Univerzita Karlova

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav obecné lingvistiky

Diplomová práce

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On Productivity of the CAUSED-MOTION Construction in Present-day English

Produktivita konstrukce CAUSED-MOTION v současné angličtině

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Ráda bych poděkovala doc. PhDr. Markétě Malé, Ph.D. za její vstřícnost, ochotu, cenné rady a podporu při psaní práce ze zahraničí.

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V Praze dne 21. 05. 2020

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Abstrakt
Cílem diplomové práce je definovat produktivitu anglické konstrukce *caused-motion* a popsat, jaká syntaktická a sémantická omezení ji nejvíce ovlivňují. Přestože se v práci částečně věnujeme možnostem užívání argumentů konstrukce, hlavním centrem pozornosti jsou slovesa, která se mohou v konstrukci objevit. Tato slovesa mohou pocházet z různých sémantických tříd díky polysémnosti konstrukce a procesu *coercion*, který umožňuje konstrukcím změnit význam a valenční strukturu sloves, aby odpovídala jejich funkcím. Hlavními omezeními produktivity konstrukcí, která byla popsána v pracích Goldberg (1995), Suttle & Goldberg (2011) a Robenalt & Goldberg (2015), jsou princip sémantické koherence (*the semantic coherence principle*), princip korespondence mezi argumenty konstrukce a rolemi slovesa (*the correspondence principle*), podobnost slovesům, která se v konstrukci tradičně objevují (*similarity*), sémantické pokrytí konstrukce (*coverage*), ustálenost slovesa v konstrukci (*statistical pre-emption*) a ustálenost a distribuce slovesa v jiných konstrukcích (*conservatism via entrenchment*). Tato omezení byla společně se sémantickými omezeními danými významem konstrukce předpokládanými faktory, které ovlivňují možnosti produktivního užívání sloves v konstrukci. Analyzované příklady konstrukce pochází z mluveného korpusu Spoken BNC2014 (Love et al., 2017), který lze považovat za reprezentativní vyobrazení současné mluvené britské angličtiny. Frekvence přítomnosti sloves v konstrukci a jejich celková frekvence v korpusu sloužily jako zdrojová data pro kolexémovou analýzu (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003). Ta určila, která slovesa jsou silně přitahována ke konstrukci, která jsou k ní přitahována pouze částečně a která jsou konstrukcí odpuzována. Tyto typy sloves byly následně roztříděny do sémantických tříd na základě klasifikace sloves podle Levin (1993) v databázi VerbNet (Kipper-Schuler, 2005). Mimo jiné jsme rozlišili mezi slovesy, jejichž valenční struktura odpovídá konstrukci *caused-motion*, a slovesy, která jsou nově vytvořená, nebo která jsou produktivně užita díky procesu *coercion*. Analýzou možností výskytu těchto druhů sloves jsme získali představu o stavu produktivity konstrukce a také zjistili, která sémantická a syntaktická omezení mají na produktivní užívání sloves v konstrukci největší vliv. Doufáme, že tato analýza na základě korpusových dat může sloužit jako teoretický základ pro experimentální výzkum produktivity konstrukce *caused-motion* a produktivity konstrukcí obecně.

Klíčová slova:
konstrukce způsobeného pohybu, konstrukce „caused-motion“, konstrukční gramatika, produktivita, kolostrukční analýza, kolexémová analýza, korpusová lingvistika, VerbNet

Abstract

The purpose of this master's thesis is to define the productivity of the caused-motion construction and describe what syntactic and semantic constraints limit it. While some consideration is given to the possibilities of using the construction's arguments, the principal focus is on the study of the main verbs that occur in the construction. The verbs can come from a variety of different semantic classes because of the construction's polysemous character and the *coercion* process, which allows constructions to change verbs' meaning and valency structure. The major constraints on the productivity of constructions that were discussed in Goldberg (1995), Suttle & Goldberg (2011) and Robenalt & Goldberg (2015) are *the semantic coherence principle*, *the correspondence principle*, similarity to attested verb classes, *coverage*, *statistical pre-emption* and *conservatism via entrenchment*. These, together with the semantic constraints imposed by the caused-motion construction's meaning, were the expected restrictions on the productive use of verbs in the construction. The analysed examples of the caused-motion construction come from the Spoken BNC2014 (Love et al., 2017) which can be considered representative of present-day spoken British English. The construction and corpus token frequencies of the main verbs occurring in the examples served as source data for the collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003) which was used to calculate what verbs are strongly attracted to the construction, what verbs are only slightly attracted to the construction and what verbs are repelled by the construction. These types of verbs were sorted into semantic verb classes using Levin's (1993) classification in VerbNet (Kipper-Schuler, 2005). In addition, we distinguished whether the valency structure of the verb classes is compatible with the argument structure of the caused-motion construction or whether they are coerced or novel verbs. By analysing the possibilities of the occurrence of these types of verbs in the construction, we were able to ascertain the state of the productivity of the caused-motion construction and the syntactic and semantic constraints that restrict the productive use of verbs within it. We hope that that this analysis based on corpus data can serve as a theoretical background for experimental studies of the productivity of the caused-motion construction and the productivity of constructions in general.

Key words:

caused-motion construction, construction grammar, productivity, collostructional analysis, collexeme analysis, corpus linguistics, VerbNet

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1. Introduction

This thesis will explore the productivity of the caused-motion construction and define its most important productivity constraints. A special attention will be given to the types of main verbs that can occur in the construction, as the construction's arguments are not expected to show a great deal of variation. The caused-motion construction is polysemous, partially productive and can increase a verb's valency thanks to the process of *coercion*. As a result, a wide range of different verb classes can be found within it. To find the limits of the productive use of verbs in the construction, we will employ the collexeme analysis, one of the methods of the collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003). This analysis will provide us with a list of typical verbs strongly attracted to the construction, original uses of verbs that are slightly attracted to the construction and atypical uses of verbs that are repelled by the construction. These verbs will be grouped into verb classes based on Levin's (1993) classification in VerbNet (Kipper-Schuler, 2005) and identified as either coerced verbs, novel verbs or non-coerced verbs that share syntactic behaviour with the construction. By analysing the distribution of these types of verbs, we should be able to describe the level of the productivity of the caused-motion construction and define its constraints.

The theoretical section will introduce constructions, the basic features of the Construction Grammar theory and some well-known productivity constraints that were recognized as limits of coercing verbs into constructions, e.g. *the semantic coherence principle* or *statistical pre-emption*. The second half of this section will define and describe the caused-motion construction and demonstrate which semantic constraints affect its productivity in particular. Based on this information, we should be able to roughly estimate what types of verb classes can be expected to occur in the construction and what productivity constraints might affect their use.

In the Data section we will describe what type of data was used as a source for our analysis. The chapter on Method will introduce all steps that led to the analysis of our data. First, we will explain how we constructed the complex search query to find most of the examples of the caused-motion construction in the corpus with sufficient precision and recall. Then we will show how we filtered our search results and processed it for the collexeme analysis. Finally, we will describe the collexeme analysis method itself and illustrate how we classified the resulting list of verbs into verb classes using Levin (1993) and VerbNet.

The fourth section, the Analysis, will discuss the results of the collexeme analysis. In the first part we will list and describe the most prototypical verb classes that were strongly attracted to the construction. In the second part we will include those verb classes that were only partially attracted to the construction and could be considered original and novel uses of the construction produced by the speaker. In the third part we will cover those verbs that were repelled by the construction. Within each of these three parts, all verbs will be identified as novel verbs, coerced verbs or non-coerced verbs that are typically viewed as caused-motion verbs because of their valency structure and meaning.

The results of the analysis will be finalised in the Conclusion. We will identify the state of the productivity of the caused-motion construction and infer what productivity constraints play the biggest role in determining what types of verbs can be used within the construction.

The Appendix will include the full list of the examples of the caused-motion construction that served as the source of data for our analysis. In addition, there will be a table with the complete list of the verbs that occurred in the construction with the information on their construction and corpus frequency and their collostructional strength.

2. Theoretical background

2. 1 Definition of a construction

The term *construction* has been used with many meanings and purposes in linguistics. We can use the term to talk about an idiom (Hilpert, 2014a), a fixed phrase (Cowie, 1998), an argument structure (Goldberg, 1995) or just very generally about any language structure (Biber & Finegan, 1994). When we discuss constructions in the following sections of the thesis, we use the term only within the boundaries of the Construction Grammar (CxG)[1], as "form-meaning correspondences [that] themselves carry meaning, independently of the words in the sentence" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 1). Also, these "constructions are first and foremost something cognitive […] a generalisation that speakers make across a number of encounters with linguistic forms" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 9). They are units of language that are created over time as abstract schemas of the stored concrete instances of real language. This description of constructions covers two of their basic features: the form-meaning aspect and their cognitive character. Nonetheless, to be very exact, we will also provide the most cited full definition of constructions as it was written by Goldberg (1995, p. 4), "one of the central developers of Construction Grammar as a theory of linguistic knowledge" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 2):

> C is a CONSTRUCTION iff_{def} C is a form-meaning pair $< F_i, S_i >$ such that some aspect of F_i or some aspect of S_i is not strictly predictable from C's component parts or from other previously established constructions.

The most important and most exciting features of constructions highlighted in the definition is their non-compositionality and non-predictability. Neither the meaning, nor the form can be constructed from the individual constituents of the construction. In contrast to other predictable patterns, we cannot use the principle of compositionality to interpret constructions such as *going great guns* (Goldberg, 2006, p. 5) or *all of a sudden* (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 10). The meaning of the former and the form of the latter must be learned by the speaker as a whole. This feature is central to constructions but it is not unique in language. Goldberg (1995) compares it to another well-known, non-predictable form that carries its own meaning and that CxG considers the simplest construction, the morpheme. This basic unit of language cannot be broken down to smaller chunks of meaning or form either and is remembered and used as a single indivisible item.

It is quite understandable that morphemes, words or idioms should be considered constructions and fixed form-meaning pairs. However, the claim of CxG, which might make it controversial in comparison to the syntax-based linguistic theories such as Generative Grammar (Chomsky,

[1] Construction Grammar will be referred to as CxG from this point onward.

1957), is that basic argument structures (e.g. the ditransitive construction) are also learned constructions (Goldberg, 1995; Goldberg, 2006; Hilpert, 2014a). Even these patterns are generalisations over particular instances of language and "are associated with semantic structures which reflect scenes basic to human experience" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 5). In addition, Goldberg's later work on CxG removes the condition of non-predictability of constructions and includes even predictable patterns that "occur with sufficient frequency" (2006, p. 5). Such patterns have predictable form and meaning but are still considered constructions because of their frequent use in particular situations with a fixed communicative function. Hilpert provides examples such as *Take a seat!* (2014a, p. 13), which is a conventional way of asking someone to sit down. This phrase is completely transparent and could be deconstructed to individual elements of form and meaning but its unique communicative function makes it impossible to replace it with a paraphrase like *Choose a chair and sit on it!* The unacceptability of this sentence serves as evidence that such frequent conventional ways of expressing certain communicative functions must be also constructions that are stored in the speaker's memory.

We have sufficiently demonstrated the non-compositionality and uniqueness of the meaning of constructions but we have yet to introduce a process that is crucial for the existence of this phenomenon. This process is called *coercion* and causes "a construction [to coerce] the meaning of a word so that the word is construed to be compatible with the construction's function" (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1237). What this means is that "constructions may override word meanings, creating non-compositional constructional meanings in the process" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 17). Although this can relate to any word that is part of the construction, e.g. a noun in *There was cat all over the road.* (ibid, p. 15), most frequently it is a verb's meaning and valency that is coerced to be compatible with a construction. When looking at language data in corpora, we can find numerous "cases in which requirements of the construction are in conflict with the requirements of the main verb" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 14). One of the often quoted examples is the sentence *She sneezed the foam off the cappuccino.* (Goldberg, 2006, p. 42). Although a dictionary would tell us that *sneeze* is an intransitive verb (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2019), we can see it used with three arguments to accommodate to the needs of the construction. Moreover, it gains a new meaning of caused motion which would not be initially associated with the verb. These *coercion effects*, as Hilpert calls them (2014a, p. 17), explain the idiosyncratic use of the verb and serve as evidence of the construction's individual meaning. If the meaning was not associated with the construction, each such use of a verb would require a specific meaning and a valency pattern to be added to

its dictionary entry. According to Goldberg (1995), this is not a viable approach towards language description in comparison to the one adopted by CxG.

2. 2 Construction Grammar

CxG as a theory of language evolved out of Case Grammar, especially out of the works of Charles Fillmore on Frame Semantics (Fried & Östman, 2004). We will not cover all aspects of the theory here but let us mention the most significant ones that are relevant for the approach to constructions adopted in this thesis. The principal tenet of CxG that differentiates it from other language theories is its definition of language knowledge as the knowledge of constructions (Hilpert, 2014a; Goldberg, 1995). There are no additional principles or transformation rules that the speaker would be born with or would have to learn. Language knowledge only consists of constructions, "the basic units of language" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 6), stored in the *constructicon* (ibid, p. 5). Unlike in other language theories, this lexicon-like structure and the main storage of language knowledge is not separated from the traditional "grammar" but it constitutes its centre. Since each construction bears its own unique meaning, semantics is crucial for the CxG theory. Yet, Goldberg stresses the fact that the constructicon should not be viewed as a simple list of unrelated constructions but as "a highly structured lattice of interrelated information" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 5). Inside it constructions are related by different relations such as inheritance links, they conform to the prototype structure (ibid) and together form "a large network of form-meaning pairs" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 50). Also, the constructicon constitutes of different levels of abstraction, from the very concrete stored instances of language use to abstract generalisations representing basic syntactic relations.[2] By categorizing exemplars of language into different construction clusters, semantic, pragmatic and phonological constraints of each category come to the surface and are equally stored (Goldberg, 2016, p. 373). As a result, there is no need for CxG to separate syntax from lexicon because both can be expressed in the constructicon using the form-meaning pairs.

Since the constructicon represents all kinds of constructions, Fried and Östman conclude that "no (one type of) linguistic unit or grammatical pattern can be given a central (or relatively more important) status in grammar" (2004, p. 12). They all contribute to the description of language. This means that novel expressions or "non-core cases" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 6) such as idioms, which other models of language would list in an appendix to a grammar as borderline cases or exceptions, are considered as important as other traditionally "core" structures in CxG.

[2] Hilpert provides certain arguments against this view showing examples of meaningless structures that have not yet been satisfactorily accounted for by CxG (2014a, p. 57).

Hilpert (2014a) explains the interest in these structures using a random example from the BNC showing that "ordinary language is fully permeated by a large number of idiomatic expressions whose forms and meanings are not entirely predictable" (p. 4). For CxG it is exactly the "ordinary language" that is its main focus because as a *usage-based* grammar, it is interested in the actual language use and strives to describe its character, the frequencies of certain expressions and the conditions that allow or disallow certain expressions to be produced. As stated by Fried and Östman, this type of grammar "bases its generalizations on actually occurring data" (2004, p. 24). The reason for preferring the approach of studying corpus data and not discussing possible innate language structures is that CxG believes that "the cognitive representation of language emerges through, and is shaped by, language use" (Perek, 2015, p. 6). This is clear when we look at the structure of the constructicon mentioned in the previous paragraph which includes not only abstract generalisations but also stored instances of actual language experience. Accordingly, the constructicon is shaped differently for each speaker based on their individual language use. Along the same lines, we can understand CxG's interest in Langacker's *construals* (1987) which are a crucial concept behind the representation of the basic event types by the argument structure constructions, e.g. the ditransitive or the caused-motion constructions (Goldberg, 1995). All this information about the character of language in its everyday use aids CxG explain some of the principal features of constructions, such as their partial productivity.

2. 3 Partial productivity of constructions

We saw in the first subsection that coercion is an important process that allows constructions to adjust the meaning of words to be compatible with their functions and causes familiar words to be used in a new manner, e.g. *She'd smiled herself an upgrade.* (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1238), *three games ago* (ibid, p. 1240) or novel words to be used productively in constructions, e.g. *Bob elbowed his way through the crowd.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 6). This behaviour seems natural for native speakers and the fact that "speakers extend constructional patterns for use with novel verbs" was proven in numerous experimental studies (Goldberg, 1995, p. 120). In such cases speakers just apply the generalised schema in a new way even though it differs from the conventional instances of language stored in their memory. However, this creative production is not unlimited. There are numerous constraints on the constructions' use that result in their being only partially productive and "extended for use with a limited range of items" (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1238). Fascinatingly, this knowledge of the limits to a construction's productivity seems to come naturally to language speakers and without any

direct *negative evidence*[3], both adult speakers and children avoid overgeneralisation or quickly unlearn unacceptable constructions, such as **Joe donated the earthquake relief fund $5.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 121). Although this sentence appears as a possible paraphrase to *Joe gave the earthquake relief fund $5.*, all native speakers know that the first sentence is not acceptable in English. Despite their obvious semantic similarities and the same verb class of origin, *donate* cannot substitute *give* in this particular ditransitive construction. Speakers know this and this inherent knowledge has been the focus of numerous studies trying to determine how the unacceptability of similar constructions is identified and what the actual constraints on the productivity of these constructions are (Goldberg, 1995; Goldberg, 2006; Suttle & Goldberg, 2011; Robenalt & Goldberg, 2015; Barðdal, 2006). The most important of their findings will be summarized in the following subsections. We will primarily concentrate on the constraints in relation to the main verb because verbs are at the centre of our study of the partial productivity of the caused-motion construction.

2. 3. 1 Semantic coherence and argument correspondence

The basic restraint on coercion and productivity in general is the necessary semantic coherence between the coerced verb and the construction. This means that "the [construction] coinage must be semantically sensical" (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1239) but also that the verb must fit the semantic constraints of the construction. The second criterion is considered particularly important and was already mentioned by Goldberg (1995) in her description of constructions and their interactions with verbs. As she explains, "[c]onstructions must specify in which ways verbs will combine with them" (1995, p. 49). Coercion thus does not seem to work randomly with any type of verbs but works only with those verbs that can be made compatible with the meaning of the construction. The possibility of compatibility between the verb and the construction is given by the compatibility between the verb's *participant roles* and the construction's *argument roles*[4]. Only if they semantically correspond to one another and share the same semantic constraints, they may be semantically *fused* under what Goldberg calls *the semantic coherence principle* (1995). This can be demonstrated using the ditransitive construction example *Joe kicked Bill the ball.* (ibid, p. 54) where the participant role of the verb *kicker* semantically corresponds with the construction's argument role of agent and hence allows fusion of both items. Another type of constraint related to this principle might be that a

[3] Being corrected or miscomprehended by another speaker (Goldberg, 1995, p. 121).
[4] Goldberg (1995, p. 43) defines participant roles as those associated with the verb's frame in Fillmore's terms (1976), which are very specific to the verb's frame semantics. They are participants of the verb's action, e.g. *player*, *painter*. Argument roles are associated with the construction, e.g. agent, patient.

certain constituent member must be animate or of definite reference, etc. (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 19).

The second important step of the coercion process is constrained under *the correspondence principle* (Goldberg, 1995). Not only must the roles correspond semantically but also each lexically profiled participant role of the verb must be fused with a profiled argument role of the construction[5] (ibid, p. 50). While Goldberg describes profiled participant roles of the verb as those that are salient in the verb's semantic frame and are obligatorily brought into perspective in construal, profiled argument roles are expressed as direct grammatical relations such as the subject or the object (1995, pp. 44-48). Thanks to this principle, both of these important roles are successfully expressed in the produced semantically sensical construction.

2. 3. 2 Statistical pre-emption and conservatism via entrenchment

The previous subsection covered some of the basic constraints underlying the production of understandable and sensical constructions. Nevertheless, we can find examples of sentences containing a verb that seems semantically compatible with the construction and its argument roles but the sentence as a whole is still unacceptable, e.g. **The magician disappeared the bird.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 123). A child might expect this sentence to occur but as they will instead keep hearing its alternative, such as *The magician made the bird disappear.*, they will gradually learn that the former must be overgeneralisation of the ditransitive construction and should be avoided. Such cases where "the discourse context matches a certain form but the speaker nevertheless uses a less felicitous form" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 124) are examples of so called *statistical pre-emption.* Thanks to this type of indirect negative evidence, speakers make an implicit inference that the form must be unavailable or inappropriate and should be avoided or unlearned (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1240). This blocking of one construction while consistently preferring its alternative is a process fairly familiar from morphology where it controls overgeneralisation of productive patterns, such as the *–ed* suffix, onto already established irregular structures, e.g. *went*. Although these two examples of statistical pre-emption are not completely comparable because unlike in morphology, "distinct phrasal constructions are virtually never semantically and pragmatically identical" (Goldberg, 2016, p. 378), Robenalt and Goldberg show that the process is equally relevant for syntactic structures thanks to the statistically high frequency of occurrences where the speaker's expectations are

[5] The only exception being verbs with three profiled participant roles, where one of them can be fused with a non-profiled argument role of a construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 50).

unfulfilled (2015, p. 4). This statistical consistency is crucial for the process to work (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011).

Another process that is tightly connected to statistical pre-emption and places one more constraint on the acceptability of produced constructions is *conservatism via entrenchment.* The impact of this process is not as strong as that of statistical pre-emption (Robenalt & Goldberg, 2015; Goldberg, 2016). Its main claim is that a verb with high *token frequency* in a particular construction is less acceptable to be used in a new manner in other constructions than a verb with lower token frequency (Robenalt & Goldberg, 2015, p. 2). The high number of encounters of the same verb within the same construction leads the speaker to entrench the verb together with the construction and any novel use of the verb inside another construction then appears unnatural and unacceptable. Instead of using the well-known verb in an unfamiliar construction, the speaker will opt for another, less frequent verb. Lower frequency verbs thus seem to be more acceptable in novel expressions than verbs with higher frequency. However, experiments have shown that this holds only if there is a competing alternative to the novel expression (Robenalt & Goldberg, 2015; Goldberg, 2016). For example, the lower frequency verb in *she vanished a rabbit* is more acceptable than *she disappeared a rabbit* because there is an existing alternative *she made the rabbit disappear,* which is stored in the constructicon and blocks the usage of *disappear* (Robenalt & Goldberg, 2015, p. 24). If the expression has no entrenched alternative that could pre-empt the usage of the high-frequency verb, the token frequency of the verb plays no role and even verbs with high frequency can be used in novel ways (ibid). This thus shows the importance of statistical pre-emption over the speaker's conservatism. Overall, we can say that speakers tend to conservatively stick to the forms they had heard before (Goldberg, 2006, p. 56) whether it means that they prefer a conventional form or it is the conventional form that pre-empts usage of the verb associated with it. As we can see, the processes of conservatism via entrenchment and statistical pre-emption go hand in hand and influence each other.

2. 3. 3 Verb classes and similarity

We have established certain factors that have major impact on the productivity of constructions but there are still cases that need to be accounted for if some of the conditions do not hold and some of the mentioned processes cannot be employed to prevent overgeneralisation. For example, when using a completely new verb in a construction, the speaker has no information on its token frequency and conservatism via entrenchment cannot take place. Also, if the resulting construction does not have any apparent conventional alternative, there would be no

occurrence of statistical pre-emption. Goldberg's (1995) proposed solution how to produce acceptable constructions in such cases is primarily inspired by Pinker (1989)[6]. In his argument against indirect negative evidence, he proposes 9 distinct semantic verb classes that are compatible with the ditransitive construction and could be established for other constructions as well (Goldberg, 1995, p. 126). These are for example verbs of communicated message (*tell, ask, write)*, verbs of creation (*bake, sew, make)*, etc. His proposition is, however, not presented as something completely new by Goldberg. She already adopted a similar stance in her introduction to conditions of construction acceptability where she states that "[c]onstructions must specify in which ways verbs will combine with them; they need to be able to constrain the class of verbs that can be integrated with them" (1995, p. 49).

What distinguishes Goldberg's approach (1995) from Pinker's (1989) is that she introduces the list of verbs acceptable by each construction like any other construction in the constructicon, as a generalisation acquired over time from instances of language use. We mentioned in the beginning of this chapter that the constructicon is not a list of constructions but a network that includes information about different relations among constructions and equally contains information about the constructions themselves and "about how linguistic units combine with others" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 22). As Goldberg (1995) explains, each verb occurring in a given construction would be stored and categorised to a cluster based on its semantic similarity to other verbs within the cluster. The clusters are the distinct semantic verb classes associated with a particular construction. This process of *dynamic categorization* (Goldberg, 2016) may seem very abstract but it is supported by a simple fact that "verbs which are used in particular argument structures do often fall into similarity clusters" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 127). This argument, however, brings about the question of the conditions of this similarity and how to determine whether the verb is sufficiently similar to other verbs of the cluster to be stored within the same verb class. There are different possibilities of calculating the similarity but Suttle and Goldberg (2011) propose that *maximum similarity* is the most suitable one. The comparison is here performed between the coinage and only one instance within the cluster with which the coinage is most similar (2011, p. 1243). If a new verb is semantically similar to this instance, the speaker may be confident to extend the construction to include this verb as well. Actually, Suttle and Goldberg claim that similarity is the most relevant factor in

[6] In addition to Pinker's arguments (1989), Goldberg (1995) mentions the work of Gropen et al. (1989) that proposes further constrains on the constructions' productivity based on the morphological features of verbs. This is demonstrated using the ditransitive construction and certain disallowed morphemes such as *per-* or *con-*.

determining the acceptability of novel expressions (ibid). Their own experiment proved significant effects of similarity and its interaction with variability and type frequency that will be discussed in the following subsection.

2. 3. 4 Coverage: type frequency and variability

Apart from token frequency, *type frequency* has also been consistently mentioned as one of the major factors influencing the productivity of constructions (Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Suttle & Goldberg, 2011; Barðdal, 2006). It refers to the number of distinct main verbs witnessed in a particular construction (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1242). The more verbs are attested to occur in a given construction, the more likely will the construction be extended to include newly created verbs and become more productive. Goldberg's (1995) explanation of this phenomenon is that a construction with fewer attested members (lower type frequency) offers less options of possibly semantically similar instances for the new verb to be compared with (p. 136). If there are numerous members inside the verb class, it will be easier for the coinage to find a semantically similar item and be accepted by the construction. Just like statistical pre-emption, type frequency is a concept already familiar from morphology (Suttle & Goldberg, 2011, p. 1242) and can be demonstrated using the same example of the productive past-tense verbal suffix *–ed.* We can see that this suffix has a very high type frequency because it appears with many different verbs and is consequently very productive. All new verbs are automatically used with the *–ed* suffix in the past simple tense.

Another factor that is very closely related to type frequency is *variability*. This factor is basically the opposite of the condition of similarity and as we will explain, the two interact in a particular manner. To define it simply, variability indicates the semantic range of different verbs that occur within a construction. This should not be confused with type frequency, which counts the number of different verbs; variability studies the semantic difference among them. According to Suttle and Goldberg (2011), high variability indicates higher productivity because "constructions that have been heard with a wide range of verbs are more likely to be extended than [those] with a semantically or phonologically circumscribed set of verbs" (pp. 1242-1243). If a construction is known as a very open one within which a large number of semantically different verbs may occur, it can quite understandably be considered as likely to be compatible with novel verbs as well. Although variability is distinct from type frequency, the two often correlate since a larger number of possible types of verbs (type frequency) logically indicates larger variability (ibid, p. 1243). Similarity, on the other hand, seems to go against this condition. If we have a large degree of variability of attested instances, we can imagine that

those instances might be less likely to be similar to the new verb. Suttle and Goldberg (2011) deal with this issue and show that an extreme of one of the two factors, usually cancels the existence of the other. For instance, high similarity of a newly created verb to a member of the attested verb class would be disrupted if the members of the class were very varied. On the other hand, low variability within the class supports the possibility of higher similarity (ibid, p. 1253).

These complex relations between similarity, variability and also type frequency can be interpreted by *coverage* which is another productivity factor defined by Suttle and Goldberg (2011) as "the degree to which the attested instances 'cover' the category determined jointly by attested instances together with the target coinage" (p. 1254). This seemingly complicated definition means that higher coverage and thus also the acceptability of a novel expression is attained if a coinage fits into the cluster of attested verbs in such a way that the resulting cluster inclusive of the coinage is even more representative of the category then it had been before. Using the examples provided by Suttle and Goldberg (2011, p. 1254), we can see that adding *rabbits* into a category of *lions, giraffes, snakes* would result in higher coverage and acceptability than if *rabbit* was added to a low-variability and lower type-frequency category of *lions, tigers.* This effect applies to similarity as well. If a new item, e.g. *wolves*, was added to a category of similar instances (e.g. *flies, moths, bees*) the category would be disrupted and resulted in less likely acceptability and lower coverage (ibid). The interaction of these three factors expressed by coverage indicates that the speaker stores this information and uses it to form semantic, pragmatic, and phonological constraints on the acceptability of novel sentences (Goldberg, 2016, p. 377). Together with the previously mentioned conditions of conservatism via entrenchment and statistical pre-emption, partial productivity becomes a very complex and multifaceted issue.

2. 4 The caused-motion construction

The caused-motion construction belongs to the basic argument structure constructions listed by Goldberg (1995) alongside with the intransitive construction, the conative construction and others. Hilpert categorizes it as a "valency-increasing constructio[n]" (2014a, p. 31) because like for example the resultative construction, it can increase the valency of the coerced verb and transform an intransitive verb such as *sneeze* into a three-argument verb, e.g. *He sneezed his tooth right across town.* (Goldberg, 2006, p. 6). It can also include verbs that do not normally encode caused motion, e.g. *Joe kicked the wall.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 153), or motion, e.g. *Frank squeezed the ball.* (ibid). Being a basic argument structure construction, Goldberg's

scene encoding hypothesis states it portrays some of the most fundamental scenes of human experience (Goldberg, 1995, p. 39). These scenes usually share meaning with the most frequently used verbs, such as *give, make* or *go,* which are incidentally among the first verbs to be learned by children (ibid, p. 41). In the case of the caused-motion construction, we can talk about the event type of causing movement of someone or something somewhere, closely associated with the semantics of the verb *put.* Drawing from Talmy (2000), Xia (2014) describes the motion event as a force-dynamic relation where the Agonist exerts force on the Antagonist who is consequently forced to change location (p. 206). The exact schema of this meaning is "X causes Y to move along or towards Z" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 35). In terms of syntax, it is the structure [SUBJ [V OBJ OBL]] "where V is a nonstative verb and OBL is a directional phrase" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 152). The subject is typically the agent and causes the movement of the theme expressed by the object. The path or goal is expressed by the oblique and indicates the motion of the theme. The manner of causing the motion is expressed by the verb, as will be presented in more detail in the following paragraph. The schematic representation of the construction from Goldberg (1995) can be seen in Figure 1.

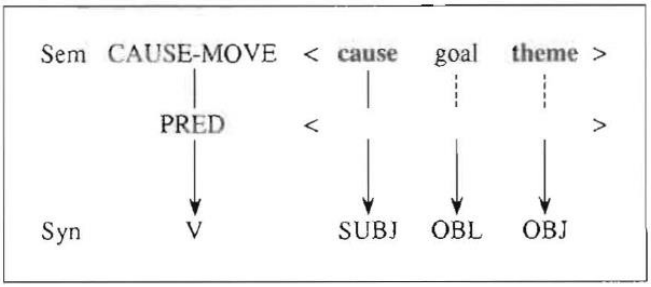

Figure 1: The caused-motion construction (Goldberg, 1995)

The schema "X causes Y to move Z" represents the central meaning of the caused-motion construction that "involves manipulative causation and actual movement" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 162) but there are other related senses elaborated by Goldberg (1995) that make the construction polysemous. All of these are associated with specific verb classes which will later help us define what verbs can and cannot undergo coercion into the construction. The first related sense includes the force-dynamic verbs expressing a communicative act, e.g. *order, invite, urge*, where the schema "X causes Y to move Z" can happen if a set condition expressed by the verb is satisfied, e.g. *Sam asked him into the room*. (Goldberg, 1995, p. 161). Force-dynamic verbs of removal of a barrier, e.g. *allow, let,* follow the related schema "X enables Y to move Z" where the agent actively removes a certain obstacle, e.g. *Sam let Bill into the room.* (ibid). "X prevents Y from moving Comp(Z)" includes verbs such as *lock* or *keep* and Z is here the complement of a potential motion that was prevented by the agent, e.g. *Harry locked Joe into the bathroom*. (ibid, p. 162). Finally, the sense "X helps Y to move Z" with verbs of

assistance, e.g. *help, guide, show*, expresses the agent assisting the theme to move, e.g. *Sam helped him into the car.* (ibid). Hilpert (2014a) calls these senses *prompted motion, enabled motion, prevented motion* and *assisted motion*[7]*,* respectively (pp. 35-36). In addition, Goldberg includes one more meaning that does not fit any of the above categories. These are verbs such as *accompany* or *chase* that entail that the agent moves together with the theme along a certain path (1995, p. 164). All of these senses are systematically interconnected and constitute the polysemous semantic network of the construction.

Apart from the different related senses expressed by the distinctive classes of verbs, there are also numerous prepositional phrases which co-occur with specific verbs and together demonstrate possible construals of the caused-motion event. As Xia (2014) explains, conceptualizers "construe [the event] in different ways, which in turn influences the realization in terms of different prepositional phrases" (p. 207). After exploring the different ways of profiling the figure onto the ground in the PPs, Xia distinguishes six syntactic variants of the caused-motion construction where each attracts different verb classes. The first and the most prototypical variant is *location variant* encoding the conceptualization of caused-movement of the theme on all of the possible parts of the path, e.g. source (*from*), direction to goal (*to*), goal (*onto*), etc. Its typical verbs encode a change of location via motion (e.g. *throw, send*) and based on their semantics, they tend to co-occur with particular parts of the path, e.g. verbs of removal often co-occur with PPs expressing the source (ibid, p. 208). *Final location variant* focuses on the resulting location of the theme expressed by locative PPs that do not encode direction (e.g. *in, on, inside*) and thus require verbs of motion that are usually goal-oriented, e.g. *Sam shoved him outside the room.* (ibid, p. 208). The remaining four non-prototypical variants include *conative variant* with the PP with *at* encoding intention to move towards the target via forceful motion (e.g. *Sally threw the stone at Sam.* (ibid, p. 209))*, transfer variant* with *to* that is similar to the dative construction and its verbs denote both movement and possession transfer (e.g. *Sally handed a scented letter to him.* (ibid, p. 210)), *contact variant* where the forcefully exerted motion comes into contact with an obstacle expressed using *against* (e.g. *Brian threw the stick against the fence.* (ibid, p. 211)) and *causative variant* with a specific syntactic structure focusing on the resultant effect (e.g. *Sindy buttered the bread.* (ibid, p. 212)). This representation of the possible syntactic structures and the meanings they encode together with

[7] We will be using these terms when referring to the construction's senses further on.

Goldberg's network of polysemy serve as a great basis for our understanding of some of the semantic constraints of the construction.

2. 4. 1 Semantic constraints of the caused-motion construction

Although we have seen that the caused-motion construction can increase the valency of certain verbs and change their meaning to fit its sense of caused motion, it is still a limited process that works within the boundaries of the semantic coherence principle, the correspondence principle and other productivity constraints mentioned in 2. 3 that apply to all constructions. For the caused-motion construction in particular, it is usually the verb and the prepositional phrase that are coerced into the construction and whose primary meanings are adapted to fit those of the construction described above. One of the principal limits of this process is the condition that there needs to be "a relationship between the inherent meaning of the lexical items and the coerced interpretation" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 159). These relationships and other semantic constraints will be described in the following paragraphs. They will serve not only as a detailed characterization of the caused-motion construction and its productivity but Goldberg (1995) sees them as evidence of the very existence of the construction. Since there are certain semantic constraints imposed on the arguments, it is clear that the semantics of the whole construction cannot be captured using the VP only (ibid, p. 165).

Constraints on the arguments of the construction

The first argument of the construction is expressed by the subject. It is the X that causes the movement of Y along a certain path or towards a goal Z and can be either an agent, e.g. *She slapped him across the room.* (Oyón, 2007, p. 175) or a natural force, e.g. *The rain swept the ring into the gutter*. (Goldberg, 1995, p. 165). However, it cannot be an instrument, e.g.**The key allowed John into the house.* (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 36) since this is not an actual causer, just the means of causing movement. Only in the cases where the subject is an instrument that can emit force and cause movement of the theme on its own, it can be construed as the causer argument, e.g. *The GPS system guided Christian through the city*. (Hwang, 2014, p. 30). This is of course all dependent on the pragmatic knowledge of the speaker who can construe it either way (Boas, 2003). Also, as the causer usually acts intentionally, a condition of intentionality is placed on the path argument. Examples such as **Bob poured milk next to his glass.* (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 36) are thus unacceptable uses of the construction. But, if "the verb is unintentional to begin with" (ibid), there is no clash between the semantics of the verb and those of the path and the construction is acceptable, e.g. *He sneezed his tooth right across town.* (Goldberg, 2006, p. 6).

Another constraint relating to Z (the path argument) specifies the necessary relationship between the PP and the resulting argument in the caused-motion construction. We could include this condition under the semantic coherence principle that requires semantic compatibility between the coerced lexical item and the construction's argument. As we have noted in the introduction, the path argument of the caused-motion construction has to be expressed by a directional PP that specifies the direction of the movement. Goldberg (1995) demonstrates that this is often done by coercing locative PPs, e.g. *outside the room* or *in the envelope* which do not inherently encode any motion (p. 158). Their meaning of location can be easily transformed into direction because of the shared relationship of *endpoint focus* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 159). By construing the location as a goal or a place at the end of a path, it can be coerced into the construction even without any inherent sense of motion or direction. We have seen such examples in Xia (2014) and a very similar strategy is also adopted by Kodama (2004) who accentuates the fact that compatibility between the coerced lexical items and the construction's arguments depends on "event construal as one of the cognitive processes" (p. 51). In his work, this approach is preferred to listing all different types of PPs available for coercion. To demonstrate how it works, he uses the example *Peter carried the box to Tom.* (ibid, p. 50). Although at first sight, *Tom* may seem as a recipient role and thus not an acceptable argument of the caused-motion construction, the speaker can construe *Tom* as a location where *Tom* stays using metonymy. In the second step, the location can be construed as a goal through the relationship of endpoint focus. As we discussed in the previous subsection, this is a regular process and the syntactic structure of this instance of the caused-motion construction is known as the transfer variant (Xia, 2004). While Goldberg's approach to identifying semantic constraints of the construction relies more on listing the types of verbs, she agrees that "the notion of construal […] is intended to allow for processes of accommodation or *coercion*" (2006, p. 22).

Regarding the third argument Y, which represents the affected theme, the only constraint that can be deduced based on the semantic coherence principle is that this argument should be capable of movement and the causer should be capable to exert causal force on it and move it along a certain path or towards a goal. We can imagine that an example such as **Pat shot Sam across the room.* (Hwang, 2014, p. 29) would be inacceptable because *Pat* cannot physically force *Sam* to move *across the room* only by *shooting*. The fusion of the verb's participant roles and the construction's argument roles could not take place. Another even more obvious example can be, e.g. **He rolled the building across town.* where *building* simply cannot be

moved, let alone *rolled*. This shows us that the constraints on the theme argument are often influenced by the semantics of other arguments used in the construction. If the causer was not a human but a tornado, we could imagine a building being rolled across town. Another example can be Oyón's (2007) claim that verbs of forceful impact, such as *slap* or *knock*, tend to co-occur with themes expressed by a human entity, e.g. *Sharon slapped them out of the government.* (p. 172). Other similar constraints on the theme could be probably found using other combinations of verbs and PPs in the construction. Since our main focus is on the productive use of verbs in the construction, we will not spend too much time on these and will instead provide the known constraints on the possible situations and related verbs that can be expressed by the caused-motion construction.

Constraints on the predicates and event types

Having covered the semantic constraints on the three principle arguments of the construction, X, Y and Z, we will now concentrate on the types of events encoded by the caused-motion construction that all share the conditions of expressing movement and direct causation. The basic framework of these constraints draws mainly from Goldberg (1995), however, additional insightful information from Kodama (2004), Cervel (2009), Oyón (2007), Xia (2014) and Hilpert (2014a) will provide different perspectives and introduce interesting counterarguments to Goldberg (1995). This demonstration of possible situations should also give us further information about prototypical verb classes that appear in the construction. Yet, as we have already demonstrated a few times, the notion of construal requires each example to be studied individually and other factors to be taken into consideration when judging the construction's acceptability.

Movement

The first predictable constraint to restrict the type of events expressed by the construction is the necessity to express movement which is included in the construction's primary sense: "X causes Y to *move* Z" (Goldberg, 1995). Nonetheless, we saw in 2. 4 that the caused-motion construction is polysemous and allows for other related senses that necessarily do not express any movement directly. They are for example the senses of prompted motion, e.g. *Sam invited him onto the deck.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 167) or enabled motion, e.g. *Sam allowed him into the house.* (ibid, p. 168). The reason why these are also valid examples of the caused-motion construction, is that there is an underlying presumption in their meaning that the caused movement took place (ibid). Similarly, verbs such as *slice, grate* or *shred* can appear in the construction because they "typically impl[y] some predictable incidental motion" (ibid, p. 171).

For example, in *Sam shredded the papers into the garbage pail.* (ibid), our encyclopaedic knowledge tells us that paper falls down when being shredded. Also if the occurrence of movement is interpreted as very improbable, the sentence is unacceptable, e.g. **Sam begged Joe into the room*. (ibid, p. 168).

We can see that as long as there is some motion conventionally associated with the result of the action, the event can take place and be expressed by a given verb. If there is no indication of movement and "the action denoted by the verb implies an effect other than motion, then a path of motion cannot be specified" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 170) and the construction cannot be accepted. Goldberg demonstrates this using the example **He struck the ball across the field.* (ibid). Even though the verb *strike* and other similar verbs such as *sock, assault, slash, impact, spank, clobber, bludgeon* (ibid) indicate that the theme was affected in some way, there is no movement necessarily implied and such an example of the caused-motion construction should not be acceptable. This argument appears reasonable but it is contradicted in a later work of Oyón (2007) who finds counterexamples to this constraint, e.g. *They yanked it out and socked him into the hospital* (p. 173). Based on the corpus evidence and considering the external and internal constraints of the lexical-constructional subsumption of these verbs into the caused-motion construction,[8] Oyón reformulates Goldberg's condition stating that if a verb licenses motion, it can also occur in the caused-motion construction (ibid, p. 174). Since we are adopting the usage-based approach and will base our analysis on naturally occurring data, we will accept Oyón's argument and presuppose the acceptability of this class of verbs as possible predicates of the caused-motion construction.

Direct causation

Moving from the necessity of movement to be expressed or at least licensed, another condition entailed by the caused-motion construction is that no mediating cognitive decision can be taken by the theme during the causation of movement (Goldberg, 1995, p. 166). The motion must be directly enforced by the causer without any option for the theme to contemplate accepting or refusing the movement. Goldberg provides examples of verbs such as *convince, persuade* or *encourage* that allow for such decision-making and that are in her research consistently absent from the construction, e.g. **Sam encouraged Bob into the room.* (ibid). Cervel (2009), who adopts a similar approach to Oyón (2007), refuses the constraint and presents corpus evidence of examples including the mentioned verbs, e.g. *She was persuaded into love against her*

[8] A term associated with the Lexical-Constructional Model similar to the fusion of the verb's participant roles and the construction's argument roles. For more information, see Oyón (2007) or Cervel (2009).

judgment. (p. 750). She explains that thanks to the underlying conceptual metaphors such as EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS and CAUSES ARE FORCES, figurative motion can be construed in the caused-motion construction and such examples are acceptable even if a cognitive decision has taken place, e.g. *In 2003, she claimed that Paulk had convinced her into a lengthy affair.* (ibid, p. 755). Concerning the examples encoding literal movement, e.g. *The Governor encouraged him into her car and drove him home.* (ibid, p. 753), Cervel claims that if more attention is paid to the result of the situation than to the possible occurrence of a cognitive decision, the verb can be included in the construction. These arguments again stress the importance of different possibilities of construal and remind us that the productivity of the caused-motion construction cannot be determined solely by a list of prohibited lexical items (ibid, p. 746). Although we do not plan to study metaphorical extensions of the construction, we will bear in mind the different ways to view the construal of literal movement.

The directionality and need for the causer to be the only determiner of the movement of the theme is also vital in the last condition which states that "the causal event must fully determine the path of the theme" (Hilpert, 2014a, p. 36). Consequently, when the verb is not strictly directional, the path argument cannot be too specific as it would indicate impossibility to abide by this rule, e.g. *?They laughed the poor guy into his car.* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 173). However, if we can use our encyclopaedic knowledge to image such a situation where the path *is* fully determined by the causal event, the above example can be accepted as valid (ibid). All in all, pragmatics and what is deemed conventional seem to play a significant role in determining the acceptability of a construction. We have seen that our encyclopaedic knowledge can help us decide whether a verb such as *grate* typically involves motion or not. We can also use such knowledge during construal and interpret a person as a final location of a theme. Even when we consider factors such as statistical pre-emption and conservatism via entrenchment, we notice that they closely work with frequency, which denotes conventionality of an expression as well. All this means that conventionality is the last and probably most important factor when judging acceptability of a sentence. Although we have listed different constraints on the caused-motion construction's arguments and possible verb classes, it is only our knowledge of the world that can help us judge the sentence *The invalid owner ran his favorite horse (in the race).* (Goldberg, 1995, p. 169) as an acceptable example of the caused-motion construction. Even if the important condition of direct causation is not kept, the scene is conventional and "cognitively packaged as a single event" (ibid). The relevance of human experience is

something to bear in mind when judging the acceptability of productive uses of the caused-motion construction and of all basic argument structures in general.

2. 5 Predictable constraints on the partial productivity of the caused-motion construction

Over the course of this chapter we have had the chance to see what factors determine the partial productivity of constructions in general and what constitutes the characteristic features and the semantic constraints of the caused-motion construction in particular. Based on these findings, we might be able to presuppose what kind of restrictions on the productivity of the caused-motion construction can be expected. At the centre of our analysis, we plan to focus on the possibilities of coercion of verbs into the construction. Employing the collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2003; Gries & Stefanowitsch, 2004; Stefanowitsch, 2014) we hope to discover what verbs classes occur across the instances of the caused-motion construction in the corpus and which ones are typical and atypical for the construction. In compliance with the semantic coherence principle and the construction's semantic constraints, we expect these to be mostly nonstative force-dynamic verbs that imply or at least license motion. Secondly, they should express either direct causation or an intermediate cause as a part of a conventional expression. Following these restrictions, some of the attested verb classes that will likely occur in our data will be verbs of change of location (e.g. *pull*), goal-oriented verbs of motion (e.g. *shove*), verbs of forceful motion (e.g. *throw*), verbs expressing a communicative act (e.g. *ask*), verbs of removal of a barrier (e.g. *let*), verbs preventing movement (e.g. *lock*), verbs of assistance (e.g. *help*), verbs of simultaneous movement of the causer (e.g. *chase*), verbs of motion and possession transfer (e.g. *hand*) and verbs expressing the resultative state (e.g. *butter*) (Goldberg, 1995; Xia, 2014). Apart from these, we also expect verbs, both well-known and newly created, that have a similar semantic structure to the attested examples and would merge into their clusters based on this similarity. The variability of the verbs present together with the overall type frequency and coverage of the construction should give us an idea of how productive it actually is.

When it concerns the verbs that cannot be coerced into the construction or are on the borderline of acceptability, we will use the list of *significantly repelled collexemes* (Stefanowitsch, 2014) that will be equally provided by the collostructional analysis. Using the overall token frequency of these verbs and their appearance in other types of constructions, we hope to deduce whether they are rejected by the caused-motion construction because they are conservatively and systematically used elsewhere or whether it is due to another reason, such as their semantic

incompatibility with the construction. Another possible reason for their repulsion might be being statistically pre-empted by the frequent caused-motion verbs such as *push, pull* or *throw.* These verbs might be semantically and structurally similar to the significantly repelled collexemes but they will still be preferred due to the conservatism of speakers who have entrenched them in their memory. On the other hand, if these frequent verbs repeatedly occur in a construction that serves as an alternative to the caused-motion construction, we might expect low-frequency verbs with a similar meaning to occur instead. As you can see, there are many possible reasons for excluding certain verb classes from the caused-motion construction and making it only partially productive.

Finally, we should mention the constraints on the productive uses of the arguments of the construction even though we do not expect great variability in their use. The semantic coherence principle applies to these structures as well and imposes limits on what role participants of the verbs can be fused with the construction's argument roles. These constraints include the necessity for the path to express direction, for the causer to be capable of exerting force on its own, and for the theme to be an object that can be moved or be caused to move by the causer. In terms of their relationship, they need to be in compliance with one another and also with the verb. For example, if the path argument is very specific, the verb must be directional, and if the verb is intentional, the path must be intentional as well. It seems that there is not much space for productivity using these three arguments but there are many opportunities to be productive due to the numerous possibilities of construing the construction. Thanks to underlying metaphors, metonymies or certain semantic relationships (e.g. the endpoint focus), even unusual types of PPs and NPs can be coerced into the construction. The only condition for the construal is to be based on one of these relationships. This amount of possible productivity serves as a reminder that despite having certain expectations about the predictable verb classes and types of arguments to occur in the construction, the speaker can always come up with new ways to construe the event.

3. Data and method

3. 1 Data

The goal of this thesis is to study the productivity of the caused-motion construction in present-day English. This means that we needed source data that would represent creative spontaneous speech and that would be of considerable size in order to show even very infrequent cases of the construction. The best candidate complying with these criteria appeared to be the Spoken BNC2014 (Love et al., 2017). This updated version of the BNC was made available to the public in the autumn of 2017 and will serve as the spoken subcorpus of the still unreleased BNC2014. The corpus consists of 1251 transcribed informal conversations between 672 native speakers from the UK collected in the period between 2012 and 2016. Because the recorded speakers were friends or family members, the language of their conversations is very informal making it the perfect source of data for our thesis. By being recorded so recently, we believe it is a great representation of present-day English. In addition, its considerable size of 10.4 million words should secure a sufficient number of examples of rare novel instances of the caused-motion construction.

3. 2 Method[9]

3. 2. 1 The search query

We accessed the Spoken BNC2014 using the Sketch Engine corpus manager[10] (Kilgarriff et al., 2004, 2014). This corpus manager was chosen because of its user-friendliness and its simple Penn TreeBank tagset (Marcus et al., 1993) which seemed more practical for the construction of our complicated search query. The complexity of the query was given by the fact that it was impossible for us to just search for the structure (NOUN (VERB NOUN PREPOSITION)) but we had to leave some space for possible modifications within the construction, like modifications of the object within the noun phrase using adjectives or nouns, or modifications of the verb phrase using modals and auxiliaries, etc. In order to reach compromise between high recall and sufficient precision of the results, we tried to specify the query as much as possible. Recall was important since we wanted to find even very infrequent cases of the construction but precision was even more important because we wanted to avoid having a lot of irrelevant results. We have already seen in the study of Hwang et al. (2010) that there is no way to excerpt the examples of the caused-motion construction without machine learning

[9] The construction of the query, filtering of the results and the first test run of the collostructional analysis was performed as a part of a practical project during our exchange study at Trinity College Dublin. This project (Machová, 2019) was considered a pilot study for our thesis and its results will be described and developped in the following subsections of the Method and the first two subsections of the Analysis.

[10] Accessible from: http://www.sketchengine.eu

algorithms because "not all syntactic structures of the form (NP-SBJ (V NP PP)) belong to the caused-motion construction" (p. 3). Consequently, manual filtering of the results was always a necessary methodological step and we wanted to decrease the load of work as much as possible. In the end, our attempts in the pilot study (Machová, 2019) showed that the corpus-driven approach, which considers only the most frequent modifications, would be the best way to proceed in constructing the query.

We started looking for the structure (NOUN/PRONOUN (VERB NOUN PREPOSITION)) with a basic query [tag="N.*"|tag="PP"] [tag="VV.*"] [tag="N.*"|tag="PP"] [tag="IN"] (Machová, 2019, p. 4). Gradually, we added empty slots to the query, such as [] {0,2}, which allowed for modifications within a noun phrase or within other parts of the construction. By studying the concordance and the frequency lists of the tags that were most frequently used in these empty slots[11], we were able to decide what specific tags to insert into the query. This approach helped us uncover certain shortcomings of the POS tagging, such as that some prepositions were marked both as prepositions ("IN") and particles ("RP"). Another advantage of this approach was that the concordance drew our attention to very frequent verbs and prepositions that marked different constructions we were not interested in. We called these *stop words* and excluded them using [!lemma] in the query. They were e.g. *know, think, because.* The study of the concordance also made us notice some vital aspects of spoken language, such as repeated determiners, e.g. *boys kidnap the the girls from the village*, or insertion of filler words and discourse markers, e.g. *he'd rather yeah put them up in the market square, I kind of put her in the picture,* etc. The study of the tag frequency lists showed that for example in the pre-verbal position, the two empty slots tended to be filled by adverbs, prepositional phrases with prepositions or particles, post-determiners, and coordinated clauses, such as *and put it in the bag*. We expressed these using the tag [tag="(RB.*)|(RP)|(CC)|(IN)|(DT)"] {0,2} (Machová, 2019, p. 4) which we inserted in front of all the verbs in our query. Other frequent structures that were added into the query after the analysis of the results included the verb position occupied by a multiple verb, e.g. modal + infinitive as in *they used to stick me in the middle*, emphasis using the auxiliary *do*, e.g. *they do put something into your computer*, or post-determination, e.g. *I put them all in the computer.*

We gradually inserted such tags into our query until it returned results that appeared acceptable in terms of precision and recall. Since we dealt with informal spoken language of conversations

[11] We considered all the tags in the frequency list except for those with frequency smaller than 20 (Machová, 2019).

with a variety of possible features like false starts, repetitions, filler words, discourse markers, etc., it is clear that our query could not match all these patterns and could not return all the instances of the caused-motion construction that are in the Spoken BNC2014. Nonetheless, we hope that the following version of the query created in the pilot study (Machová, 2019, p. 5) uncovered at least the majority of the examples to be found in the corpus.

```
[tag="N.*|PP"] [tag="(RB.*)|(RP)|(CC)|(IN)|(DT)"]{0,2} [tag="MD"]?
[tag="(RB.*)|(RP)|(CC)|(IN)|(DT)"]{0,2} [tag="VH.* | VB.*"]?
[tag="(RB.*)|(RP)|(CC)|(IN)|(DT)"]{0,2} [lemma="do"]? [tag="VV.*" &
!lemma="(find)|(include)|(give)|(remain)(receivceive)|(mean)|(look)|(provide)|(know)|(think)" &
!tag=".*G"] ([tag="(TO)|(CC)"] [tag="VV.*"])? [tag="(RB)|(RP)"]? [tag="(PDT)|(N.*)|(DT)"]?
[lemma="(of)"]? [tag="DT"]? [tag="(DT)|(P.+Z)|(N.+Z)|(CDZ)"]? [tag="(J.*)|(CD)|(N.*)"]?
[(tag="N.*|PP") & !lemma="(place)|(tribute)|(lot)"] [tag="(DT)"]? [tag="(RB|J.*)"]? ([tag="IN"]
[lemma="of"])? [tag="(IN)|(RP)|(RB)" & !lemma="(because)|(if)|(so)|(of)"]? [(tag="IN|RP" |
lemma="off") & !lemma="(as)|(with.*)|(about)|(like)|(since)|(because)|(if)|(so)|(.*though)|
(once)|(whether)|(for)|(than)|(during)|(of)"] [tag="(PDT|N.*)"]? [lemma="(of)"]? [tag="DT"]?
[tag="(DT)|(P.+Z)|(N.+Z)|(CDZ)"]? [tag="(J.*)|(CD)|(N.*)"]? [(tag="(N.*)|(PP)") &
!lemma="(place)|(tribute)" & !word="(he)|(I)|(she)|(they)|(we)"] within <u/>
```

3. 2. 2 Filtering the query results and creation of the final sample

To obtain the final sample containing only examples of the caused-motion construction we had to manually filter all the results returned by the query. There were 19 152 hits (1 618, 53 per million tokens)[12] that, unfortunately but predictably, contained a large number of examples of different constructions. Given the large amount of data to process, we tried to find patterns and more stop words that would facilitate filtering of these items irrelevant for our study. Verbs leading to different constructions, such as *imagine, eat, drink* or *remember,* helped us considerably reduce the size of our sample. In the case of ambivalent examples, we created a set of clear conditions the defined what can be considered a case of the caused-motion construction and what should be filtered out. The conditions followed our definition of the construction in 2. 4 and the FrameNet (Ruppenhofer et al., 2016)[13] Cause-motion frame. The most important rule was to include only those examples of the construction that overtly expressed all arguments of the causer, theme and path. E.g. *He ate his food* which encodes caused motion of food down the digestive tract was not included because the path argument is only implied and not overtly expressed (Machová, 2019, p. 5). The second most important

[12] This number excludes the subhits where different parts of the query matched the same sentence multiple times (Machová, 2019, p. 5). Since it was undesirable to have the same sentence twice in our sample, we filtered out the subhits using one of the Sketch Engine tools.

[13] Accessible from: https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/

decision was to exclude metaphorical or abstract uses of the construction like *it drives me up the wall, Elena just annoys the hell out of me* or *it puts me in such a bad mood.* Even though some authors include metaphorical instances of the construction, such as *She was persuaded into love against her judgement*. (Cervel, 2009, p. 750), *President Bush called his attention to the matter during the Italian leader's visit.* (Hwang, 2014, p. 48) or *Mary bought the coat from the Salvation Army.* (Hwang, 2014, p. 46), and we recognized them as valid examples of the construction in 2. 4, we decided to exclude them from our analysis because we found it difficult to draw the line between metaphors and abstractions that were closely related to the concrete caused-motion meaning and those that were only too loosely based on it. Wanting to avoid complications of having a sample with a great range of different types of examples, we decided to exclude non-concrete expressions altogether and focus only on the examples that encode literal motion along a path or towards a goal. We also excluded frequent examples of the "creation event" (Hwang, 2014, p. 38). In these the causer would not move an existing theme but would cause creation of the theme on a path, e.g. *they put tyre marks onto it.* However, we included those cases where there was an actual, even if only virtual, movement of a message or an image on the internet, e.g. *you can post it to a stock site.* This gradual filtering of the 19 152 original results led to 3 745 examples in our pilot study (Machová, 2019) which were in our thesis further reduced to 3 690 examples after excluding more irrelevant cases during the close analysis of the examples.

3. 2. 3 Collostructional analysis

The sample of 3 690 examples of the caused-motion construction constituted our main source data for the collostructional analysis. This is a cover term for the methods of *collexeme analysis*, *distinctive collexeme analysis* and *covarying collexeme analysis* which were presented in Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003) and further discussed in e.g. Gries and Stefanowitsch (2004), Stefanowitsch (2014) and Hilpert (2014b). Since we are interested in what types of verbs can occur in the caused-motion construction, we used the collexeme analysis that measures the attraction of certain lexical items, *collexemes,* to certain slots within the construction. There are several statistical tests available to be used in the analysis but we chose the Fisher-Yates one-tailed exact test (Machová, 2019) because we dealt with many infrequent collexemes. The resulting level of attraction (or possibly repulsion) calculated by the analysis is called *collostructional strength* and its value is determined by the p-value. The p-value signifies the probability that the attraction of an item towards a construction is caused only by chance. If this probability is very low, the value of collostructional strength increases.

Infinite collostructional strength indicates that "the probability of error is infinitely small" (Hilpert, 2014b, p. 395). The collexemes with very high collostructional strength are considered strongly attracted to the construction. This manner of identifying lexical items typical for the construction is more reliable than using a lexeme's seemingly high frequency of occurrence in the construction which can be caused by its high frequency in the corpus. Moreover, when working with very infrequent, novel uses of the construction it is impossible to rely just on their frequency. Like every method, also collostructional analysis has its disadvantages, such as the effect of the sample size or ignorance of the distribution of collexemes in other constructions (Gries, 2019; Hilpert, 2014b). Still, in comparison with other methods and given our additional manual analysis of the results, which takes into account factors such as statistical pre-emption or conservatism via entrenchment, it seems to be the best method currently available and we should manage avoiding the problem of drawing conclusions based on conflation of different types of data (Gries, 2019).

To run the collexeme analysis we used the R script created and provided by Gries (2007). The script requires the token frequency of the construction in the corpus, the size of the corpus (i.e. the token frequency of all the constructions in the corpus) and the construction and corpus token frequencies of the verbs whose attraction to the construction is being calculated. The frequency of the caused-motion construction in the Spoken BNC2014 was 3 690 (i.e. the size of our sample), the size of the corpus in terms of constructions was judged as "equal to the total number of verbs (excluding modal verbs)" (Stefanowitsch, 2014, p. 222). Since the Spoken BNC2014 is not tagged for constructions, we had to use this estimate of 2 489 136 constructions (verbs). The construction and corpus token frequencies of the verbs were calculated using the information from our sample and from the frequency lists in the Sketch Engine. Based on this data, the R script returned a list of significantly attracted and significantly repelled collexemes ordered by their collostructional strength that can be seen in Table 9 in the Appendix and will be discussed in the Analysis.

3. 2. 4 VerbNet: classification of the verbs into classes

The first step of the analysis of the results returned by the collexeme analysis was to classify the identified collexemes into semantic verb classes that would provide us with information about the productivity of the caused-motion construction. Not having native-speaker intuition, we could not base this classification solely on our own semantic interpretation and decided to rely on the classification of verbs by Levin (1993) which we accessed using the online database

VerbNet[14] (Kipper-Schuler, 2005). We chose Levin's approach because it does not group verbs based solely on their semantics but also based on their syntactic behaviour. This creates "a large number of semantically coherent classes of verbs whose members pattern in the same way" syntactically (Levin, 1993, p. 17). Having this access to information about syntax was crucial because we could suppose that if we found verbs from a certain class to be frequently occurring in the caused-motion construction, other members of the class could be expected to behave in the same manner. Also, we could compare our list of collexemes with the prototypical caused-motion verbs in Levin, e.g. *pour verbs* (ibid, p. 115), and see where the productivity causes coercion of atypical verb classes into the construction.

VerbNet was used because it is a simple way to search for verbs within Levin's verb classes and also because it is a more recent extension on Levin (1993) updated with additional verb classes and novel attested cases of the syntactic behaviour of certain verbs. The most recent addition of verb classes into VerbNet was in 2005 (Korhonen & Ryant, 2005). Moreover, in comparison to Levin (1993), VerbNet includes extra information on frames and thematic roles drawn from FrameNet, which provides additional semantic information on each verb class and its members. We accessed this database using the Unified Verb Index of the University of Colorado Boulder[15] which allows to search not only in VerbNet but also in FrameNet and other databases. The easy access to FrameNet was especially appreciated because we used it as our second most important source of semantic information. After searching for the verb using the Unified Verb Index we usually found the verb present in several VerbNet classes. Referring to our examples of the construction, we classified the verb into one or more classes that reflected its uses in the construction. If it was not found in VerbNet at all, we marked as a novel verb and classified it into the closest possible verb class based on its semantic and syntactic behaviour. If the class offered by VerbNet did not contain the caused-motion construction among the examples of its syntactic behaviour but the meaning of the verb was the same, we marked it as a case of coercion. If the verb was homonymous and the meaning in VerbNet differed from its meaning in the construction, we also treated it as a novel verb (e.g. *pick a colour x pick up from the airport).* All these attested verb classes and their description drawn from (Levin, 1993) will be presented in section 4.

[14] Accessible from: http://verbs.colorado.edu/~mpalmer/projects/verbnet.html
[15] Accessible from: https://uvi.colorado.edu/

4. Analysis

4. 1 Verbs occurring in the caused-motion construction

Our pilot study (Machová, 2019) revealed a list of 252 verbs (types) which were after closer analysis of the examples and further filtering reduced to the number of 232 verbs. These updated results with the verbs ordered by their token frequency in the construction can be seen in Table 1.

Verb	Freq.
put	1615
take	367
send	210
get	153
stick	109
throw	99
move	64
drop	63
bring	52
pick	40
chuck, pull, add, pour, shove, drive	24-38
push, pass, run, post, drag	15-20
email, hang, dip, dump, pop, spill, transfer, park, keep, download, hand, invite, lay, plug, walk	10-14
kick, let, lift, sit, blow, carry, knock, pump, roll, lock, shoot, soak, tie, wrap, empty, feed, forward, load, place, scrape, spray, strap, tip, upload, bang, bury, chase, deliver, divert, fly, smack, squirt, crash, flush, mount, rub, ship, suck, whisk	4-9
crack, force, grate, hit, hook, land, lead, pack, plant, press, refer, rest, rush, sail, serve, shut, slap, slide, slip, stand, tuck, whack, wipe	3
barricade, bounce, clamp, dig, export, fire, flick, guide, hide, launch, line, nail, pin, poke, release, remove, show, slot, splash, spoon, squeeze, strike, stuff, tape, text, trap, tweet, withdraw	2
allow, arrange, ask, bash, bind, blast, bowl, breathe, broach, brush, bus, cascade, chain, collect, cough, cram, dangle, deposit, direct, dispatch, draw, drip, drip-feed, dunk, evacuate, exile, fill, filter, fish, fit, flip, float, flow, gear, gum, head, hoist, hold, hover, hurl, import, inject, ladle, laugh, lean, lick, lie, lower, lug, manoeuvre, mine, mingle, nip, play, plough, pluck, poach, prod, ram, retweet, reverse, revolve, scan, scatter, scoot, scratch, screw, seat, separate, set, sew, shift, shout, sieve, slop, smash, smear, snapchat, source out, spit, sprinkle, squash, squish, stab, stack, staple, step, strain, string, strip, subtract, super-combine, sweep, swerve, swipe, swish, tap, thrust, top, twist, unplug, vomit, waft, wave, wheel, wrestle, yank	1

Table 1: Verbs occurring in the caused-motion construction grouped by their construction token frequency

The number of 232 unique verbs present in the construction indicates its considerably high type frequency and by consequence, possibly, a certain degree of productivity. We can see that the majority (75%) of the 3 690 examples of the caused-motion construction were "expressed using the top ten most frequent verbs" (Machová, 2019, p. 8). 46% of the verbs were used only once. The infrequent cases of the construction are probably creative expressions used productively

by the speakers at the moment of conversation. Although this hypothesis seems likely, the pilot study demonstrated that these results are skewed by the corpus token frequencies of the collexemes (Machová, 2019). For example, the high construction frequency of 153 of the verb *get* was only caused by its high corpus frequency of 101 666. The results of the collostructional analysis showed that *get* was not included in the list of verbs most strongly attracted to the construction. Also, the verbs *move, bring* or *pick* "which had considerably high frequency of 40 and more instances" (ibid, p. 8) had smaller collostructional strength than less frequent verbs like *shove, pour, add* or *pull* (ibid). Consequently, we believe it is more reliable to use the results of the collexeme analysis that will be discussed in the following subsection.

4. 2 Results of the collexeme analysis

The full list of 232 verbs and their collostructional strength values can be seen in Table 9 in the Appendix. In this subsection, we will classify them all into verb classes that will help us identify which types of verbs are typical for the construction, which are somewhat attracted to it but not very common and which are very improbable and repelled by the construction. First, we will introduce the most attracted verb classes which included verbs with the collostructional strength value of 10 and more. These will be considered the prototypical exemplars of the construction that would be likely stored in the constructicon of the speaker and can be used as a point of reference when judging some other less typical productive instances of the construction. Most of them were non-coerced verbs that prototypically express caused motion but there were also certain coerced and novel verbs and their verb classes that have already become typical for the construction. Secondly, we will continue with the verb classes with the collostructional strength value smaller than 10. Since these sets of verbs are not linked to the construction very strongly, they can be considered original instances of the construction produced by the speakers. Apart from some other less typical non-coerced verbs expressing caused motion, we found here the majority of coerced and novel verbs from our sample. Finally, we will describe those verb classes that are according to the collexeme analysis repelled by the construction. These will be borderline cases of coerced verbs that occurred only once in the construction and may be judged as unacceptable due to semantic incompatibility, statistical pre-emption or some other reason.

4. 2. 1 Prototypical collexemes

The verbs that were significantly attracted to the construction and showed collostructional strength bigger than 10 are presented in Table 2.[17]

Collexemes	Corpus frequency	Construction frequency	Collostructional strength	Verb class
put	16969	1615	Infinite	*put-9.1*
take	17397	367	285.27	*bring-11.3; remove-10.1*
send	3443	210	256.77	*send-11.1*
stick	1624	109	137.82	*put-9.1; poke-19; spray-9.7*
throw	1229	99	133.22	*throw-17.1*
drop[16]	1122	63	75.04	*put_direction-9.4; -*
chuck	393	38	54.74	*throw-17.1*
shove	159	27	46.12	*throw-17.1*
pour	257	30	45.95	*pour-9.5*
move	4848	64	37.69	*slide-11.2*
bring	3184	52	35.15	*bring-11.3*
add	1003	32	30.78	*mix-22.1*
pull	1404	35	29.98	*split-23.2; carry-11.4*
pick	2873	40	24.71	-
spill	74	13	22.80	*pour-9.5*
drag	203	15	20.29	*carry-11.4*
dip	118	13	20.01	*funnel-9.3*
email	161	14	20.00	*instr_communication-37.4.1*
dump	132	13	19.35	*funnel-9.3*
transfer	139	13	19.05	*send-11.1*
post	323	16	18.80	*send-11.1*
push	851	20	16.99	*push-12*
download	117	10	14.41	-
plug in/into	175	10	12.63	-
pump	94	8	11.64	*spray-9.7*
pass	1381	18	11.10	*send-11.1*
upload	34	6	10.86	*other_cos-45.4*
pop	636	13	10.56	*sound_emission-43.2*
drive	2992	24	10.16	*drive-11.5*
squirt	19	5	10.09	*spray-9.7*

Table 2: Strongly attracted collexemes and their verb classes with collostructional strength bigger than 10

[16] *Drop* was marked with red because it had two separate meanings in our examples, one of which was not listed in VerbNet.

[17] This table partly corresponds the primary results of the collostructional analysis performed in the pilot study (Machová, 2019, p. 9) but was adapted after running another analysis on the further filtered examples of the construction in our sample.

These collexemes can be considered the verbs that are typically used in the caused-motion construction. Apart from the information on their collostructional strength, Table 2 also provides a list of verb classes which were assigned to each of the verbs based on the classification in VerbNet. The cases marked with yellow represent coerced verb classes whose syntactic and semantic structure was adjusted to fit the caused-motion construction. The cases marked with red and lacking an assigned verb class represent novel verbs that had not been listed in VerbNet or whose meaning there was completely unrelated to their meaning in the construction. Their verb class will be assigned to them during the analysis based on their syntactic and semantic behaviour. We will now introduce and describe these verb classes and all of their members that occurred in our sample (including those members whose collostructional strength was smaller than 10).

4. 2. 1. 1 Prototypical non-coerced verb classes

Put verbs (put-9.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination[18]

This class of verbs is probably most prototypically associated with the caused-motion construction and proved to be most attracted to it in the collexeme analysis. Its members "refer to putting an entity at some location" (Levin, 1993, p. 112) and thus very closely copy the primary meaning of the construction. As we already mentioned, the verb *put* (ex. 1), which gives name to this class, was the most typical verb of the caused-motion construction and also the most frequent one to have occurred in it with 1 615 examples. The second highly attracted collexeme from this class was *stick* (ex. 2), which also belongs to other two verb classes discussed below. Other less typical but still attracted collexemes from this class that occurred in our sample were in the order of attraction: *park*, *mount*, *bury, place, plant, deposit, arrange.* All these class members tended to occur with the goal argument usually expressed using the prepositional phrases with *in* (ex. 1), *on* (ex. 2) or *into* (ex. 3). The causer was always a human being while the theme was in the majority of cases an inanimate object moved solely by the force of the causer.

1) you start to **put** *cold water* <u>in it</u>
2) shall I move the laptops then **stick** *it* <u>on the table</u>
3) you can **deposit** *money* <u>into a machine</u>

[18] Basic syntactic and semantic information from the VerbNet entry.

Bring and take (bring-11.3)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {against before into on to onto} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

As the name of this category suggests, this verb class consists of only two lexemes: *bring* and *take* which were both among the most prototypical verbs in the construction. Levin (1993, p. 135) quotes the definition of this small verb class from Gropen et al. (1989) who described the class as "verbs of continuous causation of accompanied motion in a deictically-specified direction." This inherent "presence of the deictic component of meaning" (ibid) is what differentiates *bring* and *take* from other similar verbs of accompanied caused motion such as *carry* or *chase.* In our sample it was usually the goal or the goal direction argument which was overtly expressed by the prepositional phrases with e.g. *to* (ex. 4, ex. 7)*, in* (ex. 6)*, into* (ex. 8), while the source was inherently implied in the deictic component of the verb's meaning. Still, in few examples with *bring* the source was also expressed overtly by the PP with *from* (ex. 5). *Take* sometimes appeared with the path argument (ex. 9). The theme argument was usually human in the case of *take* (ex. 4, ex. 8), *bring,* on the other hand, usually co-occurred with an inanimate object (ex. 5-6). When the construction had a human theme (ex. 4, ex. 7-8), it implied taking someone to an event or driving someone to a certain location.

4) we use to **take** *the children* to Russia
5) I **brought** *a load* from England
6) you **bring** *them* in the house
7) you **bring** *your girlfriend* to a show
8) they **took** *me* into the ambulance
9) instructors **take** *them* down the slope

Remove verbs (remove-10.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.source
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Source

As we can see in Table 2, *take* was not found only in the *bring-11.3* class but also in *remove-10.1.* Unlike the previous two classes that typically specify movement of an entity towards a goal, this verb class encodes movement in the opposite direction and specifies the source location. In our sample its members often occurred with the preposition *from* (ex. 10) but other prepositions such as *out of* and *off* were also possible (ex. 11-12) even if claimed as very improbable by Levin (1993, p. 123). The verb *take* was the only one within the top most attracted verbs belonging to this group. Other collexemes with a significantly lower level of collostructional strength ranging from 2.92 to 0.77 were *withdraw, subtract, remove, dig, strip,*

separate. These six verbs were not frequent either, each occurred only once or twice within the construction. The theme was in the majority of cases an inanimate object removed from a location (ex. 10) or a container (ex. 13).

10) we'll **withdraw** *our headquarters* from London

11) they **strip** *the everything* out of the house

12) you **take** *their card* off them

13) I **took** it from the bottle

Send verbs (send-11.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {to} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

The specificity of this type of caused-movement is that it is "mediated by a separation in time and space" (Pinker, 1989, p. 110). Apart from this citation, Levin (1993) adds that "the entity moves unaccompanied by the agent" (p. 133). This means that the movement does not take place immediately after the action from the causer and that the causer is usually not in direct contact with the theme when it does. We could argue that this type of caused motion is against our semantic constraint of the necessary direct causation by the agent but albeit indirect, sending tends to be "cognitively packaged as a single event" (Goldberg, 1995, p. 169). Even if the agent is not the actual direct causer of sending, e.g. as in ex. 14, pragmatically, he is the one who causes the motion to happen. Example 14 also shows another problem, which is that the PP tends to express a recipient rather than a location. Nonetheless, by following the argument in Xia (2014), we believe that the recipient can be construed as the goal of caused motion using metonymy. In addition, Levin describes this class in terms of "change of location" and adds that this can cause but is not strictly limited to a "transfer of possession" (ibid, p. 133). Despite these possible issues, the *send-11.1* class was very strongly attracted to the construction as we can see in Table 2. Apart from *send,* the construction had other three prototypical verbs from this class: *transfer, post, pass* and numerous less attracted verbs that also appeared in the construction: *deliver, export, dispatch, import, shift, hand, ship, slip* and *forward.* The class members occurred frequently with the goal direction argument with *to* (ex. 14); in a few cases with the source with *from* (ex. 15) and the path argument (ex. 16). Except for a few examples with *send* and *hand,* the theme was always an inanimate object moved by a human causer or some institution.

14) he'd actually just **sent** *a letter* to my mum

15) I **import** *photos* from my device

16) it sort of **transfers** *it* across your chest

The frequent use of the verb *post* was very interesting because in the majority of cases it no longer referred to sending by post (ex. 17) but to posting things on Facebook or another internet website (ex. 18). This is a recent development of the meaning which still expresses caused-movement, only now it does not relate to letters but to messages in virtual space. All of these cases occurred with the goal argument typically expressed by the prepositional phrase with *on*.

17) [you] just to sit stick a cheque in an envelope and **post** *it* to us

18) I will **post** *it* on Facebook

Poke verbs (poke-19)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.patient
Syntax: Agent VERB Instrument {into} Patient

As the verb that gives the name to this class, the members of this category relate to "bringing a pointed object into contact with a surface and, in some instances, puncturing the surface" (Levin, 1993, p. 154). Consequently, the action that can be seen as causing a theme to move towards a goal, can be also construed as affecting a patient using an instrument, as we can see in the syntactico-semantic description of the class in VerbNet. The only verb from this verb class that was highly attracted to the construction was the verb *stick*. The verbs *poke, dig, stab* had the collostructional strength value only between 1.92 and 0.77. As we can see in the examples 19, 20, and 21, below, the PP with *into* was used to express the goal argument together with an inanimate theme and a human causer.

19) she **stuck** *a needle* into the tooth

20) you [] **poke** *the root* into the ground

21) kids **stabbed** *knives* into all the furniture

Spray/load verbs (spray-9.7)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination

The movement caused by these verbs refers to "covering surfaces and putting things into containers" (Levin, 1993, p. 118). The specific semantic and syntactic behaviour of this class has been discussed by many including Goldberg (1995). The unique syntactic behaviour is their participation in the locative alternation, e.g. *Jessica sprayed paint on the wall.* and *Jessica sprayed the wall with paint.* (Levin, 1993, p. 118) where the first variant is an example of the caused-motion construction, while the second is the causative construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 175). Semantically, it is interesting that these verbs usually cause the location to be "*completely* affected by the action" (Levin, ibid), as we can see explained in ex. 22 with *stick* and ex. 23 with *squirt*. Apart from the verbs *squirt* and *stick, pump* was also strongly attracted to the

construction. Less prototypical but numerous verbs which were still at least partially attracted to the construction were *wrap, spray, rub, sprinkle, splash, pack, smear, scatter, cram, load, plant, stack.* With this high number of members appearing in the construction, the verb class was the most represented one in our sample. The goal argument appearing with the verbs was expressed by a wide range of prepositional phrases with e.g. *onto* (ex. 22)*, into* (ex. 24)*, on* (ex. 25). *Wrap* and *scatter* preferred the path argument with *around* (ex. 26). While the causer was human, the theme was always inanimate and very often liquid with the verbs such as *squirt, spray, pump, splash* or *rub.*

22) they just **stick** *stickers* onto them [→ *they are covered in stickers*]

23) I **squirted** *water* at her [→ *she is wet*]

24) they've t **pumped** *loads of chlorine* into the water

25) I'll erm **spray** *it* on my clothes

26) you **wrap** cling film around it

Another special development of meaning similar to the one of *post,* could be seen in the case of the verb *load.* Although, there were some examples with its original meaning of putting things into a container (ex. 27), there were also several cases of the new meaning related to technology and similar to *upload* (ex. 28).

27) they [] **loaded** *them* on the lorry

28) you can't **load** *any more programs* into it

Throw verbs (throw-17.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

These verbs cause ballistic unaccompanied motion of the theme by instantaneous exertion of force from the causer (Levin, 1993, p. 147). Like the *send-11.1* verb class, *throw-17.1* verbs can imply a simultaneous change of possession with the change of location (ibid). *Throw* is the most prototypical verb of the class and the one most strongly attracted to the construction, followed by *chuck* and *shove.* The use of these verbs in the construction was particularly interesting because their meaning seemed to be somewhere in between throwing and placing (ex. 29-30) and could be probably included in the *put-9.1* verb class as well. This versatility of meaning might be the cause of their high frequency and strong attraction to the construction. This behaviour was also the case for some of the less prototypical collexemes from this category (ex. 31) which included the verbs *tip, kick, shoot, launch, flick, hurl, fire, bash, tap, flip, smash.* Apart from the frequent goal argument with the prepositional phrases with *in, on, into* (ex. 29-31)*,* there were cases of the conative variant of the goal direction with *at* (ex. 32),

the path argument (ex. 33) and the source argument (ex. 34-35). The theme was always inanimate with the exception of *throw* which did not relate to actual throwing but causing to move into or out of a location (ex. 35). The causer was a human being with one exception of an animal causer (ex. 36).

29) [you] **throw** *them* in your oven

30) I'll **shove** *it* in the cupboard

31) if you p **flicked** *the kettle* on the water

32) she **fired** *an arrow* at an apple

33) they **shoot** *the missiles* over Japan

34) we **launch** *one* out of this basestar

35) I **threw** *him* out of the car

36) squirrels [] **hurl** *them* at people

Verbs of putting with a specified direction (put_direction-9.4)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination

These verbs encode putting an entity in a place "by moving it in a specific direction" (Levin, 1993, p. 115). The direction is lexicalized in the verb and can be either upwards or downwards. The most prototypical member of this class was *drop* which indicates direction downwards in one of its meanings.[19] *Lift,* expressing the opposite direction, was the second verb highly attracted to the construction. Other class members from the sample were *hoist* and *lower* with the collostructional strength values only 1.83 and 0.97, respectively. According to Levin (ibid), these verbs have preference for *into* and *onto* prepositions over *in* and *on* but we did not find this to be the case in our set of examples (ex. 37-38). These prepositions were usually part of the PPs expressing the goal argument with *drop; lift* tended to co-occur with the source argument (ex. 39-40). The theme was always inanimate and the causer always a human being.

37) I **drop** *it* in my cup

38) they **drop** *pallets* on top

39) we **lift** *the racket* from the ground

40) I can't even **lift** *it* off the ground

[19] Its second most important meaning of "giving a lift to someone" will be discussed in 4. 2. 1. 3 together with other verbs whose meaning used in the construction was not listed in VerbNet.

Pour verbs (pour-9.5)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

These verbs express putting (typically) liquid things on surfaces or in containers, similarly to the *spray-9.7* verb class (Levin, 1993, p. 116). The two verbs from this class that proved strongly attracted to the construction were *pour* and *spill.* Other less attracted verbs from the class were *slop* and *drip.* The wide range of PPs with *in, into, on, onto, over, down* etc. expressed the goal in the majority of cases (ex. 42, ex. 44), in many cases the path (ex. 43) and one case included both the source and the goal arguments (ex. 41). The human causer typically caused motion of some kind of liquid over a surface or into a container.

41) you **pour** *the juice* from the bottom into the thing

42) you **pour** *it* in your bowl

43) dad's **slopped** *tomato* all over the table

44) someone **spilt** *red wine* on the sofa

Slide verbs (slide-11.2)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {to} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

The verb most strongly attracted to the construction from this class was *move*. Like this verb, other members of the class encode "causing a change of position" (Levin, 1993, p. 134) of the theme usually by using force. In comparison with the *put-9.1* class, the stress is not placed on the goal location but rather on the different types of movement of the theme. In our sample the theme was mostly inanimate with the verbs *roll, slide, bounce, scoot* and *float* (ex. 47-49), which were not attracted to the construction very strongly. In the case of *move,* the theme was frequently a human being whose movement was not caused by an actual exertion of force by the causer but by using some kind of social power (ex. 50) or a vehicle (ex. 51). The locative phrases expressed the source using *out of, from* (ex. 45-46), the path (ex. 47) and the goal or the goal direction argument usually using *in, to* prepositions (ex. 48-51). Except for *move*, which does not allow this meaning (ibid), other verbs of this class could express a change of possession brought by the movement into a new location (ex. 49). The causer was human in the majority of cases but there was one example of a natural force causer (ex. 52).

45) she **moved** *it* out of her room

46) we **moved** *it* from the front

47) they [] **roll** *them* down the hill

48) you **slide** *it* in the thing

49) they just **bounce** *it* back to you

50) you can **move** *me* to a research centre

51) I could **move** *dad* to me

52) wind just **scooted** *all of the pollution* out of Krakow

Mix verbs (mix-22.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.co-patient
Syntax: Agent VERB Patient {with into to} Co-Patient

This class includes verbs that describe caused motion of "combining or attaching" (Levin, 1993, p. 159) of the theme or patient onto something that constitutes its final location (or could be considered a co-patient). The only strongly attracted verb from this category was *add* and it mostly co-occurred with a *to* PP expressing the goal direction argument (ex. 53). One less strongly attracted verb was *mingle* occurring with a goal-expressing *in* PP (ex. 56). The causer was typically a human causing movement of the theme but there were few interesting cases with an inanimate causer (ex. 54-55). These causers were pieces of technology that could emit force on their own without any conscious interference from the agent, similarly to the GPS system in the example in 2. 4. 1. Consequently, they could be construed as the sources of caused-movement even though they were inanimate instruments.

53) I can **add** *it* to your present bag

54) it **added** *it* to my bag

55) it won't really **add** *anything* to it

56) you tried to **mingle** *twelve people* in that room

Split verbs (split-23.2)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.co-patient
Syntax: Agent VERB Patient {off off of from} Co-Patient

This class of verbs is an extension of the related classes such as *break-45.1* or *push-12* because it is a specification of the action of breaking or pushing which can be paraphrased as "separate by V-ing" (Levin, 1993, p. 166). Consequently, like in the preceding class, the location can be construed as a co-patient and the theme as a patient. The verbs typical for the construction from this class were *kick, blow* and the strongly attracted verb *pull*, which also belongs to the *carry-11.4* class described below. These verbs appeared in sentences where a human agent caused movement of an inanimate theme by separating it from the source expressed using a PP with *off* (ex. 57-58).

57) you just **pull** *it* off the wall

58) she'd **kick** *a panel* off a machine

Carry verbs (carry-11.4)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {to towards} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Loc.

These verbs encode "causation of accompanied motion" (Levin, 1993, p. 136) similarly to the *bring-11.3* verb class. Unlike the latter, they do not inherently encode deictically-specified direction but lexicalize the means of motion. The direction of motion is specified by the prepositional phrase (ibid). The verbs *pull, drag* and *push* were the members of the class most strongly attracted to the construction; other less attracted collexemes were *run, carry* and *lug*. They all occurred with a wide range of prepositional phrases specifying the path (ex. 59-60), the source (ex. 61) and the goal or the goal direction argument (ex. 62-64). The theme could be either a human (ex. 61, ex. 65) or an inanimate object (ex. 59-60, ex. 62-64). The causer was almost always human but there was one case of a natural force causer (ex. 64) and one case of a vehicle causer (ex. 65).

59) they can **pull** *sledges* through snow

60) you can **push** *it* down the stairs

61) he **pulled** *me* from my room

62) they **lugged** *them* on the on the literally the the tarmac

63) I **carried** *his bed* to the shed

64) it **drags** *other stuff* into it

65) it wouldn't **carry** *you* up any hills

Funnel verbs (funnel-9.3)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination

These verbs refer to putting an entity somewhere, often in a spatially confined location. They lexicalize the manner of putting but are "vague about the resulting spatial configuration of the entity placed" (Levin, 1993, p. 114). The most typical caused-motion verbs from our sample were *dip* and *dump.* A great number of other less attracted verbs included *scrape, fit, tuck, bang, spoon, wipe, ladle, dunk, squish, squash.* All of the examples occurred with the goal argument usually expressed by prepositional phrases with *in, on* and sometimes *into* (ex. 66-70). In most cases a human causer caused movement of an inanimate theme but there were examples with *dump* and *dunk* where the theme was human (ex. 69-70).

66) you can **dip** *it* in my pesto

67) you can just **dump** *them* on the table

68) they [] **scrape** *it all* into the bin

69) they **dunked** *her* in the water

70) you [] **dump** *him* in the back of the van

Verbs of instrument of communication (instr_communication-37.4.1)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.recipient
Syntax: Agent VERB Topic {to} Recipient

This class refers to means of communication where the verbs lexicalize the instrument used (Levin, 1993, p. 207). *Instr_communication-37.4.1* was so distinctively attracted to the construction probably because of its close similarity to the *send-11.1* class. Like in the *send-11.1* class, the verbs usually occur in the transfer variant of the caused-motion construction (Xia, 2014) where the recipient argument can be construed as the goal of caused motion. The only member of this class strongly attracted to the caused-motion construction was the verb *email.* As an electronic instrument of communication, this verb implied caused-movement of a message in the virtual space. As we can see in ex. 71 and 72, the goal direction argument was expressed using *to* and at the same time referred to the recipient. The causer was usually a human (ex. 71) or in a couple of cases an institution (ex. 72).

71) I can **email** *it* to you

72) school **emailed** *it* to me

Push/pull verbs (push-12)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP ADV
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {PREP}[20]

These verbs express different types of force exerted on an entity (Levin, 1993, p. 137), which is, in a consequence, forced to move. The most typical verbs from this class were *pull* and *push,* which we have already encountered several times in other verb classes. Other class members that occurred in the construction were the verbs *thrust, yank, press*. *Pull* and *yank* were seen to frequently occur with the source expressed by *out of* (ex. 73-74) but all verbs could also appear with the goal (ex. 75-76) or the path argument (ex. 77). The causer was usually a human being (with the exception of ex. 74) while the theme could be either a human (ex. 75) or an inanimate object (ex.73-74, ex. 76-77).

73) my son used to [] **pull** *it* out of the plug

74) that squirrel just properly **yanked** *something* out of the tree

[20] This syntactic and semantic information was probably incorrect or incomplete in VerbNet because Levin provides a caused-motion construction example in the class description: *Nora pushed the chair against the wall.* (1993, p. 137).

75) I'd **push** *her* in the sea

76) he **pressed** *the drill* into the wall

77) anybody could **pull** *wool* over our eyes

Drive verbs (drive-11.5)

VerbNet case frame: NP V NP PP.destination / NP V NP PP.initial_location
Syntax: Agent VERB Theme {to towards} Destination / Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Initial_Location

This is the last class from Table 2 showing verbs significantly attracted to the caused-motion construction. Its members are verbs of accompanied caused motion that lexicalize the manner of motion, typically using the vehicle name (Levin, 1993, p. 136). The most prototypical verb occurring in the construction was *drive.* Other less attracted verbs were *fly, bus* and *wheel.* All verbs occurred with the source (ex. 78), the path (ex. 79) and the goal or the goal direction arguments (ex. 80-81) employing many different prepositions such *at, to, around, down, from, off, on,* etc. The causer was always a human being or an organization (ex. 80). The theme was either an inanimate object (ex. 79, ex. 81) or a human (ex. 78, ex. 80). Like in the *send-11.1* class, it could be questioned whether examples such as 80 encode direct causation but as we have said before, we will include them as examples of the construction as long as they could be construed as a single event.

78) they **bussed** *them* up from London

79) you [] **drive** *your van* around Sardinia

80) they **flew** *her* to Dubai

81) she just **wheels** *the pram* on the escalator

4. 2. 1. 2 Prototypical coerced verb classes

There were two collexemes typically associated with the construction that had a significantly different syntactic and semantic structure in VerbNet. It was the verbs *pop* and *upload,* which are in VerbNet classified in the *sound_emission-43.2*[21] and *other_cos-45.4*[22] verb classes, respectively. This was a surprising case of coercion because both verbs are intuitively very commonly used in the caused-motion construction (ex. 82, ex. 86) and we would have expected them to be classified in verb classes such as *put-9.1* or *send-11.1*. Even their dictionary entries

[21] In VerbNet *pop* is also included in the *break-45.1* verb class but we concluded that its caused-motion meaning is closer to the *sound-emission-43.2* class. Its meaning of quick movement seems to be more naturally associated with an abrupt loud sound rather the with the action of breaking something.

[22] *Upload* is also listed in another VerbNet class: *remedy-45.7* but like in the case of *pop* above, we considered the *other_cos-45.4* to be a more probable source of coercion into the construction.

include the caused-motion meaning[23] (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 2019). Nonetheless, we will continue with our plan to follow the VerbNet classification based on Levin (1993) and treat both verbs as members of coerced verb classes *sound_emission-43.2* and *other_cos-45.4.*

Verbs of sound emission (sound_emission-43.2)
VerbNet case frame: NP V PP.location / NP V NP.theme
Syntax: Theme VERB {PREP} Location / Agent VERB Theme

This class refers to emitting of sound and is related to other classes of emission (Levin, 1993, p. 236). The type of sound is lexicalized in the verbs, just like in the mentioned verb *pop,* which is the only verb from this class that was strongly attracted to the construction. Another class member that occurred in the construction with less attraction was the verb *swish.* Both verbs are examples of coerced items into the construction because their prototypical syntactic structure described in VerbNet does not correspond with that of the caused-motion construction. They can be used with a directional phrase only intransitively, e.g. *The cart rambled down the street.* (ibid, p. 235) or rarely causatively without the directional phrase, e.g. *I buzzed the bell.* (ibid). In our sample, *pop* occurred frequently with the goal argument (ex. 82-83) and once with the path argument (e.g. 84). The path argument was also in the one example of the construction with *swish* (ex. 85). It seems that since these verbs can be already used separately with either a directional phrase or with a theme, it is not difficult for the speaker to fuse these participant roles of the verb and the arguments of the caused-motion construction and use them both at the same time in one sentence. The sound associated with the motion here comes to express the motion itself and is not pre-empted because there is no other verb that would express this type of sound and motion at the same time. The type of motion expressed by the verbs is a quick movement probably associated with the quick abrupt noise they lexicalize.

82) you can just **pop** *it* in the oven
83) we **pop** *you* into your chair
84) they **pop** *the coil* through the tube
85) you kinda **swish** *it* around your teeth

[23] pop = "to quickly put something somewhere, usually for a short time". In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.* Retrieved 13 April 2020 from https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/pop
upload = "if you upload it, you move it from a small computer to a computer network so that other people can see it or use it". In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.* Retrieved 13 April 2020 from https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/upload

Other alternating verbs of change of state (other_cos-45.4)
VerbNet case frame: NP V NP.patient (Location)
Syntax: Agent VERB Patient (Location)[24]

This class is a mix of different kinds of verbs that all "relate to externally caused changes of state" (Levin, 1993, p. 246). *Upload* was the only strongly attracted verb from this class (ex. 86-87). One very weekly attracted verb from this class was *shut* with the collostructional strength 0.81 (ex. 88). In contrast with the previous verb class, *other_cos-45.4* appears to be syntactically closer to the caused-motion construction. The agent here causes change to the theme which can happen at some location, e.g. *Bill is drying a lot of clothes on the line.* (ibid). The difference is that there is typically no motion of the theme implied and the prepositional phrase encodes the location of the action, not a source, path or goal. The coercion thus seems to transform the locative phrase into a directional phrase, which gives the main verb a meaning that implies motion. This would apply to most of the members of this class; in the case of *upload* and *shut* movement is implied by definition[25] but the verbs can also indicate a change of state only if not followed by a directional phrase as in the examples below.

86) I'd just **upload** *it* to that blog

87) girl **uploads** *a selfie* to Facebook

88) I **shut** *the door* on my head

4. 2. 1. 3 Prototypical novel verbs

Finally, Table 2 also includes four verbs, *pick, drop, download* and *plug in/into,* which were significantly attracted to the caused-motion construction but were not included in Levin (1993) or VerbNet with the meaning they expressed in the construction. Consequently, we consider them as a type of new verbs whose use is either completely novel or which have started to be used only recently. We can see clearly that the verbs form two groups that are related. *Pick* and *drop* in ex. 94 and 97 are converses of the action of giving someone a lift. *Download* and *plug in/into* are both related to technology and their use probably increased significantly since the publication of Levin (1993) and the last VerbNet update in 2005. We will now discuss their individual syntactic and semantic structure and classify them into appropriate verb classes.

[24] We added the (location) argument because it is mentioned in one of the examples of the verb class in Levin: *Bill is drying a lot of clothes on the line.* (1993, p. 246).
[25] Shut = "If you shut something such as a door or if it shuts, it moves so that it fills a hole or a space". In *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.* Retrieved 21 April 2020 from https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/upload
For *upload* see definition in the footnotes on page 49.

From the use of *download* in ex. 89-90, we can see that it was used either with the goal direction argument expressed using *to* (ex. 89) or with the source argument expressed using *from* (ex. 90). Based on this syntactic behaviour and its meaning we would probably include it among the *send-11.1* verbs. The movement of the theme is unaccompanied by the agent and it is also not completely direct although it is regarded as a single event. The factor of close similarity to this verb class also explains why it was so easily accepted into the construction.

89) you could **download** *the document* to your phone

90) you **download** *it* from the App Store

Regarding *plug into/in,* we found the verb *plug* in VerbNet but it had a completely different meaning of *fill.* In our sample, *plug into/in* referred to connecting some technological equipment to an electronic device. In these cases, only the goal argument was expressed using either *into* (ex. 91), or in two cases using the *in* preposition (ex. 92). The preference for the goal argument and the meaning of connecting to another device makes it similar to the *mix-22.1* class which belongs to one of the most prototypical classes of the construction as well. We will also mention here that our sample included one less attracted verb *unplug* (ex. 93), which is a converse to *plug in* and another novel verb not included in Levin (1993) or VerbNet. We classified it in the semantically close verb class *split-23.2* which has the same VerbNet case frame as *mix-22.1*.

91) you **plug** *it* into your phone

92) she **plugged** *it* back in the original socket

93) I **unplugged** *the router* from the socket

One of the meanings of *drop* was already classified in the *put_direction-9.4* verb class but its second meaning is quite different. As we have mentioned, it relates to giving a lift and expresses leaving someone at a specific location after giving them a ride. As a result, in the majority of examples, the theme was human (ex. 94-95) and only rarely an inanimate object (ex. 96). It frequently co-occurred with the particle *off* (ex. 94, ex. 96) but could also stand on its own (ex. 95). The theme was usually followed by a goal expressed by the PP with *at* (ex. 94, ex. 96). Given this meaning and the syntax, the closest verb class containing similar examples is *bring-11.3.*

94) we can just **drop** *you* **off** at the castle

95) he **dropped** *you* by his pop

96) you can just **drop** *it* **off** at a corner shop

The verb *pick* encodes the opposite of the action expressed by *drop.* It means taking someone from a certain location in one's vehicle. Unlike *drop,* it could not be used on its own and functioned as a phrasal verb always followed by the particle *up* (ex. 97-98). Being an example of caused motion in the opposite direction, it co-occurred with the source argument usually expressed by the PP with *from* (ex. 97) but also with *at* in some cases (ex. 98). Just like *drop,* it could be classified in the *bring-11.3* verb class. Both *pick* and *drop* include the deictic component of meaning referring to the direction and could be considered synonyms of *bring* and *take* that relate to driving someone.

97) she goes and **picks** *the kids* **up** from school

98) I come and **pick** *you* **up** at the shop

4. 2. 2 Less typical collexemes

In the following three subsections we will discuss those verb classes and their members that were not judged as typical for the caused-motion construction but were not repelled by it. They were the case of rather original uses of the construction and will provide us with information about its productivity. In the first subsection we will introduce non-coerced verb classes that were related to the caused-motion construction in meaning and syntactic behaviour, in the second subsection we will introduce the majority of the verbs coerced into the construction, and the third subsection will cover the majority of novel verbs that were used in the construction.

4. 2. 2. 1 Less typical non-coerced verb classes

There were additional 22 verb classes, which can be seen in Table 3, that had the caused-motion construction among their possible syntactic structures in VerbNet. In the collexeme analysis these classes showed only a small level of attraction to the caused-motion construction; their member verbs had the collostructional strength value smaller than 10. As a consequence, we did not include them among the prototypical exemplars of the construction in 4. 2. 1. 1 but we consider them original less typical productions of the speakers that are acceptable instances of the caused-motion construction based on their low but still existing attraction. In this subsection we will not describe each verb class individually but we will demonstrate that these 22 slightly attracted verb classes share certain syntactic and semantic properties with the prototypical verb classes from 4. 2. 1. 1, which is the reason why they can be used in the construction. These properties can be described in terms of 6 clusters of verbs that were formed based on the VerbNet case frames and syntactico-semantic behaviour shared by the prototypical verb classes. As we will show, the majority of the 22 slightly attracted verb classes fit into one of

Verb class	Less attracted collexemes
tape-22.4	*strap, tie, hook, clamp, nail, tape, gum, pin, staple, chain, string, screw*
wipe_manner-10.4.1	*scrape, flush, suck, wipe, squeeze, sweep, lick, scratch*
hit-18.1	*smack, kick, knock, slap, whack, strike, blast, hit*
run-51.3	*run, rush, swerve, revolve, walk, bowl, step*
put_spatial-9.2	*lay, hang, rest, dangle, lean, sit, stand*
breathe-40.1.2	*vomit, spit, cough, breathe*
fill-9.8	*soak, line, inject*
banish-10.2	*exile, evacuate*
accompany-51.7	*guide, lead*
pocket-9.10	*land, trap*
wipe_instr-10.4.2	*filter, brush*
shake-22.3	*sew, bind*
keep-15.2	*keep, lock*
chase-51.6	*chase*
feeding-39.7	*feed*
vehicle_path-51.4.3	*sail*
contribute-13.2	*refer*
clear-10.3	*empty*
coil-9.6	*twist*
concealment-16	*hide*
mine-10.9	*mine*
swat-18.2	*swipe*

Table 3: Non-coerced verb classes and their members with collostructional strength smaller than 10

Cluster description	Prototypical verb classes	Less typical attracted verb classes
C1: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination/Initial_Location/Trajectory	*bring-11.3; carry-11.4; drive-11.5; pour-9.5; push-12; slide-11.2; throw-17.1; send-11.1*	*vehicle_path-51.4.3; banish-10.2; chase-51.6; run-51.3*
C2: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination	*funnel-9.3; put-9.1; put_direction-9.4; spray-9.7*	*accompany-51.7; breathe-40.1.2; coil-9.6; fill-9.8; pocket-9.10; put_spatial-9.2*
C3: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Source/Initial_Location	*remove-10.1*	*clear-10.3; mine-10.9; wipe_manner-10.4.1; wipe_instr-10.4.2*
C4: Agent VERB Patient {PREP} Co-Patient	*mix-22.1; split-23.2*	*shake-22.3; tape-22.4*
C5: Agent VERB Topic/Theme {to} Recipient	*instr_communication-37.4.1; (send-11.1)*	*feeding-39.7; contribute-13.2*
C6: Agent VERB Instrument {PREP} Patient	*poke-19*	*hit-18.1; swat-18.2*
C7: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Location	-	*concealment-16; keep-15.2*

Table 4: Clusters of specific syntactico-semantic behaviour shared by the prototypical and less typical attracted verb classes

these clusters. Only two specific classes, *keep-15.2* and *concealment-16,* which encoded the meaning of prevented motion, formed a cluster on their own. Moreover, in terms of their

meaning, each less attracted verb class is related to a prototypical verb class by specifying its meaning or construing a different aspect of the motion. All 7 clusters (including the cluster of verbs of prevented motion) and their member verb classes are presented in Table 4. This representation of the verb classes in clusters should simulate dynamic categorization of verbs in the constructicon.

C1: NP V NP PP.destination/initial_location: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination/Initial_Location/Trajectory

This was the biggest cluster of verb classes in our sample. It was based on 8 prototypical verb classes that shared the VerbNet case frame NP V NP PP.destination/initial_location. The prototypical classes included verbs of accompanied caused motion, e.g. *carry-11.4, bring-11.3*, *drive-11.5,* verbs that implied caused motion after exertion of force, e.g. *throw-17.1, push-12, slide-11.2,* or verbs of indirect causation construed as a single event, e.g. *send-11.1, drive-11.5.* What distinguished and connected all these different types of verbs was their co-occurrence with both the source and the goal arguments. Apart from being able to express both directions, they also frequently appeared with the path or the goal argument that could imply possession transfer. The theme could be either human or inhuman; the causer was typically human. We could say it was the most versatile cluster of verbs in our sample. The same behaviour was detected in two less attracted verb classes *vehicle_path-51.4.3* and *banish-10.2*[26]. The former had the verb *sail* in our sample (ex. 99), the latter *exile* (ex. 100) and *evacuate* (ex. 101). These verbs also allowed both the source (ex. 101) and the goal or goal direction arguments (ex. 100), and even the path occurred in several examples (ex. 99). Looking at the semantics of the verb classes, *vehicle-path-51.4.3* is related to the prototypical *drive-11.5* verb class. The former represents types of motion specific for particular vehicles, while the latter encodes more generally accompanied motion using a vehicle. *Banish-10.2*, which refers to "removal of an entity, typically a person, from a location" (Levin, 1993, p. 123), is obviously related to *remove-10.1* and is also not unlike the *send-11.1* class that equally indicates unaccompanied caused motion in both directions that is often caused indirectly.

99) you really **sail** *a barge* across the English Channel

100) they **exile** *the orchestra* to a hole in the ground

101) ISIS [] **evacuated** *all the civilians* from the area

[26] This verb class was slightly different as its VerbNet case frame included the source argument and not initial_location. Nonetheless, we decided to include it in this cluster because we do not distinguish between the source and the initial_location in our analysis of the PPs.

Chase-51.6 and *run-51.3* shared the same VerbNet case frame NP V NP PP.location with C7 but their syntactico-semantic structure Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Trajectory implied caused motion in both directions, which is why they were included in this cluster. The first verb class, *chase-51.6,* which had the member verb *chase* in our sample (ex. 102) is typically transitive and expresses accompanied caused movement of the theme along a certain path. In the case of *run-51.3,* not all its members "can be found in the induced action alternation" (Levin, 1993, p. 267) that would imply caused motion. In our sample the following verbs from *run-51.3* were used in the caused-motion construction: *run, rush, swerve, revolve, walk, bowl, step* (ex. 103-104). Both verb classes mostly occurred with the path argument (ex. 102-103) but could also precede the goal argument (ex. 104). They were semantically close to the prototypical verb class *bring-11.3* which implies accompanied direct caused motion of a typically human theme. They were also very close to the less attracted *accompany-51.7* verbs.

102) dad **chased** *me* down the garden

103) you just sort of **bowl** *people* across the bonnet

104) they **rushed** *me* into theatre

C2: NP V NP PP.destination: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination

This cluster was the second most significant one with 10 verb classes sharing the same VerbNet case frame. There were 4 verb classes from the prototypical list of verbs and other 6 classes of the less attracted verbs categorized into this cluster based on their syntactic and semantic similarity. The prototypical cases comprised of the verb classes *put-9.1, spray-9.7, put_direction-9.4* and *funnel-9.3.* These verbs shared the meaning of putting an inanimate object into a certain location that was expressed using the goal, goal direction or path arguments. The 6 less attracted classes added into the cluster were: *put_spatial-9.2, pocket-9.10, coil-9.6, breathe 40.1.2, accompany-51.7* and *fill-9.8.* The first three classes were clearly closely related to the prototypical verb classes of this cluster. They also referred to putting an object into a place and each class lexicalized a different aspect of the motion. *Put_spatial-9.2* verbs such as *lay, hang, rest, dangle, lean, sit, stand* specified the spatial configuration of the placed entity (Levin, 1993, p. 112) (ex. 105-106), *pocket-9.10* verbs lexicalized the final location of the theme (ibid, p.122), e.g. *trap* or *land* (ex. 107), and *twist,* the one example verb of the *coil-9.6* class, encoded the manner of placing an entity around something (ex. 108).

105) I used to **hang** *a rabbit* up in a shed

106) [you] **lay** *your baby* down on a white sheet

107) they tried to **land** *that thing* on on Mars

108) you could just **twist** *it* around your wrist

The verb classes *breathe-40.1.2* and *accompany-51.7* did not exactly refer to putting an entity somewhere but had the same syntactic structure and their semantic structure *did* indicate caused motion of an element towards a destination. *Breathe-40.1.2* related to bodily processes of "emitting a substance *from* the body" somewhere (Levin, 1993, p. 218) (ex. 109), *accompany-51.7* expressed taking a person somewhere (ex. 110). From the semantic point of view, *breathe-40.1.2* verbs *vomit, spit, cough, breathe* could be seen as related either to the *spray-9.7* class or the *pour-9.8* class that also often appeared with a liquid theme. *Accompany-51.7* and its example verbs *guide* and *lead* seemed close to the *bring-11.3* verb class even though they appeared only with the destination argument. These two verbs could be also considered examples of the secondary meaning of the construction of assisted motion.

109) I had to **spit** *it* down the toilet

110) she **led** *me* to the pen pencils

Finally, the verb class *fill-9.8* was a special case. According to Levin (1993), *fill-9.8* and its verbs such as *soak, line* or *inject* are like *spray-9.7* verbs because they cause complete affectation of the location but they only occur with the *with* variant of the locative alternation (p. 120), which is also indicated by their syntactico-semantic description in VerbNet (Agent VERB Destination {in} Theme). However, this was not the case in our sample as all of these verbs followed the pattern Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Destination where the PP clearly expressed the goal argument using the prepositions *into* (ex. 111), *in* (ex. 112), and *up on* (ex. 113). Consequently, we decided to include them in this cluster of verbs that express caused-movement of an entity towards a destination.

111) they **injected** *some coloured fluid* into my womb

112) you **soak** *it* in some sauce

113) you **line** *it* up on the tail stop

C3: NP V NP PP.source/intial_location: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Source/Initial_Location

The third group was based on the prototypical caused-motion verb class *remove-10.1* that referred to removing an entity from a source (or from an initial location; we did not distinguish between the two in our analysis). We classified here the verb classes *wipe_manner-10.4.1, wipe_instr-10.4.2, mine-10.9* and *clear-10.3* that all specified different means of removal. As the verbs referred to removal from a place typically by exertion of force, they co-occurred with an inanimate theme. The source argument was expressed using PPs with *from, off* and *out of* with an exception of the *clear-10.3* class and its one example verb *empty* which may take also

other prepositions indicating the goal or the path argument (Levin, 1993, p. 125) (ex. 114). The verbs from the other three classes that were present in our data were *scrape, flush, suck, wipe, squeeze, sweep, lick, scratch* from *wipe_manner-10.4.1* (ex. 115-116), *filter, brush* from *wipe_instr-10.4.2* (ex. 117) and *mine* from *mine-10.9* (ex. 118). The similarity of these verbs to those of the *remove-10.1* class is evident.

114) you **empty** *them* onto your plate

115) you **wipe** *it all* off erm the surface

116) you **squeeze** *it* from the bottom

117) we **brush** *it* out of the way

118) they **mine** *it* out the ground

C4: NP V NP PP.co-patient: Agent VERB Patient {PREP} Co-Patient

The prototypical verb classes whose VerbNet case frame was used for the creation of this group were *mix-22.1* and *split-23.2.* We have described these as classes where the caused-motion arguments of the theme and path can be construed as the patient and co-patient, respectively. It is because these verbs refer to a type of caused motion that can affect the theme and the path arguments by attaching or adding the theme to a location (*mix-22.1* verbs) or conversely by separating it from a location (*split-23.2).* The same VerbNet case frame was shared by the verb classes *shake-22.3* and *tape-22.4* that also indicated possible affectation of the theme and of the path. These two are also semantically close to the class *mix-22.1.* The verbs of the *shake-22.3* verb class, *sew* and *bind,* referred to attaching an item to something (ex. 119) or making something stay in place (ex. 120). The latter class, *tape-22.4*, referred to attaching with the verbs *strap, tie, hook, clamp, nail, tape, gum, pin, staple, chain, string, screw* that were "all related to nominals that name types of fasteners" (Levin, 1993, p. 162) (ex. 121-122). Whereas the prototypical *split-23.2* class co-occurred mostly with the source argument, all the other classes referred to attaching or combining so they were followed by the goal argument frequently expressed with PPs with *on, onto* or *to* prepositions.

119) they **sew** *the thing* back on the flaps

120) your Ult **binds** *them* to the ground

121) you just literally **tie** *it* to a door

122) I was gonna [] **staple** *it* to the back er of his er piece of work

C5: NP V NP PP.recipient: Agent VERB Theme/Topic {to} Recipient

The verb classes in this cluster were those particular examples of the transfer variant of the caused-motion construction where the change in location implicates change of possession and

the goal argument can be construed as the recipient. The only prototypical example of this class was the verb *email* from the *instr_commun-37.4.1* class. Similar less attracted verb classes representing this variant of the construction were *feeding-39.7* with the verb *feed* (ex. 123) and *contribute-13.2* with the verb *refer* (ex. 124). Technically, we could also include here the *send-11.1* verb class which also contains the recipient argument in one of its possible VerbNet case frames. Since these verbs encoded motion towards a recipient that could imply possession transfer, they almost always co-occurred with the goal direction argument expressed by the PP with *to*. The theme was mostly inanimate in the case of *feed* but always animate with the verb *refer*. *Refer* and its *contribute-13.2* class are semantically close to the verbs in the *send-11.1* class because they equally expressed sending a person somewhere. *Feeding-39.7* could be seen as related to *funnel-9.3*.

123) you **feed** *ginger biscuits* to elephants

124) she **refers** *you* to a doctor

C6: NP V NP PP.patient: Agent VERB Instrument {PREP} Patient

The final cluster based on the VerbNet frames of the prototypical verbs included only one such prototypical verb class, the *poke-19* verbs. The verbs categorized into this cluster referred to affecting the path argument using the theme as an instrument. There were two semantically and syntactically similar verb classes that were added into the cluster, the *hit-18.1* class and the *swat-18.2* class. The numerous verbs included in *hit-18.1* and present in our data were: *smack, kick, knock, slap, whack, strike, blast, hit*. There was only one example from *swat-18.2,* the verb *swipe* (ex. 128). All these are verbs of forceful impact and were also mentioned as a specific class of verbs typical for the caused-motion construction in Goldberg (1995). Our data here confirmed the claim of Oyón (2007) discussed in 2. 4. 1 and contrary to Goldberg (1995) that even verbs that pattern like *strike* can occur in the construction (ex. 127). The examples below show that the verbs were followed by a vast range of directional phrases that could express the goal (ex. 125), the source (ex. 126) or the contact variant of the goal argument with *against* (ex. 127). All of these could be also construed as patients that were affected by the movement of the theme. The meaning of *hit-18.1* and *swat-18.2* classes is of course very close to the prototypical member of the cluster, *poke-19*.

125) I **smacked** *a bar* up into my nose

126) they **knock** *it* out of the hand

127) you will not **strike** *your foot* against a stone

128) I **swipe** *it* to the right

C7: NP V NP PP.location: Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Location

The verbs in this cluster were all only slightly attracted to the construction. They were the classes *concealment-16* and *keep-15.2.* Their VerbNet case frame does not indicate any movement since the PP expresses location and not a destination or a source. In their meaning these verb classes referred to the secondary sense of the construction of prevented motion which is defined by the schema "X prevents Y from moving Comp(Z)" (Goldberg, 1995). All sentences with *keep* and *lock* from *keep-15.2* encoded this secondary sense (ex. 129). The example with *hide* from *concealment-16* could be also seen as a case of prevented motion if we construe hiding as preventing future removal (ex. 130). The complement of potential motion argument Comp(Z) was expressed using the PPs typical for the goal argument with *in, into, under.* This secondary sense was accepted as an example of the caused-motion construction based on the definition of the construction by Goldberg (1995). Still, it is not surprising that these verb classes were not strongly attracted to the construction. Although attested, they are not typically associated with the construction.

129) I will **keep** *you* in my tower

130) he **hides** *him* under the pillow

4. 2. 2. 2 Less typical coerced verb classes

In this subsection we will introduce verbs and their verb classes that were coerced into the caused-motion construction. These verbs had a syntactic structure that differed from the one of the caused-motion construction and in their primary meaning they typically did not imply caused motion. The level of attraction to the construction was in all these cases below the collostructional strength value of 10, which means that we can suppose they are not typically used in the construction, unlike the coerced verb classes *sound-emission-43.2* and *other_cos-45.4.* As with the verbs in the preceding subsection, we consider them original productions of the speakers at the time of conversation. This uniqueness of their use is also confirmed by the fact that for each verb class discussed, there was usually only one or two verbs represented in the sample with occurrence of only one or two examples. We will approach the description of these verb classes similarly as in the preceding section. We will not describe each verb class individually but in terms of their shared syntactic and semantic properties that sort them into 5 semantic groups that can be viewed in Table 5. It was interesting to see that even the coerced verbs show repeating patterns of syntactic and semantic behaviour and can be grouped into clusters. The verbs *fish* and *get* did not fit any of the classes and will be discussed individually at the end.

Semantic group	Coerced verb classes and their member verbs
Verbs of change of state or destruction *(Agent VERB Patient)*	*break-45.1 (crack, crash); carve-21.2 (grate); disassemble-23.3 (sieve); other_cos-45.4 (upload, shut); cooking-45.3 (poach)*
Verbs of communication *(Agent VERB Patient / {PREP} Recipient / Co-Agent)*	*wink-40.3.1 (wave); manner_speaking-37.3 (shout); supervision-95.2 (direct); urge-58.1 (invite, force)*
Verbs affecting the patient *(Agent VERB Patient / Co-Agent)*	*battle-36.4 (wrestle); touch-20 (prod)*
Intransitive verbs of a specific type of motion or existence *(Theme VERB {PREP} Location)*	*bump-18.4 (ram); entity_specific_modes_being-47.2 (flow); exceed-90 (top); meander-47.4 (cascade); modes_of_being_without_motion-47.3 (waft)*
Verbs of removal *(Agent VERB {PREP} PP.source)*	*remove-10.1 (remove); wipe_instr-10.4.2 (plough); wipe_manner-10.4.1 (flush, strain, suck)*
Others	*fish, get*

Table 5: Less typical coerced verb classes and their member verbs classified into semantic groups

Verbs of change of state or destruction

This group contained the largest number of different verb classes including the prototypical verb class *other_cos-45.4* discussed in 4. 2. 1. 2. As this latter class, the verbs in this group followed the VerbNet case frame NP V NP and the syntactico-semantic structure Agent VERB Patient. Inherently, these verbs would not encode motion although there were some exceptions (e.g. *upload* as discussed above). What all these verb classes had in common was that the state of the patient was changed by the agent in a particular way that was lexicalized by the verb. As a test of the change of state, the sentence could be transformed into the passive which would imply the way in which the patient was affected (ex. 131). Given this meaning, the verbs and their respective verb classes often related to cooking or preparation of food, which is an activity associated with causing a change of state of an ingredient. The examples included *poach* from the *cooking-45.3* verb class (ex. 132), *crack* from *break-45.1* (ex. 133), *sieve* from *disassemble-23.2* (ex. 134), and *grate* from *carve-21.1* (ex. 131). The second most salient semantic feature shared by these classes was that the change of state related to destruction or causing harm to the patient. We have already mentioned the *break-45.1* class, which had another verb in our sample, *crash* (ex. 135), or again *shut* from *other-cos-45.4* (ex. 136). Finally, they all co-occurred with the goal argument expressed by PP with either *into, in* or *on.*

131) I've seen him **grate** *truffles* into something → the truffles were grated

132) you **poach** *an egg* on top

133) you **crack** *an egg* in it

134) I'll **sieve** *it* into another thing

135) they actually **crash** *a helicopter* into London Bridge

136) I **shut** *the door* on my head

We can see that this is a specific type of verb classes that seem to work rather well when coerced into the caused-motion construction. Goldberg (1995), who discussed some of them as change-of-state verbs, argues that they do not encode motion but may be used in the caused-motion construction because they at least imply "some predictable incidental motion" (p. 171). It is true that there is definitely an implied fall of the themes in ex. 131-134 caused by gravity, or another type of motion caused by the force of the agent in ex. 135-136. Such an implication of movement seems to facilitate insertion of the path argument into the verb's frame, which gives the action meaning of caused motion. The affected character of the participant role of the object also fuses easily with the theme argument of the construction. We have already seen the patient argument function as the theme in the prototypical VerbNet case frame NP V NP PP.co-patient (Agent VERB Patient {PREP} Co-Patient). This also means that the coerced verb classes are similar to the prototypical *mix-22.1* and *split-23.2* verbs that share the above mentioned VerbNet case frame. Similarity to an attested class is one of the major factors in acceptability of coerced items. The second important factor, statistical pre-emption, does not impact these verb classes as there seem to be no other verbs attested in the construction that could express the same amount of information with the same economy. The only possible way how to paraphrase e.g. ex. 132 would be *you poach an egg and place it on top*. The verbs such as *grate, crash* or *sieve* here serve as the semantic specification of the prototypical classes *mix-22.1* and *split-23.3* that relate to cooking or particular types of destruction. By including these verbs into the construction, it increases its variability, type frequency and subsequently also its coverage.

Verbs of communication

These verb classes and their member verbs relate to the different types of communicative actions that are typically used to address a recipient or a patient and might prompt or assist motion. There were two verb classes, *wink-40.3.1* and *manner_speaking-37.3,* with the VerbNet frame NP V PP.recipient (Agent VERB {PREP} Recipient), the class *urge-58.1* with the related frame NP V NP.patient (Agent VERB Patient) and the class *supervision-95.2* with another related frame NP V NP.agent (Agent VERB Co-Agent). Although, their frames slightly differed, they all shared a very close meaning. *Wink-40.3.1, manner_speaking-37.3* and *supervision-95.2* encoded different types of communication that may, under certain conditions, prompt motion or assist motion. *Urge-58.1* encoded an act of communication whose purpose was to prompt motion. The degrees of the effect of communication on the theme and their amount of participation was also visible from the construal of the theme that could be either

co-agent, recipient or patient. The *wink-40.3.1* class encoded communicating with non-verbal gestures such as *waving* (ex. 137), *manner_speaking-37.3* referred to verbal communication with its example *shout* (ex. 138), *supervision-95.2* with *direct* (ex. 141) and *urge-58.1* with *invite* and *force* (ex. 139-140) implied both verbal and non-verbal communication. Since the action carried out by the causer related to communicating, the theme was always human and could be either directed away from a source (ex. 137) or prompted or assisted to move towards a goal (ex. 138-141). Given their meaning in our examples, *wave, invite* and *force* could be seen as examples of the secondary sense of the prompted motion while *shout* and *direct* were in our sample cases of assisted motion.

137) we always **wave** *people* off from the door

138) I'll **shout** *you* to a takeaway

139) you **invite** *boys* to your house

140) this **force** *you* in the wood

141) most of them **direct** *you* to the website

One of the reasons for the successful coercion of these verb classes was their semantic coherence with the secondary senses of the caused-motion construction. *Wink-40.3.1* and *urge-58.1* verbs encoded prompted motion, which means that based on our pragmatic knowledge, the recipient will move if they accept the prompt. Since force can be hardly resisted (ex. 140) and waving or inviting are likely to be accepted (ex. 137, ex. 139), the movement is likely to take place and the coercion of the verbs can happen. Regarding the examples of assisted motion, the verbs from *manner-speaking-37.3* and *supervision-95.2* relate to giving directions, which are even more likely to cause motion of the recipient. The second reason for their acceptable coercion into the construction was the lack of statistical pre-emption. *Wink-40.3.1* verbs are used pretty conservatively as the only way to nonverbally cause motion using communication and not exertion of force. E.g. verbs *beckon, point, nod, wink* were not in our sample but are very common. *Manner-speaking-37.3* could seem to be threatened by the *accompany-51.7* class, which also refers to providing directions, however, *accompany-51.7* verbs indicate accompanied motion while *manner-speaking-37.3* verbs do not. This is not the case for the *supervision-95.2* verbs of accompanied motion but these in addition imply certain participation from the theme (co-agent) and authority of the causer. As a result, both classes fill the gap in the coverage of the construction and increase its variability as valid coerced examples. As for the *urge-58.1* verbs, they are somewhere in between communicating and affecting the patient, like the verbs in the following section, which makes them a special moderate way of causing motion without strongly affecting the patient. The existence of these

verb classes in the caused-motion construction also questions Goldberg's argument that no meditated decision can be taken by the theme (1995). In *supervision-95.2* in particular, the theme seems to participate in the action. In our examples, the resulting movement was highly likely but we can consider them borderline cases of direct causation.

Verbs affecting the patient

These coerced verbs are very similar to the preceding cluster, the *urge-58.1* verbs in particular, with the difference that the action of the causer physically affects the patient and is not only a manner of communication. The two verbs and their verb classes in this cluster were *wrestle* from the *battle-36.4* class (ex. 142) and *prod* from the *touch-20* class (ex. 143). The syntactico-semantic structure was Agent VERB Patient for *touch-20* and Agent VERB Co-Agent for the *battle-36.4* class in which the affected argument typically participates in the action. Both examples in our sample indicated agents exercising physical power over themes (both human and inhuman) causing them to move towards a goal (ex. 142-143). The verb classes normally do not encode caused motion but they can imply it based on our pragmatic knowledge. *Wrestling* usually causes the opponent to fall and *proding* something or someone with a lot of force would cause movement as well.

142) they **wrestle** *them* to the ground

143) he would then **prod** *bits* on my head

Based on their semantics, the coercion of these types of verbs seems to be unproblematic in relation to the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle. There is some incidental motion involved when performing these types of actions, and we have already mentioned in the two preceding clusters that the participant roles that are patients, recipients or co-agents typically fuse very well with the theme argument of the construction. They are already in some way affected and can be caused to move. The two verb classes are also semantically very close to the attested prototypical *poke-19* and *push-12* classes and the less typical *hit-18.1* class. In all of these the theme construed as a patient is also moved in response to the causer's exertion of force and my affect the location. This similarity would favour their coercion and categorize them in the same cluster in the constructicon. Regarding possible statistical pre-emption, they appear to be cases of encoding a specific manner of pushing or poking and thus extending the construction's coverage.

Intransitive verb of a specific type of motion or existence

There were five different verb classes within this group and we could also include here the prototypically coerced verb class *sound_emission-43.2* presented in 4. 2. 1. 2. These verb

classes had an agentless VerbNet case frame with the syntactico-semantic structure Theme VERB {PREP} Location/Co-Theme. Some of them allowed the causative alternation NP V NP.theme (Agent VERB Theme) but in that case, no location was implied. Regarding their shared semantics, they all encoded a specific type of movement or existence related to particular themes. The verbs *flow* and *cascade* from the classes *entity_specific_modes_being_47.2* and *meander-47.4,* respectively, typically relate to the motion of liquids and what FrameNet identifies as Fluidic_motion. *Waft* from *modes_of_being_without_motion-47.3* refers to emanation of smell into the air. *Ram* from *bump-18.4* is similar to *pop* and relates to a loud noise caused by the motion of a theme. The last verb class *exceed-90* with the verb *top,* refers to a kind of action that exceeds a certain norm. What all of the coerced cases had in common was that they were caused to co-occur with an unusual theme, which highlighted the particularity of the motion. Also, by being coerced into the construction, they all gained an agent that caused the action. We can see that *flow* and *cascade* in ex. 144 and ex. 145 did not co-occur with liquid themes but their original meaning stressed the fluidity of the motion caused by the agent. *Waft* (ex. 146) highlighted the accompanying smell of the theme that normally could not *waft* in a specific direction. *Ram* (ex. 147) was used to emphasise the noise accompanying the caused movement, and *top* (ex. 148) marked exceeding of a certain benchmark. We can also see that they preceded all types of the path argument expressed by various PPs.

144) they can **flow** *it* straight into their template

145) we'd sort of **cascade** *it* to other people

146) you **waft** *toast* under her nose

147) he could just **ram** *you* off the road

148) there was like a couple of things that **topped** *it* over the edge

When looking at the semantic constraints of the construction, we can see that all the verbs imply motion and direct causation. Also their participant roles easily fit the argument roles of the construction. They all contained a moving theme, sometimes even the location of movement. The only major change caused by the coercion was the insertion of the agent as the causer of the movement. This is allowed because there seem to be no lexemes that would express the same amount of information and could pre-empt these from use. The uniqueness of these verbs consists in that they indicate a very specific type of motion that cannot be expressed in any other way that would be equally economical. They put forward different aspects of the motion during construal, such as is fluidity (ex. 144-145), accompanying smell (ex. 146) or noise (ex. 147). As mentioned before, they thus significantly improve the coverage

of the construction by increasing its variability and frequency. Still, they are also sufficiently similar to the attested verb classes to fit the construction and be categorized into one of its semantic clusters. They are close to the more general verb classes *send-11.1, throw-17.1* or *push-12.*

Verbs of removal

This was a particular group of verbs which were already seen in our sample with their prototypical VerbNet case frame NP V NP PP.source/initial_location but that were now coerced into an atypical frame NP V NP PP.destination. The verbs came either from the *remove-10.1, wipe_instr-10.4.2* or *wipe_manner-10.4.1* verb class and included the examples of the verbs *remove, plough, flush, strain, suck.* Instead of co-occurring with the PPs with prepositions such as *off, out of* or *from,* which are typical for them, they preceded the goal or the path argument expressed with *onto* (ex. 149), *into* (ex. 150, ex. 152-153) or *down* (ex. 151). In their meaning they still referred to removal of an object but only as a means of causing it to move somewhere else. The theme was always nonhuman.

149) it would **remove** *some of the rubbish* onto the bottom of the hill

150) we **plough** *money* into the NHS

151) you need to **flush** *it* down the loo

152) you **strain** *it* into a saucepan

153) you can't **suck** *your face* into your face

Given that these classes of verbs were already seen as attested cases of the caused-motion construction only with a slightly different syntactic and semantic behaviour, this is not a prototypical case of coercion. What happened here is that these verbs started to resemble *funnel-9.3* verbs, which was atypical for the lexemes in our sample but is not unusual for some other members of these classes (Levin, 1993, p. 126). Using analogy, our example verbs thus started to be used in the same manner as the verbs like *wipe, spoon* or *shovel* that belong both to the *funnel-9.3* class and to a class indicating removal.

Fish and Get

This and the following verb will be treated individually because they did not fit any of the above groups. The verb *fish* from the *hunt-35.1* verb class had only one occurrence in our sample (ex. 154). The VerbNet case frame of this class was NP V NP PP.location and the syntactico-semantic structure Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Location. We can see that the frame is very close to the caused-motion construction frame with the only difference that there is no motion implied as the PP encodes location, not direction. This behaviour is very similar

to the verbs of change of state discussed above but *hunt-35.1* verbs do not imply any change of state. According to Levin (1993), they refer to searching (p. 197). Based on this definition, the act of fishing would imply searching for fish at a certain place, which was not the case in our example that specifically referred to removing fish from a location. Probably, the main reason why it was possible to construe the verb *fish* as an act of removal is because pragmatically, we know that removal from a source location is implied during fishing. Consequently, it seems acceptable to coerce the verb into the construction and express this meaning that is not covered by the cluster of *remove-10.1* verbs, among which this verb might be classified.

154) we all **fished** *the cods* out of a river

The very last coerced item was the very versatile verb *get* which belonged to a number of different verb classes in VerbNet. The verb class probably most closely related to the meaning of the verb in our examples was *render-29.9.* However, given its neutrality in meaning and special status, it is probably better to treat it individually and not in terms of a verb class. The frequency of *get* as a coerced verb was very unique because unlike the other examples of coerced verbs with the frequency of 1 or 2 in our sample, *get* occurred in 153 examples of the construction. Still, this cannot be too surprising because we have already mentioned that *get* has a very high corpus frequency and a very vague meaning so that it can be used in most constructions. In our sample, it could refer to putting an entity somewhere (ex. 155), possession transfer caused by motion (ex. 156), removal of an entity (ex. 157) spraying or pouring liquid over an entity (ex. 158) and many more. This means that it occurred with all the possible types of PPs and the theme could be either human (ex. 159), inanimate (ex. 155-156) or even an animal (ex. 157). In a way it is the most prototypical caused-motion verb of them all because it seems to cover all possible syntactic and semantic structures that can occur within the caused-motion construction but as this is rather caused by its neutrality and versatility in meaning, we will not give it much attention when summarizing the patterns of productivity of the construction.

155) we **get** *it* in your car

156) he wanted to **get** *a letter* to his wife

157) they wanted to **get** *the bugs* out of this engine

158) they needed to **get** *the water* over them

159) he **got** *us* onto the slope

4. 2. 2. 3 Less typical novel verbs

Novel verbs	Assigned verb classes
collect	***bring-11.3***
reverse	***drive-11.5***
slot	***put-9.1***
seat	***put_spatial-9.2***
snapchat; retweet; source out; serve; tweet; drip-feed; text; scan	***send-11.1***
super-combine; nip	***remove-10.1***
manoeuvre, divert	***slide-11.2***
barricade; shut	***keep-15.2***
release	***admit-64.3***
head; broach	***run-51.3***
gear	***accompany-51.7***
blow	***pour-9.5***

Table 6: Less typical novel verbs used in the construction and their verb classes

In this section we will describe and classify those verbs that were not included in VerbNet or that were included in the database only with a meaning that was completely unrelated to the one present in our sample. The attraction of these verbs to the construction was not very strong; all had the collostructional strength value below 10. Like the coerced verbs in the preceding subsection, they were all semantically related to the prototypical verbs strongly attracted to the construction and each could be categorized into one of the non-coerced prototypical or attracted verb classes, as we can see in Table 6. Most of them also encoded a specific type of motion that was not covered by the attested verbs. For each verb we will explain the cause for its categorization and present its example from our sample.

Collect (bring-11.3)

We have already discussed the novel verbs *pick up* and *drop* that were categorized as *bring-11.3* verbs. *Collect* could be added to this class as well since it shares the meaning with *pick up* and has the same syntactic behaviour. It is interesting that *collect* was not pre-empted from use by *pick up* which is, albeit novel, the more frequent and entrenched variant. In our sample *collect* co-occurred with the source argument (ex. 160).

160) they'll come and **collect** *us* from the airport

Reverse (drive-11.5)

The verb *reverse* is a converse to the verb *drive* and can be included in the same verb class *drive-11.5* as a specification of motion in the opposite direction. In the example it indicated causing motion of a vehicle into a goal (ex. 161).

161) I **reversed** *his car* into a tree

Slot (put-9.1) & seat (put_spatial-9.2)

Slot referred to a special manner of placing an item in a destination expressed by the goal argument (ex. 162). *Seat* behaved very similarly with the only difference that it specified the resulting spatial configuration of the moved theme (ex. 163).

162) you just **slot** *it* into the corner

163) they **seated** *her* in cattle class

Snapchat, retweet, source out, serve, tweet, drip-feed, text, scan (send-11.1)

Most of these verbs relate to technology and have started to be used only recently, which might explain why they have not yet been added to the VerbNet database. These were the verbs *snapchat, retweet, tweet, drip-feed, text* and *scan*, which referred to sending a document or a message by lexicalizing the instrument used (ex. 164-165, ex. 168-170). The second group of verbs that could be categorized into the same verb class were *serve* and *source out*[27] that referred to handing or sending an item to someone. All verbs often co-occurred with the goal direction argument expressed by the PP with *to* that at the same time implied the recipient (ex. 164-169). This all made them very similar to the *send-11.1* verb class which they extended with new possible ways to express different manners of sending.

164) you **snapchat** *David's reaction* to him

165) they **retweeted** *it* out to all their followers

166) the university last year um s **sourced** *it* out to another company

167) he can just **serve** *it* to the rest of the family

168) you **tweet** *it* to all their followers

169) I accidentally **texted** *the wrong message* to you

170) they **scan** *it* into the computer

Super-combine, nip (remove-10.1)

These verbs shared the same syntactic structure NP V NP PP.source, and related to removing an item from a location including the prototypical PP with *out of* (ex. 171-172). They encoded

[27] *Source out* was probably a novel phrasal alternation of the more entrenched verb *outsource*.

very specific ways of removal not included in *remove-10.1*. The first lexicalized the instrument used, the second referred to stealing.

171) I could **super-combine** *the guy* out of it

172) they'd **nip** *it* out [of] your hands

Manoeuvre, divert (slide-11.2)

The verbs *manoeuvre,* and *divert* were categorized into the *slide-11.2* verb class because they referred to causing movement of an item into a location (ex. 173, ex. 175) or along a path (ex. 176) in a specific manner that implicated use of force.

173) you can't **manoeuvre** *a big plank* to a band saw

174) they **divert** *it* through the village

175) I div **diverted** *the water butt* into the pond

Barricade, shut (keep-15.2) & release (admit-64.3)

Barricade and *shut* encoded the secondary meaning of the caused-motion construction of prevented motion. Like with the other verbs in the *keep-15.2* class, there was no caused motion of the theme implied; the theme was forced to stay at a certain location (ex. 176-177). *Barricade* and *shut* increased the coverage of the verb class by specifying two different ways of preventing motion. The opposite of this meaning, enabled motion, was expressed using the verb *release* (ex. 178) that was categorized into the verb class of the opposite meaning, *admit-64.3.* This use of *release* is not very novel and we found it surprising that it was not included in VerbNet. Also, it was the only example of an attracted verb that would encode enabled motion in our sample. Consequently, there was no danger of being pre-empted by another verb.

176) we'll just **barricade** *you* in your room

177) we **shut** *them* in the kitchen

178) nanny **release** *me* from the straps

Head, broach (run-51.3)

Like other *run-51.3* verbs, *head* and *broach* indicated "manners in which animate entities can move" (Levin, 1993, p. 267) when caused to move by the causer. *Head* referred to caused motion with a specific direction (ex. 179), while *broach* described sailing with reference to the breaking of the water surface, which is usually the type of motion described using this verb (ex. 180). We can see these are very specific meanings that could not be expressed by other *run-51.3* verbs. Both of the verbs might be also considered as examples of coercion. Although they were not included in VerbNet or Levin (1993), according to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2019), they tend to occur intransitively in the structure NP V NP/ADV.

179) he got in front of the keeper and just **headed** *it* past him

180) you **broached** *this barge* across the Channel

Gear (accompany-51.7)

Like other verbs from the *accompany-51.7* verb class, *gear* refers to the secondary meaning of the construction of assisted motion. In the example it occurred with the goal direction argument (ex. 181) and specified a special kind of assisted motion where the theme completely relies on the directions from the causer, who *gears* them like a car.

181) they kind of **gear** *you* to the horse

Blow (pour-9.5)

There were many classes mentioned in VerbNet that can be associated with this verb but none of them related to the meaning of emitting air into a certain direction. Based on this meaning we decided to categorize it into the *pour-9.5* class because the location was always completely affected by the theme. There were 5 examples with *blow* carrying this meaning and the theme was usually air caused to move along a path (ex. 182).

182) it **blows** *the heat* evenly around the room

4. 2. 3 Repelled collexemes

The following 12 verbs in Table 7 were identified by the collexeme analysis as repelled verbs that are atypical for the construction and their occurrence in the construction may be caused by pure chance or due to great creativity and originality of the speaker. Apart from the verbs *ask* and *play,* the differences in the strength of repulsion were not great and will not be given much attention. As in Table 2, coerced verbs were marked with yellow, other verbs came from the classes that we have already seen as attracted to the construction or whose VerbNet case frame corresponded to the caused-motion construction. We have expected all repelled collexemes to be coerced verbs but actually more than half of the collexemes came from verb classes that were either very strongly or at least partially attracted to the construction. In these examples it was clear that the verb was not repelled because it would be semantically incompatible with the construction. It meant it was probably conservatively used in another construction or it was pre-empted by another more suitable member of the verb class. The same cause of repulsion could be expected in the case of *ask* from the *urge-58.1* class that was in the previous section judged as partially attracted to the construction. We will discuss all these examples in detail and since there were many conflicting cases of repulsed verbs coming from the attracted verb classes, we will not treat the collexemes in terms of their verb classes but as individual verbs.

Repelled collexemes	Verb classes	Strength of repulsion
play	*play-114.2*	2.44
ask	*urge-58.1* (attracted class)	2.42
show	*transfer_mesg-37.1*	0.60
set	*put-9.1* (prototypical class)	0.55
allow	*admit-64.3* (attracted class)	0.54
fill	*fill-9.8* (attracted class)	0.25
let	*admit-64.3* (attracted class)	0.24
stuff	*spray-9.7* (prototypical class)	0.24
fit	*funnel-9.3* (prototypical class)	0.24
laugh	*nonverbal_expression-40.2*	0.23
lie	*spatial_configuration-47.6*	0.19
draw	*remove-10.1* (prototypical class)	0.15

Table 7: Collexemes repelled by the caused-motion construction

4. 2. 3. 1 Repelled collexemes from attracted verb classes

Set

The verb *set* belongs to the class that comprises verbs most strongly attracted to the construction, the *put-9.1* class. There was only one example of the collexeme in our sample where it indicated caused motion of a theme by placing it in a certain goal location (ex. 183). Looking at the example, we can suppose that *set* was repelled from the construction because it has a rather vague meaning of placing an entity somewhere and because it is polysemous. Just by exploring its entry in VerbNet, we could see that it is classified in other four verb classes with different syntactic and semantic structures that represent competition to its use in the caused-motion construction. Based on our experience with coerced verbs in the previous subsection, we have seen that lexemes that tended to be attracted to the construction specified the meaning expressed by the more general prototypical verbs, such as *put* or *remove.* This uniqueness of their specific meaning meant that they could not be pre-empted by another lexeme. When we look at the ex. 183, we could expect that numerous synonymous verbs from the same verb class could here pre-empt *set* from use. These could be equally generic in meaning, e.g. *put, place*, or very specific, e.g. *plant* in ex. 184. In addition, *set* is, according to the data in the Spoken BNC2014, most frequently used in the phrasal verb *set up* where it seems to be more entrenched than in the caused-motion construction expressing putting. By combination of its conservative use elsewhere and it is high probability of being pre-empted, it is repelled by the caused-motion construction.

183) he [] **set** *them* in the little plant pots

184) he **plants** *them* out in a big pot

Stuff

Another verb coming from one of the prototypical verb classes was the verb *stuff* from *spray-9.7.* In the particular example in our sample it indicated putting items into a container (a sack) by employing force (ex. 185). This verb *does* express a specific manner of putting an entity somewhere, however this does not distinguish it from the other more prototypical verbs from the *spray-9.7* verb class. All members of this class encode different ways of putting things into containers or on surfaces, e.g. *sprinkle, spray, stick*. Competitive verbs that could be used in a situation similar to 185 are e.g. *jam, cram* (ex. 186) or *pack* (ex. 187), which is more generic in terms of specifying the amount of force employed but more specific to the type of movement expressed in 185. These three possible competitors increase the probability of statistical pre-emption and indicate that the use of *stuff* in the caused-motion construction is based on its similarity to the attested items possible but unlikely.

185) she **stuffed** *them* into her ruck sack

186) they'd **cram** *their feet* into these shoes

187) I could **pack** *it all* into my suitcase

Fit

The verb *fit* comes from the prototypical *funnel-9.3* verb class. The members of this verb class, similarly to *spray-9.7,* relate to different ways of putting an entity somewhere, typically to an enclosed container but also on a surface as in ex. 188. *Fit* has a rather specific meaning that does not seem to be covered by any other of the class members. Still, it is unlikely to be used in the construction because it a polysemous verb that is entrenched in a different construction. In the VerbNet classification, it is included in other two verb classes, particularly in *fit-54.3*. Verbs in this class are often used "to describe the capacity of the location" (Levin, 1993, p. 273). Since *fit* is the most prominent member of this class and gives it its name, it is probably safe to say that it is entrenched in the construction of this meaning and use. In order to check this assumption, we also searched for the most frequent use of *fit* in the Spoken BNC2014 and it proved to be examples of its use as a *fit-54.3* verb. By being so strongly associated with another verb class, its use in ex. 188 is indeed rare and the verb tends to be repelled by the construction.

188) he **fit** *all the balls* on the floor to slip up one of the ladies

Draw

This verb belongs to the *remove-10.1* class that was discussed both as a prototypical and as a coerced verb class because some of its member no longer co-occurred only with the source

argument but also preceded the goal or path arguments. In our sample, *draw* was used prototypically with the source argument expressed by the PP with *off* (ex. 189). In the example it functioned as a specific manner of removing a card off the surface. Its use is thus very unique here and could not be pre-empted by any other verb from the *remove-10.1* class. Still, it belongs to items repelled by the construction. One of the reasons for that might be that even though ex. 189 encodes a conventional way to express this kind of movement, it is a very infrequent example of removing, particular to a very specific situation. The secondary reason could be that *draw* is a homonym that can also express a manner of artistic creation as a member of the verb classes *create-26.4* and *scribble-25.2.* According to the Spoken BNC2014, it is most frequently used as an example of one of these two verb classes. Although this other meaning is completely unrelated to removal, its strong entrenchment there might be the reason for its repulsion from the construction.

189) you **draw** *cards* off the top of the Legacy deck

Fill

Fill was categorized into the *fill-9.8* class together with the verbs *soak, line* and *inject.* These verbs were only slightly attracted to the construction and their use showed syntactic behaviour contrary to their description in Levin (1993). As we have mentioned in 4. 2. 2. 1 they did not occur in the *with* locative variant of the *spray-9.7* verb class but with the destination argument (usually a goal). In ex. 190, *fill* proved identical syntactic behaviour and encoded caused motion of an entity towards a goal. The fact that the use of the members of the *fill-9.8* class in our data contradicts Levin's (1993) description of the class could indicate that although their use in this syntactic structure *is* possible, it is still the less frequent and less probable variant. The use of *soak, line* and *inject* seemed frequent enough to appear to be attracted to the construction, *fill* might be more entrenched in the *with* locative variant. Also, its use in the caused-motion construction does not indicate any special additional meaning that could not be expressed by some other attested verbs. In ex. 190, its meaning could be easily expressed by the prototypical verb *pour* (ex. 191). The verb *pour* would be also more suitable in this case because while *fill* is very versatile and can co-occur with a wide range of themes, *pour* relates to moving liquid onto a surface or into a container. Our analyses of using less attracted and coerced verbs have so far shown that the more specific and more fitting verb is always preferred over a generic one.

190) I **filled** *the asphalt* on the roof

191) father **poured** *the alcohol* on the Christmas pudding

Allow* and *let

These two verbs from the *admit-64.3* class were an interesting case because this was the only verb class in our sample that comprised two repelled items and also one novel and slightly attracted verb. This verb was *release* (ex. 194) and we discussed it as a collexeme expressing enabled motion. *Allow* and *let* also encoded enabled motion from a source (ex. 193) and towards a goal (ex. 192). The theme was always human because it had to be capable of movement on its own in order to be enabled to enter or leave a location. *Allow* occurred in only one example of the construction but *let* was surprisingly very frequent for a repelled verb and appeared in 9 separate examples. It is surprising that these verbs were repelled by the construction whereas all the other examples of the secondary senses of the construction were attracted to it, e.g. prevented motion expressed using *keep-15.2* verbs or assisted motion expressed using *accompany-51.7* verbs. Moreover, *allow* and *let* shared the VerbNet case frame NP V NP PP.location (Agent VERB Theme {PREP} Location) with *keep-15.2*. Also, like all other expressions of the secondary senses of the construction, *let* and *allow* fit the semantic constraints of the construction and there seems to be no other attested lexemes that would pre-empt their use. One possible reason for their repulsion is their low frequency in the construction in comparison with their overall high frequency in the corpus, which would indicate that they are more attracted to other constructions. Based on the data in the Spoken BNC2014, *let* was most frequently used in the construction *let's* V NP, whereas *allow* occurred most frequently with *to*-infinitive (NP V NP *to*-infinitive). Conservative use in these two constructions might be the cause of their repulsion from the caused-motion construction but given their unique position to encode the sense of enabled motion that was not expressed by any other prototypical or attracted non-novel verb, it may be that they were only under-represented in our sample.

192) she probably won't **allow** *me* in her house

193) they won't **let** *you* out of hospital

194) they need to **release** *them* to site

4. 2. 3. 2 Repelled collexeme from attested coerced verb classes

Ask

The verb *ask* belongs to the *urge-58.1* verb class, which also contained two coerced and attracted verbs *invite* and *force* that were discussed in the group of *Verbs of communication* in 4. 2. 2. 2. Like these two verbs, *ask* indicated communication towards a human theme (construed as a patient in the VerbNet case frame) in order to prompt their motion (ex. 195). Since the verbs *invite* and *force* were attracted to the construction, we can expect that the repulsion of *ask* was not caused by the semantic incompatibility between the verb's participant

roles and the construction's arguments. More likely, *ask* was pre-empted by the more frequent and more strongly attracted *invite* which comes from the same verb class and seems an established way to prompt motion of a human theme towards a goal expressed by a PP with *to* (ex. 196). In comparison with *invite,* the meaning of *ask* is very broad and would be typically pre-empted by a more specific member of the class. In a construction with such high coverage that includes many verbs indicating specific types of motion, coercion of a generic verb would be avoided.

195) he **asked** *you* to the cinema

196) we **invited** *her* to the cinema

4. 2. 3. 3 Other repelled and coerced collexemes

Show

The verb *show* and its coerced verb class *transfer_mesg-37.1* have not yet occurred in our sample but their meaning was very close to the coerced members of the group of *Verbs of communication* discussed in the previous paragraph. *Transfer_mesg-37.1* verbs refer to a type of communication where the verbs "differ with respect to the nature of the message and the way it is communicated" (Levin, 1993, p. 203). The VerbNet case frame of the verb class closest to the caused-motion construction is NP V NP how S (Agent VERB Recipient Topic). In our sample *show* encoded non-verbal communication used to assist motion of a human theme (construed as a recipient in VerbNet) along a path (ex. 197) or towards a goal (ex. 198). By expressing this secondary sense of the construction, it acted similarly to the *supervision-95.2, manner_speaking-37.3* and *accompany-51.7* verb classes. This similarity is also the possible reason for its repulsion. Since there are already three verb classes that are associated with encoding assisted motion, there is high probability of statistical pre-emption. The members of the attracted and non-coerced *accompany-51.7* class in particular seem very likely to pre-empt the use of *show.* Its verbs *guide* and *lead* that also occurred in our sample express the same broad sense of accompanying someone to a location (ex. 200) or along a path (ex. 199). *Show* does not provide any additional meaning to *accompany-51.7* verbs and would not improve the coverage of the construction. *Guide, lead* or even more specific verbs such as *shout* or *wave* seem a better fit for the construction.

197) she **showed** *me* around the factory

198) girl eventually **showed** *us* to our room

199) it'll **guide** *you* through the website

200) [you] **lead** *me* to your door

Lie

The coerced verb *lie* came from the *spatial_configuration-47.6* class which is the intransitive variant of *put_spatial-9.2*. Just like this latter class, *spatial_configuration-47.6* verbs relate to orientation in space of a theme argument, which is in this case not caused by an agent. The prototypical VerbNet case frame of this class is NP V PP.location (Theme VERB {PREP} Location). Like in the group of *Intransitive verbs of a specific type of motion and existence*, the agent was here inserted to cause the theme's spatial configuration at a location (ex. 201). The reason for repelling this coercion is pretty simple because *lie* has a more frequent and strongly entrenched transitive variant *lay* from the *put-spatial-9.2* class which pre-empts the use of *lie* in the caused-motion construction. We can see this in ex. 202 that is almost identical to ex. 201.

201) we had to not **lie** *the baby* on its back

202) [you] **lay** *your baby* down on a white sheet

Play

Play was the most strongly repelled verb and came from the class *play-114.2* with the VerbNet case frame NP V NP (Agent VERB Theme). This frame was unique in our sample as it was not shared by any other coerced verb class. Usually, *play* is used to indicate playing a certain game, sport or instrument construed as the theme. In these cases, no movement is typically implied. In our example playing referred to causing motion of a theme along a path as part of a game (ex. 203). The reason for repelling coercion of this verb into the construction was probably statistical pre-emption by the more frequent prototypical variants such as *kick* or *throw.* Although *play* specifies that the action causing the movement of the theme relates to playing, it does not specify the manner of performing the action, which actually may not imply motion. Ex. 203 could as well mean playing music across the room. From this point of view, *kick* or *throw* may seem as more suitable collexemes (ex. 204).

203) you **play** *it* across the room

204) you **kick** it up the slide

Laugh

The last coerced and repelled verb was *laugh* which is often used as an example of coercion into the caused-motion construction (Goldberg, 1995, p. 154). In our sample the collexeme analysis judged its use as so atypical that it was marked as repelled by the construction. The verb comes from the *nonverbal_expression-40.2* class which is semantically and syntactically close to the classes of the *Verbs of communication* cluster and the class *manner_speaking-37.3* in particular. Like with the verbs of this latter class, the action is directed at a recipient under the VerbNet case frame NP V PP.recipient (Agent VERB {PREP} Recipient).

Manner_speaking-37.3 and other *Verbs of communication* denoted a specific manner of communication that implied assisted or prompted motion and was not pre-empted by any other class of verbs. In our sample, *laugh* also specified a type of non-verbal oral communication and could be equally seen as an example expressing the construction's secondary sense of prompted motion (ex. 205). There also seems to be no other similar verb that could express its very specific meaning. The only possible explanation for its repulsion appears to be its entrenchment in a different construction. When we look at its use in the Spoken BNC2014, it is strongly associated with its intransitive use which is by far the most frequent. We mentioned in 2. 3. 2 that statistical pre-emption overrides conservatism via entrenchment but here it seems to be the opposite case. Even though *laugh* fits one of the senses of the construction, it improves its coverage and is not pre-empted by any other entrenched alternative, its strong conservative use elsewhere makes its occurrence in the caused-motion construction atypical and may be judged as repelled by the construction according to certain acceptability measures.

205) they **laughed** *him* out the building

5. Conclusion

The purpose of our thesis was to describe the productivity of the caused-motion construction in present-day English with a special attention to the verb classes that may occur in the construction. The caused-motion construction is an argument structure construction and encodes one of the basic scenes of human experience, the activity of caused motion that can be represented by the schema "X causes Y to move Z". This is the primary sense of the construction which has other related secondary senses of prompted motion, prevented motion, assisted motion and enabled motion. Due to this polysemous structure of the construction's meaning and the process of coercion, which allows constructions to change verbs' meaning and valency structures to fit their function, we had expected a number of varied verb classes including newly created verbs to occur in this partially productive construction. The only semantic constraint imposed by the construction was that the verb classes should fit one of the construction's senses and should encode movement and direct causation. Other general constraints on the productivity included the semantic coherence principle, the correspondence principle, similarity to attested verb classes, statistical pre-emption, conservatism via entrenchment and coverage. Using the collexeme analysis and the VerbNet database of verb classes we hoped to establish what verb classes are prototypically used in the construction and what verb classes or individual lexemes are original instances of the construction that are only partially attracted to it or are repelled by it altogether. This information would help us define the status of the productivity of the caused-motion construction, the constraints on the construction's productivity and the ways they influence attraction or repulsion of different kinds of verb classes into the construction.

Our secondary purpose was to describe the productivity of the causer, theme and path arguments of the construction. Based on the information in Goldberg (1995) and Hilpert (2014a), we had expected the causer to be either a human agent, natural force or an instrument that can exert force on its own. Regarding the path argument, Goldberg (1995) demonstrated that it has to be in semantic alliance with the meaning of the verb. The only constraint on the theme was that it has to be capable of movement. All these assumptions and claims turned out to be completely confirmed in our study. We found the majority of the causers to be human agents, some animal agents or natural forces and a few examples of instruments capable of exerting force on their own. We described the path arguments using the terminology in Xia (2014) and like in that study, they proved to express the source, the path, the goal direction, the conative goal or the contact goal using a wide range of established prepositions within the PPs.

The transfer variant of the construction indicating possession transfer was also used with certain verbs, such as *send-11.1* or *throw-17.1*. As mentioned in Xia (2014), certain verb classes tended to prefer certain types of the path, e.g. *remove-10.1* occurred with the source argument, *put-9.1* verbs with the goal argument. But this was really nothing surprising due to their semantics. Regarding the theme, it could be either human or inanimate based on the semantics of the main verb, and it was always capable of movement. In most cases it was expressed using the anaphoric pronoun *it*. There were thus no unexpected cases of construing any of the arguments in a particular way and we could confirm the claims on their semantic constraints in Goldberg (1995), Hilpert (2014a) and Xia (2014). As a result, we decided to not give much attention to the analysis of the arguments and directed all our attention at the analysis of the verb classes used in the construction because they seemed to show much greater degree of productivity that has not been covered in detail by any of our studied sources.

In the first part of our analysis we analysed those verbs that the collexeme analysis marked as significantly attracted to the construction. Their collostructional strength value was bigger than 10 and they were also among the verbs most frequently used in the construction. We consider these to represent the most prototypical instances of the construction use. The verbs are strongly associated with caused motion and the caused-motion construction is included among examples of their syntactic and semantic behaviour in VerbNet. Before our analysis we had expected these to be the verbs typically associated with the primary and secondary senses of the construction, e.g. verbs of change of location (e.g. *pull*), verbs preventing movement (e.g. *lock*) or verbs of possession transfer (e.g. *hand*). The results of the analysis and the subsequent classification of the attracted collexemes into verb classes confirmed this hypothesis only partially. There were 17 verb classes that included one or more verbs very strongly attracted to the construction and all related to the primary sense of the construction: "X causes Y to move Z" where Z could be any part of the path: the source, the path itself, direction towards the goal or the goal. Based on their meaning, the verbs could be described as verbs encoding caused motion by putting the theme in a goal location (*put-9.1; put_direction-9.4; spray-9.7; funnel-9.3*), verbs of accompanied or unaccompanied caused motion in all possible directions often implicating exertion of force (*bring-11.3; pour-9.5; send-11.1; throw-17.1; slide-11.2; carry-11.4; instr_communication-37.4.1; push-12; drive-11.5),* verbs of caused motion by removal from a location (*remove-10.1*), verbs of caused motion affecting the location by contact with the theme *(poke-19)*, or verbs of caused motion that affects the theme by attaching it to or separating it from a location (*mix-22.1; split-23.2)*. Some verb classes could also be construed

as verbs of unaccompanied caused motion implicating possession transfer (*instr_communication-37.4.1; send-11.1; throw-17.1*). These 6 types of caused motion revealed 6 types of syntactico-semantic behaviour typical for the construction. Based on this behaviour, the verb classes were grouped into 6 clusters that helped us categorize other less attracted verb classes later on.

In addition to the 17 verb classes there were two coerced verbs *pop* and *upload* from the classes *sound_emission-43.2* and *other_cos-45.4* (*other change of state*), respectively, and four novel verbs[28] *pick, drop, download* and *plug in/into.* All these were examples of verbs that are so strongly associated with the construction and used so frequently that we might not think they were coerced or newly created. The subsequent analysis of the coerced verbs also showed that verbs of emission or change of state are frequently associated with the meaning of caused motion and are often coerced into the construction. Regarding *pop* and *upload* in particular, they became so strongly associated with the caused-motion construction, they gained a new meaning and could be now categorized into the *throw-17.1* and *send-11.1* classes, respectively. As for the four new verbs, they could also be categorized into one of the prototypical verb classes. *Pick* and *drop* shared the meaning with *bring-11.3* verbs, *download* resembled *send-11.1* verbs and *plug in/into* could fit the *mix-22.1* verb class. Since even the prototypically used coerced and novel verbs matched one of the 17 verb classes most strongly attracted to the caused-motion construction, we could consider these 17 verb classes a possible basis of the caused-motion construction category in the constructicon. These verbs are strongly entrenched as expressions of caused motion and are likely to obstruct the use of less typical, coerced or novel verbs by statistical pre-emption.

In the second section of our analysis we focused on those verb classes that are, according to the collexeme analysis, still somehow attracted to the caused-motion construction but cannot be viewed as its prototypical examples. The usage of these verbs was caused by the creativity of the speakers and promised to show us patterns of the partially productive uses of the construction. There were 22 verb classes that were not strongly attracted to the construction but could be categorized into one of the 6 clusters of the construction's prototypical semantico-syntactic behaviour, or, if related to one of its secondary meanings, create a cluster of their own. This proved the importance of the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle. When selecting less typical verbs to insert into the construction, they must fit the

[28] Novel verbs in our definition means not included in VerbNet or only with an unrelated meaning and use.

prototypical syntactico-semantic structure related to the meaning of the construction. In the case of the primary meaning of the caused-motion construction, the syntactico-semantic structure reflected the behaviour of the most strongly attracted prototypical verb classes. In the case of the secondary sense of prevented motion, the syntactico-semantic structure was established using the less prototypical but still attracted verb classes.[29] This confirms that the meaning of caused motion is prototypical for the construction while the other four meanings are less common. Also, the fact that the established senses of the construction are so clearly reflected in its use is in itself a demonstration of the construction's productivity which stretched its use beyond the primary meaning of caused motion.

In addition to belonging to one of the 6 clusters of the construction's syntactico-semantic behaviour, each of the slightly attracted verb classes that related to the primary sense of caused motion could be semantically associated with one of the prototypical verb classes expressing caused motion. In all of these cases, the less attracted verbs encoded a different way to construe the same type of motion, usually by specifying it in a way that was not covered by the prototypical verb class, e.g. by lexicalizing the instrument used or by denoting the manner. For example, *vehicle-path-51.4.3* verbs expressed a manner of using a certain vehicle without lexicalizing the vehicle name. They were related to the more general prototypical *drive-11.5* class whose members could not encode the same amount of information. Another example could be the *banish-10.2* class (related to the *remove-10.1* verbs) that indicated removal of people only. Each of the 22 verb classes thus demonstrated that within each cluster, verbs are grouped into smaller semantical clusters based on their similarity and that the construction's coverage is continually being increased by adding items with a more specific and restricted meaning. Adding verbs that can provide additional information which is not covered by the prototypical verbs turned out to be a significant pattern of productive behaviour also confirmed in the case of the use of novel verbs and verbs coerced into the construction.

There were 19 verb classes coerced into the construction that were judged as at least partially attracted to the construction by the collexeme analysis. These verbs did not inherently express caused motion and their argument structure differed significantly from the one of the caused-motion construction. Unlike the verb classes of *sound_emission-43.2* and *other_cos-45.4,* they were not considered typical uses of the caused-motion construction but original productions of the speakers at the moment of conversation. Based on their meaning, they could be separated

[29] The other three secondary senses of enabled motion, prompted motion and assisted motion were not expressed by any member of these two groups of verbs but will be discussed later on.

into 5 semantic groups: *Verbs of change of state or destruction*, *Verbs of communication*, *Verbs affecting the patient*, *Intransitive verbs of a specific type of motion or existence* and *Verbs of removal*. In addition to these, there were two verbs, *fish* and *get,* which were unique examples that did not fit any group and were treated individually. Each group contained verb classes that shared some aspect of their meaning. For example, *Verbs of communication* all referred to types of communication being used to express the secondary senses of either prompted or assisted motion. Another group, *Verbs of change of state or destruction*, indicated incidental motion caused by changing the state of the theme/patient. When describing these groups of coerced verb classes, it soon became apparent that like the slightly attracted non-coerced verbs discussed in the preceding paragraph, these verb classes are also related to the prototypical classes of verbs that express the same primary or secondary sense of the construction. For example, in terms of expressing caused motion, *Verbs of change of state or destruction* related to the *split-23.2* and *mix-22.1* verb classes and *Verbs affecting the patient* related to *poke-19*. Since *Verbs of communication* were the only verbs to express the secondary senses of prompted motion and assisted motion, they became their own prototypes. The relation between the coerced verbs and the prototypical verb classes was again that the former specified the meaning not covered by the latter.

Regarding the novel verbs attracted to the construction, which were not considered prototypical as *download, drop, pick* and *plug in/into,* we could see other 23 verbs that were not mentioned in VerbNet or whose meaning there was completely unrelated to their meaning in the caused-motion construction. By this point in the analysis, it was not surprising that all of these verbs could be easily categorized into one of the verb classes that were considered prototypical in terms of the meaning they expressed. The majority of the verbs were categorized into the prototypical verb classes of caused motion but there were also several cases which belonged to the verb classes of assisted, prevented and also enabled motion. In these classes they again represented means to specify the meaning expressed by the other more prototypical members of the class. For example, the verbs *tweet* or *snapchat* specified the meaning expressed by *send-11.1* verbs by lexicalizing the instrument. Many other novel verbs showed a similar tendency and were often cases of conversion of nouns into verbs, e.g. *barricade, slot* or *source.* By being able to classify all the novel verbs into the prototypical classes of the construction, we showed they all followed the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle.

In the last section of our analysis, we discussed the verbs that were considered repelled by the caused-motion construction by the collexeme analysis. These were the most creative instances

of the construction use, or those instances that were refused due to the factors of statistical pre-emption or conservatism via entrenchment. In the previous analyses we treated verbs in terms of their verb classes because they shared the same behaviour that could be generalized over the whole class. Repelled collexemes were, however, analysed individually on the level of verbs. Since more than half of them came from the verb classes attracted to the construction, it was clear that the cause for repulsion was not in the syntactico-semantic behaviour of the class but was to be found in the particular verb use. The analysis of the possible causes of repulsion partly confirmed the tendency of the construction's partially productive use. The primary cause of repulsion of these 12 repelled verbs was statistical pre-emption by a prototypical or more strongly attracted verb that could encode the same amount of information as the repelled collexeme. This meant that the repelled collexeme did not provide any specification of meaning that would not be covered by the already attested verbs. For example, the repelled verb *show* seemed to be pre-empted by the more specific and more strongly attracted verb *guide*. The secondary cause of repulsion in the cases with seemingly no competition from the more attracted verbs was the related factor of conservatism via entrenchment. In these cases, the repelled verb seemed to be entrenched in a different construction which prevented its use in the caused-motion construction. For example, the verbs *fit* and *laugh* seemed to be more strongly entrenched in the intransitive construction.

The analyses of the prototypical, less typical, coerced, novel and repelled verbs used in the caused-motion construction have demonstrated one overarching tendency that provides explanation for the construction's partial productivity. It seems to stem from the portrayal of constructions as categories in the constructicon (Goldberg, 1995) in accordance with Rosch's (1975) *Prototype theory*. The caused-motion construction is such a radial category with the most prototypical cases of its use at the centre and the less typical members connected to the centre by the relations of family resemblance. The 4 secondary senses of the construction all relate to the sense of caused motion, which is itself a prototype as we can see in Figure 2.

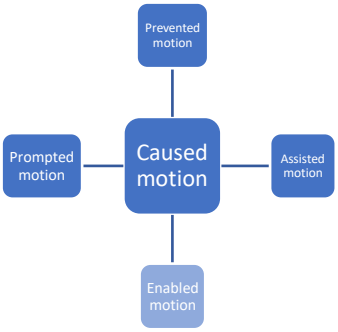

Figure 2: The category of senses of the caused-motion construction

Enabled motion is marked in Figure 2 because in our analysis it was shown as a sense repelled by the construction even though it might have been only under-represented in our data.

Similarly to this basic representation of the five senses expressed by the caused-motion construction, we can construct the radial category of the primary sense of caused motion and demonstrate how its structure influences the productivity of the construction in Figure 3. At the centre of the category there is the sense of caused motion. This is the most important constraint on the productivity of the construction demonstrated by the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle. The following layer of related nodes represents 6 types of the prototypical syntactico-semantic behaviour of the construction expressing caused motion. These clusters differ in size and in their proximity to the central meaning. Each type

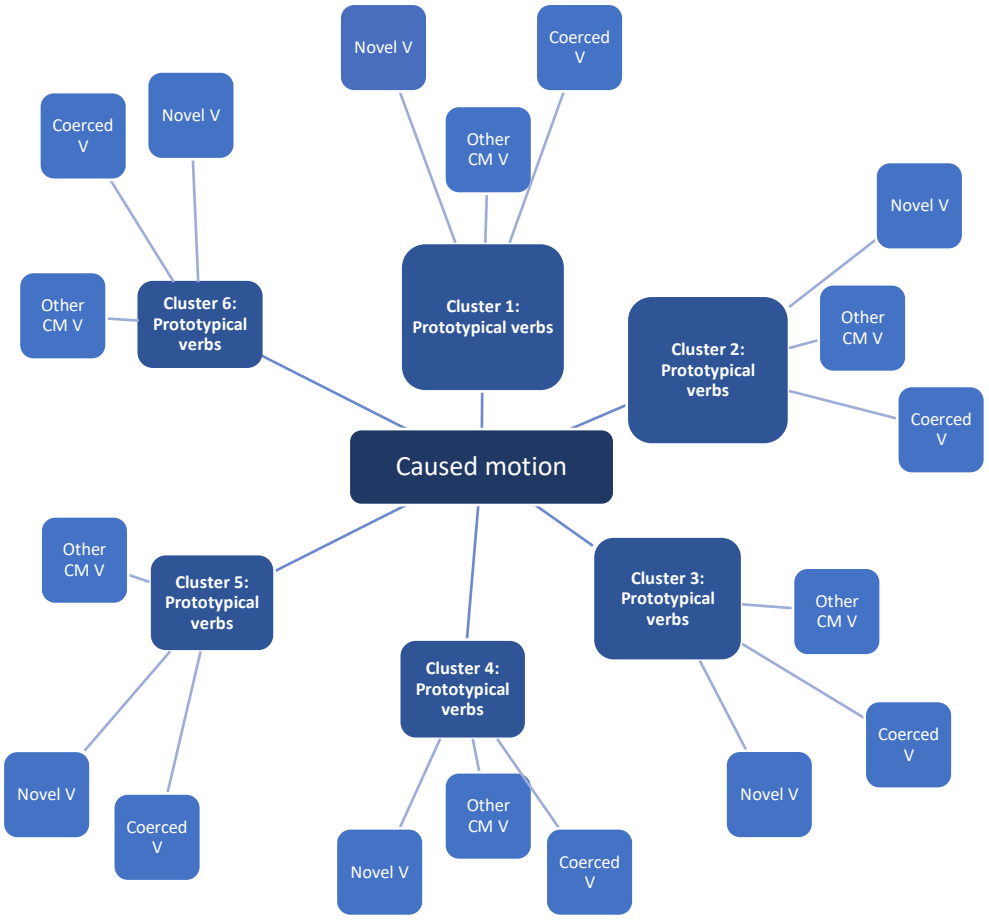

Figure 3: The caused-motion meaning categorical representation (V = verbs; CM = caused-motion)

is represented as a cluster of the prototypical verb classes sharing the same syntactico-semantic behaviour. These are the prototypical exemplars of the construction use that gave rise to the generalized schema of the caused-motion construction itself. As the centre defining the construction, they are the starting point of each productive use of the construction. If a speaker wishes to construct an original instance of the caused-motion construction expressing the

primary meaning of caused motion, the verb in question (either non-coerced caused-motion verb, coerced or novel verb) has to bear some family resemblance to one of the 6 prototypical clusters. This resemblance, however, cannot mean complete identity with one of the members of the prototypical verb classes, which would lead to statistical pre-emption by the more strongly entrenched prototype. If the verb is similar to a prototypical verb class but adds additional information that is not covered by the members of the class, it can be used and is stored as an extension or specialisation of the prototypical meaning. By continuing in this process, the construction increases its coverage because it contains multiple subtypes and specializations of the prototype. By consequence its productivity increases as well. Very productive constructions have huge coverage because they accept almost anything into their category. On the other hand, unnecessary coverage is limited by statistical pre-emption which restricts the use of synonymous expressions that are already covered by the entrenched verbs in the category.

If we summarize this process in relation to the caused-motion construction as a whole, we may say that the most important constraint on its productivity is its five senses of caused motion, prevented motion, assisted motion, prompted motion and possibly also enabled motion. The verbs used in the construction must encode one of these meanings and thus abide by the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle. The second most important constraint of similarity to an attested verb class comes as the result of fulfilling the first constraint. If the verbs and their participant roles match the construction's meanings and its arguments, they tend to bear resemblance to one of the clusters of its syntactico-semantic behaviour and are semantically related to one of the prototypical verb classes. Finally, the third important constraint related to coverage and statistical pre-emption states that their meaning must provide additional information that is not already covered by the verbs in the category. The constraint of conservatism via entrenchment precedes this whole process and comes into play when the speaker decides which verb to use in the construction.

Based on our work with the data from the Spoken BNC2014 we can present the schema of the productive use of verbs in the caused-motion construction in the following table (Table 8).

Sense	Prototypical syntactico-semantic structure	Prototypical verb classes	Less typical, coerced & novel verb classes	Repelled verbs	Examples of other possible verb classes
Caused motion	NP V NP PP.destination /initial_location	*bring-11.3; carry-11.4; drive-11.5; pour-9.5; push-12; slide-11.2; throw-17.1; sound _ emission-43.2;*	*vehicle_path-51.4.3; banish-10.2; chase-51.6; run-51.3; bump-18.4;entity_sp._m. -47.2; exceed-90; meander-47.4; modes_of_b. _w._motion-47.3*	*play*	*e.g. hiccup-40.1.1; substance_ emission-43.4; vehicle-51.4.1…*
	NP V NP PP.destination	*put-9.1; funnel-9.3; put_direction-9.4; spray-9.7*	*accompany-51.7; coil-9.6; fill-9.8; pocket-9.10; put_spatial-9.2*	*set, stuff, lie, fit, fill*	*e.g. butter-9.9; calve-28.1; gobble-39.3…*
	NP V NP PP.source / initial_location	*remove-10.1*	*clear-10.3; mine-10.9; wipe_instr-10.4.2; wipe_manner-10.4.1; fish*	*draw*	*e.g. pit-10.7, chew-39.2…*
	NP V NP PP.co-patient	*mix -22.1; split-23.2; other_cos-45.4*	*shake-22.3; tape-22.4; break-45.1; carve-21.2; disassemble-23.3; cooking-45.3*	--	*e.g. cut-21.1; separate-23.1; knead-26.5; bend-45.2…*
	NP V NP PP.recipient	*instr_ communicatio n-37.4.1*	*feeding-39.7; contribute-13.2*	--	*e.g. bill-54.5…*
	NP V NP PP.patient	*poke-19*	*hit-18.1; swat-18.2; battle-36.4; touch-20*	--	*e.g. spank-18.3; pelt-17.2…*
Prevented motion	NP V NP PP.location	--	*keep-15.2; concealment-16*	--	*e.g. confine-92…*
Assisted motion	NP V NP.recipient PP.destination	--	*manner_speaking-37.3; supervision-95.2*	*show*	*e.g. captain-29.8; help-72.1…*
Enabled motion	NP V NP.theme PP.destination	--	*admit-64.3*	*let, allow*	--
Prompted motion	NP V NP.recipient /patient PP.destination	--	*wink-40.3.1; urge-58.1*	*ask, laugh (nonverbal _ ex.-40.2)*	*e.g. amuse-31.1, judgment-33.1…*

Table 8: Representation of the productive use of verbs in the caused-motion construction

This table demonstrates the five senses of the construction, the clusters of verbs representing the prototypical patterns of the construction's syntactico-semantic behaviour and the added less typical, coerced or novel verb classes that extended the meaning not covered by the prototypes.

We also provide examples of verbs repelled by the construction. Lastly, in addition to the data from our analysis, we tried to predict which other VerbNet classes could be used or coerced into the construction under the conditions we have stated above.[30] Just the number of examples we have proposed shows the caused-motion construction can be considered not fully but still very productive.

We hope that this study and its results could shed some light on the character of the caused-motion construction and its partial productivity. It was our goal to employ theoretical knowledge about the productivity of constructions together with the analysis of actual examples of the caused-motion construction that represent its use in present-day English. By doing this, we have demonstrated that productivity of the caused-motion construction is only partial and is limited mainly by its semantics and by the type of stored prototypical exemplars of its use. These limitations could be summarized under the traditional constraints on the productivity of constructions: the semantic coherence principle and the correspondence principle, statistic pre-emption and coverage, and conservatism via entrenchment. Our proposition of the process that determines the construction's partial productivity was based on corpus data of considerable but still limited size. Trying to employ this model in an experimental study could confirm or deny our assumptions. Hopefully, this thesis can serve as a theoretical basis of a study of such sort.

[30] It is interesting that the enabled motion was not only underrepresented in our data but we also had trouble finding possible verb classes expressing this sense that could be used in the construction.

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6. 2 Sources and Tools

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7. Appendix

7. 1 The full list of collexemes

Collexemes	Corpus frequency	Construction frequency	Relation	Collostructional Strength
put	16969	1615	attraction	Inf
take	17397	367	attraction	285.27
send	3443	210	attraction	256.77
stick	1624	109	attraction	137.82
throw	1229	99	attraction	133.22
drop	1122	63	attraction	75.04
chuck	393	38	attraction	54.74
shove	159	27	attraction	46.12
pour	257	30	attraction	45.95
move	4848	64	attraction	37.69
bring	3184	52	attraction	35.15
add	1003	32	attraction	30.78
pull	1404	35	attraction	29.98
pick	2873	40	attraction	24.71
spill	74	13	attraction	22.80
drag	203	15	attraction	20.29
dip	118	13	attraction	20.01
email	161	14	attraction	20.00
dump	132	13	attraction	19.35
transfer	139	13	attraction	19.05
post	323	16	attraction	18.80
push	851	20	attraction	16.99
download	117	10	attraction	14.41
plug	175	10	attraction	12.63
pump	94	8	attraction	11.64
pass	1381	18	attraction	11.10
upload	34	6	attraction	10.86
pop	636	13	attraction	10.56
drive	2992	24	attraction	10.16
squirt	19	5	attraction	10.09
park	575	12	attraction	9.90
strap	51	6	attraction	9.75
soak	117	7	attraction	9.17
hand	403	10	attraction	9.08
forward	72	6	attraction	8.82
lift	318	9	attraction	8.73
lay	442	10	attraction	8.70
divert	39	5	attraction	8.40
smack	49	5	attraction	7.89
spray	109	6	attraction	7.73
scrape	122	6	attraction	7.43
tip	132	6	attraction	7.23

tie	258	7	attraction	6.80
hang	1620	14	attraction	6.61
wrap	278	7	attraction	6.58
mount	37	4	attraction	6.51
blow	437	8	attraction	6.39
invite	797	10	attraction	6.32
whisk	42	4	attraction	6.29
empty	195	6	attraction	6.23
kick	655	9	attraction	6.07
lock	377	7	attraction	5.71
roll	554	8	attraction	5.63
bury	142	5	attraction	5.57
load	278	6	attraction	5.34
knock	609	8	attraction	5.33
ship	83	4	attraction	5.09
bang	179	5	attraction	5.08
chase	182	5	attraction	5.04
flush	96	4	attraction	4.84
barricade	5	2	attraction	4.66
shoot	601	7	attraction	4.40
run	3677	17	attraction	4.26
place	477	6	attraction	4.03
slap	71	3	attraction	3.76
grate	76	3	attraction	3.68
deliver	355	5	attraction	3.67
crash	193	4	attraction	3.67
hook	80	3	attraction	3.61
tuck	83	3	attraction	3.56
rub	208	4	attraction	3.54
clamp	22	2	attraction	3.30
feed	680	6	attraction	3.22
whack	110	3	attraction	3.20
carry	1255	8	attraction	3.17
sail	114	3	attraction	3.16
export	26	2	attraction	3.16
rest	119	3	attraction	3.11
slot	28	2	attraction	3.09
slide	131	3	attraction	2.99
plant	132	3	attraction	2.98
suck	296	4	attraction	2.97
withdraw	34	2	attraction	2.92
drip-feed	1	1	attraction	2.83
splash	42	2	attraction	2.74
slip	169	3	attraction	2.67
refer	175	3	attraction	2.63

super-combine	2	1	attraction	2.53
rush	193	3	attraction	2.51
launch	56	2	attraction	2.49
spoon	63	2	attraction	2.39
wipe	212	3	attraction	2.39
nail	66	2	attraction	2.35
exile	3	1	attraction	2.35
ladle	3	1	attraction	2.35
snapchat	3	1	attraction	2.35
guide	68	2	attraction	2.33
force	243	3	attraction	2.23
retweet	4	1	attraction	2.23
land	246	3	attraction	2.21
tape	82	2	attraction	2.17
crack	263	3	attraction	2.13
gum	5	1	attraction	2.13
pin	87	2	attraction	2.12
cascade	6	1	attraction	2.05
source out	6	1	attraction	2.05
bounce	98	2	attraction	2.02
flick	98	2	attraction	2.02
broach	7	1	attraction	1.99
hurl	7	1	attraction	1.99
slop	7	1	attraction	1.99
smear	7	1	attraction	1.99
subtract	7	1	attraction	1.99
trap	109	2	attraction	1.93
staple	8	1	attraction	1.93
thrust	8	1	attraction	1.93
poke	111	2	attraction	1.92
squeeze	120	2	attraction	1.85
strike	120	2	attraction	1.85
hoist	10	1	attraction	1.83
lug	10	1	attraction	1.83
swerve	10	1	attraction	1.83
swish	10	1	attraction	1.83
lead	360	3	attraction	1.77
waft	12	1	attraction	1.75
serve	373	3	attraction	1.73
fire	141	2	attraction	1.72
deposit	13	1	attraction	1.72
strain	13	1	attraction	1.72
dunk	14	1	attraction	1.69
scoot	14	1	attraction	1.69
line	148	2	attraction	1.68

mingle	15	1	attraction	1.66
sieve	15	1	attraction	1.66
manoeuvre	16	1	attraction	1.63
revolve	16	1	attraction	1.63
pack	422	3	attraction	1.59
dangle	18	1	attraction	1.58
dispatch	18	1	attraction	1.58
hover	18	1	attraction	1.58
tweet	172	2	attraction	1.56
swipe	19	1	attraction	1.56
release	182	2	attraction	1.52
press	468	3	attraction	1.48
evacuate	23	1	attraction	1.47
scatter	23	1	attraction	1.47
yank	23	1	attraction	1.47
unplug	24	1	attraction	1.46
sprinkle	25	1	attraction	1.44
plough	26	1	attraction	1.42
fly	1258	5	attraction	1.39
blast	32	1	attraction	1.33
chain	32	1	attraction	1.33
poach	34	1	attraction	1.31
cram	36	1	attraction	1.28
prod	36	1	attraction	1.28
squish	36	1	attraction	1.28
bus	38	1	attraction	1.26
seat	38	1	attraction	1.26
remove	254	2	attraction	1.26
filter	41	1	attraction	1.23
dig	270	2	attraction	1.21
vomit	43	1	attraction	1.21
wrestle	45	1	attraction	1.19
gear	48	1	attraction	1.16
inject	48	1	attraction	1.16
ram	48	1	attraction	1.16
pluck	49	1	attraction	1.15
wheel	50	1	attraction	1.15
text	304	2	attraction	1.12
import	53	1	attraction	1.12
squash	56	1	attraction	1.10
sweep	58	1	attraction	1.08
bash	61	1	attraction	1.06
walk	4077	10	attraction	1.06
string	63	1	attraction	1.05
drip	66	1	attraction	1.03
stack	66	1	attraction	1.03

strip	74	1	attraction	0.98
direct	75	1	attraction	0.98
lower	77	1	attraction	0.97
sew	80	1	attraction	0.95
twist	80	1	attraction	0.95
bowl	83	1	attraction	0.94
nip	84	1	attraction	0.93
hide	405	2	attraction	0.91
reverse	89	1	attraction	0.91
spit	89	1	attraction	0.91
float	91	1	attraction	0.90
cough	101	1	attraction	0.86
bind	104	1	attraction	0.84
lick	110	1	attraction	0.82
shut	916	3	attraction	0.81
fish	116	1	attraction	0.80
separate	124	1	attraction	0.77
stab	126	1	attraction	0.77
wave	127	1	attraction	0.77
flow	129	1	attraction	0.76
shift	133	1	attraction	0.75
lean	137	1	attraction	0.74
tap	140	1	attraction	0.73
scan	141	1	attraction	0.72
scratch	143	1	attraction	0.72
brush	146	1	attraction	0.71
flip	161	1	attraction	0.67
hit	1073	3	attraction	0.67
screw	164	1	attraction	0.67
top	168	1	attraction	0.66
mine	185	1	attraction	0.62
smash	189	1	attraction	0.61
step	220	1	attraction	0.56
arrange	224	1	attraction	0.55
breathe	239	1	attraction	0.53
sit	5040	9	attraction	0.48
keep	6655	11	attraction	0.40
head	349	1	attraction	0.39
stand	1607	3	attraction	0.37
get	101666	153	attraction	0.36
shout	397	1	attraction	0.35
collect	456	1	attraction	0.31
play	5252	1	repulsion	2.44
ask	5216	1	repulsion	2.42
show	2642	2	repulsion	0.60
set	1703	1	repulsion	0.55

allow	1679	1	repulsion	0.54
fill	991	1	repulsion	0.25
let	6144	9	repulsion	0.24
stuff	1594	2	repulsion	0.24
fit	965	1	repulsion	0.24
laugh	939	1	repulsion	0.23
lie	844	1	repulsion	0.19
draw	720	1	repulsion	0.15

Table 9: Total list of collexemes ordered by their collostructional strength

7. 2 The full list of examples of the caused-motion construction

The following are the 3690 examples of the caused-motion construction ordered alphabetically by the main verbs.

ADD
Jeb and Notch added stuff to it
we'll add it to the shop
you can add chilli to it
it added it to my bag
I [] add something else into it
I add one thing to the condiment tray
you add horseradish to spaghetti
she adds stuff to it
she just adds it to food
you add any flour to it
you can [] add things to it
they kinda add this hot stuff to all their foods
it [] adds stuff to the board
it won't really add anything to it
I usually add some honey to it
I add the eggs to it
you just add less sugar to it
I could add some parsley to it
they add something to it
I can add it to your present bag
I'll add it to my collection
they add more money to it
I just added the liquid to the thing
I couldn't add cheese into it
you can [] add it to things
[you] add wine to everything
you could [] add extra ice to the Coke
you add an image to it
anyone can add something to it
you add it to something

you add it to anything
you might want to add um water to it
ALLOW
she probably won't allow me in her house
ARRANGE
you can arrange things on on the document
ASK
he asked you to the cinema
BANG
[you] bang it on your sausages
I'll bang it in the wash
he banged his head on the cushion
they bang it across their head
you do bang things on the table
BARRICADE
we'll just barricade you in your room
we just pa barricade ourselves in the honeymoon suite
BASH
I'll just bash it out the way
BIND
your Ult binds them to the ground
BLAST
they blasted hot air up in the air
BLOW
it blew the camera off its tripod
I [] just blew it in my face
I just sneeze and blow all the things off the board
wind'll blow em all off the tree
it blows the heat evenly around the room
it'll blow warm air down into the lounge
they blew the cornflour over the Bunsen burner
you go and blow it in the other room
BOUNCE
they just bounce it back to you
they would bounce it to everyone in the group
BOWL
you just sort of bowl people across the bonnet
BREATH
she breathed smoke in my face
BRING
I want to bring Jean-Claude Van Damme to the party
I brought it back in the workshop
you can bring enough clothes to the waterpark
I'll bring it to the bank

I'll bring it over to the table
I must bring those tools up from the cellar
I could bring a machete into my rucksack
I'll bring him to the net
I have to go pick it up and bring it to him
milkshake brings all the boys to the yard
are you gonna help bring up the things from the car
you brought it to the cinema
I bring the recorder in to the loo
they'd bring his breakfast in on a trolley
we brought the heritage expert out of the top hat
they'd bring the container to the door
we're not gonna erm bring it bring it to the table
he brought the first potatoes back to England
they brought water down from the mountains
I bring it up to laboratoire
you bring the key to the cupboard
he can bring the boxes to the door
[you] bring it from your room
it might bring new blood into the village
I bring it closer to us
I brought a load from England
everyone brought stuff to the meeting
somebody brought it to a barbeque
I'll bring it to you
I bring it back to you
anybody brought it onto the the site
you could bring your sink in underneath the window
I bring them into my house
they'll bring it to the table
he brought it to me
they brought it back to America
she brought him up some more money
I brought her back in the car
bus brings you back to school
we bring you to nanny's
I can bring you to Istanbul
they brought her up to the funeral
they bring it to a central warehouse
I bring my knees up to my chest
they brought my stuff to the house
they actual actually uh kidnap the \girls and bring them back to the mountains
you bring them in the house
I'll bring it to you

we bring the neighbours on a tour
we bring the neighbors on a tour
my friend best friend at the time brought a magazine into work er
you bring your girlfriend to a show
BROACH
you broached this barge across the Channel
BRUSH
we brush it out of the way
BURY
I might bury the tag in these socks
we buried it in the garden
they used to bury their treasure on islands
rehacking ideas buried someone underneath the patio
I buried it in a garden
BUS
they bussed them up from London
CARRY
I carried his bed to the shed
you need to carry three balls across a big bridge
I carried his bed to the shed
I carried a pig up a hill
you carried a pig up a hill
he'll go and get a mouthful carry it over to the carpet
it wouldn't carry you up any hills
[you] carry them to the new spot
CASCADE
we'd sort of cascade it to other people
CHAIN
people chain their bins to the downpipes
CHASE
she used to chase them out the cat-flap
grandfather chased them through the station
dad chased me down the garden
Toby [] chases them down to the bottom of the garden
you can't chase the kid down to his house
CHUCK
I just chuck em in the bin
you chuck my leggings in the tumble dryer
I chuck my bag like in the back
he [] chucked it into the road
you chuck it [] away from him
he chucked it into the road
they just chuck em in the bin
you [] just chuck him on it

I would chuck these back in the pack
I [] chuck them in the pot
I [] chuck my passport in the seat pocket
he chucked all his wood in his pond
I [] just chucked them in little bags
he chucks everything in a pan
I [] chuck it in the bin
you chuck the receipt back at me
you chucked it out the window
plane and chucked ice cubes at someone
we could chuck her stuff in our room
you couldn't chuck a pound in it
you [] chuck it on their bed
you [] chuck it all over the floor
you can chuck it on the table
she chucked everything out of his unit
I'll chuck them on the fire
we had to [] chuck them in the bin
you cou chuck your computer out the window
girl chucked a phone at him
they just chuck it on the street
it chuck the rest in the bin
I just chuck it in my handbag
[you] chuck it in the incinerator
he chucked the twenty-five P at him
you chuck them on the ground
she [] then chucked them at you
you chuck it into the road
I just chucked it behind us
you [] chuck it in the skip
CLAMP
I clamped it onto the Black and Decker workmate
I clamped my straighteners on it
COLLECT
they'll come and collect us from the airport
COUGH
I coughed it to one side of my mouth
CRACK
I would crack it into the other bowl
you crack an egg in it
they crack an egg in it
CRAM
they'd cram their feet into these shoes
CRASH

people used to crash their fingers in them
they actually crash a helicopter into London Bridge
Carter crashes it into the Scarab
Carter just crashed a Pelican into it
DANGLE
its viewer [] kind of dangled little bits in front of you
DELIVER
they deliver it to you
someone delivered stuff to us
they just deliver it to every house
they'd deliver it to us
they deliver it to you
DEPOSIT
you can deposit money into a machine
DIG
you [] dig up all these things out the soil
it fully dug its talons into my head
DIP
you dip it in the sauce
we just dip vegetables in it
I dip them in ketchup
I dip my finger on the spoon
I could dip it into your tomatoey stuff
I've done it here you know put a pot pile of salt and dip the whole potatoes in the salt
you dip it in the sauce
you just dip it in cat's piss
he dips it in some paste
you can just literally dip a little bucket over the side
you can dip it in your sauce
you can dip it in my pesto
we just dip vegetables in it
DIRECT
most of them direct you to the website
DISPATCH
they'll dispatch it back to us
DIVERT
they do divert it through the village
they divert it through the village
I div diverted the water butt into the pond
they divert profits to Ireland
they diverted everyone off into Essex
DOWNLOAD
you download it from the App Store
I download it onto that phone

you can download it to your computer
you could download the document to your phone
teachers [] can download the teaching resources to smartphones
you can download the app to a phone
they can't download anything to it
you get something from the internet and download it to your computer
you can download it from your Itunes
I downloaded Skype to my phone
DRAG
she drags herself away from the Ipad
you [] just drag him in off the street
I dragged my foot under the wheel
you [] drag it into Google
you drag it into illustra
you drag it into illustrator
you dragged me away from the school fair
you drag it to you
you just drag it to the right right
you've um drag it behind a car um
I dragged you to my convention
it drags other stuff into it
he dragged it along the floor
they drag you down into the water
they dragged him out of the car
DRAW
you draw cards off the top of the Legacy deck
DRIP
you dripped it on me
DRIP-FEED
you [] drip-feed it into the new rate
DRIVE
he drove s deliberately straight at the policeman
I'll drive you to the hospital
I [] drove them to my dad's
I drove my car into the Land Rover
you drove it to the garage
the four of us drove it to the the coast
you [] drive your van around Sardinia
I'll drive it down the road
I [] drove it down the road
I drove a Land Rover down to Plymouth
bus drove it back to the bus station
they drive it through the jungle
she drove us back to their house

someone just drove the car into a bloody wall
I drove her into town
I drove a boat back from Llanedi
she'd [] driven it to his land
they [] drive the truck away from under them
she drove her car into the bowling alley
he just drove me off a cliff
mum drove us up to the airport
we drove him from Weston
dad could drive me to Somerset
you nearly drove me over the edge
DROP
they dropped our parachute in the back garden
I dropped it on the floor
he dropped me off at the airport
I won't drop it in my soup
you drop the stitches in between the cable
she dropped him off at work
we can just drop you off at the castle
I'll drop your egg off outside your door
you just drop a grenade in the city
someone drops a book through the door
I can just drop him into the station
I drop it in my cup
you [] drop it on someone's head
he dropped you by his pop
somebody drops a weight on their foot
they tend to drop you off at the back
you dropped it on the floor
lads dropped him off at my door
I dropped most things on the floor
someone dropped a bomb on us
they drop pallets on top
they drop sticks on one side
I drop you in it
they [] dropped her at home
you've [] dropped him on the hard floor
you dropped it from your own hands
I just dropped my glass in it
she could drop me at yours
dad can drop us at the station
I'll just drop the dice in your face
I dropped half half on the floor
he tried to drop it in at the police station

I dropped em in that tube
they drop you off at Tesco's
you can just drop it off at a corner shop
they came and dropped bombs like on us
I'll drop it off at Station Cycles
someone dropped a speaker on it
I dropped my lip balm in the dirt
they drop their food on the floor
she drops it down the toilet
I dropped it under my car
he [] just drops them in the bin
mum dropped me off at Plymouth
she drops him off at rugby
he accidentally dropped it in the bucket
he [] dropped his phone in the sea
somebody [] dropped it up to them
I dropped my phone on the floor you
you dropped me off outside Aldi
I drop him back to that line
he dropped you in it
they dropped her off at uni
he can drop you at mine
I dropped em on the floor
You can't drop someone in the shit
we could drop stuff into the volcano
he dropped it on the floor
you drop something out of your bag
they dropped two bombs over the border
I dropped mine under my car
he dropped her off at her house
he dropped her off at her house
DUMP
she [] dumped the poor baby in the road
they dump chickens up the road
they dumped it in a skip
you can just dump them on the table
I'll dump your shoes in the hallway em
people [] dump it on this table
they dumped them in old coal mines
you [] dump him in the back of the van
we'd dump all the clothes in the middle
somebody else has [] dumped it in the ditch
they always kind of just like dump them on the doorstep
you just dumped too much crap on me

the bloke can dump it outside the gate
DUNK
they dunked her in the water dunk
EMAIL
I emailed it to you
I email it to myself
I'll email it to you
you email it to me
I can email it to you
school emailed it to me
somebody [] emailed it to all their friends
NASA emailed a spanner to this international space
they could email it to you
[you] email it to me
he can email it to my email
you email your document to yourself
you can email it to yourself
she emails it to me
EMPTY
you empty them onto your plate
you empty the bag into the tin
he emptied them all out into the drawer
they emptied the loos over the land
you empty everything out of that box
I emptied the crumbs off it
EVACUATE
ISIS [] evacuated all the civilians from the area
EXILE
they exile the orchestra to a hole in the ground
EXPORT
Scots exported the haggis to New Zealand
they exported them to Mexico
FEED
you could feed it into a video player
you feed ginger biscuits to elephants
she can feed the mice to the snakes
she just feed the body to the pigs
she could just feed him to the pigs
she feed him to the pigs
FILL
I filled the asphalt on the roof
FILTER
they filter mm the bu bumf out of the river
FIRE

we just like fired loads of missiles into it
she fired an arrow at an apple
FISH
we all fished the cods out of a river
FIT
he fit all the balls on the floor to slip up one of the ladies
FLICK
you just flicked it back to the middle
if you p flicked the kettle on the water
FLIP
you flip your legs through the top
FLOAT
he floated it on the stock market
FLOW
they can flow it straight into their template
FLUSH
you can flush someone out of an airlock
you flushed it down the toilet
[you] flush it out your system
you need to flush it down the loo
FLY
they flew her to America
they flew her to Dubai
they flew him from Budapest
you can fly me from Johannesburg
I need to fly you to Madrid
FORCE
you force her to Pakistan
you couldn't force it down to you
this force you in the wood
FORWARD
[I] forwarded it straight to me
I forwarded all them to me
I forwarded them all to me
I forwarded my CV on to this person
I'll forward it to you
she forwarded the email to herself
GEAR
they kind of gear you to the horse
GET
I managed to get it on the plane
we finally managed to get it into two bags
he did manage to get f peas all over the table
she'd come and get us from school

I tried to get the Hogweed root out today er on top of the hill
they try and get you on the next flight
you never used to get a Wagon Wheel in your mouth
he tried to get him the in this cupboard
she had it indoors managed to get twenty-five people in one room
I managed to get us into the VIP area
I tried to get them off the tree
mum manages to get him onto a Woodling
I somehow managed to get my shoes out of the cloakroom
he managed to get them into a library
I should try and get her on board
he managed to get us on all the buses
she couldn't manage to get her key in it
I just really got the thing off the ground
I just can't get my knife into it
you can't get your feet off the ground
you get the car in the garage
you [] get him out of the meeting
you get those twigs out of the car
you can't get your finger in the way
he spun round and got me into the hotel
you can't get much water in it
they can barely get their heads above the table
she [] got the pus out of his leg
you can get a boat on the river
you won't get it in the car
her mum would go with the little thing and get all the food out of her braces
I get it around my wrist
I get something down it
[we] get the thing through it
you got him to the net
you got her into school
you get her into a school
I can get her into school
researcher can get them out to people
you'd have to [] get her in an environment
they could get a duck on the shore
you get my phone out the kitchen
you need to get the plants in your garden
mum couldn't get me in to the school
you get it to school
you get it to the sixth form
you get it out of the freezer
I will get it out of the freezer

shall we get us up on the table
it got butter on it
it got some butter on it
the working class got their foot on the ladder
he couldn't get any blood out of my finger
he wanted to get a letter to his wife
he wanted to get a letter to his wife
they got them to bed
he needed to get her into theatre
they couldn't get them out the boat
you couldn't get a tooth in it
she got it on the wall
we'll get one out to you
look like get all these kids out my house
we get it in your car
we got it to his boot
you can't get it under your chin
they wanted to get the bugs out of this engine
I can't get em up my leg
I can't get it up my legs
they can't get them off the lorries
I'll get the bacon out the fridge
you can get the bacon out the fridge
[you] get it out every night
they can't get all the stuff in the one car
we get everybody standing on a table
we get everybody standing on the the shorter tables
I got three balls in the river
she couldn't get him out the car
the thing gets it in his trunk
you can't get the bike in it
you get these books off the shelf
she might want to get her pushchair through her pram
he could get his hands on the bread
I get him in it
I'll just go and get the the stuff out the oven
we can get them out the freezer
you can get yourself to Hong Kong
hell get them out of my face
you could get him down the road
we can quite comfortably get three people on it
you want to get the cream out the fridge
I need to get my frozen vegetables into a freezer
[you] get them out of the country

we got it out of the way
it gets you into hot water
she no couldn't get him away from the record player
he went to get the pram out the boot
they needed to get the water over them
she gets the food out of the thing
you get all this dry food all over the floor
I got my video on Facebook
she get them off the hook
you need to get him to the vets
he got us onto the slope
they would need to get it to the other end
they get them in the door
I'd better get her to the vet
we do need to get them out a box
you can't get them off the peg
he got it just near the halfway line
you couldn't get another solar panel on that roof
they got the dogs on him
he gets something out of the oven
I get them back to Wales
it just gets him out the house
I better get them in the ground
we need to get people in our room
you get your finger in the right spot
I'll get them to you
I can't get the key out of the lock
you get some chairs out the front
you need to get your frog on the bird bath
you need to get your frog on the bird
you get your spoons out of the bowl
I got them in the car
oi [you] get your hands out of my yogurt
I get it out of the cupboard
she got me out of the shower
she got me out of the shower
someone got him behind the scenes
I'll just get it out the way
you take your vegetables to the marketplace
she couldn't get stuff out of it
I could get those sparkly things on it
he'd get them in a mouth
you need to get him out the house
they can't get it through customs

we get it out over the way
he got blood all over her dress
he [] got us on the next bus
you got me out of that blog
we get the hummus out of the fridge
you got your arms up behind head
we get them into the middle
we couldn't get any water out of the tap
I'll never get the mud out of this bit
I can get it on the square
you get him to the Irish school
we'll get you down to the session
we get it out of the hummus pot
you get a trophy in the mud
you get dinner on the table
I got to get you to the station
you could get all of Mott's staff into that one building
GRATE
you grate it onto it
you can grate it directly into the container
I've seen him grate truffles into something
GUIDE
it'll guide you through the website
they guide you on the right path
GUM
you just gum it to the wall
HAND
you can hand your badge onto someone
I [] handed it to you
you handed it in on time
you handed him onto somebody
she handed it to me
I'd [] hand the money over to the police
they handed it out to all the bored people
she handed the last money over to me
she handed it to me
you can hand it out to students
HANG
he hung this thing on the gate
you can hang it on me
you can hang it on a branch
I could hang it in my room
we [] hang em out in the garden
he won't hang stuff up in it

they used to [] hang them on doors
you and the guests hung jewellery on her
they can hang it on their wall
[you] hang your spoon over the bowl
grandma used to [] hang them in the barn
grandma used to hang them up in that cold shed
she [] just like cut his head off and hang it off the bridge
I used to hang a rabbit up in a shed
HEAD
he got in front of the keeper and just headed it past him
HIDE
he hides him under my pillow
he hides him under the pillow
HIT
we won't hit a ball to him
I'll just hit the shuttlecock in your general direction
he can hit it to her
HOIST
he hoisted it up the back of the boat
HOOK
they'd hook up all these speakers in the trees
she [] like hooked it up onto the ceiling
I need to like hook something around my feet
HOVER
I hovered my mouse over it
HURL
squirrels [] hurl them at people
IMPORT
I import photos from my device
INJECT
they injected some coloured fluid into my womb
INVITE
they invite him to the house
she invited him over to Canada
they invited her round to the café
she invites you back to her house
you invite boys to your house
we invited her to the cinema
people invite you into their house
you invite lads home to your house
they invite him to the house
she invited me down to London
KEEP
they like to keep the yokels out of the way

you can keep it away fr keep it away from the fire
I will keep you in my tower
you keep them in a zoo
you keep your foot on the brake
they keep them in the house
he kept it in a basket
he kept a pig up the garden
we kept a pig up the garden
they kept a pig up the garden
the hooker heels will keep it off the floor
KICK
I usually kick them out of the way
I'll go round and kick them all out the way
she'd kick a panel off a machine
we kicked it into gear
neighbours kicked a ball into our garden
I kicked you off the piano
they kicked it to you
she kicked him out of the room
you kick it up the slide
KNOCK
they knock it out of the hand
kids knock it out the hands
you knocked them on the floor
I knocked it off the table
they just knock it off the table
we used [] knock them down the end of the pop gun
you knock him down on his five
he knocked it off the runners
LADLE
they ladle it into a cup
LAND
it lands you in the centre
they tried to land that thing on on Mars
you can't actually just land it on their heads
LAUGH
they laughed him out the building
LAUNCH
we launch one out of this basestar
we launch one out of this basestar
LAY
a lot of them lay their eggs on nettles
they lay it out on a table
what you have to do is [] lay clear polythene on the top

I lay them next to the chicken
the cabbage whites lay their eggs all over it
he [] lays it on the bed
you [] then lay them on the bed
[you] lay your baby down on a white sheet
he [] laid it on top of the stove
I'll go and lay the table in the other room
LEAD
she led me to the pen pencils
[you] lead me to your door
you lead me back to the long winding road
[you] lean it on its side
LET
she won't even let you near the house
he let her in his room
they won't let you back into their country
they wouldn't let them out of the Stade de France
she couldn't let him out the back door
they won't let you out of hospital
they wouldn't let us on the train
they do let people in premises
Jew wouldn't let him into art school
LICK
you want to lick them off the spoon
LIE
we had to not lie the baby on its back
LIFT
we could always lift the pram over the stupid railings
someone to help me lift the basket anyway onto the escalator
l lift it from the egg
he[] lifted it off the wall
I can't even lift it off the ground
he'd literally just lifted them from the floor
he lifted it off the wall
somebody can lift it out of the shed
we lift the racket from the ground
LINE
you line it up on the tail stop
you can line it up on the pin
LOAD
man loads a cigarette into a gun
they [] loaded them on the lorry
I loaded it on to my Mac
you can't load any more programs into it

I loaded some of the last recordings into Dropbox
will someone help me load that mirror into my car
LOCK
they locked him in the cupboard
she [] locked him in the basement
you'd lock us in the car
she [] locked herself in the toilet
he locked her in a tower
I lock myself in the toilet
I locked her in my wardrobe
LOWER
they lower the body on to the engine
LUG
they lugged them on the on the literally the the tarmac
MANOEUVRE
you can't manoeuvre a big plank to a band saw
MINE
they mine it out the ground
MINGLE
you tried to mingle twelve people in that room
MOUNT
you mounted cameras onto it
we should mount the fire extinguisher on the wall
you mount a a router in it
you mount them onto a white background
MOVE
you move it across the button
I'll probably move everything on one bed
wife moved all four kids back to England
I moved everything into my workshop
they'll move the girls into the bigger room
the've moved us into a south
I moved it from downstairs
they would move you to the front
you just move the glasses out the way
they did move it to a desert area
they did move it to a desert area
you may then move them to an adjacent area
current player moves him to sickbay
the current player moves him to sickbay
you can move them into the hall
we moved it from the front
they move you to the next horse
you can move them now apparently into their own ISAs

I [] move them to one side
they moved all their stuff back on the boat
I move the pinks to the blues
she moved it out of her room
you move the mouse from side to si right to left
I just moved it to the other side
you've got to [] then move it to the car
I moved all these boxes down from the loft
you could move your armies into her country
you [] then move everything into Siam
we can move it out the way
we move her into the other area
I move the account to somebody
you move that dish to the other end of the table
I move it into a digital account
I moved the money back into my account
you can now move your character into any adjacent staircase
I moved it to a different point
I moved it on the floor
I could move dad to me
I can move dad to me
I can move dad to me
I can move you to dad
you can move him to any port
you could even move yourself back to somebody
I can move dad to Istanbul
you move me to Ho Chi Minh
you can move me to a research centre
I can move you to LA
darling [you] move your chair just slightly to the side
[you] then remove the finger from the screen scroll
he did move it into the palace
you can move the piece out of the way
I move that pawn out the way
you've got to either move your king forward or move that minister out the way
we moved you from a certain subject to another one
you wanna move in to it
I just moved everything into the u utility room
they moved the bed to the opposite end of the room
you move your eyes on the ground
you want to move little wires in a jumble of wires
they will need to move her to a dementia care
you need to move your cup out of the way
I went to move it onto the desk thing

we need to move furniture out of the kitchen
she needs to move the bed away from the wall
NAIL
they nailed them to their river banks
we nail this flap onto the table
NIP
they'd nip it out your hands
PACK
they pack up the stuff onto a boat
she [] packs them in her little bib
I could pack it all into my suitcase
PARK
he'll park it up the road
we [] parked it at the end of the walk
he parked his car on your drive
they park them out the front
he [] parked it like opposite our house
you wanna park on the right
vicar used to park his horse in it
he used to park it on the road
he parked his craft on the moon
they started parking two cars in the visitor parking space
can you not park it on the drive
you can just park it in someone's driveway
PASS
you can just pass it out to me
he passed it all onto me
you pass it to me
one person [] then passes it on to another person's mouth
you pass it to the next person
they pass it to the next person
you pass the corn on the cob
the one that's [] passed them to you
you pass me over my cake
[you] pass it to me
I pass it up to you
she can [] pass it along the table
I will pass them to you
they can pass it on to the customer
I just passed the phone over to you
they pass it out to me
they pass it out to me
a guy just bought a bottle of Grey Goose and just passed it about to everyone
PICK

I picked him up off the floor
somebody will pick you up at a trial
you pick me up at the train station
you pick him up from school
mum couldn't drive to pick the stuff off the shelves
they pick us up from the airport
I come and pick you up at the shop
you did pick him up from school
we picked him up off the floor
we can pick up some beers from that shop
you've [] picked him out of the bed
he probably picked it up at the market
you pick an apple off a tree
you can just pick your thing out of the pocket
squirrels [] pick pick nuts off the trees
he picked us up from the airport
we'll just pick them out of a hat
dad picked me up from the airport
I picked her up from the park
she picked me up from the airport
I just picked up this hanger off the desk
you picked em up from school
I just picked it out of my bag
they can pick me up from the airport
we could pick it up from a Goldsmith jewellers
you pick me up from Morrisons
I picked him up from Morrisons
I scrambled to pick the lamp up from the floor
you picked her up the next door
you picked me up from the airport
you can pick her up at the station
you pick me up from the the rugby club
she just pick him at Vi
you can just pick me up from the train station
he'd pick it up from home
I obviously picked one up from the pile of cards
they pick stones from the road
he can picks her up from school tomorrow
I'll pick you up from work
she goes and picks the kids up from school
one will pick up this black guy in Manhattan
PIN
I'll not pin it on to you
you can pinch theirs and pin it on yours

PLACE
you can either place your hands on the recipient
you place it on the floor
we place a basestar in front of Galactica
you could place children in homes
they could place it around the town
you mix it together and place it between two er like not cast iron steel plates
PLANT
you plant it in the garden
he plants them out in a big pot
you planted stuff already in your garden
PLAY
you play it across the room
PLOUGH
we plough money into the NHS
PLUG
you plug it into anything
you plug it into the surround sound
he plugged it in on his laptop
you plug it into your phone
she plugged it back in the original socket
you plug it straight into the computer
I [] plug it into my computer
we [] plug ourselves into a computer
you plug it into the light socket
they sort of plug into a computer programme
POACH
you poach an egg on the top
POKE
you [] poke the root into the ground
he poked his head through the window
POP
she pops her paws on it
I popped them together in one
you just pop it in the microwave
we'll just pop him on the side
I pop a sugar mice in your thing
[you] po pop them in the bag
[you] pop the bag on my knee
you can just pop it in the oven
we pop you into your chair
you just pop it under some
[you] pop it back to us
[you] pop it back to us

they pop the coil through the tube
POST
I'll post it to you
you posted it to me
I will post it on Facebook
he posted a photo on my wall
I'll post it on mine
I posted a message on the noticeboard
I post something on Tumblr
you post it in Facebook
he posted something recently on Facebook
you can post it to a stock site
we never posted it on the internet
she posts pictures of herself on Facebook
you want to [] post it into a message
somebody liked me enough to write a poem about me put it in a card and post it to my house

[you] just to sit stick a cheque in an envelope and post it to us
you wanted to post them to the internet
POUR
you poured it between things
do you want me to [] just pour it on top
you pour vinegar straight into your pie
does he pour the the alcohol onto the spoon
you pour it into the oven
she [] literally pour it to ma to my mouth
they pour milk into it
you pour it in your bowl
they pour this wine down your throat
they poured concre er well over the floors
they poured concrete over the top
he [] just pour it all over the rice
you pour it into a saucepan
you can't pour it down the sink
you can pour it in the um living room
you pour it over the pud
they [] just pour water on it
you pour the juice from the bottom into the thing
I pour coffee down it
you pour it into the spoon
you pour grappa in it
you pour juice on it
he poured this water onto this thing
he poured chilli on himself

he [] just poured the bowl all over himself
they poured vodka in it
they poured anything in it
father poured the alcohol on the Christmas pudding
you [] pour it on the plastic
I just poured it all over my face
PRESS
you couldn't press your thumb on the screen
she pressed it against my face
he pressed the drill into the wall
PROD
he would then prod bits on my head
PULL
I couldn't pull the string out of the it
the pickup [] pulled her out of the hedge
it pulls my kneecap out of alignment
she actually came and pulled me to the side
I pull you into my bedroom
you pull all the hair off of my face
he mysteriously pulled a rabbit out of a hat
so uncle then helped him sort of pull it off of the road
they can pull sledges through snow
anybody could pull wool over our eyes
you can pull it over your head
my son used to [] pull it out of the plug
we'll pull it away from the wall
you pull the them out the subwoofer
you just pull it off the wall
they [] pull it down from the waist
they pulled down the terrace houses in Norwich
you try and pull it up onto the frame
he only pulls totty over you
they couldn't pull a train up a big hill
you pull them off the bush
guy just pulled me in the swimming pool
he's kind of pulled his legs towards him
I actually pulled something out of it
he pulled me from my room
you just pull the curtain over your light
it pulls it off the magnet
I pulled it off him
she pulled it away from me
you pull it out the bag
we used to pull em up on the thingy

it does pull things into the centre
I pulled the disability cord in that room
I pulled everything off her bed
you [] pull the skin off it
PUMP
I'd rather not pump any of that crap into my blood
they could pump more water in it
they pump so much money into their research
they pump so much money into their research
they've t pumped loads of chlorine into the water
they pump charcoal down you
it must pump your blood round your body
they just used to pump it over over the shingle
PUSH
he just pushed her in front of a train
she pushed him in the tractor
you push the other person over you
Bruce Jenner's SUV hit a car and pushed it into the path
you pushed your nose against my cheek
I pushed her up against a wall
you rather push it over to me
he pushed her in the water
she [] pushed him to the floor
you pushed your finger in the hole
you push the bed back into towards the window
they sort of push you to the front
they have tp [] push it to the one side
he'd just push them out the way
I kind of push it over that way
I'd push her in the sea
[you] push it to Amazon
you can push it down the stairs
you just pushed her to the floor
kind of pushed me closer to the sharks
PUT
I slipped and put the screwdriver straight into the palm of my hand
mum would like to put my dad into respite care
you managed to put butter all over the hand gel
stuff try and put it into our house
she'll [] put her head on my forehead
they used to put it in diet tablets
they just couldn't afford to put the money into it
[you] put grated chocolate in it
you try and put vegetables in it

I tried to put baby sweetcorn in the soup
you start to put cold water in it
I always used to put them on a hanger
he tries to put me in the Brig
they try to put a little tuh in it
you grab and put them in the wardrobe
people seem to put the blogs on the internet
he decided to put his foot on the accelerator
we could just try and put him to bed
she used to put them on the table
you forget to put something on your cart
they even used to put them on a disc
he happened to put his chin on it
I used to put him on the bus
I forgot to put some honey in it
I used to put scrambled eggs in the microwave
he used to put the blanket over his self
I forgot to put my cheese on it
I had to try and get it up onto a piece of paper try and put it in the bushes
teacher used to put it in a treacle tin
you just put it in a smoothie
you [] not just put them in a box
we put it back in the oven
you [] just put a tape on it
I put it on the system
he put it on the system
I'll put it on the system
I can put em on the computer
you put some comment on Facebook
I'll just p put cups of water into the kettle
you put it on Facebook
you put it all in your diary
you put it in your bag
we should just put it into some mining companies
you put all that money into something
you could put something on it
you wa wrap wanted to put a line in the middle
you could put it on cuts
you could put it on spotty things
you put something heavy on one side
you put it on the sides
you put it on the other side
you can't put things on one side
he [] put it in the dish

I [] put it on my table
he just puts his money into it
everyone puts one name in a hat
we should put names of celebrities in hats
I was gonna [] put up a model example on the board
we could [] put them in the gard
they put a CCTV camera in his room
they put it on the plate
the took them down put them on my passenger seat
you'd put a garage on it
the landlord has every right to put it on the doorstep like or put it in a bin
I actually put my fist through the screen
somebody thr put it in the skip
you can't put a number in a router
somebody put the kettle in the fridge
I put the kettle in the fridge
I put the kettle in the fridge
they just go over that episode and put a seat belt on daddy pig
he put Jamal in the bin
[you] put lots of soft stuff in it
I just put a nappy on him
someone's put lellow on your shoes
I had to get out my towel and put it on the pillow
I put loads of petrol in it
I put them in the ground
he just put his beds on top of the grass
you can put them on a website
you put bet butter on them
I put sugar in it
I put it there in the washing up
I put all the compost into those bags
we put the baskets in the car
we just put the the basket against the wall
she puts a special blanket on the bed
you can put it in the back
you cook bought one cooked it and put it in your own dish
I'll put the topic in the middle
you put a sheet in front of me
they put sweetener in some sort of not in a smoothie
you could do a little cat flap and then put a raw egg on one side
you put it up on the bread bin
you can just put it in your pocket
children often put their fingers in plug points
she'd put a thousand pounds in his account

he puts a stamp on it
they put a stamp on it
they put a stamp on it
they just put the whole chickens through the grinder
you should put it behind the backs of your knees
you put it on a pulse
you put it on the wrist
they put the money back into your bank
they just put it back into PayPal
I put her on the bed
I picked her put her on Maddie
you could always put it on to another stick
you've got a bundle tie and put them on them
I'll put them in the bag
this copper [] puts his hand on his shoulder
I make a big batch of tomato sauce and put it in the freezer
I put them all in something
I put it on the table
I just put it off me
they put all the recipes on the internet
you put them in the meat tray
you put the Ferrero Rocher in the centre
I put a picture on Facebook
you put it in your mouth
I wouldn't put things on Facebook
we put a strap around our foot
you put your forehead on the floor
unis should put expiry dates on them
I put two marks on the windscreen
I can't put a screw in anything
you put your finger under it
I just put it under the cold
you just put a hobbyhorse on this balcony
they put cheese in them
they h put it on plates
I just put my hand back in a bogey
they can put them on the website
this sort of thing that [] puts us in the news erm
I put it in a can
I put it on the table
I put some prawns in it
they put them all on a tray
[you] put it on my desk
she will put her face on it

she'll put her face in front of it
I'll put the peas through the rice
you put them over these holes
you put your wig over the top
you need to put somebody in the middle
you could put too much rum in it
we have to [] put it on a website
they put me to bed
we put her to bed
I put it in my bed
I put the money in the car
they put it in their ear
you put it under your arm
she put quite a few topics on the board
they put loads of stuff out on the floor
I will put you in the stocks
you put the signs on the wheelie bins
they put it in the paper
they can put the ball right in the spot
someone put fish in it
we put him in kennels
anybody put an umbrella up in the office
I put diesel in a petrol car
I've had a carrier full of books and put them in the book bin
we put our stuff in our car
you put those fancy bits on the roof
they put them all in an arena
she just puts her hand on this little screen
I put it in the car
I would put it on this finger
I could [] just put it on my phone
you put cheese in it
you never put anything on Facebook
they put all this stuff in the ground
I was gonna [] put them through a sieve
the bad witches [] put her in the sink
they put food in zones
I helped him put the clothes on your back
you put him into hospital
I could put your underwear in my mouth
he puts the same guy up the far end
the easiest way is to do a little thing just put it on the table
[you] put the stuff on the boards
he's just taken it out and put it in the tray

I took my computer out put it through in X-ray machine
I'll put some Vanish on it
I'll put some Vanish on it
you'd just put your birthday money in your bank account
you put your arms around me
they might put us up in that room
I put them in the bags
I put them on it
you put the water inside the ball
I put a message on Facebook
he put his arms around her
she put it in her mouth
I would put cottage cheese in a bowl
I would[] put some HP Sauce in it
she'd put it in the freezer
I put a pin in Swansea
we put it on the string
I put it through the the door
you put your hands in wrap the cloth
we put a drain across the road
she put the sticker over the top of her ticket
you put these plates in the dishwasher
dad put loads of her money into you know recently the government bonds
[you] just put it on this website
she [] put them in the freezer it
I put them on my desk
[you] put them in the big bowl
you'll put it into this thing
I'll put it in the oven
you want to put it in the oven
you can put it in the oven
I'll put it in the oven
you want to put it in the freezer
we'll put it in a new container
I would personally put them in your hand
[you] put your hands in the air
I put things on Facebook
I'll collect the cups up put the kettle on at work
you put your phone on charge
she puts it in your mouth
she put it in her mouth
they put Shia LaBeouf over it
they [] put them on the ground
he had to [] put them in the one corner

I put a camera on me
I put it on the table
you got to put it on TV
you put a skim over the top
I could puts some mats on the floor
we can put that blanket on top
you can't listen to music and do stuff on the computer
she puts her toys in it
waiter put a napkin in my lap
I'll put it in the bin
she will put anything in her mouth
they put them in B
he [] puts the exhaust in the car
you put witch hazel on it
I put ice on it
I put ice on it
you've pierced the film lid and put it in the microwave
they put them in their handbags
you then put a picture on Facebook
she puts it in the dishwasher
she put it in the dishwasher
you can put it in the sky
they put it on stuff
I put my bag up against the radiator
[you] just put your question into Google
I could put the hose from the sewage
you put it on your tongue
you put it to the back of your tongue
I'll put the bookmark in that page
you can put olive oil on it
they just put salt in everything
you put it put it in the middle
I can put it anywhere on the board
we put it into the art
I only put it in water
you wanted to put it in my wine
I put part two back in your room
[you] just put it on my bed
I could put you up in er in our bedroom
you put the honey in it
we put them in a dress
you put it by the side of the fridge
we just put the tent in the car
you could also put the little person on the road

she put eighteen pound in my account
they [] put other people in the chairs
you put it on my arm
[you] just literally put your thumb on it
I put the bed in the corner
you put your face inside its cage
I put it in the cage
you can put it in water
you can put it in water
[you] put the card down on the settee
you put something on your head
I put it in the kitchen
mum put too much pepper in the hotpot
someone put a nail through it
[you] put it on the side
you put it on TV guide
I put chilli in everything
I put it on chicken
I put them in the cupboard
they'd always put sugar cubes on the tray
you put things through my door
I was gonna [] put this head on top
I need to put it on the d the docking station
you put the amp up on Ebay
you put the amp up on Ebay
we put them in a maze videos
you put the solar panels in the Sahara Desert
he used to cook it all before twelve and put it in the warmers
I put the steak in the freezer
you can't put too bigger plants in the roundabouts
she put it back in the pot
you can put it on the edge of the wood
you need to put your stuff in the dishwasher
you put it to the back
you put it to the back
you could put it on your phone
you just put it on the spots
you put him against a wall
you sort of put them in a box
you put bru boobs in it
I'll put them in the cupboard
you put your tortoises in the fridge
I just put my buns on it
I put em in y a toaster

you put it in your pocket
you can put your bin outside the doorway
we could put it in the microwave
you can like get like some Archers and then put them onto the sea
roadie yeah just puts things in a truck
I put it in a bush
I put anything on Facebook
you put a hand towel on it
just keep forgetting to come round and put it through the door
you put one on a plate
[you] put the meringue in it
we put our tree on the table
we put it on the table
I put my antibiotics in your fridge
I just put water in it
[you] put loads of laxatives in it
I never put them in your fridge
[you] just put them in my room
you put them on Ebay
I'll put it back in the cupboards
I put my SIM from this phone into an Iphone
you take out of the game and put it to the side
I always put apple in salad
a few people in here mm put the cat amongst the pigeons
we just put them on a train
we put them on the train
I put any seed on the top
I put any seed on it
you put a thin blade in it
I just put it back on the shelf
they put people on statins
you put them in any oil
you could put your head in the the window
you should put it on your phone
[you] put cyanide in them
you put him on Mars
you put it on sa sausages
I put Worcester sauce in it
I even put it in scrambled eggs
we did put the spider on him
he puts the stat on it
we put some money in my holiday fund
they [] put her money back in the account
I can put beans on toast

he'd put them in the sixth form
she puts everything else in her mouth
she puts everything else in her mouth
I might try er put it in my mouth
[you] put it on your body
I put it on the front window
you put it on the little window
they would probably put you in prison
you put the pebble in your hand
nobody could put their fingers on it
[you] put it in the mouth
I really want to put the apple pies in my mouth
they shouldn't put her on a catwalk
I put it in pasta
I put it in rice
they'll probably put me in a taxi
I can [] put them on the car
you put it into your ears
he put his cup in it
they put mini marshmallows in Bailey's hot chocolate
we put them in the little bag
I put forty quid in hers
you can put it on his phone
I put it on Whatsapp
you should put it in put them in a hat
you put them in a hat
she put it in a bag
you put a dirty plate in a clean bowl
you [] put it back in the cupboard
I used to [] put them in the freezer
I do buy deals and put them in the freezer
they just put them in the same group
[you] mm put it on the bread
I put cream cheese on the bread
I put cream cheese on the bread and then put scrambled egg on top
we'll put it back in my room
Steve [] put the icing on the cake
you put the new ones on the bed
they put it on your account
you just put them in a box
you shouldn't put something into the composter
you can put something in between them
you could put them in the press
I just put them by the door

I put them in the car boot
when they put it in put it in a flap
you put it on a stand
I'm gonna take them and put them in the er erm vestry
he just grabbed it lifted it off the wall put it down by the lectern
[you] just put it under the seat
I've actually shovelled them up put them in a bucket
I'd just put the plough on it
I put her on the train
I'd put them straight in the wash
they put it down on his feet
I'll put sausage in it
they put the same sign on the door
they'd put this thing in it
you put bread in the thing
I [] put him in a little cat box
I [] put him in the garage
[you] put the guinea pig in it
I put your brother in a box
you just put it in the recycle bin
you put your dog in the recycle bin
we'll put it on her
he used to get the old half pint bottles wash em up and then put them in
[you] put em in a box you
[you] put a slate on top
he put his SIM card in his old SIM card in it
you put your fish out of the way
they put bombs all around it on on strings
they put it into the corpus
she actually puts curtains over her mirror
they put it in the corpus
he put lots of balls on the floor
he put soap on a book
I put him in his bouncer
I fill it up with seven ounces of boiling water put it in his thermal bag
she'd put stuff in the fridge
he just put his head into my earring
he could put them in the shed
we could put the four boys up in the apartment
they actually put the shit ones in the first years
I'd put it in Room 101
you put the fork under it
I put some blue cheese through it
I just put it in the car

you could just put pebbles in it
you could put string through it
you can't put it in the main luggage
you put the satellite in in your little building
you just put it in a pan bit
I'd put any of my stuff in it
I put it on the latch
dad just put it all on the ground floor
you can put the bike on the train
we couldn't put it back in the roof space
I put the sender on the back
you scan the stuff and put it in bags
you don't have to take everything out and put it on the conveyor
they put this huge disclaimer next to the walk
it put it on the board
I'll put your knives in the kitchen
I just put the spoon on the table
I'll put them in the post
she put it onto her F Facebook
I put them on the radiator
you could then put another piece in it
[you] put it in the bin
you put it on Facebook
you put ice on it
you need to put ice on it
you put ice on it
I'll put a Bic to it
we put it towards the wall
I'll put a picture on Facebook
you put some more ice on the fire
you put it all on Icloud
you put tomatoes in it
I can put cheese on it
I just put it on man
I put it to the bottom
you want to put them in the fridge
you want to put them in the erm fridge
he'll just put stuff underneath it
I'll put money in your account
I put her in a cardboard box
we put her in a shoebox
[you] put your SIM card in it
they put this erm recording through a piece
we put the cover on the pool

I put them in the sink
she put them in the dishwasher
you [] then put it in the slow roasty thing
they put all potatoes in a bag
you put it in the bin
she puts them on that photo thing
you usually put everything into it
I just put napkins in it
I put them in the fridge
you put them in that drawer
she [] then just put them in the suitcase
I can put them on the website
they actually put slivers of garlic on the br on the top of the bread
you just put it in the package
I'll put it in an envelope
I'll put it in an envelope
you put it to your ear
you just put it in your pocket
you put it in the fridge
I might put it into some erm Tupperware
bloke puts a gun in my ribs cos
you put your plates in the dishwasher
I'd put the pizza in the oven
I put my hand at the back
you put it in the tin
it put a glass over it
he puts him in the c freezing cold
he puts him out in the freezing
he just puts it in the oven
you just put this cushion behind my shoulder
we [] put them in a microwave
you can put those end caps on any type of pipe
you need to put a strap on it
I put them on over my boots
I'll put them in a bag
I [] put it back on the floor
we put the timer down on its side
I can put it in the printer
they sort of put them to one side
you put them on Ebay
you could put anything on top of that
I would put Crufts on er above it
we put it over her nose
I'd put the key under the mat

dad [] put a table up against the cat flap
he put the table up against it
she [] put them on the table
they [] put some piles on plates
I put a dinner in the microwave
you put salt on things
they couldn't put the rocket on wooden rails
I'll put it in the bag
I can put it on the wall
I can put it in the floor
they'll put whisky in their tea
I'd like to get a spider and put a conker a near it
you put them in like patties
[you] then put milk in it
they put their dog in it
they put them all on ropes
I put it on Ebay
she put her head on my shoulder
I can put all my pictures on the TV
I put something on Facebook
someone put it into water
somebody pitch er put something on Twitter
she took a photo and put it on on Twitter
I should put it on the Everyday Sexism
you want to put them on that roof
you put them on the top
I wouldn't put them in my curry
you put a camera in front of them
you take the token and put it up in the president's office
you put it to the bottom
you can either put it back at the bottom
you put it down on the table
I'll put her in sickbay
we just put him in the Brig
you just put em in the Brig
we should probably put her in the Brig
I put them in top of those
we put her in the Brig
you can put someone in the Brig
you'd need to put me in the Brig
you should put him in the Brig
I can put you in the sickbay
you'd put it into a machine
you just put them all in your mouth

he put it on this this week's bulletin
I put them in a box
they put them in a different group
he [] put it on my head
they put the hat on the floor
[you] put it in your mouth
you drill it and put a screw in it
you put someone in it
I put some salt water on it
I put my right leg up on the top
I put my leg over my other leg
I can put my hands flat on the ground
you never put it in the freezer
you put the flat end in your mouth
[you] then put some butter in it
they put water in it
I might put you in that pushchair
you put it up towards the end
it puts it in the pen
I put it in my tea
I'll have to do mine at the same time really put it in the middle
you might put your things to your mouth
I'll put it on the table
I can put nail stickers on it
they would put it through your wrists
we can put all videos on YouTube
he put loads of money into erm immortality
I put some tuna in this sauce
I put it on that table
he put his bread in the lemon
he [] put it up on the ramp
I've al already put them on the table love
you could put it in another place it
you can [] put a chicken in its mouth
she [] puts her hands against it
you put your arms around me
[you] should put white wine on it
[you] put them on the highest er
he'll take them up and either put them in the ward
you put Guinness in it
they just put all the pictures on a disk
you [] put a car down on the carpet
we put the chairs by the window
you can put it on your skin

Jigsaw will put it on their Facebook
you could just put them all in the bag
[you] put sticker on and put it in the bag
clients will put it in the bag
I'll put mine in a box
I'll get some lip balms and put them all in a jar
you could put them in bags
I put raisins in them
we put a signs up on the kitchen door
you just put lemon juice in it
you put it in that chicken
I put everything in plastic sacks
you put everything in bins
doctors shouldn't put it on put them on it
I put these Cream Eggs in the fridge
[you] put it in the hot tub
you put your keys in your knuckles
you just put your hair in a tight knot
you actually put it up your nose
she put her hand on it
they [] put them in the seafront
[you] put them in the freezer
you put them all on separate CDs
we could borrow that and just take it downstairs and put it next to the toilets
I put him to bed
I can put my other buttock on it
you ever put your finger in the class
she put it back in the plug
[you] put it in the bar
you put the headrest up behind you
they'll put us on it
they put the daughter in the car
she put some photos on Facebook
nan put money in dad's birthday card
you put it in a savings bond
you put her up on her feet
[you] put it in in a desert
they just put it straight on the floor
you put it easy on your shoulder
we put it there by mistake
you put it on on a random card
I put it in your bathroom
we put him on the scale
I put yours on the piano mum

I took it off again and put all five pairs in the charity
I'll just put the whole thing in the bin
you put a sticker in the back
you could put six CDs in the front
you shouldn't put anything hot on it
I'd put it in Facebook
I just put a bagel in the oven
I kind of put her in the picture
we put it in the atrium
someone put a sign on the bike
we should put carpets on our walls
we could put chili in it
I can buy a load of records break them and put them on the floor
you put them in the oven heat
I put a safety pin in it
you use the chopsticks to get it up and put it in the pot
he actually puts pegs on girls
you not put it on the apple
he puts them in the frame
They can pinch your photo and put it in an I magazine
he put it on his jodhpurs
they put you on a horse
they wouldn't put you on Sorrel
we couldn't put him down into the cot
they do put something into your computer
we put hay in it
you ever put your hand under the pillow
you put your hand underneath your pillow
Russia wanted to put missiles in Cuba
you put it on the back wheel
they put caution tape around him
he goes salt in the wound and put salt in it
you put them on the balcony
you put a thousand pounds into the bank
I put them at the bottom
I put it on Citymapper
I send you an email with an attachment put it in a folder
he would put them in in their skins
we should put some flowers in the room
we should put some of those flowers in the bedroom
you can just put it at the side
I can and put it back in the pot
you put it under water
he put the frame round his neck

he put potato on it
we put people on the top
you put it in the oven
she puts a message on Facebook
they'd put it in the wash
he'd put the strap round the back
I put them all in the computer
I want to put it into illustrator
it in put it in the smash
you [] just put it in the fridge half
[you] put it in the fridge
they put it up against erm a aston Martin
you just put your hand on it
them all put them all up against the wall
them up and put them on me
you can put it on something
she just puts em in the microwave
I [] put this iron on her leg
they put the cotton round the hairs
you put your f fingerprint on it
you put it on the internet
you put a label on it
I'll put it in the dish washer
I put it in the dishwasher
they just put you in a tank of mud
you just delicately put it on the side
I'll just put my clothes in it
photographs put them on Facebook
Facebook put them in profile pictures
they put some photos on Facebook
cushion put itself in the cupboard
I'll put the camera on the top
yourself and put your toiletries in a bag
I just put loads of spices on it
I put loads of bleach down the drain
it put it up in the guest room
he put a medal on him
they put it into a pipe
I put her in the wheelchair
they put them in the freezer
we put sunflower oil on the paper
we put our glasses on the table
she puts it in her bag
[you] put it in some warm water

you put him in it
they put it in a cupcake case
I put them in the office
I [] put it next to her bed
I did put aloe vera in water
you put some of that stuff on the wart
she'd just put it in the deep freeze
they just put them in rags
somebody puts some money in the cash machines
it puts its head on one side
you put your shower in on top of it
[you] put his pen above the page
I put it in my room
[you] put the wardrobe on it
I can put things onto the memory card
they [] put them back in the sea
I'll put it in Dropbox
you [] put a table in the middle
they put a plate underneath my leg
she just sort of put it beside the bin
you put those things into a video
so if I was to put it put it on the Google
you can't put it in your portfolio
they'd put it on him
you could put it on your computer
dad put him in a children's home
you put cakes in it
I'll put her to bed
they put their key in it
you put poison in it
I put it in another pot
we'll put it on the board
they actually put boards all across the top
you put your hands on it
I can put your portion in a dish
I put them all in the end
I'll put them in the middle
we put them here in this one
I put them in the middle
I'll put them in the middle
it puts it on a shelf
it puts it on a shelf
we all put loads of garlic in everything
I put some capers on the top

you can put it in the fridge
they put them in in the massive cables
he put them on main beam
we actually put our costumes outside on the thing
we put our second bedroom on Airbnb
we'll put you on the bottom
I just put it in the picture
you put your wood in the big barn
we should've done is taken the meat out of the packets maybe put it either in Tupperware
you can't just put a roach in you
I used to [] put my phone on top
they just put you in one room
I can put my kids on the bus
You put them in a microwave
you can put your feet under the covers
you ca put something on top
I can always put it in the back of the car
[you] put it on a salad
you put them in something
you can't put it in the recycling tub
you put it in the oven
I put it just inside the front door
you put it in your stick
you [] put something on it
I could put some stock in it
I might put a beef stock in it
I basically bought them burnt them and then put them in a CD box
everyone wants to make videos and put them on the internet
I'll put it on the back
they just you know cheat tax and put money in offshore accounts
you put your hand on your throat
we put it in the post
you put it in the microwave
he just put his hand over my shoulder
they put sugar in the bread
you put sugar in your bread
you got it out the freezer and put it in the fridge
I put the sticker over the label
they put the chapel's royal behind us
they put it on Youtube
they'd put the a barrier up the end of this er runway
you put your foot on the break
I'll just put the things in the fridge
I shall put a cookie on your computer

I could just unplug it and put it in my laptop
he put his hand up my skirt
I just put it on Youtube
we need to put it on the wall
he walked in with a bunch of flowers and just put them in a vase
she puts so much makeup on you
I put the logs in the basket
guys put the cups in bag
[you] put the cups in the bag
I took the card out and put it in my card reader
[you] put them in the red thing
you put it in this tray
they put a thing through our letterbox
I have one little square out of it and put it in the cupboard
you can put it under the tile
they put something into you
I put it on the floor
it put its roots in its neighbour's pot
I put it in a pan
I put my hand on it
we put it in the study
they put some software on my dinosaur phone
you just put the plug in the plughole
you put the green piece in the black
I put some green in the black
I'd put them in everything
you need to put the fuse box outside on the street cos
I put the table in the front
we'll have to take our car and put the dogs in the boots
you put your whole arm up inside giant ones
you do you take a book and put the book on the table
you put the banner on you
they could put lenses in my old ones
[you] put them on top of my bookcase
you put salt on them
you put them down on the floor
I won't put it in my mouth
I put it away in a cupboard
you put your tablet on your tongue
you put your Kindle on your tongue
[you] put it up on the top
you put the note in the computer
they put stuff on the website
I put it on my Facebook

I put it in a pot
you put powder on your face
we put it in the pasta
they put them in their eyes
I put it in a blender
she puts them in things
I could put it next to you
you put it next to me
I just put them all in one country
we []just put them around the house
they put spermicide in the things
you can just put it in the sauce you
you [] put makeup on top
I [] put it in a fish bowl
they always put it on models
you make it and put it on the work surface
you couldn't' assemble it and put the egg on at the other end
you put him in the front
we can't put him in a nursery
they'll put clean dressing on it
they might put them in your ear
they put them in your arm
I put the Budweiser in the fridge
[you] put your head in the sink
you [] put it in front of you
I put a pullover down on the side
you just put it on the hearth
you put them in the chicken soup
mum put them in jelly
mum put them in jelly
you put them in a box
I put it in the wash
you can put some stuff on it
we can just put yours in the oven
you just put it on his head
they put a cover on it
you put headphones in it
she basically put her head in her hands
I could put it into Google Maps
I can just put it into Google Maps
she put it on YouTube
we put cheese on the chips
them like put sardines in my dog's breakfast
you put your hair on your face

we could put it in the gravy
I put them in the fridge
supermarkets and put it on the shelves
you just put something on a plate
it in and then put it into the water
you just put it into the plant pot
you can't put a bin into an auction
[you] put them on the table
someone put some cheating software into it
I put the stuff down at er at at at the cottage
I do put things in my diary
I put it in my mouth
you put a needle in my hard palette
[you] put your leg up on the toilet
they might put you at front of queue
they just put her in front of the mirror
you can put them all in ice cubes
I normally put a jacket over my face
they just put a straw in it
you ever put anything in your vagina
I'll put my face in them
you put a pound in a jar
you put them on their front
she got some paper in a cup and put it on him
I put my face right up to the glass
you put a metal spoon in your mouth it
they [] put him in place of their you
you put the water on the pasta
they would put a WRAF section into Kenya
they'd put WRAF to Kenya
the s sandman legend [] puts sand in children's eyes
I put it in the bin
you put it around the garden
you put your photo up on the site
[you] put some Aloe vera on it
you just put your laptop on them
I put them on Ebay Nintendo games
we [] then put the wrap in the George Foreman
I put it on the tray
we'd probably put it on the end of our tongue
I [] then put them into the right family
I [] put the pie back in the oven
[you] put it in the oven
we then put it into a bank account

I [] put it under my jumper
[you] put some stuff on it
they put anything needles in your arm
they put needles in your arm
you [] then put it right in the middle of your pancake
they [] put it in a human
they actually put it in the machine
we put it in nanny's coffee
we never put him in odd socks
mummy put all those nappies on you
I'll put the laptop on this new laptop
you put a coat on you
you put it under the UV light
he put the aloe vera in a leaf in the fridge
she could put some oil on my hair
she put this blue shampoo on it
I'm gonna [] put wiggle wiggle wiggle next to it
hey used to just put them in a box and then put them in a cupboard
they [] put them in the warmer
we [] put it in the freezer
I put makeup on it
you put a dish in the oven
you put it all over your face
you both need to put the plates in the dishwasher
you want to put it in front of an audience
we put it out on the wire
you put the earth back in the hole
they put some stupid bits in it
they put you on these tablets
they put a gate through it
you had to write down your nightmare and put them in a bag
[you] just put it in maps
I put it right on my desk
they put the bin at the end of the bed
they take photos of all the pissed people and put it in the magazine
you just put it in the background
I can put her in the pram
I put her in the pram
I put it in a deceptive bowl
you could put superglue on your fingertips
I take my swimming costume with me put it on under my dress
we put them on the website
you put it down on the mat
[you] put it on the side

I put the meat on a plate
I put them in one
you put everything in a dishwasher
you could always put your veg back in this grill
I put some olive on them
I [] put them in the oven
I put the fat on this edge
you can [] put the same sim into it
they take pictures and put it on the internet
you actually put oil in the pan
I will put it on Ebay
I put some tinsel on my curtain
I might [] put it in my one cos
I used to [] put it in the phone
you put my finger in my ear
I put it in the machines
you put like fruit on and then put it under the chocolate
I put aloe vera on my face
you shouldn't put bicarbonate of soda in cakes
I put it in the fridge
it put it in the diary
people put bones in it
you can't put it on flaky rust
I shall put them up in the shed
I just put my hand on it
you can take the green globe but put it on the Slytherins
you need to put your frog on the bird bath
I can finally put it on my MP3 player
you can put all of the ingredients into that one good
you put the spoons in the sink
I'd put them in Room 101
you could just put it in the garden
he goes into the sixth form and puts his feet up on a desk
I put them in the oven
I save them and put them in soups
you can put stuff on it
I'll put it in the dishwasher
I put soap on my hands
I could just put my finger in the power socket
who the fuck puts chicken nuggets in the toaster
you put the bag in the bin
[you] put the lime in the Cava
you put it in the cabinet
they'd just put signs up the side of the road

we should put it on the TV
I put a wash out on the line
I'll put them in the kitchen
you'd put them in the kitchen
you want to put them out on the table
I might [] put it in my scrapbook
I will put my hair straighteners in the scrapbook
I put it in his recycling bin
you could just put it in a recycling bin
we [] put a cigarette in it
he puts spiders in his house
I'll put him in the room
I instantly put it on my grandad's profile
you can either put a story on your front page
I'll put it in my diary
you [] put it in jars
I can put it in the corner
did you fold it and put it in that handbag
I can put it onto the radio
he put it on the actual jet
someone's gonn [] put them in the oven
our boss had taken a picture of it put it on her Facebook
you put your underwear in the drawer
you'd put that stall somewhere in Hoxton
right so just [you] put them on the suitcase
they [] put him on the first flight
they just put him on the plane
somebody put it on Facebook
we put them in the little verge
we should put the almond tree slightly in front
you put it through the hole
they put it in their little machine
we can always put it back in the oven
I put the knife in it
you can always put it back in the oven
I put it in a freezer
you can put them in sort of cloth
round and put it in your bags
you just put the scanner on the machine
you put yours in the oven
we put the pigs down the bottom
I put the dishwasher into the dishwasher
I put him in the shade
you put some cranberries in it

they [] put them on ice
we just put a rack on top
I put my pyjamas bottoms over my pants
they kind of put them in their handbags
they [] kind of put clothes on them
she'll [] put it all down on the carpet
you just put it back in the bag
you put it on Facebook
they'd put some sugar on your hand
they'd often just put it in your hand
we'll just tie them up and put them in the garage
they put the petrol cap on a lead
I should just put them all in the stir-fry
they had to cut a hole in her side and put something on it
you put the those things in your shoes
you've not done anything with it apart from put it in a box
I put it on Facebook
he actually seriously put it in the wrong box
you can put it in my glass
they put the board on a high thing
we put curd cheese on everything
I put it on the table
I put it on in this room
I put him over on the side
you run out of space put it on your laptop
you can put er one terabyte on it
someone like puts their foot through it
they put it on the cover
they won't put it onto the website
you could put that link on the back
I did kind of put something on the back cos
you put it at the end
you put it on your text book
you put your hand in it
I'll put it all in one
we put it on the wall
we'll put it on her Facebook
they put all these houses cheek to cheek
they put this tower block on it
I put my iPad in the kitchen
nana used to [] put a sheet over them
you just put them under your tongue
he'd put them on the side bar
they put them on the back

you put it on the table
they put you in the car
he [] put them in prison
I'll just put it on the sofa
I put my coat up on the top shelf
he went oh that's for me and put twenty pounds in his pocket
they put her in jail
they could put some money into it
[you] put them in in a plastic wallet
I'll put a bag in it
he [] put a magnet on it
I put it back in the box
they've got to erm sort out six hundred pipes clean them all out and put end caps on them
[you] put your fingers to your lips
I'll put all these sheets in the Ottoman
you put it in it
you put garlic in it
I put him right in front of it
[they] put it in the ambulance
he put it on his back
I put the thing on a back
just put your foot on the tyres
you put it in your shopping bag
you [] put it all on the conveyor belt
you put it straight into your shopping
you put something in your basket
you put certain herbs under his nose
you put some water in him
it will get itself warm and something something something and put his head under his wing

you can't put butter in it
we can just put it in the pan
I put them on your tablet
we must get word on that computer
you put it in the machine
you [] put your finger over the number
we put it back in the oven
we'll put it in the ballot
he'd bring it in and put a handle on it
you put it on your lap
I put some chilli on hoisin
we could write an open letter and put it on Twitter
I can put it on Youtube
I can also put Youtube stuff on Twitter

we put them up in the loft
I can't put her on a plane
they put it in a cooking packet
you put your head near that apple
they put them in the sling thing
I won't put any peas on your plate
I put them at the back
I put mine in the back
you put it in salads
you go and put the plate in the dishwasher
[you] put it in a big glass dish
I turned it on and put my hands under it
I can put it in this bin
she put a picture on Facebook of it
I put them on the wall
you'll put stickers on cards
you will put stickers on the board cards
someone [] put the cards back in their orders
you'll put that purple thing on it
we need to put a sticker on it
you [] put them back on top
you put something in a fridge
you put them in the oven
he race race into the front window part put his paws on the ledge
he put them on erm disk
you just put everything in the blender
you shouldn't put it on your stomach
I turn my phone off and put it in my bag
she just turns it off and puts it in her bag
we put it on Facebook
this guy from this UKIP party just literally put his nose up in the air
you put mine on the side
I put it under a hot shower
they mm collected us and put us in cages
he put something else in it
we could put you in a swimming costume
[you] put my ice in cold ice
I ran to the tap to try and get it off put cold water on it
you put it in a mirror
I put everything in the box
they put it in a bucket
I'll put it in a Word document
you press command and a number er put our photos on it
you just put it onto your head

you can put them on a stick
we put pop-up tent in the thing
you can put websites in er Gumtree
I put it in my bag
I put my hand on her chest
he put both his hands on the side
I do the it's like whole thing put it in the bloody Nutribullet
we put it actually in a dish
[you] put it in the oven
I'll put them in a cool box
you put it into the library
you could put it down at the bottom
you just put the paper in the whole bin
we can't put them in the bin
she should put it in her bin
I'll put them in my drawer
I put them in each drawer
I'll put it on top of your bag
[you] put it in that hole
you put two people to each dwelling
they put all these coloured ones on their nose
they put em in a big truck
you can put it on your noticeboard
you put it on a website
people [] put all the notices up in pub car parks
you gonna open a tin by yourself and put it in the microwave
she put her foot down a little bit
they put them in my portfolio
she [] put them on a white background
you could put a light underneath the bottom
we'd put the ice cream into cones
you might put it in a horrible sauce
he puts on hand shoes puts his legs over his bum
she puts the rubbish on his arse
someone put this thing on Facebook
they just put them in a bag
we could put a face on it
we [] put them back in the block
you put it in your bag
you put it in the middle
[you] put it in your school bag
[you] put the rice back on the plate
[you] put me on one side
I put it on my finger

I put a scarf over my head
woman put freeze spray on this arm
I put it on Ebay
I'll put a little knob on the front
do you wanna take it home and put it under your microscope
you [] mustn't put shoes on the table
you must put your handbag on the floor
you put some money in it
you put them all around the edge of the plate
[you] put a stain on it
I already put some bread in it
you just put them all in a buggy
you put them in her car
I put it on a plate
you put it on toast
you put it in an envelope
they put a duck in it
she put it in the microwave
you ever put a crisp packet in the microwave
you put cheese on it
we could always put some stuff on a plate
you put the whole thing in your mouth
you just put them in a basket
you put them in the front
she put it on me
you could just put a a device in the bottom of the bag
we put it in the fridge
I put them in the kitchen
you made me put them in the shed
we put the fatty bacon into the dish
you put the spaghetti on the stove
he'd just put some spaghetti on the stove
they put a flyer through the door
I put them in the fridge
we put a net around it
you film it and then put it on the internet
you do is pull it out and put it in the slot
I'll put the rest in the freezer
I'll put the rest in the freezer
I'm gonna scoop it out and mix it all together and then put it in the oven
I had switched it off and puts it in the cupboard
you put stuff on the gums
I'll go and put it on my work desk
I just put it on on the Ipad

I can put it on your computer
they can put it in my coffin
they put it on the base
jord put it in his phone
we'll put it in a savings account
we'll just put you on a flight
they put her in a car
they [] put her in a van
I put them on a plate
I put this back in the freezer
we put it back in the fridge
I can put the duvet back on the bed
he recorded them doing presentations and put them on YouTube
he put it on YouTube
we can put it on YouTube
you put videos on YouTube
they put the theatre in downstairs
we'd put it on the other side
he's gonna come back Monday and put the lid on it
we'd s put a big sign on the door
I could put time in a bottle
you always put honey in it
we should probably put him in the hall
you just literally put your knife in it
she put another picture on er Facebook
I could put some balloons up outside the house
he can put it in the back
people that'd buy sculptures and put them in my house
I put peanuts in the feeder
she put it all in the bank
we put coal on it
we put coal on at night
we'd put the house on it
I put it in her top
you can put it in a glass
you just put your thumb in it
guy put his leg up on the table
I put gel on it
people do put it in their trolley
we can put you in it
I put the pictures on Facebook
he put his hand through a door
I put them on my nephews
you need to put it in that hole

you put cheese on pasta
you put a baby in a microwave
he put a condom on it
you put them in the foil
you [] then put them in a freezer
you put it in this coconut milk
we put it in the bin
I just put it to her
she never puts a meal in the oven
they put it by the door
it puts it in a bag
he put the cat on me
you put chillies in the chilli
I put peppers in the chilli
you normally put rugs in the kitchen
you could put them in the kitchen
they put something in it
I'll get the tuna steaks out now and put them in the fridge
he'd put me on the train
I put the receipt in the bin
I put it in the fridge
kind of put everything into it
he wants to put it in a museum
l put it in a cave
you put Schrdinger's cat in Pandora's box
I'll put them in anything
they put erm whitening in everything
you put the bottle on the side
you put the chicken on the the thing
you put the lid back on the breadcrumbs
I want to put something into my Facebook thing
I might put some dinner in the oven
he put it up on his Facebook page
we'll put a man on the moon
you need to put it at the bottom
they'll put enzymes in that digest
they put a needle in you
you put it in the oven
you put the chocolate in it
you put the photos on it
I put them onto the disc
you maybe need to put it on a memory card
you can put it in your new lounge
have you picked her up and put her on the floor

he'd put it on the computer system
[you] put some bits on Snapchat
they'll put a cloth over the meter
he kind of whisked us off around the back and put us in a back of a pickup truck
it just puts the money in your account
you can put things on your own pin board
you can and put some er oil on it
they just put the phone down on you
we should put a mask over you
you put some cheese on it
I put it back in the fridge
I bookmark them and then put them into separate folders
it put him into check
we put it in the table
you can put him erm just over the river
I put some berries in it
you could put tape round his mouth
the'd [] put their tail between their legs
you put that hair onto a spinning wheel
you put them all just into matches
I put it on eBay
they put it into the corpus
you can put a frame around it
we have to [] put it all on the computer
you can't put them in the local jail
I'll put it in the diary
families will put money into it
you well never used to run off with someone's coat and put it in the mud
you put the lock through the frame
I put them all by the fire
you can put anything in them
you put it on the cloud
you could put a roof over your head
he'll put the things through the door
they just put a ticket through the door
they put fascia round the bathroom roof
they put the fascia up under the drippers level
you put a table on it
pastes and put them in the cupboard
you [] put it into the bottles
you put sugar in it
I can't put my finger on it
he puts everything in frames
you wouldn't put it on your stick

you just put it in an E tag
I put a newer Windows on it
it put your pound in a jar
you can put it in the car
I put them in a carrier bag
we put them on the wall
you put it in the holes
you put a plate on the wall
we put batons on the wall
she never puts anything in the oven
he even put the the gungy stuff round the outside
you can't put ceramic tiles onto a wooden floor
I put it on the radiator
you put it on your blog
you actually put it on your blog
you put a sign up in the bathroom
I put them in the till
you put red ribbon round it
you can put him back on the tree
you could put a cracker on it
I should put it on my new website
you put the whole thing in your mouth
you put cream cheese on top
I just put orange in the pastry shortcrust
they put weight on the bone
we can put brandy on it
you can just put it on your back
you put your foot at the top
I put you in front of them
they put a few sulphates in it
you put their hand on their body
you want to put them in the bowl
you put a jacket around you
I put my slippers on my back
you put it on it
we put a a throw on the settee
I never put a new plug in it
I can put it on Facebook
they wanted to put tickets on it
they put the baby in front of me
you put er mouthwash in a basin
he [] put a hamster through it
he put the cock in a can
you can't put it on Facebook

we could all put stuff into a volcano
she'll put it in the mushroom bin
she put it in the mushroom bin
cold put it on your hands
someone put a machete through your roof thing
somebody [] put it through the roof
I wanted to put a song on it
I'll put them in the kitchen
you put it in the oven
they put erm salt down outside that entrance
they used to just put them in a box and then put them in a cupboard
[you] then put them in the warmer
they might not put anything in it
we could get a charity box and put money in it
mum usually puts celery in stock
you put mushrooms in it
I put my hand on my cheek
you will just put them in the sink
they put me in a chair
you can put sounds in them
they put it inside the bear
they put it inside the bear
daddy put something over your arm
I put it back in the microwave
we'll put them on those battens
I'll put the top on the paint
you put one by the entrance
we put you in your basket
you put them on the table
they put windows in it
I put it in my shirt
we're going to have to take them off and put them on a DVD
us just put things in the entrance
you can't put them on the fire or or put them in the recycle
you put things into a computer
you take it out and put it on the table
chicken up and put its head under its wing
he'll put eighty-ninety quid in the machine
[you] put them in the microwave
they put these steel rods in flooring
she put the the Kit Kat in the middle
she [] put her hand in her pocket
I put it into a pension fund
they'd put all your fingers on on the screen

I put it in his office
they put a road name on the end
somebody put this er stream on on Facebook
you put some water in it
they put it in the the bond
others will put it in their barrels
[you] put it in the wash tonight
I'll put that amount into my savings account
you move those clouds and put them on your bed
[you] put your baby in socks you
you put it in your mouth
you put everything in the dishwasher
I put the other stuff in the washing machine
you can't put anything else in it
I'll put it on that pink box
we'll put that new tune on it
[you] put your fingers in a fruit bowl
you just had to put your foot up and put your phone on it
they put you under a CT scanner
they put a hollow tube through your cervix
it put it in the bin
they put salt in the stock
dad sometimes puts half of it in the freezer
[you] put them in the cellar
you put dark grey in the grey
you could put them in the orange tray
you just put everything under the bed
he put the forty pound in my case
I put it in my bag
he put it in the microwave
they put them in the recycling
we could put it on Facebook
they'll put you at the front
my sister [] put it on our nose
they put me in a cold shower
you put it on your chest
she like put loads of stuff on Facebook
he puts the laptop on the like table
I'll just go and put it in the sink
you put it up on the folder
you just put em on the table
you put it on the edge
you put stuff into their forums
you put it up on YouTube it

you need to put it in the diary
you put it under the fungi book
we can put some fairy liquid into a bottle
we can [] put to put some lavender bits in it
you put too much stuff in the drawers
he'd put all his money to the Ark
you put it next to you
you put it in the loft
you might as well put it in the lottery
you would put the lead oxide in the carbon block
you can put the chuck onto it
you put a cut in across the diagonal
they put them on erm you
we put it in the toaster
you just ph phone up phone up or put em on the net
they could put em on our table
you could put your hand right through the corners
someone put a gate across it
you put the ties into the gun
you put the new thing on you
I put it on the side
I put money in it
I can put them in a smoothie
RAM
he could just ram you off the road
REFER
she refers you to a doctor
he would like make me refer me to the doctor
they referred him to hospital
RELEASE
nanny release me from the straps
they need to release them to site
REMOVE
I'll just remove it from my head
it would remove some of the rubbish onto the bottom of the hill
REST
you rest it on the wall
she can't rest the tray on her lap
you could rest your phone on it
RETWEET
they retweeted it out to all their followers
REVERSE
I reversed his car into a tree
REVOLVE

you can still revolve them around you
ROLL
you roll it against the counter
you rolled me away in bed
you roll the pole over it
they [] roll the pole over it
they [] roll them down the hill
they [] roll them down the hill
we could [] roll them down the hill
you rolled her on her back
RUB
you won't rub it on a leaf
you can rub a bogey on a leaf
you rub banana on your skin
you basically rub it into your hair
RUN
they must have [] run it up to the bus driver
you [] run the cursor over them
I [] run it right to the front
mum [] run us to Bergerac Station
you run the paper through it
you [] run it through a concordance
you run it through the program
he [] ran it across our skylight
he [] runs his fingers down your back
they run it from a Mercure hotel
they run the pipelines obviously to the shore
you can run it down the house
they can run their eye over it
he just ran the spaghetti all over the floor
you ran hot water on it
that's gonna heat up run a pipe down into my lounge
they run it through software
RUSH
they rushed me into theatre
they rushed her off to theatre
she just wants to rush us into another crisis
SAIL
they [] sailed it in Greece
you really sail a barge across the English Channel
you can sail it on the coast
SCAN
they scan it into the computer
SCATTER

[you] scatter them around the corners
SCOOT
wind just scooted all of the pollution out of Krakow
SCRAPE
they [] scrape it all into the bin
Jackie scraped it in the car
they scrape them off the road
I just scraped it all into the rubbish
she just used to scrape it off into the sink
you can scrape it off my spoon
SCRATCH
we could scratch it off your scratch map
SCREW
you can't screw it on anything
SEAT
they seated her in cattle class
SEND
we could just send them to the charity shop
you can send them to me
people would always just send them to private school
they [] send them to us
they [] sent her down some wrong road
work sent me to Germany
I send it to you
I'll send it to her
I sent it to her
I just send a private message to Obama
I'll send them to you
I sent it to you
you send the menu out to everyone
you send it from work
I sent a picture to her
mum just accidentally prematurely sent an email to an accounting firm
I'd send it to her
they sent her to Kenya yes
he sent him to prison
they send him to prison
they sent him to prison
they sent it to you
they [] send them to these lessons
dad sends Heathcliff erm Hindley away to college
they send these back to our families
she sent me to hospital
you send your kid to nursery

he'd actually just sent a letter to my mum
he sent a list to me
they sent him to Madrid
they sent me to Derby
they send me to Derby
I never used to send the kids to the management
I never used to sent them to heads of year
they just sent me to a lot of different specialists
I used to send them to London
I sent it to him
I send the coursework home to my uni
it and send it to you
we [] sent them out to everybody
they [] send it to me
dad used to send us off to the bank
you send it to them
you did send it to me
they sent their children to school
monastery sends him to erm to erm hell Italy
I normally send it to somebody
I normally send it to you
you send them to school
they sent it to my mum's address
you send your phone back to us
I'll send it to you
you should send your daughter to the high school
I [] sent it to people
you sent a message to him
they sent it to you
she sent a message to t this woman
I sent an email to my councillor
you send it to me
he did get to t send it to me
I'll [] send it to you
he obviously sent it to everybody
I send something from your computer
you send her to the doctor's
he used to send people to his car
they sent erm the email out to the entire linguistics
I ever send it to you
[you] send it to the address
they could send it in to You
they send it to you
they send it to you

I sent it to you
you [] send her to sickbay
they won't send it back to us
he sent his will to the Mistress
they send it to them
I can't send it to myself
he would [] send it back to me
you sent one to me
I send a text to you
the doctor sent her to the physiotherapist
you send a message to my phone
he sends a message to someone
you send those messages to someone
school send them to a different country
they send the order through to your bank
he sent a text to me
they sent it to you
I'll send it to you
I sent a video to You
she sent an email to everybody
I sent it to you
they sent a man to the moon
they sent a man to the moon
they send the recipes out to you
she sent that email to him
they [] sent him on the pitch
they [] just sent him on the pitch
he sent us all out of the kitchen
they send one to me
I nearly sent it to you
you just send it back to the person
I [] send it off to them
I sent the picture to them
I sent it to a few friends
you send it off to the passport office
we might as well send it direct to him
you can send your clips to me
they sent it to a specialist cleaner
designers will send them to a paint sprayer
we'll send them to private school
they sent him into a school
they send them to you
they send him all over the world
you could s send it off send it off to a charity

you send a child out to the front door
they'd send a letter to my old address
[you] send it to me
they send their kids to that tennis school
you sent all your stuff to them
she send me away from the farm
we can [] send it to them
I sent a message to your dad
you send something to a translator
they can send all their money back to their families
he sent everybody out to a cooperative
he sent them all off to a cooperative
I sent it to Photoshop
we sent it to the mechanic
she sent an email to this guy
they send it to me
[you] send it to her
they sent a piano specialist to the job
I sent erm an email to Mr
I [] sent it to my friend
they then send the card through to the person
they sent out a global email to me
I send a text from your phone
you [] send it over to me
I [] sent it through to him
I sent it to you
I'll send it to you
I'll send it to the publishers
they can send it to me
you send it to the cloud
it sends it to my phone
they'll send the money to me
they sent the money to you
I sent an email to my colleagues
they sent me to France
I could afford to send my kids to private school
he used to g send one off to the chapel
I'll send it to you
I can send it to you
we sent something to my daddy
she [] sent it off to a customer
they sent her to the hospital
she sent a message to me
they send a car to the house

they send it out of the country
he sends a like email to everyone
you send them to family
America sent an orbit around Mars
they sent them to the computers
you sent it to me
you sent me to a comprehensive school
we can send it off to the manufacturer
I would just send it to senior management
they can send it to an email account
everyone sends stuff to South America
they can't really send out envelopes to people
we'll send it to you
I sent a text to her
I send it to you
I [] send it to them
they send out loads of letters to our family
you send it to them
I'll er send them to the record company
you send it to me
I did send it to you
he sent it to everyone
he kind of er sends out information to the um the people
we'll send the kids to my family
we'll send the kids to South Africa
it send it to the printer
we can only send it over to the British Corpus
I need to [] send them back to them
I send it to you
I send her to yoga
you can [] send it to your friend
you can send your claim to the ombudsman
we'll er send it to us
they send it to him
you go to the mosque and send your kids to Islamic school
they all sent all their kids to Irish-speaking schools
you can't send it to Spain
they sent him up to Scotland
I sent it to your dad
she sent her kids to private school
I would send my children to private school
test must send them off to a doctor
we sent Katie off to Paraguay
mum wanted to send photographs of us to dad

I need to send it out to a few people
we need to send it to You
I wanted to send a letter to the bank
you want to send flowers to your mum
I wouldn't want to send him to nursery
it want to send their kids to good counsellors
you want to send a cheque to someone
SEPARATE
he can't really separate it from it
SERVE
you can serve everything out of them
they serve them out onto plates
he can just serve it to the rest of the family
SET
he [] set them in the little plant pots
SEW
they sew the thing back on the flaps
SHIFT
they shift it to Germany
SHIP
they ship them out to the shops
they ship them out the shops
they ship them to the NHS hospital
she probably ships it over from India
SHOOT
a man [] shoots it into a woman's mouth
he shoots an arrow up into the sky right
I shot that Banshee out the air
I shot him through the floor
they shoot the missiles over Japan
player just shoot the football at their bum
the Uno that erm just shot cards at you
SHOUT
I'll shout you to a takeaway
SHOVE
you can shove him in a home
you just shove it in your own bag
I'll shove it in the cupboard
he'll just shove them in his garage
they shove a contract under our nose
he [] shoved everything in that corner
they just try and shove it in the box
he shoves his hand in it
someone shoves some food in front of me

they used to shove it into the bags
they kind of shovel it from the mountains
I shove it all in the garage
we used to [] shove it in the bag
he shoved his meat down my throat
we shove it all in a box
[you] just shove it in my hair
you just shove em in the oven
I just shoved it all in a bag
you need it just take some shavings and then shove it back in the freezer
he got erm a cardboard like tube and shoved it up his arse
guy [] then shoves his head in it
he shoves his head inside a vagina hole
they shove something on it
they'll just get some frozen burgers and shove it on the grill
you just need to shove them under a cold tap
you can never get the shovel under all the stones
I want to shove him up my bum
SHOW
she showed me around the factory
girl eventually showed us to our room
SHUT
we shut them in the kitchen
I shut the door on my head
I [] just shut the door on my forehead
SIEVE
I'll sieve it into another thing
SIT
I just sit mine in a bucket
we'll sit you all down on the sofa
we can sit them in the corner
you're meant to [] sit them down at the table
you sit it on top of the stove
she sat him in front of the television
they'll just sit her in a deck chair
I'll just sit it on the floor
I'll sit it on my lap
SLAP
he [] slapped a bit on this thing
he wants to slap a sticker over the rental thing
he wants to slap his sticker over it
SLIDE
you slid them over your poles
you slide it in the thing

you can slide it in the back
SLIP
you'd let him slip his winky inside you
you slip stuff in that front bit
you'd slip fifty quid in my back pocket
SLOP
dad's slopped tomato all over the table
SLOT
you slot it on a spectrum
you just slot it into the corner
SMACK
I smacked a bar up into my nose
they just smacked it onto the thing
she [] smacked her head on the desk
did she [] smack her face on a desk
did she [] smack her face on the bus
SMASH
I couldn't smash my racket on the ground
SMEAR
he'd smear ketchup on a slice of like dried toast
SNAPCHAT
you snapchat David's reaction to him
SOAK
you soak it in some sauce
you [] soak the cranberries in Grand Mar Marni Marnier
I would soak the matzo meal in hot water
you soak it in lavender bath
they soak it in er alcohol
I soaked the bread in it
I soaked it all in erm Vanish
SOURCE OUT
the university last year um s sourced it out to another company
SPILL
you spill anything on it
it can spill the vomit on your bed
you spilt kidney on it
you spill food down it
I spilt drink on it
I ever spilt an egg on him
I spilt loads of alcohol on it
someone spilt red wine on the sofa
I spilt something wet on my bed
I spilled it on my crotch
he spilt red wine on the floor

I spilt some yoghurt once on me
I spilt nail polish on it
SPIT
I had to spit it down the toilet
SPLASH
I'll splash your business all over the net
you only splash it on the spots
SPOON
we try and spoon it all on the butter
she spoons it into her sh
SPRAY
I'll erm spray it on my clothes
they spray it in the front of like players
you can spray freeze stuff on it
[you] spray it on your garden
you just sprayed coffee all over me
you just spray vinegar on their head
SPRINKLE
you sprinkle some salt on the base
SQUASH
I squashed myself onto her cream leather sofa
SQUEEZE
we couldn't get any ou squeeze any oil out of it
you squeeze it from the bottom
SQUIRT
I just squirt a little bit in the top
we had to [] squirt it into your mouth
I can squirt it to the ceiling
I squirted water at her
he squirted it in his face
SQUISH
I could squish it on my face
STAB
kids stabbed knives into all the furniture
STACK
the bloke who counts the beans and stacks them up in the corner
STAND
you stand a hobbyhorse in the kitchen
[you] stand the glass off from the wall
you can stand them up in it
STAPLE
I was gonna [] staple it to the back er of his er piece of work
STEP
I stepped a foot on it

STICK
somebody stick some letters on it
laptops then stick it on the table
you'd just stick a notice in the window
it stick it in the microwave
you wouldn't stick it on your noticeboard
you stick it on Facebook
I stuck them in the WWW
he stuck his hand in something
they used to stick me in the middle
I'll stick it on the other ear
you stick it in your pocket
you just pick it up and stick it in a bag
you can stick it up your jacksy
she stuck the sticker on the horse
she stuck her sticker on on his belly
you stick your foot down to the boards
we stuck everything up in that loft
I just stuck them on a plate
I'll stick it in my phone
you stick your foot in your mouth
I stuck them into a scourer
they just stick stickers onto them
they stick it in your mouth
they stick them on cardboard tops
he [] stuck the ladder on top of this tower
he stuck his foot on its head
I also couldn't bear to stick her in the garden
we stick it in the corner
you just stick it in a pub
I stuck it on a map
we [] stick it on the noticeboard
I stick it all in a pile
I stick it in the oven
you [] stick them up on a load of crosses
I stuck an advert in the gazette
she'd [] stick her head under water
I [] stuck them up on Facebook
we can stick them on the microwave plate
they'd stick this thing over your face
I [] stick it on the glass
I stuck him in the car
she sticks two fingers up its arse
I stick it on my bedside table

they stuck his head on a chicken
they can't stick his head on a chicken
they [] stuck a thing on it
they stuck all the old people up up in the top floors
we [] stuck them over the rhubarb
we stick ours in the compost
I [] just stick it on the end
you [] stick it in the oven
I [] stick it on their car boot
I like to stick them in a vase
I stuck my head in all the rooms
we've [] stuck it to the ceiling
it did stick its head out of a hole
are we gonna [] stick it in the study
they stick a house on it
you could [] stick it on the table
I could stick them in you
it'll stick the eggs around the tube
they stick the blue plague on them
we'll stick a vacuum cleaner up your jacksy
they'd stick a big beard on him
they stuck you in another room
someone will stick it in the microwave
she stuck a needle into the tooth
I stuck it on the front
we stuck it in a wrap
I stick it in the Magimix
I should stick mine in the car
she stuck her out of the bedroom
we'll stick it in the oven
you might [] stick it on your CV
I'll stick it in my diary
we [] stick it in the garage
you stick your two hands in in front of you
we stuck it on the inside of the door
we can stick them all in rabbit hutches
I just stuck some cheese on your teeth
I stuck it on the end
he'll stick his head under his wing
I [] stick them on at the bottom
[you] stick the sausages in between the split
I stuck it in a Aunt Bessie's box
you stick it onto your paper
you could stick your head through that hole

you [] stick it in the machine
I [] then stick it in my eye
you can [] stick the recorder on the table
he'd would take his spare false eye stick it on the thing
you stick a cork into a tree
[you] stick it in an ISA
you put crush a few Fisherman's Friends stick it in vodka
we stuck them in the little room
you can't just stick it on the wall
he sticks his head in it
they just stick it into the bin
you stick it in the skip
I'll just stick it in that room
I'll stick it on that box
they stick a speculum in your vagina
they stick their fingers up your bum
you buy that stuff like lavender camomile stick it in bags
it stick it in a microwave
I stuck my head round Prof's door
I [] stuck it in the sauce
I used to do rolls and stick em on the top
they looked at the report and stuck it in the bottom drawer
STRAIN
you strain it into a saucepan
STRAP
they strap them to the planes
I will just strap a tissue to my nose
he had to [] strap his ladder to the wall
you would strap your ankles under the bars
you can strap them to your feet
[you] strap you into your chair
STRIKE
you will not strike your foot against a stone
it [] likely struck sand out of the box
STRING
they'd [] strung it into a tree
STRIP
they strip the everything out of the house
STUFF
she stuffed them into her ruck sack
we just stuff the animal back in it's own arse
SUBTRACT
they subtract them from the r no mm car
SUCK

you can’t suck your face into your face
it sucks all the blood up to your head
England just sucks it out of you
they went to suck all the stuff out of your mouth
SUPER-COMBINE
I could super-combine the guy out of it
SWEEP
we swept the stuff off the roof
SWERVE
I’ll swerve you off the road
SWIPE
I swipe it to the right
SWISH
you kinda swish it around your teeth
TAKE
it used to take me um on the bus
you come and take him to school
he managed to take it back off me
she allowed to take her to nursery
we planned to take them up to the uni
he used to take me to Costa
we use to take the children to Russia
dad used to take me to boxing
they used to take him into prisons
he could come and take Algiers from me
they used to take you into the hosp
he used to take us to the pub
you take the lad to it
he takes his hands out of his pockets
they took him to the vet
I took one out of the library
they should take him to a school
I took it out the packet
I took it out the packet
they took them to Africa
nets took them to Africa
it take a horse to water
they took down my air fresheners from my rearview mirror
we took you to the football
we took you to the football
I ever wanted to take it to uni
I take them on the train
he’ll take them down to the ground
we should take you to the hearing aid

I can’t take you down the garden
he took us to his family
it takes you onto the internet
it takes you through to your account
he used to [] take me down to the field
they take him into prison
they take him to hospital
someone took a knife to it
they take it out of your erm spine
they take it out your spine
we took her to that bar
he took us to Linkin Park
mam wanted to take us to Disney
you take us to Spital
one of us would take her back to her room
he took his boots down to the boot room
I take it off her
you take the kids to Aldi
I’d disown you or take you to the gym
I took of you on the golf course
I’ll take you to Tesco’s
we took them all down the garage
I took it to her
her family took her to hospital
they took her to the vets
you’d take the ball past you
they took you to three sets
I’d rather just take it all to a charity shop
I took it from the bottle
parents took me to Disneyland
we took all our projector stuff out the conservatory
we just take our stockings into our parents room
I could take it down to the top bar
she’d take me to dances
dad took me into the prison
she’d take me to the local dances
you just take it out the back of your TV
they took it from me
I’ll take her to the cinem
it takes me out to the east
you take me into work
I took them through the park
mother took him to the shops
mother took him to the shops

I'll take a bottle under the coat
we'd take the kids to the retail park
B's took them to Mexico
someone [] later actually took it off me
we take it to the caravan
we actually take it over to France
I took my foot off the brake
it took half the people from A S
dad took me to the Asda
I took the brushes out of the room
he took the shop to work
you take it out of its case
she can take her to nursery
I just took them all out of the box
he picked me up took me to the school
you take their card off them
[you] take it from the deck
you take it from the pack
I took them up to the BBC
we take your bags up to your room
we took him on the plane
I'd basically just take it to anyone's house
I took this French girl around to the house
he took his hands off the wheel
we took everything out the freezer
they take them up in the air
I took mine in the little bag
will someone help me take all that stuff to my car
they took it away from them
[she] mm couldn't take it on a plane
I would take it off the wall
I took it off the wall
they took that coffin away to everybody
you take your foot off the brake
you take them off between your toes
you take your food out of your mouth
he'd take the sheep back to the house
we [] take her down to the park
they'll take me into social services
I can write all over them and take them on the bus
I just took them out the packets
she took something off him
airport and take us straight to the school
you took your drum to the beach

I'd take it to school
they would take you right up to the gate
you take it off the shelf
he took you to Costa
we'll take you to Egypt
they take it back to the shop
you can actually take it down rapids
I'd take it onto the sea
my dr my dad um took me to Wales
they'll take you on their boat
I first took it to the shop
you take it out of the envelope
he took him out to the shops
they tried them and likes them and took them back to Spain
I could just take it to the petrol station
we [] took them to India
it takes you to Youtube
she took me away from the school
I took mine down to one side
we'll just take him down the park
you take the keys from that door
they take everything out of packaging
they take everything out of packaging
you take me to the hospital
you take me to the hospital
I took it to the garage and water
we took you to Argos
you just take down the partition wall to your spare bedroom
they took it to their Harry Potter
he took them out onto the yards
we usually take him to Early Learning Centre
I will take your food away from you
he took her back to her house
he took us to the zoo
she took me to various things
I'll [] take it to my dad
they took the body to the mortuary
Gallagher took her son to Northern Ireland
they took it away from that group
I'm gonna bake t like tonight or tomorrow like and take it to work
you can't take them into work
I took my phone off the hook
I took all the paperwork to the register
I take you to a party

he [] sort of took them to England
she took me to the boardroom
you take it to the App Store
I got a leaf and picked him up and took him off the path
I took him up the road
he takes her to the cinema
they take their cars into the jungle
she took us to that pizza place
we took it back to our motel room
I really wanted to take her to that place
you take the chicken out of the freezer
I need to take them to the beach
we took everyone to the curry house
they not take water from the sea
they took you in the shed
bus take us to school
you got to take your fridges to the s recycling plant
we [] took the lid off the bin
she just took us on this slope
we [] took it to Germany
he was able to like pick us up take us to the airport
I can't take her to the roller disco
they take them to a dealer
I'll take it to a dealer
we'd just take them to the tip
I took it to the garage
they'd take you from one room to the delivery suite
we took them back to Andorra
he took me up on this chairlift
I [] took him to the key stage
I'll take it to Halfords
she went to take him to the vet
I took her down to TGI's
I took em out of a pocket
you took the bottoms out of em
you would take me to Stansted
they took him to Harvey Nichols
you take the card out of your camera
we took her to London
they took him to that club
you take your thing out of the microwave
they took me to hospital
you can't take the whole wardrobe to the the shop
he took you to church

they took their kids to school
they took him to the vet
I took them off my socks
you take your kids to the parties
you take them out of school
I'd hardly take it to the police station
they took me straight down to my little room
mum took me to Marks
it takes the insects away from the veg
I take them down to the auction
she can take it out of a cup
granddad took us to the pictures
she takes him to gigs
aunt takes you out to the zoo
aunt takes you to the zoo
mother took me to the zoo
aunt takes me to the zoo
you take them to Belgium
I might take this tablet in to work
I took you straight to hospital
I took her to hospital
he took the laptop into the the bathroom
you [] take it to father
we'd take it from the placenta
they take it out of the pig
we took our car on the boat
they took everything out of the car
they took everything back off the plane
I never took the plastic wrapping off it
we can take it straight to school
it'd took us to Scotland
sort of take him off the bike
we took him to New York
you can't just take the magazines from the café
I just took the stiff back to Primark
you took it to an Antiques Roadshow
a man goes behind the counter and takes it out of a big photocopier
you take it to a car wash
people obviously take fruit to hospital
I take it into hotel dining rooms
I carry my bags round the garden and then take them to the bin
we took them to the coast
I took it off my Kindle
we took him to the vet's

you could take food to hers
I'd take it to his house
they took me to KFC
you can take the boy out of the country
we could just take the stuff out the loft
I took it out my pocket
it takes you straight through to Amazon
friends took him to Budapest
he took his kid out to the funfair
he takes her to the library
he took it to the Vauxhall garage
you take it to the garage
they took him to the airport
you must take your phone to the garage
we take you to the bridge
we took him to a golf course
she takes people down the road
I took him to a couple of restaurants
they took us to this fancy restaurant
they took us into the mangroves
she will take him to school
I'll take you on a picnic
I'll take you to the theatre
we'll kill it in take it to a field
I obviously took all of the stuff out of the way
I took him to the chemist
they took it off you
you take it out of the civic arena
he took me to this host
she took me to Siena
she also took me into the Tuscan hills
you go back to the water make more bricks take them to the site
they actually took it to an analyst
we'll c take you to the police station
you took Honey to France
they took us to Plymouth
she just took her to Turkey
[you] take it down the park
we took you up the hospital
we took you to the hospital
we took her to the theatre
dad took grandpa to hospital cos
they took me into the ambulance
I might just take those things to the kitchen

you can’t take him to New York
you can take him down the beach
they take it out of my pay packet
they take it out the pay packet
they take them up to the pool
she took you to a garden centre
turbulence can’t take a plane out of the sky
they never took us to anything
he took me under his wing
they’ll take her to the seaside
I’ll still take you to the station cos
it takes you to that tab
we took them to the show
you take my kids away from me
they now take it to the playroom
I’d better take these things off your bed
bus took us straight to the airport
it took us straight to the airport
she take the dog to the south
I took her to the cinema
he takes mustard out of the fridge
he took it out of the packet
we took it back to Goldsmiths
you take it to a a photo shop
I would take my friends up to the space station
I used to tip my piggy bank out and take stuff out of it
he took them to his mate
she took her boyfriend to a Michelin star
Morrisons and take me to the tennis club
we took it to the dump
they took you to hospital
you steal on my daughter and take her around the world
he took us off the bus
he [] took us to the other bus
mother should take her to hospital
you take your child to hospital
I took it to school
you could take it out of the plastic
you take the lid off it
parents can take their kids out of school
she took me to the station
he takes her to South Africa
I took them through the window
them take them up the park

we can take you up to the campus
he take my phone out of the holder
he [] then took it up to his bedroom
you take me up the hospital
she took the dressing off it
it took us straight to the venue
she took us to this hotel
we won't take the barge to the States
they took us out of the show
it'll take you to a plumbers
I took him to our back gate
I just took some of them off people's walls
they took us into the classrooms
daughters took his wife off to Canada
we take you to Plymouth opera
I'd need to take him to other things
I can't take you to university
we'll find you on the other side and take you to the plane
I took her to the hospital
you can take something off the tree
instructors take them down the slope
I'll take her to Metro
you take your hands away from your face
I took all the sheets off the bed
he also takes you to Mcdonald's
dad just took us to my mam's hairdresser
he would take us to school
he would take us to school
we take some things out the garden
you took them all out of the fridge
TAP
I accidentally tapped some some hot ash onto my hand
TAPE
I'll tape your hands down to your sides
they [] taped it to his face
TEXT
I texted three pounds to them
I accidentally texted the wrong message to you
THROW
Yoda throws the bowling ball down the er the bowling alle the lane
somebody throws a keyboard at you
I throw it in my handbag
if that [] throws anything into the mix
they throw salt over their shoulder

I'd throw em in jail
you throw them in jail
you wouldn't just throw them in the bottom
you throw a crab apple at me
they literally throw money in the bin
you throw money in the bin
you throw them on the floor
you should just like th throw it out the window
I'm going to fucking go [] and then throw it at them
I'd just throw the guitar on the floor
I just throw it in the microwave
someone throw something at you
girl threw an egg at me
I threw him out of the car
she like throws the cats at everyone
they just threw them on the floor
I would [] throw it out of the window
I threw it out the window
they throw it in your face
he [] threw them in the bin
I throw eggs at him
I threw mine on the floor
you throw it in the air
you throw it in the air
I threw some tuna out the window
you can get the bacon out the fridge throw it in the microwave
you just threw this knife at me
I threw it out the window
I threw it out of the window
he [] threw his rings at me
he just decided to throw it into their court
I [] threw a spanner in the works
they told the reporter to [] throw it out of the window
I was gonna s throw some shit in the water
we'd throw clothes at him
I just threw my arms around her
you [] throw me in the air
somebody throw a drink over somebody
I throw some vegetables into my fajita
he might just throw his hand under the water
we throw them in the back
he threw a cat on fire
you threw it in the bushes
I threw it in the bush

you [] throw him in the river
Croatians [] threw them onto the pitch
someone throws something at her
they just throw it in the beer
guy throw him in the back of the van
dad threw me across the room
I actually threw it in the bin
we mustn't [] throw rubbish in his field
we threw the phone onto the floor
you [] throw it in a dish
he threw stones up at the master's window
[you] throw them in your oven
you threw it down the stairs
I threw it down the stairs
he just throws himself down on the floor
I could throw them in the boot
you threw it at you
they [] threw it to the crocodile
they just throw nets at them
she threw it at him
someone could throw a Lego brick at someone
you throw it out on the sheet
you supposed to throw it on the wall
someone genuinely threw me into a room
you throw that California book out the window
he used to throw it down the stairs
[you] would have [] thrown his bike into the Thames
you throw a ball at a wall
we'll throw you out the window
someone threw a grenade at Emile
I threw it at the Hunter
I threw it at the Hunter
I just throw the cat in the room
I just threw him in the rubbish bin
I'd rather [] throw me in the pool
I throw you in the pool
I can't throw it all into the bin
he throws it out of the window
he just throws it against the wall
[you] throw them in in the sheep pen
people just throw them at skiers going past
I just throw it out the window
you would throw things at the TV
he sometimes tries to throw things in his hat

baby threw everything at me
I managed to throw it over the sheet
you just throw a photo in a bin
Travis tries to throws himself out of the window
she [] helped me pack his bags or just throw everything out on the drive
you wanted to throw it over the tree
THRUST
they basically thrust them at you
TIE
you tie him to something
you just literally tie it to a door
you'd tie one to the end
she tried to tie her hair up out of her face
we tied some muslin over the top
you could then tie it to something
dad tied string to my tooth
TIP
he [] just dro tipped it all over me
you tip it over the bowl
they can tip water in it
you tip them in the moat
they tip people over the back of the chair
[it] er tipped her over the edge
TOP
there was like a couple of things that topped it over the edge
TRANSFER
I can transfer some money over from Spain
we'll just transfer the deposit to our summer holiday
I transferred all my numbers onto my new phone
I transferred some er text from my Ipad
[you] transfer your SIM card to the phone
I can transfer the money into your account
we transferred it all back to her
I wouldn't transfer it into a tin pot
you transfer it to other things
it sort of transfers it across your chest
I did transfer them to the top shelf
I transferred everything over to a a Smart Board flip
I just need to transfer some money to someone
TRAP
they trapped Stefan inside a coffin
they can trap them in the Med
TUCK
you [] tuck them into your reindeer socks

it tucks itself underneath the lathe
you tuck it up under your chin
TWEET
you tweet it to all their followers
they tweet it onto their followers
TWIST
you could just twist it around your wrist
UNPLUG
I unplugged the router from the socket
UPLOAD
you can usually upload them on the computer
girl uploads a selfie to Facebook
I'd just upload it to that blog
you upload them to an MP3 player
[you] just upload it to something
they upload it to your profile
VOMIT
guy just like vomits it up on the plate
WAFT
you waft toast under her nose
WALK
I walked her back to the subway station
I walked him to the bus
he walked me everywhere around town
I really ought to put it in something and walk it down to the post office
they [] walked him back to the hotel
he will walk me down to the car
mum used to walk him to the school door
mum used to walk him to the school door
I'll walk you to the door
she walked me to the car
WAVE
we always wave people off from the door
WHACK
you whack it in the oven
you [] whack it in the microwave
the server used to [] whack it down on the plate
she just wheels the pram on the escalator
WHISK
they whisked him off to hospital
they whisk you through it
he kind of whisked us off around the back
he just whisked us off to his hotel
WIPE

let me wipe the curry from your hair
you wipe it all off erm the surface
you can wipe your hands on the cloth
WITHDRAW
we'll withdraw our headquarters from London
they withdrew the Jewish settlers from from the West Bank
WRAP
I just wrap it around my wrist
[you] then wrap your lips around this
we wrapped it around this big wire wire thing
he [] wraps a blanket around me
she wrapped her arms around her neck
[you] wrap cling film around it
you wrap cling film around it
WRESTLE
they wrestle them to the ground
YANK
that squirrel just properly yanked something out of the tree