Linguistic Research 42(3): 739-769
DOI: 10.17250/khisli.42.3.202512.010

Persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits? A collostructional study on the transitive *out of -ing* construction*

Jungsoo Kim** · **Rok Sim*****
(Incheon National University · University of South Carolina)

Kim, Jungsoo and Rok Sim. 2025. Persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits? A collostructional study on the transitive *out of -ing* construction. *Linguistic Research* 42(3): 739-769. Wulff et al. (2007) argued that Americans are "persuasive" while Brits are "brutal," based on differences in the transitive *into -ing* construction, adopting the distinctive collexeme analysis. In the use of this construction, American English typically prefers communication and persuasion verbs (e.g., *talk* and *coax*), as in *They talked Cassie into breaking up the nuptials*, whereas British English more favorably selects force and negative emotion verbs (e.g., *pressurize* and *bully*). This study examines whether Wulff et al.'s (2007) generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" also extends to the transitive *out of -ing* construction (e.g., *They talked Cassie out of breaking up the nuptials*). Drawing on large-scale corpus data from GloWbE and NOW (2010 to May 2025), we analyze verbs in the V1 slot using collostructional methods (collexeme, distinctive collexeme, and covarying collexeme analyses). Our findings reveal that the generalization largely holds: American English exhibits a broader range of verbs, with communication and persuasion strongly represented (e.g., *talk*), while British English favors force verbs (e.g., *rule* and *price*). At the same time, notable deviations emerge: American English also shows strong distinctive associations with negative emotion verbs (e.g., *scare*, *intimidate*, and *shame*), a preference not observed in British English. These results broaden our understanding of the transitive *out of -ing* construction and refine the claim that Americans are "persuasive" and Brits are "brutal," demonstrating that although the dialectal divide is robust, its expression shifts in systematic ways across related constructions. **(Incheon National University · University of South Carolina)**

* We thank two anonymous reviewers of *Linguistic Research* for their comments and feedback that substantially improved this paper. Of course, all remaining errors are our own. This work was supported by Incheon National University Research Grant in 2024-0055.
** First Author
*** Corresponding author

Keywords Transitive *out of -ing* construction, American English, British English, collostructional analysis, corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

The transitive *into -ing* construction in English has been widely examined in the literature (Rudanko 1991, 2005, 2006, 2015; Hunston and Francis 2000; Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004a; Wulff et al. 2007; Davies 2012; Kim and Davies 2016; Rickman and Kaunisto 2018; Davies and Kim 2019; Yook and Kim 2021). It encodes causation by inducing someone to begin an action, where the subject causes the object to start doing something they were not already doing.

(1) a. Rebekah ***talks*** him into inventing a fake online profile, … (GloWbE US General)
b. Sadly, our track record clearly shows that we regularly try to ***pressurize*** people into conforming to our expectations. (NOW GB 17-02-05)

In (1a), the subject *Rebekah* causes *him* to start inventing a fake online profile by means of talking—an action undertaken as a result of persuasion. In (1b), the subject *we* induces *people* to begin the action of conforming to the expectations by means of pressurizing, a verb with more forceful and negative connotations. On the basis of such patterns, Wulff et al. (2007) argued that the transitive *into -ing* construction shows a systematic dialectal divide. American English typically prefers communication and persuasion verbs such as *talk*, whereas British English more often favors forceful or negative emotion verbs such as *pressurize*. From this, they advanced the generalization that Americans are "persuasive" while Brits are "brutal."

By contrast, the transitive *out of -ing* construction has received far less attention (Francis et al. 1996; Rudanko 2011; Gawlik 2013; Sim and Kim 2015; Kim and Sim 2024). Like its *into -ing* counterpart, it encodes a causal relationship, but instead of initiation, it expresses prevention or extraction, where the subject causes the object not to do something, or to stop doing it.

(2) a. But I do want to ***talk*** you out of believing that you have to choose a private school, if you want the best for your children's education. (NOW US 11-10-09)

b. Football fans of my age will never forget the time in 1986 when Diego Maradona ***cheated*** England out of winning the World Cup by punching the ball in the net past goalkeeper Peter Shilton and knocking England out. (GloWbE GB General)

In (2a), the subject *I* causes *you* to abandon the belief that choosing a private school is necessary by means of talking, thereby preventing the continuation of that mental state. In (2b), the subject *Diego Maradona* causes *England* not to achieve victory in the World Cup by means of cheating, preventing the action of winning from taking place. Kim and Sim (2024) demonstrated that in American English, the transitive *out of -ing* construction is statistically strongly associated with force/negative emotion verbs, suggesting a more complex picture than the "persuasive Americans" stereotype observed in the transitive *into -ing* construction.

However, the British side of the transitive *out of -ing* construction remains underexplored. While Wulff et al. (2007) established a robust pattern "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" for the transitive *into -ing* construction, it is not yet clear whether British English shows a corresponding preference for force/negative emotion verbs in the transitive *out of -ing* construction, a gap that motivates the present study. Specifically, we aim to examine whether the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" extends to its related *out of -ing* construction counterpart, or whether the two constructions reveal different variety tendencies.

To address this question, the present study analyzes data from GloWbE (Corpus of Global Web-based English; Davies 2013) and NOW (Corpus of News on the Web; Davies 2016-). We employ collostructional methods—collexeme, distinctive collexeme, and covarying collexeme analyses—with a particular focus on verbs and semantic verb classes occurring in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction. By comparing the two English varieties, we attempt to determine whether American and British English display parallel or divergent usage patterns, and how such findings refine or challenge Wulff et al.'s (2007) influential generalization.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows. Section 2 reviews the relevant literature: Section 2.1 outlines the key grammatical properties of the transitive *out*

of -ing construction and Section 2.2 summarizes Wulff et al.'s (2007) findings on variety preferences observed in the transitive *into -ing* construction, and Section 2.3 formulates the research questions that guide the present study. Section 3 introduces the corpus data and describes the analytical methods employed. Section 4 reports the results of different types of collostructional analyses—collexeme, distinctive collexeme, and covarying collexeme analyses. Section 5 discusses these findings in light of earlier claims and broader theoretical implications. Finally, Section 6 concludes by summarizing the main contributions of the present study and outlining directions for future research.

2. Literature review and research questions

2.1 Key grammatical properties of the transitive *out of -ing* construction

The transitive *out of -ing* construction displays several intriguing grammatical properties. In this section, we review these properties, specifically focusing on the verbs that occur in the V1 slot.

First, as earlier studies have shown, these verbs can be categorized according to the means by which the subject achieves the causative outcome (Gawlik 2013; adopted from Rudanko 2011: 15 for verbs that occur in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction):

(3) a. By means of deception or trickery (e.g., *beguile*, *betray*, and *deceive*)
b. By means of exerting force or pressure, sometimes understood metaphorically (e.g., *coerce*, *drive*, *force*, and *harass*)
c. By means of arousing fear, irritation, anger, annoyance, confusion, or surprise (e.g., *astonish*, *badger*, *exasperate*, and *frighten*)
d. By means of enticing, flattering, or verbal persuasion (e.g., *persuade*, *bribe*, and *cajole*)
e. By other specific means (e.g., *fascinate*, *hush*, and *laugh*)
f. By nonspecific means (e.g., *lead*)

As described above, the discussion in previous literature on the transitive *out of*/*into*

-ing constructions has mainly involved this kind of semantic classification of verbs in the V1 slot.

Concerning the verb types in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction, Kim and Sim (2024: 270), using 620 examples from COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English; Davies 2008), identified 53 distinct verbs in the V1 slot, listed in (4) with their raw frequencies:

(4) *talk* (408), *get* (33), *scare* (24), *cheat* (15), *keep* (14), *shut* (11), *lock* (9), *price* (9), *intimidate* (8), *pull* (6), *drive* (5), *frighten* (5), *rule* (5), *screw* (5), *bully* (4), *leave* (4), *take* (4), *train* (4), *force* (3), *kick* (3), *shame* (3), *bluff* (2), *browbeat* (2), *coax* (2), *knock* (2), *push* (2), *trick* (2), *annoy* (1), *argue* (1), *bigfoot* (1), *bribe* (1), *charm* (1), *con* (1), *counsel* (1), *cut* (1), *edge* (1), *finagle* (1), *grandfather* (1), *harass* (1), *hinder* (1), *jawbone* (1), *laugh* (1), *legislate* (1), *lobby* (1), *move* (1), *persuade* (1), *rock* (1), *snap* (1), *spell* (1), *spook* (1), *terrify* (1), *want* (1), *yank* (1)

This distribution shows that *talk* is by far the most frequent verb, accounting for 408 instances (65.3%). Other relatively frequent verbs include *get, scare*, *cheat*, *keep*, and *shut* (11-33 instances each). The remaining 47 verbs are each found in fewer than 10 instances.

Kim and Sim (2024: 270) further classified those verbs in (4) depending on their meanings given in (3), whose results are shown below:

(5) a. By means of deception or trickery (6 types): *bluff*, *browbeat*, *cheat*, *con*, *finagle*, and *trick*
b. By means of exerting force or pressure, sometimes understood metaphorically (22 types): *bigfoot*, *bully*, *cut*, *drive*, *edge*, *force*, *grandfather*, *harass*, *kick*, *knock*, *lock*, *move*, *price*, *pull*, *push*, *rock*, *rule*, *screw*, *shut*, *snap*, *take*, and *yank*
c. By means of arousing fear, irritation, anger, annoyance, confusion, or surprise (7 types): *annoy*, *frighten*, *intimidate*, *scare*, *shame*, *spook*, and *terrify*
d. By means of enticing, flattering, or verbal persuasion (8 types): *argue*, *bribe*, *coax*, *counsel*, *jawbone*, *lobby*, *persuade*, and *talk*

e. By other specific means (5 types): *charm*, *laugh*, *legislate*, *spell*, and *train*
f. By nonspecific means (5 types): *get*, *hinder*, *keep*, *leave*, and *want*

As can be seen here, in their results the most salient semantic verb class found in the V1 slot of the construction describes "exertion of force or pressure" with 22 different verb types, while the rest each only contain 5 to 8 different verb types.

To identify verbs strongly attracted to the V1 slot of the construction, Kim and Sim (2024: 270-271) conducted a collexeme analysis. The 10 strongest collexemes in their COCA data are provided in Table 1:

Table 1. 10 strongest collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in COCA (Kim and Sim 2024: 271)

Rank	Collexeme	Freq.	Coll.strength (LLR)
1	talk	635,614:408	3448.33
2	scare	24,484:24	202.99
3	cheat	21,523:15	116.48
4	price	10,965:9	72.73
5	intimidate	6,613:8	70.81
6	shut	85,625:11	48.88
7	lock	43,093:9	48.43
8	frighten	7,953:5	37.72
9	bully	8,490:4	27.90
10	screw	25,635:5	26.21

To interpret these results, two points need clarification. First, the Freq. column reports both the overall frequency of a verb in COCA and its observed frequency in the transitive *out of -ing* construction. For instance, *talk* appears 635,614 times overall, of which 408 instances occur in this construction. Second, the Coll.strength (LLR) column provides the collostructional strength of each verb, measured by the log-likelihood ratio (LLR, also known as G^2). LLR compares the observed frequency of a verb in the construction with the expected frequency if the verb were distributed randomly across the corpus. In short, it tests whether a verb occurs significantly more often in this construction than chance would predict. Higher values indicate stronger attraction. As a benchmark, LLR $\geq$ 3.84 corresponds to $p < 0.05$, and LLR $\geq$ 10.83 corresponds to $p < 0.001$.[1]

1 See Section 3.2 for additional information on choosing LLR as collostructional strength index.

Overall, these results reveal two important properties of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in contemporary American English: (i) *talk* dominating in terms of frequency and collostructional strength value, and (ii) a semantically diverse set of other verbs, spanning categories of force, negative emotion, trickery, and persuasion.

This lexical and semantic diversity invites comparison with the closely related transitive *into -ing* construction, which has been examined from a dialectal perspective. In particular, Wulff et al. (2007) applied the distinctive collexeme analysis to identify how the transitive *into -ing* construction differs between American and British English, offering the influential generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits." Their results provide a crucial point of comparison for evaluating whether similar dialectal patterns extend to its *out of -ing* construction counterpart.

2.2 Wulff et al. (2007) on dialectal variation in the transitive *into –ing* construction

Wulff et al. (2007) conducted a comparative study of the transitive *into -ing* construction between American and British English, drawing on data from the LA Times corpus (3,467 tokens) and the Guardian corpus (6,287 tokens). To examine dialectal contrasts, they applied the distinctive collexeme analysis (see Section 3.2 for details on statistical modeling), which identifies verbs that are significantly more characteristic of one variety than the other in a given slot of a particular construction. Their analysis focused on the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction, yielding a set of verbs that are statistically distinctive for each English variety. Table 2 presents the 15 strongest distinctive collexeme verbs, ranked by their negative log-transformed Fisher-Yates *p*-values.[2]

Table 2. 15 strongest distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction in American and British English in Wulff et al. (2007: 272-273)

Rank	American English		British English	
	V1	-log(pFisher-Yates)	V1	-log(pFisher-Yates)
1	talk	84.47	pressurize	25.00
2	pressure	39.93	bounce	18.21
3	prod	20.23	panic	14.90

2 See Wulff et al. (2007: 272-273) for the full list of distinctive collexeme verbs.

4	coax	11.79	bully	14.46
5	coerce	8.78	dragoon	5.74
6	scare	4.70	tempt	5.71
7	snooker	4.05	sting	5.54
8	parlay	3.15	provoke	5.53
9	entice	2.77	push	4.78
10	guide	2.20	lead	4.73
11	draft	2.01	con	4.34
12	rope	1.87	throw	4.22
13	turn	1.80	pressgang	4.20
14	plunge	1.62	force	4.06
15	bait	1.55	prompt	3.39

Here, collostructional strength values greater than 1.30103 correspond to $p < 0.05$. As Wulff et al. (2007) note, the ranked list of collexemes by itself may not immediately show strong generalizations. However, systematic patterns can be identified once these verbs are grouped into broader semantic classes: communication (e.g., *talk* and *coax*), negative emotion (e.g., *terrify* and *scare*), physical force (e.g., *push* and *force*), stimulation (e.g., *prod* and *prompt*), threatening (e.g., *blackmail* and *bully*), and trickery (e.g., *bamboozle* and *con*). Table 3 summarizes the distribution of all distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction according to these semantic classes and varieties of English. Table 4 then provides the corresponding summed log-transformed *p*-values, which measure their cumulative statistical strength.

Table 3. Distribution of distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction in Wulff et al. (2007: 274) according to semantic classes and English varieties

Semantic class	American English	British English	Row totals
Communication	2	-	2
Negative emotion	3	7	10
Physical force	9	17	26
Stimulation	-	8	8
Threatening	1	4	5
Trickery	3	9	12
Column totals	18	45	63

Table 4. Distribution of summed log-transformed Fisher-Yates *p*-values of distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction in Wulff et al. (2007: 274) according to semantic classes and English varieties

Semantic class	American English	British English	Row totals
Communication	86.48	-	86.48
Negative emotion	7.38	28.86	36.24
Physical force	81.77	88.16	169.93
Stimulation	-	20.00	20.00
Threatening	1.41	24.07	25.48
Trickery	16.11	21.24	37.35
Column totals	193.15	182.33	375.48

As shown in Table 3, the semantic class of most diverse distinctive collexeme verbs in the transitive *into -ing* construction is that of physical force verbs, in both American and British English (9 out of 18 distinctive collexemes in AE vs. 17 out of 45 in BE). The summed *p*-values reported in Table 4 confirm this association. The nine verbs in American English amount to 81.77, while the 17 verbs in British English reach 88.16. These figures suggest that physical force is strongly linked to the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction, regardless of English variety.

The results also show that communication verbs are particularly distinctive in American English. Although this class contains only two verbs (Table 3), their combined statistical weight is striking. The summed *p*-values in Table 4 indicate that communication is far more strongly associated with the V1 slot in American English than in British English.

Another noteworthy difference concerns stimulation verbs. These verbs appear as distinctive collexemes in British English—for example, *tempt*, *prompt*, and *trigger*—but are entirely absent in American English (eight verbs with a summed *p*-value of 20.00 in BE vs. none in AE). This contrast becomes even more pronounced if threatening verbs are considered a subclass of (negative) stimulation verbs: British English contains 12 such verbs with a combined *p*-value of 44.07, while American English shows only one verb with a *p*-value of 1.41.

In addition, negative emotion verbs are more prominent in British English. Table 3 shows that seven such verbs occur in British English compared to three in American English, and Table 4 indicates that their summed *p*-values are higher in the former (28.86) than in the latter (7.38). This means that British English makes greater use of verbs that emphasize negative emotional effects, aligning with the broader

observation that the construction is more often tied to the creation of bad or undesirable feelings in British English usage.

To summarize, Wulff et al. (2007) demonstrated three major contrasts between the two English varieties in the transitive *into -ing* construction: (i) physical force verbs are significant in both American and British English, but slightly stronger in British English; (ii) communication verbs, especially *talk*, are distinctive in American English but absent in British English; and (iii) stimulation, threatening, and negative emotion verbs are far more distinctive in British English than in American English. On this basis, they proposed the generalization that American English speakers are "persuasive," whereas British English speakers are "brutal."

2.3 Research questions

These findings naturally raise the following set of research questions for the present study.

1. Does this dialectal divide extend beyond the transitive *into –ing* construction to its structural *out of -ing* construction counterpart?
2. Does American English favor communication and persuasion verbs in the V1 slot, or do different patterns emerge? In addition, does British English show the same strong association with force, stimulation, or negative emotion verbs in the transitive *out of -ing* construction as it does in the transitive *into -ing* construction?

3. Data and methodology

3.1 Data

To investigate authentic uses and grammatical properties of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English, we conducted a corpus-based study using data from GloWbE (Corpus of Global Web-based English) and NOW (Corpus of News on the Web).[3,4] For GloWbE, relevant examples were extracted using a series of string searches shown in (6) via the web interface (see Figure 1):

(6) a. _vv out of *ing
b. _vv * out of *ing
c. _vv * * out of *ing
d. _vv * * * out of *ing
e. _vv * * * * out of *ing

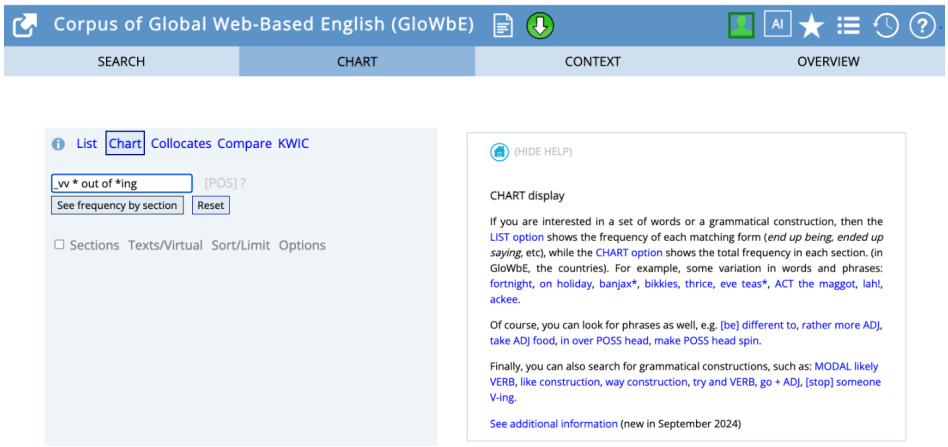

Figure 1. Screenshot of a string search in the search box via the GloWbE web interface

In these patterns, _vv specifies a lexical verb and *ing matches any word ending in *-ing*. Each * represents a potential intervening word between the verb and the complex preposition *out of*. Thus, the searches retrieved all instances where a lexical verb was followed by *out of* and an *-ing* form with zero to four intervening words. This procedure yielded 4,073 examples from the American English portion of GloWbE and 3,836 examples from the British English portion.

For NOW (covering data from 2010 to May 2025), we applied the same search patterns; however, due to the much larger size of the corpus, we implemented them

3 GloWbE contains about 1.9 billion words of data from 20 different countries, including the so-called six inner-circle countries (i.e., U.S., Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand) and some Asian and African countries (e.g., India, Singapore, Hong Kong, South Africa, Ghana, and Jamaica). As the name indicates, the data of the corpus are from general web pages and blog posts, and it is ideal for comparisons among English varieties in rather informal contexts.

4 NOW is currently composed of 22.5 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time. The corpus is continuously updated and grows by approximately 270-290 million words of data for each month. When the corpus files were downloaded and the data searches were carried out for the present research, it contained data up to May 2025.

directly via programming scripts rather than the web interface. This returned 27,504 examples from the American English component and 18,113 examples from the British English component.

All retrieved examples were then manually inspected, and irrelevant instances such as those in (7) were filtered out:

(7) a. Sometimes books ***come*** out of teaching a course for which there is no suitable textbook. (GloWbE US General)
b. It's a fittingly cryptic scenario for Banksy, who has ***made*** a career out of making us think twice about what we see and where we see it. (NOW GB 25-05-30)

In (7a), the verb *come* is intransitive and lacks an NP object, while the second predicate does not yield either a movement/extraction interpretation or a prevention interpretation. In (7b), although the verb *made* is transitive, selecting an NP object, the example does not give rise to a cause-result meaning. Instead, the understood subject of the VP[*-ing*] predicate is co-referential with the matrix subject, and the complex preposition *out of* encodes the means (replaceable with *by*). Since examples as in (7) do not instantiate the transitive *out of -ing* construction, they were excluded from the dataset for analysis.

We also removed duplicates, as in (8), where the same example was retrieved through multiple string searches:

(8) I'm not trying to ***talk*** anyone out of becoming an optometrist. (GloWbE US Blog)

This example was captured both by _vv * out of *ing and _vv * * * out of *ing. Since they were both from the same source, only one instance was retained in our dataset.

After the filtering and deduplication processes, the final dataset comprised the examples from the corpora as summarized in Table 5, which were used for quantitative and qualitative analyses:

Table 5. Number of identified examples of the transitive *out of -ing* construction from GloWbE and NOW[5]

	GloWbE	NOW	Total
AE	261	2,175	2,436
BE	247	1,138	1,385
Total	508	3,313	3,821

3.2 Methodology

With a cleaned and representative dataset in place, the next step was to systematically investigate the lexical and semantic patterns of verbs in the construction. Raw frequency counts alone cannot determine whether a verb's occurrence in the construction reflects a true lexical preference or simply mirrors its overall corpus frequency. To fill this gap, we applied a set of collostructional analyses that quantify the strength of association between verbs and the construction. These methods not only identify verbs most strongly associated with the V1 slot but also explore dialect-specific preferences and statistically frequent V1-VP2[*-ing*] pairs across slots.

The first type of collostructional analysis we employed for this study is collexeme analysis, which measures the degree to which particular verbs are statistically attracted to, or repelled from, a given slot in a construction (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003). It compares the observed frequency of a verb in the construction with the expected frequency under random distribution. For example, Stefanowitsch and Gries (2003: 224-226) showed that in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction in the BNC (British National Corpus), strong collexemes can be broadly divided into two semantic groups: trickery verbs (e.g., *trick*, *fool*, *mislead*, *deceive*, and *con*) and force verbs (e.g., *coerce*, *force*, *bully*, and *pressurize*). For the present study, we used this method to determine which verbs and verb classes are strongly attracted to the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction.

Another collostructional analysis we used is called distinctive collexeme analysis. This method was originally designed to compare related constructions—such as the ditransitive and the *to*-dative—by identifying verbs that are statistically distinctive for

5 One may assume that this construction is more frequently used in American English than in British English based on raw frequencies. However, given that their corpus sizes differ, we should consider their normalized frequencies. In fact, their normalized frequencies per million words indicate that the opposite is true and that it is not frequently used in these two varieties of English (0.34 in AE vs. 0.41 in BE).

one construction relative to the other(s) (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004b), but it has since been extended to investigate variation across dialects and time periods (Hilpert 2006; Wulff et al. 2007; Gilquin 2012, 2015). Following Wulff et al. (2007), we applied this approach to American and British English to identify verbs and verb classes that are distinctively strongly associated with each variety in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction.

One more collostructional analysis employed here is referred to as covarying collexeme analysis, which is typically used to examine whether two lexemes co-occur across different slots of a construction more frequently than would be expected by chance (Stefanowitch and Gries 2003, 2005; Gries and Stefanowitch 2004a; Hilpert 2014). For example, Stefanowitsch and Gries (2005) demonstrated that in the transitive *into -ing* construction, trickery verbs (e.g., *fool*, *mislead*, and *deceive*) co-occur strongly with belief predicates (e.g., *thinking* and *believing*), reflecting a conceptual link between deception and belief. In this study, we employed this method but our focus was only on the verbs in the V1 slot to the exclusion of those in the VP2[*-ing*] slot to find out how applicable the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" is to the transitive *out of -ing* construction based on statistically significant V1-VP2[*-ing*] pairs.

All analyses were then conducted using the *coll.analysis* 4.0 package in R. As the association measure, we used the log-likelihood ratio (LLR, or G^2), which is the package default and is widely recognized as more robust than the chi-square test for detecting word-construction associations even in relatively sparse data (Manning and Schütze 1999: 172-178). In addition, LLR values can be directly linked to significance thresholds: LLR $\geq$ 3.84 corresponds to $p < 0.05$, while LLR $\geq$ 10.83 corresponds to $p < 0.001$.[6]

4. Corpus findings

4.1 Regarding the V1 slot on its own

We first classified the matrix verbs identified in the transitive *out of -ing* construction. In total, 195 distinct verbs are found in American English and 126 verbs in British

6 For critical discussion of alternative association measures, see Desagulier (2017) and Stefanowitsch (2020).

English. Of these, 68 verbs in American English and 41 verbs in British English occur three or more times. To determine which verbs and verb classes are strongly associated with the V1 slot of the construction in each English variety, we performed a collexeme analysis, but only for those verbs that occur in the corpus data in each English variety at least three times.[7] The 20 strongest collexeme verbs in each English variety, together with their frequencies and LLRs as collostructional strength values, are presented in Table 6:[8]

Table 6. 20 strongest collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English

Rank	AE			BE		
	Collexeme	Freq.	LLR	Collexeme	Freq.	LLR
1	talk	2,841,199:940	11,536.39	rule	185,093:283	4,203.81
2	price	177,502:133	1,791.42	price	102,384:251	3,958.39
3	scare	67,580:100	1,481.57	talk	793,367:323	3,955.16
4	lock	276,938:119	1,469.80	lock	121,883:75	964.11
5	rule	376,902:102	1,164.80	cheat	46,670:31	402.14
6	shut	422,635:90	984.19	intimidate	17,822:23	238.77
7	intimidate	43,986:48	680.80	scare	29,150:24	321.51
8	cheat	89,096:47	598.47	take	6,425,832:45	179.16
9	shame	24,617:32	464.84	force	478,741:23	177.71
10	opt	277,851:43	441.93	bully	45,272:11	120.42
11	get	16,390,308:97	376.24	shut	155,063:11	93.41
12	keep	4,265,954:60	331.85	frighten	15,299:7	85.46
13	weasel	1,158:13	244.91	freeze	55,161:8	79.32
14	bully	60,373:19	222.00	lift	187,372:10	79.25
15	knock	245,350:22	201.95	keep	2,127,464:17	71.61
16	frighten	14,818:14	194.32	worm	1,525:4	62.80
17	leave	3,702,493:38	186.54	pull	392,630:9	56.28
18	trick	44,642:13	149.85	shame	18,255:5	55.91
19	screw	54,969:13	144.44	push	448,264:9	53.93
20	force	921,745:21	135.68	lie	266,828:7	45.62

7 The same method was employed in Vergaro (2014) and Kim and Kim (2023), for instance.

8 An anonymous reviewer suggested that the collostructional analyses should be conducted separately for the GloWbE and NOW corpus data. However, we do not adopt this approach for the following reasons. First, the primary aim of the present study is not to examine register variation, but rather to identify dialectal differences between American and British English. Second, the distinctive collexeme analysis based solely on the GloWbE data is not sufficiently informative, because the dataset is too limited in size to yield robust results. Although register variation in the transitive *out of -ing* construction is an interesting topic in its own right, a systematic investigation of this issue lies beyond the scope of the present study and is left for future research.

The results show clear cross-varietal similarities and differences. In American English, the strongest collexeme is *talk* (LLR = 11,536.39) while in British English, the strongest is *rule* (LLR = 4,203.81). Despite this divergence, the two English varieties share 13 of the 20 strongest collexeme verbs (i.e., *bully*, *cheat*, *force*, *frighten*, *intimidate*, *keep*, *lock*, *price*, *rule*, *scare*, *shame*, *shut*, and *talk*). The remaining ones are variety-specific—for instance, *opt*, *weasel*, and *trick* in American English versus *freeze*, *lift*, *worm*, *push*, and *lie* in British English. Consider illustrative examples below:

(9) a. He claims that state Republican leaders ***bullied*** him out of challenging Collins this year. (NOW US 20-09-11)
b. They ***frighten*** people out of running for public office (particularly women). (GloWbE GB General)
c. They're not ***cheating*** me out of watching the games. (GloWbE US Blog)
d. Usually, you have to try to ***talk*** drummers out of doing solos! (NOW GB 24-10-31)
e. Winston's knee recovery almost certainly will ***keep*** him out of being a full participant in OTAs and possible minicamp. (NOW US 22-02-16)

(10) American English examples
a. Public schools in Miami-Dade and Broward counties allowed parents to ***opt*** their children out of wearing masks in early November. (NOW US 21-12-04)
b. The 46% also includes thousands of millionaires who have ***weaseled*** their way out of paying taxes altogether, … (GloWbE US General)
c. He is the kind of teacher that ***tricks*** a kid out of thinking she has nothing left. (GloWbE US General)

(11) British English examples
a. The six months' notice required in such circumstances ***freezes*** them out of accessing their own homes, effectively making them homeless. (NOW GB 20-09-21)
b. We have ***lifted*** millions of people out of paying tax altogether, while ensuring those who have the broadest shoulders also contribute the most. (NOW GB 23-02-09)
c. Reiss tried to ***worm*** his way out of being caught out as he reasoned with Brenda that she was grieving the loss of her daughter. (NOW

GB 24-08-14)

From a semantic perspective, nearly half of the strong collexemes common in both varieties belong to the force class (e.g., *bully*, *force*, *lock*, *price*, *rule*, and *shut*) as in (9a), while roughly one-third are negative emotion verbs (e.g., *frighten*, *intimidate*, *scare*, and *shame*) as in (9b). Others belong to trickery (*cheat*), communication (*talk*), or nonspecific (*keep*) categories as in (9c)-(9e). This distribution suggests that while both varieties strongly associate the construction with force and negative emotion, American English stands out for its preference for *talk*, while British English highlights *rule* as a central verb.

The verbs unique to one English variety reveal further contrasts. In American English, they include *opt*, *get*, *weasel*, *knock*, *leave*, *trick*, and *screw*, as in (10). In British English, they include *take*, *freeze*, *lift*, *worm*, *pull*, *push*, and *lie*, as in (11). Strikingly, the British English set is dominated by force verbs denoting physical actions or motions (e.g., *take*, *freeze*, *lift*, *worm*, *pull*, and *push*), while the American English set shows a broader range of semantic classes. This asymmetry implies that force verbs are more closely tied to British English, whereas more diverse semantic classes are related to American English.

To capture these variety tendency differences statistically, we conducted a distinctive collexeme analysis. The results are shown in Table 7.[9,10]

Table 7. Statistically significant distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English

Rank	AE			BE		
	Distinctive collexeme	Freq. (AE:BE)	LLR	Distinctive collexeme	Freq. (BE:AE)	LLR
1	talk	940:323	96.18	rule	283:102	247.55
2	shut	90:11	34.56	price	251:133	149.75

9 In Table 7, we excluded distinctive collexemes if their occurrences were fewer than two in the distinctively favored variety. For example, *dump* is found in two instances in British English, but in no instance in American English, and it was not listed in the table.

10 An anonymous reviewer observed that there is relatively little overlap between strong distinctive collexeme verbs in the V1 slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction reported in Wulff et al. (2007) (see Table 2) and those of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in the present study, and inquired whether this might be attributed to the differences in the corpus types. While corpus type differences might play some role, we believe that the primary explanation lies in their inherent constructional (e.g., semantic) differences between the two causative constructions.

3	opt	43:2	26.63	take	45:34	14.29
4	get	97:20	21.46	throw	4:0	8.13
5	scare	100:24	17.39	lift	10:4	7.18
6	shame	32:5	9.73	flirt	3:0	6.09
7	box	10:0	9.02	force	23:21	4.74
8	leave	39:8	8.55			
9	keep	60:17	7.36			
10	screw	13:1	6.54			
11	weasel	13:1	6.54			
12	block	7:0	6.31			
13	conflict	6:0	5.41			
14	work	6:0	5.41			
15	buy	24:5	5.12			
16	dig	5:0	4.50			
17	kick	13:2	3.99			

The analysis confirms that American English exhibits a larger and more diverse set of distinctive collexemes (17 verbs) compared to British English (7 verbs). Representative examples are given in (12) and (13).

(12) American English examples

a. He was trying to ***talk*** her out of hanging out with this person. (GloWbE US Blog)

b. It had also erected extensive "non-tariff barriers" to trade - for example, ***shutting*** the U.S. out of selling many goods in China. (NOW US 25-04-14)

c. She actually called the school and ***got*** me out of having to read it. (NOW US 12-04-08)

d. The whole purpose of this letter, like I said, was to ***scare*** evangelicals out of voting for Obama at any cost. (GloWbE US General)

e. Garcia, 26, has ***worked*** his way out of pitching in key moments because of poor results. (NOW US 21-05-31)

f. For one thing, he will no longer be able to ***buy*** his way out of facing the truth. (GloWbE US Blog)

(13) British English examples

a. Payday loans themselves won't ***rule*** you out of getting a mortgage, but the circumstances that accompany their use very well could. (NOW GB 13-11-28)

b. ⋯ but they also ***price*** them out of working in their own area. (GloWbE GB General)
c. By April we will have ***taken*** 2 million people out of paying income tax altogether - around 60% of whom are women. (GloWbE GB General)
d. It's like the strategy is to ***force*** Spurs out of being the counter-attack team since that is their strength. (NOW GB 18-02-10)
e. During her breakfast morning show on Heart FM, the 51-year-old bombshell welcomed showbiz pal onto the show where she revealed how she ***flirted*** her way out of getting arrested. (NOW GB 23-01-06)

The most salient observation is that in British English, nearly all distinctive collexemes belong to the force class (e.g., *rule*, *price*, *take*, *throw*, *lift*, and *force*), as in (13a)-(13d), and the sole exception is *flirt*, which falls under the communication class, as illustrated in (13e).[11] This then seems to support the idea that forceful actions are the most dominant way of causation in British English. In American English, by contrast, although a few distinctive verbs are also force-related (e.g., *shut*, *screw*, and *kick*), they are overall much more semantically diverse. As exemplified in (12), distinctive collexemes in American English span multiple categories: neutral or positive verbs (e.g., *opt*, *get*, *keep*, *work*, and *buy*), negative emotion verbs (e.g., *scare* and *shame*), communication verbs (e.g., *talk*), and trickery verbs (e.g., *weasel*). Among these, *talk* emerges as the single most distinctive verb, highlighting persuasion as a central causation feature in American English.[12]

11 An anonymous reviewer noted that *take*, as in (13c), does not yield a physical force or movement meaning, although its basic sense involves such semantics. Instead, here, its meaning appears to be bleached, functioning primarily as a general causation marker. We find this observation reasonable. However, a systematic investigation into which physical force verbs undergo such semantic bleaching lies beyond the scope of the present paper and we leave this issue to future research.

12 If we include the marginally statistically significant distinctive collexeme verbs in the list, the patterns are more prominent in American English. They then also include *negotiate*, *coax*, *swindle*, and *hold*, each of which is found in four instances only in the American English data (i.e., 3.602 as LLR value $\approx$ 0.058 as *p*-value). No such marginally statistically significant distinctive collexeme verbs are observed in the British English data.

4.2 Regarding the V1 and VP2[*-ing*] pairs

We also examined statistically significant verb pairs between the V1 and VP2[*-ing*] slots of the construction by conducting a covarying collexeme analysis. Table 8 lists the 20 strongest covarying collexeme verb pairs in American and British English, respectively, while (14) and (15) provide illustrative examples.

Table 8. 20 strongest covarying collexeme verb pairs in the V1 and VP2[*-ing*] slots of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English[13]

Rank	AE			BE		
	Collexeme pairs	Freq.	LLR	Collexeme pairs	Freq.	LLR
1	knock-boxing	9:22:13	73.01	take-paying	31:45:49	177.01
2	opt-reading	10:43:15	64.27	price-living	21:251:24	56.25
3	price-buying	25:133:69	63.87	keep-policing	7:17:9	55.45
4	talk-going	52:940:64	50.30	price-buying	33:251:54	51.76
5	talk-killing	30:940:31	49.85	talk-doing	36:323:60	38.88
6	get-paying	15:97:39	48.75	rule-appearing	11:283:11	35.28
7	opt-wearing	9:43:21	46.31	price-attending	17:251:23	34.90
8	price-living	11:133:16	45.50	talk-quitting	11:323:11	32.32
9	rule-playing	16:102:48	45.31	rule-playing	27:283:48	30.94
10	scare-saying	9:100:12	45.01	pay-including	3:6:4	29.99
11	lock-using	15:119:45	37.82	talk-killing	10:323:10	29.36
12	drive-teaching	4:10:7	36.28	lift-paying	6:10:49	27.63
13	intimidate-speaking	7:48:15	35.58	knock-qualifying	4:6:20	27.16
14	intimidate-exercising	6:48:11	32.91	drive-teaching	3:8:5	25.50
15	conflict-representing	3:6:5	31.15	rule-competing	11:283:13	25.00
16	talk-quitting	16:940:16	30.64	price-watching	10:251:12	24.45
17	cheat-learning	6:47:13	30.46	rule-running	19:283:33	22.45
18	price-owning	8:133:13	30.19	throw-qualifying	3:4:20	21.42
19	scare-voting	10:100:31	27.46	talk-going	23:323:42	19.95
20	get-having	14:97:71	25.82	rule-standing	11:283:15	19.65

(14) American English examples

a. This essentially ***locked*** Huawei out of using the essential parts nearly all mobile developers need to build apps to run on Huawei devices. (NOW US 25-01-11)

b. Parents could originally ***opt*** children out of reading the books, but

13 The Freq. column in Table 8 consists of three numbers. The first one is the frequency of the given collexeme pair, and the second one represents the frequency of the first collexeme while the third one corresponds to that of the second collexeme in the identified examples for each English variety. For instance, the collexeme pair *knock-boxing* in American English is observed in 9 examples; *knock* is found in the V1 slot in 22 examples while *boxing* is found in the VP2[*-ing*] slot in 13 examples.

the board abandoned the opt-out option with the 2023-2024 school year, prompting the lawsuit. (NOW US 24-05-15)

c. Apparently, this wasn't the first time the Royal Family tried to ***intimidate*** her out of speaking up. (NOW US 21-03-05)

d. It was Geralds, Nathan would say later, who ***talked*** him out of quitting football, and for that, Nathan remained forever grateful. (NOW US 24-11-08)

e. But if younger students use AI for an assignment like writing a history paper, "you've not only cheated on a writing exercise, you've also ***cheated*** yourself out of learning the history." (NOW US 22-12-08)

(15) British English examples

a. In April, the personal savings allowance was launched, ***taking*** most savers out of paying any tax on their savings interest altogether. (NOW GB 16-12-24)

b. F1 has to be careful not to ***price*** its fans out of attending races, drivers and team chiefs have warned - after a mere 36,000 tickets were sold for last weekend's Turkish GP in Istanbul. (NOW GB 21-02-22)

c. Moses played only three internationals this year, but in his first he scored in a sensational 4-0 destruction of Cameroon that ***knocked*** the African champions out of qualifying and smoothed Nigeria's eventual passage to a third straight World Cup. (NOW GB 17-11-11)

d. Still, there's a good chance that whatever the status quo is with Scott, Hope and Hank following Civil War, it's going to ***rule*** them out of appearing in this Avengers movie. (NOW GB 17-11-15)

e. My best friend tried to ***talk*** me out of doing this, but now she respects my decision. (NOW GB 11-05-05)

Across the two English varieties, seven covarying collexeme pairs are shared: *drive-teaching*, *price-buying*, *price-living*, *rule-playing*, *talk-going*, *talk-killing*, and *talk-quitting*. Nonetheless, the distributional tendencies differ. In British English, the V1 slot is filled predominantly by force verbs (e.g., *take*, *lift*, *throw*, *knock*, *rule*, and *price*), as seen in (15a)-(15d). Only a small number of non-force verbs appear, such as the communication verb *talk* in (15e). On the other hand, in American English, while force verbs do occur (e.g., *knock*, *lock*, *conflict*, and *price*) as in (14a), they

are far less dominant. Instead, American English shows a greater semantic diversity, including neutral/positive verbs (e.g., *opt* and *get*), negative emotion verbs (e.g., *scare* and *intimidate*), communication verbs (e.g., *talk*), and trickery verbs (e.g., *cheat*), as shown in (14b)-(14e). These findings suggest that although both English varieties share a core set of collocational patterns, British English tends to skew toward force-dominated verb pairs to encode causation, while American English reflects a more heterogeneous conceptualization of causation.

To explore these tendencies further, we conducted a distinctive covarying collexeme analysis, which identifies V1-VP2[*-ing*] associations that are statistically distinctive in one variety compared to the other. The results are given in Table 9, with relevant examples in (16) and (17).

Table 9. Statistically significant distinctive covarying collexeme verb pairs in the V1 and VP2[*-ing*] slots of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English

Rank	AE			BE		
	Collexeme pairs	Freq. (AE:BE)	LLR	Collexeme pairs	Freq. (BE:AE)	LLR
1	talk-running	22:2	10.15	take-paying	31:1	55.35
2	opt-reading	10:0	9.02	rule-taking	22:2	32.89
3	talk-getting	33:6	8.48	rule-being	25:8	21.58
4	opt-wearing	9:0	8.11	price-attending	17:3	20.40
5	scare-saying	9:0	8.11	price-watching	10:0	20.34
6	shut-buying	9:0	8.11	rule-running	19:6	16.52
7	talk-making	21:3	6.95	keep-policing	7:0	14.23
8	talk-giving	13:1	6.55	rule-playing	27:16	12.59
9	talk-picking	7:0	6.31	price-living	21:11	11.44
10	talk-pulling	7:0	6.31	price-going	11:3	10.52
11	get-being	12:1	5.80	rule-appearing	11:3	10.52
12	intimidate-exercising	6:0	5.41	price-buying	33:25	10.35
13	leave-receiving	6:0	5.41	price-learning	5:0	10.16
14	play-being	6:0	5.41	rule-facing	5:0	10.16
15	shut-winning	6:0	5.41	rule-receiving	5:0	10.16
16	talk-withdrawing	6:0	5.41	rule-replacing	5:0	10.16
17	talk-pursuing	15:2	5.27	rule-making	15:7	9.28
18	opt-being	5:0	4.51	lock-voting	7:1	9.10
19	shut-having	5:0	4.51	price-renting	7:1	9.10
20	talk-announcing	5:0	4.51	rule-winning	7:1	9.10
21	talk-fighting	5:0	4.51	rule-standing	11:4	8.56
22	talk-supporting	5:0	4.51	price-signing	4:0	8.13
23	talk-throwing	5:0	4.51	rule-applying	4:0	8.13
24	talk-wearing	5:0	4.51	rule-starring	4:0	8.13
25				talk-raping	4:0	8.13
26				price-doing	6:1	7.35
27				cheat-going	3:0	6.09

28				pay-including	3:0	6.09
29				price-heating	3:0	6.09
30				price-sending	3:0	6.09
31				rule-doing	3:0	6.09
32				rule-featuring	3:0	6.09
33				rule-leading	3:0	6.09
34				talk-dating	3:0	6.09
35				talk-setting	3:0	6.09
36				throw-qualifying	3:0	6.09
37				lock-learning	5:1	5.65
38				price-being	17:13	5.20
39				lift-paying	6:2	4.99
40				rule-racing	6:2	4.99
41				rule-competing	11:7	4.59
42				rule-becoming	9:5	4.54
43				price-driving	4:1	4.02
44				price-taking	4:1	4.02
45				rule-getting	4:1	4.02

(16) American English examples

a. Obama reportedly ***talked*** Biden out of running in 2016, allowing former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton to be the Democratic nominee. (NOW US 24-03-27)

b. If you allow your brain to ***talk*** you out of getting up early, you'll never do it. (GloWbE US General)

c. He retreated into academic exile at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, home of Albert Einstein, who had tried to ***talk*** Oppenheimer out of fighting a battle he couldn't win. (NOW US 23-07-16)

d. … and at the end I tried to ***get*** him out of being Batman and when he wouldn't I walked away. (NOW US 12-12-05)

e. The far-left wants to coerce you into saying what you want to be FALSE, and ***scare*** you out of saying what you know to be TRUE. (NOW 20-08-27)

f. This, Dunne's filing went on to say, continued the long tradition of ***shutting*** athletes out of having a voice in a legal issue where they hold a financial interest. (NOW US 25-02-01)

(17) British English examples

a. It is also true that running a mature company does not ***rule*** the boss out of being an entrepreneur. (GloWbE GB General)

b. Nobody should be ***priced*** out of living with their family. (NOW GB 17-12-01)
c. She explained that previous boyfriends had ghosted her, been ***talked*** out of dating her or had refused to introduce her to their families. (NOW GB 25-01-21)
d. Don't try to ***cheat*** yourself out of going through that process and working your way toward recovering in your own way. (GloWbE GB 12-05-20)

As can be seen in Table 9, British English exhibits almost twice as many distinctive covarying collexeme verb pairs as American English (45 vs. 24).[14] In American English, over half of these pairs involve *talk* in the V1 slot (e.g., *talk-running*, *talk-getting*, *talk-making*, and *talk-fighting*) as in (16a)-(16c), exhibiting the centrality of communication/persuasion in this English variety. The remaining pairs involve positive/neutral verbs (e.g., *opt*, *get*, *leave*, and *play*) or force/negative emotion verbs (*scare*, *intimidate*, and *shut*) as in (16d)-(16f). In British English, on the other hand, the overwhelming majority of distinctive covarying collexeme verb pairs involve force verbs in the V1 slot (e.g., *take*, *rule*, *price*, *lock*, *throw*, and *lift*), as in (17a) and (17b). Only a handful of non-force verbs are attested (e.g., *keep*, *talk*, and *cheat*), as in (17c) and (17d).

In sum, the distinctive covarying collexeme analysis confirms the earlier findings. American English favors communication and semantic diversity in causation, while British English conceptualizes causation dominantly in terms of forceful actions.

14 One reviewer raised the question of how British English has 24 distinctive V1-VP2[-*ing*] pairs in Table 9, while it involves only seven distinctive V1 collexemes in Table 7. Taken together, the results in Tables 7 and 9 indicate that although American English has more distinctive V1 collexemes than British English, the opposite is true for V1-VP2[-*ing*] collexeme pairs. This, in turn, suggests that British English features a greater diversity of (distinctive) collexeme verbs in the VP2[-*ing*] slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction. Since the main focus of the present study is on how causation meaning is preferably expressed in the construction across the two English varieties, we do not directly analyze (distinctive) collexemes in the VP2[-*ing*] slot of the construction here. We leave this issue to future research, but see Section 6 for our brief discussion about it.

5. General discussion

This study examined the real-life uses of the transitive *out of -ing* construction in American and British English, with a particular focus on whether the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" observed in the transitive *into -ing* construction also applies to its *out of -ing* construction counterpart. To this end, we employed collexeme, distinctive collexeme, and covarying collexeme analyses to identify both the strong collexeme verbs (and their associated semantic classes) and the verbs (and semantic classes) distinctively preferred in each English variety.

5.1 Shared and distinctive collexemes

The simple collexeme analysis results of the 20 strongest collexemes in the V1 slot reveal that the two English varieties share approximately two-thirds of them (13 out of 20: *bully*, *cheat*, *force*, *frighten*, *intimidate*, *keep*, *lock*, *price*, *rule*, *scare*, *shame*, *shut*, and *talk*). Among the remaining collexeme verbs, British English favors force verbs (e.g., *take*, *freeze*, *lift*, *worm*, *pull*, and *push*), while American English shows a greater diversity of semantic classes (e.g., *opt*, *weasel*, and *trick*). This suggests that although both English varieties involve many of the same strong collexemes, British English shows a stronger preference for force verbs in the V1 slot of the construction than American English. This observation is supported by the distinctive collexeme analysis results, which show that six of the seven distinctive collexemes in British English describe a forceful action (i.e., *rule*, *price*, *take*, *throw*, *lift*, and *force*), whereas American English displays a wider range of semantic classes as distinctive collexemes (e.g., *opt*, *get*, *work*, *buy*, *scare*, *shame*, *talk*, and *weasel*), with *talk* serving as the most distinctive collexeme. One may then conclude that the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" observed in Wulff et al. (2007) for the transitive *into -ing* construction extends to its related *out of -ing* construction counterpart.

5.2 Divergence in semantic classes

However, the parallel is not exact. Recall that for the transitive *into -ing* construction, the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" arose from the predominance of not only physical force verbs but also stimulation, threatening, and negative emotion

verbs as distinctive collexemes in the V1 slot in British English compared to American English. Interestingly, in our identified transitive *out of -ing* constructions examples, stimulation, threatening, and negative emotion verbs (e.g., *scare*, *shame*, and *weasel*) as distinctive collexemes in the V1 slot are found in American English, not in British English. This then indicates that although the broad generalization still applies, the finer details diverge across the two constructions, particularly with respect to the distribution of semantic classes among distinctive collexemes.

5.3 (Distinctive) covarying collexeme pairs

The covarying collexeme analysis indeed supports this interpretation. Although both English varieties share several V1 and VP2[*-ing*] pairs (e.g., *drive-teaching*, *price-buying*, *rule-playing*, *talk-going*, *talk-killing*, and *talk-quitting*), the preferences differ systematically. British English consistently favors force-based pairs in the V1 slot (e.g., *take*, *lift*, *throw*, *knock*, *rule*, and *price*), whereas American English shows greater semantic diversity, including neutral/positive (e.g., *get* and *opt*), negative emotion (e.g., *scare* and *intimidate*), communication (e.g., *talk*), and trickery (e.g., *cheat*) verbs. The distinctive covarying collexeme analysis sharpens this contrast. Nearly all British English distinctive covarying collexeme pairs involve force verbs in the V1 slot (e.g., *take*, *rule*, *price*, *lock*, *throw*, and *lift*), while over half of the American English pairs involve *talk*. Importantly, negative emotion verbs such as *intimidate* and *scare* in distinctive covarying collexeme pairs appear exclusively in American English, not in British English.

5.4 Implications

Overall, the collostructional analysis results indicate that the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits," originally observed in the transitive *into -ing* construction, extends to its related *out of -ing* construction counterpart, to a considerable degree. Nevertheless, important differences emerge. In particular, non-force verbs—such as stimulation, threatening, and negative emotion verbs—that were more distinctively associated with British English in the transitive *into -ing* construction now appear as salient and distinctive in American English in the usage of the transitive *out of*

-ing construction. This suggests that while both constructions convey causal meanings and broadly support the characterization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits," they diverge in the specific semantic domains emphasized in each variety. Put differently, the two constructions reveal parallel yet subtly differentiated pathways through which American and British English conceptualize causation.

6. Conclusion

The transitive *out of -ing* construction has received relatively little attention, and unlike its *into -ing* counterpart, its dialectal variation has not been systematically examined. In this paper, we first reviewed the key properties of the construction, focusing on verbs in the V1 slot, and summarized findings on dialectal differences in the transitive *into -ing* construction between American and British English, particularly focusing on the generalization of "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits." Building on authentic corpus data from GloWbE and NOW, we then investigated whether this generalization also applies to the transitive *out of -ing* construction, employing various types of collostructional analyses. Our findings indicate that while the broad generalization extends to this construction, the two English varieties diverge in the specific verbs and semantic classes that are (distinctively) preferred.

Note, at this juncture, that Wulff et al. (2007) also observed different dialectal preferences in the VP2[*-ing*] slot of the transitive *into -ing* construction: in British English, communication verbs (e.g., *conceding*, *answering*, *supposing*, *backing*, *announcing*, and *saying*) are salient distinctive collexemes, whereas in American English, only one such verb (i.e., *pleading*) is attested, with the majority of distinctive collexemes being light verbs (e.g., *letting*, *coming*, *having*, and *getting*) including the copula *being*. From this pattern, Wulff et al. argued that the CONFESSION frame plays a pivotal role in describing the resulting action in British English, while the resulting action tends to be left unspecified in American English.

Although our study did not directly analyze (distinctive) collexemes in the VP2[*-ing*] slot of the transitive *out of -ing* construction, the results presented in Tables 8 and 9 suggest that the same dialectal preference difference does not hold here. In American English, communication verbs such as *saying* and *speaking* appear in the VP2[*-ing*] slot among the strongest covarying collexeme pairs, while no such verbs

are attested in British English, and light verbs are scarce in both English varieties. Similarly, distinctive covarying collexeme pairs include communication verbs such as *saying* and *announcing* in the VP2[*-ing*] slot in American English, but not in British English. Moreover, both English varieties have a comparable number of light verbs. These findings imply that the transitive *out of -ing* construction differs from the transitive *into -ing* construction in terms of dialectal preferences for verbs (and semantic verb classes) occurring in the VP2[*-ing*] slot, an area that merits further systematic investigation.

To the best of our knowledge, this study provides the first systematic dialectal analysis of the transitive *out of -ing* construction. The observations made here not only enrich our understanding of an understudied construction but also raise broader questions as to how causative meaning is encoded across English varieties. Future research should, therefore, explore whether the generalization "persuasive Americans vs. brutal Brits" extends beyond the transitive *into -ing* and *out of -ing* constructions to other causative patterns, thereby refining our understanding of how English varieties differ in conceptualizing causation.

References

Davies, Mark. 2008. *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*. Available online at https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/.

Davies, Mark. 2012. Some methodological issues related to corpus-based investigations of recent syntactic changes in English. In Terttu Nevalainen and Elizabeth Traugott (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of the history of English*, 157-174. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davies, Mark. 2013. *Corpus of Global Web-Based English*. Available online at https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/.

Davies, Mark. 2016-. *Corpus of News on the Web (NOW)*. Available online at https://www.english-corpora.org/now/.

Davies, Mark and Jong-Bok Kim. 2019. Historical shifts with the INTO-CAUSATIVE construction in American English. *Linguistics* 57(1): 29-58.

Desagulier, Guillaume. 2017. *Corpus linguistics and statistics with R: Introduction to quantitative methods in linguistics*. Berlin: Springer.

Francis, Gill, Susan Hunston, and Elizabeth Manning (eds.). 1996. *Collins COBUILD grammar patterns 1: Verbs*. London: HarperCollins.

Gawlik, Oskar. 2013. On the transitive *out of -ing* complementation pattern in contemporary

spoken American English: A corpus-based study. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 49(2): 167-183.

Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2012. Lexical infelicity in English causative constructions: Comparing native and learner collostructions. In Jaakko Leino and Ruprecht von Waldenfels (eds.), *Analytical causatives: From 'give' and 'come', to 'let' and 'make'*, 41-63. München: Lincom Europa.

Gilquin, Gaëtanelle. 2015. The use of phrasal verbs by French-speaking EFL learners: A constructional and collostructional corpus-based approach. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 11(1): 51-88.

Gries, Stefan Th. and Anatol Stefanowitsch. 2004a. Co-varying collexemes in the *into*-causative. In Michel Achard and Suzanne Kemmer (eds.), *Language, culture, and mind*, 225-236. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Gries, Stefan Th. and Anatol Stefanowitsch. 2004b. Extending collostructional analysis: A corpus-based perspective on 'alternations'. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9(1): 97-129.

Hilpert, Martin. 2006. Distinctive collexeme analysis and diachrony. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 2(2): 243-256.

Hilpert, Martin. 2014. Collostructional analysis: Measuring associations between constructions and lexical elements. In Dylan Glynn and Justyna Robinson (eds.), *Polysemy and synonymy. Corpus methods and applications in corpus linguistics*, 391-404. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hunston, Susan and Gill Francis. 2000. *Pattern grammar: A corpus-driven approach to the lexical grammar of English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kim, Jong-Bok and Mark Davies. 2016. The INTO-CAUSATIVE construction in English: A construction-based perspective. *English Language and Linguistics* 20(1): 55-83.

Kim, Jungsoo and Okgi Kim. 2023. Diachronic developments of the concessive *though*-fronting construction in American English: A corpus-based perspective. *English Studies* 104(5): 804-831.

Kim, Jungsoo and Rok Sim. 2024. A collostructional and constructional approach to the transitive *out of -ing* construction. *English Studies* 105(2): 263-289.

Manning, Christopher and Hinrich Schütze. 1999. *Foundations of statistical natural language processing*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Rickman, Paul and Mark Kaunisto. 2018. Aspects of the use of the transitive *into -ing* pattern in New Zealand English. In Mark Kaunisto, Mikko Höglund, and Paul Rickman (eds.), *Changing structures: Studies in constructions and complementation*, 71-88. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Rudanko, Juhani. 1991. On verbs governing in *-ing* in present-day English. *English Studies* 72(1): 55-72.

Rudanko, Juhani. 2005. Lexico-grammatical innovation in current British and American English: A case study on the transitive *into -ing* pattern with evidence from the Bank of English

Corpus. *Studia Neophilologica* 77(2): 171-187.
Rudanko, Juhani. 2006. Emergent alternation in complement selection: The spread of the transitive *into -ing* construction in British and American English. *Journal of English Linguistics* 34(4): 312-331.
Rudanko, Juhani. 2011. *Changes in complementation in British and American English: Corpus-based studies on non-finite complements in recent English*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rudanko, Juhani. 2015. 'Wheedled me into lending him my best hunter': Comparing the emergence of the transitive *into -ing* construction in British and American English. In Mikko Höglund, Paul Rickman, Juhani Rudanko, and Jukka Havu (eds.), *Perspectives on complementation: Structure, variation and boundaries*, 128-140. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
Sim, Rok and Jong-Bok Kim. 2015. The transitive *out of* V-*ing* construction in English: Corpus-based study. *The Linguistic Association of Korea Journal* 23(4): 189-210.
Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2020. *Corpus linguistics: A guide to the methodology*. Berlin: Language Science Press.
Stefanowitsch, Anatol and Stefan Th. Gries. 2003. Collostructions: Investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8(2): 209-243.
Stefanowitsch, Anatol and Stefan Th. Gries. 2005. Covarying collexemes. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 1(1): 1-43.
Vergaro, Carla. 2014. "Struggle though I may …": A note on the inverted *though* concessive construction in English. *English Studies* 95(5): 557-576.
Wulff, Stefanie, Anatol Stefanowitsch, and Stefan Th. Gries. 2007. Brutal Brits and persuasive Americans: Variety-specific meaning construction in the *into*-causative. In Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg, and Peter Siemund (eds.), *Aspects of meaning construction*, 265-281. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Yook, Cheongmin and Yanghee Kim. 2021. English [V NP *into* V-*ing*] construction: A resultative analysis. *The Journal of Studies in Language* 36(4): 565-576.

Jungsoo Kim
Assistant Professor
Department of English Language Education
Incheon National University
12 Gaetbeol-ro, Yeonsu-gu,
Incheon, 21999, Korea
E-mail: jungsookim@inu.ac.kr

Rok Sim
PhD Candidate
Linguistics Program

University of South Carolina
Welsh Humanities Building 909,
Columbia, SC 29209, USA
E-mail: rsim@email.sc.edu

Received: 2025. 08. 30.
Revised: 2025. 09. 17.
Accepted: 2025. 10. 23.