.

To conclude, the combinations for *get* + particle seem to be fairly rare in the ICE-T where the total number of all of the combinations is ten (or 46, 8/mio). In the ICE-GB there are 168 instances of particle verbs formed with *get* (263, 4 cases/mio).

Next I will discuss the results of the written data for *get* + particles. Below are the chart and the table for the results.

Chart 4

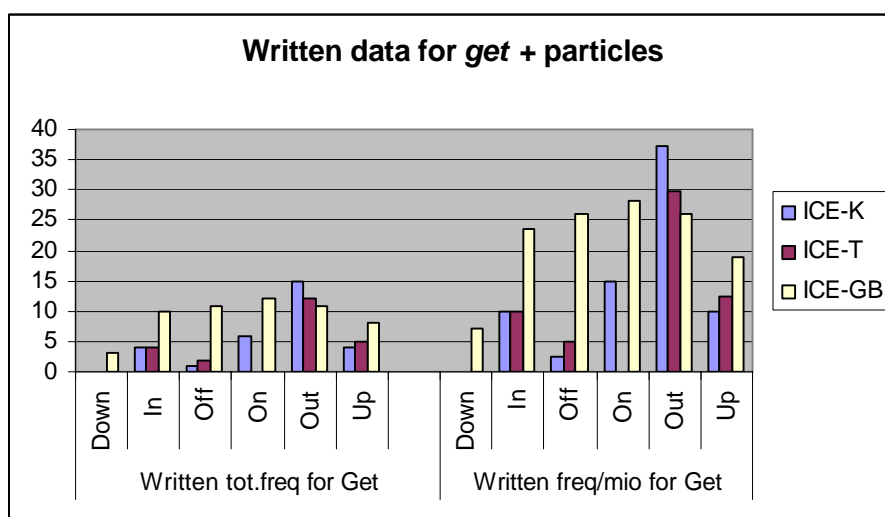




Table 8 (*Get* + particles in the written data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Get down</b>	0	0	0	0	3	7,1
<b>Get in</b>	4	10	4	10	10	23,6
<b>Get off</b>	1	2,5	2	5	11	26
<b>Get on</b>	6	14,9	0	0	12	28,3
<b>Get out</b>	15	37,3	12	29,9	11	26
<b>Get up</b>	4	10	5	12,4	8	18,9
total	30	74,7	23	57,3	55	129,9

The frequencies in the ICE-GB in particular are considerably lower compared to the spoken data results. With ICE-K and ICE-T the differences are not so big but the total of the normalised frequency counts gives higher numbers for the written data than the spoken one which is interesting.

The particle verb *get down* in both of the ICE-EA corpora is non-existent again – similarly to the spoken corpora. Moreover, the ICE-GB also gives low frequency numbers for this particular verb: only 7, 1 cases/mio. Thus, the differences with this particle verb are not so big.

*Get in* has 10 cases/mio in both ICE-K and ICE-T while in ICE-GB there are 23, 6 cases/mio. Compared with the spoken data results, the frequencies in the written data are lower in all of the three corpora.

The third particle verb, *get off*, is again rare in both of the East African corpora: in the ICE-K there are 2, 5 cases/mio and in ICE-T 5 cases/mio. In the written ICE-GB the frequencies are slightly lower – 26 cases/mio – compared to the spoken one (29, 8/mio).

Next, *get on* gives some puzzling results for ICE-T where it does not exist at all. In the spoken data there also was only one single instance of *get on*. In the written

ICE-K, however, this verb occurs 14, 9 times per mio (or six instances in total) while in the spoken data it was non-existent. Thus it seems that this particular particle verb is almost totally unknown in the TanE while in the KenE it is used in the written language. This is interesting since *get on* is used in fairly colloquial instances in BrE in general. However, with the limited results it is impossible to draw conclusions on the use of this particle except that it is rare in both of the corpora. In the ICE-GB *get on* is the most frequent verb + particle combination in this verb + particle group: 28, 3 cases/mio (in the spoken data the numbers were 72, 1/mio).

Finally, the last combination, namely *get up* occurs 10 times/mio in the ICE-K, 12, 4/mio in the ICE-T, and 18, 9/mio in the ICE-GB. Compared to the results in the spoken data, the frequencies here are again higher regarding the Kenyan and Tanzanian corpora where there were 2,6 cases/mio in the previously mentioned and zero cases in the ICE-T. However, in the written ICE-GB the frequencies are lower than in the spoken data (29, 8/mio)

## 6.2.2 Semantic Analysis of *get out*

Table 9 (Semantic categories for *get out*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	7	15	4	12	26	9
<b>Non-literal</b>	2	0	0	0	11	2
<b>total</b>	9	15	4	12	37	11

All in all, as discussed above, the frequencies for *get out* are fairly low in the both of the ICE-EA subcomponent. However, one can note some differences in the semantic use of this particle verb. It is the literal category wherein most of the cases fall. This is true for both spoken and written data. One interesting result was that in the ICE-T it is

only in the literal senses that *get out* occurs. Also in the written ICE-K most of the instances fall in this category.

In the ICE-EA data, it is sense 1 denoting literal use with which most of the instances of *get out* occur. However, in the ICE-GB the majority of cases fall in with the other literal sense, namely sense 2 although there are several cases denoting sense 1 as well. Sense 1 denotes the action of leaving a place; or helping or ordering somebody to leave a place; or helping somebody to escape a difficult or dangerous situation. Sense 2 for one refers to the action of taking something out of the place or container that it is in; or removing dirt or other unwanted substances from something.

The following are examples of both of these senses:

- Sense 1: (48) He was told to *get out* and was led towards the end of the corridor... (ICE-K, written)  
(49) At that time of *getting out*, the fire was almost all over... (ICE-T, written)  
(50) Now we're going to go past Camden and this bus is going to turn just before Chalk Farm so that we need to *get out*. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- Sense 2: (51) ...Arita opened the refrigerator and *got out* all the cold water and the ice cubes... (ICE-K, written)  
(52) ...and it's either down the trousers or down the cleavage or something and the other contestant has to *get it out* without using their hands. (ICE-GB, spoken)

One of the reasons why most of the cases in the data concentrated in the literal category might be the highly metaphorical status of most of the non-literal senses. Of these, the two less metaphorical ones (sense 3 on producing a product and making in available to people and sense 7 on going to places and meeting people) occur in the spoken ICE-GB at least to some extent. However, many other senses are rather opaque semantically (e.g. senses 4, 6, and 11). Once again, it is impossible to conclude anything final regarding the semantic use of *get out* in East Africa except that in this data *get out* is mostly used with its literal senses.

## 6.3 Go + particles

### 6.3.1 Frequency of go + particles

Here are the charts for *go + particles* for both spoken and written data in the three corpora followed by their matching tables, which I will again discuss one at a time.

After the discussion on frequency counts I will move on to the semantic discussion of *go down*, *go in*, *go on* and *go out* occur.

Chart 5

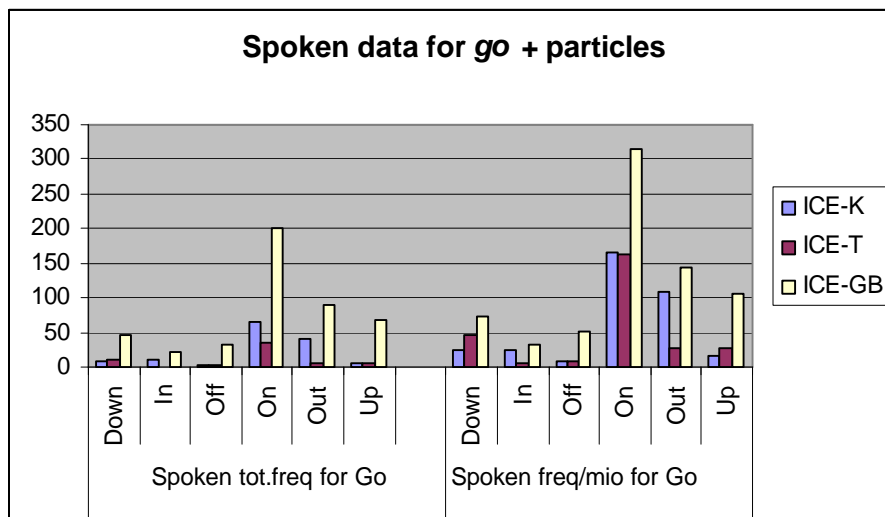


Table 10 (*Go + particles in the spoken data*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.freq	freq/mio	tot.freq.	freq/mio	tot.freq.	freq/mio
<b>Go down</b>	9	23,1	10	46,8	47	73,7
<b>Go in</b>	10	25,6	1	4,7	21	32,9
<b>Go off</b>	3	7,7	2	9,4	32	50,2
<b>Go on</b>	65	166,7	35	163,7	200	313,7
<b>Go out</b>	42	107,7	6	28,1	91	142,7
<b>Go up</b>	6	15,4	6	28,1	68	106,7
<b>total</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>346,2</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>280,8</b>	<b>458</b>	<b>718,3</b>

Chart 5 above together with table 6 show clear variation also in the use of *go+particles* in the creation of particle verbs. As can be seen, there are again some significant differences in the frequencies of some particle verbs even within a single

corpora. The frequencies also differ between the three corpora to a large extent. Firstly, with *go down*, ICE-K resulted in 23, 1 cases/mio, with ICE-T having 46, 8 cases/mio. However, in ICE-GB there were 73, 7 instances of *come down* per mio. Thus, this particular particle verb is least used in KenE. Still, it is more frequent in the ICE-EA than the other verbs (*come, get*) with the particle *down*.

Continuing with the analysis of the next combination, *go in*, it appears to be fairly rare in ICE-T which results in only 4, 7 cases/mio in the spoken corpus (or one instance in total). ICE-GB with the biggest frequencies has 32, 9 cases/mio while ICE-K has 25, 6 cases/mio. However, no conclusion can be drawn until the semantic analysis of *go in*.

Next, *go off* gives fairly low frequencies for both ICE-K and ICE-T: 7, 7/mio and 9, 4/mio accordingly. In ICE-GB, however, *go off* occurs 50, 2 times/mio. Thus, there seems to be a fairly big difference in how often this particular verb combination is used in EAFé and in BrE. This again reflects the use of other verb + *off* combinations studied earlier in this thesis. It seems that *off* as a particle is fairly rare in the EAFé.

The next particle verb, namely *go on* is fairly well presented in all of the three corpora. ICE-K has 166, 7 instances/mio while the equivalent figures for ICE-T and ICE-GB are 163, 7/mio and 313, 7/mio. With these figures *go on* is the most frequent particle verb in the investigated combinations of *go* + particles.

The fourth particle verb, *go out*, has 107, 7 cases/mio in the ICE-GB but only 28, 1/mio in ICE-T. The ICE-GB again gives the highest frequency for *go out*: 142, 7/mio.

Finally, *go up* is fairly rare in both of the ICE-EA components: ICE-K has 15, 4 cases/mio and ICE-T 28, 1/mio. In addition, similarly to *go off*, the frequencies in the ICE-T exceed those in the ICE-K. Moreover, with the ICE-GB the same victorious

tendency continues: *go up* appears there 106, 7 times/mio making this particle verb the third most frequent in this group. Next I will continue on explaining the results reported in table 7 beneath on the written data of *go*+particles.

Chart 6

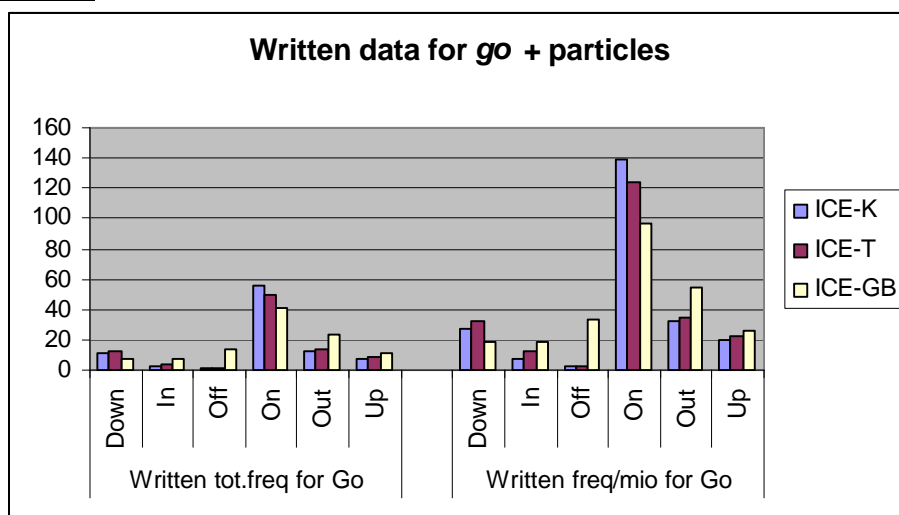


Table 11 (*Go* + particles in the written data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.freq.	freq/mio	tot.freq	freq/mio	tot.freq	freq/mio
<b>Go down</b>	11	27,4	13	32,4	8	18,9
<b>Go in</b>	3	7,5	5	12,4	8	18,9
<b>Go off</b>	1	2,5	1	2,5	14	33
<b>Go on</b>	56	139,4	50	124,5	41	96,8
<b>Go out</b>	13	32,3	14	34,9	23	54,3
<b>Go up</b>	8	19,9	9	22,4	11	26
<b>total</b>	92	229	92	229,1	105	247,9

Overall, the same tendency seems to continue that was already perceived in the spoken data of the ICE-GB, in particular. In other words, the frequencies in the written data are remarkably lower. With the ICE-K and ICE-T this tendency is not so noticeable although with some particle verbs the frequencies are lower than those in the spoken data.

Regarding the first particle verb, *go down*, the ICE-T presents the highest frequencies with 32, 4 cases/mio. The next highest frequencies are in the ICE-K (27,

4/mio) leaving ICE-GB last with only 18, 9 instances of *go down* per mio. With the ICE-K the frequencies for *go down* are even slightly higher than in the spoken data where there were 23, 1 cases/mio. However, the ICE-GB for its side has remarkably lower frequencies here than those found in the spoken data: 72, 1 instances of *go down*/mio.

The next verb, *go in*, is found only three times in the ICE-K, giving a normalised frequency of 7, 5/mio. In the ICE-T there are 12, 4 cases/mio. The ICE-GB also has only 18, 9 cases/mio. Thus, this might suggest that the use of *go in* concentrates on spoken or more colloquial language. The frequencies in the spoken data however are not notable enough to really state anything conclusive on this.

With *go off* the frequencies are also extremely low with both the ICE-K and ICE-T: only 2, 5/mio in both (or one single case in total). Instead, the ICE-GB has 33 cases/ mio. A similar tendency with *go off* was already perceivable in the written corpora regarding both ICE-K and ICE-T. Thus, in the written corpus their use is even rarer – one could claim that this particle verb is nearly non-existent in the ICE-EA while in the ICE-GB it clearly exists.

Contrary to these figures, the particle verb, *go on*, yields fairly high frequencies in all of the three corpora of written texts. In addition, in the ICE-K and ICE-T there does not seem to be any clear difference in frequencies on how *go on* is used in the spoken and written corpora. There are 139, 4 cases/mio in the written data of ICE-K while in the spoken data there were 166, 7 cases/mio. In the ICE-T the figures are 124, 5/mio for written and 163, 7/mio for spoken. However, the ICE-GB has only 96, 8 instances/mio in the written data while in the spoken one the frequencies were as high as 313, 7/mio.

Continuing on the next verb, namely *go out*, the normalized frequencies for written corpora of both the ICE-K and ICE-T are practically the same: 32,3/mio for ICE-K and 34,9/mio for ICE-T while in the ICE-GB figures are 54,3/mio. However, the results concerning ICE-T cause some surprise, since here the frequencies for *go out* are higher than those in the spoken data (28, 1 cases/mio). There also was a clear difference in the total number of cases: in spoken data there were only 6 cases of *go out* whereas in the written data the number was 14. However, one must wait for the semantic analysis of this particle verb before drawing any further conclusions on the use of this particular verb + particle combination.

With the last particle verb *go up*, it is with the ICE-K that the results are somewhat puzzling. In the written data there are 19, 9 instances/mio of *go up* while in the spoken data the figures were 15, 4/mio. Thus, concerning *go up* in KenE, its use seems to be almost equally frequent in both spoken and written English. Finally the results for ICE-T and ICE-GB both give lower frequencies in the written data, namely 22, 4/mio for the previously mentioned and 26 cases/mio for the ICE-GB.

### 6.3.2 Semantic Analysis of *go down*, *go in*, *go on*, and *go out*

Table 12 (Semantic categories for *go down*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	0	4	2	0	7	0
<b>Non-literal</b>	9	7	8	13	39	8
<b>total</b>	9	11	10	13	46	8

The number of instances is fairly low regarding ICE-K and ICE-T whereas in ICE-GB *go down* is fairly common. In addition to the low frequencies, the written data exhibits slightly more instances in the East African corpus. Regarding the semantic division between literal and non-literal categories the majority of instances fall into the latter



one in both spoken and written data in all of the corpora. This seems fairly natural as most of the senses (18 out of the total 21) are non-literal. The first of these, namely sense 4 that denotes the action of visiting a place (often with reference of the place being geographically south to the place where the speaker is), demonstrates an interesting outcome in the data. This particular sense is almost non-existent in the East African data while in the spoken ICE-GB it is common (20 instances). Instead, in ICE-K and ICE-T the particle verb *go down* is used with several other non-literal senses, e.g. sense 11 (“Of cost, level, standard or amount of something: to decrease or to deteriorate”). The following are examples of this use:

(53) ...the value of the shilling had drastically *gone down* as a result of the conditions... (ICE-K, spoken)

(54) His fever should *go down* in a few hours time. (ICE-T, written)

One of the reasons explaining the favouring of this particular non-literal sense might be that in this context the particle *down* has a more literal meaning, and thus could be easier to learn and use. Next, I will move on to the analysis of the next particle verb, namely *go in*. Below is the table of results:

Table 13 (Semantic categories for *go in*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	8	1	1	3	14	5
<b>Non-literal</b>	2	2	0	2	7	3
<b>total</b>	10	3	1	5	21	8

With *go in* most of the uses have a literal meaning. Actually, there is only one sense in this category. Thus, most of the cases found in the East African data fall into this. This sense (sense 1) refers to the action of entering a place; and one’s own house in specific. This also is the way of how *go in* is mostly used in the ICE-GB. The following examples are of this use:

(55) ...when they wanted to *go in* to ask for the votes from their... (ICE-K, spoken)

(56) He can’t *go in* that way in the other way and that way... (ICE-T, spoken)

(57) The maggots *go in* the doughnuts (ICE-GB, spoken)

Another sense with which *go in* was used in the ICE-GB fairly often was sense 3 (non-literal meaning describing the action of going somewhere because of a certain reason; or entering a game or a contest as a competitor. Here are a couple examples of this usage:

(58) So I 'm not a full-time lecturer there and I just *go in* to teach the science... (ICE-GB, spoken)

(59) ...the down side was that all the girls who *go in* at sixteen really have gone there... (ICE-GB, spoken)

The literal use of *go in* is seems fairly straightforward as many of the non-literal senses are semi-metaphorical by nature. However, in the EAfE the use of this particle verb seems to be confined mainly to the literal meaning.

Table 14 (Semantic categories for *go on*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Non-literal</b>	65	56	35	50	200	41
<b>total</b>	65	56	35	50	200	41

The next particle verb, namely *go on* is extremely well presented in the data, in both spoken and written texts. However, it does not exhibit any cases with literal sense (sense 1: “To fit an object on top of another one”) in any of the corpora. Instead, there is a vast variety of non-literal senses (15 in total) with which *go on* can occur. Despite this, the use in the data concentrates on only some of these to any significant extent. Sense 2 (“To continue doing something; to proceed to do something as the next step”) and sense 3 (“To continue to happen/exist; to take place at the present time; of time: to pass/proceed”) are well represented in all of the three corpora while sense 11 exhibits variation (“To continue talking, perhaps after an interruption; to encourage somebody to continue talking”). In the ICE-K there are some instances in both spoken and written data while in ICE-T it occurs only in the written data. Moreover, in ICE-

GB this sense is used with a total of 26 cases in the spoken data and only once in the written. The following examples illustrate the use of *go on* in these senses (2, 3, and 11):

- Sense 2: (60) ...and she or he can *go on* believing that his or her policy is... (ICE-T, written)  
 (61) Waweru is not even scared and he *goes on* to say that he has got no hurry... (ICE-K, written)  
 (62) The Falklands war saved Mrs Thatcher in 1982, and she *went on* to leave her mark on history. (ICE-GB, written)
- Sense 3: (63) ...the work to rehabilitate those buildings is *going on* well. (ICE-T, spoken)  
 (64) ...really give her a thorough bashing and then it *went on* and it continued from bad to worse. (ICE-K, spoken)
- Sense 11:(65) This guy *went on* to explain how ghost workers are sometimes... (ICE-T, written)  
 (66) You love the truth I'm glad <>*go on*<> Did you read... (ICE-K, spoken)  
 (67) As long as I *go on* to talk about is... (ICE-GB, spoken)

Counting all the senses occurring in the ICE-K, ICE-T, and ICE-GB, it is clear that the biggest semantic coverage is in ICE-GB where *go on* occurs with 10 different senses (16 possible senses in total for this particle verb). However, in the ICE-K and ICE-T the tendency to use *go on* with some particular senses results in figures 6/16 and 5/16. Thus it can be concluded that in British English *go on* is used to express a large number of meanings while in East African English many of these meanings seem to be unknown.

Table 15 (Semantic categories for *go out*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	19	6	4	11	22	8
<b>Non-literal</b>	23	7	2	3	69	15
total	42	13	6	14	91	23

Similarly to the previous particle verb, also *go out* exhibits fairly high frequencies except for the data in ICE-T. The division between the two semantic categories varies

from one corpus to another. In the ICE-K the cases of *go out* divide fairly evenly into literal and non-literal uses. This tendency continues on the spoken ICE-T while in the written data the majority of cases are used in their literal sense. In ICE-GB this is quite the opposite, with non-literal senses forming the majority in both spoken and written data.

There are a total of 17 senses with which *go out* can be used. Of these senses, only two belong to the category of literal meaning. In addition, of these two senses, only the first one occurs in the data, namely sense 1 (“to leave a room/building/place, esp. one’s own house; to go hunting”) The following are some examples of this usage:

- (68) I am strong enough to *go out* and face the world on my own...  
(ICE-K, written)
- (69) ...after their homework they have to *go out* and work to get money for...  
(ICE-T, spoken)
- (70) ...and then I 've being ill I didn't *go out* for sort of three days...  
(ICE-GB spoken)

While with the literal use all of the corpora were fairly similar, with the non-literal use they exhibited a variety of differences. First of all, where as the ICE-K had a number of cases of *go out* used in sense 3, and the ICE-GB to an even greater degree, the ICE-T did not have any instance of this sense. This sense refers to the action of spending time socialising with others and it often also has an additional nuance of referring to a romantic and/or sexual relationship with somebody. The following examples illustrate this use in the Kenyan and British data:

- (71) ...when it comes to men there are young men who *go out* with older women and also they are looking for... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (72) I 've been *going out* because I don't want to work and I ought to have a normal life and... (ICE-GB, spoken)

In addition to sense 1, also sense 4 exhibits variation to a certain degree. The majority of instances are found in the spoken ICE-GB, after which ICE-K and ICE-T follow in this order. *Go out* used with this sense denotes travelling abroad, or going to another

country on a special mission; e.g. as an ambassador. Here are some examples of this use in the EAFÉ:

- (73) ...when an extension officer *goes out* in the rural areas this is the farmer that.... (ICE-K, spoken)
- (74) ...when say Julius Nyerere as the president would *go out* to the regions he will call... (ICE-T, spoken).

To sum up this analysis of the semantic uses of *go out*, one can conclude that its use resembles that of other analysed particle verbs. In the ICE-GB, *go out* is used with a variety of meaning while in the East African corpus (and in the Tanzanian data in particular) the use of *go out* is concentrated on a narrower scale of meanings. This, once more, points towards the general assumption according to which the opaque nature of some of the senses presents a challenge to non-native speakers, and they tend to avoid these uses.

## 6.4 Put + particles

### 6.4.1 Frequency of *put* + particles

Chart 7

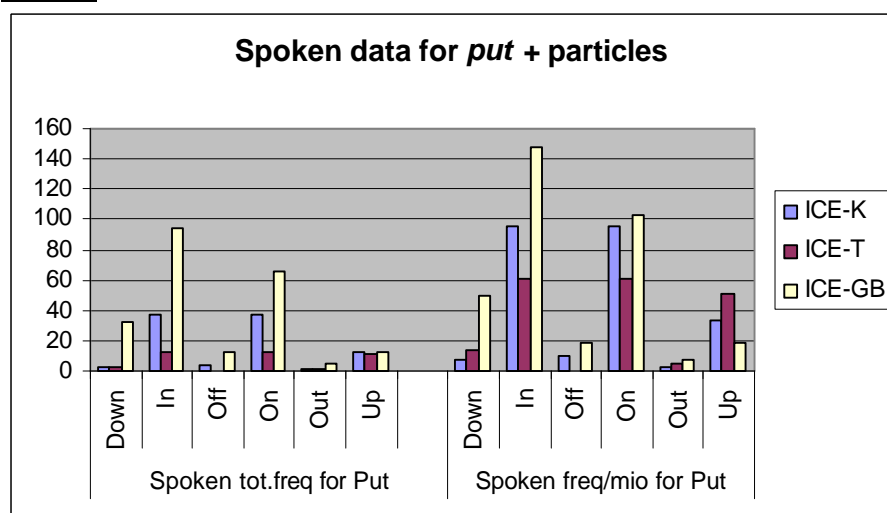


Table 16 (*Put* + particles in spoken data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Put down</b>	3	7,7	3	14	32	50,2
<b>Put in</b>	37	94,9	13	60,8	94	147,4
<b>Put off</b>	4	10,3	0	0	12	18,8
<b>Put on</b>	37	94,9	13	60,8	66	103,5
<b>Put out</b>	1	2,6	1	4,7	5	7,8
<b>Put up</b>	13	33,3	11	18,8	12	18,8
<b>total</b>	95	243,7	41	159,1	221	346,5

The first verb + particle combination *put down* is relatively rare in the East African spoken corpus (a total of three instances in both): in the ICE-K there are 7, 7 cases/mio while in ICE-T the figures are 14 cases/mio. In the ICE-GB, however, the normalised frequency count is 50, 2 cases per mio. The result on the ICE-EA further supports the findings on the rarity of particle *down* in EAfE particle verb formation.

Opposite to *put down*, the second particle verb, *put in*, is fairly common in the ICE-EA: there are 94, 9 cases/mio in the ICE-K and 60, 8/mio in the ICE-T. Despite these fairly high frequencies, that of the ICE-GB data is even higher: 147, 4 cases/mio.

Next, *put off* again is rare in the East African data: in the ICE-K there are 10, 3 cases/mio (or four instances in total) while in ICE-T this particle verb does not occur at all. This then falls in line with the previous results on this particle (*off*). In the ICE-GB there are 18,8 cases/mio. Thus, in British English this particle verb is still fairly common.

Continuing on the next combination, the particle verb *put on* results in fairly high frequencies in all of the three corpora. The lowest frequencies are in the ICE-T: 60, 8 cases/mio. In the ICE-K there are 94, 9 cases/mio which is almost as much as in the ICE-GB (103, 5/mio).

*Put out* for its part is extremely rare in both ICE-K and ICE-T (2, 6/mio and 4, 7/mio) with just one instance in both of the corpora. The ICE-GB also gives fairly low figures for this particle verb: 7, 8 cases/mio.

The last particle verb in this group, namely *put up* occurs fairly often in all of the corpora. The frequencies for the ICE-K are 33, 3/mio, 56, 1/mio for ICE-T and 18, 8/mio for ICE-GB. Next I will see if the written data results differ from these findings. Here is the chart and the table for the written data results of *put* + particles.

Chart 8

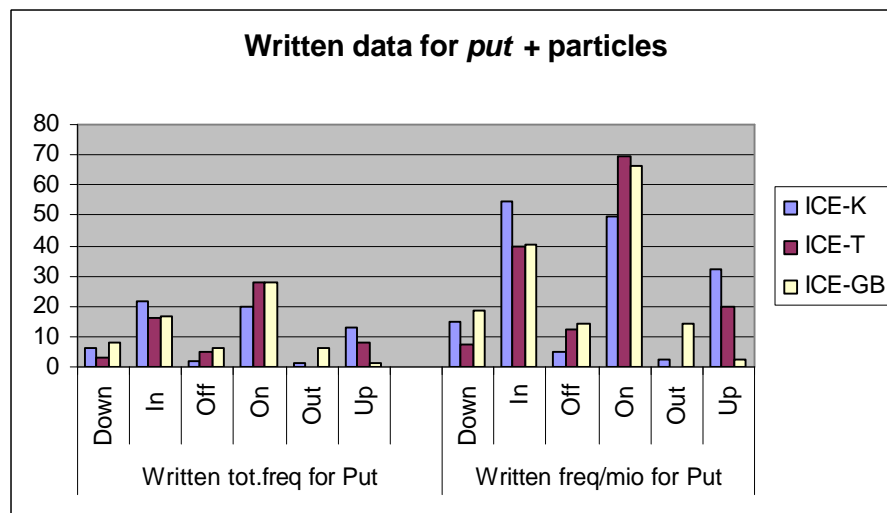


Table 17 (*Put* + particles in written data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Put down</b>	6	14,9	3	7,5	8	18,9
<b>Put in</b>	22	54,7	16	39,8	17	40,1
<b>Put off</b>	2	5	5	12,4	6	14,2
<b>Put on</b>	20	49,8	28	69,7	28	66,1
<b>Put out</b>	1	2,5	0	0	6	14,2
<b>Put up</b>	13	32,3	8	19,9	1	2,4
<b>total</b>	64	159,2	60	149,3	66	155,9

In the written data, the frequencies are again generally lower than in the spoken data. However, there are some exceptions. For instance, with the first particle verb, *put down*, the frequencies in the ICE-K exceed those in the spoken data: 14, 9 cases/mio

vs. 7, 7/mio. In written ICE-T there are 7, 5 cases/mio (spoken: 14/mio) while in the ICE-GB *put down* occurs 18, 9 times/mio (spoken: 50, 2/mio).

The next particle verb, *put in* is fairly frequent in all of the three corpora. ICE-T presenting the lowest frequencies has 39, 8 cases/mio while the figures for ICE-GB are 40, 1. The highest frequencies are found in the ICE-K: 54, 7 cases/mio. However, all of the frequencies with *put in* are lower in the written data than in the spoken one.

Next, *put off* is relatively rare throughout. ICE-K results in 5 cases/mio, ICE-T in 12, 4/mio, and ICE-GB in 14, 2/mio. However, with the ICE-T, the result on *put off* is interesting as the spoken data did not have any case of this particle verb at all. Here in the written data there are a total of 5 instances of *put off*.

The fourth particle verb, *put on*, follows the tendencies perceived in the spoken data although the frequencies for ICE-K and ICE-GB are lower. However, the ICE-T exhibits slightly higher frequencies in the written data: 69, 7 cases/mio (spoken: 60, 8 mio). ICE-K has 49, 8 cases/mio while in the ICE-GB *put on* occurs 66, 1 times/mio.

Further on, *put out* is nearly non-existent in the ICE-K: only 2, 5 cases/mio (one single instance) and totally non-existent in the ICE-T. In the spoken data the tendency was the same (2, 6/mio in ICE-K and 4, 7/mio in ICE-T). The ICE-GB does not have many instances of *put out* either: the normalised frequency is 14, 2/mio with six instances in total. Actually, here in the written data the frequencies in the British corpus are ever slightly higher than in the spoken data (7, 8/mio) Thus, it seems that in the ICE-EA *put out* is extremely rare but it does not occur frequently even in the ICE-GB data.

*Put up* occurs 19, 9 times/mio in ICE-T data: while in the spoken data the figure was 18, 8 cases/mio. The written data results for *put up* in the ICE-K are 32, 3



cases/mio which is almost the same frequency as in the spoken data. In ICE-GB the frequency (2, 4/mio) is noticeably lower than in the spoken data (18, 8).

#### 6.4.2 Semantic Analysis of *put in*, *put on*, and *put up*

Table 18 (Semantic categories for *put in*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	17	9	3	6	34	7
<b>Non-literal</b>	20	13	10	10	60	10
<b>total</b>	37	22	13	16	94	17

With *put in* the frequencies between spoken and written data do not differ significantly in the East African corpora. Yet, in the ICE-GB the difference is clearly detectable. Regarding the division of *put in* into the two semantic categories, in both ICE-K and ICE-T use them with both meanings fairly evenly. In ICE-GB however, the non-literal use is more common.

Looking at the details of usage, one can notice that in the literal category *put in* occurs with sense 1 most frequently. This applies to all of the corpora. Sense 1 refers to the placement or insertion of an item inside another item. Here are some examples of this usage found in the data:

- (75) “Arita,” he called as she *put* the key *in* the key-hole to open the door...  
(ICE-K, written)
- (76) Even for a person famous for *putting* his foot *in* his mouth, this is really going too far. (ICE-T, written)
- (77) Well, put it in a *put* it *in* a little case or a box little box or something.  
(ICE-GB, spoken)

Actually, the example (76), taken from the Tanzanian data presents an idiom with its own specified meaning. However, as the intention in this study is not to look at the idiomatic status of the particle verbs, this instance was interpreted as having a literal meaning. Continuing on the analysis of the results, *put in* occurred also with sense 2

in the British data. This sense did not occur in the ICE-EA at all. Here is one example of this use:

- (78) ...for instance if under the old system if people *put* central heating *in* or had double glazing or... (ICE-GB, spoken)

In the category of non-literal senses, the cases found in the data were distributed on several senses. Again, the number of senses found in the Kenyan and Tanzanian data was slightly smaller, especially in the Tanzanian data. While the ICE-GB presented 10 out of 14 senses, ICE-T had only five. However, one must remember that the frequencies of *put in* also were significantly lower in the Tanzanian spoken data, and this might have affected the result concerning semantic diversity of *put in*.

One fairly significant difference in the use of non-literal senses was found with sense 6 which in essence refers to the inclusion or addition of something. In the ICE-GB this sense appeared a number of times while the ICE-K and ICE-T in particular had only some cases on this sense:

- (79) Unless you are doing solo window displays try and *put in* as many related titles as possible not just on... (ICE-K, spoken)  
(80) I think we ought to *put it in* the Swahili dictionary so that it can be... (ICE-T, spoken)  
(81) So you would be happy if we *put in* a noun-phrase there? (ICE-GB, spoken)

Many of the non-literal senses with *put in* are metaphorical by nature. However, sense 6 can be interpreted to have a semi-metaphorical meaning. In other words, the verb *put* can be interpreted literally while the particle *in* is non-literal. Thereby it is peculiar that this sense does not occur so often in the East African corpus. One explanation might be the low number of cases in total. This then results in one single sense not presenting high numbers of instances of *put in*.

Next I will move on to the discussion on *put on* and its semantic uses. This particle verb presents the highest frequencies in the group of *put + particles* investigated in this study. Here is the table of results:

Table 19 (Semantic categories for *put on*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	19	11	6	13	42	15
<b>Non-literal</b>	18	9	7	15	24	13
<b>total</b>	37	20	13	28	66	28

The distribution of cases into those having a literal and those presenting a non-literal sense is again fairly even in both of the East African data. In ICE-GB there are more instances with non-literal meaning. One conspicuous feature concerns the written Tanzanian data that exceeds the spoken one in size.

The particle verb *put on* has 20 different meanings. Two of these belong to the literal category. And both of these senses (1 and 2) occur in all of the corpora. Sense 1 has the meaning of placing something on a surface, or attaching an item to another item. Sense 2 for one refers to the action of dressing, or spreading makeup or ointment on one's face or body. Here are some extracts from the data presenting these senses:

- Sense 1: (82) I *put* the amplifier *on* its roof. (ICE-K, spoken)  
 (83) ...are very popular here in Mwanza and we *put* them *on* the veranda... (ICE-T, spoken)  
 (84) Well he's *put* his certificate *on* his wall. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- Sense 2: (85) ...I *put on* my clothes and shoes and then walked down the steps. (ICE-K, written)  
 (86) I must start *putting on* T-shirts now because I don't want to... (ICE-T, written)  
 (87) Alice *put on* her coat, still damp from her trip to the shop in the morning and... (ICE-GB, written)

Most of the cases with a non-literal meaning in the ICE-EA concentrated on two senses, namely sense 14 and 15 (“to emphasize or rely on something; to blame something/somebody for something” and “to cause someone to work, take responsibility or feel pressure”). With sense 14 both the ICE-K and ICE-T exhibited

significantly more cases than what were found in the ICE-GB. The following are examples of both sense 14 and 15:

- Sense 14: (88) We don't even want to *put* the blame *on* the man's shoulder. (ICE-K, spoken)  
 (89) So when we talk about gender we have to *put* more emphasis *on* culture. (ICE-T, spoken)  
 (90) Strikes me that you you're *putting* all the emphasis at the moment *on* the costing. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- Sense 15: (91) This, in turn *put* a great strain *on* the facilities... (ICE-K, written)  
 (92) ...of the international Shylocks have begun to *put* a squeeze *on* education in a dramatic fashion. (ICE-T, written)  
 (93) They are used by MPs to demonstrate concern on key issues and to *put* pressure *on* ministers. (ICE-GB, written)

To sum up the results on *put on*, it seems that the only instance where the use of the particle verb differs significantly is found with sense 14. As pointed out already above, ICE-EA has several cases of this use while in the ICE-GB there is only one.

Finally, here is the table of results for *put up*:

Table 20 (Semantic categories for *put up*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	9	8	4	4	8	0
<b>Non-literal</b>	4	5	7	4	4	1
<b>total</b>	13	13	11	8	12	1

Due to the low frequencies of *put up* in the data, it is difficult to say anything conclusive on the distribution of particle verbs into the two semantic categories. There are 16 senses given for *put up* in the dictionaries of which two have a literal meaning. The other 14 senses have a more or less metaphorical meaning. With the literal meanings, sense 2 was more frequent in the ICE-EA while in the ICE-GB it was the opposite (although the instances of *put up* in the written data was almost non-existent with both of these senses). Here are some examples of the use of sense 2 on erecting or constructing buildings:

- (94) ...Bora dispensary which was also *put up* by his organization in conjunction with... (ICE-K, spoken)  
 (95) ...there was a need to *put up* such a village here in Tanzania (ICE-T, spoken)

Regarding the non-literal use, it is impossible to draw any conclusions on the findings as the number of cases was so low. In the ICE-K, *put up* occurred with four senses, while in ICE-T it occurred with six non-literal senses. Finally, data in the ICE-GB covered only four senses out of the possible 14. The most likely reason for this could be the low number of cases in general. Finally, for interest sake, here are some instances of the non-literal use in the data:

- Sense 4: (96) Do you mind help us to *put up* these things.  
 (ICE-T, spoken)  
 Sense 6: (97) ...to watch such artists when they *put up* their shows.  
 (ICE-K, spoken)  
 Sense 9: (98) ...always take bits and pieces from your society and *put it up* you know uh and create something out of it... (ICE-K, spoken)  
 (99) ... politicians will not want to *put up* a suggestion.  
 (ICE-T, spoken)

## 6.5 Take + particles

### 6.5.1 Frequency of *take* + particles

Chart 9

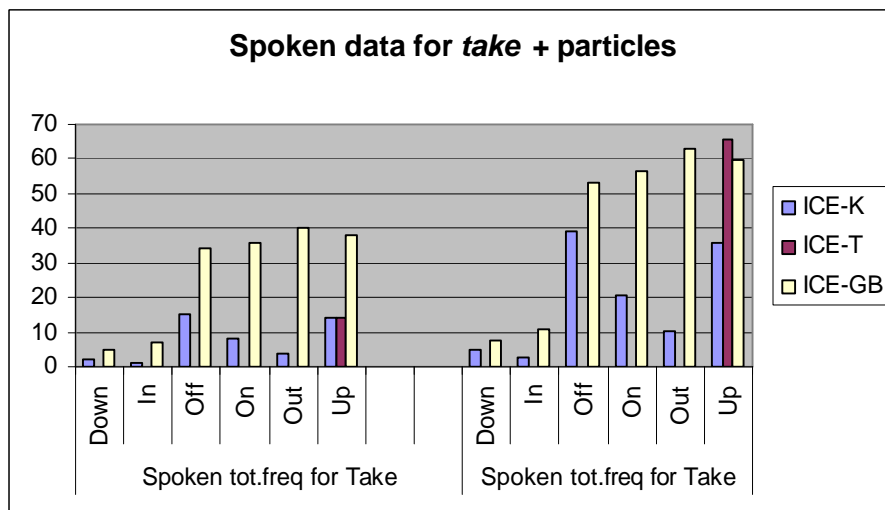


Table 21 (*Take* + particles in spoken data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Take down</b>	2	5,1	0	0	5	7,8
<b>Take in</b>	1	2,6	0	0	7	11
<b>Take off</b>	15	38,8	0	0	34	53,3
<b>Take on</b>	8	20,5	0	0	36	56,5
<b>Take out</b>	4	10,3	0	0	40	62,7
<b>Take up</b>	14	35,9	14	65,5	38	59,6
total	44	113,2	14	65,5	160	250,9

The results for *take* + particles in the spoken data are really interesting regarding the Tanzanian corpus in particular. The particles verbs *take down*, *take in*, *take off*, *take on*, and *take out* are totally non-existent. However, these verbs are fairly well presented in the Kenyan data (as well as in the British data).

*Take down* has 5, 1 cases/mio in the ICE-K (2 instances in total) while the ICE-GB gives the normalised frequency count of 7, 8 cases/mio (5 instances in total). Thus, this particular particle verb is not common in any of the spoken corpora.

The next particle verb, *take in*, does not yield high frequencies either: the ICE-K gives 2, 6 cases/mio (one single instance in the whole data) while the ICE-GB results in 11 cases/mio.

Contrary to this, *take off* is fairly frequent in both ICE-K and ICE-GB (38, 8/mio and 53, 3/mio in this order). This is an interesting result as with the other verb + *off* combinations, the frequencies are relatively lower regarding the East African data (see appendix 15 for the tables of particle frequencies in the data).

Further on, *take on* is relatively frequent in the ICE-K (20, 5 cases/mio) but particularly in ICE-GB where it yields 56, 5 cases/mio. *Take out* for one is rare in the Kenyan spoken data: only 10, 3 cases/mio while in the British data it is the opposite: 62, 7 cases/mio.

The last combination, *take up*, is among the most frequent ones in the ICE-K resulting in 35, 9 cases/mio (this frequency count is almost the same with *take off*). Moreover, this particle verb also has 65, 5 cases/mio in the ICE-T, being the only combination of *take* + particles used in the Tanzanian spoken data. The ICE-GB gives 59, 6 cases of *take up* per million words.

Next I will look at the results for the written data in all of the three corpora. Here is the chart and the table for the results for *take* + particles:

Chart 10

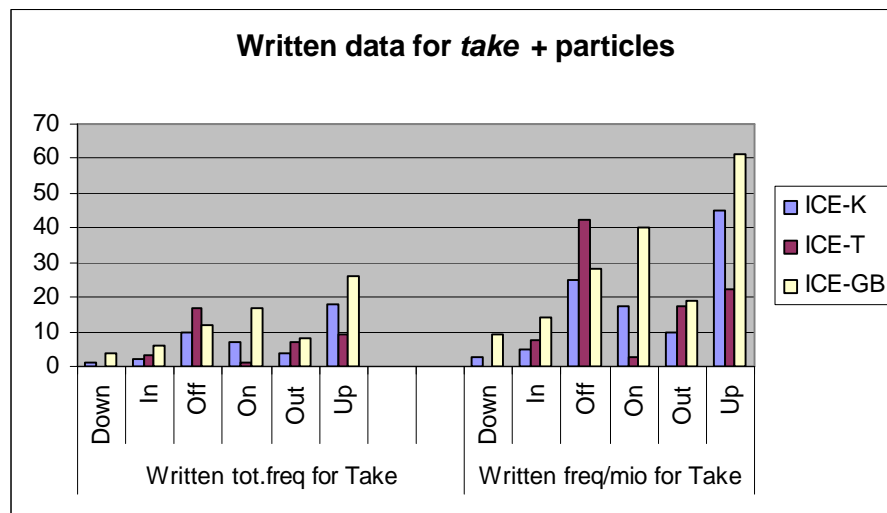


Table 22 (*Take* + particles in written data)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
<b>Take down</b>	1	2,5	0	0	4	9,4
<b>Take in</b>	2	5	3	7,5	6	14,2
<b>Take off</b>	10	24,9	17	42,3	12	28,3
<b>Take on</b>	7	17,4	1	2,5	17	40,1
<b>Take out</b>	4	10	7	17,4	8	18,9
<b>Take up</b>	18	44,8	9	22,4	26	61,4
<b>total</b>	42	104,6	37	92,1	73	172,3

Unlike the results in the spoken data, in the written data the ICE-T has instances on all other particle verbs except *take down*. This particle verb also occurs extremely rarely in the ICE-K: 2, 5 cases/mio (one single instance in total) giving lower figures for its use in the written language. For one, the ICE-GB results in 9, 4 cases/mio (four instances in total) which is actually slightly higher than the frequency in the spoken data (7, 8/mio or five instances in total).

Next, *take in* occurs slightly more frequently in all of the three corpora. The ICE-K with the lowest figures has 5 cases/mio while ICE-T has 7, 5 cases/mio. Their highest frequencies are in the ICE-GB which gives 14, 2 cases of *take in* per million words.

*Take off* which gave highest frequencies of *take* + particle in the Kenyan spoken data, is also fairly frequent in the written Kenyan data: 24, 9 cases/mio. The most radical results are in the ICE-T where there are 42, 3 cases/mio of *take off* (In the spoken data this particle verb was totally non-existent in the ICE-T). Even more interestingly, in the written data of ICE-T, this verb + particle combination is the most frequent one of all (whereas in the spoken data it was *take up*). Finally, the results for the ICE-GB are again lower than in the spoken data with a figure of 28, 3 cases/mio.

The next particle verb, *take on*, also yields some interesting results. First of all, it is nearly non-existent in the ICE-T where there is only one single instance of *take on* (2, 5 cases/mio). In the Kenyan data however, the frequencies are almost the same with the spoken results: 17, 4 vs. 20, 5 cases/mio. In the ICE-GB the frequencies are lower (40, 1) than in the spoken data but with 17 instances in total it is still common in the written data of the British corpus.

Continuing on the next particle verb, namely *take out*, it is not so common in any of the three corpora. The ICE-K again exhibits the lowest frequencies, 10 cases/mio while there are 17, 4 cases in the written ICE-T. In the spoken data of Tanzanian



English there were no cases at all. Thus, it seems that ICE-T favours *take out* in the written language particularly. With the British data, the result for *take out* is 18, 9 cases/mio which is clearly lower than that of the spoken data.

Results for *take up* are 22, 4/mio for written ICE-T (while the spoken data yielded in 65,5 cases/mio). In the ICE-K the frequencies for *take up* are slightly higher in the written than in the spoken data (44, 8/mio vs. 38, 8/mio). With the British written data the results are almost the same as with the spoken data: 56, 6 cases/mio (in spoken: 59, 6).

### 6.5.2 Semantic Analysis of *take off* and *take up*

Here is the table of results for the semantic analysis of *take off*:

Table 23 (Semantic categories for *take off*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	1	2	0	6	19	5
<b>Non-literal</b>	14	8	0	11	15	7
<b>total</b>	15	10	0	17	34	12

As the frequencies on *take off* are fairly low in the East African corpus, and zero in the spoken ICE-T, this prevents the particle verb from occurring with several senses. In this study, the senses found for *take off* are collapsed into 15 senses. Only one of these belongs to the category of literal meaning. This sense occurred in both ICE-K and ICE-T but was fairly frequent in the ICE-GB. In essence, this sense contains the meaning of removal or separation of something; or the action of undressing. Here are some examples taken from the data:

- (100) I decided to *take off* his shoes and cover him with a blanket.  
(ICE-K, written)
- (101) "...even the skin covering the head was *taken off*" said Ndugu...  
(ICE-T, written)
- (101) ...because we can *take* all the details *off* the computer.  
(ICE-GB, spoken)

What is interesting regarding the Tanzanian corpus is that five out of the total six instances of *take off* with this literal sense appear in texts consisting of creative writing. Creative writing often presents more flexibility in style, and can have speech-like features. Also many of the instances in which *take off* occurs in these texts are inside dialogues (see example 101 above) or third person narration. The latter is illustrated through the following excerpts:

- (102) Should he *take off* his clothes as well? He was quick to discard...  
(103) No, he would not *take off* his clothes. That the idea to *take off* his clothes had even occurred to him was...

These last two examples are drawn from the same text; and actually from two consecutive sentences as well. The fact that these cases occurred in the creative texts, makes one wonder how there were no cases of *take off* in the spoken data at all. In order to be able to explain this, further studies have to be conducted. In other words, this particle verb could be studied in other sources, e.g. radio programs etc. in order to find out if this really non-existent in spoken Tanzanian English.

In the results of non-literal use of *take off*, there are two senses in which the East African and British data differ to a certain degree. Firstly, sense 3, describing the action of (suddenly) going away or leaving, occurs several times in the Kenyan spoken data while in the British data there are only a couple of instances. Here are some examples of this sense:

- (104) ...paid for the examinations but the head master *took off* with the money.  
(ICE-K, spoken)  
(105) ...when he's sure you're all laughing then he *takes off*. (ICE-K, spoken)  
(106) The first four *took off* at one minute intervals the fifth a little later.  
(ICE-GB)

Secondly, sense 6 occurs seven times in the spoken British data while in the spoken ICE-EA it is non-existent. This sense contains the meaning of spending time doing something unusual, or having free from work. Here are some examples of this use:

- (107) she's *taken* a day *off* work. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- (108) I can't *take* Friday afternoon *off*. (ICE-GB, spoken)

This sense seems to be fairly easy to figure out from its context. Thus, it seems peculiar that the only instances of this sense occur in the written and not in the spoken data in the Kenyan corpus.

Next I will discuss the semantic results of *take up*. Here is the table of results:

Table 24(Semantic categories for *take up*)

	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken	Written
<b>Literal</b>	0	2	1	0	5	2
<b>Non-literal</b>	14	16	13	9	33	24
<b>total</b>	14	18	14	9	38	26

There are 18 senses with which *take up* can occur. In the data, this particle verb was found with eight senses in the ICE-K, six senses in the ICE-T, and 11 senses in the ICE-GB. Since most of the senses are non-literal, also most of the instances of *take up* fell in to this category. There were not any noticeable differences between the three corpora regarding the occurrence of *take up* with any single sense except for sense 13 (“to occupy”), and senses 7 and 8 (“to start on an activity or job” and “to draw attention to a point, idea, or issue, and cause it to be discussed or dealt with”). With sense 13 the ICE-GB presented the highest frequencies while in the ICE-EA there were only a few instances, if none at all. Here are some examples of this usage, together with the rare instances in the ICE-EA:

- (109) Well I haven't got the time because I've been doing little jobs uh which *take up* just as much time as any other job. (ICE-GB, spoken)
- (110) To list and describe them all would *take up* too much space here and would be confusing. (ICE-GB, written)
- (111) And these jobs were as I have said *taken up* by literally illiterate Portuguese (ICE-K, spoken)

(112) “Hey you guy with a T-shirt go forward and you huge mama you are *taking up* too big a space” (ICE-T, written)

The rarity of this sense in the ICE-EA could be explained by the low number of instances of *take up* in general. Thus, there is a narrower scale of meanings occurring in the data, and the number of instances per sense is lower as well.

Another instance where the data differed was with sense 7. This was clearly more frequent in the East African data where as in the British data there were only a few cases. Here are some examples of this sense in the ICE-K and ICE-T:

(113) ... one of the reasons why he could not *take up* his job. (ICE-K, written)

(114) Why did the Regional Commissioner *take up* the task of receiving the equipment? (ICE-T, written)

(115) They should not be forced to *take up* new partnerships with people they do not want. (ICE-K, spoken)

(116) ...and in fact for these two who have decided to *take up* this environmental management on their family... (ICE-T, spoken)

Further on, the use of *take up* with sense 8 was more frequent slightly more frequent in the spoken ICE-GB and least frequent in the spoken ICE-K (only one instance).

However, no further conclusions can be drawn on these results since the frequencies in the East African data were fairly slow.

To conclude, the range of semantic senses was once more smaller in the ICE-EA. This surely has also had an impact on how many instances there were with each sense. Thus, the semantic differences found in the data must be interpreted with caution.

## 7 Conclusion and Discussion

The results for the five verbs combined with the six particles show that there truly is variation between the three corpora; and particularly between East African and British corpora. To put it short, according to the findings in this study, East African English presents a clearly lower productivity level on most of the studied verb + particle combinations. The lowest frequencies were generally found in the ICE-T with slightly higher numbers in the ICE-K. However, frequencies in the ICE-GB were in most cases recognizably higher. This was true particularly with the spoken data. These results also support the findings in Schneider's study (2004) according to which the ICE-EA corpora resulted in significantly lower frequencies compared to the other ICE subcomponents.

However, the written data of EAfE resulted occasionally in levelled or even higher frequencies than what were found in the British corpus (e.g. *come on, get out, go out, go up, put down, put out, take down, and take up*). This confirms Schneider's (2004) claim that the East African use of particle verbs exhibits a lack of awareness on the stylistic distinction between spoken and written language, at least to a certain degree. In his study Schneider noted that in "East Africa the stylistic signaling function is reversed". However, this variation was also found in the Indian English corpus and thus, it cannot be seen as a feature of only East African English.

One further interesting result on the frequency counts was the low or zero number of instances of some particle verbs in the East African data. This occurred in the both of the East African corpora but particularly in the ICE-T where *come down, come off, get down, and take down* were non-existent. The particle verbs *go off, get off, get up, put off, take down m take in and take out* also resulted in extremely low (<5) frequencies in both of the ICE-EA sub-corpus. Thus, it seems that these verbs are

fairly unknown in the East African English. These results could imply the use of particle omission, substitution, or addition, which were all identified in Mwangi's (2003) study. Another option could be that East African English either favours some other particle verbs with a similar meaning, or then it favours simple verb forms instead. However, one must not draw any further conclusions on this as the size of the spoken corpora, especially regarding the ICE-T was relatively small compared to that of the ICE-GB.

Further on, there also were a number of cases in which the particle verb was totally non-existent in the spoken data but resulted in some instances in the written data. The most significant of these cases was with *take off* in the ICE-T where there were zero instances in the spoken data but a total of 17 in the written. Other such cases were *put off*, *get up*, and *take out* (also in the ICE-T) and *get on* in the ICE.K. The explanation for these results could be similar to that given above on the discussion of the total non-existence of some of the particle verbs. However, the occurrence in the written data might also point towards a different pattern in stylistic use of these particles, i.e. that particle verbs are felt less colloquial, or even more formal than their simple verb equivalents.

The semantic analysis conducted on 13 particle verbs (those that resulted in more than 10 instances in at least two corpora in either or both spoken and written data) revealed that there also is difference in the way these verbs are used in East African English. The main result was that with most of these particle verbs the number of semantic meanings with which they occurred was lower in the East African data than in the British one. Instead, inside the range of senses which both ICE-EA and ICE-GB exhibited, the differences between the uses were generally not so drastic. However, there were some singular cases (e.g. with *come up*, *get out*, and *go down*), in which

one or both of the ICE-EA sub-corpora seemed either to prefer or avoid the use of a particular sense when compared to that found in the ICE-GB.

Finally, looking at the results from the viewpoint of frequency in particle usage<sup>34</sup>, the particle *off* had significantly low frequencies in the East African data. The only exception to this was when it occurred together with the verb *take*. However, the frequencies in the ICE-GB were relatively higher for all of the verb + *off* combinations. The avoidance or rareness of *off* with particle verbs could reflect the results in Mwangi's study (2003) according to which some prepositions seems to be vanishing from the Kenyan English. In this current study, this could be seen in the use of *off* also as an adverb, as in *come off* or *put off*. Moreover, regarding the spoken and written data distinction, in the written ICE-T, the particle *off* had more instances than in the spoken, where it was totally non-existent with *come*, *put*, and *take*. This phenomenon could imply that the more opaque particle verbs are avoided in the spoken Tanzanian English whereas in the written texts they occur since writing normally offers more time for the language users to consider how to express themselves. This could also carefully be offered as an explanation for the tendency found in the data of East African English often presenting particle verbs more frequently in the written contexts.

Another infrequently occurring particle is *down*. However, its use seems to be fairly rare in the British English as well. In addition, regarding the highest frequencies of particles, the particle *in* resulted in a total of 120 instances in the spoken ICE-K (307, 8/mio) while in the ICE-T and ICE-GB it was the particle *on* (45 instances or 210,5/mio in the former and 387 or 607/mio in the latter data) In the written data, the

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<sup>34</sup> See the tables of verbs arranged according to particles in appendix 15.

highest frequencies occur with the particle *on* in all of the three corpora: 236,4 instances/mio in the ICE-K; 199,2/mio in the ICE-T and 228,9/mio in the ICE-GB.

This study managed to acquire important information on the variation between East African and British English regarding the productivity of certain particle verbs. The results exhibit clear variation on both frequency and semantics; and that Kenyan and Tanzanian Englishes are not as productive on particle verb use as the British English is. However, due to the relatively small size of the corpora, and the Tanzanian spoken component in specific, results should be interpreted with certain caution.

Further studies could involve a more detailed investigation of the use of particle verbs and their simple verb equivalents. In addition, it would be interesting to know whether some of the particles (e.g. *off*, and *down*) are avoided more generally in the formation of particle verbs, and whether particle omission, substitution and addition occur with more frequently occurring particle verbs.



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# Appendices

*Appendix 1 (Map of East Africa)*



[http://eaglespeak.blogspot.com/2005\\_03\\_01\\_archive.html](http://eaglespeak.blogspot.com/2005_03_01_archive.html)

*Appendix 2 (Semantic analysis of come in)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>come in</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To enter (a room/building); to invite somebody to enter; to come to work/ do business/ receive treatment	24/8	6/6	28/5
	S2 To arrive at or to approach a place; of a plane, ship, train or bus: to arrive at its destination	5/5	1/4	19/2
	S3 Of light, sound, air, or rain: to penetrate a barrier/hole and reach a place; of a tide: to rise	0/0	0/0	3/0
Non-literal	S4 To receive information, a report, a letter, or a call	1/0	0/0	1/0
	S5 To receive or earn money as normal income	0/0	0/0	3/2
	S6 Of a supply coming available in a shop	1/0	1/0	2/0
	S7 To be elected; to come into power; to gain/attain a particular position/rank	3/1	0/0	0/0
	S8 To come into use or fashion; of season, month, or period of weather: to begin	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S9 To introduce a law or an invention so that it begins to have effect	0/0	1/0	0/0
	S10 To join in a discussion, sometimes interrupting it; to join a group and participate in its activities	4/3	4/5	19/2
	S11 To enter into a narrative, account, or list; to intervene in the course of anything; to take its place, <i>esp.</i> with reference to the place or manner	26/2	7/2	17/1
	S12 To come in opportunely and prove useful – <i>to come in handy/useful</i> etc.	1/3	0/0	0/1
	S13 To begin to bat (in baseball)	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	13	65/22	20/17	93/13

*Appendix 3 (Semantic analysis of come out)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>come out</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To leave a house/room/place; to go somewhere together socially; to visit a country; to exit	18/15	3/8	24/3
	S2 To remove (from a container); to become detached from something	4/0	0/0	1/0
Non-literal	S3 To leave an organization/institution; of employees: to go on strike	1/0	0/0	0/0
	S4 To join/ protrude/project, or extend	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S5 Of a book etc: to publish or make available to the public	0/0	2/0	6/1
	S6 To gain a particular position or condition at the end of a competition, process, or a period of time	4/3	1/4	4/4
	S7 Of sun, moon, or a star: to appear in the sky	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S8 Of colours, stains, or marks: to disappear or fade	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 Of flowers, leaves or plants: to develop or open	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S10 Of information: to reveal or make public, to emerge; of secret: to reveal something shameful	21/8	20/13	44/7
	S11 Of supporting or opposing something: to declare one's opinion	1/5	2/1	1/0
	S12 To say something in a particular way	0/0	0/0	3/0
	S13 Of a photograph: to result in	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	13	49/31	28/36	86/15

*Appendix 4 (Semantic analysis of come up)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>come up</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To move from a lower position to a higher one; to move toward something/somebody; to move up the stairs; to come close forward to somebody; to visit or to move to a place	8/2	4/1	28/5
	S2 To rise to the surface of the water	0/0	0/0	0/0
Non-literal	S3 To reach a particular point or level	2/0	0/1	6/0
	S4 Of a seed, plant or bulb: to grow and push through the soil	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S5 Of information: to appear e.g. on a computer screen or announcement board in stations or airports	0/0	0/0	3/0
	S6 To appear in a certain way in the end of a process or a period of time or activity; to take rise, originate, come into use, or become the fashion	0/0	0/0	9/1
	S7 In a bar/restaurant: to indicate that food or drink is ready or being prepared, used in the progressive form (-ing)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S8 To present itself as the subject of attention; to arise, to turn up; to rise in the mind.	12/2	1/2	5/0
	S9 To put something forward for discussion or for sale	2/0	0/0	1/0
	S10 Of a job: to become available	0/0	0/0	0/1
	S11 Of something that is about to happen or take place	6/0	1/0	12/0
	S12 Of a problem, situation or event that appears, perhaps suddenly	4/1	3/0	3/0
	S13 In court of law, to present a case to the magistrates or judge.	1/0	0/0	0/0
	S14 Of sun, moon or a star: to rise; of dawn: to begin to grow light; of wind, sound or light: to appear, grow stronger, louder or brighter	0/1	0/0	0/0
	S15 To achieve a higher status in society or in profession	1/0	0/0	0/0
Total	15	36/6	9/4	66/7

*Appendix 5 (Semantic analysis of get out)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>get out</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To leave a place; to help or order somebody to leave a place; to help somebody escape a difficult or dangerous situation	6/10	3/12	9/8
	S2 To take something out of the place or container that it is in; to remove dirt or other unwanted substances from something	1/5	1/0	17/1
Non-literal	S3 To manufacture or produce a product or a piece of work and make it available to people	0/0	0/0	4/0
	S4 In cricket of a batsman or side: to dismiss, to be dismissed or put out	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S5 Of the weather: to turn out, to become	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S6 To be dismissed	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S7 To go to places and meet people	1/0	0/0	4/2
	S8 To manage to say something	1/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 Of news or information: to become known; or to manage to draw out or elicit it	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S10 To leave an organization or a club	0/0	0/0	0/0
S11 To succeed in solving or finishing (a puzzle, game, etc.)	0/0	0/0	2/0	
Total	11	9/15	4/12	37/11



*Appendix 6 (Semantic analysis of go down)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>go down</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To move from a higher position to a lower one, to collapse or fall over, to move downstairs, to lower one's body until it is supported by your hands, your knees, or both.	0/2	2/0	6/0
	S2 Of a tyre, balloon etc: to be inflated; of a ship: to sink; of a plane: to crash	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S3 Of sun or moon: to set	0/2	0/0	0/0
Non-literal	S4 To visit a place or travel there, often used when the place is located south of the speaker or when it is the countryside	2/1	1/1	20/0
	S5 To go to a shop/bank/pub etc. for a short while, to be sent to prison	1/0	0/0	0/0
	S6 To be overthrown; to fall <i>before</i> a conqueror	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S7 Of a swelling on one's body/skin: to become less swollen or disappear completely	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S8 Of food/drink: to be eaten/drank	1/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 To write down something	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S10 To extend, be continued down <i>to</i> a certain point	0/0	4/0	1/0
	S11 Of cost, level, standard or amount of something: to decrease or to deteriorate	4/3	2/10	9/1
	S12 S9 To get a particular kind of a reaction from a person/group of people	0/2	0/2	4/1
	S13 S12 To intend to do what one has planned despite expecting that the consequences of one's actions could be serious.	0/0	0/0	3/3
	S14 In sport of a person/team: to be defeated, to lose	1/0	0/0	1/0
	S15 Of a computer: to stop functioning temporarily	0/0	0/0	0/1
	S16 Of university students: to leave university (at the end of the degree course/term)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S17 Of sexual act: to start kissing or sucking the partner's genitals	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S18 To find acceptance (with a person)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S19 To deteriorate or decline in health or prosperity; to collapse or die	0/1	1/0	0/2
	S20 Of Bridge: to fail to fulfill one's contract; Of a card-game: to put one's cards on the table; to reveal one's cards	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S21 To happen (slang)	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	21	9/11	10/13	46/8

*Appendix 7 (Semantic analysis of go in)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>go in</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To enter a place, especially one's house	8/1	1/3	14/5
Non-literal	S2 Of soldiers (or people): to enter a place or area of conflict, and become involved	0/2	0/0	0/1
	S3 To go somewhere because of work, business or treatment; to enter as a competitor in a contest or game	1/0	0/1	5/0
	S4 To fit something into a container, object or opening	1/0	0/1	2/0
	S5 The building of structures or equipment	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S6 Of the sun: to go behind a cloud	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S7 Of cricket: to take the batting	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S8 To join a organisation (informal)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 To understand and remember something (informal)	0/0	0/0	0/2
Total	9	10/3	1/5	21/8

*Appendix 8 (Semantic analysis of go on)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>go on</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 If one object fits on top of another one	0/0	0/0	0/0
Non-literal	S2 To continue doing something; to proceed to (do something) as the next step	13/14	16/9	41/12
	S3 To continue to happen/exist; to take place at the present time; of time: to pass/proceed	42/35	19/28	118/25
	S4 To continue to travel/move in a certain direction, to go to a place	2/0	0/0	5/2
	S5 To express the way land, rock, or a road extends to a certain direction	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S6 To persuade or encourage somebody to do something; to express disbelief on what one is saying (informal)	0/0	0/1	0/0
	S7 Of a light, machine or other device: to start working	1/0	0/1	1/0
	S8 To spend money or a commodity on something	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 Of an actor: to appear in a play or on stage	0/0	0/0	2/0
	S10 S14 To approach a certain age (informal)	0/0	0/0	0/1
	S11 To continue talking, perhaps after an interruption; to encourage somebody to continue talking	6/7	0/11	26/1
	S12 To continue talking about the same thing, often in an annoying way (informal)	1/0	0/0	6/0
	S13 S8 To have some information on which one can base an opinion or judgement on	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S14 Start taking a drug	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S15 To be infatuated with somebody (informal, old-fashioned)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S16 To care for, concern oneself about; usu. in negative contexts, esp. in phr. <i>not to go much on</i> (something). <i>colloq.</i> (orig. <i>U.S.</i> )	0/0	0/0	0/1
	Total	16	65/56	35/50

**Appendix 9 (Semantic analysis of go out)**

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>go out</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To leave a room/building/place, esp. one's own house; to go hunting	19/6	4/11	22/8
	S2 Of a tide: to recede	0/0	0/0	0/0
Non-literal	S3 To spend time with someone socially (and have a romantic or sexual relationship with them)	10/2	0/0	38/9
	S4 To travel (abroad/ far away); to go to another country as a colonist, ambassador, missionary, agent, etc.	6/1	2/0	18/2
	S5 To do something by making an effort and after planning to do so	5/2	0/2	4/2
	S6 Of news, a message, or a letter: to be published, or sent, often officially; of television or radio programme: to be broadcasted	1/0	0/0	2/1
	S7 Of a light: to stop shining; of a fire: to stop burning	0/1	0/1	1/1
	S8 To cease being fashionable or used, replaced by something else	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S9 To march as a soldier; to take the field; to take part, as principal, in a duel; to leave one's country for the battle front	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S10 To be drawn or impelled to (a person) by affection or sympathy. Esp. in phr. <i>my heart goes out</i> . Also of the feeling itself: To go forth to	0/0	0/0	2/0
	S11 In <i>Cricket</i> , etc. of a batsman: to retire from batting, end one's innings; of a side: to be	0/0	0/0	2/0
	S12 In <i>Cricket</i> , etc. of a batsman: to retire from batting, end one's innings; of a side: to be dismissed from batting.	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S13 The money spent on bills and regular expenses	1/1	0/0	0/0
	S14 In University use. At Cambridge: To take the degree of B.A. in a specified subject or in honours	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S15 To die	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S16 To retire from office; to abandon work	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S17 Chiefly of girls or women: to leave home, to find employment away from home	0/0	0/0	1/0
Total	17	42/13	6/14	91/23

*Appendix 10 (Semantic analysis of put in)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>put in</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To place or insert an item inside another item	17/9	3/6	30/6
	S2 To plant plants or crops, to sow	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S3 To install new equipment in a building or a machine	0/0	0/0	4/1
Non-literal	S4 To deposit money in a bank or an account; to invest money in a business, project or a country	0/1	0/1	3/1
	S5 To invest time or effort doing something	6/2	3/1	5/1
	S6 To include something in a piece of writing, speech, or a drawing; to supply or provide in addition; to insert as an addition or supplement; to add	5/2	3/0	27/0
	S7 To cause somebody or something to be in a certain state	7/3	3/7	4/3
	S8 To estimate or judge somebody to belong in a certain class or range	0/1	0/1	0/2
	S9 To elect or appoint a person or group for a particular job; to present or advance one's own claim; to offer oneself as a candidate; to enter, bid, or apply <i>for</i>	0/0	0/0	9/0
	S10 To cause somebody to be in an institution (jail, hospital, school); to ask or allow somebody to be or sleep in a particular room or a building	2/1	0/0	0/1
	S11 To cause somebody to dress in a certain manner	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S12 Of Cricket: to send (a player) in as batsman; to decide, having won the toss, that (a team, typically the opposing one) will go into bat, esp. first	0/0	0/0	3/0
	S13 To interrupt someone when they are speaking in order to add some information, or to give your opinion	0/1	0/0	1/0
	S14 To officially ask somebody for goods or money, or to do something for you; to submit, or tender (a document, evidence, a plea, surety etc.)	0/0	0/0	8/2
	S15 To contact somebody using the telephone or radio	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S16 To feel confident or hopeful that a person will do or be what you want	0/2	0/0	0/0
	S17 Of a ship: to stop somewhere for a while	0/0	0/0	0/0
<b>Total</b>	17	37/22	13/16	94/17

*Appendix 11 (Semantic analysis of put on)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>put on</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To place something on a surface; to attach or fix an item to the other item	14/5	5/6	26/7
	S2 To place a piece of clothing over a part of your body and wear it; to spread makeup or ointment on your face or body	5/6	1/7	15/8
Non-literal	S3 To organise or perform a play, concert or other entertainment; to provide a service	0/0	0/0	2/1
	S4 To bring (a device or mechanism) into action, to activate; to cause to have effect; to apply (pressure, etc.) by operating a device or mechanism; to cause (esp. an electrical device) to begin to operate or function; to switch on, turn on	1/0	0/0	2/3
	S5 To play a record, tape, or video	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S6 To begin cooking; to put (a kettle, pan, etc.) on a fire, stove, or other heat source.	0/1	0/1	1/0
	S7 To add to the cost or value of something	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S8 To officially choose somebody for a particular job, or position.	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 To pass the phone to the person wanted	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S10 To set (a timepiece) to show a later time; to move (the hands of a clock) forward	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S11 To gain weight	0/0	1/0	5/2
	S12 To make a bet (on money) about who will win a competition or a race; to invest money on something trusting that it will be beneficial.	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S13 To make laws to control people's actions	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S14 To emphasize or rely on something; to blame something/somebody for something	7/3	5/10	1/0
	S15 To cause someone to work, take responsibility or feel pressure	9/4	1/4	8/6
	S16 To look, speak or behave in an unnatural way, to pretend	1/0	0/0	3/0
	S17 To be teased or fooled by somebody, informal AmE	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S18 To escort somebody to a bus, train, plane, or ship.	0/0	0/0	1/1
	S19 To receive a certain kind of food, medical treatment, or punishment	0/1	0/0	0/0
	S20 To take upon oneself, adopt, assume (a trait, habit, or manner).	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	20	37/20	13/28	66/28

*Appendix 12 (Semantic analysis of put up)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>put up</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To move something to a higher position or place is farther away from the ground; to insert something inside another thing	2/0	0/0	6/0
	S2 To erect or construct a building, wall, shelf etc	7/8	4/4	2/0
Non-literal	S3 To open or spread out something that is folded so that it can be used	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S4 To stick or fasten a notice, sign, or poster to a wall, post, or noticeboard so that people can see it.	0/1	3/0	1/0
	S5 To nominate or be nominated as a candidate or competitor in an election or contest	0/0	0/3	0/0
	S6 To stage or produce (a play or other entertainment)	2/3	1/0	0/0
	S7 To bring (a person) before a judge, magistrate, etc.; to bring into court on a charge; to accuse formally	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S8 To oppose, resist, or fight something; or to cause opposition, resistance or fighting	0/0	1/0	0/1
	S9 To suggest or reveal an idea, argument or proposal	2/0	2/0	2/0
	S10 To provide the money that is needed to pay for something	0/0	0/1	0/0
	S11 To cause the price or rate of something to increase	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S12 To accommodate, provide lodging for (a person or animal) temporarily	0/1	0/0	1/0
	S13 To replace (a weapon, originally a sword) in a sheath, scabbard, holster, etc.; (more generally) to cease to deploy (a hand-held weapon)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S14 To offer or give up (a child, pet, etc.) <i>for</i> adoption	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S15 <i>Sport</i> (orig. <i>Cricket</i> ). To achieve as a score; <i>Cricket</i> . To hit (a ball) or make (a shot) high into the air	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S16 Figuratively: to submit to, endure, or suffer quietly or patiently (an insult, injury, etc.)	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	16	13/13	11/8	12/1

*Appendix 13 (Semantic analysis of take off)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>take off</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To remove or separate something from a place it was, to undress	1/2	0/6	19/5
Non-literal	S2 To use force or your authority to get something from somebody (informal)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S3 To go away or leave (suddenly) (informal)	10/2	0/0	3/2
	S4 To make somebody go to a particular place or institution with you	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S5 To stop somebody from doing something (a task or list)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S6 To spend time doing something different from the normal routine; to have free from work	0/3	0/0	7/0
	S7 To subtract an amount of money or a mark from a total	0/0	0/0	0/1
	S8 Of someone in authority: to stop giving a certain food, medical treatment, or punishment	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S9 Of bus, train, or plane service: to be withdrawn from operation	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S10 Of a play in a theatre: to cease being performed	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S11 Of a bird or an aeroplane: to leave the ground and start to fly	0/1	0/0	2/4
	S12 Of a product: to suddenly become very successful and popular	2/2	0/5	1/0
	S13 To begin	2/0	0/6	1/0
	S14 To imitate somebody's appearance or behaviour in order to make other people laugh (informal)	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S15 To remove by death, put to death, kill, 'carry off', cut off: said of a person (esp. an assassin), of disease, devouring animals, etc	0/0	0/0	0/0
	Total	15	15/10	0/17



*Appendix 14 (Semantic analysis of take up)*

Semantic category	Dictionary senses for <i>take up</i>	Instances in ICE-K	Instances in ICE-T	Instances in ICE-GB
		Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr	Spo/Wr
Literal	S1 To lift, raise, to pick up; to carry or hold a object (old-fashioned); with special object: implying a purpose of using in some way: as, <i>to take up one's pen</i> , to proceed or begin to write	0/2	1/0	5/2
	S2 To remove something from the surface by force	0/0	0/0	0/0
Non-literal	S3 To take (a person) from the ground into a vehicle, or on horseback, etc. Said of a person, or of the carriage, horse, train, etc.	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S4 To go with somebody to a higher level, position, or place	0/1	0/0	0/3
	S5 To shorten a dress or a pair of trousers; to tie up or constrict (a vein or artery)	1/0	0/0	1/0
	S6 To absorb moisture, gas, or other substance	0/0	0/0	0/3
	S7 To start on an activity or job	8/9	6/2	3/2
	S8 To draw attention to a point, idea, or issue, and cause it to be discussed or dealt with	1/0	4/2	7/3
	S9 To accept an offer, challenge, or opportunity	0/1	1/3	1/1
	S10 To obtain a particular attitude, belief or way of doing something	1/2	2/1	4/1
	S11 To continue doing something after an interruption	0/0	0/0	1/0
	S12 To join in singing or chanting	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S13 To occupy	3/3	0/1	8/10
	S14 To move to a (better) position	0/0	0/0	8/1
	S15 To begin to patronize; to offer help and support with a (new) career	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S16 To ask somebody to explain or justify what they have said or done	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S17 Of weather: to improve, to become fair	0/0	0/0	0/0
	S18 To begin, commence (an action); <i>esp.</i> to begin to utter, set up, raise (laughter, lamentation, etc.)	0/0	0/0	0/0
Total	18	14/18	14/9	38/26

*Appendix 15 (Tables of particle use)*

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come down	5	12,8	0	0	59	92,5
Get down	0	0	0	0	19	29,8
Go down	9	23,1	10	46,8	46	72,1
Put down	3	7,7	3	14	32	50,2
Take down	2	5,1	0	0	5	7,8

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come in	65	166,7	20	93,5	93	145,9
Get in	9	23,1	4	18,7	28	43,9
Go in	10	25,6	1	4,7	21	32,9
Put in	37	94,9	13	60,8	94	147,4
Take in	1	2,6	0	0	7	11

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come off	5	12,8	0	0	9	14,1
Get off	4	10,3	1	4,7	19	29,8
Go off	3	7,7	2	9,4	32	50,2
Put off	4	10,3	0	0	12	18,8
Take off	15	38,8	0	0	34	53,3

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come on	6	15,4	1	4,7	41	64,3
Get on	0	0	1	4,7	46	72,1
Go on	65	166,7	35	163,7	200	313,7
Put on	37	94,9	13	60,8	66	103,5
Take on	8	20,5	0	0	36	56,5

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come out	49	125,7	28	131	86	133,3
Get out	9	23,1	4	18,7	37	58
Go out	42	107,7	6	28,1	91	142,7
Put out	1	2,6	1	4,7	5	7,8
Take out	4	10,3	0	0	40	62,7

Spoken	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come up	36	92,3	9	42,1	67	103,5
Get up	1	2,6	0	0	19	29,8
Go up	6	15,4	6	28,1	68	106,7
Put up	13	33,3	11	18,8	12	18,8
Take up	14	35,9	14	65,5	38	59,6

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come down	5	12,4	0	0	11	26
Get down	0	0	0	0	3	7,1
Go down	11	27,4	13	32,4	8	18,9
Put down	6	14,9	3	7,5	8	18,9
Take down	1	2,5	0	0	4	9,4

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come in	22	54,7	17	42,3	13	30,7
Get in	4	10	4	10	10	23,6
Go in	3	7,5	5	12,4	8	18,9
Put in	22	54,7	16	39,8	17	40,1
Take in	2	5	3	7,5	6	14,2

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come off	3	7,5	0	0	4	9,4
Get off	1	2,5	2	5	11	26
Go off	1	2,5	1	2,5	14	33
Put off	2	5	5	12,4	6	14,2
Take off	10	24,9	17	42,3	12	28,3

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come on	6	14,9	4	10	5	11,8
Get on	6	14,9	0	0	12	28,3
Go on	56	139,4	50	124,5	41	96,8
Put on	20	49,8	28	69,7	28	66,1
Take on	7	17,4	1	2,5	17	40,1

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come out	31	77,1	26	64,7	15	35,4
Get out	15	37,3	12	29,9	11	26
Go out	13	32,3	14	34,9	23	54,3
Put out	1	2,5	0	0	6	14,2
Take out	4	10	7	17,4	8	18,9

Written	ICE-K		ICE-T		ICE-GB	
	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio	tot.number	freq/mio
Come up	6	14,9	4	10	7	16,5
Get up	4	10	5	12,4	8	18,9
Go up	8	19,9	9	22,4	11	26
Put up	13	32,3	8	19,9	1	2,4
Take up	18	44,8	9	22,4	26	61,4

