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Where cognitive linguistics and lexicography meet: a compositionality analysis of selected verb-particle combinations and the creation of a frame-based database

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List of abbreviations

VPC	Verb Particle Combination
FEI	Fixed Expressions
LU	Lexical Unit
FE	Frame Element
CPA	Corpus Pattern Analysis
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
TR	Trajector
LM	Landmark
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
BNC	British National Corpus
MWV	Multi-word-verb
ICM	Idealized Cognitive Model
SALSA.....	Saarbrücken Lexical Semantics Annotation and Analysis
ASC	Argument Structure Construction
DNI	Definite Null Instantiation
CNI	Constructional Null Instantiation
SPG	Source Path Goal
FAMA	Fundamental Axiological Axis
RP	Result Phrase

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1. Introduction

Verb-particle combinations (VPCs) are part of a larger discourse about multi-word units in phraseology and lexicography consisting of diverging viewpoints regarding classification, terminology, and the situation of specific combinations on a cline from literal to figurative. Moon (1998: 2), for example, remarks that “[t]erminology in this field has always been a problem” and utilizes the umbrella term ‘fixed expression’ (FEI) which includes idioms and phrasal verbs, amongst other combinations. She asserts that while VPCs are easily recognizable due to their marked structure, they “otherwise show a similar range of idiomaticity types to FEIs” (Moon 1998: 3). Similarly, Dobrovolski and Piirainen (2022: 49) position them as fixed units that are “only weakly figurative” but nevertheless acknowledge that there are “no clear borderlines” in relation to literal and figurative. To further complicate matters, blurry boundaries also accompany the concept of ‘compositionality’. Moon (1998: 8) defines it primarily as a semantic criterion, namely that the “meaning arising from word-by-word interpretation of the string does not yield the institutionalized, accepted, unitary meaning of the string” but rightly emphasizes that while *spill the beans* is only partially compositional, the image evoked by the constituents can still provide valuable insight into the (figurative) meaning. She concludes that while constituents might have specific meanings in the context of FEIs, it should not be assumed that the meanings of individual components “can never be rationalized or analogized” (Moon 1998: 8). The latter point connects to a further important theoretical tenet of studies about FEIs: ‘motivation’ refers to speakers’ ability to understand the connection between compositional meaning and the idiomatic, institutionalized meaning (Barkema 1996: 140-141). Despite differing epistemologies emerging in relation to the categorization of FEIs, the previously outlined perspectives point to a larger development toward a view that regards (figurative) multi-word expressions as “not simply long words” stored as a block with one specific meaning but as units “consist[ing] of phrases and behav[ing] as phrases, albeit with certain constraints” (Glucksberg 2001: 69).

The treatment of FEIs in lexicography is also far from simple. For example, Atkins and Rundell (2008: 166) emphasize the struggle of distinguishing between different types of FEIs in the first place as “boundaries are so fluid that it has proved impossible to establish watertight criteria for lexicographers to apply”. Nevertheless, proposals to integrate a phraseological approach into the dictionary-making process have been put forward. Granger and Paquot (2008: 41), for example, advocate for a combination of the ‘phraseological approach’, which focuses more on a top-down classification of FEIs, and the ‘distributional frequency-based

approach’, which largely aims to foreground statistically relevant co-occurrences in line with Sinclair’s corpus-driven, frequency-based methodology (Granger & Paquot 2008: 28-29). In addition to this, a variety of scholars urge for a concept-based, i.e., onomasiological, arrangement of multi-word units in lexicography on the basis that this foregrounds unknown expressions to learners otherwise not discovered due to the alphabetical ordering (Siepmann 2008: 196). Some researchers do so from a cognitive linguistic perspective and propose to make figurative language more learner-accessible by highlighting cognitive mechanism linking literal and abstract meaning (Kövecses 2010: 233). Ostermann (2015: 205) calls this ‘Cognitive Lexicography’ and points to the following strengths: representation of meanings in line with real-word conceptualizations and (concept-based) dictionary structure that reflects the mental lexicon, thus counteracting the ‘linearization problem’ potentially arising from discrepancy between linear information presentation and the conceptual mechanisms at work when processing certain structures. Such an arrangement is inherent to the conception of meaning in cognitive semantics. Linguistic content is here regarded as emerging from and tied to our conceptual system and the structuring of our knowledge of the world within it (Lemmens 2015: 92). This also applies to figurative FEIs and the argument that the link between literal and figurative meaning is motivated by conceptual knowledge (Kövecses 2010: 234). In short, a cognitive semantics perspective on compositionality “opposes the view that the element parts fully contribute to the meaning of the composite unit” and assumes that [t]here is also conceptual knowledge” interacting with them (Jarosz 2019: 31).

VPCs specifically present additional difficulties for lexicographers and learners alike because of their polysemous nature. Kurtyka (2002: 29) stresses that they are “undoubtedly one of the perennial sources of confusion and frustration” for learners because of this. This is echoed by Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 345) who describe them as “a notoriously difficult group of idioms for [...] learners of English to handle” and Rudzka-Ostyn (2003: 5) who points to challenges tied to the fact that both literal and figurative uses of verb and particle can participate in the meaning of the entire structure. These hurdles have compelled Dalpanagioti (2022: 2) to examine VPCs from a cognitive perspective, thus creating a frame-based dictionary entry for shared meanings of individual motion-based VPCs (*run away/off with* and *walk away/off with*). Providing a concrete methodology for the application of cognitive linguistic principles to lexicography via a combination of Frame Semantics, Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA), and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), her study will serve as a central cornerstone for this project. The present thesis aims to build on Dalpanagioti’s (2022) entry and (frame-semantic) network by examining the following VPCs: *get away/off + with*, *make away/off + with*, *walk/get*

away + from. Additionally, it will, in line with her study, conduct a compositionality analysis by considering how individual constituents and the combination of the entire unit with its arguments interact with the progression from literal to figurative meaning (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14). While Dalpanagioti (2022) approaches individual senses of the VPCs as mini-constructions, Boas (2010: 60) has proposed to further unite these into more abstract Argument Structure Constructions (ASCs), thus following an analysis in the vein of Construction Grammar. Here, “both the semantic and the formal side of individual [units] is deemed to become integrated in the syntax-semantics of the clause” (Torres-Martínez 2018: 22). This thesis will thus combine Dalpanagioti’s (2022) and Boas’s (2010) approaches by examining the compositional nature of VPCs sharing the same verb and/or particle and their progression from literal to figurative senses at these two different levels of constructional abstraction. The following two research questions underly this project:

1. How can the compositional nature of VPCs as multi-word units consisting of a verb + particle(s) (verb-level) and existing as combinations within larger constructions (sentence-level) be exploited to create a sense-network of VPCs sharing the same verb and/or particle?
2. How is the progression from literal to figurative meaning licensed by constituents and their interaction with cognitive mechanisms at the two levels?

In doing so, it aims to create a frame-based, onomasiological database for learners. The database itself and the entries contained in it should be regarded as a pilot. Before presenting the methodology and theories utilized to do so, the following section will introduce some relevant scholarly literature.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Cognitive linguistics, polysemy, and the dictionary structure

Ostermann’s (2015) monograph *Cognitive Lexicography* illustrates the incorporation of cognitive semantic principles into the lexicographic process. In her chapter “Particles”, she (2015: 179) creates a particle entry displaying the meaning extensions between their various senses. Through her ‘Inductive Cluster Approach’ she first derives single senses of each particle from language samples and, based on cognitive mechanisms, extended senses are

connected to these central ones; following this, the network is compared to previous cognitive particle analyses such as the ‘Principled Polysemy Approach’-analyses by Tyler/Evans (2003) (Ostermann 2015: 179). Thus, (a part of) the entry for *above* lists the central senses under a HIGHER PLACE banner from which the extension MEASURES is elucidated via the conceptual metaphor MORE IS UP. This sub-cluster is further divided in terms of different elaborations: ‘unlimited’ (e.g., *aged 65 and above*), ‘limited’ (e.g., *50 meters above sea level*) and specific collocations (e.g., *valuing something above something else*) (Ostermann 2015: 182).

A further relevant perspective for this thesis is provided in Ostermann’s (2015) chapter six through the application of Frame Semantics to the treatment of ‘person-denoting nouns’. Agentive nouns (e.g., *waiter*) are thus regarded as participants of a specific semantic frame (RESTAURANT) (Ostermann 2015: 76-77). This spans both the micro-and the macro-level of the dictionary: frame-usage boxes (definition, frame participants, exemplification of links between participants) do not change and are integrated within each participant entry, thus connecting entries of a shared frame “on a macrostructural level” (Ostermann 2015: 78). The proposed method is as follows: identifying the frame of a specific person-denoting noun (e.g., *bridegroom* > WEDDING) and related participants (e.g., *bride*), collecting related relevant data and collocations from the BNC, and lastly integrating this information as well as the connection to related frames in the dictionary (Ostermann 2015: 81-82).

Kövecses and Csábi (2014) similarly highlight the potential of integrating cognitive methods at different dictionary-structure levels. They point to the possibility of using frames for the overall onomasiological structuring of entries thus utilizing these as grouping devices for various conceptually related words into one entry (Kövecses & Csábi 2014: 120). In addition, they propose to explain the conceptual motivation and connection between senses of polysemous words via conceptual metonymies and metaphors (Kövecses & Csábi 2014: 126). Applied to a specific FEI such as idioms this would consist of linking idioms sharing a conceptual metaphor in relation to their source domain: for example, the domain FIRE participating in conceptual metaphors such as ANGER IS FIRE and LOVE IS FIRE and thus idioms such as *he was spitting fire* and *the fire between them went out* (Kövecses & Csábi 2014: 135).

Storjohann (2017) presents a further application of cognitive linguistic principles for lexicography in her treatment of paronyms in the German online dictionary *Paronyme – Dynamisch im Kontrast*. Collocations of individual paronyms are regarded as specific bottom-level contexts illustrating a more abstract schema/frame at the top level (Storjohann 2017: 112).

In terms of database structure, the headword is listed at the top (e.g., *sensibel*) and conceptual categories that form the various conceptual patterns/senses the word is used in (e.g., *feinfühlig* as one sense for *sensibel*) are listed below, in combination with the topic area/frame of the associated collocations of this context (e.g., PERSON) (Storjohann 2017: 112). In addition, Storjohann's database aptly demonstrates the possibility of tailoring digital databases to user preferences. Users can select individual clusters and access additional collocational information (Storjohann 2017: 112) as well as navigate to a 'categories' rubric on top of the entry which then displays paronyms according to shared (center) and differing conceptual structures/topic areas. The latter are listed below each paronym on the left and right side of the screen, respectively (Storjohann 2017: 114).

Lastly, Lu and Wei (2019) illustrate the potential integration of a prototype-theory based dictionary graph for polysemous verbs (case study: *lift*) into the logical sense ordering of an existing dictionary entry. This would consist of a radial semantic network in which each sense and definition associated with it is positioned according to three levels determined by distance from the prototypical sense and connected to it by arrows labeled M (metaphor) or ME (metonymy) highlighting the cognitive mechanisms underlying the extensions (Lu & Wei 2019: 30). To enhance comprehensibility of the graph, it is suggested to supplement the sense relations via full-sentence descriptions of each sense (Lu & Wei 2019: 30). Finally, the authors (2019: 32) propose to hyperlink the linear dictionary entry to the semantic network created so that when a sense is selected, the semantic network will appear and illustrate the related sense radiating from the prototypical one (first level); if a sense at a lower level is selected, the network will depict the semantic path that connects to the prototypical sense (Lu & Wei 2019: 33).

2.2 VPCs, polysemy and compositionality: cognitive-linguistic perspectives

Mahpeykar and Tyler (2015) have analyzed corpus occurrences of *get up*, *take up*, *get out* and *take out*. In terms of methodology, the study combines Tyler and Evan's (2003) Principled Polysemy Approach with Langacker's (1991) analysis of verb semantics to analyze central and extended senses of both verb, particle and the combined VPC (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 10). Central senses are identified by considering etymologically attested meaning, importance and distinction in the polysemy network, and comparing spatial relationships, i.e., a specific relation between trajector (TR) and landmark (LM), with other network elements (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 6). In contrast, extended senses are non-spatial and must exhibit a distinct TR/LM compared to the central sense (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 10). A concrete application

is illustrated in Table 1 below which depicts some insights of their compositional analysis for one extended sense of *get up*. As reflected, central and extended senses of each component are first separately identified and then analyzed in terms of how they combine as VPC central and extended senses.

Table 1. Part of Mahpeykar and Tyler’s (2015) analysis of *get up*

Central sense: <i>get</i>	Central sense <i>up</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘obtain’ sense: relation to Norse word <i>geta</i> (obtain); spatial relation: TR (hand) grasps object (LM) (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 11-12) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The trajector is directed toward the landmark top (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 16)
Extended sense: <i>get</i>	Extended sense: <i>up</i>
<p>(Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 13)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘move’: different TR-LM relation resulting from embodied experience: to obtain something entails having to move a part of the body ‘change of state’: change of location is a type of change of state; this can be further linked to conceptual metaphors connecting physical and abstract domains of experience (CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION) 	<p>(Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 18)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘activity’ sense: a consequence of being <i>up</i> is a change of state in the trajector (readiness/active engagement); embodied experience and pragmatic strengthening license the extended sense
Central sense: <i>get up</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘moving or being moved to a higher position’: extended move sense of <i>get</i> + central particle sense (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 19). 	
Extended sense: <i>get up</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ‘organize an event’ (extended ‘change of state’ sense of <i>get</i> + extended ‘activity sense’ for <i>up</i>): events are conceptualized as objects lifted from lower to higher position (unplanned activities are low and organized events high in saliency) (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 22) 	

Jarosz (2019) expands Mahpeykar and Tyler's (2015) network by taking into account the role of 'additional meaning', i.e., "meaning not being inherited from the composite elements of the PV" (Jarosz 2019: 37), and coercive mechanisms between elements and the meaning of the structure. She finds that both constituents play a different role in terms of coercion: the particle determines whether the overall meaning is figurative/non-physical, i.e., if a central sense of the particle contributes to the meaning of the VPC, the VPC is always physical and in the case of an extended sense the VPC is figurative (Jarosz 2019: 44). However, verbs and their 'additional meanings' contribute nuances of meaning to the VPC meaning in a way that particles do not. Both findings are reflected in her expansion of the analysis of *get up* outlined above in table 1. For example, for the 'organize an event' extended sense (e.g., *We managed to get a team up to play them at football*) she states that while sense is composed of extended *get* ('change of state') and extended 'activity' sense of *up* thus being figurative due to the extended use of *up* participating, nuances of effort are contributed by an additional meaning of the verb, namely 'achieving something with effort' (Jarosz 2019: 37).

Central and extended meaning analyses for VPCs have also been approached from a CMT perspective. Rudzka-Ostyn's (2003) monograph *Word Power: Phrasal Verbs and Compounds* specifically does so with the didactic aim of explaining how meanings of various particles (e.g., *up, out, in, into*) combine with verb meanings in VPCs. In contrast to the previous two studies, she puts primary focus on spatial vs. extended uses of the particle. In addition to the role of conceptual metaphors, she considers cognitive schemata (particle spatial relations) and devises a representation scheme based on the relation of trajector (moving entity) and landmark (container/point/or surface) to represent different senses of the particles (Rudzka-Ostyn 2003: 9-11). Each chapter highlights the progression of literal to figurative senses of one particle. This is reflected in some examples of her chapter on *out*:

- (1) 1.1.OUT: entities moving out of containers (e.g., *break out*) (Rudka-Ostyn 2003: 15)
- (2) 1.2 OUT: eat or inviting to eat away from home (e.g., *eat out*) (Rudka-Ostyn 2003: 18)
- (3) 1.5 OUT: states/situations are containers (e.g., *wipe out, run out of*) (Rudka-Ostyn 2003: 22)

Example (3) illustrates the combination of CMT (STATES and CONTAINERS as conceptual domains) with the spatial schema and the relation of TR and LM (e.g., for *wipe out*: out of the container = change of state = ceasing to exist).

A further CMT-approach with a didactic aim can be found in Kövecses and Szabó (1996), who conducted an experimental study to investigate the efficiency of foregrounding cognitive mechanism for learners' acquisition of VPCs. Thirty adult Hungarian learners of English were split into two groups with one group receiving a 'conceptual' explanation via nine directional conceptual metaphors (e.g., COMPLETION IS UP for *eat up*, *chew up*) (Kövecses & Szabó 1996: 346-347) for the ten meanings they were asked to memorize. Following this, participants were asked to fill in particles of VPCs in a gap-filling exercise (sentence-context) in which the first ten sentences corresponded to the memorized VPCs (Kövecses & Szabó 1996: 346). The 'cognitive' group outperformed the 'non-cognitive' one in scores for sentences containing the non-memorized VPCs (not sentences one to ten) thus leading Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 351) to believe that improved performance in this section was tied to awareness of the existence of conceptual motivation which could then be strategically exploited.

Lastly, a further examination of VPCs and their interactions with cognitive mechanisms can be found in Podhorodecka's (2007) monograph *Evaluative Metaphor: Extended meanings of English Motion Verbs*. She analyzes evaluative aspects and prosody of motion verbs by drawing on various cognitive theories. For example, she focuses on Krzeszowski's (1997: 125) treatment of Lakoff's (1987) 'image schemata' in which a PLUS-MINUS dimension is associated with the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema (SPG) and the relation of trajector and goal within: thus, the closer the moving entity (trajector) is to the goal (PLUS), the better (Podhorodecka 2007: 46-47). An expression's evaluation is then regarded as depending on the value-relation between trajector and landmark, which is exemplified by axiological schemata summarized as FAMA – the Fundamental Axiological Axis (Krzeszowski 1997: 134). For example, while *We (+) have (+) a problem (-)* is consistent with the 'Angel in Hell' schema, *We (+) have arrived (+) at a solution (+)* can rather be tied to 'Angel in Paradise'. Podhorodecka expands on this by additionally examining the connection of the SPG schema with conceptual metaphors and the implications for evaluation. For example, in MORAL ACTIONS ARE COMMODITIES "[...] well-being is the trajector [passing] between the participants of the relation [...]" that can thus be connected to 'Angel moving into Paradise' or 'Angel moving out of Paradise' for situations of someone receiving an object or an object being taken from someone, respectively (Podhorodecka 2007: 70). Chapter 5 of her monograph examines the evaluative dimensions associated with metaphorical uses of *get away from* and *depart from* (SOURCE of SPG schema) found in the BNC. Her findings will be discussed and contrasted with those of the present thesis in the analysis section.

Dalpanagioti's (e.g., 2013, 2018a, 2018b, 2022) analyses of motion verbs and VPCs would also fall under this literature review heading. Since they will be central in terms of methodology for this project, they will be separately discussed in the theory and methodology section.

2.3 VPCs in Construction Grammar

In Construction Grammar the lexicon is regarded as consisting of different form-meaning pairs which are part of a larger inventory of constructions (Boas 2017: 656). In line with this, Goldberg (2016: 11) regards combinations of verbs and particles as part of the 'construct-ic-con', i.e., "an expanded version of the familiar lexicon that includes fully specified or partially abstract [...] and more abstract phrasal patterns". More specifically, according to Goldberg (2016: 111) (transitive) VPCs are more specific instances of a "general verb-particle construction" with the underspecified form $[V\{P, (NP)\}]$ and linked to this construction via their inheritance from the caused-motion construction. This can be summarized as follows (the underspecified construction is represented by (a) (Goldberg 2016: 128):

- (a) VP construction: form = $[V\{P, (XP)\}]$ VP; function = predication
- (b) caused-motion construction: form = $V\{NP, PP\}$; function = cause-move (causer, causee, path)
- (c) transitive VP-construction: form = $V\{NP, P\}$; function = V-P (NP)

VPCs with locative meanings (c above) inherit directly from the caused-motion construction and its locative function, while figurative VPCs are regarded as metaphorical extensions inheriting from locative VPC constructions (c above) thus being only indirectly connected to the caused-motion construction (Goldberg 2016: 128). Therefore, VPCs are always treated as units in which form and meaning is fused and which are embedded in a larger constructional network by being a specific construction themselves.

This view is shared by Sung (2023), who expands on Goldberg's (2016) analysis and also includes intransitive VPCs. She emphasizes that relations amongst constructions should be foregrounded as these serve to link the construction inventory and components within each other in a systematic manner (Sung 2023: 490). The two relevant links are 'instance-inheritance links' with one construction being a more specified instance of another (Goldberg 1995: 79) and 'metaphorical extension inheritance links', namely metaphors specifying the mapping of semantics from dominant onto dominated construction (Goldberg 1995: 81). The inheritance relation outlined by Sung (2023: 493) between superordinate constructions and VPC-

constructions is summarized in Figure 1 below. Figure 2 has integrated definitions and examples provided in her article (Sung 2023: 492-493). The progression from top to bottom of the figure highlights the instance link relations, while the relation between left and right sides illustrates the metaphorical extensions on a constructional level. These correspond to the extension of (b) and (c) acknowledged in relation to Goldberg’s analysis.

Super-Constructions: ASCs		
Motion Constructions: - Intransitive Motion - Caused-Motion	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Resultative Constructions: - Intransitive resultative - Transitive resultative
Instance inheritance links		Instance inheritance links
Literal VPCs: - Intransitive literal - Transitive literal	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Figurative VPCs: - Intransitive figurative - Transitive figurative
Sub-Constructions: Verb-Particle-Constructions		

Figure 1. Connections between VPC constructions and ASCs as outlined by Sung (2023)

Super-Constructions: ASCs		
Motion Constructions: - Intransitive motion: Subj V Path (X moves Y) - Caused-motion: Subj V Obj Path (X causes Y to move Y)	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Resultative Constructions: - Intransitive resultative: Subj V RP (X becomes YState) - Transitive resultative: Subj V RP (X causes Y to become YState)
Instance inheritance links		Instance inheritance links
Literal VPCs: - <i>Jack jumped in.</i> - <i>Juliet put her tongue out.</i>	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Figurative VPCs: - <i>Chris woke up.</i> - <i>Lee knocked him out</i>
Sub-Constructions: Verb-Particle-Constructions		

Figure 2. Form-meaning-pair definitions and examples provided by Sung (2023)

Sung (2023: 494) additionally tested the efficiency of the network for VPC instruction by contrasting it with conceptual metaphor-based teaching in a group of forty Korean EFL learners

(12 to 14-year-olds) (Sung 2023: 496). The CMT-based approach taught VPC meanings in terms of metaphorical extensions of their particles. For example (Sung 2023: 498):

- (a) central ‘to a lower place’: *come down* (intransitive), *put down* (transitive)
- (b) extended ‘decrease’: *slim down* (intransitive), *cut down* (transitive)

Construction-instruction explained VPCs as form-meaning pairs embedded in constructions and additionally taught them chronologically in terms of hierarchical inheritance between the constructions (Sung 2023: 500):

Table 2. Sung's (2023) construction-based teaching of VPCs– resultative construction

Sentence: <i>The boy turned the radio on.</i>				
Form:	Sbj	V	Obj	RP
Meaning: ‘The boy caused the radio to work by turning it’				

While the metaphor-based instruction proved fruitful for short-term retention of figurative VPC meanings, the construction-based approach was more effective for long-term retention, as indicated by comparison of post-test scores between the two groups (Sung 2023: 509). Sung (2023: 509) concludes that “the learners in the construction group did not have to memorize non-literal meanings by rote” since they could rely on the constructional network to do so (as literal meanings are understood as constructions related to figurative ones); in contrast, the CMT-based teaching “placed a rather exclusive focus on the meaning of the particle, leaving learners with the task of learning the semantic roles of the other components”.¹

Some of the above-mentioned constructions have been examined by Jackendoff and Goldberg (2004). Rather than a unified type of construction (“THE resultative”), they (2004: 536) regard resultatives as a web of interrelated family occurrences syntactically connected by “an adjectival phrase (AP) or prepositional phrase (PP) that occupies the normal position of a verbal argument”, i.e., the result phrase (RP) and semantically by denoting results. Thus, intransitive motion, caused-motion and what is labeled ‘intransitive/transitive’ resultatives in figures 1 and 2 above can all be summarized under the umbrella term ‘resultative construction’.

¹ She contends, however, that this might also be due to the age of the learners citing White (2012) who found that such young learners might not yet have the cognitive competence required for metaphor-based teaching to be effective (Sung 2023: 509).

The difference between the left and the right side of the figures is defined by Jackendoff and Goldberg (2004) as a difference between ‘path’ and ‘property resultatives’, respectively. While the ‘path resultatives’ describe a situation in which “the host travers[es] the path expressed by the RP [the PP or the AP]” (e.g., *Bill rolled the ball down the hill*), ‘property resultatives’ refer to “the host coming to have the property expressed by the RP” (e.g., *The pond froze solid*) (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 539). Thus, intransitive motion and caused-motion constructions correspond to path-resultatives and intransitive/transitive resultatives to property resultatives.

Both types of resultatives and specifically their connection to VPCs have been described by Torres-Martínez (2018). He is a further proponent of the inheritance-based constructional approach to VPCs and describes the network as follows (Torres-Martínez 2018: 27-28):

- (a) an abstract MWV construction (multi-word-verb construction) serves as a schema for more specific constructions; its form is $[V \{Adv \ NP \ Prt\}] VP^2$
- (b) via ‘polysemy links’ this underspecified construction is tied to two types of multi-word units (static and dynamic ones)
- (c) dynamic MVWs are themselves linked to four principal types of constructions: intransitive-motion, caused motion, transitive and ditransitive; thus, “a MWV construction can be a more specific instance of a superordinate MWV construction” (Torres-Martínez 2018: 28)
- (d) ‘subpart links’ hold between these four types; these can be regarded as instance-inheritance links previously outlined as it is regarded that the intransitive-motion, the transitive motion, and the ditransitive construction are all more specified versions of the caused-motion construction (Torres-Martínez 2018: 28)
- (e) the four constructions further motivate a variety of even further specified MWVs (e.g., metaphorical extensions in the intransitive construction)

He thus follows Goldberg (2016) in terms of inheritance but includes “a wider set of constructions that may combine with MWVs, namely adverbs, adjectives, pronouns, and nouns” (Torres-Martínez 2018: 29) filling the underspecified construction in (1). In accordance with the theoretical division proposed, Torres-Martínez conducted a corpus study to investigate the most frequent MWVs and their constructional distribution in the Corpus of Contemporary

² Curly brackets signify that syntax can vary.

American English (COCA) (Torres-Martínez 2018: 31). The most frequent constructions (in this order) were (Torres-Martínez 2018: 34):

- (a) Verb-locative (intransitive motion)
- (b) Verb-object-locative (caused-motion)
- (c) Verb-object (transitive construction)

The definitions for these constructions are summarized in Table 3 below (Torres-Martínez 2018: 27-28).

Table 3. Definition of VPC constructions as outlined by Torres-Martínez (2018)

Type	Form and Function	Example
verb-locative/VL/intransitive motion	agent (subject) moves intentionally on a path; can be metaphorical; (Subj) V ObliquePATH)	<i>The dates go back to the first generation of the Noah's crew</i>
verb-object-locative/VOL/caused-motion	action of a causer on an undergoer: X causes Y to move (from/to) Z; (Subj) V Obj ObliquePATH);	<i>[Thanks] to my children, to my family, to Blake Sheldon for kissing me back to life, thank you so much.</i>
verb-object/VO/transitive	agent acting on an undergoer (direct object); X acts on Y; (Subj) V Obj)	<i>Yeah, just your body, you're not born for this so hard, it take you a long of time to figure out which way is the, [...] suitable for you.</i>

Regarding the role that verbs/particles play Torres-Martínez (2018: 34-35) observed the following difference: verb-locative/transitive-MWVs are more often metaphorical compared to verb-locative/ intransitive-motion MWVs. According to him, this is due verbs in intransitive motion constructions keeping many aspects of their original meaning while it is the particle that contributes spatial relations (Torres-Martínez 2018: 35). In contrast, VO constructions require “aspectualized usages of the main verb” which he further links to the finding that these constructions exhibit 52% of verb-based telicity (e.g., ***pull out**, **run across**, **pass over***) and only

27% of cases exhibit the particle contributing aspectual meaning to the MWV combination (e.g., *set off*, *lay down*, *blow away*) (Torres-Martínez 2018: 35).

A further Construction Grammar analysis was conducted by Tsaroucha (2019: 97), who argues that “it is the construction as a whole and not the English phrasal verb as an isolated entity that prompts for figurative interpretations”. She builds on Sullivan’s (2013) application of Langacker’s (1988) autonomy-dependence relation to figurative expressions. Langacker (1988: 103) asserts that the verb is conceptually dependent as it requires the participation of other elements “as an inherent part of its own internal structure” and thus in the autonomous-dependent relationship the predicate is dependent and the arguments it takes are autonomous. Similarly, Sullivan (2013: 8-9) states that dependent elements need to be filled by autonomous element structures (e.g., in *obese cat*, *cat* is conceptually autonomous but *obese* always needs to be filled). In relation to metaphorical constructions, she argues that “a conceptually dependent element in the construction communicates the metaphoric source domain and a conceptually autonomous element indicates the target domain” (Sullivan 2013: 9). Based on this, Tsaroucha (2019: 98) suggests that VPCs serve as “conceptually dependent relational expressions” which require to be filled autonomous structures such as nouns. She then applies the previously outlined theories to the resultative construction (transitive and intransitive). For example, for *A busy period is coming up in a couple of weeks* she provides the following analysis (Tsaroucha 2019: 104-105): *come up* serves as a conceptually-dependent entity and the subject *a busy period* as well as the RP as target domains (since they are conceptually autonomous); thus, *come up* evokes the MOTION domain and the subject and the RP the TIME domain. According to her, this example of the intransitive resultative construction thus encourages the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MOTION.

In her PhD thesis, Tsaroucha (2018) utilized the previously outlined methodology to examine twenty-five combinations of the following verbs (*put*, *take*, *come*, *get*, *run*) and particles (*up*, *down*, *out*, *over*, *in/into*) (Tsaroucha 2018: 155). In contrast to the article mentioned above, she focuses on a total of five constructions: intransitive, transitive, transitive and intransitive resultatives, and ditransitive constructions (Tsaroucha 2018: 155). She follows these methodological steps to investigate the figurative meaning of VPCs (Tsaroucha 2018: 169):

- (a) identifying the construction the VPC is part of
- (b) examining the autonomy-dependence relation

- (c) analyzing the domains evoked by source domain items (dependent) and target domain items (autonomous)
- (d) identifying the conceptual frames that are mapped
- (e) establishing the evoked conceptual metaphor

An example of this would be her application to *put up* in the sentence *Don't worry; we'll put you up for the night*. Identifying the construction as a transitive resultative and utilizing Sullivan's (2013) observations regarding this construction, Tsaroucha (2018: 173) establishes *put up* as dependent, *for the night* as autonomous and *we* and *you* as domain-neutral, thus yielding the source-and-target distribution of subject and object being domain-neutral, the verb serving as the source domain and the resultative phrase (PP) as the target domain. In relation to step (d), Tsaroucha (2018: 174) associates the ACCOMMODATION/LODGING frame with the source domain (verb) and the NIGHT/TIME frame with the target domain, thus asserting that these frames are mapped and that this leads to the licensing of the figurative meaning of *put up* ('to accommodate/provide temporary lodging'). She further suggests that the previously-acknowledged autonomy-dependence relation thus prompts the conceptual metaphor TIME IS LOCATION (Tsaroucha 2018: 174).

2.4 Bridging theoretical perspectives: FrameNet vs. the Constructicon

The differing treatments of VPCs in Construction Grammar and Frame Semantics (mini-constructional level) relates to different practical application of the research agendas in terms of databases. FrameNet, being a lexicographic project, primarily aimed to provide detailed semantic and syntactic information on different units tied to individual frames; yet, Fillmore (2008) acknowledged the possibility to establish a 'Constructicon' which would analyze what parts of the sentences are licensed by ASCs (Boas 2017: 565). Similarly, Dalpanagioti (2022: 3) adheres to the lexical-constructional view regarded as advantageous for lexicographic purposes due to its in-depth focus on senses as constructions, but nevertheless highlights a 'middle-ground' perspective offered by scholars such as Boas. He proposes to proceed bottom-up via Frame Semantics and then to link the mini-constructions to higher-level Construction Grammar-type constructions (Boas 2010: 562-563). Thus, while the FrameNet annotation is focused on "bracketing off [LU target word] valents and labeling them with frame element names", constructional annotation rather focuses on naming "the parts of sentences that are the constituents of the constructs licensed by the construction" (Fillmore 2008: 59). Boas (2010), amongst others (e.g., Welke 2009 or Herbst 2014), provides a valuable

perspective on how both approaches and both types of annotation can be integrated. This will be revisited in the subsequent section which will introduce the theoretical frameworks and the concrete methodology utilized to answer the research questions and compile the database.

3. Theoretical frameworks and methodology

Prior to the introduction of the methodologies that will guide the current study, primarily those utilized by Dalpanagioti (2018a, 2018b, 2022) motion-verb analyses, some theoretical tenets she incorporates must be introduced. The following sections will thus outline key theories and their application to the present thesis.

3.1 Theoretical frameworks

Dalpanagioti (2022: 4) relies on Charles Fillmore’s Frame Semantics and its practical lexicographic application, FrameNet. The latter consists of a network of ‘semantic frames’, i.e., “schematic representations of the conceptual structures and patterns of beliefs, practices, institutions, images, etc. that provide a foundation for meaningful interaction in a given speech community” (Fillmore et al. 2003: 235). Within, word senses – ‘lexical units’ (LUs) – are grouped into shared frames (e.g., *alike* and *resemble* are LUs of the [similarity] frame), which are themselves linked, for example by inheritance relations (Ruppenhofer et al. 2017: 283). Each frame entry contains a description of the frame and the members (‘frame elements’ = FEs) realizing it (Ruppenhofer et al. 2017: 386). Part of the [similarity] frame is summarized in the table below (*FrameNet*, [similarity], n.d.). FEs are highlighted in bold and the frame-evoking LU is capitalized:

Table 4. Illustration of [similarity] frame and elements

Frame
“Two or more distinct entities, which may be concrete or abstract objects or types, are characterized as being similar to each other [...]”.
‘Entities’ FE
“This FE marks constituents that express the set of objects or types whose similarity is at issue”.
FE Example Sentence
<i>The two painters were ALIKE in being unable to draw acceptably.</i>

Furthermore, the syntactic relation of FEs for LU example sentences is recorded (Ruppenhofer et al. 2017: 383). This is reflected in Table 5: conceptual participants (FEs) and their phrase types (noun phrase and prepositional phrase) are listed in terms of grammatical function (‘external’ and ‘dependent’) respective to the LU-headword.

Table 5. Example valence pattern of LU *differ* in [similarity] frame

<u>Entity_1 (FE)</u>	<i>Entity_2 (FE)</i>
NP	PP
Ext	Dep
<p>Example: Even if they do, <u>the timing of the tax payments by the recipient of dividends</u> may DIFFER <i>from that of the tax payments to those making dividend payments</i>.</p>	

For the current project, three grammatical functions will be of central importance (Ruppenhofer et al. 2016: 65-67):

- (a) ‘external’: phrases outside of target word phrase and functionally connected to it (e.g., subject)
- (b) ‘object’: object of target word
- (c) ‘dependent’: prepositional phrases, verb phrases, adverbs or clauses following the governing target verb (covers both adjuncts and complements)

Dalpanagioti (2022) combines Frame Semantics with Hank’s ‘Corpus Pattern Analysis’. In this framework, stereotypical patterns of verbs and the arguments they take are regarded as having “contrastive power to make meanings” (e.g., *executing + a will* vs. *a person*) (Hanks 2021: 136). Thus, based on “several hundred uses” of verbs present in a randomized corpus sample, valencies are recorded and fillers of the argument slots are categorized according to semantic type to distinguish senses (Hanks 2013: 729). For example, the type [[building]] subsuming *house* and *factory* can be associated with the ‘exploding’ sense of *blow up* accordingly contrasting with its ‘inflating’ sense (e.g., *blowing up a balloon*) (Hanks 2013: 729).

Lastly, Dalpanagioti (2022) combines the previous theories with CMT first outlined Lakoff and Johnson’s monograph *Metaphors We Live By* (1980a). Lakoff and Johnson (1980b: 195) distinguish between non-metaphorical concepts tied to physical experiences and non-

metaphorical concepts made sense of via reference to such concrete experiences. In contrast to linguistic metaphors, conceptual metaphors thus link two “coherent organizations of experience”, i.e., domains: an abstract target domain is conceptualized via a concrete source domain (Kövecses 2010: 4). It is thus proposed that figurative multi-word units are motivated by such mechanisms in the following way (Kövecses 2010: 234):

- (a) idiomatic meaning
- (b) cognitive mechanisms: metaphor, metonymy, conventional knowledge
- (c) conceptual domain(s): one or more domains of knowledge
- (d) meaning of words comprising the idiom and their syntactic properties

Level (d), i.e., the literal meaning of the expression, is linked to the idiomatic meaning via cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metaphors that mediate between two domains of knowledge (Kövecses 2010: 234). For example, *the flames between them went out* is regarded as being motivated by LOVE IS FIRE conceptualizing the abstract experience of LOVE (idiomatic meaning = no more love) through the concrete domain FIRE (literal meaning = no more fire) (Kövecses 2010: 235-236).

A further relevant perspective on motivation for this thesis is not touched upon by Dalpanagioti (2022). In his (cognitive linguistic) treatment of FEIs, Langlotz (2006: 95) describes an ‘idiomatic activation-set’, i.e., “a complex mental configuration that consists of several coordinated symbolic and conceptual units that constitute its immanent substructures” assumed to be triggered when an idiom is used. Langlotz (2006: 78) here refers to Langacker’s (1991: 17) ‘constructional schemata’, described as “schematic symbolic units” abstracted from forms and meanings in concrete usage events. This thus leads to a specific conception of compositionality considering not only the meaning of the components for the overall structure but also how they are “integrated according to the valence relations immanent in their conceptual substructures” (Langlotz 2006: 111). This is elucidated in the substructures activated for the *idiom grasp the nettle* (‘to tackle a difficult problem’) (Langlotz 2006: 104), which are illustrated in Table 6. In order to form the composite structure [SBJ *grasp the nettle*] two substructures of the literal scene – the verbal schema [SBJ *grasp* OBJ] with [THING] – noun [*nettle*] – are integrated via the schematic template in (d) [SBJ VERB OBJ] and work as a standard for the lexicalized topic/target and the idiomatic meaning; the idiom thus “constitutes a separate node in the cognitive grammar” evoking both the literal meaning (left side) and the idiomatic meaning (right side) (Langlotz 2006: 96).

Table 6. Substructures activated for *grasp the nettle*

Literal meaning (vehicle), semantic pole	Idiomatic meaning (lexicalized target)
(a) composite literal meaning: [GRASP THE NETTLE]	(a) composite idiomatic meaning: [TACKLE THE PROBLEM]
(b) conceptual domain of literal scene: [conceptual scenario of TACKLING THE PLANT]	(b) conceptual domain of idiomatic meaning: [conceptual scenario of DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM]
(c) conceptual substructure of constituents: [NETTLE] for <i>nettle</i> and [AGENT GRASP PATIENT] for <i>grasp</i>	(c) salient conceptual substructure or components of the idiomatic meaning: [TACKLE], [PROBLEM]
(d) the constructional schema underlying the integration of the constituents: [SBJ VERB OBJ]	

Additionally, Langlotz (2006) considers the role of cognitive mechanism and their interaction with the literal and idiomatic scene in the process of semantic extension by adapting Geeraerts (1995) ‘prismatic model of idiom semantics’ to analyze idioms as ‘complex scenes’. In semantic extension, the literal scene, i.e., the left side of Table 6, “works as the mental background – a conceptual standard – against which the target conceptualisation is construed” (Langlotz 2006: 106). It is, however, in the background with the foreground of the conceptualization still being the active structure, i.e., the use of the idiomatic meaning to code an actual usage-event by a speaker (e.g., using *grasp the nettle* to refer to the tackling of a real-life problem). Nevertheless, “the literal meaning organises the target-conceptualisation indirectly by providing a more concrete cognitive model for tackling problems” (Langlotz 2006: 108). That is this a literal scene and source domain serve as a conceptual scaffold for the target conceptualization of the idiomatic meaning. The idiomatic meaning is itself analyzable meaning that constituents, i.e., [tackle] and [problem] can be segmented and separately accessed (Langlotz 2006: 105). Overall, the extension from literal to idiomatic scene is regarded as a mapping of components of a literal semantic substructure to a non-literal one. The relationships that hold between scenes and substructures are depicted in Table 7 (Langlotz 2006: 109). The syntagmatic dimension thus captures the relations between individual

constituents on either side of Table 6 above, i.e., their composition into the respective scenes and the previously acknowledged integration into a constructional schema; the paradigmatic dimension refers to the connection between composite whole and parts of either side of the table (literal to idiomatic scene and components within) (Langlotz 2006: 111). While the bottom-up perspective has already been touched upon above (including integration), the top-down view covers “different parameters that shape the transparency of an idiom” (Langlotz 2006: 111).

Table 7. Langlotz's (2006) cognitive-linguistic application of Geeraert's (1995) prismatic model of idiom semantics

Semantic composition = syntagmatic dimension	
bottom-up:	compositionality
top-down:	isomorphism
Semantic extension = paradigmatic dimension	
bottom-up:	projection/grouping
top-down:	motivation

One such parameter is ‘isomorphism’ illustrated in the table below for *rock the boat* (Langlotz 2006: 117):

Table 8. Isomorphism of *rock the boat*

Source domain (BOAT-TRIP ICM)	Target domain (ACTIVITY/TROUBLE MAKING- ICM)
Profiled literal scene [C]	Profiled idiomatic scene [γ]
ROCK THE BOAT- ontology with conceptual nodes	TROUBLE-MAKING-ontology with conceptual nodes
[SBJ] = AGENT = ROCKER	[SBJ] = AGENT = TROUBLE-MAKER
[A] = ROCK	[α] = SPOIL
[B] = AFFECTED ENTITIY = BOAT	[β] = AFFECTED ENTITY = UNCOMFORTABLE SITUATION

Here, the literal scene, ROCK THE BOAT, is projected onto a target structure (SPOIL A SATISFACTORY CONSTELLATION) and thus “the literal scene models the more abstract idiomatic meaning in concrete terms” (Langlotz 2006: 111). As reflected, there are correspondences along the paradigmatic axis (semantic extension) between left and right side as a whole (domains and profiled scenes, i.e., C and γ) and between individual elements contained in them (e.g., A to α) yielding two levels of granularity of the top-down dimension. The whole-to-whole relation (‘motivation’) refers to conceptual links between literal and idiomatic scene via cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metaphors, while ‘isomorphism’ rather covers links between elements of one scene and the other (paradigmatic correspondences between the syntagmatic axes) via conceptual mechanisms (Langlotz 2007: 126-127). ICM stands for ‘idealized cognitive model’ – a concept introduced by Lakoff (1987: 68) referring to structured networks organizing our conceptual knowledge. ICMs can be mapped via conceptual metaphors: for example, in LOVE IS A JOURNEY, the JOURNEY ICM (path-image schema + movement of traveler) is mapped onto the abstract target domain LOVE (Langlotz 2006: 67), in expressions such as *We aren’t going anywhere* (Kövecses 2010: 8). It is at this higher level that Langlotz (2006) follows in line with the notion of ‘motivation’ outlined by Kövecses (2010) and CMT above. The difference is his detailed perspective (isomorphism) and the focus on the interaction with grammar in the theoretical framework of Cognitive Grammar. Overall, the above outlined perspective illustrates how “events can be grouped by elaborate and embodied concept networks” (e.g., conceptual metaphors) and how grammar is further examined in relation to this and regarded as “further add[ing] a layer of symbolic structuring which interacts with the conceptual system” (Langlotz 2006: 92).

3.2 Methodology and data

3.2.1 Bottom-level methodology

The most important point of reference for this thesis is a study by Dalpanagioti (2022: 2) covering the creation of a frame-based dictionary entry for the VPCs *walk/run away/off with* extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC) and the British Web Corpus (ukWaC). Using ‘word sketches’, i.e., “corpus-based one-page summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behavior” (Kilgarriff et al. 2014: 84), different VPC senses were distinguished based on collocations highlighted in the sketch and the examination of their concordances (Dalpanagioti 2022: 2). Senses identified via arguments (typical patterns) are treated in Frame Semantic terms as LUs: they evoke different frames and thus their arguments correspond to

different FEs (Dalpanagioti 2022: 7-8). Thus, VPCs can be clustered together as LUs evoking a single frame and their arguments are annotated in terms of FEs of that frame (Dalpanagioti 2022: 10):

(4) **[theft] frame:**

- a. Krystle [PERPETRATOR] in turn cons Frank, **running off with** his [VICTIM] money [GOODS].
- b. ‘It’s mine and we just saw the dog [PERPETRATOR] **walking off with** it [GOODS]’ the golfer replied.

(5) **[control] frame:**

- a. I’m afraid your rather fervid imagination [CONTROLLING_ENTITY] is **running away with** you [DEPENDENT_ENTITY].

Since only few metaphorical relations are captured in FrameNet, Dalpanagioti (2022:10) utilized a double annotation scheme based on the example of the SALSA (Saarbrücken Lexical Semantics Annotation and Analysis) project for German metaphors. VPC LUs and their valences are structured as source and target frames; the former captures the literal meaning (e.g., *run* = [self_motion]) and the syntax of the VPC (three-part VPC: predicate *run* and FEs of source frame) while the target frame captures the actual figurative meaning (e.g., [control]) and the relevant phraseological patterns (FE phrase types and functions relative to target predicate *run away with*) (Dalpanagioti 2018a: 438). An example corresponding to the annotated [control] frame sentence above is provided in the table below (Dalpanagioti 2022: 11).

Table 9. Example of source and target frame annotation by Dalpanagioti (2022) – LU *run away with* evoking [control]

<i>Run away with smth</i>	Target: [Control] predicate: <i>run away with</i>	[CONTROLLING_ENTITY/EXT/NP] [DEPENDENT_ENTITY/OBJ/NP]
	Source: [Self_motion] predicate: <i>run</i>	[SELF_MOVER/EXT/NP] [SOURCE/Dep/AVP – <i>away</i>] [CO-THEME/Dep/PP – <i>with</i>]

In line with CPA, arguments are further summarized according to semantic type and, in addition, Dalpanagioti (2022: 212) records information such as prosody and typical patterns which is exemplified in the Table 10 (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13). The inclusion of this information and further senses identified in her analysis into a combined entry (Dalpanagioti 2022: 20) is reflected in Figure 3. It shows the four examined VPCs are grouped as shared frames, and the most important phraseological patterns are captured by tables below the example sentences. Frame-based signposts illustrate the shared core of similar frames (e.g., TAKE SOMETHING EASILY for [theft] and [win_prize]), while a more specific definition (i.e., paraphrase of the frame) is provided by the individual labels 1 a) or 1 b) (Dalpanagioti 2022: 18).

Table 10. Excerpt of Dalpanagioti’s (2022) [control] frame CPA analysis

<i>run away with smth.</i>	[control]	<p>CONTROLLING ENTITY collocata type: thoughts/feelings (e.g., <i>imagination, idea, curiosity</i> [...])</p> <p>DEPENDENT_ENTITY collocata type: human</p> <p>typical patterns:</p> <p>[ideas/feelings] run away with [pronoun]</p> <p>not run away with the idea/impression that</p> <p>semantic prosody: it implies disapproval due to lack of mental control</p>
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Moreover, Dalpanagioti (2022:13) conducted a compositionality analysis by considering the contribution of each component and the role of conceptual mechanisms in licensing the figurative meaning arguing that “we are dealing with a single polysemous and partially filled construction rather than with distinct PVs”. Her findings are as follows (Dalpanagioti 2022: 14):

- (a) *walk* and *run* evoke [self_motion]
- (b) the addition of *away* or *off* licenses a more specific [departing] frame and *with* adds a second element moving along the SELF-MOVER
- (c) the figurative meaning is licensed through an underspecified [getting] frame which is triggered via the ACTION (moving away) FOR RESULT (obtaining) metonymy; what is obtained, i.e., the NP following *with* leads to more specific senses/target frames (e.g., theme GOODS for [theft] and PRIZE for [win_prize])

She further argues that additional meaning nuances are contributed by the verbs: for example, she links the prosody associated with [theft] and [win_prize] ('to take easily') to the "manner expressed by the motion verbs *walk* (i.e. effortlessly) and *run* (i.e. quickly)" (Dalpanagioti 2022: 14).

TAKE SOMETHING EASILY

1a) win a price very easily <informal>

*The grand prize winner **walks away with** \$ 50,000.*

[...]

*Niki **ran off with** the championship by a huge margin.*

1(b) steal something <informal>

A thief walked away with a haul worth hundreds of pounds.

*That guy just **walked off with** the stolen goods, knowing they would stop me and not him.*

[...]

human	<i>walk away with</i> <i>walk off with</i> <i>run away with</i> <i>run off with</i>	something valuable: a) prize, championship, victory [...] b) money, profit [...]
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Figure 3. Excerpt of Dalpanagioti's (2022) frame-based VPC dictionary entry

In other studies, Dalpanagioti (2013, 2018a, 2018b) has focused on motion verbs and arranged LUs around a core LU. For example, in her (2018b) study, she creates a monolingual dictionary entry for *stagger* and relies on CPA, Frame Semantics and CMT as outlined previously. However, by combining Tyler and Evan's (2003) 'Principled Polysemy approach' and Evans's (2005) 'meaning criterion' with Frame Semantics, a core LU defining the prototypical sense is identified from which extended senses are distinguished based on additional meaning (in this case different FEs) and collocational/colligational patterns (in this case CPA patterns); CMT is

utilized to examine the cognitive links between central and extended frames (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 651-652). The concrete application of this is reflected in Figure 4 (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 660). UNSTEADY, IRREGULAR MANNER illustrates the core shared by all LUs, MOVE/ACT foregrounds commonalities of a cluster and the definition for each frame/sense highlights specificities of meaning, prosody, and phraseological patterns (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 659). Thus, 1 a) corresponds to the central/prototypical sense of *stagger* evoking the [self_motion] frame and 1 b) to [self_motion_figurative] extending from it via the conceptual metaphor MANNER OF ACTION IS MANNER OF MOTION: the unsteady progression of the economy (target domain ACTION) is conceptualized in terms of movement (source domain MOTION) (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 655).

UNSTEADY, IRREGULAR MANNER		
MOVE/ACT		
<p>1 a) walk or move unsteadily as if you are going to fall over (e.g., because of being drunk, ill, or under a weight)</p> <p><i>She staggered and slumped on the floor.</i></p> <p><i>He staggered 20 years away before collapsing.</i></p> <p><i>There were a lot of young drunks staggering about.</i></p>		
Human/animal	stagger	about/back/backwards/away/into home to one's feet from side to side under the weight of
<p>1b) continue or carry on with great difficulty</p> <p><i>Both of them recovered, and staggered on through the year</i></p> <p>[...]</p>		
human business institution	stagger	on through + time period [...]

Figure 4. Excerpt of Dalpanagioti's (2018b) frame-based dictionary entry of *stagger*

This thesis will follow Dalpanagioti’s (2018b) methodology by analyzing how central senses (source frames) relate to extended senses (target frames) via cognitive mechanisms such as conceptual metaphors and metonymies. In accordance with Dalpanagioti (2018b: 651-652), the central sense is defined as “the core motion meaning of the verb [...] and is “used as a basis on which cognitive processes (metaphor, metonymy) are applied to justify semantic extension” (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 651-652). The difference here is that the core-motion meaning refers to a combined structure of verb and particle that functions as a source frame for further extensions. Thus, central senses are source frames which themselves can be subdivided into a source frame (verb) and target frame structure (verb + particle). This will become clearer in the analysis section. Initially, this thesis aimed to solely focus on extended senses (i.e., figurative uses), as outlined in Dalpanagioti (2022). However, systematic connections in terms of paradigmatic FE correspondences between source and target frames were noticed – essentially, across mini-constructions. Considering this might also be valuable for language learners (cf. Sung’s 2023 findings outlined in the literature review), it was decided to keep these central, physical senses.

To highlight these connections in a fine-grained manner, the thesis will apply Langlotz’s (2006) insights on ‘motivation’ and ‘isomorphism’. In this project, the syntagmatic dimension is defined in terms of frames (functioning as ICMs) and their FEs which extend to target conceptualizations (paradigmatic level, target frames). Matches between source and target FEs are thus regarded as isomorphic correspondences. The top-down perspective of ‘motivation’, on the other hand, relates to conceptual mechanism mediating between source and target frames or central and extended LUs as also outlined in relation to Dalpanagioti’s studies above. Table 11 below illustrates the application of Langlotz’s (2006) theoretical tenets to the current project in a figurative sense of *walk away*, i.e., an LU of *walk away* evoking an extended target frame in a sentence such as *X walks away from Y*:

Table 11. Adapting Langlotz’s (2006) ‘isomorphism’ to the current project

Source domain (MOTION)	Target domain (CHANGE)
Literal scene	Idiomatic scene
[source] frame ontology	[target] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = source frame FE	[EXT/NP] = target frame FE
[LU] = <i>walk away</i>	[LU] = <i>walk away</i>
[DEP/PP] = source frame FE	[DEP/PP] = target frame FE

The dictionary database will be utilized to present the findings of the analysis. As shown in Figure five, central frames, i.e., shared physical senses, are positioned at the top of the network and target frames connected to them via arrows (‘specifies to’). The green source-to-target-frame-extension arrows can be further clicked on to access mini-summary entries elucidating the frame-to-frame extension and the connection between FEs (isomorphism). Storjohann’s (2017) ‘categories’ dimension previously outlined in the literature review was adapted to foreground similarities and differences between target frames extending from different source frames. Users can access this by clicking on the dotted lines (‘lateral extension’). The entire database set-up and usage-instructions are explained in a separate entry that can be accessed by clicking on the green READ ME FIRST circle. The contents of this circle, i.e., the usage-instruction entry, is depicted in Figure 6. If an example sentence selected for inclusion in the database contained an error (e.g., a typo), this was corrected. Some examples were shortened by removing a clause not relevant for the target meaning word. Otherwise, the data was maintained as it was.

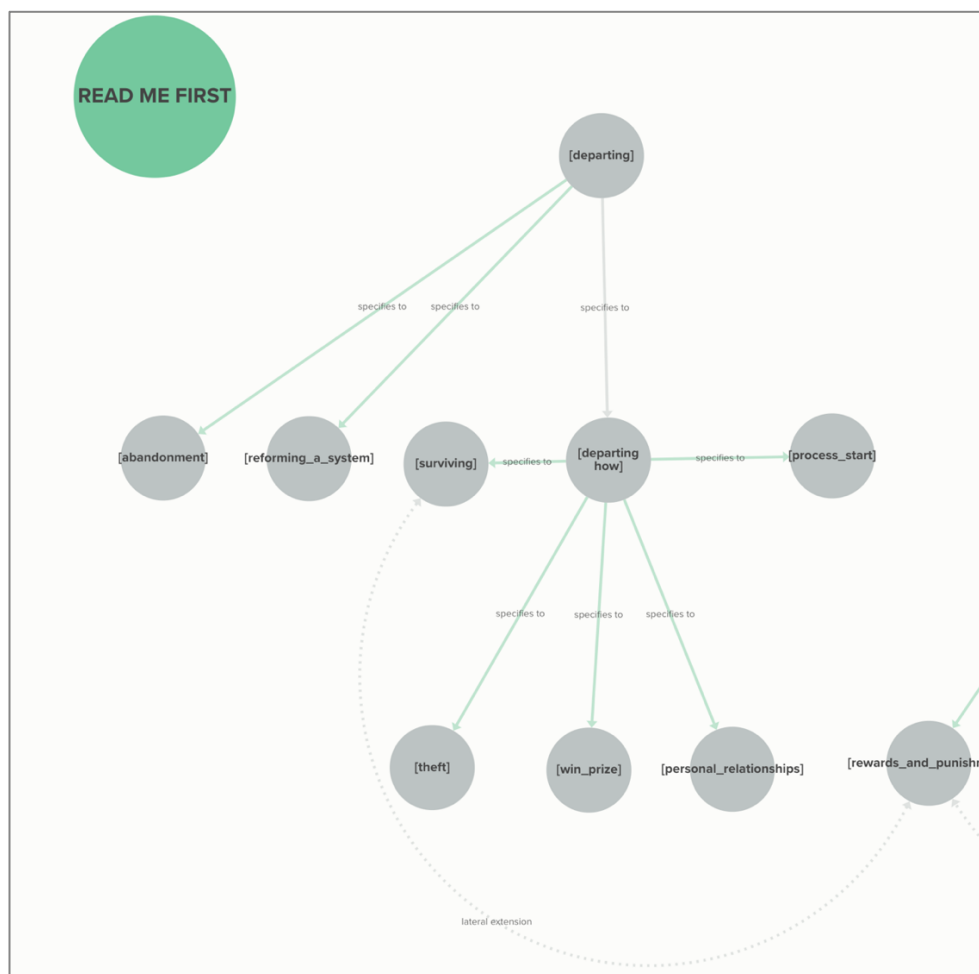


Figure 5. Excerpt of the frame-based database created for this thesis

READ ME FIRST

ADD ELEMENT TYPE

What the network and this database contains:

This network contains meaning of combinations of verbs and particles. The table below shows all the combinations that you will find.

verb	particle 1	particle 2
get	away	with
get	off	with
make	off	with
make	away	with
get	away	from
walk	away	from

They can combine as two-part structures (for example: **get away**) or three-part structures (for example: **get away with**) and when they do, the combination functions as a verb with certain meanings. For example, the combination of get + away (**get away**) can mean [evading] or [departing]. It is these meanings that each circle of the network represents.

How to use it

As you will see, each circle contains one specific meaning that these combinations (for example: **get away** and **get off**) share. By clicking on the circle, you can open the entry that will show you how the combinations are used that express this meaning. You can think of this as different possibilities and patterns that you can use yourself. Physical meanings that refer to movement are listed at the very top of the network and connected to more abstract meanings that are related to them (towards the bottom of the entry) by arrows ('specifies to'). To give you a better overview of how each physical meaning is connected to an abstract one, you can click on the green arrows. Here, you will find an entry that works as a mini-summary. If you are interested in finding related or similar meanings, you can do so by using the buttons at the bottom of the screen (for example: AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE). Click on the meaning cluster (button) you wish to explore and only those circles/meanings will be shown. If you click on the button again, you can return to the entire network. Lastly, if you click on the dotted lines between circles ('lateral extension'), you can open a mini-summary that shows similarities and differences between individual meanings.

Figure 6. Usage-instructions provided for the database

3.2.2 Top-level methodology

As previously outlined, the thesis also follows Boas's (2010) proposal to unite the mini-constructional level with more abstract constructions. Importantly, Langlotz (2006: 97) points out that "idioms such as *grasp the nettle* are linked to further constructional schemas, which it instantiates [...] which are themselves intertwined with other nodes in the network". Thus, table eleven above could, at the bottom, be expanded by a higher-level constructional schema such as [SBJ V] or in terms of a Construction Grammar construction that can be regarded as a 'mega frame'. Constructional schemas and integration are approached here from a Frame Semantics perspective linked to mini-constructions/frames evoked by a single sense of VPCs and a Construction Grammar perspective linked to mega-frames, i.e., the other constructional schemas the mini-constructions can be grouped within, which, themselves, are connected to further ones. In terms of methodology for the latter, Boas's (2010) approach will be now presented.

Senses can be regarded as shared LUs evoking the same frame and can, in terms of construction, also correspond by taking the same arguments/FEs in a valence pattern. Since valence patterns might differ, however, Boas (2010: 69) suggests proceeding bottom-up and examine several levels of abstraction. An excerpt of his illustration of such is provided below:

Abstraction level	FEs and valence pattern (construction)		LU no.	Example
Frame-level 2	construction specific to a higher level/more abstract frame	[SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, TOPIC] ↓ [NP, NP, PP [about]]	Multiple LUs evoking a higher-level frame	[statement/questioning]
Frame-level 1	construction specific to a frame	[SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, TOPIC] ↓ [NP, NP, PP [about]]	Multiple LUs evoking the same frame	[telling]
LU-level	mini-construction	[SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, TOPIC] ↓ [NP, NP, PP [about]]	LU	Tell, inform, advise

Figure 7. Senses as mini-constructions spanning different levels of abstraction

The valence pattern (one sense = one LU = mini-construction) is always the same but can be associated with different frames at different levels of abstraction. This thesis will exclusively rely on the LU-level and Frame-level 1 by grouping VPCs and their shared senses as shared frames. Following this, it will proceed with Boas's (2010: 71) proposal to incorporate this information in a Constructicon-type entry (Fillmore 2008). This entails listing only frames and LUs within those frames that exhibit valences corresponding to a more abstract Construction Grammar construction valence. Thus, *tell* (one LU = one sense) could be associated with the ditransitive construction by not only corresponding to the semantics AGENT transfers PATIENT to a RECIPIENT who gets this patient but also the syntax [NP1/Sbj]_{AGENT} verb [NP2/OB1]_{RECIPIENT} [NP3/OBJ2]_{PATIENT} (Boas 2010: 71). Precisely this is used to group individual senses of the VPCs that are shared in terms of frames into larger 'mega-frames' and part of the thesis methodology road-map summarized in Figure eight.

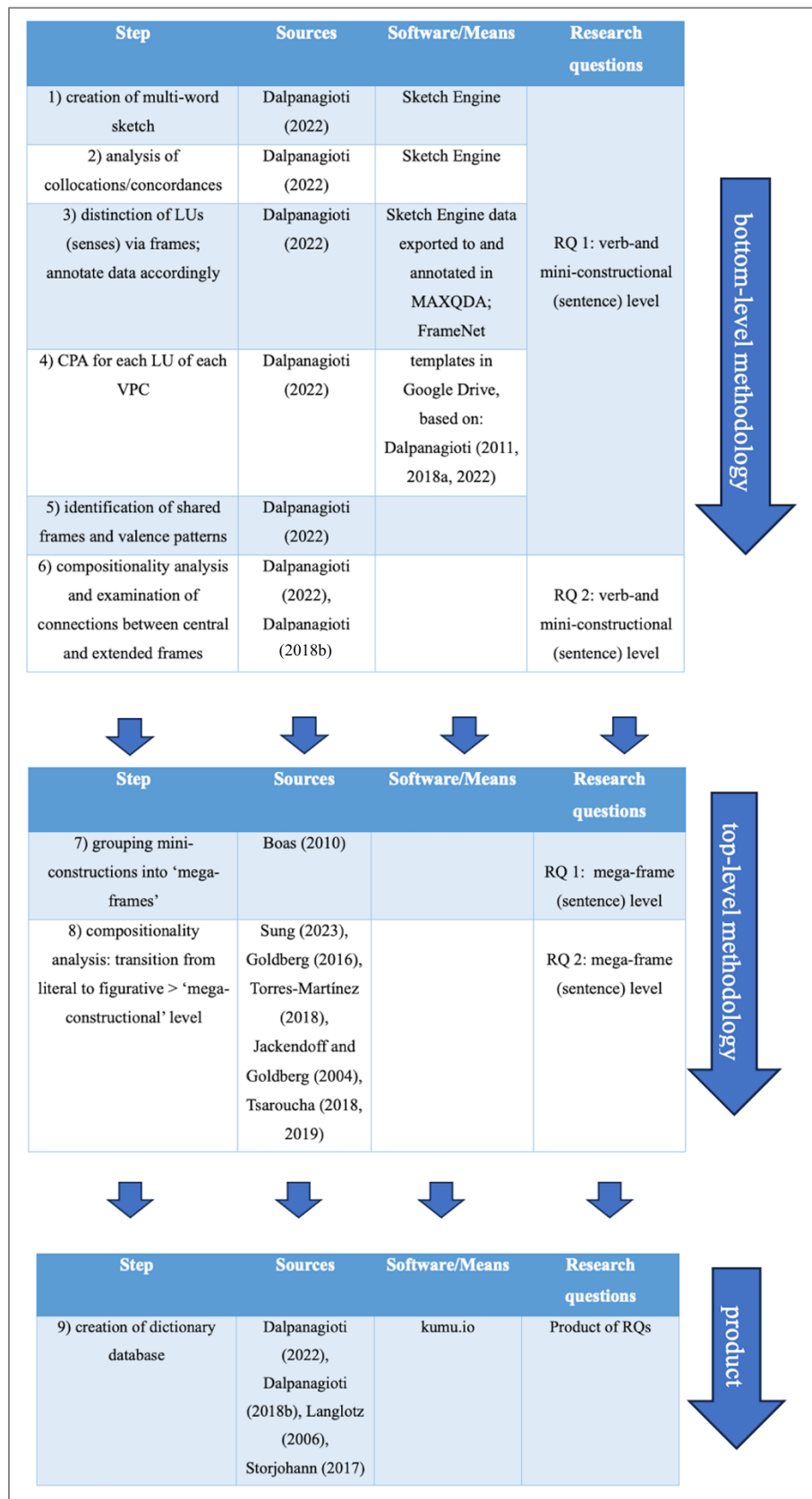


Figure 8. Thesis methodology roadmap and connection to research questions

The CPA analysis summary of each VPC LU can be accessed in the appendix (see link to external Google Drive). The link to the database is also provided here.

3.2.3 Data

The dataset examined in this project is summarized in the table below.

Table 12. VPCs examined in this thesis

Verb	Particle	Particle 2	no. of coded occurrences
<i>get</i> <i>make</i>	<i>away</i>	<i>with</i>	784
			99
<i>get</i> <i>make</i>	<i>off</i>	<i>with</i>	450
			478
<i>walk</i> <i>get</i>	<i>away</i>	<i>from</i>	500
			500

In line with Hanks’ (2013:729) proposal of “several hundred uses” per verb the cut-off was set to 500 sentences for each VPC. As reflected above, the number for *get away with* is higher and that of *make away with* lower. For the latter no more uses were found. *Get away with* and *get off with* served as a pilot for the current thesis, and it was decided to simply keep the 784 coded sentences which were annotated when the methodology was not entirely devised. The corpus utilized was Sketch Engine’s *English Web 2021 (enTenTen21)* corpus – specifically the UK domain subcorpus. This corpus provides recent language data which is important for the current analysis as figurative multi-word expressions tend to change quickly (Moon 1999: 271). Moreover, relying on a subcorpus facilitated limiting the scope to a manageable level while still serving a function in terms of tailoring the dictionary to a specific variety of English. A multi-word sketch could not be generated for all combinations: for *make off with*, *get off with*, and *make away with* all inflectional variations were searched via a corpus query language search. If the total number occurrences exceeded the cut-off limit of 500, a randomized sample for each inflectional variant was generated.

4. Analysis and discussion

The following sections will present the key findings of the examined corpus data.

4.1 Mini-constructional level

This level corresponds to the individual senses identified for the VPCs, i.e., the mini-constructs. Central senses denoting motion and functioning as source frames for more abstract ones will be introduced first.

4.1.1 Source frames – central senses

- *[departing]*

This frame is defined as “[a]n object (the Theme) moves away from a Source [that] may be expressed or it may be understood from context, but its existence is always implied by the departing word itself” (*FrameNet*, [departing], n.d.). The examples below reflect the annotation for LUs evoking this frame:

- (6) rictornorton.co... Apparently not liking too much attention, one of the parties [THEME] **got away** from the crowd [SOURCE] [...].
- (7) rocktopia.co.uk I [THEME] **walked away** from the venue [SOURCE] with the feeling that I wanted something more [MANNER].
- (8) walkhighlands.c... It is the one fell you [THEME] could **get off** with a broken leg [MANNER]- just pick a slope (either scree or grass) and slide down it on your bum!
- (9) old-merseytimes... She [THEME] struck on a spit in the sands and with the rising tide managed to **get off** with her own engines [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION].
- (10) bearmead.co.uk En route the driver of the petrol tanker I had hitched a lift with [THEME] made **off** with my rucksack [CO-THEME] in the cabin of the vehicle.
- (11) assured-ltd.co.... Subsequent to stealing the goods, the offenders [THEME] then **made away** with the merchandise [CO-THEME] in a dark Peugeot 308 [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION].
- (12) pearsecom.co.uk **Get off** with you [THEME] now.

In addition to the main components of THEME and SOURCE, the motion can be further described in terms of MANNER, vehicle used (MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION) or second moving object (CO-THEME). The valence patterns corresponding to the sentences above are thus:

Table 13. [departing] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away, walk away</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicate: <i>get away, walk away</i>	(a) [THEME/EXT/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/PP] (example 6)
	Source frame: [traversing] (<i>get</i>), [self-motion] (<i>walk</i>) predicate: <i>get, walk</i>	[THEME or SELF_MOVER/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/ Adv-away]
<i>walk away</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicate: <i>walk away</i>	(b) [THEME/EXT/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/PP] [MANNER/DEP/PP] (example 7)
	Source frame: [self-motion] predicate: <i>walk</i>	[SELF-MOVER/EXT/NP] [SOURCE/dep/Adv-away]
<i>get off</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicate: <i>get off</i>	(c) [THEME/EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/PP] (example 8)
	Source frame: [traversing] predicate: <i>get</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/ Adv- off]
<i>get off, get away</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicates: <i>get away/off</i>	(d) [THEME/Ext/NP] [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION/DEP/PP] (example 9)
	Source frame: [traversing] predicate: <i>get</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/ Adv- away, off]
<i>get off, make off, make away</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicates: <i>get off, make off/away</i>	(e) [THEME/EXT/NP] [COTHEME/DEP/PP] (example 10)
	Source frame: [traversing] predicate: <i>get, make</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv- away, off]
<i>make away, make off</i>	Target frame: [departing] predicate: <i>make away/off</i>	(f) [THEME/EXT/NP] [COTHEME/DEP/PP] [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION/DEP/PP] (example 11)
	Source frame: [traversing] predicate: <i>make</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/DEP/ Adv- away, off]

<i>get off</i>	Target frame: [departing]	(g) [THEME/DEP/PP] (example 12)
	Source frame: [traversing] predicate: <i>get</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv -off]

The core motion meaning captured by the source frame for *get* and *walk* is [traversing] and [self_motion], respectively. [Traversing] is defined as “A Theme changes location with respect to a salient location, which can be expressed by a Source, Path, Goal, Area, Direction, Path_shape, or Distance [...]” (*FrameNet*, [traversing], n.d.). [Self_motion] refers to “The Self_mover, a living being, moves under its own direction along a Path. Alternatively a [...] Source, or Goal for the movement may be mentioned” (*FrameNet*, [self_motion], n.d.). The SOURCE FE in both frames denotes the starting point of the motion and becomes integrated into the two-part predicate of the target frame-evoking LU (e.g., *get away*) describing a more specific motion – in this case [departing] exhibiting related different phraseological patterns (target frame valence patterns). In nearly all valences an NP filling the THEME FE functions as an external of the predicate. In contrast, due to the imperative used in example (12), the THEME is expressed via a PP in dependent function (valence g). A further difference is reflected in VPCs occurring with *with* vs. *from*: in valence pattern (a) the location of departure, i.e., a SOURCE FE of the [departing] frame, is overtly expressed. Valence pattern (b) further contains a MANNER FE (dependent PP) and was found only for *walk away*. In contrast, the SOURCE in the [departing] frame is only implied in valence patterns from (c) onwards and the dependent PP rather serves to describes the motion further (e.g., by indicating the vehicle used in (d)).

These valences as well as their concrete fillers have been incorporated into the database which, in line with the difference observed between valences (a) and (b) and the rest, was split into two subentries focused on either SOURCE or MANNER of departure. While the signpost of both entries (Figures 10,11, and 12) refers to their shared core (LEAVE/MOVE), the cursive definition further highlights more specific aspects (starting point vs. manner of motion). In addition to exemplifying the core meaning shared by frames, as outlined in Dalpanagioti (2018b), signposts have also been integrated as buttons that can be selected by the user at the bottom of the screen thus allowing for a targeted search according to interest, customization preferences and providing an overview of senses that are closer in meaning than others. As pointed out by Heuberger (2020: 405), the electronic dictionary format does not only lift space

restrictions but also allows for “exclusive and power features” including options for user customization in line with their needs and preferences (see Figure 9).

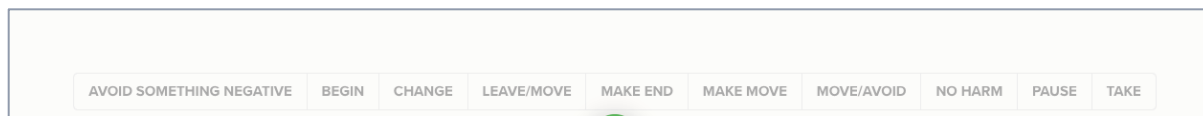


Figure 9. Signpost tags allowing for a targeted search according to user interest

Figure 10 illustrates that the semantic type of the SOURCE FE-PPs corresponds to ‘from somewhere’. This was further subdivided according to collocations referring either to an actual place or illustrating the metonymic relation between place and activity carried out somewhere and an evaluative preference for a negative landmark in relation to the latter (e.g., *walking away from a wreckage* or *getting away from a crowd*). If it was felt that the collocations were not accessible or confusing to a learner, they were further explained in parentheses. Figures 11 and 12 depict the entry for the remaining valences. Valence pattern (b) examples were listed first (see Figure 11) as these function as a bridge connecting the [departing] and [departing how] by containing both a SOURCE and the MANNER FE. The different semantic types of places and states (physical or emotional) highlight the patterns of use tied to respective collocations and fillers of the SOURCE FE. In accordance with the three types of FEs describing the motion further, overall summarized as ‘how’, the rest of the entry was subdivided into three clusters, the first of which describes the MANNER FE. Since valence pattern three was found exclusively for *get off* it was simply listed separately in a table. Prepositional phrases were further specified according to semantic types describing states, physical properties or the time taken for departure. Figure 12 depicts the findings corresponding to valence patterns (d) to (g). The MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION PPs were simply labeled ‘machine’ and the CO-THEME FE fillers could be split into animate and inanimate types. Both were treated as separate clusters with relevant example sentences and the corresponding valence patterns of the FEs. The use of the imperative found for this sense is exemplified in the last cluster further alerting to the pragmatic function in the usage label.

[departing]

LEAVE/MOVE



usage: informal

leave from a starting point

- hftf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.
- fabiola.uk "I'm just tired," Deloy said, when he'd **walked away** from her bedside.
- censorwatch.co... The ad closed with Beyoncé **walking away** from the camera, her footprints melting the floor.
- newsgroove.co.u... Keane was then seen **walking away** from the confrontation and headed back to his car.
- insidethex.co.u.. Besides, no human pilot **walked away** from the wreckage I saw.
- rictornorton.co... Apparently not liking too much attention, one of the parties **got away** from the crowd.

<i>walk away,</i>		
human	<i>get away</i>	from place
		from place
		from the bedside, from the chalet, from the Campus (university) , from the camera, from the venue, from the stadium
		from place where something happened
		place with negative situation: from the confrontation, from the wreckage, from the crowd, from the explosion
		place with activity: from the desk (work), from a lesson (class), from school

Figure 10. [departing] entry

[departing how]

LEAVE/MOVE



usage: informal

leave a place in a certain way

- rocktopia.co.uk I **walked away** from the venue with the feeling that I wanted something more.
- hull.ac.uk Added to that, was always seeing my drivers **walk away** from big crashes unhurt.
- cultbox.co.uk The film runs to cheesy extremes all too often: witness as McCall **walks away** from an explosion without looking at it.
- boyfrombrazil.c... The final reckoning will make this the keystone game in the season but how many would **walk away** from Valley Parade having enjoyed the match.
- gladlee.co.uk When Nigel reported back to immigration just before 08.30 the cards were being rewritten, so we eventually managed to **get off** with minimum further delay.
- liaf.org.uk We all remember Captain Sully skimming that powerless jet onto the Hudson River a few years back and everybody **getting off** with wet feet and most of their cabin bags.
- walkhighlands.c... It is the one fell you could **get off** with a broken leg - just pick a slope (either scree or grass) and slide down it on your bum!

human	walk away	from place where something happened	how
		dangerous situation	physical description
		car crash, explosion	unhurt, without looking
		place with activity	emotional description
		venue, Valley Parade (stadium)	wanting more, happy, having enjoyed the match

human	<i>get off</i>	in a certain way
		time: with minimum further delay (only a bit late)
		emotional state: happy, with a huge smile on their face
		physical state: with a broken leg, without further harm, with wet feet, with pockets bulging (with something in their pockets)

Figure 11. [departing how] entry – part 1

leave a place with transportation

- boundless.co.uk A five-star park in superb location, this spot is ideal for those looking to **get away** with motorhomes , touring caravans, campervans or even tents offering electric hard-base, gravel and grass pitches.
- old-merseytimes... She struck on a spit in the sands and with the rising tide managed to **get off** with her own engines. caravantalk.co.... **Getting off** with a mover is fine until the jockey wheel bogs down or the caravan battery goes flat.

<i>get off, get</i>			
human	away	with a machine	
with motorhomes, caravans, own engines (own transportation), mover			

leave a place with a person

- exeter.ac.uk Following a lecture at the end of the day, Dr B, a male Senior Lecturer, finds himself **walking away** from the Campus with a female student, Miss C, who has just attended his lecture.
- thebookbag.co.u... A kindly looking man gestures that he will **get off** with the little girl at the next stop and will wait for the mother.
- cinemaparadiso.... Owen Wilson plays Steve , the true genius behind all of this, casually taking credit and **making off** with Kelly after giving a convincing explanation in classic Wilson words.

human	walk away	from place	with person
<i>get off, make off</i>			
human	off	with person	where
<i>get off, make off</i>		with the little girl, with the guests, with my friend Karen, with + personal pronoun (him, them), with a group of people (with the front group, with the first batch)	
<i>get off</i>			at the bus stop, at a square

- fiso.co.uk They stopped and **got off** with bread or lettuce in their hands wanting to feed the hippos, not realising how dangerous that was.
- myzen.co.uk Coming back, three wheelchairs blocked one carriage door and huge baggage in the aisles made it very difficult for people **getting off** with buggies.
- assured-ltd.co.... The incident occurred during July 2019, it is believed the two thieves waited for the jeweler to return before assaulting him and **making off** with the stolen items.
- assured-ltd.co.... Concealed in black holdalls, they **made away** with the goods by foot before escaping in a getaway car.
- thisismoney.co.... The fox, Cabanel said, had stolen the meal from fishermen on the lake but the eagles were watching him as he **made off** with his prize.
- wbrc.org.uk The ant appeared almost excited by its find, and I was surprised at the speed it **made off** with the prey.

<i>make off, make away, get off</i>			
human	get off	with object	machine
		something in their hands, buggies, rucksack, coin, the merchandise, the goods	
animal		food, prey	
human	<i>make away with, make off with</i>	object	car

make someone leave

usage: informal, order

- pearsec.com.co.uk **Get off** with you now.

<i>Get off</i>	human
	with you

Figure 12. [departing_how] entry – part 2

Despite sharing a sense and thus being grouped together, individual VPCs seem to exhibit a preference for specific collocations/FE configurations. These can be systematically connected to extended senses based on the [departing] source frame. Due to this, [departing] and [departing_how] have been split and so exhaustively described. Since the latter might compromise the clarity of the entry, it was attempted to mitigate this with summaries in the ‘specifies to’ arrows highlighting the relevant extension link and correspondence of FEs

between source and target frame (this will be further discussed in the target frame analysis section).

- *[escaping]*

Only *get away* combining with *from* evokes this frame defined as “A Self-moving Escapee departs from an Undesirable_location” (FrameNet, [escaping], n.d.). For example:


- (13) poetrymagazines...He [ESCAPEE] moved up here to **get away** from civilisation he says - from Babylon [UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION].
- (14) labradoodle.org... Yep, I work from home, and usually find the boys entwined round my chair legs so that I [ESCAPEE] can't **get away** from the desk [UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION].

Table 14. [escaping] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Pattern
<i>get away</i>	Target frame: [escaping]	[ESCAPEE/EXT/NP] [UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION/DEP/PP]
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv -away)

As reflected in Table 14 above, the primary valence pattern identified for the two-part evoking target frame LU (*get away*) contains the ESCAPEE FE NP in external relation while the UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION FE PP functions as a dependent. Figure 13 shows the entry for this sense which shares the signpost LEAVE/MOVE with [departing] but points to more specific meaning aspects via the definition and usage label. A feeling of entrapment was frequently not only linked to a specific place, but an entity or presence tied to it. This has been foregrounded in the division of the semantic types of fillers for UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION (place vs. bad thing/activity in place) in addition to a colligational pattern related to the (negative) prosody, namely *cannot* emphasizing the inability to leave.

[escaping]

LEAVE/MOVE 

usage: informal; bad feeling, trapped

leave from an unpleasant place

- labradoodle.org... Yep, I work from home, and usually find the boys entwined round my chair legs so that I can't **get away** from the desk.
- sonsanddaughter... Right now all she wants to do is **get away** from Woombai .

human	(cannot) <i>get away</i>	from a place
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • petwell.co.uk Leave the door open so your pet can get away from the noise if they need to. • wiltshire.gov.u... Residents at the hospital in alms house are elderly in their 80's and cannot get away from the noise late at night. • nomorepanic.co.... Instead I have being painting the bathroom with damp proof paint and I cannot get away from the smell. • ed.ac.uk I try to physically get away from my desk for lunch, as staring at a screen for too long isn't great. • poetrymagazines...He moved up here to get away from civilisation he says - from Babylon. 		
living thing	(cannot) <i>get away</i>	from bad thing or activity that exists in a place
human, animal		things you do not like
		noise, smell, staring at a screen (desk), other people (civilisation)

Figure 13. [escaping] entry

- **[evading]**

This frame refers to “An Evader moves under its own power to thereby avoid Capture or contact with a Pursuer also generally moving under its own power” (FrameNet, [evading], n.d.). In addition to these elements, the uses further described the movement of the EVADER in terms of vehicle used or manner of motion. For example:

(15) genuki.org.uk Three of the gang [EVADER] **got off** with their horses [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION], and not one of them was taken.

- (16) screenonline.or... Arriving at the magical isle he [EVADER] tries to **make off** with the horse [MODE OF TRANSPORTATION], but the princess and her bird attendants [PURSUER] pursue him and bring him back to earth.
- (17) djo.org.uk [...] I approached within thirty yards, and gave it her sharp, right and left, behind the shoulder; upon which she [EVADER] at once **made off** with drooping trunk [MANNER], evidently with a mortal wound.
- (18) hearts-mad.co.u... He [EVADER] **got away** from defenders [PURSUER] on several occasions [...].

Thus, four primary valence patterns were found for this sense:


Table 15. [evading] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get off</i>	Target frame: [evading]	(a) [EVADER/EXT/NP] [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION/DEP/PP] [PURSUER/DNI] (example 15)
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv -off)
<i>make off</i>	Target frame: [evading]	(b) [EVADER/EXT/NP] [MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION/DEP/PP] [PURSUER/DEP/NP] (example 16) (c) [EVADER/EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/PP] [PURSUER/DNI] (example 17)
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv -off)
<i>get away</i>	Target frame: [evading]	(d) [EVADER/EXT/NP] [PURSUER/DEP/PP] (example 18)
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv -away)

The relation between source and target frame extension mirrors that of previous central senses. All target frame valences feature an NP in external relation, namely the EVADER. (a) additionally contains a dependent MODE OF TRANSPORTATION – PP and, since the PURSUER is not overtly acknowledged but can be implied from the context, this is coded as DNI (definite null instantiation). For *make off*, the same pattern was found with the addition of

an overtly present PURSUER expressed by an NP in (b) in addition to a configuration with a MANNER FE filled by a PP in dependent function (c). If *get away* combines with *from*, the PURSUER is a dependent PP (d).

[evading]

LEAVE/MOVE 

usage: informal

leave quickly from a starting point with somebody chasing you

- genuki.org.uk Three of the gang **got off** with their horses, and not one of them was taken.
- screenonline.or... Arriving at the magical isle, he tries to **make off** with the horse, but the princess and her bird attendants pursue him and bring him back to earth.
- west-dunbarton.... Mr Wilson, agent, probably having seen it all before, **made off** with due haste.

<i>get off,</i>	<i>make off</i>	<i>how</i>
human		
with mode of transportation (with horses) + somebody following you		
quickly (with the utmost precipitation, with due haste) + somebody following you		

- sparrowsfall.co... Vyon decides that they need to move on, **get away** from their pursuers.
- dsl.ac.ukalerife; 2. sellin swine, the name of a children's game in which a child with a piece of straw rope guards a row of peat-fragments from the rest of the players who try to snatch one and **make off** with the guard in pursuit.
- styalfc.co.uk Smith **got away** from two defenders down the right flank.
- qosfan.co.uk As the game ticked over into injury time, Murray **got away** from his marker to swing in a dangerous cross.
- deckingni.co.uk It also creates a second means of escape should a child need to **get away** from bullies or any other problem.

<i>get away + from, make</i>	<i>off + with</i>	<i>somebody following you</i>
human		
other players in a game or sport		
		guard; in football: marker(s) and defender(s)
someone who wants to harm you		
		bully, pursuer

Figure 14. [evading] entry

The entry (Figure 14) foregrounds the PURSUER and the fast manner of motion as distinguishing elements of this sense in the definition. MANNER and TRANSPORTATION FEs fillers were subsumed as ‘how’. Since the PURSUER is not overtly acknowledged in all sentences/valences but always implied, this is exemplified in the table. The difference found between PURSUER FE fillers (see NP vs. PP) linked to different particles (*with* vs. *from*) combining with the VPCs was resolved by listing the particle in addition to the predicate and summarizing the remaining NPs according to the shared semantic type ‘somebody following you’. This was either another player in a game or someone wishing to harm the moving entity.

- **[evading/avoiding]**

Due to ambiguity present in the two sentences below, this frame has been created as a bridge. [Avoiding] refers to an AGENT avoiding an UNDERSIRABLE_SITUATION which can be “an activity [...] or an entity (perhaps) metonymic for such an activity or situation” (*FrameNet*, [avoiding], n.d.).

- (19) cluequest.co.uk He [EVADER/AGENT] alsmot [sic] **got away** with this excuse [MEANS], but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found.
- (20) askwhy.co.uk As further plunderings of the sacred treasure were being made, the people rebelled, but Menelaus [EVADER/AGENT] **got off** with more bribery [MEANS].

There is a possible physical interpretation of an EVADER evading capture via certain MEANS, but at the same time the meaning of an AGENT avoiding the UNDERSIRABLE_SITUATION of punishment is also plausible.

As highlighted in the annotation and the valence pattern, FEs of both frames were incorporated.


Table 16. [evading/avoiding] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Pattern
<i>get off, get away</i>	Target frame: [evading/avoiding]	[EVADER or AGENT /EXT/NP] [MEANS/DEP/PP] [PURSUER or UNDERSIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI]
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv <i>-off</i> or <i>away</i>)

The target frame valence mirrors that of [evading] with the moving entity being expressed by an NP in external and the MEANS FE (PP) in dependent relation to the headword. The implied PURSUER or UNDERSIRABLE_SITUATION FE is annotated as DNI.

Similarly to [departing how], this has been positioned as a bridge between a source frame ([evading]) and a target frame extending from it ([avoiding]) in the database. Moreover, Figure 15 shows that the ambiguity of this frame is captured in the signpost and the definition as both emphasize the connection between movement and avoidance. The AGENT/EVADER FE fillers correspond to the semantic type ‘human’ and the PPs cover two distinct types of ‘trickery’.

[evading/avoiding]

MOVE/AVOID 

leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you

- cluequest.co.uk He almost **got away** with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier, two soldiers were already waiting for him.
- askwhy.co.uk As further plunderings of the sacred treasure were being made, the people rebelled, but Menelaus **got off** with more bribery.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how
		with trickery
		with bribery, with excuses

Figure 15. [evading/avoiding] entry

- **[removing]**

This frame is described as “An Agent caus[ing] a Theme to move away from a location, the Source” (*FrameNet*, [removing], n.d.) and was only found for *get off*, as exemplified by the following sentences:

- (21) nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts [THEME] you [AGENT] cannot **get off** with the blade [INSTRUMENT] [...].
- (22) u-ukhbc.co.uk I'd never had this off before and soon found out that it [THEME]'s not easy (impossible?) to **get off** with the hood in place [MANNER] [...].

In contrast to the previous sentences, the moving entity is an object, the THEME, rather than the AGENT himself. INSTRUMENT and MANNER describe the tool utilized to accomplish removal or a property of the THEME. Two central configurations of these elements were found:

Table 17. [removing] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get off</i>	Target frame: [removing]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [THEME/OBJ/NP] [INSTRUMENT/DEP/PP] (example 21) (b) [AGENT/DNI] [THEME/OBJ/NP] [MANNER/DEP/PP] (example 22)
	Source frame: [traversing]	[THEME/OBJ/NP] [SOURCE/dep/ Adv <i>-off</i>]

In (a) AGENT and THEME NPs function as an external and an object while the INSTRUMENT FE is filled by a dependent PP. In contrast, the AGENT of (b) is only implied and the PP corresponds to a MANNER FE. As a reminder, the source frames of this project always refer to physical motion. Unlike in the previous senses, the THEME is not a self-moving entity. Thus, the source frame, i.e., *get* evoking [traversing], refers to the motion of THEME from a SOURCE carried out by an AGENT whose presence is required for the meaning of [removing] associated with the target frame and the two-part LU. As a result of how the corpus was queried, the THEME/object is not in its canonical position in the sentence since the entire phrase *get off with* was searched. Due to the necessarily limited scope of this project, the corpus was not separately queried for two-part VPCs (*get away, get off, make away, make off*) without a second particle or the search allowing for a lemma to occur in-between verbs and particles. As acknowledged before, the initial aim was to solely focus on extended/figurative uses and thus presumably three-part predicates as identified by Dalpanagioti (2022). While what are now regarded as central frames have ultimately been included, the above-mentioned query-restrictions must be regarded as major limitation of not only the thesis but also the central frame entries themselves.

Figure 16 depicts the entry for [removing] whose core motion and thus signpost differs from previous senses. The semantic type of NPs filling the THEME slot was summarized as ‘object’ and the INSTRUMENT FE label was maintained but further subdivided in terms of

two types of collocations associated with it. An attempt was made to explain the quite convoluted syntax arising from the corpus query method by positioning the THEME FE as an object of the predicate in the table (what would probably constitute a typical pattern if more two-part combinations were searched for). This positioning of the object in its canonical slot, however, clashes with its position found in the examined corpus data. Table two summarizes the semantic types of the MANNER FE fillers as a superordinate ‘why’ corresponding to two distinct properties of the THEME reflected in the PPs and additionally highlights a pattern of colligation (modification of the verb) and a semantic preference associated with this (indication of difficulty).

[removing]

MAKE MOVE

usage: informal

make something move from a location

- nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts you cannot **get off** with the blade guaranteeing your ingredients are perfectly prepared every time.
- c2club.co.uk I drive a lot of “fast” miles and I constantly get bugs stuck on the front of the car which are near on impossible to **get off** with soapy water.

human	<i>get off</i>	object	how
		insect, vegetable parts	with instrument
			blade (knife), kitchen tool
			with substance
			water

- u-ukhbc.co.uk I’d never had this off before and soon found out that it’s not easy (impossible?) to **get off** with the hood in place.
- lotus7news.co.u... It took ages to **get off** with screws seized in and rivets to chisel off.

It	is difficult	to <i>get off</i>	why
clothes	impossible, hard		worn in a certain way
stuck object	takes ages		fixed in a certain way

Figure 16. [removing] entry

4.1.2 Source frames – compositionality analysis

In line with Dalpanagioti (2022: 14-15), the present section will discuss the contribution of each VPC-component and the role of cognitive mechanism underlying the progression toward these first target frames. The figures below were based on Dalpanagioti’s (2022: 15).

get make	away	off	
Manner of motion	source		
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> <i>change of location</i>			
[traversing]			Extension from ‘obtain’ sense (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2014: 13) for get; extension from ‘create’ sense for make
[departing]			
[evading]			
[evading/avoiding]			
effort successful crossing	location and/or entity		
get	off	-	
[traversing]			Extension from ‘obtain’ sense (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2014: 13), ACTIVITY FOR CAUSED EVENT (Dalpanagioti 2018b: 655)
[removing]			
effort successful crossing	unwanted presence (contact)		
Implication	Context		Conceptual Motivation

Figure 17. Compositionality analysis for VPCs *get off/away* and *make off/away*

As illustrated in Figure 17, the manner of motion evoked by LUs of the [traversing] frame can be related not only to a change of location but also to a sense of ‘accomplishment’ tied to the endpoint implied by [traversing]. This is also reflected in Jarosz’s (2019: 37) analysis who ties the additional meaning of ‘achieve something with effort’ to *get*. A cognitive mechanism that can be associated with the progression toward the more specified motion meanings is the extension from the core sense evoked by *get* (‘obtain’) to ‘move’ (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2014: 13) and the integration of the SOURCE (*away* or *off*) indicating the starting point of the motion into the target-frame predicate thus evoking a frame that inherently entails departure **from**

somewhere. The particle thus provides the context of these motion senses, by indicating the location or entity left based on which different more specified motion meanings have been distinguished (e.g., [departing] vs. [evading] with the latter rather focused on entity). For LUs evoking [departing] and combining with *from*, the prepositional phrase introduced by it denotes a concrete starting point of the THEME. In contrast, for combinations with *with*, the motion is rather further specified in terms of MANNER or second moving object and the SOURCE (landmark) moved from rather implied. The same applies to [evading] in which the PURSUER does not have to be overtly expressed but can be by a PP when the VPC combines with *from*. The statements above are consistent with VPCs containing *make*. The central/prototypical sense of ‘make’ is not related to motion. Dixon (2005: 117), for example, includes it in the ‘build subtype’ of motion verbs referring to “an Agent manipulating [an object] so as to create something”. In order thus for *make* to acquire a motion meaning a similar cognitive process underlying the extension of get from ‘obtain’ to ‘move’ might apply (Mahpeykar & Tyler 2015: 13): embodied experience might be able to explain the connection since to create something automatically entails moving parts of your body. For [removing] a further conceptual metaphor seems to interact with the licensing of the two-part target frame, namely ACTION FOR CAUSED EVENT, which Dalpanagioti (2018b: 655) posits as the mechanism for the [cause_motion] sense of *stagger* (e.g., *The blow staggered him sideways*). This can be linked to an agent making the THEME traverse (getting the theme *off* a surface) resulting in the caused event of [removing] it thus creating a unitary meaning of *get off* as [removing]. Again, the particle thus contributes the context of this motion sense, in this case contact of an unwanted entity with the place it is moved from. The implication that the verb and manner of motion of [traversing] contributes is the same for all two-part target frames of Figure 17. A sense of effort and achievement tied to getting somewhere or to make (it) to a place carry can be linked to a sense of effort required for the achievement/successful outcome of the target frame meanings (cf. colligation such as modification of VPC in *it is hard to get off* in [removing] or *I cannot get away from NP* in [escaping]).

The last point contrasts with the findings depicted in Figure 18. The manner of motion evoked by *walk* as a [self_motion] LU has been summarized by Dalpanagioti (2022: 15) as ‘primary’, ‘effortless’, ‘human’ and ‘locomotion’. The implication that [self_motion] and *walk* contributes for the sole target frame found ([departing]) thus does not refer to a sense of accomplishment and success but rather seems to foreground the intention to leave and simply change location. Since the core sense/prototypical sense of *walk* is already one of motion, no cognitive mechanisms interact with progression from *walk* to *walk away*.

walk	away
Manner of motion	source
<i>primary/effortless</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> (Dalpanagioti 2022: 15)	
[self_motion]	
	[departing]
change of location intention	location
Implication	Context

Figure 18. Compositionality analysis for *walk away*

4.1.3 Target frames – extended senses

With the central senses and frames now outlined, the remainder of the mini-constructural level will focus on the target frames extending from them. It will begin with the [departing] extension.

4.1.3.1 [departing] extensions

- *[process_start]*

Describing “An Event begin[ning] at a certain Time and Place” (*FrameNet*, [process_start], n.d.), this sense was only found for *get off*:

- (23) newshound.org.u... [...] Shooting season [EVENT] **gets off** with a bang [MANNER] - and high hopes of profit [MANNER] [...].
- (24) cipr.co.uk 2021[EVENT] may not have **got off** with the start we'd all hoped for [MANNER] [...].

As reflected, the beginning of an abstract event (and manner thereof) is conceptualized in terms of motion. The paradigmatic correspondences between valences of source and target frame have been incorporated in the mini-summary connecting [departing_how] and [process_start] to facilitate the comprehension of the extension from MOVE to BEGIN (Figure 19).

Only one primary valence pattern – illustrated in the table below – was identified for this sense:

Table 18. [process_start] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Pattern
<i>get off</i>	Target frame: [process_start] predicate: <i>get off</i>	[EVENT /EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/PP]
	Source frame: [departing] predicate: <i>get off</i>	[THEME/Ext/NP]

As evidenced, the table now only captures the extension from a two-part predicate, i.e., the specified motion sense ([departing]), to the figurative sense related to it. The source frame valence thus exemplifies the literal meaning and syntax of the target VPC ([process_start]) whose identified phraseological patterns have been recorded as target frame valences. Only one main pattern was found consisting of the EVENT FE being filled by an NP and functioning as an external and the MEANS FE-PP being a dependent relative to the target-frame-evoking LU *get off*. Figure 20 illustrates the entry for [process_start]. The more abstract nature of this sense is reflected in both the modified signpost and the definition. The semantic type of both FEs was further distinguished based on collocations filling the relevant FE slots (celebrations and processes for EVENT and ‘activity’ or ‘a certain way’ for MANNER). Parentheses were used to indicate that ‘in certain way’ can exhibit a distinct prosody depending on collocation.

**[departing how] to
[process_start], specifies to**

RELATED DIRECTED

[departing how] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave a place in a certain way

- We **got off** with minimum further delay.

human *get off* **in a certain way**

[process_start] (BEGIN)


something begins (starting point)

- simplyplanes.co...With almost a full day of unbroken sunshine, Waddington Press Day **got off** with a stunning display by The Red Arrows.

Event/process *get off* **in a certain way**

Figure 19. Mini-summary for [process_start] extension

[process_start]

BEGIN 

something begins (starting point)

- simplyplanes.co...With almost a full day of unbroken sunshine, Waddington Press Day **got off** with a stunning display by The Red Arrows.
- mkbuilderslp.c...Getting the first steps in the correct placement might take a lot of measurements and adjustments, but a good start will ensure a project **gets off** with fewer mistakes.
- villageonline.c... The Big Lunch **gets off** with a bang, or rather a bark, with a dog show at 11.15am.
- cipr.co.uk 2021 may not have **got off** with the start we'd all hoped for, making navigating the ongoing COVID-19 crisis even more challenging for self-employed practitioners and teams.
- merciafellrunne... Well, 2012 certainly **got off** with a bang.
- newshound.org.u... Shooting season **gets off** with a bang - and high hopes of profit - Pheasant shooting starts today.
- concrete-online... The 2nd half **got off** with the same intensity as the 1st half, with both sides well matched, but it was UEA who broke the deadlock in the 2nd half.

Event	<i>get off</i>	how
with an activity		
Waddington Press Day, The Big Lunch, the 2nd half (of a sports game)		with a dog show, with a display by The Red Arrows (sport team)
in a certain way		
		with a bang, with the same intensity as the 1st half (positive meaning)
process	get off	in a certain way
Shooting Season (part of year), 2012, 2021 (year)		with a bang, with fewer mistakes (positive meaning)
	not get off	with the start we hoped for (positive meaning)

Figure 20. [process_start] entry

- *[reforming_a_system]*

This frame refers to “an Agent (or non-Agentive Cause) undertak[ing] steps to change the structural makeup of a complex Entity with interdependent parts” (*FrameNet*, [reforming_a_system], n.d.). The sentences evoking this frame thus conceptualize the changing of an ENTITY as movement:

- (25) lcm.org.uk But he [AGENT] now **walks away** from fights [ENTITY] and is showing the fruit of the Spirit as a peacemaker.
- (26) darlofc.co.uk **Get away** from the idea of working for benefits [ENTITY].

They correspond to the primary valences found in the data:

Table 19. [reforming a system] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away, walk away</i>	Target frame: [reforming_a_system]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [ENTITY/DEP/PP] (example 25) (b) [AGENT/CNI] [ENTITY/DEP/PP] (example 26)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME /Ext/NP or CNI]

While in both the ENTITY FE is a dependent PP, the AGENT is coded as CNI (constructional null instantiation) in valence pattern (b) as it is absent in imperative constructions.

The abstraction from source to target frame (MOVE to CHANGE) and the FE correspondences within are reflected in the following mini-summary:

[departing] to [reforming_a_system], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from a starting point

- rictornorton.co... Apparently not liking too much attention, one of the parties **got away** from the crowd.
- hftf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.

human *walk away, get away* **from place**

[reforming_a_system] (CHANGE)

change a (negative) way of thinking or doing things

- dsdaily.org.uk But we must also **get away** from the harmful stereotype that drug users are all working class.
- lcm.org.uk But he now **walks away** from fights and is showing the fruit of the Spirit as a peacemaker.

human *get away, walk away* **from negative process**

Figure 21. Mini-summary for [reforming_a_system] extension

The entry for this sense provides further information such as the prosody tied to the sense which was indicated in both the definition and the usage label. The semantic type of the ENTITY FE NPs was subcategorized into ‘way of living’ vs. ‘way of thinking’ tied at a superordinate level to individual or societal processes. An attempt was made to illustrate the preference of *get away* + *from* for ‘individual negative processes’ and the colligational pattern associated with it (modality) via a distinct table. The pragmatic function of valence (b), i.e., giving an order, is highlighted by a separate usage label and description.

[reforming_a_system]

CHANGE

usage: informal; seen as good change

change a (negative) way of thinking or doing things

- dsdaily.org.uk But we must also **get away** from the harmful stereotype that drug users are all working class.
- aru.ac.uk We need to **get away** from consumerism and companies’ drive to sell new stuff – appealing to the baser side of our nature.
- niassembly.gov.... We must **get away** from the notion that parents who send their children to prep schools are all rich.
- churchtimes.co.... “It’s so important that we **get away** from this idea that disabled people are the problem, but, instead, the context we create, the way we relate, the buildings themselves create those barriers, those problems.
- ardis.co.uk However, as soon as you **get away** from the idea of printed items being simply things that you read, to considering them as an investment, the reasons become clear.
- honestjohn.co.u... But most of the time mrs G is using it as her daily commute, it is really rather big, heavy and thirsty for that, and it’s a Diesel, we would love to **get away** from Diesel.
- football-talk.c... They said he was hot headed, he now **walks away** from confrontation .

human	<i>get away</i>	from negative process
also personal pronoun (we)	also must or need to <i>get away</i>	negative societal process
way of thinking: stereotypes about people, ideas/notions about certain people		
way of living: consumerism		
treating someone bad, wrongdoings, misconduct, sexism		

human	<i>get away, walk away</i>	from negative process
also personal pronoun (we)	also must or need to <i>get away, walk away</i>	from negative personal behaviour
way of living: (using) Diesel (petrol), negative or dangerous situation, confrontation or fights		

usage: advice

suggestion to change something/leave a situation that is bad for you

- 11 wigan.gov.uk **Walk away** from any situations you don’t feel comfortable in and find your friends.
- thurrock.gov.uk **Walk away** from a fight.
- kravmaga-system... It’s not weak to **walk away** from trouble .

<i>Get away, walk away</i>	from negative situation
trouble, fight, situation that makes you feel bad	

Figure 22. [reforming_a_system] entry

- *[abandonment]*

[Abandonment] is defined as “An Agent leaves behind a Theme effectively rendering it no longer within their control or of the normal security as one's property” (*FrameNet*, [abandonment], n.d.). Both participants, in addition to a MANNER description, are reflected in the annotated sentences below:

- (27) marketoracle.co... The outlook is therefore sombre: the Europeans [AGENT] have a track record of not only **walking away** from their obligations [THEME] - but also not even walking up to them in the first place!
- (28) palatinate.org....Australian rugby clearly suffers from poor coaching, illogical management [...] leading to people [AGENT] **walking away** from the sport [THEME] in droves [MANNER].
- (29) fansnetwork.co.... Morton House "directors" [AGENT] jumped ship and **got away** from the project [THEME] ASAP [MANNER].

The syntactic relations of these FEs to the headword are illustrated in table 20. The AGENT and THEME slots are filled by NPs and PPs functioning as an externals and dependents, respectively. The MANNER FE phrase type is either a PP (b) or an adverbial phrase (c).

Table 20. [abandonment] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>walk away</i>	Target frame: [abandonment]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [THEME/DEP/PP] (example 27) (b) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [THEME/DEP/PP] [MANNER/DEP/PP] (example 28)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME /Ext/NP]
<i>get away, walk away</i>	Target frame: [abandonment]	(c) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [THEME/DEP/PP] [MANNER/DEP/ADVP] (example 29)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME /Ext/NP]

As highlighted in Figure 23, the mini-summary is quite similar to that of the previous frame, since again, a form of CHANGE is conceptualized as movement from a location. The [abandonment] entry (Figure 24), however, illustrates the more specific meaning and the

distinct prosody associated with semantic type of the arguments (FEs) taken by the VPCs in this frame. The infrequent use of the LU *get away* is also remarked upon. The corpus data highlighted collocational preferences for certain domains. This information was incorporated in tables one and two in relation to the semantic types and sub-categorizations corresponding to the AGENT (humans overall) and THEME FE (something important overall) fillers. Table three highlights the prosody associated with certain THEME FEs and the use of modals tied to this. An association with moral judgement was observed for PPs covering the semantic type ‘promise’. The final example sentences and table correspond to the MANNER FE found in patterns (b) and (c).

[departing] to [abandonment], specifies to

RELATED
DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from a starting point

- rictornorton.co... Apparently not liking too much attention, one of the parties **got away** from the crowd.
- hftf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.

human	walk away, get away	from place
--------------	----------------------------	-------------------

[abandonment] (CHANGE)

decide not to or no longer do something important

- pearl-coutts.co... Investors have **walked away** from deals totalling £650m in London alone.
- icomuk.co.uk "The police cannot **walk away** from their responsibility to deal with crime but then business cannot either."

Human/collective	walk away, get away	from something important
-------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------------

Figure 23. Mini-summary for [abandonment] extension

[abandonment]

CHANGE 📷

usage: informal; disapproval: often seen as bad change; usually, *walk away* is used to express this meaning

decide not to or no longer do something important

- themj.co.uk The prime minister is talking tough, making clear that while the Government wants a deal with Europe, it will **walk away** from talks if the right offer isn't on the table.
- cambstimes.co.u... Alteri Investors **walked away** from sales talks this week.
- marketoracle.co... Barofsky has been recommending that the Treasury make the voluntary mortgage program mandatory, limiting the number of homeowners who **walk away** from their mortgages.
- jonestheplanner... But a bigger scandal is Virgin **walking away** from its East Coast contract because it couldn't make enough money.
- boyfrombrazil.c... I will be sad to see Benito Carbone **walk away** from Valley Parade .
- keele.ac.uk Feeling lost, running on empty and consumed with grief, Roxana considered **walking away** from Uni during this very challenging time.
- uksport.gov.uk If we set something up now, while we are still full-time athletes, then it will be ready and waiting for us when the day arrives when we choose to, or have to, **walk away** from sport .
- fansnetwork.co.... He has **walked away** from a contract and a glorious opportunity.

human/group of humans	<i>walk away</i>	from something important for other people
verbal agreement/negotiation		
politicians, government, armed forces		international negotiations, peace talks
investors, company, business		acquisition talks, sales talks, deal, (business) contract
money that you have to pay to someone else		
homeowners		mortgages
organisations, humans		debts

	<i>walks away</i>	
human	<i>away</i>	from something important for you
an activity or work you have done for a long time		
athletes		sport, club they played for
something you want to achieve for yourself		
human		from university degree
something that could be valuable for you		
human		deal, opportunity, (job) contract

- sohealth.co.uk Conference notes that unlike private sector companies, the NHS does not **walk away** from its commitments when the going gets tough.
- cmf.org.uk As Christians we cannot **walk away** from our obligations to the poor.
- railnews.co.uk RMT will not **walk away** from the fight for a railway that puts public safety before private profit.
- churchandstate.... Then I suppose the men who have **walked away** from their responsibilities with a child they've fathered should be condemned just as harshly as a woman.
- lusoweb.co.uk I wouldn't have **walked away** from a commitment if I didn't think it was right.

	(cannot) <i>walk away</i>	
human/collective		from something important
a promise made towards somebody		
social organisation (for example NHS = National Health Service) or person		fight for (something), obligation toward somebody, responsibility for somebody or something, commitment

- fansnetwork.co.... Morton House "directors" jumped ship and **got away** from the project ASAP.
- palatinate.org.... Australian rugby clearly suffers from poor coaching, illogical management at the top level and a dearth of talent, and, unsurprisingly, this is leading to people **walking away** from the sport in droves.
- ofcom.org.uk If speeds then fall below an acceptable level, the customer can **walk away** from the contract and go elsewhere with no charge.

	<i>walk away, get away</i>	
human/collective		from something important how

Figure 24. [abandonment] entry

- *[surviving]*

[Surviving] entails “A Survivor manag[ing] to avoid being negatively affected, despite encountering a Dangerous_situation” (*FrameNet*, [surviving], n.d.). For example:

(30) surrey.ac.uk But we know that sanctions of that kind will affect ordinary Russians most of all, the political and economic elites [SURVIVOR] traditionally just **walk away** from such situations [DANGEROUS_SITUATION] [...].

(31) neam.co.uk Miraculously the 3 students [SURVIVOR] **walked away** from the wreckage [DANGEROUS_SITUATION] with only bruises [DEPICTIVE] [...].

As reflected, two valence configurations were found:

Table 21. [surviving] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>walk away</i>	Target frame: [surviving]	(a) [SURVIVOR/EXT/NP] [DANGEROUS_SITUATION/DEP/PP] (example 30) (b) [SURVIVOR/EXT/NP] [DANGEROUS_SITUATION/DEP/PP] [DEPICTIVE/DEP/PP] (example 31)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME /Ext/NP]

While in both the SURVIVOR FE is an external NP and the DANGEROUS_SITUATION a dependent PP, (b) additionally contains a DEPICTIVE FE filled by a PP.

The mini-summary elucidating the source to target frame connection in figure 25 shows why [departing_how] was separated as a distinct entry: the THEME leaving a SOURCE in a certain MANNER ([departing_how]) corresponds to the SURVIVOR leaving the DANGEROUS_SITUATION unharmed (DEPICTIVE). This shift is further illustrated in the [surviving] entry by the definition and the signpost (Figure 26). The DANGEROUS_SITUATION FE fillers pointed consisted of two types of PPs – some referring to physical and others to metaphorical situations. This is mirrored in the table below in which the DEPICTIVE FE PPs point different ‘aftermath states’ in accordance with the type of situation survived

[departing how] to [surviving], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from a starting point

- shotsmag.co.uk The story opens with a barefoot man **walking away** from the wreckage of a burning plane.

human	walk away	from a place

[departing how] (LEAVE/MOVE + no harm)

leave a place in a certain way

- hull.ac.uk Added to that was always seeing my drivers **walk away** from big crashes unhurt, and knowing that my work directly had an influence on that outcome.

human	walk away	from (dangerous) place	how
			not hurt/alive (unhurt)

[surviving] (NO HARM)

not being hurt by a dangerous situation

- comedy.co.uk Miraculously **walking away** from the wreckage of his affair with Elena, Jeremy also meets a new love interest.

human	walk away	from dangerous situation
		from situations with negative consequences (affair, sanctions)

Figure 25. Mini-summary for [surviving] extension

[surviving]

NO HARM

usage: informal

not being hurt by a dangerous situation

- qosfan.co.uk He came back strongly with another run of goals towards the end of the season, luckily **walking away** from a car crash during that run.
- comedy.co.uk Miraculously **walking away** from the wreckage of his affair with Elena, Jeremy also meets a new love interest.
- surrey.ac.uk But we know that sanctions of that kind will affect ordinary Russians most of all, the political and economic elites traditionally just **walk away** from such situations.

human	walk away	from dangerous situation
		from dangerous place/accident (physical)
		car crash
		from situations with a negative effect for you (abstract)
		affair, sanctions (punishment)

- neam.co.uk Miraculously, the 3 students **walked away** from the wreckage with only bruises.
- marketoracle.co... The perfection of moral hazard in the current banking system can be illustrated by what happened to the last CEO of Lehman Brother, Richard Fuld: he **walked away** from the wreckage with \$222 million.

human	walk away	from dangerous situation	how
		from place/accident (physical)	with minor punishment
		from crash	with bruises
		from a bad situation that could have had consequences (abstract)	without punishment
		the wreckage	with money

Figure 26. [surviving] entry

- *[theft]*

In the annotated sentences below, the VPCs evoke the [theft] frame in which “[...] a Perpetrator takes Goods from a Victim or a Source” (*FrameNet*, [theft], n.d.).

- (32) ibtimes.co.uk The previous Ethereum theft saw hackers [PERPETRATOR] **make away with** \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency [GOODS] [...].

(33) punk77.co.uk I met Morgan Webster from Menace there because I [PERPETRATOR] wanted to **get off with** his [VICTIM] girlfriend [GOODS] but I wasn't successful in that!

(34) limobroker.co.u... The 22-year-old thief [PERPETRATOR] [...] tried to **make away with** one of the operator's [VICTIM] most expensive limos [GOODS].

The corresponding valence patterns are the following:

Table 22. [theft] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get off with, get away with, make away with, make off with</i>	Target frame: [theft]	(a)[PERPETRATOR/EXT/NP] [GOODS/OBJ/NP] (example 32)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]
<i>get off with, make away with, make off with</i>	Target frame: [theft]	(b) [PERPETRATOR/EXT/NP] [VICTIM/2nd] [GOODS/OBJ/NP] (examples 33 and 34)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

With has been added to the source frame valence pattern (e.g., predicate **make off**) to capture the syntax of the target frame VPC as a three-part structure as well as its literal meaning. The GOODS FE NP thus functions as an object of the three-part predicate in the target frame. Valence pattern (b) further contains the VICTIM FE which is coded as 2nd as it overlaps with the GOODS FE.

The FE consistencies between source and target frame cover the moving entity (THEME and PERPETRATOR) and the object moved with (CO-THEME and GOODS). Thus, the relevant [departing_how] pattern and particularly illustrative sentences/collocations tied to it have been included in the mini-summary (see Figure 27). The focus on a second moving object is also reflected in the dictionary signpost (TAKE) (Figure 28). It has been adapted from Dalpanagioti's (2022: 15) TAKE SOMETHING used to cover the shared core sense of [win_prize] and [theft]. Since a further relevant sense was identified (see [personal_relationships] below), TAKE was used. 'Something valuable' assigned by Dalpanagioti (2022:15) as a semantic type for collocations she found in the [theft] frame was

maintained but further tailored to two specific types of GOODS NP identified in the present study. The final table corresponds to valence pattern (b). The use of stealing someone’s partner only found for *get off with* is specifically emphasized.

[departing how] to [theft], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from a starting point

- hftf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.

[departing _how] (LEAVE/MOVE + how)

leave a place in a certain way

- assured-ltd.co.... Subsequent to stealing the goods, the offenders then **made away** with the merchandise in a dark Peugeot 308.
- zetlandfm.co.uk At around 1.25pm on Tuesday 5th December a male on a green bike approached Aldi in Coulby Newham and stole a green and black Trek bike, before **making off** with the stolen bike as well as his own.
- anurseatthefron... Lots of them **got off** with pockets bulging.

human	<i>make off, make away, get off</i>	how
		with object: with stolen items, stolen bike, the goods, with the merchandise
		in a certain way: with pockets bulging (with taken object in their pocket)

[theft] (TAKE)

steal something

- imobroker.co.u... The 22-year-old thief had only recently secured employment as an accountant at Silver Image Limousines in Dallas, US, when he tried to **make away with** one of the operator’s most expensive limos.

human	<i>make off with, make away with, get off with, get away with</i>	valuable object (taken from someone else)

Figure 27. Mini-summary for [theft] extension

steal something

- An armed raid occurs at a British Gas depot in Romford, with four masked gun men **getting away with** the loot.
- ibtimes.co.uk The previous Ethereum theft saw hackers **make away with** \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency in just three minutes.
- p24.co.uk Thieves **made off with** a cash machine containing several thousand pounds after an early hours raid on a west Norfolk petrol station.
- classic-literat... His confederates **got off with** the swag.

human	<i>make away with, make off with, get away with, get off with</i>	something valuable
the gang, the perpetrator, thieves		object
		the swag (stolen things), the loot, a handbag, the wallet, a mobile phone, jewellery, artefacts
animal		food, prey
human		abstract valuable thing
		data, information, secrets, ideas
football club		important person
		(good) football player

- limobroker.co.u... The 22-year-old thief had only recently secured employment as an accountant at Silver Image Limousines in Dallas, US, when he tried to **make away with** one of the operator’s most expensive limos.
- 4ni.co.uk They **made off with** a sum of money and the woman’s handbag.
- punk77.co.uk I met Morgan Webster from Menace there because I wanted to **get off with** his girlfriend, but I wasn’t successful in that!

human	<i>get off with, make away with, make off with</i>	human's	valuable thing
perpetrator, thief		the operator's, the woman's or pronoun (his, her, their)	limo (car), handbag
	get off with	pronoun (his, her, their)	important person (partner)

Figure 28. [theft] entry

- *[win_prize]*

This sense covers “A Competitor claim[ing] a Prize as a result of the outcome of their participation in a Competition” (*FrameNet*, [win_prize], n.d.). For example:

(35) realpokeronline... A Vietnam player Thi Nguyen [COMPETITOR] was the sixth ranker of the event, who **got off with** \$76,112 [PRIZE].

(36) drakeweareleavi... Not only does he win the trophy, he [COMPETITOR] **makes off with** the film [PRIZE] as well.

Table 23 shows that the main valence pattern found consists of two NPs functioning as external and object, respectively:

Table 23. [win_prize] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get off with,</i> <i>get away with,</i> <i>make off with,</i>	Target frame: [win_prize]	[COMPETITOR/EXT/NP] [PRIZE/OBJ/NP]
<i>make away with</i>	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

The extension mini-summary is similar to the previous frame. Again, the relevant correspondence concerns the object moved with and thus a [departing_how] valence (Figure 29). Thus, the [win_prize] entry depicted in Figure 30 shares the core meaning TAKE with the previous sense. The semantic-type label ‘something valuable’ was assigned in accordance with Dalpanagioti’s analysis of this sense (2022: 15) but further refined to reflect the difference between collocations such as *trophy* or *film* (recognition). The semantic prosody (luck) of [win_prize] and a colligational pattern of VPC modification associated with this are also highlighted.

[departing how] to [win_prize], specifies to

ADD CONNECTION TYPE DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from a starting point

- hftf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.

[departing_how] (LEAVE/MOVE + how)

leave a place in a certain way

- fiso.co.uk They stopped and **got off** with bread or lettuce in their hands wanting to feed the hippos , not realising how dangerous that was.
- thisismoney.co.... The fox, Cabanel said, had stolen the meal from fishermen on the lake but the eagles were watching him as he **made off** with his prize.

human	make off, make away, get off	how
		with (valuable) object

[win_prize] (TAKE)


win a prize or something valuable

- realpokeronline... A Vietnam player Thi Nguyen was the sixth ranker of the event, who **got off with** \$76,112.

human	make away with, make off with, get away with, get off with	valuable thing

Figure 29. Mini-summary for [win_prize] extension

[win_prize]

TAKE 

usage: informal, good feeling/feeling lucky

win a prize or something valuable

- chaos.org.uk Fabe and I *got away with* one trick each , Mikkel took three and Margareta took eight: so zero for Fabe and I, twenty for Mikkel and seventy for Margareta.
- realpokeronline... A Vietnam player Thi Nguyen was the sixth ranker of the event, who **got off with** \$76,112.
- cifinow.co.uk Veteran scene-stealers Ewen Bremner and Alison Pill both leave a lasting impression, but fans of Bong’s previous work will be pleased to hear that Song and his The Host co-star Ko Ah-Sung, who play the drug-addled Namgoong and his equally drug-addled daughter Yona respectively, **make away with** the film.
- drakeweareleavi... Not only does he win the trophy, he **makes off with** the film as well.
- cultbox.co.uk To find out who **made off with** the main prizes at the Oscars this year, all you need to do is scroll down and read the full list of results.
- squashplayer.co... "I knew I had to be on my game today and while I was a little up and down in the first game I felt I played well and I was happy to **get off with** a 3-0 win.

human	make away with, make off with, get away with, get off with	valuable thing
actor, soccer player, soccer team, competitor		object
		money, trophy, early supplies
actor, soccer player, soccer team, competitor		public praise
		a win, the film (praise for performance in film)
human	lucky/happy to get off with	valuable object
		a win

Figure 30. [win_prize] entry

- *[personal_relationships]*

The VPCs evoking the last extended frame of this cluster describe “the personal Relationships [people] are or can be a part of” (*FrameNet*, [personal_relationships], n.d.). For example:

- (37) screenonline.or... Rosie [PARTICIPANT 1] **makes off with** Danny [PARTICIPANT 2]; Rafi stays the night with Alice; and Sammy makes love to Anna.
- (38) family-travel.c... [...] apparently it is much more singles [PARTICIPANT 1] **getting off with** each other [PARTICIPANT 1] [...].

The sentences above correspond to the two main valence patterns identified for this sense consisting of an external NP and an object NP. The reflexive use in example (38) above was coded by using the PARTICIPANT 1 FE twice.

Table 24. [personal_relationships] valences



VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get off with, make off with</i>	Target frame: [personal_relationships]	(a) [PARTICIPANT 1/ EXT/NP] [PARTICIPANT 2/OBJ/NP] (example 37) (b) [PARTICIPANT 1/ EXT/NP] [PARTICIPANT 1/OBJ/NP] (example 38)
	Source frame: [departing]	[THEME] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

Consistent with the previous senses sharing the TAKE core, it is again a pattern of [departing_how] that corresponds to the target frame syntagmatic relation of FEs. However, for this sense the animate CO-THEME found in [departing] uses is important. This is has been foregrounded in the mini-summary (Figure 31).

The signpost of the dictionary entry (Figure 32) points to the shared core meaning aspect of [theft], [win_prize] and this sense, while its more specified focus on physical relationships is foregrounded in the definition and the usage label. The PARTICIPANTS FE fillers have been paraphrased as ‘human’ in accordance with their common semantic type. Table 1 of the entry further includes the modification of the VPC with *try* found in many examples thus pointing to a relevant colligation. The reflexive pattern is summarized in the final table of the entry.

[departing how] to [personal_relationships], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[departing] (LEAVE/MOVE)  

leave from a starting point

- htf.co.uk As we were **walking away** from the venue at the end of the second day, we came upon a weird little scene playing out.

[departing_how] (LEAVE/MOVE + how)

leave a place in a certain way

- thebookbag.co.u... A kindly looking man gestures that he will **get off** with the little girl at the next stop and will wait for the mother.
- rushdenheritage...The anticipation of enjoying these proved too much for them, and the result was that they "boned" the aforesaid joints, and **made off** with them to the lodging-house.

human *get off, make off* with human


[personal_relationships] (TAKE)

start a relationship with somebody (often sexual)

- peevis.co.uk E.g."I presume you **got off with** that bloke last night, being as you didn't come home?"
- screenonline.or... Rosie **makes off with** Danny ; Rafi stays the night with Alice; and Sammy makes love to Anna.

human *makes off with, gets off with* human

Figure 31. Mini-summary of [personal_relationships] extension

[personal_relationships] 

TAKE

usage: very informal

start a relationship with somebody (often sexual)

- glasband80.co.u... We wandered round the campsite and I **got off with** this rather nifty girl called Susan, and ended up spending the night in her tent.
- peevis.co.uk E.g."I presume you **got off with** that bloke last night, being as you didn't come home?"
- spr.ac.uk When I asked Guy what it was like being played by Macfadyen, he answered 'well, the fact that he **made off with** Keira Knightley twice (Pride & Prejudice and Anna Karenina) was encouraging'.
- screenonline.or... Rosie **makes off with** Danny ; Rafi stays the night with Alice; and Sammy makes love to Anna.
- crimereview.co.... Since the night she had sex with Mark at his wedding, she's wanted to **get off with** him properly, and when she sees a chance, she takes it, doing everything in her power to get Mark away from his wife and family
- comedy.co.uk Craven Pete, professional disaster and romantic failure, runs over a woman's cat, which gives him the perfect opportunity to try to **get off with** the grieving pet-owner.
- family-travel.c... Lower season apparently it is much more singles **getting off with** each other - perhaps not the tranquil time new parents are looking for.

human *makes off with, gets off with* human

or tries to get off with

humans *get off with* humans

pronoun: each other

Figure 32. [personal_relationships] entry

- **[Departing] Compositionality Analysis**

The present section will discuss the progression from central to extended frames of the [departing] cluster and the role of each VPC constituent within this.

Get	off	
manner of motion	source	
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>change of location</i>		
[traversing]		
	[departing]	EVENTS ARE ACTIONS (Kövecses 2010: 181-182)
	[process_start]	
successful	starting point	
IMPLICATION	CONTEXT	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 33. Compositionality analysis of [process_start]

Figure 33 above depicts the progression towards figurative meaning for [process_start]. As highlighted, the shift from [departing] to [process_start] can be linked to the conceptual metaphor EVENTS ARE ACTIONS through which “we view events as produced by an active, willful agent” (Kövecses 2010: 56). Thus, the beginning of an event (process_start) is conceptualized in terms of movement (departing). The nuance that the manner of motion and the verb contributes in this case can be regarded as one of achievement and success (successful crossing = successful beginning). In relation to her findings for *run off with* + prize, for example, Dalpanagioti (2022: 14) asserts that “the SOURCE from which the THEME came is [...] underspecified in the PV construction as *away* or *off* [...] but is understood from the context as a competition”. The same can be argued here: the SOURCE the EVENT ‘moves from’, i.e., the starting point, is underspecified in the particle and not expressed via a PP (this will become clearer in the next cluster).

Table 25 shows the application of Langlotz’s (2006) notion of ‘isomorphism’ to the current project and the relevant extension. It highlights how the frames act as ontologies arranging the elements contained within (FEs) and how they, being ICMs, are mapped via the conceptual metaphor participating in the extension from source to target frame. While the relation between left and right side of the table as a whole thus corresponds to the notion of ‘motivation’, the correspondences between FEs of the left and right side of the table are rather

“image-schematic correspondences between the constituents and figurative correspondents in the idiomatic meaning on the basis of conceptual [mechanisms]” thus illustrating the ‘isomorphism’ of [process_start] (Langlotz 2007: 126-127). It is these correspondences that have been highlighted in the database mini-summaries.

Table 25. Isomorphism of [process_start]

Source domain (ACTION)	Target domain (EVENT)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[departing] frame ontology	[process_start] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = THEME	[EXT/NP] = THEME
[LU] = <i>get off</i>	[LU] = <i>get off</i>
[DEP/PP] = MANNER	[DEP/PP] = MANNER
Example Sentence: <i>Shooting Season gets off with a bang.</i>	

Figure 34 below depicts the progression for the cluster with the core meaning CHANGE. Similarly to Dalpanagioti’s (2022: 14) findings regarding the underspecified [getting] frame for her TAKE cluster, the extension from [departing] can also be linked to the triggering of an underspecified frame – in this case [cause_to_change] – via the conceptual metonymy ACTION [departing] FOR RESULT [cause_to_change]. The differing landmarks tied to the PPs co-occurring with the VPCs (ideology vs. valuable entity) distinguish the more specific frames [abandonment] and [reforming_a_system] and thus also illustrate the context (SOURCE moved from). In contrast to the [process_start] above, this is thus not underspecified in the particle. Some remarks made by Kövecses (2010) regarding the interaction between metonymies and metaphors are interesting for the two further conceptual metaphors listed in the cognitive mechanism section. He states that some conceptual metaphors can be “motivated by a CAUSE AND EFFECT type of metonymy” and “others by a WHOLE AND PART type of metonymy” (Kövecses 2010: 185). The former influences relations in which the source enables the target domain to occur, for example KNOWING IS SEEING and the latter rather affects instances in which one domain (either source or target) “is a part and the other is a whole with respect to that part” (Kövecses 2010: 186).

Get	Walk	away	from + smth.	
Manner of motion		Source		
[traversing]	[self_motion]			
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> <i>change of location</i>	<i>primary/effortless</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> (Dalpanagioti 2022: 15)			
[departing]				ACTION FOR RESULT
[cause_to_change]				
decision intention effort		[reforming_a_system]	harmful behavior or ideology	CHANGE IS MOTION > PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (Kövecses 2010: 163)
successful	decision intention	[abandonment]	valuable entity	CHANGE IS MOTION > ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION IS DIVERSION FROM A PATH (Podhorodecka 2007: 88)
IMPLICATION		FRAMES	CONTEXT	CONCEPTUAL MECHANISM

Figure 34. Compositionality analysis of [abandonment] and [reforming_a_system]

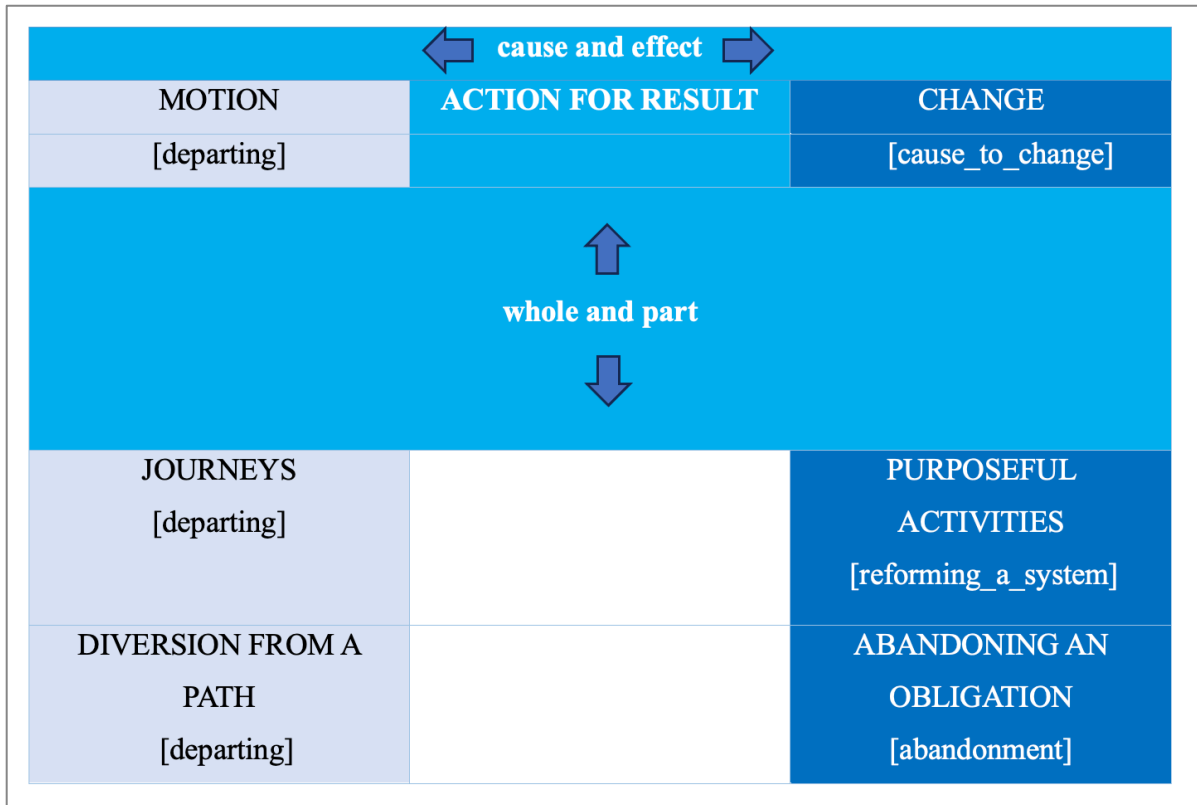


Figure 35. Interactions between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in CHANGE cluster extension

As reflected in Figure 35, precisely these relations seem to hold in the CHANGE cluster extensions. Respective to the [cause_to_change] frame, both [abandonment] and [reforming_a_system] constitute the Member portion of the Category-and-Member ICM configuration (Kövecses 2010: 181-182). The cause-and-effect relation can, on the other hand, be connected to the ICMs, i.e., the frames, linked themselves to domains spanning different levels of abstraction and between which the conceptual mechanism licensing the extension from source to target frames operate. Both interaction of conceptual metonymies and metaphors and the presence of a cause-and-effect ICM are consistent with some of Langlotz's (2006) findings regarding idioms connected to the conceptual domains SUCCESS, PROGRESS and FAILURE. He states, for example, that the motivation of FEIs such as *get the show on the road*, i.e., idioms with locative PPs, can be defined as one of 'metaphonymy': "the PPs either describe the mover's state of being on the path or they point to specific locations or stages on the route" thus leading to an interaction of the metonymy STATE OF BEING ON THE PATH FOR THE STATE OF BEING IN MOVEMENT and the conceptualization of STATE (PROGRESS) in terms of LOCATION, i.e., the metaphor DELVOPMENT IS MOVEMENT (Langlotz 2006: 167). This interaction is comparable to the one of ACTION

FOR RESULT with the more specific instances of CHANGE IS MOTION found in the present study that are exemplified in Figure 35 below. Moreover, Langlotz (2006: 167) also ties a CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy combining with the conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT to the motivation of expressions such as *hit the wall*. The literal meaning denoting physical contact with an object leads to effect of stopping; this CAUSE-AND-EFFECT mechanism interacts with the conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOVEMENT leading to conceptualization failure in terms of a motion inhibition (Langlotz 2006: 167). Again, a similar mechanism, albeit not in terms of stopping but progressing with the movement, can be tied to the current study, as evidenced in Figure 35. Linking this further to paradigmatic FE relations between source and target domains/the ICMs associated with them, the [abandonment] isomorphism (for one VPC such as *walk away*) can be visualized as follows:

Table 26. Isomorphism of [abandonment]

Source domain (MOTION) (DIVERSION FROM A PATH)	Target domain (CHANGE) (ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[departing] frame ontology	[abandonment] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = THEME	[EXT/NP] = AGENT
[LU] = <i>walk away</i>	[LU] = <i>walk away</i>
[DEP/PP] = SOURCE	[DEP/PP] = THEME
Example: cambstimes.co.u... [...] <i>Alteri Investors walked away from sales talks this week.</i>	

As with [process_start], there is a high degree of syntagmatic correspondences along the paradigmatic axis. The match between [DEP/PP] FEs is also present in [reforming_a_system] but the NPs of the evoke a different target frame (different ontology) and thus different a different more specified instantiation of the very general CHANGE domain (see Figure 34 above). Interestingly, the differing landmarks between the frames were connected to a distinct prosody of the senses. In relation to this, some findings by Podhorodecka (2007) in her analysis of figurative uses of *depart from* seem to precisely correspond with the extended VPC senses

based on [departing]. The distinction between landmarks and the findings relevant for this project have been summarized in Table 27 below:

Table 27. Podhorodecka's (2007) findings for *departing from* in figurative uses found in the BNC

Group 1 (Podhorodecka 2007: 90)	Group 3 (Podhorodecka 2007: 93)
landmarks of obligation (e.g., rules or norms)	landmarks referring to views, opinions, models/-isms or traditions
Example: (39) <i>Crime consists of acts which break or depart from these shared norms and values.</i>	Examples: (40) <i>Feeling flustered and guilty that I had departed from my normal custom of never working on a pupil's painting.</i> (41) <i>It's a truly revolutionary music. It's departed from the old form and structures.</i>
Conceptual metaphor: ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION IS DIVERSION FROM A PATH	Conceptualization: abandoning expected progression of event is divergence from a path
trajector moves from positive landmark, evaluation negative: axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Paradise'	(a) trajector moves from positive landmark, evaluation negative: axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Paradise' (40 above) (b) trajector moves from negative landmark, evaluation positive: axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Hell' (41 above)

Group 1 is precisely consistent with the PPs identified for *walk away* and *get away* evoking the [abandonment] frame and the prosody tied to this sense. The same applies to (40) in Group 3 corresponding to the axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Paradise' and the types of landmarks that have also been included in [abandonment] in this project. (41), on the other hand, realizes the axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Hell' and corresponds to the meaning of VPCs that are LUs of the [reforming_a_system] frame. This is also why the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS (Kövecses 2010: 163) can be associated with this sense and the positive prosody tied to it: the semantic type of the PPs here refers to a negative development that is regarded as needing to be changed (e.g., *he walks away from fights*) (cf. Figure 34 above and context).

In contrast to the previous cluster, no conceptual metonymy but rather the conceptual metaphor HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION can be associated with the

conceptualization of [surviving] a (dangerous) situation as moving away from it. The SOURCE and thus the context of ‘danger’ are contributed by the PP. The manner of motion associated with *walk* as a [self_motion] LU does not seem to contribute more specific implications.

walk	away	+ from	
manner of motion	source		
<i>primary/effortless</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> (Dalpanagioti 2022: 15)			
[self_motion]			
	[departing]		STATES ARE LOCATIONS > HARM IS BEING IN HARMFUL LOCATION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 50)
	[surviving]		
-		danger	
IMPLICATION	FRAME	CONTEXT	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 36. Compositionality analysis of [surviving]

Table 28. Isomorphism of [surviving]

Source domain (LOCATION) (HARMFUL LOCATION)	Target domain (STATE) (HARM)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[departing] frame ontology	[surviving] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = THEME	[EXT/NP] = SURVIVOR
[LU] = <i>walk away</i>	[LU] = <i>walk away</i>
[DEP/PP] = SOURCE	[DEP/PP] = DANGEROUS_SITUATION
Example: churchtimes.co.... <i>Sacrifice and service were always incumbent on those who could walk away from any situation.</i>	

Table 28 illustrates the isomorphism of [surviving] and the interaction of frames with the relevant domains of LOCATION and STATES participating in the extension. As reflected, source and target frame FEs overlap precisely.

So far, all examined ICMs (frames) refer to the movement of a trajector (EXT/NP) from a SOURCE (DEP/PP or underspecified in the particle for [process_start]). This is consistent with Podhorodecka's (2007: 71-72) remarks about the interaction of the Source-Path-Goal schema with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor's LOCATION DUAL in which (moral) actions are conceptualized as "the human subject [...] mov[ing] over positively or negatively charged areas". The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor system refers to a metaphor network conceptualizing events (e.g., states or changes) via concrete domains such as force or motion (Lakoff 2006: 204). The LOCATION dual of this system consist of more general metaphors that have more specific sub-mappings which interact with each other (Lakoff 2006: 206). For example, STATES ARE LOCATIONS, CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS and ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS are rather general metaphors in this dual. PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION and the special case MAKING PROGRESS IS MOTION AHEAD (e.g., *We are moving ahead*), on the other hand, are more specific instantiations of ACTIONS ARE SELF-PROPELLED MOVEMENTS (Lakoff 2006: 204-206). An interaction between general and more specific domains/conceptual metaphors (part and whole relations) all tied to the LOCATION DUAL has so far been connected to the extensions between source and target frames. This will contrast with the remaining [departing]-based target frames.

Figure 37 summarizes the TAKE-cluster extensions insights. With the exception of the additionally-identified [personal_relationships], the findings of the examined VPCs are consistent with those analyzed by Dalpanagioti (2022: 13-14). The addition of *with* to the VPC predicate adds a second element moving along the self-moving THEME and the figurative meaning extending from [departing] is licensed through an underspecified [getting] frame which is triggered via the ACTION (moving away) FOR RESULT (obtaining) metonymy. The remaining NPs (OBJ/NP) then distinguish more specific senses and frames (Dalpanagioti 2022: 14). These are literal possessions for [win_prize] and [theft]. In contrast the THEME 'acquired' in [personal_relationships] senses is an (abstract) relationship conceptualized as a concrete object with a further relevant conceptual mechanisms thus being RELATIONSHIPS ARE MOVING OBJECTS (Lakoff et al. 1991: 153). The context where the THEME is taken from therefore refers to the abstract 'dating pool', although sentences describing *getting off with* somebody from an (implied) location such as club were also found. For all three frames,

consistent with Dalpanagioti’s study (2022: 14), the SOURCE of the THEME is underspecified particles *off* and *away*. In contrast, the implication of effort, luck and achievement contributed by the manner of motion in the examined VPCs (also reflected in colligations such as *lucky to get off with a win*, *trying to get off with someone*) contrasts with Dalpanagioti’s (2022: 14) insights for *walk away/off* and *run away/off with*: she links the implication of ‘taking something easily’ to the manner of motion (effortless, self-motion, primary) evoked by LUs of the [self_motion] motion frame.

Make	Get	away	off	with sth/someone	
manner of motion		source		co-theme	
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> <i>change of location</i>					
[traversing]					
		[departing]			
				[getting]	ACTION FOR RESULT (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14) CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS: ACQUISITIONS AND LOSSES
luck effort achievement success		competition (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14)		[win_prize]	literal possession (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14)
		initial location/owner of the goods (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14)		[theft]	literal possession (Dalpanagioti 2022: 13-14)
effort achievement success		-	dating pool	[personal_relationships]	metaphorical possession RELATIONSHIPS ARE OBJECTS
IMPLICATION		CONTEXT		SEMANTIC FRAMES	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 37. Compositionality analysis of TAKE cluster

Moreover, the two further listed conceptual mechanisms next to the [getting] frame are part of the OBJECT DUAL of the EVENT STRUCTURE system in which change is not “the motion of the thing-changing to a new location” but rather “the motion of an object to, or away from, the thing-changing” (Lakoff 2006: 2010). Precisely this is reflected in the senses above: there is a second moving object (OBJ/NP) taken along *with* the mover (EXT/NP- FE) thus indicating a (potentially immoral) transfer between two parties corresponding to Podhorodecka’s (2007: 71-72) assertions that “good or bad actions are conceptualized as objects that are transferred between people” if this dual interacts with the SPG schema. While the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy can again be linked to the progression from source to target frame (overall, [departing] to [getting]) and the link between the ICMs (frames) and their associated domains (overall, MOTION and CHANGE), the cause-and-effect function could also be regarded as a facilitator for the transition from one dual to another. The relation between the duals, their sub-mappings (Lakoff 2006: 211), the extension from source to target frame and the role of metonymy within has been exemplified in Figure 38 below. This shift might be connected to the progression from a two-part VPC ([departing_how], e.g., *leave/make away* + *with* an object, DEP/PP) to a three-part VPC ([theft], e.g., *make away with* + an object, OBJ/NP) and the slight difference in terms of paradigmatic correspondence of valences between source and target frame. Both are visualized in Table 29 depicting the slight change in isomorphism for the TAKE cluster utilizing [theft] as one of the senses of *make away with* as an example.

Table 29. Isomorphism of [theft]

Source domain (MOTION)	Target domain (CHANGE)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[departing] frame (ontology)	[theft] frame (ontology)
[EXT/NP] = THEME	[EXT/NP] = PERPETRATOR
[LU] = <i>make away</i>	[LU] = <i>make away with</i>
[DEP/PP] = CO-THEME	[NP/OBJ] = GOODS
Example: <i>The previous Ethereum theft saw hackers make away with \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency in just three minutes.</i>	

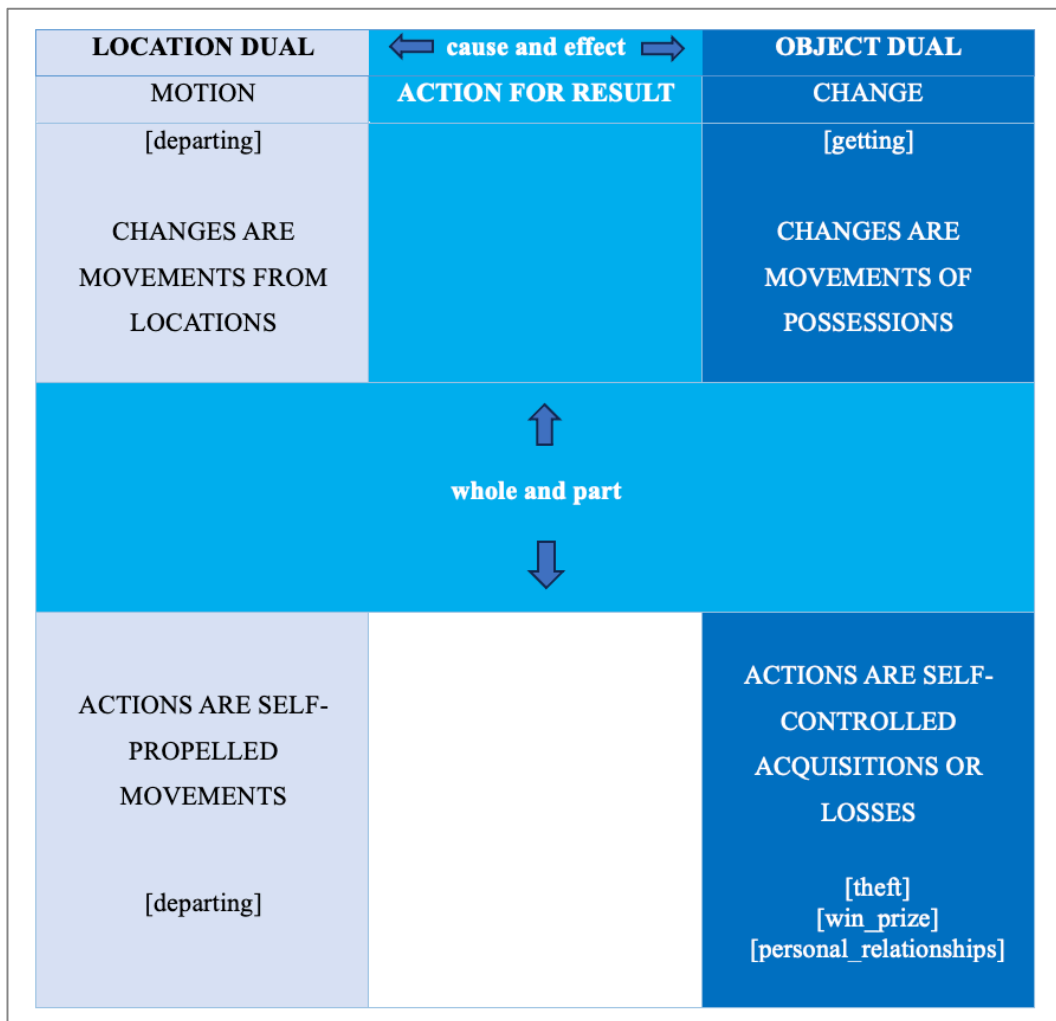


Figure 38. Interactions between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in TAKE cluster extension

4.1.3.2 [evading] extensions

The following sections will focus on the target frames based on [evading].

- *[avoiding]*

This frame refers to an AGENT who avoids an UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION (*FrameNet*, [avoiding], n.d.). For example:

(42) goski.co.uk Valmeinier is a great option for those of you [AGENT] who want to **get away** from other Brits [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION] and enjoy a quiet family holiday.

(43) liverpoolcathol... There is no **getting away** from the fact that the death of a loved one, particularly of a mother and a 'typical Liverpool mother' at that, can leave us bereft and totally isolated [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION].

- (44) kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she [AGENT] managed to **get off** with the help of her lawyer [MEANS].
- (45) ssg.org.uk I liked the old choirloft but do recognise we [AGENT] were **getting away with** murder up there!
- (46) etclaims.co.uk Their representatives [AGENT], and I use the word loosely, can **get away with** blue [MANNER] murder before the ET will lift a finger.
- (47) ettinger.co.uk You [AGENT] can **get away with** anything if you are bold enough and do things with enough confidence [MEANS].

The corresponding valence patterns are summarized below.

Table 30. [avoiding] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away</i>	Target frame: [avoiding]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/PP] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DEP/PP] (example 42) (b) [AGENT/EXT/CNI] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DEP/PP] (example 43)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP or CNI]
<i>get off, get away</i>	Target frame: [avoiding]	(c) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI] [MEANS/DEP/PP] (example 44)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP]
<i>get away with</i>	Target frame: [avoiding]	(d) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI] (example 45) (e) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/ADJ] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI] (example 46)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP- <i>with</i>]
<i>get away with, get off with</i>	Target frame: [avoiding]	(f) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI] [MEANS/DEP/Sub] (example 46)
	Source frame: [evading]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP- <i>with</i>]

As reflected in the Table 29, the combination *get + away + with* and *get + off + with* occur as two-part and three-part VPCs. Thus, in valences (a) and (b) the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION FE is explicitly present and filled by a PP functioning as a dependent. In (b) the AGENT is not expressed and thus coded as CNI. All remaining valences exhibit an NP in external relation filling this position. A first difference can be observed in pattern (c) containing an additional MEANS FE (dependent, PP). While the target predicate is still *get away*, the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION (punishment) is not overtly expressed. This is mirrored in (d), (e) and (f), which additionally highlight the incorporation of *with* into the target frame evoking VPC predicate. Since no specific action is mentioned for which the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION of punishment could occur, the FE is coded as DNI (e.g., *murder* rather stands for ‘anything’ in this case). This will become clearer with the introduction of the following frames. Valence (e) further contains lists a MANNER FE (dependent, adjective) which in this project deviates from its use in *FrameNet* (description of manner of avoidance). It was coded, however, as it serves as a marker to distinguish the general [avoidance] sense from [committing_crime] (see below). Lastly, in (f) the MEANS FE is realized by a subordinate clause rather than a PP.

The dictionary entry for this sense is depicted in Figures 39 and 40. Figure 39 reflects the shift towards an abstract sense via the signpost now referring to AVOIDING rather than moving and the definition further emphasizes this. The semantic type of the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION FE PPs corresponded to both physically present entities (‘people who bother you’) or ‘something dangerous’ (abstract vs. concrete) affecting sentient patients (humans vs. plants). The first table of Figure 40 highlights similarities (colligation and semantic type) and differences (*fact vs. importance*) for a typical pattern identified for valences (a) and (b). The second illustrates pattern (c) and the semantic types of PPs filling the MEANS FE slot (action, instrument, or trickery). The shift to a three-part VPC and the meaning associated with (d) to (f) above is indicated via a separate description, namely ‘avoiding punishment for anything’. The corresponding table subsumes the shared semantic type of the NPs as ‘anything’ and simultaneously flags collocational preferences of *get away with* (pattern e above). Lastly, the MEANS FE of valence (f) has been split into ‘because of how you are’, ‘because of what you have’ and ‘in an area of life’ in accordance with the different fillers found in the corpus data.

[avoiding]

AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE



usage: informal, disapproval

avoid something unpleasant

- goski.co.uk Valmeinier is a great option for those of you who want to **get away** from other Brits and enjoy a quiet family holiday.
- fisheries.co.uk Magna is a good water to **get away** from other anglers for those who like secluded fishing with a good chance of bagging up.
- dond.co.uk I bet Pat will be glad to **get away** from Noel and his jibes after her game finishes.
- rockradioni.co.... Eventually I want to **get away** from everybody expecting us to do Talisman and Yngwie songs in our live songs.
- farming.co.uk Slugs: most crops finally appear to be **getting away** from slugs now.
- pressat.co.uk "I feel like I have been on the run, for years now I have been trying to **get away** from trouble ."

Someone or something	<i>get away</i>	from unpleasant situation
human		people that bother you
		other people from your country on your holiday (e.g. Brits)
		other people during your activity (anglers, crowds, Noel) that bother you (jibes)
		other people and their behaviour (bullies, expectations)
human		something dangerous (trouble)
plants (crops)		something dangerous (slugs)

- tilney.co.uk But there is no **getting away** from the fact that they come with many rules and regulations, which can be complex and change frequently.
- silicon.co.uk In today's business environment there is no **getting away** from the importance of having the right cyber strategy in place.
- peter-upton.co.... Unfortunately, you can't **get away** from the fact that the game was a five-minute bit of fun for youngsters (or post-pub), and nothing more than that.
- sd-commission.o... We cannot **get away** from the fact that we live on an island and have close cultural and economic ties with our neighbours.

Figure 39. [avoiding] entry – part 1

<p>There is no <i>getting away</i> from unpleasant situation</p>		<p><i>get away with, get off with</i> anything</p>	
	from the fact that + something you might not like	<i>get away with</i>	murder, all sorts,
	from the importance of + something you might not like		also blue, blue bloody, absolute murder
human	cannot <i>get away</i> from unpleasant situation	<i>get off with</i>	a lot, so much, stuff
personal pronoun (you, we)	from the fact that + something you might not like		
<p><i>successfully avoiding an unpleasant situation with an action or instrument</i></p>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hilton.org.uk You will also learn how to deal with the awkward situation when you can't get away with avoidance or delegation and have to write the documentation yourself. • kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to get off with the help of her lawyer. • briercliffesoci...Didn't get off with telling of somebody else. • contours.co.uk If you're taking a leisurely three-kilometre stroll in your local park, you can get away with your old worn-in trainers. • expertreviews.c... If you've only got a tiny garden or a lot of drought-resistant plants, you can get away with a watering can, but for a lot of us that's just not practical. 			
<p><i>get away, get off</i> how</p>		<p><i>get away with, get off with</i> anything how</p>	
	with an action: delegation, help from somebody, telling of somebody else (tell someone about something bad another person did)		because of how you are
	with trickery: avoidance, excuses		looks: being cute, not looking threatening
	with an instrument/object: article of clothing (trainers), tool (watering can)		
<p><i>avoid punishment for anything</i></p>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • etclaims.co.uk Their representatives, and I use the word loosely, can get away with blue murder before the ET will lift a finger. • dpjs.co.uk Unconditional love for the child, but don't let them get away with anything. • pearsecoc.com "He gets away with all sorts." 			
			because of how you are
			confident, athletic, funny, when you are winning
			because of what you have
		<i>get away with</i>	software: using photoshop, power, money
			in an area of life
		<i>get away with</i>	on TV, during election time

Figure 40. [avoiding] entry – part 2

- *[success_or_failure]*

LUs of this frame describe a situation in which “An Agent has attempted to achieve a Goal [whose outcome] “matches the Agent's intent (e.g., success) or does not match it (e.g., failure)” (*FrameNet*, [success_or_failure], n.d.). As evidenced, this sense was only found for *get away with*:

- (48) talkmagic.co.uk I suppose though if you did it in a very off-the-cuff way you [AGENT] could probably **get away with** this trick [GOAL], if you only did it once.
- (49) passthegin.co.u... Also – anybody who thinks they [AGENT] can **get away with** white linen trousers on a picnic with a toddler [GOAL] is seriously deluded.

Table 31. [success_or_failure] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away with</i>	Target frame: [avoiding]	[AGENT/ EXT/NP] [GOAL/OBJ/NP]
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

While the AGENT FE relation to the three-part predicate is consistent with the previous frame (EXT/NP), there is now an acknowledgment of a concrete action, in this case a GOAL, for which a negative consequence is avoided (previously UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION/DNI in valences (d) to (f) of [avoiding]). This is the difference between *He gets away with anything* and *You get away with a trick* (you want to perform on stage) and thus between this more specific instantiation of the general [avoiding] sense. This difference has been incorporated in the mini-summary illustrating the entire extension from [evading] to [success_or_failure] in Figure 41. As reflected, this includes correspondences between the PURSUER FE (from someone) and the (UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION) avoided via specific MEANS in the two-part VPCs evoking [avoiding] and the progression towards a more specified sense of [avoiding], namely the target frame [success_or_failure]. The entry for this sense (Figure 42) signals the shared core meaning with the general [avoiding] sense through the signpost. The semantic type of the GOAL NPs found in the CPA analysis referred to two broad clusters of goals, as indicated in the table below the example sentences.

[evading/avoiding] (MOVE/AVOID)

leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you

- cluequest.co.uk He almost **got away** with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

[avoiding] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)

successfully avoiding an unpleasant situation with an action or instrument

- elizaflynn.co.u...For an Urban Tough Mudder though, I reckon you could easily **get away** with old trainers.
- kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to **get off** with the help of her lawyer.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

avoid punishment for anything

- pearsec.com.co.uk "He **gets away with** all sorts ."

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	anything


[success_or_failure] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)

avoid failure of an action; succeed with a goal you have

- talkmagic.co.uk I suppose though if you did it in a very off-the-cuff way you could probably **get away with** this trick , if you only did it once.

human	<i>get away with</i>	goal

Figure 41. Mini-summary for [success_or_failure] extension

[success_or_failure] 

AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE

usage: informal

avoid failure of an action or a goal that you have

- talkmagic.co.uk Learn how to control the audience and you can **get away with** the most blatant card manipulations right under their nose.
- 1 cultbox.co.uk The scene itself is simple, sentimental and honest, and **gets away with** every romantic cliché in the book simply because these two characters just work together and have done for nearly a decade.
- www.wentworth.co.... While the writers (unlike Marie, as it turns out) had **gotten away with** the helicopter stunt , a subsequent storyline featuring three male Woodridge Prisoners being housed at Wentworth required a major suspension of disbelief.
- passthegin.co.u... Also – anybody who thinks they can **get away with** white linen trousers on a picnic with a toddler is seriously deluded
- trustmark.org.u... While you can **get away with** spending around £1,000 for mostly cosmetic changes to a single room, you might need to spend upwards of £10,000 if you're looking at a bespoke luxury bathroom upgrade or structural works.

human	<i>get away with</i>	goal
		a part of a performance or work of art
		graphic content/scene/stunt in a film, magic trick (card manipulation), joke/pun
		an idea or wish you have
		wearing something (linen trousers, a style of clothing), spending only a certain amount of money

Figure 42. [success_or_failure] entry

- **[committing_crime]**

This frame refers to a situation in which a “Perpetrator (generally intentionally) commits a Crime” (FrameNet, [committing_crime], n.d.). For example:

(50) soapboards.co.u... I know Corey [PERPETRATOR] **got off with** Seb's murder [CRIME].

(51) fpp.co.uk A state [PEPETRATOR] that can always claim to be in a state of crisis can literally [MANNER] **get away with** murder [CRIME].

They correspond to two primary valence patterns found in the examined corpus data examined:

Table 32. [committing crime] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away with</i> , <i>get off with</i>	Target frame: [committing_crime]	(a) [PERPETRATOR/EXT/NP] [CRIME/OBJ/NP] (example 50)
	Source frame: [evading]	[THEME/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]
<i>get away with</i>	Target frame: [committing_crime]	(b) [PERPETRATOR/EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/ADV] [CRIME/OBJ/NP] (example 51)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

In both, the PERPETRATOR FE phrase type is an NP functioning as an external and the CRIME FE an NP in object relation to the three-part predicate. Valence (b) additionally includes a MANNER FE filled by an adverb thus being a dependent of the predicate.

Since [avoiding] serves an intermediary function between [evading] and this particular sense extending from it, it has again been included in the mini-summary (see Figure 43); in addition, the MANNER FE valence of that frame in combination with the collocation *murder* that contrasts with valence (b) above (*get away with blue murder* vs. *literally get away with murder*) has been specifically emphasized in the table. The entry for this sense is depicted in Figure 44. The signpost and core meaning are shared with the two previous frames. The primary semantic types of PERPETRATOR and CRIME NPs were summarized as ‘human’ and ‘crime’ and recurring collocations (i.e., compounds) have been indicated via brackets in the tables.

[evading/avoiding] (MOVE/AVOID)

leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you

- cluequest.co.uk He almost **got away** with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

[avoiding] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)

successfully avoiding an unpleasant situation with an action or instrument

- elizaflynn.co.uk...For an Urban Tough Mudder though, I reckon you could easily **get away** with old trainers.
- kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to **get off** with the help of her lawyer.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

avoid punishment for anything

- pearsec.com.co.uk "He **gets away with** all sorts ."
- etclaims.co.uk Their representatives, and I use the word loosely, can *get away with* blue murder before the ET will lift a finger.

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	anything
	<i>get away with</i>	murder, all sorts,
		also <i>blue, blue bloody, absolute</i> murder

[committing_crime] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)


avoiding punishment for a crime; having successfully committed a crime

- Viewers have long been hoping the evil nurse will get caught out and be punished for her crimes, but so far she's **gotten away with** the murder.

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	crime

Figure 43. Mini-summary for [committing_crime] extension

[committing_crime]

AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE 

usage: informal

avoid punishment for a crime; having successfully committed a crime

- sourcemagazine....You don't want to mess with that lot – and if they **get off with** their many crimes that means Tommy's in the firing line.
- soapboards.co.u... I know Corey **got off with** Seb's murder.
- Viewers have long been hoping the evil nurse will get caught out and be punished for her crimes, but so far she's **gotten away with** the murder.
- which.co.uk Under the Equality Act 2010, how can a bar (which is providing a service) **get away with** such blatant sex discrimination?
- somersetlive.co... Police are trying to find out how the burglars **got away with** the heist at at Ambassador Pools and Spas.
- sunnyhill.org.u... Don't you react negatively when wealthy people **get away with** tax frauds involving large sums of money.

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	crime
state, group of people (terrorists, burglars), establishment (bar)		murder, (tax) fraud, heist, (sex/age) discrimination, rape, (human rights) abuse, (data, motorcycle) theft

- fpp.co.uk A state that can always claim to be in a state of crisis can literally get away with murder .
- tvforum.uk "So, how close was this evil youngster to literally '**getting away with** murder'?"

human	<i>get away with</i>	crime
	literally, quite literally	murder

- censorwatch.co.... We do accept that action needs to be taken to ensure the internet is a functioning marketplace and that copyright infringers do not **get away with** their actions scot free.

human	<i>get away with</i>	crime	how
			scot-free (without punishment)

Figure 44. [committing_crime] entry

- *[misdeed]*

This frame consists of two central participants, a WRONGDOER who commits a MISDEED (*FrameNet*, [misdeed], n.d.). Both are present in the annotated examples below:

- (52) epsr.org.uk Where do they [WRONGDOER] **get off with** their innuendoes and lies [MISDEED]?
- (53) inspirationwork... Sociopaths [WRONGDOER] flock to these organisations, knowing they can **get away with** vile [MANNER] behaviour [MISDEED] under cover of ‘strong management’.

Thus, two main valence patterns can be distinguished:

Table 33. [misdeed] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away with, get off with</i>	Target frame: [misdeed]	(a) [WRONGDOER/EXT/NP] [MISDEED/OBJ/NP] (example 52)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]
<i>get away with</i>	Target frame: [misdeed]	(b) [WRONDOER/EXT/NP] [MANNER/2nd] [MISDEED/OBJ/NP] (example 53)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

The VPC is extended to a three-part structure taking two primary arguments: the WRONGDOER FE functioning as an external NP and the MISDEED FE-NP in object function. Valence (b) was only found for *get away with* and MANNER is coded as 2nd because it is part of the object/the MISDEED FE. The correspondences of source and target FEs and the connection to [avoiding] mirror those of the two previous senses. The mini-summary visualizing this is provided in Figure 45.

While the core meaning of this sense is also AVOIDING SOMETHING NEGATIVE, it exhibits a distinct prosody which has been highlighted in the definition and the usage label (Figure 45). The MISDEED NP-s consists of two types of wrongdoing: ‘trickery’ and other types of ‘morally wrong behavior’. Valence (b) is visualized in the second table. It has been attempted to highlight distinct collocational patterns (e.g., *bad, poor, appalling, vile behaviour*

vs. *childish antics*) holding between fillers for MANNER and MISDEED in the table structure. *Where does x get off with + NP* was separately treated albeit not being a different valence configuration in terms of coded FEs because of the colligation tied to it (personal pronoun) and the special pragmatic function it serves.

[evading/avoiding] (MOVE/AVOID)		
<i>leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cluequest.co.uk He almost got away with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found. 		
human	get away, get off	how
[avoiding] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)		
<i>successfully avoiding an unpleasant situation with an action or instrument</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • elizaflynn.co.u...For an Urban Tough Mudder though, I reckon you could easily get away with old trainers. • kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to get off with the help of her lawyer. 		
human	get away, get off	how
<i>avoid punishment for anything</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pearsecom.co.uk "He gets away with all sorts ." 		
human	get away with, get off with	anything
[misdeed] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)		
<i>avoid punishment for an immoral action</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • askwhy.co.uk How do these people get away with the pretence that they are psychologists? 		
human	get away with, get off with	wrongdoing

Figure 45. Mini-summary for [misdeed] extension

[misdeed]
 AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE

avoiding punishment for an immoral action

usage: informal, disapproval

- philobiblon.co.... On Strange Maps is the hexagonal map of London – designed to stop hackney cab drivers **getting away with** daylight robbery.
- pesticidescampa... I cannot understand why these farmers **get off with** spraying poison next to my home.
- maturetimes.co.... I'm sure there are many sportsmen who have **got away with** cheating over the years.
- ukrmb.co.uk Mostly they **get away with** their trickery, because unfortunately pets take a long time to show signs of ill health.
- kuforum.co.uk Over the years they had **gotten away with** the lies they told and the bad seeds they sowed.
- askwhy.co.uk How do these people **get away with** the pretence that they are psychologists?
- nomorepanic.co.... I must say I think that I have learned a valuable lesson here and it's to not let people **get off with** treating me and my family like garbage.

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	wrongdoing
person or group of people		trickery
		trickery, cheating, pretence, daylight robbery (charging too much money), lies, scam, untruth, falsehood, trick, deception, con, deceit, ruse, dishonesty
person or group of people		(morally) wrong behaviour
		treating someone bad, wrongdoings, misconduct, sexism

- niassembly.gov.... The 'BMJ' in the past month has been threatened with litigation on two occasions because of two articles that I wrote on concerns about people in the medical profession who were **getting away with** serious misconduct.
- speedway-forum.... Amazing how stadium/land owners are allowed to **get away with** blatant lies untruths!
- excite.co.uk United won 3-1 at Wolfsburg in a game that they could have easily lost, especially after Michael Carrick **got away with** a blatant foul in his own area.
- ihasco.co.uk It may feel like a defeat to let an angry driver **get away with** bad behaviour, but any situation which can be resolved safely is a win for everyone.
- buyacar.co.uk Only the Mustang could **get away with** such childish antics.

human	<i>get away with</i>	bad	wrongdoing
human or group of people		bad, poor, appalling, unacceptable, outrageous, vile	behaviour
		childish	antics
		blatant	foul (in football), lies, untruths, sexism,

expression of anger or disapproval: somebody does something (and is not punished)

- epr.org.uk Where do they **get off with** their innuendoes and lies?
- cableforum.uk Zigo, where do you **get off with** your comments?

Where does	human	<i>get off with</i>	wrongdoing
	or personal pronoun (you, he, she, they)		lies, comments

Figure 46. [misdeed] entry

- [bungling]**

[Bungling] refers to the situation of “An Agent perform[ing] an Action incorrectly” (FrameNet, [bungling], n.d.). For example:

- (54) cas.org.uk Hopefully this will send a message to all banks that they [AGENT] won't **get away with** these sort of errors [PATIENT].
- (55) newsfromnowhere... Will Rex [AGENT] **get away with** his terrible, taboo-busting [MANNER] mistake [PATIENT]?

The valence patterns identified for this sense mirror those of [misdeed]: a three-part VPC takes an external NP and object NP as well as a MANNER FE integrated in the object:

Table 34. [bungling] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away with</i>	Target frame: [bungling]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [PATIENT/OBJ/NP] (example 54) (b) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [MANNER/DEP/2nd] [PATIENT/OBJ/NP] (example 55)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

The resemblance is also reflected in the extension summary given the connection of this sense to [avoiding]. The only change made to the prior mini-summary is the final table pointing to this specified instantiation of the general [avoiding] frame (see Figure 47).

Figure 48 depicts the database entry of this sense. The core meaning is shared with the prior extensions and reflected in the signpost, while the definition captures the more specialized uses of this frame. AGENT and PATIENT FE fillers referred to semantic types of ‘human’ or ‘group of people’ and ‘incorrectly performed action’, respectively. Moreover, the function of the MANNER FE was highlighted by distinguishing between ‘serious’ and ‘not serious’ semantic types of adverbs (and thus different types of prosody) found for collocates of the PATIENT FE.

[evading/avoiding] (MOVE/AVOID)

leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you

- cluequest.co.uk He almost **got away** with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

[avoiding] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)

successfully avoiding an unpleasant situation with an action or instrument

- elizaflynn.co.u...For an Urban Tough Mudder though, I reckon you could easily **get away** with old trainers.
- kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to **get off** with the help of her lawyer.

human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how

avoid punishment for anything

- pearsecom.co.uk "He **gets away with** all sorts ."

human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	anything

[bungling] (AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE)

avoid punishment for an incorrectly performed action or process

- cas.org.uk Hopefully this will send a message to all banks that they won't **get away with** these sort of errors.

human	<i>get away with</i>	incorrectly performed action

Figure 47. Mini-summary for [bungling] extension

usage: informal

avoid punishment for an incorrectly performed action or process

- fansnetwork.co.... Look at how we played that game - absolutely incredible that a professional football team can **get away with** that sort of performance.
- asdonline.co.uk Rail companies, for example, **got away with** significant safety failings under the old law.
- eadt.co.uk Town **got away with** several lapses in concentration at the back in Sunday's 2-0 win against Wigan.
- hullcitykits.co... How can such an esteemed club let their supplier **get away with** such nonsense.

human	get away with	incorrectly performed action
human		that sort of performance (in sport), short cuts, lapses in concentration, nonsense, statistical nonsense, bad writing in film (thin characterisation), safety failings

or group of people: football team, company,

usage: informal, judgement

- lusoweb.co.uk Of the new players, Yates made good saves but will want to organise the defence better from dead balls and **got away with** an awful mistake.
- pigeonsnest.co.... It is almost insulting to think that NASA could **get away with** this obvious howler!
- cas.org.uk Hopefully this will send a message to all banks that they won't **get away with** these sort of errors.
- lawscot.org.uk Don't worry if you are making mistakes as a NQ; okay, we're no longer trainees and can't really **get away with** the silly mistakes that we were once able to, but at the same time we're not experts.

human	get away with	incorrectly performed action
		not serious
human or group of people		silly, obvious, stupid mistake, error, howler
		serious
human or group of people		terrible, horrific, taboo-busting, awful mistake, mismanagement

Figure 48. [bungling] entry

- *[rewards_and_punishments]*

The final extension based on [evading] is the [rewards_and_punishments] frame in which “An Agent (the punisher or rewarder) performs a Response_action on an Evaluatee for a Reason, the Evaluatee's actions or beliefs” (FrameNet, n.d.). For example:

- (56) newshound.org.u... If the police had caught anyone else doing this [sic] I'm sure they [EVALUEE] wouldn't have **got off with** just a caution [RESPONSE_ACTION].
- (57) internationalhe... Paul testified in court against the driver, only to see him [EVALUEE] **get off with** a fine from a lenient judge [RESPONSE_ACTION] [AGENT] after feigning remorse.

The two primary valences thus contain an EVALUEE and a RESPONSE_ACTION FE filled by an NP in external and dependent function. Pattern (b) additionally contains an AGENT, i.e., the punisher, which is coded as 2nd because of overlap with the object.

Table 35. [rewards and punishments] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away with, get off with</i>	Target frame: [rewards_and_punishments]	(a) [EVALUEE/EXT/NP] [RESPONSE_ACTION/OBJ/NP] (example 56) (b) [EVALUEE/EXT/NP] [RESPONSE_ACTION/OBJ/NP] [AGENT/2nd] (example 57)
	Source frame: [evading]	[EVADER/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

While the rest of the mini-summary entry (Figure 49) is consistent with the previous frames, the correspondence with the PURSUER FE in [evading], the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION in [avoiding] and the AGENT in [rewards_and_punishments] was specifically highlighted to illustrate the extension from and relation to the source frame.

The dictionary entry shown in Figure 50 definition specifies that while the core meaning is still AVOID, there is a mild form of punishment received. This is reflected in the semantic type of the ACTION_RESPONSE FE that covers groups of NPs ranging from specialized uses in certain domains (e.g., football or law), to physical or emotional injuries. *Get off with the charges* was singled out as a distinct pattern as it can be linked to another frame (see below). Table 2 corresponds to pattern (b) above and table 3 further highlights a colligational pattern and prosody (positive semantic type of VPC modifier) tied to that valence (see also usage label).

[evading/avoiding] (MOVE/AVOID)		
<i>leave a place and the people who want to punish or trap you</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cluequest.co.uk He almost got away with this excuse , but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found. 		
human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how
[avoiding]		
<i>avoid something unpleasant</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • goski.co.uk Valmeinier is a great option for those of you who want to get away from other Brits and enjoy a quiet family holiday. • kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she managed to get off with the help of her lawyer. 		
human	<i>get away</i>	from situation
human	<i>get away, get off</i>	how
<i>avoid punishment for anything</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pearsecom.co.uk "He gets away with all sorts ." 		
human	<i>get away with, get off with</i>	anything
[reward_and_punishment]		
<i>avoid harsh punishment for an action</i>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • closedpubs.co.u... She got off with a warning. • internationalhe... Paul testified in court against the driver, only to see him get off with a fine from a lenient judge after feigning remorse. 		
human	<i>get off with , get away with</i>	not serious punishment

Figure 49. Mini-summary for [rewards_and_punishments] extension

[rewards_and_punishment]

AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE



avoid harsh punishment for an action

usage: informal, disapproving

- niassembly.gov....It will deter premises owners and staff from breaking the law and thinking that they can **get away with** a small fine .
- newshound.org.u... If the police had caught anyone else doing this, I'm sure they wouldn't have **got off with** just a caution....
- closedpubs.co.u... She **got off with** a warning.
- chairboys.co.uk Martin **got away with** a yellow but was substituted moments later.

- campinginsider.... The pole bent and broke his fall, leaving him to **get away with** bruises (mainly to his ego).
- old-merseytimes... That such assaults were not intended to kill was proved by the fact that the offenders generally **got off with** a few months imprisonment.
- foxestalk.co.uk Italians will all **get off with** their charges, always the same when travelling over to England from abroad.

human	<i>get off with, get away with</i>	not serious punishment
words: a caution, a talking (to), a warning		
paying money: a fine, minor fines		
physical injury: a slap on the wrist, a rap across the knuckles (can also be used figuratively: just a warning); bruises, a bump on the head and some scratches, a beating		
emotional injury/social punishment: bruises to ego, a scarred reputation, public shame		
ban from a place (not allowed to go to a place): a three-month ban, a suspension/discharge (from your job)		
in football: a yellow (card) as a symbol for a warning		
law/court: a lighter sentence/punishment from judge (a few months imprisonment, a few years probation)		

human get off with the charges (you do not have to go to prison)

a person does not punish you harshly

- veteran.co.uk They'll say, "It's an unnatural feeling," and they'll let him **get off with** a fine.
- chairboys.co.uk 'Brownie' **got away with** a talking to from Rennie, but the home fans were not so generous in forgiving the Wycombe player.
- internationalhe... Paul testified in court against the driver, only to see him **get off with** a fine from a lenient judge after feigning remorse.

human	lets human	<i>get off with</i>	not serious punishment
human	<i>get off with, get away with</i>	not serious punishment	by human

usage: informal, feeling: luck, gratefulness

- unique-cottages...It was a miracle he was not badly hurt but **got away with** large bruises and possible cracked ribs.
 - gwynethjones.uk I was lucky to **get away with** bruises.
- histparl.ac.uk Heydon was lucky to **get off with** a fine of £2,000.

human	<i>get off with, get away with</i>	not serious punishment
lucky to		physical injury: a few cuts, some scratches, bruises
lucky to		money: a fine

ADD TAG

+ New field

Figure 50. [rewards_and_punishments] entry

The connection between this frame and those extending from different source frames has been illustrated via two 'lateral extension' entries. The first (Figure 51), concerns commonalities between [rewards_and_punishments] and [surviving], namely prosody and semantic type (physical injury). However, [rewards_and_punishments] further describes a state of avoidance

due to the connection with [evading] and [avoiding], which is reflected in the column below it.

Figure 52 covers the relation of [rewards_and_punishments] and [cause_to_end], which share semantic types of collocations. However, distinctive nuances can be linked to their source frames: the focus on complete removal in [cause_to_end] contrasts with that of avoidance of serious consequences in [rewards_and_punishments].

[surviving] and [rewards_and_punishment], lateral extension

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES MUTUAL

walk away + from | get away/off with

walk away + from meaning [surviving] focuses on leaving a place without being hurt (connection to [departing how])

get away/off with meaning [rewards_and_punishment] also focuses on leaving a place unhurt (connection to the meaning [departing how]) but also on avoiding serious punishment for an action (connection to [evading]) by someone else

walk away + from	SHARED ASPECT	get away/off with
[surviving]		[rewards_and_punishments]
	connection to [departing how]	
	leave from a place how	
	how: alive/not hurt	
	(lucky to) walk away from a crash unhurt	
	(lucky to) get off/away from a place with only bruises	
DIFFERENCE		
	[evading], [avoiding]	
	avoid harsh punishment for an action	
	get away/off with a fine, a slap on the wrist etc.	
	human lets human get off with minor punishment	
	veteran.co.uk They'll say, "It's an unnatural feeling," and they'll let him get off with a fine.	

Figure 51. Lateral extension entry for [rewards_and_punishments] and [surviving]

[cause_to_end] and [rewards_and_punishment], lateral extension

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

MUTUAL

get away/get off with | get off with

get away/off with meaning [rewards_and_punishments] focuses on avoiding an unpleasant situation for the agent

get off with meaning [cause_to_end] also focuses wanting to avoid an unpleasant situation but more specifically concentrates on the undesirable situation itself and the complete removal of it (so that it does not affect the agent at all)

get away/off with	SHARED ASPECT	get off with
[rewards_and_punishments]		[cause_to_end]
	unpleasant situation for agent	
	some form of punishment	
	charges (potential prison sentence), fine/payment	
DIFFERENCE		DIFFERENCE
[evading] extension: leave/move (from someone) = avoid something negative		[removing] extension: make move = make end
focus: caught but avoiding negative situation (severe punishment for something you did)		focus: completely removing the negative situation from yourself (make move from yourself = make end)
someone else lets you get off with (a fine)		you act yourself (do something) to get off with (a fine)
lucky agent (I was lucky to get off with a bruise), judgement that agent was not punished harsher	usage: informal	

Figure 52. Lateral extension entry for [rewards_and_punishments] and [cause_to_end]

- [Evading] compositionality analysis

Get	away off	from + smth.	
manner of motion	source		
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>change of location</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i>			
[traversing]			
	[evading]		ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy
effort success	[avoiding]	contact	
IMPLICATION	SEMANTIC FRAMES	CONTEXT	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 53. Compositionality analysis for AVOID cluster – two-part VPC

Figure 53 above highlights that the ACTION of [evading] a PURSUER can become abstracted to the RESULT of [avoiding] an UNDERSIRABLE_SITUATION in the figurative target frame uses (cf. connection of the two in [evading/avoiding]). In line with this, the context is contributed by the PP (from + something) rather than underspecified in the particle and refers to contact (with an undesirable entity). Again, the manner of motion evoked by *get* can be connected to implications of ‘effort’ and ‘success’ associated with the examples of the [avoiding] (e.g., *There is no getting away from*): (successful) [traversing] implies an endpoint following an effort just as (successful) [avoiding] can imply a frequently unpleasant struggle of (trying) to overcome a negative situation.

The extension can be further connected to conceptual domains of LOCATION and STATE and conceptual metaphors interacting with the ICMs (frames) structuring the participants within them. This is illustrated in Table 36 which covers the isomorphism of [avoiding] taking the LU *get away* as an example:

Table 36. Isomorphism of [avoiding]

Source domain (LOCATION) (CHANGE OF LOCATION)	Target domain (STATE) (CHANGE OF STATE)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[evading] frame ontology	[avoiding] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = EVADER	[EXT/NP] = AGENT
[LU] = <i>get away</i>	[LU] = <i>get away</i>
[DEP/PP] = PURSUER	[DEP/PP] = UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION
Example: <i>rockradioni.com. Eventually I want to get away from everybody expecting us to do Talisman and Yngwie songs in our live songs.</i>	

As evidenced, the FEs of the source and target frame precisely mirror each other. This contrasts with the following cluster.

Figure 54 depicts the compositionality analysis for the remaining [evading] extensions. As highlighted, the [avoiding] frame again functions as an underspecified frame (category of Category-and-Member ICM) and thus as a schema for more specific instantiations (members) depending on the NPs associated with *get away with* or *get off with* (e.g., *get off with anything* = avoiding punishment for anything vs. *get off with blatant sexism* = avoiding punishment for misdeed). The context in this case refers to contact with a pursuer/punishing entity at the SOURCE which is underspecified in the particle just as in the process outlined by Dalpanagioti (2022:14) thus contrasting with the previous cluster combining with *from*. Regarding the implication that *get* contributes, ‘change of location’ and ‘accomplishment’ tied to [traversing] can be linked to the implication of successful crossing/passage and thus avoidance of contact with a punisher. Precisely this distinguishes [rewards_and_punishments] from the other members since there is a concrete punisher (AGENT FE) and a punishment (ACTION_RESPONSE FE) for the EVALUEE. Nevertheless, the meaning can still be connected to [avoiding] – in this case a harsher consequence (cf. *lucky to get off with NP*).

Get	away	off	with sth.	
Manner of motion	Source		Co-theme	
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>change of location</i> <i>human locomotion</i>				
		[evading]		ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy
			[avoiding]	Category-and-Member ICM (Kövecses 2010: 178)
successful	no contact	no contact	[misdeed]	no punishment
successful	no contact	-	[bungling]	no punishment
unsuccessful	contact	contact	[rewards and punishment]	no harsh punishment
successful	no contact	no contact	[committing_crime]	no punishment
successful	no contact	-	[success_or_failure]	no punishment
IMPLICATION	CONTEXT		SEMANTIC FRAMES	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 54. Compositionality analysis for AVOID cluster – three-part VPCs

Similarly to the TAKE cluster in [departing], extension of the predicate affects the correspondences between FEs of source and target frames. This can be seen in the following table illustrating the isomorphism of [misdeed] using the LU *get off with* as an example:

Table 37. Isomorphism of [misdeed] extension

Source domain (LOCATION) (CHANGE OF LOCATION)	Target domain (STATE) (CHANGE OF STATE)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[evading] frame ontology	[misdeed] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = EVADER	[EXT/NP] = WRONGDOER
[LU] = <i>get off</i>	[LU] = <i>get off with</i>
DNI = PURSUER	DNI = UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION
[DEP/PP] = MODE_OF_TRANSPORTATION	[OBJ/NP] = MISDEED
Example: <i>Three of the gang got off with their horses, and not one of them was taken.</i>	Example: <i>epsr.org.uk Where do they get off with their innuendoes and lies?</i>

In this combination with *with*, the means of evasion (in this case the mode of transportation) is not maintained but *with* is integrated in the extended predicate. The core meaning of the target frame is ‘to avoid punishment’ in line with the shift from CHANGE OF LOCATION to CHANGE OF STATE. The PURSUER and UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION FEs are not overtly expressed but implied: *Three of the gang got off with their horses, and not one of them was taken* still implies the presence of a PURSUER. As a more specific instantiation of the schematic [avoiding] frame, i.e., a MEMBER of the ICM-configuration, the OBJ/NP slot of the target frame is filled because it refers to a specific transgression for which the UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION of punishment is avoided. This shift in focus toward the object, or the NP in the object slot in terms of valence could be connected to ACTION AND RESULT in this case mediating between two duals of the EVENT STRUCTURE system and more specified conceptual metaphors within. By moving and avoiding a pursuer or punisher, the trajector gains something (freedom) and loses something else (punishment) thus corresponding to “good or bad actions [being] conceptualized as objects that are transferred between people” in the OBJECT DUAL (Podhorodecka 2007: 71-72). The schematic function of the [avoiding] frame and the cause-and-effect function of the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy at work in the extension have been visualized in the figure below:

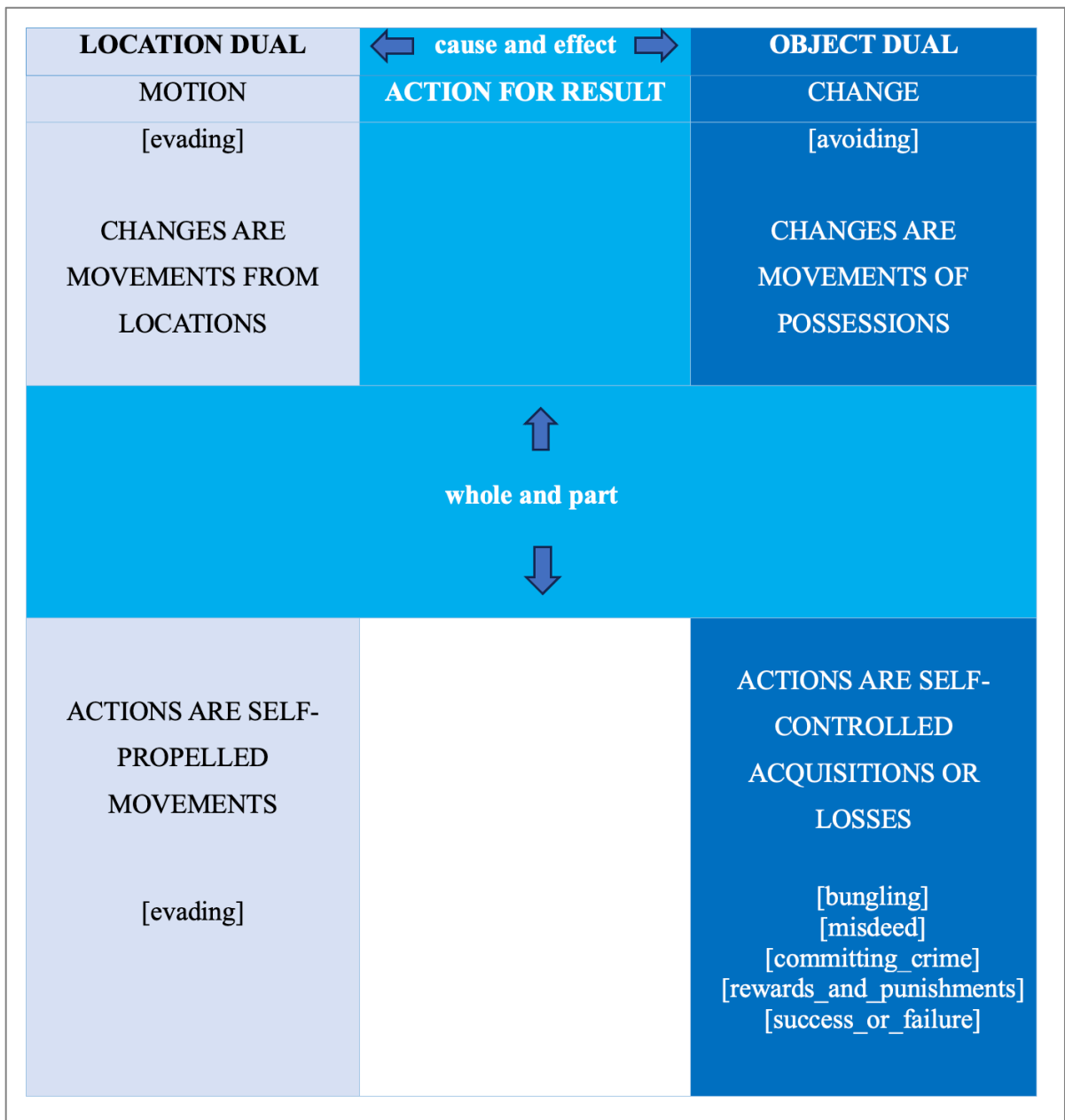


Figure 55. Interactions between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in the three-part AVOID cluster extensions

4.1.3.3 [escaping] extension

Only one target frame utilizing [escaping] as its source was identified in the examined corpus data. It will be introduced in the two subsequent sections.

- *[activity_stop]*

Only evoked by *get away + from*, this frame refers to “An Agent ceas[ing] an Activity without completing it” (*FrameNet*, [activity_stop], n.d.). In addition to these elements, a MEANS FE can further indicate how this was achieved. For example:

- (58) dond.co.uk Alain’s dream is to drop out of society and have a house out in the middle of nowhere so he [AGENT] can **get away** from the hustle and bustle of everyday life [ACTIVITY].
- (59) podgebeer.co.uk Get **away** from the turkey and tinsel [ACTIVITY] and have a proper holiday with us!
- (60) travelcenter.uk Get **away** from the maddening crowd [ACTIVITY] with hikes and trails across Adrspach-Teplice Rocks [MEANS] [...]
- (61) thebookbag.co.u... The British have an almost symbiotic relationship with woodland and most of us have a small local patch [MEANS] where we [AGENT] can **get away** from the hustle and bustle of the modern world [ACTIVITY].

The primary valence patterns are thus:

Table 38. [activity stop] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>get away</i>	Target frame: [activity_stop]	(a) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [ACTIVITY/DEP/PP] (example 58) (b) [AGENT/CNI] [ACTIVITY/DEP/PP] (example 59) (c) [AGENT/CNI] [ACTIVITY/DEP/PP] [MEANS/DEP/PP] (example 60) (d) [MEANS/EXT/NP] [AGENT/EXT/NP] [ACTIVITY/DEP/PP] (example 61)
	Source frame: [escaping]	[ESCAPEE/Ext/NP or CNI]

The relation between source and target frame mirrors that of [departing] to [reforming_a_system], [surviving] and [abandonment]. Thus, the target-frame evoking predicate is *get away*, the AGENT (NP) functions as an external or is absent (CNI) in imperative constructions (pattern (a) and (b)). The ACTIVITY slot is always filled by a dependent PP while the MEANS FE filler either assumes the same relation or functions as an external NP. Correspondences between source and target FEs are illustrated in the mini-summary entry (Figure 56). In the extension from LEAVE/MOVE to STOP, the ESCAPEE and the UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION FEs mirror the AGENT and ACTIVITY ones. Since specifically the metonymic relation between entity and place is relevant, this [escaping] pattern has been foregrounded.

[escaping] to [activity_stop], specifies to

RELATED
DIRECTED

✎
✕

[escaping] (LEAVE/MOVE)

leave from an unpleasant place

- nomorepanic.co.... I have being painting the bathroom with damp proof paint, and I cannot **get away** from the smell .
- ed.ac.uk I try to physically **get away** from my desk for lunch, as staring at a screen for too long isn't great.

living	get	from an unpleasant thing or activity that
entity	away	exists in a place

[activity_stop] (STOP)

stop an (unpleasant) activity for a while

- realtholidays.co... Here holiday-makers can **get away** from the trappings of modern life and enjoy life on the farm.

human	get away	from (unpleasant) activity
--------------	-----------------	-----------------------------------

Figure 56. Mini-summary for [activity_stop] extension

The entry for this sense depicted in Figure 57 reflects the shift to the temporary stop of an unpleasant activity tied to a location (and thus more abstract feeling of entrapment) in signpost and description. The prosody is highlighted by the ACTIVITY FE semantic types with one referring to a (bothersome) routine and following a specific pattern (NP containing PP *of everyday life*) and the other consisting of a metonymic relation between place and activity (e.g., ‘work’ for *desk*). PPs corresponding to ‘something you do every day’ (e.g., *turkey and tinsel*) were also found with imperative uses of *get away*. Here, the usage label points to a domain-preference for advertising contexts. Lastly, the relevant MEANS FE fillers (dates, place, or hobby/activity- NPs) are exemplified in table three and four.

[activity_stop]

PAUSE

usage: informal

stop an (unpleasant) activity for a while

- ddi.ac.uk My husband chairs the local tennis club and so I try and **get away** from my desk and play tennis with him.
- hunterdunning.c... The staff "chillout" room is a space the staff can **get away** from their desks.
- dont.co.uk Alain's dream is to drop out of society and have a house out in the middle of nowhere, so he can **get away** from the hustle and bustle of everyday life.
- reaholidays.co... Here holiday-makers can **get away** from the trappings of modern life and enjoy life on the farm.

human	<i>get</i> away	from (unpleasant) activity
stressful routine in a place		
(from the hustle and bustle, the trappings) of everyday life, hustle and bustle of: school life, 9 to 5 (work), stress of everyday life/daily stresses, the strict routine of school, from everything		
stressful activity in a place		
from the desk (work)		

usage: advertising

- thebmc.co.uk **Get away** from the crowds of couples this Valentine's Day and spend a night outdoors with your partner.
- podgebeer.co.uk **Get away** from the turkey and tinsel and have a proper holiday with us!

<i>Get</i> away	from (unpleasant) activity
crowds	
something you do every day	
(everyday, daily) routine, the routine of every day life, the turkey and tinsel	

- soundtravels.co... **Get away** from the hustle and bustle of modern life by unwinding at the sunny Costa del Sol.
- excite.co.uk **Get away** from the crowds with country breaks in Scotland.
- 2-in-2-1.co.uk The best way to **get away** from stress for two adults is to go away WITHOUT the children for a few days.

<i>Get</i> away	from (unpleasant) activity	how
		by doing something (hiking, visiting a place, leaving without children)

- kuforum.co.uk Tora Skammelsen is a young writer who borrows her aunt's cottage by the sea to **get away** from everything.
- ark.ac.uk Set up more youth clubs where young people can go and talk about their feelings, **get away** from the stress of home and school life and make new friends.
- 6 5thbillericay.c... Friday (5th Feb) had finally come, and after another hectic week at school, I was glad to be **getting away** from the hustle and bustle of school life.
- uos.ac.uk Starting a blog, sharing your thoughts and views will help you **get away** from stress and could also give you a break from all the uni work!
- solentmind.org.... Touching things like leaves, feeling water from a stream on our hands or digging soil with our hands helps to bring us into the moment and to **get away** from worry , anxiety and rumination

how	<i>get</i> away	from (unpleasant) activity
place (local public place, youth club, cottage, park)	hustle and bustle of the city, from everything	
date/school holidays (Friday 5th Feb)	hustle and bustle of school life, stresses of academic life	
activity/hobby (exercise, spending time in nature, starting a blog)	stress, worry, anxiety, rumination	

Figure 57. [activity_stop] entry

- **[Escaping] compositionality analysis**

As highlighted by Figure 58 below, the connection between source and target frame can be linked to a conceptual metonymy, namely the ACTION ([escaping]) for the RESULT of causing a certain change. Again, the PP indicates which specific type of change this is (cf.

[abandonment] or [reforming_a_system] also being linked to an underspecified [cause_to_change] frame). This also indicates the context, which in this case is a (negative) feeling or draining process (in a place). Again, meaning nuances of effort and achievement can be associated with the implication contributed by the manner of motion tied to [traversing] reflected, for example, in the emphasis of negative/draining activity and earned rest exploited for advertising such as *here you can get away from x*.

Get	away	from + smth.	
manner of motion	source	co-theme	
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>change of location</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i>			
[traversing]			
	[escaping]		ACTION FOR RESULT METONYMY CHANGE IS MOTION >
	[cause_to_change]		CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION > SELF-INITIATED CHANGE OF STATE IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 15)
effort achievement earned	[activity_stop]	draining activity negative feeling	
IMPLICATION	SEMANTIC FRAMES	CONTEXT	CONCEPTUAL MOTIVATION

Figure 58. Compositionality analysis for STOP extension

Table 39. Isomorphism of [activity stop] extension

Source domain (LOCATION)	Target domain (STATE)
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[escaping] frame	[activity_stop] frame
[EXT/NP] = ESCAPEE	[EXT/NP] = AGENT
[LU] = <i>get away</i>	[LU] = <i>get away</i>
[DEP/PP] = UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION	[DEP/PP] = ACTIVITY
Example: <i>I can't get away from my desk.</i>	Example: <i>Here holiday-makers get away from the trappings of modern day life.</i>

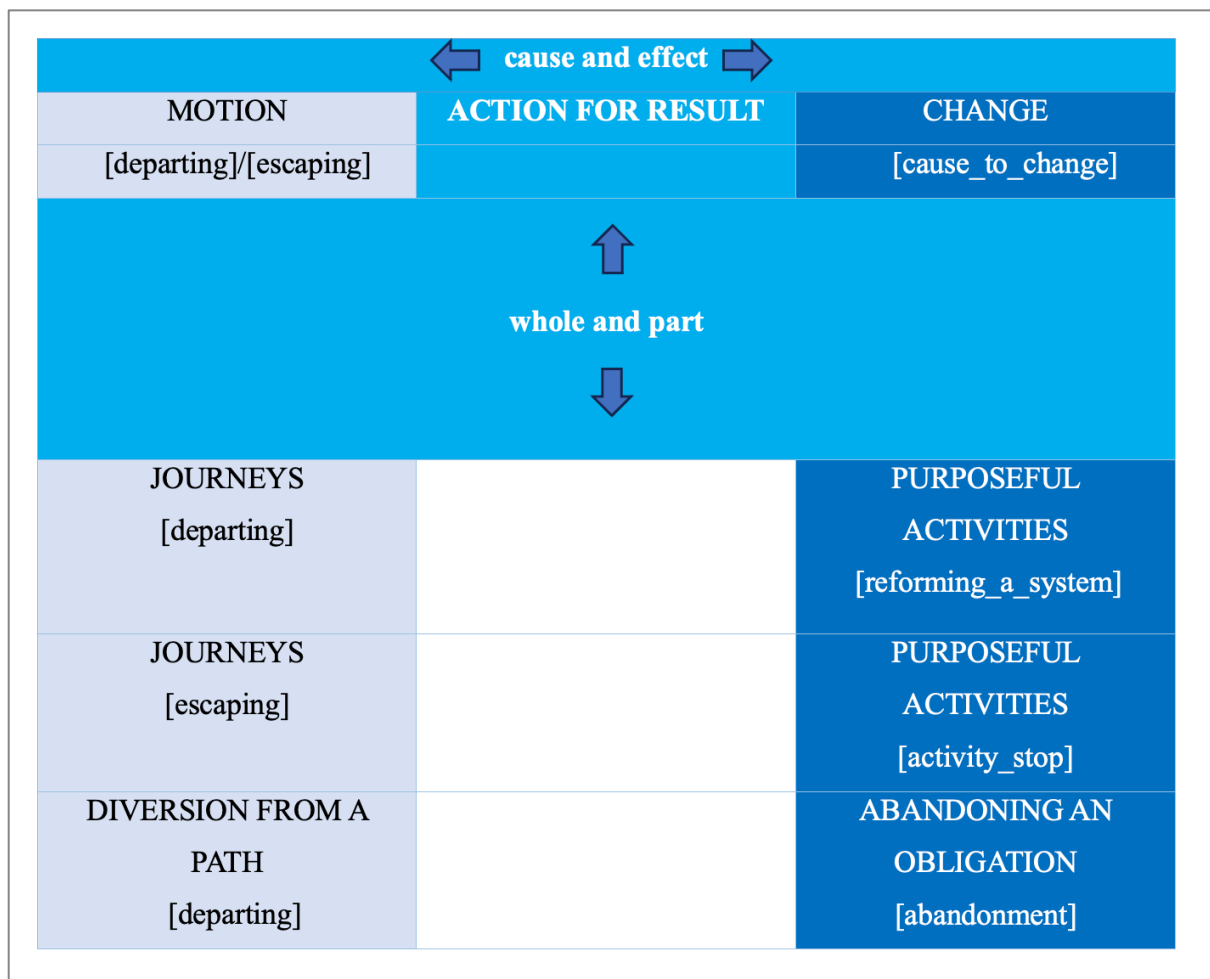


Figure 59. Interactions between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in CHANGE cluster extension

Table 39 above depicts the isomorphic correspondences between source and target FEs and the interaction of ICMs with conceptual domains. No shift in predicate structure occurs in the semantic extension and the FEs correspond precisely. Again, the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy and the cause-and-effect ICM associated with it is highly relevant for the relation between domains tied to the respective frames. Figure 59 has summarized this and included the [departing] extensions combining with *from* and tied to the underspecified [cause_to_change] frame. As illustrated, again more specific instantiations of CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION interact with the ICMs through the cause-and-effect function of the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy linking the relevant domains of LOCATION and STATE. The relation of frames to domains and domains to superordinate domains on both sides of the table/extension is one of whole and parts. For example, for [activity_stop] the sub-mapping SELF-INITIATED CHANGE IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION of the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE PATHS seems particularly relevant: only by deciding to move (physically to some other place in this case), you can quit the undesirable activity that affects you negatively.

Importantly, the differences between extended senses based on [departing] and those based on [escaping] precisely correspond to Podhorodecka's (2007) comparison of *depart* and *get away from*. She links collocations of *get away from* covering landmarks associated with the domain of thought (e.g., *idea, stereotype, the fact that*) with conceptualizations of change as movement of the trajector from a negative landmark thus evoking the axiological schema 'Angel moving out of Hell' and an overall positive evaluation (Podhorodecka 2007: 95-96). This is consistent with the (negative) semantic type of landmarks corresponding to the ACTIVITY FE of [activity_stop] identified in the present analysis (e.g., *daily stresses, worry, rumination*). Combinations with *fact* were rather treated as evoking the [avoiding] frame as these seem to correspond to an UNDESIRABLE_SITUATION FE rather than an ACTIVITY. Nevertheless, a finding by Podhorodecka related to this group of collocations is highly relevant: she points to a BLOCKAGE schema "where an antagonist with a tendency towards rest (the landmark) impinges on an agonist with an inherent tendency to motion (the trajector)" and further associates this with the presence of modals (*cannot*), modification with *try* and the notion of effort being implied in relation to the self-propulsion (Podhorodecka 2007: 97). All of these elements were reflected in the [avoiding] sentences in which the VPCs combined with *from* (e.g., *We cannot get away from the fact, I was trying to get away from trouble*). This notion of effort and implication of accomplishment, on the other hand, was present in all senses of VPCs containing *get* and *make* (e.g., also those not necessarily corresponding to

BLOCKAGE such as [win_prize]) and was connected to the manner of motion of [traversing]. Interestingly, differences in evaluative meaning found by Podhorodecka in relation to specific types of landmarks can be associated with different types of source frames for the current project: her negative evaluations in combination with a BLOCKAGE schema were tied to [avoiding] based on [evading] and the positive instances in which (positive) self-initiated change is conceptualized as movement from a (negative) landmark are here tied to [activity_stop] based on [escaping]. She concludes that the overall difference between *depart from* and *get away from* is that the former refers to “a prescribed route along which the trajectory is obliged or expected to move” (diversion schema) and the latter foregrounds the “self-propulsion of the trajectory” from a negative landmark (blockage schema) (Podhorodecka 2007: 97). The connection between different force schemas interacting with the SPG schema thus leads to differences in the prosody and evaluation of *departing* and *getting away from*. Therefore, her findings for *departing* can be systematically tied to frames **extending** from [departing], namely [abandonment] and [reforming_a_system] evoked by the VPCs *get away* and *walk away + from*, while her results for *get away from* could be associated with [avoiding] and [activity_stop] – extensions based on [evading] and [escaping], respectively.

4.1.3.4 [removing] extensions

This final section of the mini-constructural level will introduce the extended senses based on the [removing] source frame.

- **[activity_finish]**

The frame describes “An Agent finish[ing] an Activity, which can no longer logically continue” (FrameNet, [activity_finish], n.d.). Only two examples were found:

- (62) cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few [ACTIVITY] I [AGENT] forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron [MEANS], but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) [...]
- (63) smackdock.co.uk Foot tension in the stays'l [sic] is controlled by a bowline from the clew to the fore shroud [ACTIVITY] **made off** with a slip knot for quick release [MEANS].

The valence patterns are thus:

Table 40. [activity finish] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>make off</i>	Target frame: [activity_finish]	(a) [ACTIVITY/OBJ/NP] [AGENT/EXT/NP] [MEANS/DEP/PP] (example 62) (b) [ACTIVITY/EXT/NP] [MEANS/DEP/PP] (example 63)
	Source frame: [removing]	[AGENT/Ext/NP] [THEME/OBJ/NP]

Since the source and target frames are both transitive structures, a THEME FE has been added to the source valence to signal this and describe the literal meaning. The target valences both contain an ACTIVITY FE filled by an external or object NP and a MEANS-PP functioning as a dependent. Valence (a) additionally refers to an AGENT (external NP). It should be mentioned that in the examined corpus data no evidence was found for any combination except *get off* evoking [removing]. Thus, it can only be assumed that figurative uses and LUs of *make off* and *make away* extend from [removing]. The extension from an AGENT moving a THEME via certain MEANS ([removing]) and an AGENT ending an ACTIVITY through specific MEANS is visualized in the mini-summary entry of the database (see Figure 60).

[removing] to [activity_finish], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[removing]: (MAKE MOVE)

physically removing an object from a location

- nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts you cannot **get off** with the blade guaranteeing your ingredients are perfectly prepared every time.

human	get off	object	how
		object (potato parts)	instrument (blade = knife)

[activity_finish]: (MAKE END)

an object or activity finished in a certain way


- cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few I forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted).

human	make off	object	how

Figure 60. Mini-summary for [activity_finish] extension

Users are alerted to the infrequent occurrence of this sense in the entry (see Figure 61). ACTIVITY FEs were paraphrased as ‘something’ and fillers were explained. MANNER PPs were split into ‘instrument’ and ‘in a certain way’ overall corresponding to ‘how’. Admittedly, the example sentences of this entry are not ideal for a learner due to their vagueness and domain-specific jargon. It was attempted to mitigate this with the definition and explanations in the tables. The entry was included because of its function as bridge between [removing] and further extended senses such as [kill] (cf. [departing_how], [avoiding]).

[activity_finish]

MAKE END 

usage: informal, infrequent

an object or activity is completed in a certain way

- cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few I forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted).
- smackdock.co.uk Foot tension in the stays is controlled by a bowline from the clew to the fore shroud **made off** with a slip knot for quick release.

human	<i>make off</i>	something	how
		activity or project	with instrument: soldering iron

Something	<i>made off</i>	how
part of a mechanism (bowline on a ship controlling a function of it)	in a certain way: slip knot	

Figure 61. [activity_finish] entry

- *[cause_to_end]*

This frame contains an AGENT or CAUSE ending a PROCESS or STATE (*FrameNet*, [cause_to_end], n.d.). For example:

- (64) dorsetspeed.org... Can i [sic] [AGENT] do anything to **get off with** this crazy fine [PROCESS]?
- (65) qssupplies.co.uk... Heated pads [CAUSE] **make away with** dispensation [PROCESS] giving you clear imagery at all times [...].
- (66) sane.org.uk He [AGENT] **got off with** the charges [PROCESS] by playing the vulnerable little boy act [MEANS].

Two primary valences patterns were found:

Table 41. [cause_to_end] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>make away with, get off with</i>	Target frame: [cause_to_end] Predicate: <i>make, away with, get off with</i>	(a) [AGENT or CAUSE/EXT/NP] [PROCESS/OBJ/NP] (example 64 and 65) (b) [AGENT/EXT/NP] [PROCESS/OBJ/NP] [MEANS/DEP/PP] (example 66)
	Source frame: [removing] predicate: <i>make away, get off</i>	[AGENT/Ext/NP] [THEME/OBJ/NP] [CO-THEME/DEP/PP – <i>with</i>]

As evidenced, the source frame valence contains a further co-theme element to signal the shift in syntax of the target-frame-evoking LU as a three-part predicate. Thus, the target frame valences consist of two NPs, one filling the AGENT or CAUSE FE slot and functioning as an external and one being an object PROCESS FE. Pattern (b) additionally contains a PP functioning as a dependent (MEANS). Therefore, the THEME being moved in [removing] has become abstracted to an unwanted PROCESS being ended. Figure 62 shows how this has been visualized in the database with [activity_finish] acting as an intermediary between source and target frame (move > finish > end).

The entry for this sense shares the signpost MAKE END with the prior sense. The prosody and specific domain-preferences are flagged via two usage labels. This has been maintained in the table and the separation of certain collocations being tied to either one of the labels and semantic types. NPs thus overall refer to ‘something unwanted’ but can be linked to two slightly different processes (personal punishment vs. bothersome process). The table below visualizes valence pattern (b) containing the MANNER FE (‘how’).

[activity_finish] to [cause_to_end], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[removing]: (MAKE MOVE)

physically removing an object from a location

- nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts you cannot **get off** with the blade guaranteeing your ingredients are perfectly prepared every time.

human	get off	object	how
		object (potato parts)	instrument (blade = knife)

[activity_finish]: (MAKE END)

finishing a process or project

- cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few I forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) I've also added the neck padding, which helps keep it in place.

human	make off	process	how
			with instrument: soldering iron

[cause_to_end]: *to end something unwanted* (MAKE END)

- etag.org.uk While it allows you to screen calls and messages with a flick or your wrist and **making away with** the need to scramble through your handbag or trying to get it out of your skinny jeans.
- sane.org.uk He **got off with** the charges by playing the vulnerable little boy act.

human	gets off with	negative entity	how


Figure 62. Mini-summary for [cause_to_end] extension

- **[destroying]**

In this frame, a DESTROYER affects a PATIENT so that it “no longer exists” (*FrameNet*, [destroying], n.d.). Some annotated examples are:

- (67) tvforum.uk I don't see why they'd need 'new furniture' unless someone [DESTROYER] has **made off with** the chairs they used to have in Studio B [PATIENT].
- (68) englishmonarchs... One of Georges's [DESTROYER] first acts as King was to **make away with** his father's will [PATIENT] under the nose of the astonished Archbishop of Canterbury.
- (69) safeman.org.uk Then in March 1979 as reported in the Barnet Press - "Raiders [DESTROYER] at Waitrose Supermarket, Whetstone, burnt their way through a security safe before **making off with** (or destroying) more than £30,000 [PATIENT].

[cause_to_end]

MAKE END 

to end something unwanted

usage: informal, advertising

- qssupplies.co.uk... Heated pads **make away with** dispensation giving you clear imagery at all times.

usage: informal, disapproval

- sheffieldforum.... I should know as I got one earlier in the season and sent in a carefully worded and evidenced letter of appeal and **got off with** it.
- dorsetspeed.org... Can i do anything to **get off with** this crazy fine?

cause	make away with, get off with	unwanted entity
human	gets off with	something bad for them (charge/possibility of punishment or going to prison)
invention or tool	makes away with	an unwanted activity (searching things in your bag) or process (dispensation)

- sane.org.uk He **got off with** the charges by playing the vulnerable little boy act.

human	gets off with	unwanted entity	how

Figure 63. [cause_to_end] entry

Table 42 captures the main valence pattern of this sense, namely an external AGENT-NP and a PATIENT-NP functioning as an object.

Table 42. [destroying] valence

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>make away with, make off with</i>	Target frame: [destroying]	[AGENTEXT/NP] [PATIENT/OBJ/NP]
	Source frame: [removing]	[AGENT/Ext/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>] [THEME/OBJ/NP]

Some uses of *make off with*, e.g., (67) above, could be interpreted as evoking [theft]. Precisely this ambiguity has been exploited in (69) – presumably for humorous purposes or to highlight the foolishness of the thieves. The DESTROYER and PATIENT FEs can be linked to the AGENT and THEME of [removing] and the connection in addition to the extension from MAKE MOVE to MAKE END overall has been included in the database (see Figure 64).

[activity_finish] to [destroy], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[removing]: physically removing an object from a location (MAKE MOVE)

- nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts you cannot **get off** with the blade guaranteeing your ingredients are perfectly prepared every time.

human	get off	object	how
		object (potato parts)	instrument (blade = knife)

[activity_finish]: finishing a process or project (MAKE END)

- cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few I forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) I've also added the neck padding, which helps keep it in place.

human	make off	object	how
			with instrument: soldering iron

[destroy]: affecting or removing something so that it no longer exists (MAKE END)


safeman.org.uk Then in March 1979 as reported in the Barnet Press - "Raiders at Waitrose Supermarket, Whetstone, burnt their way through a security safe before **making off with** (or destroying) more than £30,000.

human	make away with, make off with	(valuable) object
--------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------------

Figure 64. Mini-summary for [destroying] extension

The [destroying] entry is depicted in Figure 65. The preference of *make away* as an LU for this sense (presumably also tied the ambiguity of *make off with*, as mentioned previously) is indicated in the usage section. The semantic types of NPs for AGENT and PATIENT were ‘human’ and ‘a (valuable) object’, respectively. The latter was further split into different categories covered by the NPs (e.g., documents such as *a will*).

[destroy]

MAKE END 

usage: informal; usually, **make away with** is used to express this meaning

affecting or removing something so that it no longer exists

- tvforum.uk I don't see why they'd need 'new furniture' unless someone has **made off with** the chairs they used to have in Studio B.
- englishmonarchs... One of Georges's first acts as King was to **make away with** his father's will under the nose of the astonished Archbishop of Canterbury.
- safeman.org.uk Then in March 1979 as reported in the Barnet Press - "Raiders at Waitrose Supermarket, Whetstone, burnt their way through a security safe before **making off with** (or destroying) more than £30,000.
- sussexhistory.c... I do not know what became of it but think that it was probably **made away with** in 1853.
- west-penwith.or... Forging entries in registers, or **making away with** them, is a felony.
- mernick.org.uk A little while back this man had only one loom at work for eight persons to subsist upon, and he lived by **making away with** his clothes.

<i>make away with, make off</i>	
human <i>with</i>	(valuable) object
	camera/vcr, money, furniture
	writings/documents: a will (someone else's written down wishes), entries, notes
	something you own: property, clothes

Figure 65. [destroying] entry

- *[killing]*

The final sense found in this analysis describes a situation in which “A Killer or Cause causes the death of the Victim” (*FrameNet*, [killing] n.d.). For example:

(70) edp24.co.uk Mary Ann H had become extremely weak and stated 'that the devil [KILLER] tempted her [VICTIM] to **make off with** her children' [VICTIM] [...].

(71) briercliffesoci... He [KILLER] intended to **make away with** his own child [VICTIM].

(72) genuki.org.uk After a while she proceeded and said that the deceased [VICTIM] had never at any time threatened to **make away with** his life [VICTIM] [...].

In (70), the devil has been coded as KILLER since it is implied that the responsibility lies with this instigating entity. In cases of suicide, i.e., the person ‘doing’ the killing and the dying being the same, both parties were coded as VICTIM. In contrast to the AGENT of the [removing] frame acting on a THEME via a certain MEANS (e.g., instrument) (MAKE MOVE), this abstract sense rather refers to an agent, the KILLER, ending the life of a VICTIM (MAKE END). Again, [activity_finish] assumes an intermediary role in this extension, as exemplified in Figure 66.

Table 43 highlights the three central valence patterns found for this sense. In all, the VICTIM, is expressed via an NP in object function. The external NP corresponds either to a KILLER ((a) and (b)) or the VICTIM (either because killer and victim are the same as in (c) or because there are two actors in terms of agency as in (a)).

Table 43. [killing] valences

VPC	Frames	Valence Patterns
<i>make away with, make off with</i>	Target frame: [kill]	(a) [KILLER/EXT/NP] [VICTIM/EXT/NP] [VICTIM/OBJ/NP] (example 70)
	Source frame: [removing]	[AGENT/Ext/NP] [THEME/OBJ/NP] [CO-THEME/DEP/PP – <i>with</i>]
<i>make away with</i>	Target frame: [kill]	(b) [KILLER/EXT/NP] [VICTIM/OBJ/NP] (example 71) (c) [VICTIM/EXT/NP] [VICTIM/OBJ/NP] (example 72)
	Source frame: [removing]	[AGENT/Ext/NP] [THEME/OBJ/NP] [CO-THEME/PP – <i>with</i>]

The entry for this sense (Figure 67) shares the signpost and core meaning (MAKE END) with the previous three extensions. Since only one example with *make off with* was found (table 2), the infrequency of this LU was indicated. The FE KILLER NPs consisted of either humans or diseases which were both summarized as ‘cause’. Valence (c) and the colligational pattern of using pronouns to express this in combination with the NP *life* are highlighted in the first table.

[activity_finish] to [kill], specifies to

RELATED DIRECTED

[removing]: physically removing an object from a location (MAKE MOVE)

- nisbets.co.uk Featuring a built-in potato eye remover, you can also easily remove any parts you cannot **get off** with the blade guaranteeing your ingredients are perfectly prepared every time.

human	get off	object	how
		object (potato parts)	instrument (blade = knife)

[activity_finish]: finishing a process or project (MAKE END)

- cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few I forgot to **make off** with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) I've also added the neck padding, which helps keep it in place.

human	make off	object	how
			with instrument: soldering iron

[kill]: kill someone/make someone's life end (MAKE END)

- briercliffesoci... He intended to make away with his own child.

human	make off with	human

Figure 66. Mini-summary for [killing] extension

[kill]

MAKE END

kill someone

usage: informal; usually, **make away with** is used to express this meaning

- genuki.org.uk After a while she proceeded and said that the deceased had never at any time threatened to **make away with** his life, nor appeared to have thought of such a thing.
- whimsy.org.uk It is well known in every village how many have either died for love or voluntary **made away with** themselves.
- briercliffesoci... He intended to **make away with** his own child.
- djo.org.uk It has no effect upon unreasoning John Bull to tell him that, on an average, cholera does not devour a tithe of the victims which fever, consumption, and other preventible diseases **make away with**.
- histparl.ac.uk The Duke of York informed the King that Crosbie ' **made away with** himself at Portsmouth.

cause	makes away with	human
human/ killer or disease		human
human		same human: themselves, himself or pronoun (his/her/their) life

- edp24.co.uk Mary Ann H had become extremely weak and stated 'that the devil tempted her to **make off with** her children'.

cause	makes	human	make off with	human

Figure 67. [killing] entry

- **[Removing] compositionality analysis**

The final compositionality analysis of this level and the contribution of each component as well as the cognitive mechanisms interacting with the semantic extension for the MAKE END cluster are summarized in Figure 68 below.

get	make	off	away	with + smth.	
Manner of motion		Source			
<i>accomplishment</i> <i>human</i> <i>locomotion</i> <i>change of location</i>					
[traversing]					
		[removing]			CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO A LOCATION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 20)
endpoint success	[activity_finish]	-			CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION > EXISTING IS A LOCATION HERE (Lakoff et al. 1991: 70)
endpoint	sphere of influence on the agent		[cause_to_end]	process	
			[cause_to_fragment]	physically existing entity	
	sphere of influence on the agent		[destroying]	tangible object	
	existence		[killing]	sentient being	
IMPLICATION	CONTEXT		FRAMES	CONCEPTUAL MECHANISM	

Figure 68. Compositionality analysis for [removing] extensions

The conceptual metaphor CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO A LOCATION connects the ICMs of [removing] and [activity_finish] and thus in the target frame the endpoint of an action is conceptualized in terms of movement of an object (e.g., *make off the details* > finish them). As was the case for previous VPCs containing *make*, nuances of accomplishment and success could be contributed by the verb and the manner of motion evoked by [traversing] (successful crossing > successful ending + some form of effort required). Table 44 highlights the interaction of ICMs with conceptual domains and isomorphic correspondences of the semantic extension for this target frame:

Table 44. [activity_finish] isomorphism

Source domain (LOCATION) FORCED MOTION	Target domain (STATE) CAUSED CHANGE
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[removing] frame ontology	[activity_finish] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = AGENT	[EXT/NP] = AGENT
[LU] = <i>make off</i> (?)	[LU] = <i>make off</i>
[OBJ/NP] = THEME	[OBJ/NP] = ACTIVITY

As mentioned previously, no instances of *make off/away* were found as LUs of [removing] which is marked by a question mark above. Not only the structure of the predicate, but also the relations between agent and affected entity precisely mirror each other. The remaining components of figure 68 depict the extension toward a three-part predicate. It is argued that *with* becomes integrated into the predicate thus evoking a [cause_to_end] frame via the conceptual metaphor EXISTING IS A LOCATION HERE. This is connected to CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO A LOCATION mentioned in relation to [activity_finish]. For example, in sentences such as *He got off with a fine*, the changed state (existence or non-existence) of the negative process is conceptualized as a changed location of the entity created by the agent. Thus, the context contributed by the particle can be linked to a sphere of the influence of things on the agent that they themselves in this case affect. The same seems to occur in the remaining extensions. However, the NPs (objects vs. sentient entities) functioning as objects serve to distinguish more specific frames

that can, overall be connected to a related frame of [cause_to_end], namely [cause_to_fragment]. Therefore, while the context indicated by the particle for [destroying] again refers to the sphere of influence on the agent’s life (the presence of an object in it), in [killing], *off* or *away* rather correspond to the context of the NPs existence (on Earth). Table 45 exemplifies the isomorphism of the LU *make away with* evoking one of the frames associated with the MAKE END cluster, namely [killing].

Table 45. [killing] isomorphism

Source domain (LOCATION) FORCED MOTION	Target domain (STATE) CAUSED CHANGE
literal source frame	abstract target frame
[removing] frame ontology	[killing] frame ontology
[EXT/NP] = AGENT	[EXT/NP] = KILLER
[LU] = <i>make away</i> (?)	[LU] = <i>make away with</i>
[OBJ/NP] = THEME	[OBJ/NP] = VICTIM
[DEP/PP] = MEANS	
Example: <i>He intended to make away with his own child.</i>	

While EXT/NP and OBJ/NP overlap, the predicate of the target frame is a three-part-structure. Similarly to the three-part VPCs based on [departing] or [evading] this might be connected to the progression of one EVENT STRUCTURE dual to another via the metonymy interacting with the frames and domains. This has been visualized in Figure 69. Overall, the progression from central to target frames in this cluster can be linked FORCED MOTION IS CAUSED CHANGE connecting domains of MOTION and CHANGE and thus conceptualizations of changed state in terms of changed location. All frames – ICMs – serve as specific ontologies (part) connected to these domains (whole). The figure further illustrates the potential progression from the LOCATION DUAL to the OBJECT DUAL and thus the shift from CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO LOCATION to CAUSATION IS CONTROL OVER AN OBJECT RELATIVE TO A POSSESSOR (Lakoff et al. 1991: 3). The focus in these senses seems to be more strongly tied to the effect of the action on the secondary involved object (e.g., its destruction or death or

removal from existence in agent’s life). This might explain why there are two primary participants in the valences of the three-part predicate rather than a MEANS relation further would describing the action.

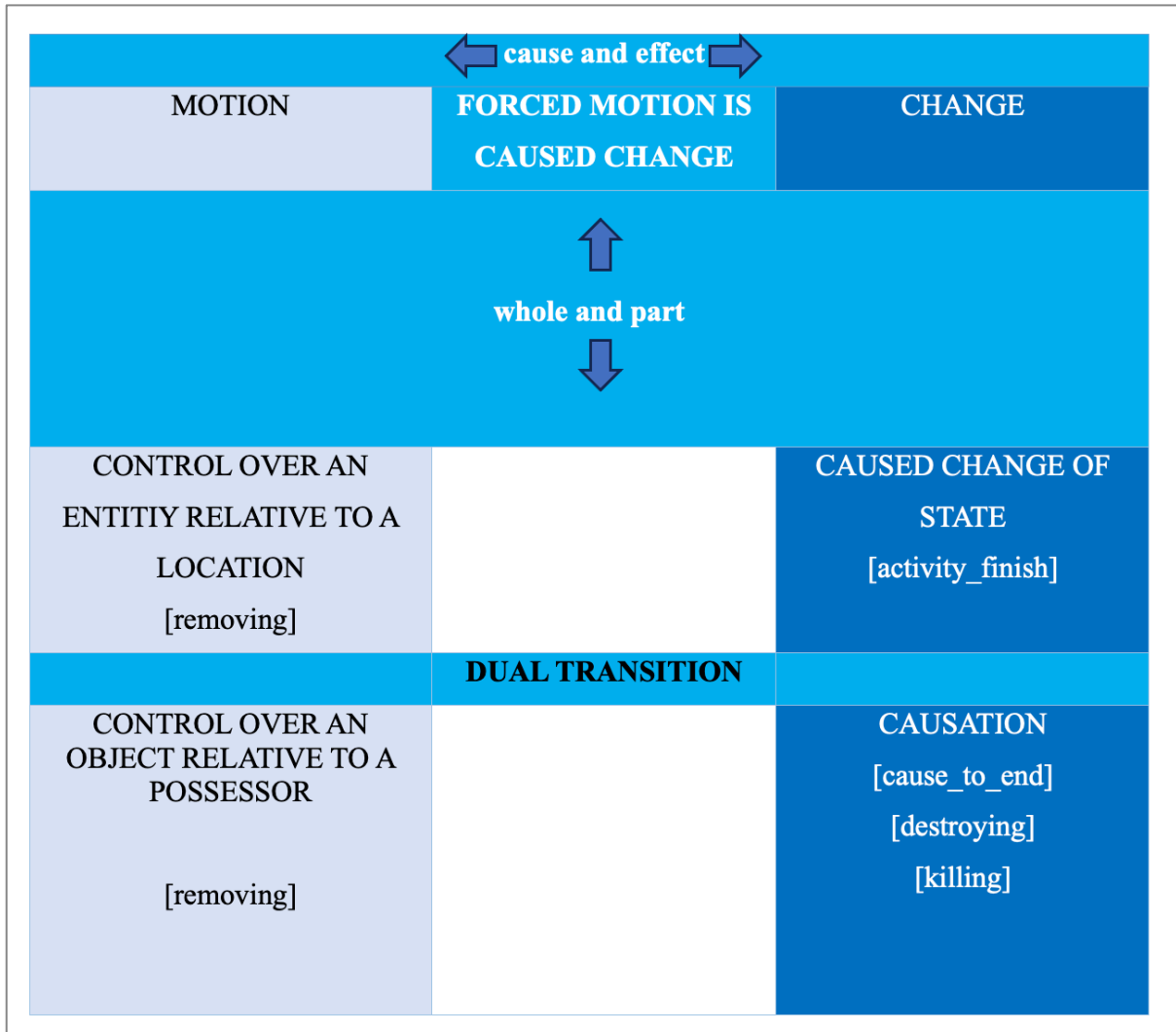


Figure 69. Interactions between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in MAKE END cluster extension

4.2 Mega-frame level

The following section will, in line with Boas’s (2010) proposal, link the identified senses/frames, i.e., mini-constructions, to a larger Construction Grammar construction (Boas 2010: 562). Thus, we now progress from the mini-constructional level to the mega-frame level and, as previously mentioned, this approaches Langlotz’s (2006) perspective from a Construction Grammar point of view as these mini-constructions or senses are not “isolated in the grammar, but linked to other constructional schemas [which they] instantiate” and which

are “themselves intertwined with other nodes in the network” (Langlotz 2006: 97). A proposed link between constructions was introduced by Sung (2023: 493) and previously discussed in the literature review. For convenience, the figure below illustrates this again:

Super-Constructions: ASCs		
Motion Constructions: - Intransitive Motion - Caused-Motion	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Resultative Constructions: - Intransitive resultative - Transitive resultative
Instance inheritance links		Instance inheritance links
Literal VPCs: - Intransitive literal - Transitive literal	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Figurative VPCs: - Intransitive figurative - Transitive figurative
Sub-Constructions: Verb-Particle-Constructions		

Figure 70. Connections between VPC constructions and ASCs as outlined by Sung (2023)

In terms of the relations proposed by Sung (2023) extending Goldberg’s (2016) analysis to intransitive VPCs, all identified central frames, i.e., all literal sub-constructions above, should be more specific instances of two larger constructions, namely the intransitive motion and the caused-motion construction, while all extended frames should be more specific instances of the transitive and intransitive resultatives. These two clusters will now be discussed and the corresponding mini-constructions (sub-constructions in Sung’s terms) will be attached to their ‘super-construction’ (ASC or ‘mega-frame’). The motion cluster will be considered first.

4.2.1 Central mini-constructions and mega frames

The graph below will follow Boas’s (2010: 71) methodology and thus, as a reminder, (a) will describe the semantics of the mega frame, (b) its structure, and (c) will list all the frames (and LUs within these) exhibiting valences in accordance with the mega frame. Due to space constraints, only one example sentence per VCP will be included in (d). For example, if both *get off* and *get away* evoke the intransitive motion construction being LUs of a frame tied to it, they will both be present in (b) but not in (d) exemplifying the use in a sentence.

- ***Intransitive Motion***

- (a) Description: Agent (subject) moves intentionally on a path; can be metaphorical (Torres-Martínez 2018: 27-28); Jackendoff and Goldberg (2004: 540): X1 GO Path2
- (b) NP1 V PP2 (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 540)
- (c) List of the LUs that evoke the INTRANSITIVE MOTION construction: *get off, get away, walk away, make away, make off*. DEPARTING (i–ii), *get away, make away, get off*. EVADING (iii–iv), *get away*. ESCAPING (v), *get away, get off*. EVADING/AVOIDING (vi);
- (d) Annotated example sentences for each LU that evokes this construction:
 - i. rocktopia.co.uk I [AGENT] **walked away** from the venue [PATH] with the feeling that I wanted something more.
 - ii. old-merseytimes... She [AGENT] struck on a spit in the sands and with the rising tide managed to **get off** [PATH] with her own engines.
 - iii. screenonline.or... Arriving at the magical isle he [AGENT] tries to **make off** [PATH] with the horse, but the princess and her bird attendants pursue him and bring him back to earth.
 - iv. qosfan.co.uk As the game ticked over into injury time, Murray [AGENT] **got away** from his marker [PATH] to swing in a dangerous cross.
 - v. labradoodle.org... Yep, I work from home, and usually find the boys entwined round my chair legs so that I [AGENT] can't **get away** from the desk [PATH].
 - vi. cluequest.co.uk He [AGENT] alsmot [sic] **got away** [PATH] with this excuse, but by the time he made his way back to the pier to get off the island, two soldiers were already waiting for him - his camera had been found.

For VPCs combining with *from*, the PATH corresponds to the particle and the PP following the VPC itself (essentially a ‘longer’ PP in mega-frame terms). This is how the intransitive motion construction (non-causative property) resultative is outlined by Jackendoff and Goldberg (2004: 540): *The ball rolled down the hill*; syntax: NP1 V PP2; semantics: X1 GO Path2; MEANS: [VERBAL SUBEVENT]. Thus, the verbal subevent (e.g., in (i) being *walk*) presents the means for the constructional subevent X1 GO PATH2. In contrast, in VPCs combining with *with*, a point of departure or evasion from an entity is not overtly acknowledged (SOURCE or PURSUER/DNI). Nevertheless, via the integration of the SOURCE FE of the [traversing] evoking element (e.g., predicate *get* + SOURCE FE- *away*), the VPC predicate

extends (e.g., *get away*) and acquires a unitary meaning that is a more specific motion sense (e.g. [departing]). Thus, this non-causative path resultative in which the constructional subevent “consists of the host traversing the path expressed by the RP [the PP or the AP]” which is “consistent with change of state or position of said host” if they are the subject (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 540) corresponds to the central frames and senses outlined above. Kyle and Sung (2023: 55) state that the PATH in intransitive motion can be either expressed via an adverbial particle (e.g., *The morbidity rate is going up*) or a PP (e.g., *I went across the bay*). Therefore, the difference is simply that in combinations with *with* the PATH corresponds to the particle (*off* or *away*) and in those with *from* can be further specified (e.g., *away from X*).

- ***Caused Motion***

- (a) Description: action of a *Causer* on an *Undergoer*: X causes Y to move (from/to) Z (Torres-Martínez 2018: 27-28); X1 CAUSE [Y2 GO Path3] (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004: 563)
- (b) [NP/Subj] CAUSER verb UNDERGOER [NP/Obj] ObliquePATH; NP1 V NP2 PP3 (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004: 563)
- (c) List of the LUs that evoke the CAUSED MOTION construction: *get off*. REMOVING
- (d) Annotated example sentences for each LU that evokes this construction:
 - i. c2club.co.uk i [sic] drive a lot of "fast" miles and I [CAUSER] constantly get bugs [UNDERGOER] stuck on the front of the car which are near on impossible to **get off** [PATH] with soapy water.

The PATH is again only expressed by the particle. In contrast to intransitive motion, this mega frame contains an object and is a causative path resultative since “the constructional subevent consists in the subject causing the host to do what it does” (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 540). Thus, the central frames identified in the corpus data, i.e., the senses of the VPCs describing physical movement, seem to correspond to the intransitive motion and caused-motion ASCs which is in line with the instance links (relation) outlined between VPC sub-constructions and ASCs by Sung (2023) above.

4.2.2. Extended mini-constructions and mega frames

The following sections will examine the connection of extended frames to mega-frames and relate this to the progression from literal to figurative senses thus approaching research question 2 from a mega-frame sentence-level perspective.

- ***Intransitive Resultative***

- (a) Description: X becomes Ystate (Sung 2023: 493)
- (b) Form: Subj V RP (Sung 2023: 493)
- (c) List of the LUs that evoke the INTRANSITIVE RESULTATIVE construction: *get off*. PROCESS_START (i), *get away, get off*. AVOIDING (ii–iii), *get away, walk away*. ABANDONMENT (iv), *get away*. ACTIVITY_STOP (v), *get away, walk away*. REFORMING_A_SYSTEM (vi), *walk away*. SURVIVING (vii);
- (d) Annotated example sentences for each LU that evokes this construction:
 - i. newshound.org.u... Shooting season [X] **gets off** [Ystate] with a bang - and high hopes of profit [...].
 - ii. pressat.co.uk "From that point onwards I feel like I have been on the run, for years now I [X] have been trying to **get away** from trouble [Ystate]".
 - iii. kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she [X] managed to **get off** [Ystate] with the help of her lawyer.
 - iv. keele.ac.uk Feeling lost, running on empty and consumed with grief, Roxana [X] considered **walking away** from Uni [Ystate] during this very challenging time.
 - v. time.uos.ac.uk Starting a blog, sharing your thoughts and views will help you [X] **get away** from stress [Ystate] and could also give you a break from all the uni work!
 - vi. aru.ac.uk We [X] need to **get away** from consumerism and companies' drive to sell new stuff [Ystate] [...].
 - vii. marketoracle.co... The perfection of moral hazard in the current banking system can be illustrated by what happened to the last CEO of Lehman Brother, Richard Fuld: he [X] **walked away** from the wreckage [Ystate] with \$222 million.

The PP previously associated with the PATH in the intransitive motion mega frame now rather refers to a change of state. Therefore, the mini-constructions might simply be regarded as metaphorical uses of that mega-frame. For example, Torres-Martínez (2018: 27-28) describes

it as “Agent (subject) moves intentionally on a path [which] can be metaphorical”. Similarly, Goldberg (2014:197) acknowledges the possibility of extension of intransitive motion via metaphors conceptualizing change of state as movement: while in *The cereal went from crunchy to soggy [...]* “the verb ‘literally refer[s] to motion’ it is actually used to “designate aspects of changes of state”. Despite this, the senses above have been grouped as instances the intransitive resultative – a **property** resultative described by Jackendoff and Goldberg (2004: 539) in which “the host com[es] to have the property expressed by the RP”. Its semantics are X1 BECOME Y2 (e.g., *The pond froze solid*) rather than X1 GO Y2 (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 540). Sung (2023: 493) uses the example *Chris woke up* to exemplify the construction. In example (i) above thus, the particle corresponds to a change in state (i.e., beginning). Therefore, so far, the findings are consistent with Sung’s (2023: 493) outlined relation: the central frames, i.e., sub-constructions (VPC constructions) certainly are more specific instances of the intransitive motion construction and the figurative sub-constructions (VCPs) of the intransitive resultative.

Depending on the second particle (*with* or *from*), a difference in the sentences above can be observed. A crucial point of view is offered by Sullivan (2013: 123) in relation to this: prepositions “play a role in determining the structure that maps between domains” and thus “otherwise identical preposition phrase constructions can cause very different relations to be mapped if they include different prepositions”. The example she provides for *an escape from poverty* can be readily applied to the verb senses of the current project (Sullivan 2013: 123).

Table 46. Sullivan's (2013) illustration of prepositions as mediators between domains in *an escape from poverty*

LOCATION domain	STATE domain
ESCAPING frame evoked by <i>escape</i>	mapped frame structure
ESCAPEE	ESCAPEE
UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION	UNDESIRABLE_STATE (poverty)

From is required to establish the relation between LOCATION and STATE since it elucidates that the following NP denotes either an UNDESIRABLE_LOCATION or a segment that shares “an identity link” with this FE (Sullivan 2013: 124). Important for this project is thus that while in terms of domains a progression from LOCATION or MOTION to STATES or CHANGE can be observed between the central frames and the extended frames, which in terms of mega-frames mirrors the extension inheritance link postulated by Sung (2023) between intransitive motion and intransitive resultative and their respective VPC sub-constructions, the syntagmatic

relations along the paradigmatic axis for the senses associated with the mega-frame differ because of the role of the preposition outlined above. *From* does, in Frame Semantic terms, provide a relational link crucial for the extended meanings and the specific frames outlined above while *with* does not. But why is there still a difference **between** individual VPCs combining with *from* regarding this relational role? This can be observed when comparing the intransitive motion mega frame with the resultative one. For example:

- (73) rocktopia.co.uk I [AGENT] **walked away** from the venue [PATH] with the feeling that I wanted something more. [intransitive motion, departing]
- (74) keele.ac.uk Feeling lost, running on empty and consumed with grief, Roxana [X] considered **walking away** from Uni [Ystate] during this very challenging time. [intransitive resultative, abandonment]

In (73) the PATH – PP (*from the venue*) seems to be less integral to the meaning of the sentence than the [Ystate] PP in (74). That is, in order for *walk away* in (74) to be able to be an LU of the [abandonment] frame, the PP is required. The same applies to all examples covering (iv) to (vii) and the respective frames in the intransitive resultative cluster above (see page 120). The following difference acknowledged by Sullivan (2013: 115-116) applies here:

In CG, these structures [prepositions] are a trajector and landmark; in Frame Semantics, they are frame roles. Here the certainty surrounding autonomy/dependence attenuates. In an expression such as *the apple on the table*, which nominal is autonomous relative to the other? Both are autonomous relative to the preposition (*the apple* elaborating the trajector and *the table* elaborating the landmark of the on relation) [...] Presumably, *the apple* elaborates *the table* more than the reverse, because tables are prototypically known for supporting objects [...] *In the apple beside the orange*, however, even this certainty disappears [...]

Considering this, the differing impact of PPs following the VPC in the intransitive resultative cluster becomes evident. The relevant example provided by Langacker (2008: 203) is *A table near the door*: at a lower level *near* is dependent relative to *the door* and elaborates the landmark while at a higher level *the table* elaborating the trajector of *near the door* is autonomous and *near the door* dependent. In “traditional terminology” these relations would be as follows (Langacker 2008: 203): *the door* (complement), *near the door* (modifier), *a table* and *near* (heads). While “[a] complement is a component structure that elaborates a salient substructure of the head” leading the latter being a dependent, modifiers contain “a salient substructure elaborated by the head” and thus the latter is rather autonomous. Precisely this is the difference between the two instances of the landmark PPs in the intransitive motion

construction (central frame) and the intransitive resultative (extended frame) and thus between (73) and (74) above. The PP in (73) is, in line with the distinction just acknowledged, a modifier. It provides the landmark and is, like *near the door* in *a table near the door*, dependent. *Walk away* as an LU of [departing] thus provides a substructure that can be filled by a landmark as we conceptually know that this frame entails motion **from a place**. Nevertheless, the sentence makes sense without the dependent (modifier) as the two-part predicate already denotes [departing] and the PP only overtly acknowledges the landmark already implied by the particle (essentially, extends the PATH). In contrast, in (74) the PP is required for the meaning and functions more like a complement, as outlined above, by “elaborate[ing] a salient substructure of the head” (Langacker 2008: 203) – the [abandonment] LU *walk away*. It provides the SOURCE that must be left from (the LOCATION domain outlined by Sullivan in Table 46) and that is required for the extension toward figurative meaning to take place. It provides an “identity link” (Sullivan 2013: 124) for the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy (as outlined in the analysis) to latch on and thus to trigger the [cause_to_end] frame. While all the extended mini-constructions can be associated with the intransitive resultative ASC and the semantics of this construction, their PPs are therefore important to different degrees for licensing the figurative meaning. This will now be further examined by utilizing Tsaroucha’s previously outlined methodology (2019: 169) and applying it to the intransitive resultative cluster, i.e., the VPC LUs of the extended frames [process_start], [activity_stop], [abandonment], [reforming_a_system], and [surviving]. One example per overall core meaning cluster (think SIGNPOST shared in the database or relation to same underspecified frame outline in the compositionality analysis) will be considered.

- BEGIN cluster: [process_start]

Table 47. [process_start] mega-frame level analysis

Intransitive Resultative	
sentence: newshound.org.u... Shooting season [X] gets off [Ystate] with a bang - and high hopes of profit [...].	
<i>A/D: Shooting season (autonomous) gets (dependent) off (dependent)</i>	
subject: target domain, verb: source domain, RP: domain-neutral	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: TIME
frame specific to project: [departing]	frame specific to project: [process_start]
conceptual metaphor(s): EVENTS ARE ACTIONS > TIME IS MOTION	

Sullivan (2013: 95) states that if “the result phrase evokes the source or is domain neutral, then the subject must evoke the target”. This is the case for *off* above. The frames (point (d) in Tsaroucha’s methodology outlined in the literature review) are in this case the source and target frames assigned at the mini-constructural level which, as ICMs, interact with the domains and their connection through conceptual metaphors in the process of semantic extension. The metaphor evoked can be here regarded as TIME IS MOTION which is a more specific instantiation of EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, i.e., the metaphor connected to the extension for this target frame at the mini-constructural analysis (see extended frames based on [departing] in the analysis section).

- AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE cluster ([avoiding]): *kneeling.co.uk Instead of being sent to a rehabilitation centre for narcotics, she [X] managed to **get off** [Ystate] with the help of her lawyer.*

Albeit being autonomous, the subject is domain-neutral. Similarly, the RP (*off*) also cannot be connected to a specific domain. Sullivan (2013: 95) asserts that sentences such as “*It froze solid* do not in themselves evoke metaphor (except in the sense that all property resultatives are derived metaphorically from path resultatives)”. Importantly, thus, the only part that evokes metaphor in this case is the metaphorical inheritance extension of the path resultative toward the intransitive resultative as a whole or, in terms of mini-constructures, the metonymic extension via ACTION FOR RESULT between the source ([evading]) and target frame ([avoiding]) and the domains of LOCATION and STATE, respectively.

- PAUSE cluster (underspecified [cause_to_change] frame): [activity_stop]

As illustrated (see Table 48), here the role of the PP is different: it is autonomous relative to the verb, and, as outlined prior, it functions as a landmark and more like a complement. Thus, the metaphor that can be connected to the licensing of the figurative meaning on a larger ASC-level is CHANGE OF LOCATION IS CHANGE OF STATE and more specific instantiations of such. This is consistent with the extension of ICMs at the mini-constructural level for this sense of *get away*, namely the [escaping] and the [activity_stop] frame and their relation to conceptual domains connected via ACTION FOR RESULT triggering an underspecified [cause_to_change] frame (LOCATION > STATE; JOURNEYS > PURPOSEFUL

ACTIVITIES) (see extended frames based on [escaping] in the compositionality analysis section).

Table 48. [activity_stop] mega-frame level analysis

Intransitive Resultative	
sentence: uos.ac.uk Starting a blog, sharing your thoughts and views will help you [X] get away from stress [Ystate] and could also give you a break from all the uni work.	
A/D: <i>you</i> (autonomous), <i>get away</i> (dependent), <i>from stress</i> (autonomous)	
subject: domain-neutral, verb: source domain, RP: target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: STATE
frame specific to project: [escaping]	frame specific to project: [activity_stop]
conceptual metaphor(s): STATES ARE LOCATIONS > CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION > SELF-INITIATED CHANGE OF STATE IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 15)	

- CHANGE cluster (underspecified [cause_to_change] frame): [abandonment]

Table 49. [abandonment] mega-frame level analysis

Intransitive Resultative	
sentence: keele.ac.uk Feeling lost, running on empty and consumed with grief, Roxana [X] considered walking away from Uni [Ystate] during this very challenging time.	
A/D: <i>Roxana</i> (autonomous), <i>walking away</i> (dependent), <i>from Uni</i> (autonomous)	
subject: domain-neutral, verb: source domain, RP: target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: STATE (OBLIGATION)
frame specific to project: [departing]	frame specific to project: [abandonment]
conceptual metaphor(s): STATES ARE LOCATIONS > CHANGE IS MOTION > ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION IS DIVERSION FROM A PATH (Podhorodecka 2007: 88)	

The role of the RP and its importance as an elaboration site (thus an autonomous target-domain evoking entity) mirrors that of the preceding example and mini-construction. Again, the metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION and a more specific instantiation of such, namely ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION IS DIVERSION FROM A PATH, can be connected to the progression towards figurative meaning if examined from a higher-level Construction

Grammar perspective. This is again consistent with the extensions examined on a mini-constructural level for this LU of *walk away* with [departing] extending to [abandonment] via the underspecified [cause_to_change] frame triggered through the ACTION FOR RESULT METONYMY connecting the two ICMs and the LOCATION and STATE domains (see extended frames based on [departing] compositionality analysis section). In order to better visualize this, Figure 71 below has incorporated the mega-frames the mini-constructions can be grouped into and highlights the interaction between conceptual metaphors and metonymy in the CHANGE cluster extension.

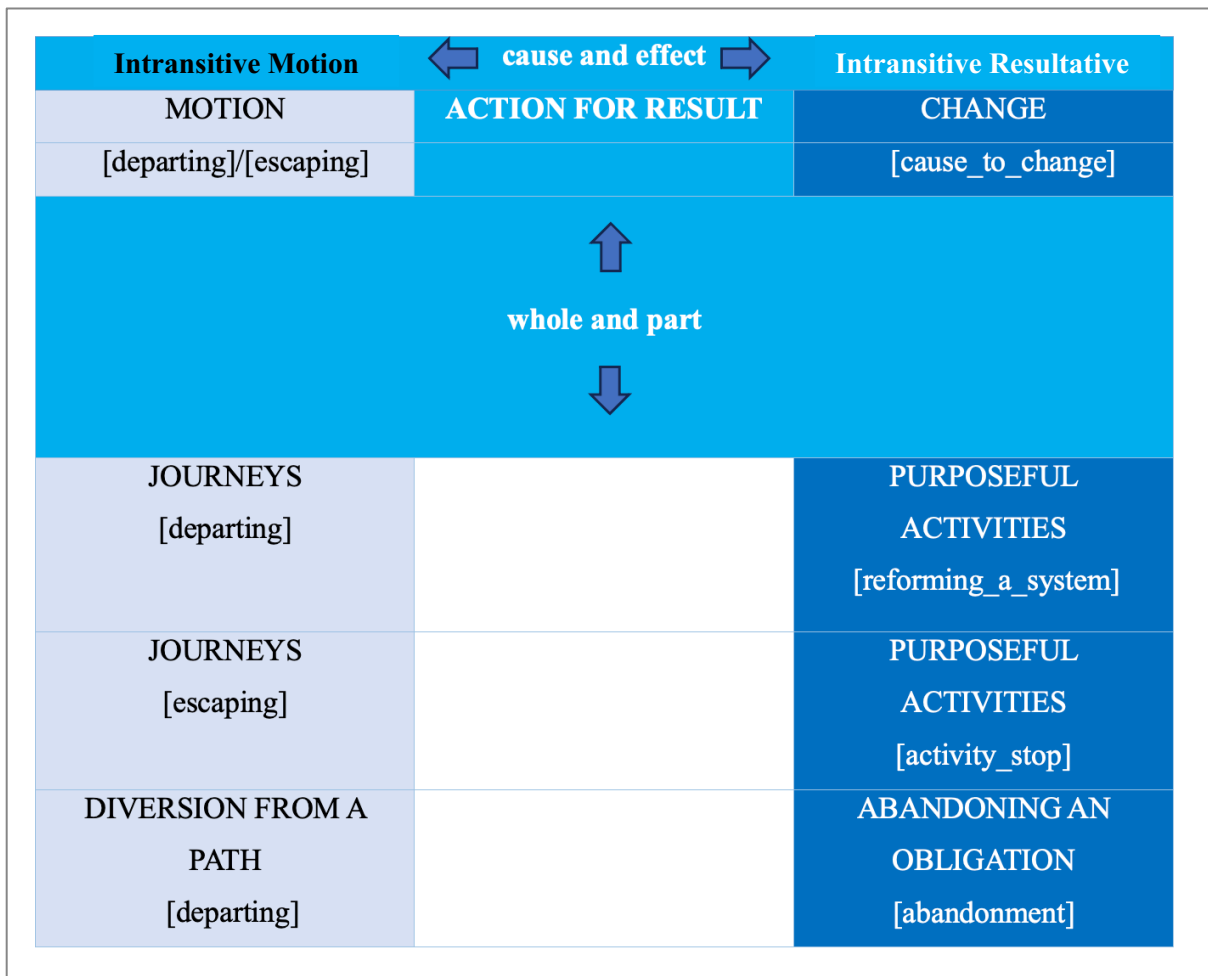


Figure 71. Conceptual metaphors and metonymy in CHANGE cluster extension – mini-and-mega-construction level

- NO HARM cluster: [surviving]

As reflected in Table 50, the RP is autonomous and target-evoking by consisting of a landmark and performing a similar complement-like function as outlined for the previous examples. This

example tied to the intransitive resultative construction evokes the conceptual metaphor CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION or, more specifically, HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION.

Table 50. [surviving] mega-frame level analysis

Intransitive Resultative	
sentence: marketoracle.co... The perfection of moral hazard in the current banking system can be illustrated by what happened to the last CEO of Lehman Brother, Richard Fuld: he [X] walked away from the wreckage [Ystate] with \$222 million.	
<i>A/D: He (autonomous), walked away (dependent), from the wreckage (autonomous)</i>	
subject: domain-neutral, verb: source domain, RP: target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: DANGER/HARM
frame specific to project: [departing]	frame specific to project: [surviving]
conceptual metaphor(s): CHANGE IS MOTION > CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION > HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 50)	

So far, all metaphors evoked by the examples analyzed illustrate a progression from MOTION or LOCATION to CHANGE/STATE for the extended sub-constructions and their association with larger Construction Grammar constructions. The only difference found between the sub-constructions is that for those senses that do contain a landmark, this landmark indicates the RP and thus the target domain. This was tied to the relational role that *from* plays, as previously discussed. Overall, the findings are therefore consistent with Sung’s (2023: 493) positioning of the intransitive resultative construction as a metaphorical extension of the intransitive motion construction and the corresponding VPC-constructions mirroring this progression via their connection as instance links.

- ***Transitive Resultative***

- (a) Description: X causes Y to become Zstate (Sung 2023: 493)
- (b) Form: Subj V Obj RP (Sung 2023: 493)
- (c) List of the LUs that evoke the TRANSITIVE RESULTATIVE construction: *make off*.
ACTIVITY_FINISH
- (d) Annotated example sentence for the LU that evokes this construction:

- i. *cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few[Y] I [X] forgot to **make off** [Zstate] with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) [...].*

This construction is a property resultative with “the constructional subevent consist[ing] in the host coming to have the property expressed by the RP” (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 539). Thus, the semantics of the construction refer to the property changed/the state [*off*/Zstate] of the object (*the details*/Y). In contrast to previous frames, since the host is not the subject, the constructional subevent further “consists in the subject causing the host to do what it does” (Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004: 540). Tsaroucha’s (2018) methodology is again applied to the construction and the related mini-construction.

- MAKE END cluster ([activity_stop]): *cosplayisland.c... I've painted the details on (including a few [Y] I [X] forgot to **make off** [Zstate] with the soldering iron, but it's a bit late to add them now, so they're just painted) [...].*

Here, a similar relation seems to apply as outlined for [avoiding] in the intransitive resultative cluster. The autonomous subject is domain-neutral and while the object – in this case also autonomous and target-domain evoking – might be regarded as evoking the ACTIVITY or EVENT domain, the RP (*off*) cannot be connected to a specific domain. Again thus, the primary metaphor-evoking mechanism appears to be “that all property resultatives are derived metaphorically from path resultatives” (Sullivan 2013: 95). In mega-frame terms this is thus the extension from the caused-motion construction (X causes Y to move from Z) to the transitive resultative (X causes Y to become Zstate); in terms of sub-constructions this corresponds to the mapping of the ICMs [removing] to [activity_finish] via FORCED MOTION IS CAUSED CHANGE (see compositionality analysis for [removing] extensions).

So far, all findings that relate the frames to the mega-frames are consistent with Sung’s (2023: 493) network. Thus, the figure provided by Sung (2023: 493) has been filled with the mini-constructions relevant for this project. As reflected, the primary domains (MOTION or FORCED MOTION and STATE/CHANGE) identified as participating in the extension analyzed through Tsaroucha’s (2018) methodology have been integrated in Figure 72. The conceptual metaphors connected to them are situated within the LOCATION DUAL of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor system (overall CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION).

(FORCED) MOTION	Super-Constructions: ASCs	STATE/CHANGE
Motion Constructions: - Intransitive Motion - Caused-Motion	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Resultative Constructions: - Intransitive resultative - Transitive resultative
Instance inheritance links		Instance inheritance links
Literal VPCs: - Intransitive literal: [evading, departing, escaping] - Transitive literal [removing]	metaphorical extension inheritance links	Figurative VPCs: - Intransitive figurative: [process_start, avoiding, surviving, reforming_a_system, abandonment, activity_stop] - Transitive figurative: [activity_finish]
Sub-Constructions: Verb-Particle-Constructions		

Figure 72. Integration of senses identified on the mini-constructional level into Sung's (2023) mega-frame network

- ***Transitive Construction***

Having examined the relation between the two-part VPC LUs and their superordinate mega-frame, the thesis will now progress to the three-part VPCs. It is argued that their frames can be associated with the transitive mega-frame.

- (a) Description: Agent acting on an Undergoer (direct object); X acts on Y; (Torres-Martínez 2018: 27-28);
- (b) [NP/Subj] AGENT verb UNDERGOER [NP/Obj]
- (c) List of the LUs that evoke the TRANSITIVE construction: *get off with*. PERSONAL_RELATIONSHIPS (i); *get off with, get away with, make off with, make away with*. THEFT (ii); *get off with, get away with, make off with, make away with*. WIN_PRIZE (iii); *get away with, get off*. AVOIDING (iv); *get away with, get off with*. MISDEED (v); *get away with, get off with*. COMMIT_CRIME (vi); *get away with*.

BUNGLING (vii); *get away with, get off with*. REWARDS_AND_PUNISHMENT (viii); *get away with*. SUCCESS_OR_FAILURE (ix); *make away with, get off with*. CAUSE_TO_END (x); *make away with, make off with (?)*. KILL (xi); *make away with, make off with (?)*. DESTROY (xii);

(d) Annotated example sentences for each LU that evokes this construction:

- i. uktw.co.uk Louise and Manni [AGENT] are eighteen, bestest friends since forever, they're going to live up town, go clubbing and **get off with** boys [UNDERGOER].
- ii. ibtimes.co.uk The previous Ethereum theft saw hackers [AGENT] **make away with** \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency [UNDERGOER] in just three minutes.
- iii. chaos.org.uk Fabe and I [AGENT] **got away with** one trick each [UNDERGOER], Mikkel took three and Margareta took eight: so zero for Fabe and I, twenty for Mikkel and seventy for Margareta.
- iv. labradoodle.org... If he was a child [sic] I would have smacked his backside and no sweets and grounded for a month, why do Doodle [AGENT] **get off with** so much [UNDERGOER] lol.
- v. askwhy.co.uk How do these people [AGENT] **get away with** the pretence that they are psychologists [UNDERGOER]?
- vi. somersetlive.co... Police are trying to find out how the burglars [AGENT] **got away with** the heist [UNDERGOER] [...].
- vii. cas.org.uk Hopefully this will send a message to all banks that they [AGENT] won't get **away with** these sort of errors [UNDERGOER].
- viii. closedpubs.co.u... She [AGENT] **got off with** a warning [UNDERGOER].
- ix. telegraph.co.uk With legs like these, this girl [AGENT] can **get away with** any sort of hemline [UNDERGOER] [...].
- x. qssupplies.co.uk... Heated pads [AGENT] **make away with** dispensation [UNDERGOER] giving you clear imagery at all times, and an IP44 rating assures you it is safe for use in bathrooms.
- xi. briercliffesoci... He [AGENT] intended to **make away with** his own child [UNDERGOER].
- xii. englishmonarchs... One of Georges's [AGENT] first acts as King was to **make away with** his father's will [UNDERGOER] under the nose of the astonished Archbishop of Canterbury.

As reflected, the overall structure and semantics of all the three-part VPC senses/frames can be summarized as an AGENT (NP, subject) acting on an UNDERGOER (NP, object). As previously asserted, the shift in predicate and focus toward the affected entity, i.e., the UNDERGOER and its association with the AGENT, might be connected to the progression from the LOCATION dual to the OBJECT dual of the EVENT STRUCTURE system. Again, the relational role provided by the preposition – in this case always *with* that has become integrated into the predicate – seems to be relevant. As rightly emphasized by Sullivan (2013: 125-126):

[...] a limited range of source domains is available for the metaphoric extension of closed-class items such as prepositions. For example, *on* represents a category of meanings which is characterized by support and contact (or touching). These schemas are therefore available as source domain material for the appropriate metaphors, such as MAINTAINING EXISTENCE IS SUPPORTING (*He relies on his mother*) [...] However, *on* or *in* could never evoke the source domain of, say, THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, because there is nothing about support, contact, or the other properties which will specifically evoke the buildings domain.

Similarly, *with*, and its inclusion into the predicate might also provide source material for the metaphors connected to the three-part VPC LUs (e.g., evoking [theft] or [win_prize]) such as ACTIONS ARE SELF-CONTROLLED ACQUISITIONS AND LOSSES. Its integration might reflect a more specified focus on a notion of acquisition which can, on a mega-frame level, be linked to the semantics of the construction (X acts on Y) and the shift towards two entities – one affecting and affected. In relation to this, the following sections will again apply Tsaroucha's (2018) methodology to analyze how conceptual metaphors interact with this construction and its associated mini-constructions. Again, only one example per core meaning cluster will be considered.

- TAKE cluster (underspecified [getting] frame): [theft]

As highlighted in Table 51 below, the domains linked to the autonomous and dependent entities can be connected to the evocation of metaphors of the OBJECT DUAL, namely more specific instances of CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS. This is consistent with the analysis at the mini-constructural level: as argued by Dalpanagioti (2022: 14) with the addition of the co-theme *with*, an underspecified [getting] frame is triggered through the ACTION FOR RESULT metonymy which thus connects the ICMs [departing], i.e., the MOTION domain, and [theft], i.e., the CHANGES domain (more specifically ACQUISITION for the moving entity and LOSSES for the victim). To illustrate this more clearly Figure 73 depicts the

progression between one mega-frame to another, the link to the mini-constructions associated with it, and lastly the interaction of conceptual mechanisms in relation to this.

Table 51. [theft] mega-frame level analysis

Transitive ASC	
sentence: ibtimes.co.uk The previous Ethereum theft saw hackers [AGENT] make away with \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency in just three minutes [UNDERGOER].	
<i>A/D: Hackers (autonomous), make off with (dependent), \$7m worth of the cryptocurrency (autonomous)</i>	
subject = target domain, verb = source domain, object = target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: POSSESSION/WEALTH
frame specific to project: [departing]	frame specific to project: [theft]
conceptual metaphor(s): ACTION IS CONTROL OVER AN OBJECT (Lakoff et al. 1991: 26) > ACTIONS ARE SELF-CONTROLLED ACQUISITIONS AND LOSSES (Lakoff 2006: 204-206).	

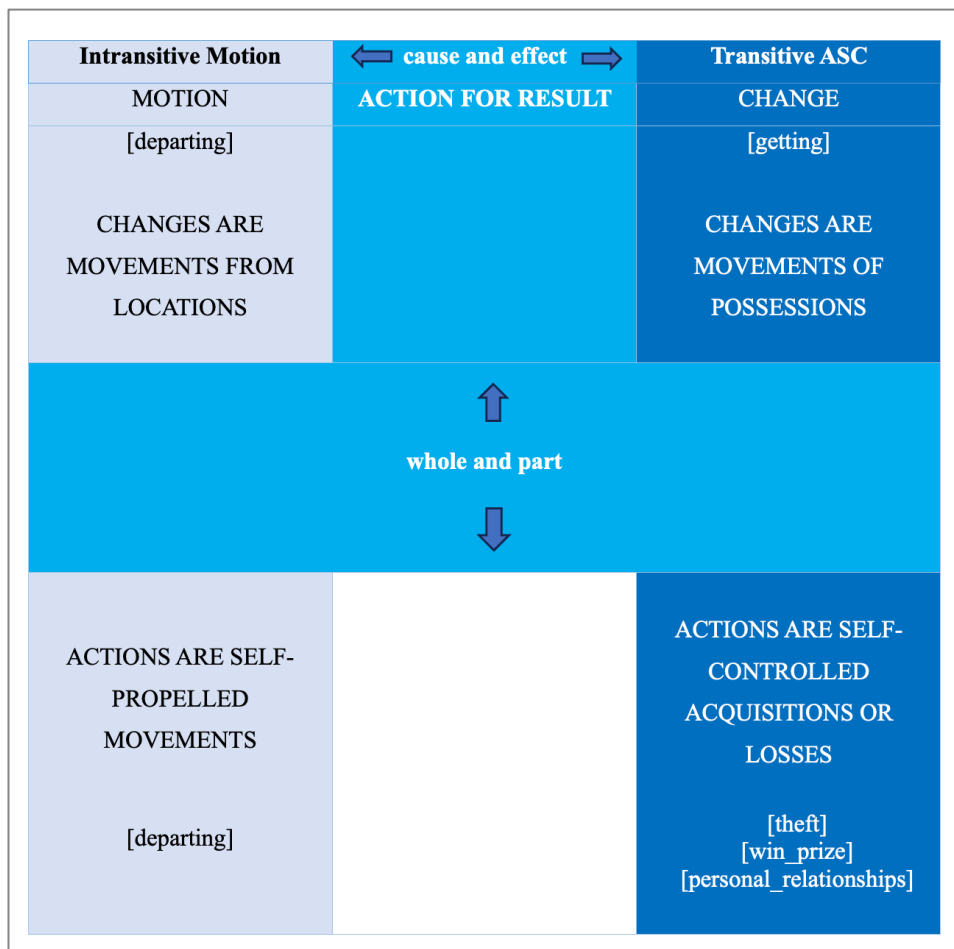


Figure 73. Conceptual metaphors and metonymy in the TAKE cluster extension – mini-and-mega-construction level

- AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE cluster (underspecified [avoiding] frame):
[committing_crime]

Table 52. [committing a crime] mega-frame level analysis

Transitive ASC	
sentence: somersetlive.co... Police are trying to find out how the burglars [AGENT] got away with the heist [UNDERGOER] [...].	
<i>A/D: the burglars</i> (autonomous), <i>got away with</i> (dependent), <i>the heist</i> (autonomous)	
subject = target domain, verb = source domain, object = target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: ACTION (CRIME)
frame specific to project: [evading]	frame specific to project: [committing_crime]
conceptual metaphor(s): ACTIONS ARE SELF-CONTROLLED ACQUISITIONS AND LOSSES (Lakoff 2006: 204-206).	

The same argument as above can be applied. The domains evoked by the autonomous entities (ACTION) and by the dependent ones (MOTION) can be connected to a conceptual metaphor of the object dual, namely ACTIONS ARE SELF-CONTROLLED ACQUISITIONS AND LOSSES that licenses the figurative meaning at the mega-frame level: the agent does interact with an undergoer, i.e., carries out the ACTION successfully. This entails avoiding being captured and thus the acquisition of freedom or the loss of punishment, respectively. At the mini-constructural level this has been connected to the licensing of the [avoiding] frame via ACTION FOR RESULT and the progression from one dual to another. Figure 74 depicts the integration of the mega-frames into the mechanism proposed as underlying the extension from MOTION (intransitive motion or [departing]) toward CHANGE (transitive ASC and AVOIDING SOMETHING NEGATIVE cluster).

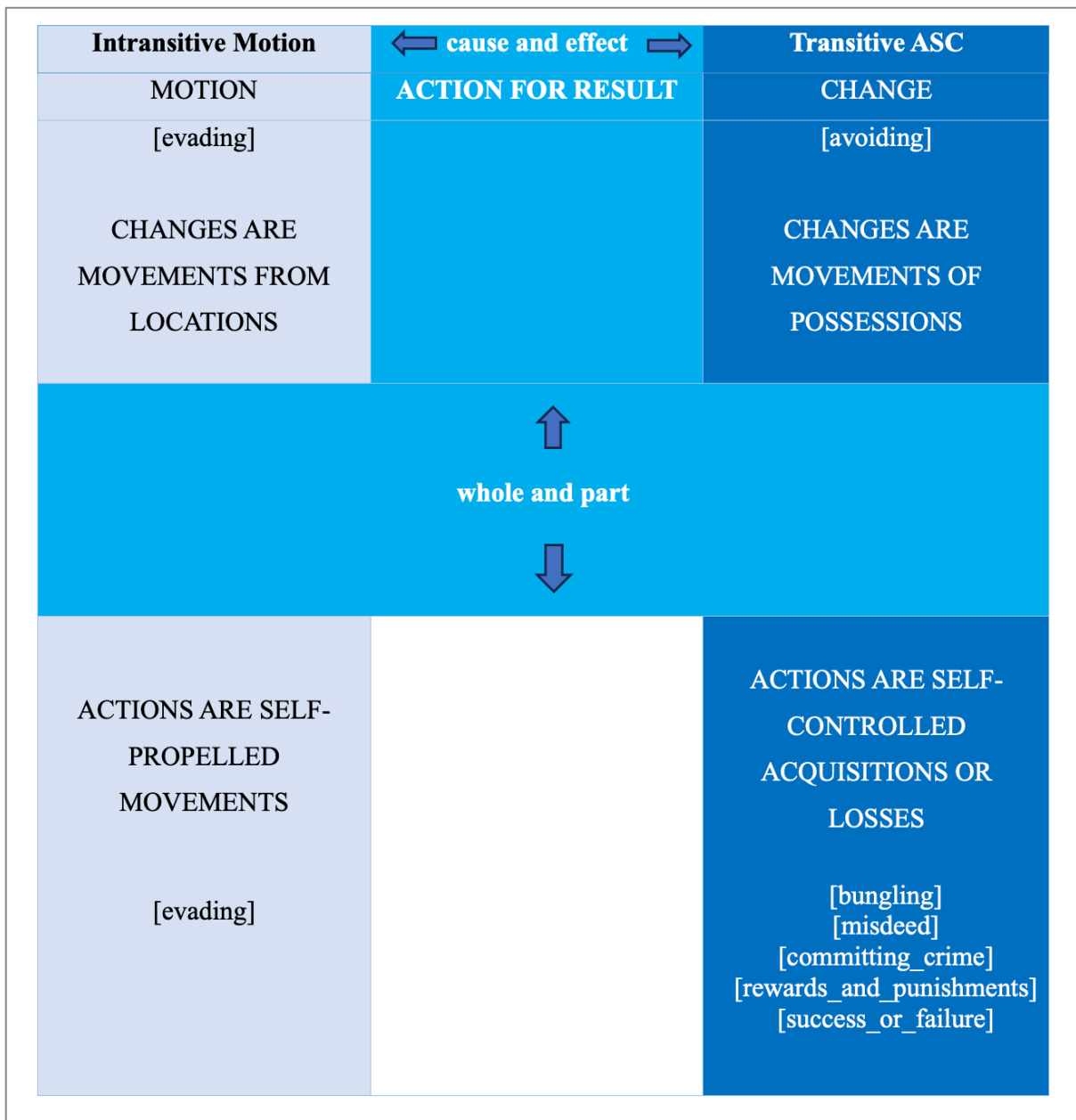


Figure 74. Conceptual metaphors and metonymy in the AVOIDING cluster extension – mini and mega-construction level

- MAKE END cluster: [killing]

Again, an interaction with the OBJECT dual seems to be relevant (see Table 53). The AGENT acting on the UNDERGOER in terms of constructional subevent relates to the conceptual metaphor CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO A LOCATION. As reflected above, this can be linked to the target domain evoked by the affected entity, namely its EXISTENCE which the agent affects via his ACTION (i.e., MOTION) resulting in a loss (of life) and thus the object dual metaphor CAUSATION IS

CONTROL OVER AN OBJECT RELATIVE TO A POSSESSOR. The consistencies with the mini-constructional analysis of this cluster are outlined in Figure 75.

Table 53. [killing] mega-frame level analysis

Transitive ASC	
sentence: briercliffesoci... He [AGENT] intended to make away with his own child [UNDERGOER].	
<i>A/D: He (autonomous), make away with (dependent), his own child (autonomous)</i>	
subject = domain-neutral, verb = source domain, object = target domain	
source domain: MOTION	target domain: EXISTENCE/LIFE
frame specific to project: [removing]	frame specific to project: [killing]
conceptual metaphor(s): CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE IS CONTROL OVER AN ENTITY RELATIVE TO A LOCATION (Lakoff et al. 1991: 20) > CAUSATION IS CONTROL OVER AN OBJECT RELATIVE TO POSSESSOR (Lakoff 2006: 204-206)	

Overall, it could be argued that the constructional subevent of this mega-frame seems to be congruent with the shift of the conceptual metaphor relations at the mega-frame level toward the OBJECT dual. The findings and links between sub-constructions (mini-constructional level and individual senses) and super-constructions (mega-frames) proposed in this last section differ from the relations outlined by Sung (2023: 493) as the figurative VPC senses have been related to the transitive construction rather than the transitive resultative. In line with this, Figure 76 tailors Sung’s (2023) relation network to this difference and additionally integrates the proposed conceptual relations and progressions between duals.

These links between mega-frames outlined above have been mirrored in the dictionary arrangement of the sub-constructions, i.e., individual senses of VPCs tied to mega-frames. The first layer at the top of the database thus corresponds to the cause-motion construction and intransitive motion construction from which intransitive and transitive resultatives extend (2nd layer of circles in the dictionary entry). The last layer of three-part VPC-senses can be tied to the transitive constructions. While not attempted in this project, the mini-constructions could still be united as mega-frames in the entry as well. A possibility would be the use of tags (similar to those for the core meaning signposts) which can be selected to illustrate the mega-frame relations (e.g., TRANSITIVE ASC would leave the entire bottom-row of frames/senses). In this case, the mega frames and relations of form and meaning as well as verbal to constructional subevent would have to be explained, perhaps in a separate instruction circle.

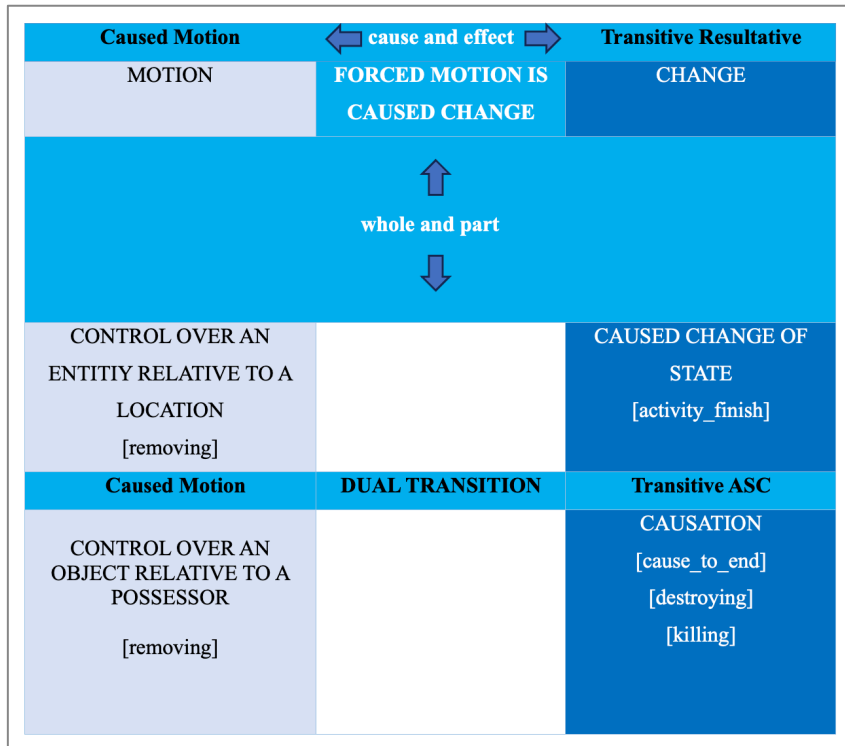


Figure 75. Conceptual metaphors and metonymy in the MAKE END cluster extension – mini and mega-construction level

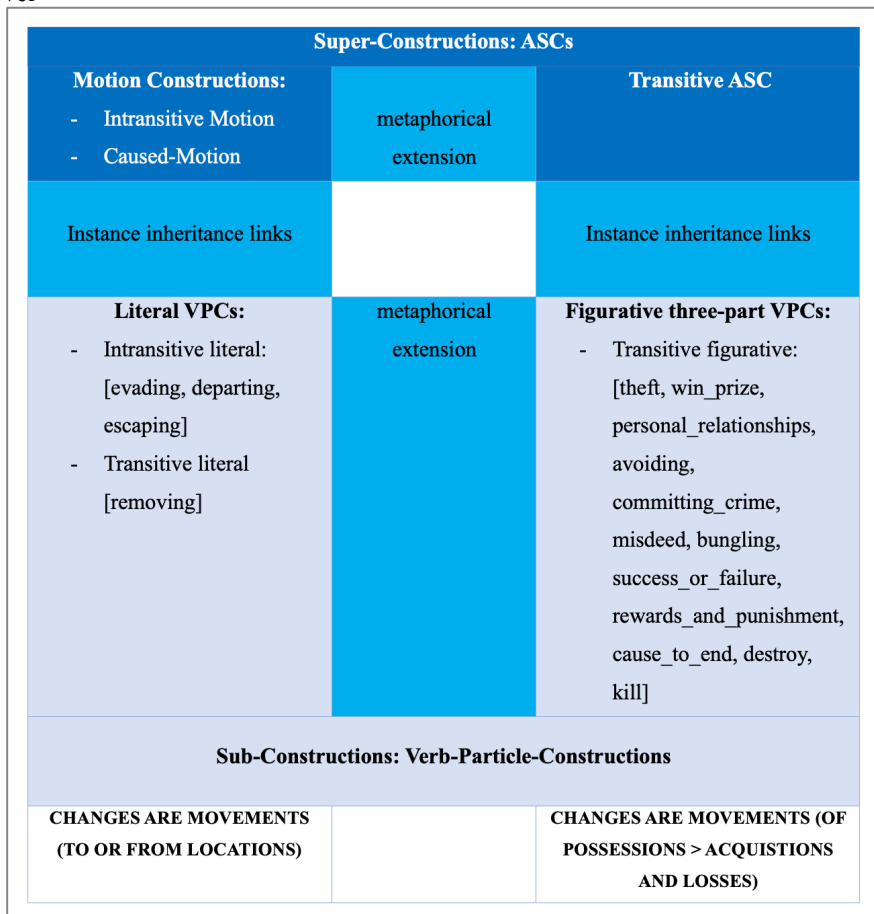


Figure 76. Adaptation of Sung's (2023) network to the three-part VPC sub-constructions

5. Conclusion

In line with scholarly calls to unite cognitive linguistics and lexicography, i.e., what Ostermann (2015) defines as ‘Cognitive Lexicography’, this thesis has aimed to create a pilot frame-based database for the following selected Verb-Particle-Combinations (VPCs): *get away/off + with*, *make away/off + with*, *walk/get away + from*. A study by Dalpanagioti (2022) has served as the primary inspiration and starting point of this project. She not only devised a frame-based dictionary entry for shared meanings of individual motion-based VPCs (*run away/off with* and *walk away/off with*), but also conducted a compositionality analysis considering how individual constituents and the combination of the entire unit with its arguments interact with the progression from literal to figurative meaning. In addition to this, proposals such as the one by Boas (2010) have been put forward to unite the above-mentioned approach treating individual senses as mini-constructions with a Construction Grammar perspective and thus the smaller constructions with superordinate form-meaning pairs. Guided by Dalpanagioti’s (2022) mini-constructural and Boas’s (2010) integration approach, the present thesis has thus examined the compositional nature of VPCs as structures consisting of a verb and particle and interacting with arguments of a clause from two different levels of abstraction. Additionally, it has considered how figurative meanings are licensed by the constituents at these two levels. Dalpanagioti’s (2022, 2018b) combined methodology of Frame Semantics, Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA), and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has been used to examine the VPCs and create a network based on central frames (i.e., physical senses these combinations share) and target frames extending from them. Moreover, Langlotz’s (2006) distinction between ‘isomorphism’ and ‘motivation’ has been approached from a Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar perspective to analyze the syntagmatic correspondences along the paradigmatic axis of semantic extension between source and target frames and the interaction of these ontologies with larger constructional schemata (‘mega frames’ or ASCs) and cognitive mechanisms underlying the extension.

The analysis of the mini-constructural level has identified five central frames and thus shared senses: [escaping], [evading], [departing], [avoiding], and [removing]. Being combinations of verb and particle, these themselves consisted of a source frame ([traversing] and [self_motion]) and target frame (e.g. [evading]). With the integration of the SOURCE frame element (e.g., *away*) associated with the source frame into the target frame evoking two-part predicate (e.g., *get away*), more specific motion meanings, namely the five central frames above occurring in specific valence patterns and serving as a basis for figurative extensions

through cognitive mechanisms are licensed.

In relation to the latter, target frames and thus extensions could be connected to each of the central frames, and this was depicted in the dictionary database by grouping them around their shared source frame. Target frames consisted of two-part or three-part VPCs (e.g., *get away* vs. *get away with*). Importantly, the progression from source-to-target frame could be repeatedly linked to a cause-and-effect role of conceptual metonymies such as ACTION FOR RESULT connecting the MOTION domain (e.g., [departing]) to a CHANGE domain (e.g., [abandonment]). Therefore, the cause-and-effect relation could be tied to the ICMs, i.e., the frames, linked themselves to the domains spanning different levels of abstraction and between which the conceptual mechanism licensing the extension from source to target frames operate. It was further found that these metonymies seem to trigger underspecified frames in line with Dalpanagioti's (2022) findings. Thus, ACTION FOR RESULT was, for example, linked to the progression of MOTION (e.g., [departing] or [escaping]) to a CHANGE domain and an underspecified [cause_to_change] frame. Depending on differing argument fillers then, more specific frames and senses could be distinguished. For example, *walk away + from an obligation* evokes an [abandonment] frame and *walk away + from a fight* a [reforming_a_system] frame. Thus, the relation between the underspecified frame and the more specific instances is one of whole-and-part which was mirrored in the relation between the domains associated with the frames in the process of extension and the conceptual mechanism mapping them. For example, CHANGE IS MOTION at the superordinate level serves as the whole and a more specific metaphor for [abandonment] such as ABANDONING AN OBLIGATION IS MOTION ON A PATH as the part of the relation. The same was found for target frames based on [evading] and an underspecified [avoiding] frame and [departing] and an underspecified [getting] frame, the latter being consistent with Dalpanagioti (2022) findings for the TAKE SOMETHING cluster ([win_prize], [control] and [theft]). These superordinate frames were utilized as signposts in the dictionary and the clustering of frames sharing a core meaning aspect. They consisted of a CHANGE, TAKE and AVOID SOMETHING NEGATIVE, respectively.

Two-part VPC extensions all conceptualized MOTION as CHANGE or in the case of [removing] extensions, FORCED MOTION as CHANGE. These were associated with conceptual mechanisms of the LOCATION DUAL of the EVENT STRUCTURE system in which change is conceptualized as “the motion of the thing-changing to a new location” (Lakoff 2006: 2010) and consistent with Podhorodecka's (2007: 71-72) remarks about the interaction of the Source-Path-Goal schema with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor's LOCATION

DUAL in which (moral) actions are processed as “the human subject [...] mov[ing] over positively or negatively charged areas”. Source and target frame FEs corresponded precisely in terms of isomorphism in these cases (e.g., AGENT/EXT/NP, predicate structure, LOCATION or CHANGE/DEP/PP). Moreover, it was argued that the three-part predicate extension in some target frames might be linked to a shift toward the OBJECT DUAL in the conceptual mechanisms underlying the extension. This dual rather refers to “the motion of an object to, or away from, the thing-changing” (Lakoff 2006: 2010) and was connected to a second moving object (OBJ/NP) taken along *with* the mover (EXT/NP- FE) thus indicating a potential connection with conceptualizations of CHANGES being MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS and ACTIONS being SELF-INITIATED ACQUISITION AND LOSSES. It was proposed that this holds, for example, for three-part VPCs LUs of the TAKE cluster in which a jump from two-part VPC ([departing_how], e.g., *make away + with* an object, DEP/PP) to a three-part VPC ([theft], e.g., *make away with +* an object, OBJ/NP) was observed. The shift in duals could thus be congruent with the focus on ACTOR (EXT/NP) and AFFECTED ENTITY/POSSESSION (OBJ/NP), respectively.

Lastly, the mega-frame constructional level was found to be consistent with Sung’s (2023) proposed relation between larger Construction Grammar constructions (mega-frames) and VPCs as subordinate constructions. According to her proposal (Sung 2023: 349), all identified central frames should be more specific instances of the intransitive motion and the caused-motion construction, while all extended frames should be more specific instances of the transitive and intransitive resultatives. The present study findings were consistent with the first part since all central frames could indeed be associated with the two path-constructions outlined above in which the constructional subevent “consists of the host traversing the path expressed by the RP [the PP or the AP]” (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 540). Moreover, two-part VPCs and their senses were also consistent with the property resultatives proposed by Sung (2023) as superordinate constructions for figurative VPCs. Here, “the constructional subevent consist[ing] in the host coming to have the property expressed by the RP” (Jackendoff & Goldberg 2004: 539). Tsaroucha’s (2018) methodology was applied to the analysis of how figurative meaning is licensed at the mega-frame level and how elements of the construction at this level interact with conceptual metaphors. All metaphors connected to these property resultatives in selected examples from each cluster (e.g., CHANGE linked to underspecified [cause_to_change] frame) were constricted to the domains MOTION or FORCED MOTION and STATE/CHANGE and thus the LOCATION DUAL (overall, CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION). This contrasted with the three-part extensions which deviated

from Sung's (2023) network. In this thesis it was argued that these are sub-constructions of a superordinate transitive mega-frame with an AGENT (NP, subject) acting on an UNDERGOER (NP, object). Here the domains and conceptual mechanisms identified for the clusters (e.g., TAKE and underspecified [getting] frame) rather could be tied to the OBJECT dual. The constructional subevent of this mega-frame seemed to be consistent with an increased attention toward affecting and affected entity. Domains and conceptual metaphors connected to this mega-frame in the analysis thus corresponded to CHANGE progressing from conceptualizations in terms of MOVEMENTS FROM LOCATION to ones of MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS.

While this project has managed to fulfill its aim of conducting a compositionality analysis of VPCs and creating a cognitively-arranged, lexicographic database for these combinations, certain limitations and suggestions for improvement must be acknowledged. One limitation already acknowledged was the limited corpus-query scope of this project. Future studies should consider two-part combinations more in-depth, perhaps by generating a separate word sketch for them to expand the central frame insights. This also relates to the possibility of a lemma to occur in-between VPCs, which is especially relevant for transitive combinations such as *get off* that can exhibit this pattern (*get something off*). A further limitation is the unequal relation of tertiary particles as four VPCs containing *with* and only two containing *from* were analyzed. Moreover, the web-corpus selected for its contemporary basis frequently contained highly-domain specific examples. Thus, the database would benefit from a supplementary analysis of a second larger and representative corpus such as the BNC and, lastly, a broader search incorporating further domains. For example, the findings could be contrasted with the us.domain and an analysis of the COCA to gain insight into the use of VPCs in an American English context. In terms of database, a possible future direction could be the incorporation of (refined and expanded) database entries into an existing linear dictionary structure in the vein of Lu and Wei's (2019) proposing to hyperlink their prototype-sense graph to an online dictionary entry. Additionally, as already mentioned, the mega-frames could be incorporated as macro-entries in the database. In conclusion, future projects might expand on these aspects and the (necessarily) limited scope of the present analysis and thus contribute to increasing practices of 'Cognitive Lexicography' and understanding of multi-word figurative units.

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- **Corpus, FrameNet**

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- **Software**

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Appendix

The summary of the CPA analysis can be accessed via the following link:

https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/1P7sBjYzan3hjZtYHox-v3sEL_8KjVTe3?usp=drive_link

Each folder represents a shared sense identified in the analysis. Documents contained within illustrate the cumulative findings of the analysis for each LU of each VPC.

The entire entry-database can be found here:

<https://embed.kumu.io/2d7c0d6bad953d08262662781227a97c>

Abstract (English)

The present thesis lies at the intersection between lexicography and cognitive linguistics. It has conducted a compositionality analysis of selected verb particle combinations (VPCs) to create a database of shared senses and considered how both individual constituents and the combination of the entire unit with its arguments interact with the progression from literal to figurative meaning. In doing so, it has built on Dalpanagioti's (2022) frame-based network and compositionality analysis of *walk/run away/off with*. The following combinations were examined: *get away/off + with*, *make away/off + with*, *walk/get away + from*. Dalpanagioti's (2022, 2018b) combined methodology of Frame Semantics, Corpus Pattern Analysis (CPA), and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) has served as the primary methodology to analyze senses as mini-constructions and create a network based on central frames (i.e., physical senses these combinations share) and target frames extending from them. In addition, the present thesis has followed Boas's (2010) proposal to unite this mini-constructive level with a Construction Grammar perspective. Lastly, Langlotz's (2006) distinction between 'isomorphism' and 'motivation' has been adapted to analyze the syntagmatic correspondences along the paradigmatic axis of semantic extension between source and target frames and the interaction of these ontologies with larger constructional schemata ('mega frames') and cognitive mechanisms. Overall, five central source frames (physical motion) and eighteen target frames extending from them were found. Two-and-three-part VPCs (e.g., *get away* and *get away with*) differed in relation to the licensing of a schematic underspecified frame and the interaction of conceptual metonymies with conceptual metaphors of different duals of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor system. At the mega-frame level, all identified central frames have been more specific instances of path resultatives (caused-motion or intransitive motion construction) and extended frames of property resultatives (intransitive/transitive resultative constructions). The analysis of selected examples again pointed to a difference between two-and-three-part VPCs. The former were tied to cognitive mechanisms situated within the LOCATION DUAL (overall CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION). In contrast, three-part VPCs and frames/senses connected could be associated with a superordinate transitive frame and linked to the OBJECT dual and conceptualizations of MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS in terms of MOVEMENTS FROM LOCATIONS. The lexicographic application of these findings can be accessed here: <https://embed.kumu.io/2d7c0d6bad953d08262662781227a97c> .

Abstract (German)

Die vorliegende Arbeit liegt an der Schnittstelle zwischen Lexikografie und kognitiver Linguistik. Eine Kompositionalitätsanalyse ausgewählter Verb-Partikel-Kombinationen (VPKs) wurde durchgeführt, um eine Frame-basierte Datenbank gemeinsamer Bedeutungen zu erstellen. Zusätzlich wurde untersucht, wie die einzelnen Bestandteile und die Kombination der gesamten Einheit mit ihren Argumenten mit der Entwicklung von wörtlichem zu figurativem Sinn zusammenhängen. Diese Arbeit baut primär auf Dalpanagiotis (2022) Frame-basierten Wörterbucheintrag sowie ihrer Kompositionalitätsanalyse von *walk/run away/off with* auf. Die folgenden Kombinationen wurden hier untersucht: *get away/off + with*, *make away/off + with*, *walk/get away + from*. Dalpanagiotis (2022, 2018b) Kombination aus Frame Semantik (Frame Semantics), "Corpus Pattern Analysis" und konzeptueller Metapherntheorie (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) diene als zentrale Methodik, um einzelne Bedeutungen als Mini-Konstruktionen zu analysieren und ein Netzwerk basierendes auf zentralen Frames (d.h., physische Bedeutungen, die diese Kombinationen teilen und die als Quellbereich gelten) und davon ausgehenden abstrakteren Zielbereich-Frames zu erstellen. Darüber hinaus folgt die vorliegende Arbeit Boas' (2010) Vorschlag, diese Mini-Konstruktions-Ebene mit einer konstruktionsgrammatischen Perspektive zu verbinden. Langlotz' (2006) Unterscheidung zwischen „Isomorphie“ und „Motivation“ wurde zudem angewendet, um die syntagmatischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen Quell- und Ziel-Frames sowie die Interaktion dieser mit übergeordneten Konstruktionen („Mega-Frames“) und kognitiven Mechanismen zu analysieren. Insgesamt wurden fünf zentrale Quell-Frames (physische Bewegung) identifiziert und systematisch mit 18 Ziel-Frames verknüpft, die sich daraus ableiten. Es wurde ein Unterschied im Verhalten von zwei- und dreiteiligen VPKs (z. B. *get away* und *get away with*) in Bezug auf Verbindung zu einer schematischen Frame und der Interaktion von konzeptuellen Metonymien mit konzeptuellen Metaphern welche innerhalb verschiedener Bereiche der Ereignisstrukturmetapher (EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR system) liegen festgestellt. Auf der Mega-Frame-Ebene waren alle identifizierten zentralen Frames spezifischere Instanzen der „Caused-Motion“-Konstruktion oder der intransitiven-Bewegungs-Konstruktion und abstrakte Frames der intransitiven/transitiven Resultativkonstruktion. Auch hier deutete die Analyse ausgewählter Beispiele auf der Mega-Frame-Ebene auf einen Unterschied zwischen zwei- und dreiteiligen VPKs hin. Im Fall von zweiteiligen VPKs wurden Veränderungen von Gemütszuständen (CHANGE OF STATE) als Bewegung (CHANGE OF

LOCATION) konzeptualisiert. Im Gegensatz dazu waren dreiteilige VPKs und die damit verbundenen Frames/Bedeutungen eher an eine übergeordnete transitive Konstruktion und Konzeptualisierungen von Besitzerwerb (MOVEMENTS OF POSSESSIONS) als Bewegung (MOVEMENTS FROM LOCATIONS) gebunden. Das Ergebnis dieser Analyse, d. h. die lexikografische Anwendung ist über den folgenden Link zugänglich: <https://embed.kumu.io/2d7c0d6bad953d08262662781227a97c>.