Classes 1, 2 and 3 are the earliest of the particle group-verbs to develop idiomatic meanings and they remain the most important in the PE group-verb system. Not only that, the syntactic and semantic properties which are characteristic of group-verbs—for instance the restructuring which affects certain prepositions and the Aktionsart values of some adverbial particles—are properties of those three classes which do not require further detailed description and explanation when they reappear in the remaining classes. In this chapter there is a brief account of classes 4 to 8 and of certain related types. The first section covers the general history, the second is as usual devoted to 


CLASS 4

The phrasal-prepositional verb is a natural outcome of the close association of many intransitive phrasal verbs with a preposition. The resultant collocation, a string of the form V + adv + prep, may undergo restructuring so that the preposition becomes a constituent of the group-verb instead of (or as well as) its prepositional phrase. The group-verb as a whole may then share an object with another verb or form a prepositional passive. Clear syntactic evidence of these kinds has not been observed before the ModE period, though it is possible that late ME examples will be found.

For early putative class 4 group-verbs the only evidence which can be offered is habitual collocation of the verb and two particles, idiomatic development of meaning, and the existence of single-word synonyms. Visser half-heartedly cites a handful of OE and ME examples (Hist. Syntax, i, 408), of which falle away fro (c1385) and breke out on (c1437) appear to satisfy such criteria. There then follow two collections of seriously intended class 4 examples, in the active voice and in the passive (Hist. Syntax, i, 408-10 and iii-2, 2134-36), of which the earliest are make away with (1502), go back from (1520, ? error for 1530), and run away with (1530). It is certainly possible to provide earlier examples. I include one curious OE contender in the following list, the rest being late ME:

ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð mid ðon bocon (Ch 1445 H 31.1; BTS s.v. gan V.(2): 'produce, come out with')
And leggen on longe wip Laboraun in gemitu meo (PP1. B XV.191)
And fillen forth in speche (Chaucer, Tr II.1191, sim. V.107)
Lat youre faders treson gon / Forth with meschaunce (ibid. I.117)
The blood out crieth on youre cursed dede (Chaucer, PrT, VII, 573)
she braste out of wepynge (Malory, Works, 612.16)
sohe brast outh wyt a crye (BidKempe 165.6, sim. 166.24)
devyse . . . a way to brek in to my lord of that mater (Past.L. 358.29)
Derby and I ar brokyn of of our entreté (ibid. 369.30)
Than my Mayster Stapilton brake ought of this mater (ibid. 473.91)
he comyth not of wyth it (ibid. 341.31)
she kryld owte upon hym (ibid. 45.34, sim. 460.28, 472.44, etc)
he woll not be strange to falle in wyth you a-seyn (ibid. 88.76)
Seluerton wold be glad to fall in to sowe (ibid. 88.115)
remembyr to goo thorow wyth Hwge of Fen (ibid. 329.13, sim. 345.34)
my chargys be gretter than I maye a-weise wyth (ibid. 308.12; see OED
s.v. away adv. 16 on ellipsis of verb)
the cuntre wole rise up on them (ibid. 39.9)
If hit fille hat be seid Iohn wolde goo backe fro be fore-seide
comuencion (a1475, MED s.v. gon v. 10.d)
Wan be pope goth a wyf fro Crist, and doth be contrari (c1475 (?c1400),
ibid.)

Passive

The earliest examples of class 4 passives found by Visser are of
make away with (1502) and then cry out on (1662). The construction
appears to be rare before the seventeenth century, and so both first
appearance and general acceptance lag some three centuries behind the
class 3 passive.

Additions to class 4

A number of current class 4 group-verbs correspond closely in meaning
to earlier simple transitive verbs or shorter group-verbs. The tendency
to incorporate extra particles has attracted notice and often condemnation
as an Americanism. The addition of allegedly superfluous adverbial par-
ticles has been extensively treated (see footnote 1): by this means a
class 4 group-verb may develop out of a class 3 combination. Less atten-
tion has been given to the growth of class 4 at the expense of class 2 by
the addition of a preposition, often on or with, and a consequent change
in rhythm and syntax. I give some examples of class 2 group-verbs and
class 4 group-verbs of similar semantic range which share the same first

1 See Gustav Kirchner, Die zehn Hauptverben des Englischen: Im Britischen
und Amerikanischen (Halle, 1952), pp.xvii-xxi, and further references there.
two elements. Dates of first appearance given in brackets are from OED and Supp., when available, or from Visser, Hist. Syntax. Beat (sb.) up
'knock about savagely' (1907), beat up on ( - );² catch up 'overtake'
(1855), catch up on/to/with (1923); check (sth.) up (1839), check up on
(1926); cut down 'reduce, curtail' (1857), cut down on (1939); do away
'put an end to, abolish' (c1230), do away with (1789); follow (sth.)
through 'pursue to its conclusion' ( - ), follow through on ( - );³ get
(sth.) away 'succeed in removing' (c1375), get away with (1878);⁴ get
(sb.) back 'retaliate upon' ( - ),⁵ get back at (1888); hold (sth.) out
'bear to the end' (1595), hold out against ( - );⁶ make up 'make good,
compensate for' (1538), make up for (1711); put up 'submit to, endure'
(1573), put up with (1755).⁷

CLASS 5

Class 5 group-verbs arise in general by the gradual coming together
of a transitive phrasal verb and a preposition. The unity is lexical

²Not possibly in my dialect, but n.b. She had a father that was always
beating up on her, she had to get out of the house (Marilyn French, The
Women's Room [London [Deutsch], 1978], p.169); All the while TV has been
beating up on Kennedy, there's been this benign neglect of Carter
(American speaker quoted in the Observer, 10 February 1980, p.6).

³Again apparently AmE: My parents had always accused me of never follow-
ing through on things (Klinton Spilsbury, an American actor, quoted in the

⁴See also Bolinger, Phrasal Verb, p.103 note 7.

⁵Cf. get (sb.) 'have an advantage over, "corner"' (1879); back 'in
return, retaliation' (1599).

⁶Cf. hold out 'maintain resistance' (1585).

⁷The older usage is preferred by Fielding in Joseph Andrews (1742), Book
2, Ch. V: He must be a scandalous fellow indeed, who would put up a
Drubbing whilst the law is open to revenge it (ed. by Martin C. Battestin,
121.26); thus it remains at least to the 'new Murphy edition' of 1783.
But most modern editors, including Battestin (London [Methuen], 1965),
silently insert with.
rather than syntactic and cannot be demonstrated by such a decisive test as a prepositional passive; there is no need to posit syntactic restruct-
turing. Early examples include wend awei mine eign vrom be worldes aweole & hire fanteeme (Ar (Nero) 27.19), sche offrwd it vp to our Lord (MkWempe 175.18, passive at 198.13); that thanne ye put up to hym an othir of be same [viz. copy of a bill] (Past.L. 39.56); that he shold set yow thorow wth bothe be dwhys by mene of treté (Past.L. 333.59, sim. 475.9).

CLASS 6

Class 6 is a heterogeneous one. Transitive verbs form habitual col-
locations with particular prepositions from an early date, though not all the subtypes of class 6 identified in Chapter 2 can be traced back to OE. The use of a to-phrase for the recipient with verbs of giving, for instance, is an option hardly found before 1300; see Visser, Hist. Syntax, i, 624. Other subtypes are covered by Visser in his section Direct Object + Prepositional Object (Hist. Syntax, i, 637-41). It may be noted that the examples are listed there under the verb-preposition combination which they illustrate. On p.639 Visser gives several reasons why 'in Middle and Modern English the number of examples of this type is con siderably larger than in Old English', including the introduction of patterns like deliver (sh.) or (sth.) of French origin.

A ME idiom which brings verb and preposition together is the infin itive clause with monosyllabic preposition before rather than after the dire. This construction is very common throughout the period, especially with the preposition with. I give a small selection of examples:

lomen to tilie wið be heorte (AV 104a.17)
A keuercheif...To stope mide is wondé (Bevis 1934)
a drope of his watir to walsche wip my souls (Rolle [Horstman] 1 93.38)
to shorte wth oure weye (Chaucer, Gen Prol, i, 791)
old peecs of velwet, reed and rosset, to make of jakettes (Past.L. 64.85)
CLASSES 7 AND 8

Some early examples of two adverbial particles co-occurring with a verb are:

He meghete his gewurðan weall stemenn / up forð timbra (Gena 1691)
ge malten beon allunge ilead forð ower (AW 74a.8)
heo . . . poet halt hire hamed baldeliche word vt (AR (Nero) 26.31)
heo vlanked water ber on. & swopeo hit ut swei effer al ðet ower (AR
(Nero) 142.1)
and he fowth in gen pace (Chaucer, Tr II.80, sim. IV.147)
And euyr sche was turned a-geen a-bak (Blaungehe 1.19)
to releve vs vp aageen (Past. L. 656.36)

As remarked in Chapter 2, neither of these classes is of real importance in PE, and the same goes for earlier periods. The one wholly idiomatic member of class 8, get (sth.) over with, is an anomalous idiom made possible by the coincidence of meaning of done, done with and over and their frequent co-occurrence, e.g. in The thing was done and over (Trollope, The Eustace Diamonds, Ch. LX [World's Classics ed., 1952, p.544]), and It would be wise to get it over and have done with it (ibid., Ch. LXXVII
[p.696]). The development of the idiom can be understood by reference to the following expressions for 'complete, finish' and '(be) completed, finished', with the earliest dates for each that I have so far found:

be done 1300 (OED s.v. do v. B.8)
get (sth.) done 1628 (OED s.v. get v. 28a)

be done with (sth.) 1766 (OED s.v. do v. B.8b)
get done with (sth.) 1827 (OED s.v. get v. 34c)
(sth. or sth.) be done with 1876 (Trollope, Eust. Diamonds, Ch. LXXV
[p.680])
get (sth.) done with 1954 (Visser, Hist. Syntax, iii-2, 2385)

be over 1230 (?1200) (AW 65a.2)
get (sth.) over 1813 (Supp. s.v. get v. 66c)

over and done with 1904 (Jespersen, Neg. iv, 45)
get (sth.) over with 1926 (ibid., iii, 275)

The superfluous with in get (sth.) over with can be seen as a result of shortening the clumsy get (sth.) over and done with (thus Potter, 'English Phrasal Verbs', p.289) or as an analogical addition from such a proportion as done: done with: over? (thus Bolinger, Phrasal Verb, p.69 note 4).
PARTICLE GROUP-VERBS AND OTHER GROUP-VERBS

There is no fixed boundary between group-verbs consisting of verbal formative and particle(s) only and those which contain other formatives. On the margins of class 6 is the pattern V + NP + prep in which the NP is part of the group-verb. Some examples actually arise out of class 6 by the lexicalisation of the dirO so that it too becomes part of the group-verb. Others are better seen as V + NP group-verbs which have become associated with a particular preposition. Group-verbs consisting of a verb and what is historically its direct object have existed from the earliest times; see for instance Visser, Hist. Syntax, 1, 13c-41. A number of new items added during ME are borrowed from or calqued on French.

The factors which promote the restructuring of a V + NP + prep string into a transitive unit are similar to those involved in the formation of class 3 V + prep units, as are the early stages of the process. Preposition stranding isolates the preposition from its prepO and helps to associate it with verb and dirO. Examples of stranding in class 6 are provided by Gaaf, mixed in with class 3 examples ('Passive', pp.1-12). Further examples involving apparent group-verbs include he [sc. godes] we habbe hope tof & heere heem mid mihte (Lay. Brut A 6936), divers maters the whiche I purpose to have a doc in (Past.L. 517.5, sim. 560.10),

Marchand writes: 'In the type take care of there is ... double coalescence: take has coalesced with care and take care with of' ('Synt. Change', p.79). He claims, incidentally, that the NP in such patterns 'has no article' (ibid., p.76), while Visser says that it 'is of the abstract or uncountable kind' (Hist. Syntax, 1, 641). In fact there are a few exceptions, e.g. make examples of, make an honest woman of, give the lie to, all of which have prepositional passive turns.

See, for example, A. A. Prins, French Influence in English Phrasing (Leiden, 1952), and, with caution, Orr, OP and ModE Idiom.
the latter with (historically) an infinitive rather than NP between V and prep. Note also the elliptical use shown in and as for hat I zaf litaf force of (Past.L. 600.13).

Then again one finds adjacent and usually conjoined clauses in which an object is shared—notionally or with full syntactic linking—between a V + NP + prep group and some other verb; cf. pp. 206-07 and 216-18 above on class 3. Examples include the following:

se cyning . . . sende hys here to & fordyde þa manslagan (Matt [MSCp] 22.7)
Pa lægdon hi fyr on & forberronde ealle þe munecce huse & eall þe tun buton âne huse (Chron 205.22 (1070))
he renede þe landes & læde micel geldes on (Pet.Chron. 1140/57)
luue is his . . . spuse. Pet he ne mei nawt heole wið Ah teleð al þat he þencheð (AE 110b.21)
his fur he beten a-gonw & michele treowen leðen on [B: þar-an] (Lay. Brut A 12969)
and he heom ureigyn letter & fulluht on sette (ibid. 14719)
Or an hauede hire misseyd, / Or hand with iuels onne loyd (Haw 1668)
Panne men dide him ani shame, / Or tok, or onne handes loyde / Vn-ornelike (Haw 1939)
twiggs . . . / Swiche as men to these cages thwite, / Or maken of these panyers (Chaucer, NW 1936)
Panne pay telset tables tresetes alofte, / Keften clopes upon (Saw 1648)
they selles and make mony of such stuffe as they fond there (Past.L. 765.34)

Another parallel is the otiose repetition of a preposition, especially at beginning and end of a relative or interrogative clause. Examples were given on pp. 214-15 above, and note also the following, which involves a true group-verb: Iob . . . of whom he Ieves riat nost or litaf take kepe of (c.1450 (c1400), MSH a.v. of prep. 23a.(d)). Examples in the active of V + NP + prep groups from OE to ModE are given by Visser, Hist. Syntax, i, 642-43.

Passive

Visser discusses in detail two sorts of passives: with the dirO of the active as subject, and with the prepO as subject (Hist. Syntax, iii-2, 2163-76). He also mentions an infrequent have-passive and passives with omission of the preposition (Hist. Syntax, iii-2, 2164), though his examples of the latter either have an indO instead of a to-phrase or else
lose the preposition before a clause, on which see p.70 and note 49 above. A better example would be for all his receytes and charges be not made mention in the said account (Fast.L., 542.11, cf. active with of at 526.9, 542.7). For completeness we should mention yet another passive type for the \( V + N F + \text{prep} \) group-verb, that seen in \textit{he is laid awaite up-on you in his cuntre} (Fast.L., 158.2).

However, it is the prepositional passive which is of most interest, as it provides clear proof of restructuring to give a group-verb. Visser's earliest citation is of \textit{take hede to} (Wyclif), followed by over half a dozen from the fifteenth century. It is possible that the following, necessarily long citation contains an early prepositional passive in the clause \textit{bat es spokyn mare code of: when any has pryde . . . of be penanunce bat bei suffer, . . . ; as glad when men loves hem, sari when men lackes hem, have envy to hem bat es spokyn mare code of hem of hem} (Rolle, Eng. Writings, 86.43). The morphology does not rule out an analysis as prepositional passive, \(^{11}\) though the last three words would then be an anachronism. But conceivably \textit{mare code} could be subject of \textit{es}, and \textit{bat prep0 of the stranded of}, though the word-order is awkward. Yet a third analysis would make this a subjectless clause, a distant and isolated parallel to the hypothetical *him was sent for pattern, though with class 6 verb and relative pronoun rather than class 3 verb and topicalized pronoun; cf. pp.227-28 above. Returning to Visser's less problematic examples, it seems that the order in which prepositional passives appear is class 3 first, then \( V + N F + \text{prep} \), then after about the same interval class 4.


\(^{11}\)The grammatical number of \textit{hem} is unclear, but anyway of the examples of lack of concord in Visser, Hist. Syntax, 1, 71-72.
Further borderline cases

In Chapter 2 it was pointed out that several different kinds of element can be sandwiched between a verbal formative and a preposition to form a group-verb (pp. 36–37 above). When that element is an adverb (not a particle) it can be a moot point whether to treat it as an integral part of the group-verb or as a modifier of a class 3 collocation. For example, *call sore (up)on* and *call well (up)on* are frequent idioms in the Paston Letters (e.g. at 236.30, 525.4, 552.12, 552.14, 677.25). But one could instead argue that *sore* and *well* are adverbs modifying the class 3 call (up)on, on the strength of they call davly vp-on it (355.24), concedering the grete and importable callynge vpon but ye hadde (861.40, sim. 72.62, 352.28), I have many callers on (342.45).

In ME and early ModE there are a number of near-synonymous group-verbs in the meaning 'look upon, regard, esteem', e.g. *let by/of, make of*, *set by, tell by/of*, often collocated with words like *little* or *much* which have affinities with both nouns and adverbs. At one extreme one can regard *much* in *make much of* (when in that order) as an NP which has coalesced with the transitive verb *make* to form a group-verb of the *V + NP + prep* type; at the other one can take *leten of* in early ME as class 3, intr. *V + prep*, modified by an adverbial (see pp. 76–77 above). By the late ME period, however, it is difficult to distinguish differences of behaviour among these group-verbs, a set which blurs the distinctions between class 3, class 6, *V + NP + prep*, and *V + adverbial + prep*.

There are occasional examples of blending between a phrasal verb construction and an analogous *V + adj* type, both of which have non-verbal components with effective value. I have noted *He gan tho teeries wpwen of ful drewe* (Chaucer, *Tr IV.1173*), *I falle doun sykes* (Fast. L. 796.6), and — a possible example only — *and filth wipes cleane away* (Spenser, *Po*, II.iv. 35). *Cleane* in the *Po* example is more probably a modifier of *away*. 
CLASSES 4, 5, 7 AND 8

There is nothing which could legitimately be described as a class 4 or 5 group-verb in Oum. When a verb is collocated with two particles, one adverbial and one prepositional, both are spatial in meaning—thus cumenn dun of/till, cumenn onwyn till, san forð till, risenn upp off, stigenn upp till, etc. The same is true of classes 7 and 8, though V + adv + adv is in any case much less frequent than V + adv + prep: one or both of a pair of adverbial particles will be spatial in meaning, e.g. in cumenn efft onwyn, cornenn forb wibball, ummbeashrenn aweg abutenn.

CLASS 6

Transitive verbs enter into collocation with prepositions in Oum. Examples are brinncenn + to, drasenn + uppona, settna + to, werenn + fre/wibb. The syntactic behaviour does not suggest any group-verb properties. Infinitive clauses with the order tinf-prep-dir0 are not found, though cf. was wunedd . . . To washenn offe becwere lic (14031). However, verb and prep are juxtaposed in six out of eleven instances of preposition stranding in class 6, mainly because of the fronting of pronominal direct objects.

Group-verbs related to class 6

There are, of course, V + NP collocations in Oum, e.g. xifenn (hiss) ende (17752), takenn (nibhtes) resæte (6492). The interesting ones for present purposes are those associated with a preposition. There are a

\[^{12}\text{At 4419, 5590, 11819, 14032, 14781, 15118, but not at 2929, 2935, 3113, 4006, 13282.}\]
number of strings which appear to be group-verbs of the V + NP + prep type, although of course they do not occur in a prepositional passive at this date, nor even share an object with another verb. Examples include the following: *zifenn biane off* (1230), *habbenn lefe att* (13210), *habbenn nib gwa/wibb* (123, 10312), *nimenn com off/till* (5086, 14694), *setenn ende on* (10091), *setenn nape (upp)a* (4218), *takenn biane att/off* (14586, 14470), *takenn nib wibb* (10267), *takenn rap bitwennenn* (2368), *werrpenn eche uppenn* (12758).