

Corpus Study on Metaphoricity and Grammatical Patterns of Phrasal Verbs *Come By* and *Come Across*

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Choi, Youngju (2015). Corpus Study on Metaphoricity and Grammatical Patterns of Phrasal Verbs *Come By* and *Come Across*. *Language Research*, 51.3, 679-700.

Corpus studies have revealed that when words are used metaphorically or metonymically, they tend to have a different category than they do in literal usage. They also have different syntactic patterns - metaphoric and metonymic usage has been known to have more rigid grammatical patterns relative to literal usage (Deignan 1999, 2005, 2006; Hilpert 2006). This paper explores whether these differences also occur in phrasal verbs, specifically by observing the phrasal verbs *come by* and *come across*. Phrasal verbs attain their special statuses through metaphorical and metonymic development of literal senses of verbs and those of particles (Lindner 1981, 1982; Morgan 1997). Phrasal verbs, then, by definition do not have literal meanings. However, assuming Hanks' claim that metaphoricity is gradable, it is still possible to compare less metaphoric usage with more metaphoric one. It is reasonable to predict that more metaphoric usage of phrasal verbs will show more rigidity in their syntax patterns. Compared to its more literal meaning *to pay a short visit*, *come by* bears a more fixed syntactic pattern when its meaning is *to obtain*. Again, in the case of *come across*, the syntactic pattern is more fixed when it means *to give an impression* rather than the less metaphoric meaning *to find*.

Keywords: corpus, COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English), phrasal verbs, *come by*, *come across*, metaphoricity, grammatical patterns

1. Introduction

In the tradition of cognitive semantics, investigations of metaphoric and metonymic data have relied heavily on the introspection of well-trained linguists (Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, 1980b; Lakoff 1993).

Recently, however, the development of corpus linguistics and the development of corpus-based data mining methods have made it possible to find metaphoric and metonymic examples from big data sources, namely corpora (Stefanowitsch 2006a, b; Hanks 2004, 2006; Semino 2006; Deignan 1999, 2005, 2006; Hilpert 2006). Stefanowitsch (2006b), for example, shows in detail how to harvest data relevant to metaphor and metonymy from corpora. More importantly, the corpus-based data mining makes it also possible to observe special syntactic behaviors of metaphoric and metonymic expressions.

The premise of this paper relies on two findings from corpus studies. Deignan (1999, 2005, 2006) observes that, when a word is used metaphorically, its grammatical behavior is different from when it is used literally. She also shows that literal and metaphoric meanings of a word are realized in different categories. Terms for animals are normally used in nominal forms in their literal senses but they are realized as verbal in their metaphoric senses, as in *He has probably pigged out in a fast food place* (Deignan 2006: 111). Hilpert (2006) makes the similar observation with metonymic examples; when a word has a metonymic sense, its collocation and colligation are different from its literal counterpart. Examining metonymic examples including the word *eye*, he demonstrates that about 73% of the examples are strongly related to fixed or semi-fixed patterns such as *keep an (ADJ/POSS) eye on NP*, *with an eye on/to NP*, *have an eye for NP* and so on.

Another important observation related to corpus studies of metaphor is made by Hanks (2006) who argues that metaphoricity is gradable. Metaphor and literal meaning are not mutually exclusive categories. Rather, they form a continuum where some expressions are more metaphoric than others. The fewer properties a metaphoric expression shares with its context, the more metaphoric the expression is. For example, in the comparison of the two expressions, *a storm of people* and *a storm of anger*, *storm* shares more semantic properties with *people* than *anger*, since *storm* and *people* are physical concepts, while *anger* is an abstract one. Thus, *a storm of anger* is more metaphoric than *a storm of people*.

Combining the two observations, the paper will delve into the question whether phrasal verbs also show the special grammatical patterns, assum-

ing that they attain their phrasal verb status through metaphoric and metonymic extensions. It also deals with the question whether the phrasal verbs show the difference in the rigidity of their grammatical patterns according to the varying degree of metaphoricity of their meanings, assuming that metaphoricity is gradable and that gradable metaphoricity is reflected in their grammatical patterns. The basic logic of the paper is as follows.

- (1) a. The literal senses of a verb and a particle develop into metaphoric ones and consequently, the verb and the particle combination attains its phrasal verb status.
(Lindner 1981, 1982, Morgan 1997)
- b. Phrasal verbs then show special grammatical patterns when they are compared with their literal counterparts, *the literal combinations of a verb and a particle*. (Deignan 1999, 2005, 2006, Hilpert 2006 for the same claim regarding words)
- c. Phrasal verbs also show gradable metaphoricity in that one sense of a phrasal verb will be more metaphoric than the other one.
(Hanks 2006 for the same claim regarding words)
- d. The more metaphoric a phrasal verb is, the more rigid its grammatical pattern will be.

As case studies, the phrasal verbs *come by* and *come across* will be observed using the 400-million-word Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) which is developed by Mark Davies (2008) of Brigham Young University.

2. Metaphoricity and Grammatical Patterns

Deignan (1999, 2005, 2006) demonstrate that expressions have different syntactic behaviors when they have metaphoric meanings. Though the word *squirrel* occurs as a noun when used literally, it is realized in a

different category when used metaphorically, as in (2a). Even in cases where metaphoric use can occur nominally, as in the case of *pig* (2b) and *fox* (2c), they are also realized as verbs, as in (2d) and (2e).

- (2) a. ... as consumers *squirrel away* huge sums for the downpayment on a home.
(Deignan 2006: 109)
- b. ... bunch of racist *pigs*.
- c. ... you sly old *fox*.
- d. He had probably *piggled* out in a fast food place.
- e. Experts are going to be completely *foxed* by this one. (Deignan 2006: 111)

She refers to Sinclair (1991) in order to show that words have different grammatical patterns when they are used metaphorically. *Build*, in its metaphorical sense, is usually accompanied with the particle *up*, a pattern that does not appear when it is used in its literal sense of construction.

- (3) Problems are *building up*. (Deignan 2006: 109)

She also shows that evaluative orientation of metaphoric expressions depends on grammatical inflection, whereas this phenomenon is not found in literal use of the expression. For example, the singular form of *rock* tends to designate positively viewed events, as seen in (4). On the contrary, the plural form, *rocks*, is relevant to negative interpretation, as in (5) where *rocks* is interpreted as dangerous things.

- (4) a. ... long regarded in Washington as a *rock* of stability in a notoriously unpredictable region.
- b. Nothing must undermine the sanctity of human life - the *rock* on which our society is built.
- (5) a. A flagship initiative started eight months ago to boost home ownership in Greater London has hit the *rocks* already.
- b. He lived in fear of his own marriage ending up on the *rocks*.

The evaluative orientation of the plural and singular forms of *flame* also supports her claim. The former tends to be involved in negatively evaluating metaphors, as in *shoot down in flames* and *crash/be in flames* while the latter is generally in positively evaluating metaphors, as in *George still carries a flame for Kelly* and *keeping the flame burning*. For obvious reasons, *rock* and *flame* used literally do not have evaluative orientation, regardless of their grammatical inflection.

Through these observations, Deignan claims that literal and metaphorical senses of the same word are realized in different grammatical forms. When the claim combines with Hanks' (2004, 2006) claim that metaphoricity is gradable, it can be reasonably hypothesized that more metaphoric expressions will have more rigid grammatical forms.

3. Metaphoricity and Grammatical Patterns of the Phrasal Verbs *Come By* and *Come Across*

We have discussed that corpus studies reveal that metaphoric meanings of words are realized in (partially) frozen grammatical patterns and that some expressions are more metaphoric than others. When the two claims are combined, it is reasonable to make the prediction that more metaphoric expressions will have more rigid grammatical patterns. In the following, the phrasal verb *come by* will be observed to investigate whether it shows gradable rigidity in its grammatical patterns when its usage shows gradable metaphoricity.

3.1. Collocation and Meanings of the Phrasal Verb *Come By*

To find out the meanings of *come by*, collocates are investigated within a window of four words to the right. The result is shown in Table 1. The result includes the right collocates of the lexeme of *come by*, namely all the possible verbal forms of *come by*, which is represented here as capital letters COME BY.

Table 1. Collocates of COME BY in a Window of Four Words to the Right

No	Collocates	Frequency	No	Collocates	Frequency
1	<i>house</i>	94	8	<i>thank</i>	34
2	<i>morning</i>	68	9	<i>naturally</i>	32
3	<i>office</i>	45	10	<i>tonight</i>	25
4	<i>tomorrow</i>	42	11	<i>train</i>	24
5	<i>pick</i>	42	12	<i>check</i>	22
6	<i>visit</i>	40	13	<i>boat</i>	18
7	<i>honestly</i>	39	14	<i>afternoon</i>	18

As is apparent, the top most frequent collocates are *house*, *morning*, *office*, *tomorrow*, *pick*, and *visit* - all seeming to be related to the meaning *paying a short visit*. The collocates are related to places for visiting (*house*, *office*), as in (6a, b), times for visiting (*morning*, *tomorrow*), as in (6c, d), and purposes of visiting (*to pick up*, *to visit*), as in (6e, f).

- (6) a. Jim and Neil ask Karen and the kids not to **come by** the **house** until the renovation is done. (COCA: 2010 SPOK)
- b. You should **come by** my **office** after the talk, see our latest modeling data. (COCA: 2009 FIC)
- c. Victoria had marveled, pulling her long black hair behind her ear as she and Sherry approached the large Tudor-style house. "I **came by** first thing this **morning** to check it out for myself," Sherry smiled. (COCA: 2011 FIC)
- d. If you **come by tomorrow**, Kristin will give you a copy of this folder with everything you need in it and your first check, of course. (COCA: 2010 FIC)
- e. He only **comes by** here to **pick** up his mail. (COCA: 2006 SPOK)
- f. If someone would only **come by** for a **visit**, I thought, then maybe I could convince him to feed me to myself-or as much of myself as possible and throw the rest down the garbage disposal. (COCA: 2002 FIC)

The collocate, *thank*, which does not have an immediately obvious relevant meaning, (7) shows that it does. It occurs usually in the conversation, as in (7a) and (7b). Visiting responded to an invitation is usually appreciated. That is why *thank* frequently comes after the phrasal verb *come by*. In (7c), *thank* is relevant to the purpose of visiting, as in (6e) and (6f)¹.

- (7) a. A: Thanks for **coming by**. B: **Thank** you for having me.
(COCA: 1993 SPOK)
- b. Senator Chuck Hagel and Senator Chris Dodd, we appreciate your **coming by**. **Thank** you very much. Good to see you both. (COCA: 2002 SPOK)
- c. Becky's father, Judge Thatcher, **comes by** to **thank** Tom. (COCA: 2010 FIC)

Not only collocates in the right side, but collocates in the left side also reveal what other meanings *come by* has. The following is the result obtained from the search of collocates of *come by* within a window of four words to the left. Adjectives relevant to meaning of difficulties such as *hard(er)*, *easy(ier)*, *difficult*, and *tough* constitute the top most frequent collocates. Why those adjectives frequently occur before *come by* is closely related to the grammatical patterns of *come by* and it will be discussed in the section of 3.2.

Table 2. Collocates of COME BY in a Window of Four Words to the Left

No	Collocates	Frequency	No	Collocates	Frequency
1	<i>hard</i>	587	8	<i>statistics</i>	24
2	<i>harder</i>	114	9	<i>friend</i>	2

1) The collocates, *train* and *boat* occur when the combination of *come* and *by* literally means *travelling by a specific means* as can be seen in (i). Except for *train* and *boat* and except for the adverbial collocates *honestly* and *naturally*, which are relevant to another meaning of the phrasal verb *come by*, we can conclude that most of the collocates following *come by* are related to the meaning *paying a short visit*.

- (i) a. They're **coming by** plane, by **train** or by less conventional means.
b. Everything that comes to the island has to **come by boat**.

No	Collocates	Frequency	No	Collocates	Frequency
3	<i>thanks</i>	109	10	<i>tough</i>	22
4	<i>easy</i>	105	11	<i>waitress</i>	20
5	<i>difficult</i>	67	12	<i>waiter</i>	19
6	<i>easier</i>	34	13	<i>bus</i>	18
7	<i>friends</i>	33	14	<i>figures</i>	17

The noun collocates, *friend(s)* and *waitress/waiter* are relevant to the meaning of *paying a short visit*, as in (8a, b) but *statistics* and *figures* are related to the *obtaining* meaning of *come by*, as in (8c, d).

- (8) a. In the past, I had a lot of **friends** and family members **come by** and talk to me about the fight for two or three hours. (COCA: 2010 NEWS)
- b. A moment later the **waitress comes by** and fills Adams coffee cup. (COCA: 2010 FIC)
- c. While exact **statistics** are hard to **come by**, we know that the percentage of secondary students not enrolled in music courses far exceeds the percentage of those who are. In 1989, Bennett Reimer suggested that some 15 percent or so of our secondary school students choose to participate in. our performance offerings. (COCA: 2007 ACAD)
- d. Though actual **figures** are hard to **come by**, no one disputes that the government loses billions of dollars a year to abusive shelters. (COCA: 2003 ACAD)

At this point the following question arises: how did *come by* come to mean *stopping by some place for a short visit*? The literal combination of *come* and *by* mean to *come near to*, as in (9). This physical closeness implies being in the same location. In (10) we see that being in the same location has a purpose, that is, to visit. In (11), though the word *visit* is not explicitly included, the purpose of visiting is implied.

- (9) a. Till they want to get by me, get into the house, him and that ugly Leonard, and I won't let them **come by me**. (COCA: 1995 FIC)
- b. They stand along that front stretch and they see the cars **come by them** at 170 miles per hour ... (COCA: 2000 SPOK)

Close observation of the 40 instances of the collocate *visit* reveals that they all occur in three forms; *COME BY to visit*, *COME BY and visit*, and *COME BY for a visit* with some variations such as *come by on their daily visit*, *comes by for a surprise visit*, *came by for a quick visit*, *comes by the house to visit*, *come by every Sunday to visit*, and *come by Cedars tonight and visit*. This means that when *come by* is accompanied by *visit*, the purpose of the coming by is paying a visit. In that case, the meaning of *come by* alone is *come close to some place*.

- (10) a. I'll **come by** to **visit** often, and we'll talk when you're ready. (COCA: 2006 FIC)
- b. I have a number of friends from the area who **come by** and **visit**. (COCA: 2002 SPOK)
- c. Pedro's father, Hector Samora, has just **come by** for a **visit**. (COCA: 1992 SPOK)

When the collocate *visit* does not follow *come by*, it means *come close to with the purpose of coming, which is visiting* through the metonymy ACTION FOR ITS PURPOSE. That is how it means *paying a short visit*. The meaning of *come by* in (11) could either be the literal meaning *coming close to* or the metaphorical and metonymically extended meaning *paying a short visit*. The distinction between the two meanings is not necessarily clear cut.

- (11) Also on that visit the waiter **came by** the table twice in two minutes to see how things were going. (COCA: 1996 NEWS)

The meaning *obtaining*, is also an extended meaning of the literal meaning of *come by*. From the physical proximity denoted by the literal usage of

come by, easy accessibility is inferred and the easy accessibility, in turn, extends its meaning to possession through the metaphoric chains possession is accessibility and accessibility is physical proximity.

When the two meanings *paying a short visit* and *obtaining* are compared, the latter shows greater degree of metaphoricity since *obtaining something* means not only acquiring physical objects but also abstract things while *paying a short visit* normally takes an object which is related to a physical space. Then, it can be predicted that *come by* with the *obtaining* meaning will show more rigid grammatical patterns. In the next section, it will be shown that the prediction turns out to be true.

3.2. Grammatical Patterns of *Come By*

If a certain string of expressions are partially or fully fixed, their frequency will be higher than other free expressions. In order to see the grammatical patterns of *come by*, the following table shows the total frequency of the lexeme COME BY.

Table 3. Frequency of the Lexeme COME BY

Different forms of COME BY	Frequency
<i>come by</i>	2506
<i>came by</i>	1274
<i>coming by</i>	470
<i>comes by</i>	326

Among the four types of verbal forms of COME BY, *come by* is the most frequent one. After reading the random selection of 1000 concordances, *come by* with the meaning of *paying a short visit* does not show any grammatical rigidity except that it is followed by terms of places such as *house*, *office*, *shop*, and *place* and by terms of times such as *morning*, *tonight*, *tomorrow* and so on, just as we observed with the collocates of its right side.

However, as expected, more metaphoric meaning of *come by* has a more rigid form, shown in Table 4. In many cases, it occurs in a *tough*-construction, namely the string of an adjective, *to* and *come by*. Examples

are given in (12). Among 2506 instances of *come by*, 849 instances are shown up in the *tough*-construction. That is, most of *come by* of the meaning *obtaining* normally occurs in the *tough*-construction instead of occurring in a transitive construction which is the string of a subject, *come by*, and an object.

Table 4. Frequency of Adjective Plus *to come by*

Adjective + <i>to come by</i>	Frequency
<i>hard/harder/hardest to come by</i>	538/74/3 (=615)
<i>easy/easier to come by</i>	97/24 (=121)
<i>difficult to come by</i>	66
<i>tough/tougher to come by</i>	20/7 (=27)
<i>impossible to come by</i>	15
<i>able to come by</i>	2
<i>tricky to come by</i>	2
<i>slow to come by</i>	1
Total	849

- (12) a. While accurate numbers are **hard to come by**, the World Health Organization estimates that for every person killed by traumatic injury, somewhere between 10 to 50 times more suffer non-fatal injuries, which often require advanced medical care. (COCA: 2012 SPOK)
- b. Stanhope's conclusions weren't **easy to come by**. Nutrition studies are expensive and difficult. Stanhope has paid groups of research subjects to live in this hospital wing for weeks at a time under a sort of 24-hour lockdown. (COCA: 2012 SPOK)
- c. Exact figures are **difficult to come by**, but 51,000,000 prescriptions were written in 2010 for adults and children combined, with a total sales value of \$7,420,000,000 - an increase of 83% from the \$4,050,000,000 sold in 2006. (COCA: 2012 MAG)
- d. Insurers, however, may be able to engage in joint under-

writing under the ABA policy in order to, say, spread risk among themselves in high-crime neighborhoods or other areas where insurance is **tough to come by**. (COCA: 2007 ACAD)

- e. It turns out that suffering-free cheese is nearly **impossible to come by**. (COCA: 2011 MAG)
- f. As to where his sister might be **able to come by** a photograph of their father, he wasn't altogether sure, he had been out of touch for so long, but he suggested trying Tia Francesca, their father's first cousin and probably the most likely person other than their mother to be in possession of family mementos and the like. (COCA: 1993 FIC)
- g. Oysters may be a little **tricky to come by** these days. (COCA: 2010 SPOK)

Frequent collocates of *come by* in the left side, such as *numbers*, *figures*, *jobs*, *tickets*, and *details*, usually occur as subjects of the *tough*-constructions, as shown in (13).

- (13) a. Reports are upwards of 1,000 people have been arrested, though hard **numbers** are impossible to **come by** because the regime is shutting out foreign media. (COCA: 2011 SPOK)
- b. Though **figures** are hard to **come by**, no one disputes that the government loses billions of dollars a year to abusive shelters. (COCA: 2003 ACAD)
- c. Like a lot of other unemployed people, schoolteacher Stephen Hofmann wants to work. But as one of 43 million Americans with a disability, he has found steady **jobs** especially hard to **come by** and even harder to keep. (COCA: 1992 NEWS)
- d. But even before that assessment, Super Bowl **tickets** were harder to **come by** than a gas mask. (COCA: 1991 SPOK)
- e. While **details** were hard to **come by**, the following has been pieced together from interviews with company insiders and well-informed outside observers. (COCA: 1999 NEWS)

Other adjectives which do not denote difficulties also come along with *come by* but they are related to the meaning of *paying a short visit* and importantly, their occurrences are not frequent, when compared with difficulty adjectives. The examples are given in (14).

Table 5. Frequency of Other Adjectives Plus *to come by*

Adjective + <i>to come by</i>	Frequency
<i>welcome to come by</i>	4
<i>nice to come by</i>	2
<i>supposed to come by</i>	2
<i>okay to come by</i>	1
<i>gracious to come by</i>	1

- (14) a. It's so great to have you here. You're so **nice to come by**.
(COCA: 1995 SPOK)
- b. But these two cops pulled up in the alley and Franco thought it was this guy Mohammad, because Mohammad was **supposed to come by** and give something to Franco that Franco wouldn't tell me what it was and the garage door was approximately five sixths closed, so all we saw was the tires of the cop car and Franco figured it was Mohammed's Monte Carlo's tires. (COCA: 2002 FIC)
- c. People are **welcome to come by** and watch or give it a try.
(COCA: 2010 NEWS)
- d. She asked if it would be **okay to come by** and interview you this morning. (COCA: 1993 FIC)
- e. ... they're very **gracious to come by** and see us. (COCA: 2007 SPOK)

One more finding needs to be noted with regard to the adverbial collocates *honestly* and *naturally*. The appearance of the adverbs leads *come by* to denote *obtaining* because it explains how something is obtained.

- (15) a. Whatever you come by is **come by honestly**, by dint of effort, perseverance, and what skill you might possess. If these aren't enough, and they often aren't, there is something else to be learned — that in the Dog Days it's not the heat, it's the humility. (COCA: 1994 MAG)
- b. ... who'd all spent countless hours studying and training and practicing, practicing, practicing to control their individual mental talents — talents they'd **come by naturally**, without sticking a needle in their arms. (COCA: 2012 FIC)

In sum, *come by* has a relatively strong tendency to use the fixed syntactic pattern, *the tough construction*, when it designates the meaning of *obtaining* which is more metaphoric than the meaning of *paying a short visit*²⁾.

3.3. Collocation and Meanings of the Phrasal Verb *Come Across*

The collocates of COME ACROSS within a window of four words to the right are given in the following table.³⁾

Table 6. Collocates of COME ACROSS in a Window of Four Words to the Right

No	Collocates	Frequency	No	Collocates	Frequency
1	<i>as</i>	999	8	<i>illegally</i>	15
2	<i>border</i>	161	9	<i>ad</i>	14
3	<i>desk</i>	52	10	<i>screen</i>	14
4	<i>article</i>	39	11	<i>yard</i>	13
5	<i>television</i>	21	12	<i>borders</i>	12
6	<i>bridge</i>	19	13	<i>strange</i>	12
7	<i>clearly</i>	19	14	<i>arrogant</i>	11

2) However, the findings do not mean *come by* with the meaning of *obtaining* always occur in the *tough-construction*. In some cases where it means *to obtain*, the phrasal verb does occur in a regular transitive construction.

3) The collocates of *come across* in the left side will not be discussed because they do not seem to be very relevant to the various meanings of *come across*.

From the list, we can clearly see that *as* is the best partner of COME ACROSS. Its frequency, which is 999, is much higher than that of other collocates, implying that COME ACROSS *as* may form a fixed pattern. This will be discussed in the following section. In the examples given below, the meaning is recognized as *giving an impression of*.

- (16) a. You want to look presidential. You - it's important to **come across as** being relaxed, poised, professional, just staying in your lane, stand behind that podium, standing straight up. (COCA: 2011 SPOK)
- b. Since heaping multiple compliments on those around you can **come across as** fake, try to figure out what they value, like their fashion sense or storytelling talent, and focus your flattery on those particular areas. To many, they **come across as** privileged, crew-rowing, multimillionaires sticking their hands out for more ... (COCA: 2011 NEWS)
- c. You **come across as** a very appealing person, a very kind person, if you don't mind my saying so. (COCA: 2011 SPOK)
- d. Allergies can **come across as** a cold. (COCA: 2011 MAG)
- e. With her conversational ease and casual style, Oprah **comes across** the TV screen **as** personal and personable, both pastor and best friend, authoritative yet approachable. (COCA: 2002 MAG)

The collocates *border(s)*, *bridge*, *illegally*, and *yard* are closely related to the literal meaning of *come across*, as shown in (17). *Border(s)*, *bridge*, and *yard* are physical spaces you can literally come across. The adverb (*il*)*legally* frequently occurs with *border(s)*. Among 15 instances of *illegally*, 8 instances have *border(s)* as an object of *come across* and *illegally* follows the noun, as in (17a).

- (17) a. Do you agree with the governor of Arizona who says that most people who **come across** the **border illegally** are actually drug mules? (COCA: 2010 SPOK)

- b. Two kids **came across** the **bridge** on bicycles, whooping and yelling at each other. (COCA: 2003 FIC)
- c. And the backdoor swung open and a lean, mussily young man **came across** the back **yard**, ... (COCA: 2005 SPOK)

The collocates *article*, *ad*, and *strange* are relevant to the meaning of *finding*, as seen in (18).

- (18) a. About three years later, in 1995, I **came across** an **article** that was about a rape that sounded very similar to mine. (COCA: 2002 SPOK)
- b. When I got home and flipped through the pages, I **came across** an **ad** that said, More fun than shooting your neighbor's cat. (COCA: 1999 MAG)
- c. We **came across** some **strange** plants growing in the sand around the hut and we were excited because it was unusual to find plants so lush and so many. (COCA: 2008 NEWS)

One instance of *strange* is in relation with the meaning *giving an impression of* when it follows *as*, as shown in (19a). Similarly, the adjectival collocate *arrogant* shows up with *come across as* inducing the meaning of *giving an impression of*, as shown in (19b).

- (19) a. Part of her wanted to see someone she knew to talk to and part of her didn't; she knew she would **come across** as **strange** and desperate. (COCA: 2005 FIC)
- b. If Calvin **comes across** as cold, **arrogant** and judgmental, it is because he was human, a product of his time (Servetus and the Libertines were not any kinder or gentler). (COCA: 1997 MAG)

Again, as in the case of *come by*, the following question arises; how is the literal sense of *come across* extended to other meanings that have been observed? This paper deals with the two most prominent meanings, *finding*

and *giving an impression of*. As the purpose of this paper is to reveal that different degrees of metaphoricity result in corresponding degrees of rigidity in grammatical patterns, these two instances will be sufficient.

While you move across a certain area, it is almost impossible for you to cross the place without noticing or without discovering it. Thus, finding something is an unavoidable result of the action of coming across. Since the action is a cause for the resultant action of *finding*, the CAUSE OF RESULT metonymy operates in (20a). When the object of *come across* is an abstract concept, i.e., *the information* in (20b), the phrasal verb metaphorically extends its meaning to *attaining/getting (something abstract)* by the metaphor ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE OBJECTS.

- (20) a. If I had **come across** this swarm spread across my back door, I would have panicked. (COCA: 2012 MAG)
- b. It was by pure chance alone that Deirdre had **come across** the information about Marcail and her family history. (COCA: 2010 FIC)

How is the literal meaning extended to the meaning *giving an impression of*? The literal sense has an implication that, as a consequence of *coming across*, the distance between two objects becomes shorter. If one of those objects is sentient, then the elimination of distance between the object implies that the other object can be seen more clearly. The metonymy ACTION FOR CONSEQUENCE works because the action *coming across* designates its consequences *being seen clearly due to its spatial proximity*. In turn, the metaphor BEING SEEN IS BEING RECOGNIZED is used in the interpretation of the following examples. In (21a), *they* is recognized as *shy and reserved*, and in (21b), *the ones* that are recognized as *less natural* have not sold very well. Finally, one more metonymic operation is involved in order to reach the meaning *giving an impression of*. Instead of *they*, their properties and impression is recognized as something in (21a) and instead of *the ones*, their properties and characteristics are recognized as *less natural* in (21b), through the metonymy THINGS FOR THEIR PROPERTIES. That is how the phrasal verb *come across* attains the second extended meaning.

- (21) a. They may come across as shy or reserved. (COCA: 2011 ACAD)
- b. The ones that **come across** to consumers as less natural, such as fortified soft drinks, have not sold as well as those that seem inherently healthy, like yogurt and orange juice. (COCA: 2007 NEWS)

As shown in the following table, the second one has more metonymic and metaphoric extensions than the first one. The comparison of the two extended meanings leads us to predict that the second one has more rigid patterns than the first one.

Table 7. Metaphors and Metonymies Involved in the Meaning Extensions of *come across*

Extended meanings of <i>come across</i>	Metaphors and Metonymies
<i>Finding</i>	CAUSE FOR RESULT Metonymy ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE OBJECTS Metaphor
<i>Giving an impression of</i>	ACTION FOR CONSEQUENCE Metonymy BEING SEEN IS BEING RECONIZED Metaphor THINGS FOR THEIR PROPERTIES Metonymy

3.4. Grammatical Patterns of *Come Across*

Give an impression of being seems to takes the form of [COME ACROSS *as*] in most cases. The comparison of Table 8 with Table 9 reveals that, across the board, the form *comes across as* takes up a significant portion of the occurrences of *come across*. The examples are given in (22).

Table 8. Frequency of the Lexeme COME ACROSS

Different forms of COME ACROSS	Frequency
<i>come across</i>	2150
<i>came across</i>	1822
<i>comes across</i>	725
<i>coming across</i>	433

Table 9. Frequency of COME ACROSS *as*

Different forms of COME ACROSS <i>as</i>	Frequency
<i>come across as</i>	345
<i>comes across as</i>	314
<i>came across as</i>	182
<i>coming across as</i>	39

- (22) a. In person, Mr. Putin **comes across as** exceedingly disciplined and concentrated. (COCA: 2003 NEWS)
- b. He **comes across as** a genuine, humble, nice guy. (COCA: 2012 NEWS)
- c. The church, in its attempt to manage morality, **comes across as** more value-based than fact-based. (COCA: 2011 MAG)

Dictionaries introduce *come across like* as having the same meaning with *come across as*. However, when the result is compared with the frequency of COME ACROSS *as*, we can find that the frequency of COME ACROSS *like* is quite low. Thus, we can conclude that COME ACROSS *as* forms a strongly rigid pattern in delivering the meaning of *giving an impression of*.

Table 10. Frequency of the Sequence COME ACROSS *like*

Different forms of COME ACROSS <i>like</i>	Frequency
<i>come across like</i>	17
<i>comes across like</i>	15
<i>came across like</i>	10
<i>coming across like</i>	4

Also, the frequency of the instances where an adjective follows COME ACROSS without *as* between them is much lower. *Arrogant* can appear without *as*, as in (23a), but it is the only instance. And many of adjectives which are used after *come across* are just modifiers of the following nouns, in which case, *come across* means *finding*, not *giving an impression of*, as in (23b).

- (23) a. I thought that I **came across arrogant**. (COCA: 2008 SPOK)
 b. But once you get past that initial hurdle, it's going to be like a mobile phone, where you just constantly **come across new** apps that are useful to you. (COCA: 2012 SPOK)

In sum, the more metaphoric meaning a phrasal verb has, the more rigid form it takes. In case of *come across*, the common form is *come across as* when it has the meaning of *giving an impression of*, rather than the more literal sense of *finding*.

4. Conclusion

The paper has investigated metaphoric meanings of phrasal verbs *come by* and *come across* through close examination of their collocates using the corpus COCA and has shown that they have relatively strong tendencies to be realized in (partially) fixed grammatical patterns when they have more metaphoric meanings. More specifically, the phrasal verb *come by* is more likely to appear in a fixed pattern, which is a *tough*-construction, when it has the meaning of *obtaining* while it occurs relatively freely when it means *paying a short visit*. Similarly, the phrasal verb *come across* occurs, with a high rate, in the pattern of *come across as* when it means *giving an impression of*, which is more metaphoric than the meaning of *finding* for which there does not seem to be a fixed form. The result supports Deignan (1999, 2005, 2006) and Hilpert (2006) in that metaphoric/metonymic expressions generally have different grammatical status compared to their literal counterparts.

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Received: October 28, 2015

Revised version received: December 17, 2015

Accepted: December 20, 2015