Phrasal verbs, "the scourge of the learner"

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Abstract

Previous studies have considered phrasal verbs as the scourge of the learner (Dagut & Laufer 1985, Hulstijn & Marchena 1989, Klein 1989, 1995, McPartland 1989, Yorio 1989, Sjöholm 1995, Lennon 1996, Sinclair 1996, Liao & Fukuya, 2004). Indeed, phrasal verbs are significantly challenging and puzzling for non-English speakers, especially in terms of idiomaticity and polysemy (Cornell 1985, Side 1990, Cowie 1993, Klein 1995, Neumann & Plag 1995, Moon 1997, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Kurtyka 2001, Rudzka-Ostyn 2003). A quantitative and qualitative corpus study was carried out in order to compare the use of phrasal verbs in native and non-native students' written productions. In particular, phrasal verb errors and misinterpretations in non-English speaking learners' written productions were identified. Their analysis confirms that the transfer from one language to another depends on the constraints induced by the source language (L1) on the target language (L2) and the inherent complexity of the target language (L2).

Keywords: phrasal verbs, second language acquisition, corpus linguistics, errors, negative transfer.

Introduction

Phrasal verbs represent a fascinating category of the English language and are thus considered as a specificity of English (Fraser 1976, Moon 2005, quoted in Macmillan 2005). As McArthur (1989, p. 38) points out, they have always represented "a vigorous part of English". Indeed, phrasal verbs make up one third of the English verb vocabulary (Li, Zhang, Niu, Jiang, & Srihari 2003). They are more used in spoken than in written English. Besides, there are approximately 3,000 established phrasal verbs in English, including 700 in everyday use (Bywater 1969, McArthur & Atkins 1974, Cornell 1985). In addition to the large number of existing phrasal verbs, new ones are constantly coined. As noted by Bolinger (1971, p. xi), they are a very productive class and correspond to "an explosion of lexical creativeness that surpasses anything else in our language". Furthermore, phrasal verbs continually evolve and adapt to the spirit of the times; newly created phrasal verbs thereby getting impregnated with changes and evolutions in society (e.g., Google up as derived from look up).

There is no universal definition of phrasal verbs. Indeed, as underlined by Gardner & Davies (2007), "linguists and grammarians struggle with nuances of phrasal verb definitions". One of the reasons for this lack of consensus (Darwin & Gray 1999, Sawyer 2000) is that some linguists define the phrasal verb as the combination of a main verb (also called "support verb") and a preposition or an adverbial particle whereas others only consider the phrasal verb as a main verb followed by an adverbial particle exclusively. Phrasal verbs have, however, traditionally been understood as consisting of a main verb and an adverbial particle.

The main verb (also called "support verb") making up the phrasal verb is a monosyllabic verb of Germanic origin which expresses a concrete or an abstract movement. Main verbs forming phrasal verbs are "light" verbs and they convey a very broad semantic content. Also, their frequency of use is very important in everyday language. The main candidates to be support verbs in phrasal verbs are bring, come, get, give, go, make, put, set, take, etc.

As for the characteristics of the adverbial particle, it is morphologically invariable and carries a rather broad, sometimes vague, semantic content. The adverbial particle conveys motion or result. There is a core set of particles which have varied very little over time. These particles are indeed listed as the most common particles in everyday language: up, down, in, out, on, off, back, away and over (Akimoto 1999, Claridge 2000).

As regards to the meanings of phrasal verbs, they may range from spatial or directional, literal or transparent (e.g., stand up, take away) to aspectual, completive (e.g., burn down, eat up) to non-compositional, idiomatic or opaque, (e.g., face off, figure out) (Live 1965, Fraser 1965, 1966, Bolinger 1971, Makkai 1972, König 1973, Moon 1997, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999). The semantic classes of phrasal verbs can thus be represented on a broad continuum spanning from the most compositional (directional and aspectual) meanings to the most non-compositional (idiomatic) ones (Bolinger 1971, Moon 1998) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Continuum illustrating the semantic classes of phrasal verbs



Phrasal verbs and non-native learners of English

Many linguists and researchers have recognized the importance of multi-word expressions, and especially verb-particle constructions, as they attest to mastery of English and they are the pledge of its authenticity (Klein 1989, Folse 2004, Wood 2004). Phrasal verbs can thus assess learners' level of English language proficiency, as evidenced by tests such as the TOEFL. Cowie (1993, p. 38) views them as "a nettle that has to be grasped if students are to achieve native-like proficiency in speech and writing". As for Cullen & Sargeant (1996, p. vii), they explain that "understanding and being able to use these constructions correctly in spoken and written English is essential if the learner is to develop a complete command of the language".

Phrasal verbs, "the scourge of the learner"

There has been much discussion about the challenges imposed by phrasal verbs to foreign learners of English. Indeed, not only may verb-particle constructions have reduced syntactic flexibility, they may also be semantically more figurative. Therefore, in some cases, the meaning of a phrasal verb turns out to be difficult to infer from its component words. For instance, the phrasal verb 'to play something down' has nothing to do at all with a sporting or theatrical event. Rather, it means 'to minimize the importance of something', as the following example from the British National Corpus (BNC) (Davies, 2004-) illustrates:

 The European Commission sought to play down fears yesterday that new European Community rules limiting imports of cheaper bananas from Latin America would force up prices for consumers.K59_1005 (BNC)

In addition, many phrasal verbs are highly polysemous (e.g., *make up*, *pick up*), making the task of grasping their different meanings even more difficult for learners. Therefore, interpretation of such ambiguous forms can only be solved and clarified by using the context. The following examples illustrate the case of *make up*, a highly polysemous phrasal verb:

- (2) "Come on, Annie. Let's make up." ALJ 2705 (BNC)
- (3) Full of cynical amusement, she continued to stare at herself until, inspired, she started to make up her face carefully, emphasising her brown eyes with liner, and smoky eyeshadow, and dusting her high cheekbones with blusher. HGM 934 (BNC)
- (4) You could make up a whole story. On no real evidence. It would change all sorts of things. APR 1125 (BNC)
- (5) The girl in the chemist's shop said the chemist would **make up** the prescription the minute he got back from the bank. H9G 2630 (BNC)
- (6) I understand life, and the family ties that make up almost all of it, much less than I ever did. AE0 2910 (BNC)
- (7) "Give me time to make up my mind. I promise I'll do everything I can to help the rest of you." AEB 1717 (BNC)
- (8) "I'd be ever so appreciative if you could, lass. And as I'm putting you out on your half-day I'll make it up to you, there will be something extra by way of a thank you in your pay packet on Friday." AN7 304 (BNC)
- (9) Since the plant manager was never able to make up a day's loss of output which pulled down his monthly overall efficiency figures on which he was judged, it was never difficult for Clasper to prove his point. AC2 530 (BNC)
- (10) "Here's your chance to make up for the naughty things you've done to me." B0B 2568 (BNC)
- (11) "You hypocrite, stop making up to my sisters and playing the shining knight, I saw you go to communion today, and it made me sick. How could you? When you don't even.... You looked like.... I saw you coming back from the communion rails, with your eyes down and your hands folded, as if you weren't putrid inside, but I know. I know." GUX 107 (BNC)

All these examples taken from the BNC clearly show that the context fully helps to eliminate and clarify ambiguities and to correctly make sense of the various meanings of *make up*: (2) to become friendly with someone again after an argument; (3) to put makeup on someone's face; (4) to invent a story, often in order to deceive; (5) to prepare/arrange something; (6) to form/constitute something; (7) to come to/reach a decision about something; (8) to do something good that helps someone to feel better after you have caused him/her trouble; (9) to replace something that has been lost, to compensate for something; (10) to do something that corrects a bad situation; and (11) to be pleasant to somebody, to praise somebody, especially in order to get an advantage for yourself.

Given their complexity and their unpredictable nature, multi-word expressions, and especially phrasal verbs, can be difficult to both understand and memorize for non-English speakers in the current language experience (Coady 1997). They are a source of confusion and ambiguity – in terms of idiomaticity and polysemy, in particular (Cornell 1985, Side 1990, Cowie 1993, Klein 1995, Neumann & Plag 1995, Moon 1997, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999, Kurtyka 2001, Rudzka-Ostyn 2003) – in such a way that Sinclair (1996, p. 78) called them "the scourge of the learner".

Aims and objectives of the study

This study aims to analyse quantitatively and qualitatively the use of phrasal verbs in native and non-native students' written productions. Not only does the present work intend to account for the avoidance and the "under-representation" (Levenston 1971, p. 115) of phrasal verbs by non-English speaking students through multiple-choice tests, as previous studies did (Dagut & Laufer 1985, Hulstijn & Marchena 1989, Klein 1989, 1995, Yorio 1989, Sjöholm 1995, Liao & Fukuya, 2004), it is also based on computer learner corpora generating huge quantities of data. Furthermore, the goal of my research is to identify and interpret various types of errors and misinterpretations made by learners. Finally, I will show that the "negative transfer" from the native language (L1) to the target language (L2) results from the influence of the learner's mother tongue (L1) and L2 inherent complexity.

Corpus and methods

In order to highlight the avoidance of phrasal verbs in non-English speakers' productions, an experimental study was carried out among French-speaking students (132 participants enrolled in the first year of English Philology degree at the University La Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3) and among English-speaking students (29 participants from the New York University) to which I submitted multiple-choice tests. From a quantitative corpus study, I then show that phrasal verbs are underused in non-native learners' written productions. All phrasal verbs have been extracted from the International Corpus of Learner English, version 2 (ICLEv2) (Granger et al., 2009), which is composed of student essays (intermediate to advanced level) from twelve different mother tongue backgrounds (Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish), and from the Louvain Corpus of Native English Essays (LOCNESS) (Granger et al., 1998), the corpus control completing ICLEv2. Finally, from the ICLEv2 corpus, I analysed excerpts of nonnative English students' productions, as well as the main difficulties phrasal verbs represent and the ambiguities and errors they generate in terms of comprehension for non-English speakers. I thus extracted, identified and qualitatively explored phrasal verb errors and misinterpretations (style deficiency, semantic errors, lack of collocational awareness, incorrect and inappropriate phrasal verbs thought up by learners, syntactic errors) made by learners.

Phrasal verbs in non-native learners' written productions

Quantitative study

Avoidance of phrasal verbs

Learners of English as a second language tend to adopt an avoidance strategy with respect to phrasal verbs, mostly preferring using a single-word verb of Latin origin as an equivalent. This idea of avoidance has been clearly highlighted by Bywater (1969, p. 97):

The plain fact is that what distinguishes the writing and, above all, the speech of a good foreign student from those of an Englishman is that what an Englishman writes or says is full of these expressions, whereas

most foreigners are frightened of them, carefully avoid them, and sound stilted in consequence. Foreign students who enjoy being flattered on their English can best achieve this by correctly using masses of these compound verbs.

This avoidance strategy is confirmed by the results of the multiple-choice tests that I submitted to both native and non-native students (see Table 1).

Group	Preference for a phrasal verb	Preference for a single-word verb	Correct answers (phrasal verb)	Correct answers (single-word verb)	Wrong answers (distractors)
Native students	61.28%	38.72%	61.28%	38.72%	0.00%
Non-native students	34.91%	65.09%	25.82%	59.64%	14.54%

Table 1: Results of multiple-choice tests submitted to native and non-native students (in %)

Contrary to native English speakers, non-native learners "avoid" phrasal verbs and show a strong preference for simple verbs of Latin origin. Indeed, native French-speaking students have spontaneously chosen the structure with which they are familiar from a morphological point of view. Thus, the lack of a similar linguistic feature between L1 and L2 prevents its production and its use in L2.

Under-representation of phrasal verbs in learners' productions

After extracting and counting all the phrasal verbs taken from the LOCNESS corpus and from all the sub-corpora of ICLEv2, I compared the number of phrasal verbs produced by non-English speaking learners in comparison with native speakers (see Figure 2). I then calculated the percentage of use of phrasal verbs in non-native students' productions compared to native speakers' ones (see Figure 3). Finally, the results have been reordered and classified according to language families in order to get the average production of phrasal verbs according to language families (see Figure 4).



Figure 2: Number of phrasal-verb tokens in LOCNESS and ICLEv2

Figure 3: Percentage of use of phrasal verbs in LOCNESS and ICLEv2



Learners whose mother tongue belongs to the family of Germanic languages (German, Swedish, Dutch) produce almost as many phrasal verbs as native speakers. This is unsurprising since phrasal verbs are a specificity of Germanic languages. There is therefore a similar linguistic feature between L1 and L2. When the L1 belongs to the family of Slavic languages (Polish, Russian, Czech, Bulgarian), the "under-representation" of phrasal verbs in non-English speaking students' productions is moderately marked; the aspect being marked by the presence of prefix or suffix in Slavic languages. Learners whose L1 is part of the Finno-Ugric languages (Finnish) considerably "underuse" phrasal verbs in their productions. This can be explained by the fact that English verb-particle constructions are expressed by single-words verbs in Finnish. Two-word verbs also exist in Finnish; however, they are scarce and correspond to the informal or colloquial register. Finally, the "under-representation" of phrasal verbs is very highly marked in learners' productions whose L1 belongs to the family of Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish). As seen in section 4.1.1., this "underuse" of phrasal verbs is due to the major structural difference that exists between L1 and L2.



Figure 4: Average use of phrasal verbs according to language families

The following section deals with phrasal verb errors and misinterpretations made by learners.

Qualitative Study: Errors made by learners

Different types of errors and misinterpretations were clearly identified: style deficiency, semantic errors, lack of collocational awareness, incorrect and inappropriate phrasal verbs thought up by learners, and syntactic errors.

Style deficiency

Non-English speaking learners are somewhat unaware of the existing differences between informal speech and formal writing. As a result, they tend to use phrasal verbs belonging to the informal or colloquial register, or even slang, in formal contexts and/or writings (and vice versa), as illustrated by the following examples taken from ICLEv2:

- (12) Try to knock back a few glasses some evening watching the lights in an opposite prefabricated house... ICLE-CZ-PRAG-0040.3
- (13) At that moment I did not know at all what to do, what would be better, how they would react: if I **bumped** off one of these boys I could have problems as a teacher because physical punishment is not permitted or I could be hit with any punch as well. ICLE-CZ-PURK-0014.1
- (14) So Tony helps the couple Hastings-Neville, or tries to do so, for he **mucks** things **up**. ICLE-SP-UCM-0005.8

Semantic errors

The most common mistakes made by learners are semantic errors, responsible for major misinterpretations, as shown by the examples below.

Verb errors

Learners use the correct particle but they combine it with the wrong support verb.

- (15) Butter went out in the course of the week and new one not bought. ICLE-GE- AUG-0057.1
- (16) You can get your energy from peas, beans, cheese, and bread in the same way as from steaks. there are lots of people that feel better since they have **put away with** meat. CLE-GE-AUG-0049.2

In (15), the student should have used the phrasal verb *run out* (have none left, be depleted) instead of *go out* (exit, go outdoors). In (16), the phrasal-prepositional verb *put away with* does not exist. The phrasal verb put away means tidy up, put in correct place, or save money. Here, however, the student should have used the phrasal-prepositional verb *do away with* (abolish, eliminate, get rid of).

Particle errors

Learners use the correct main verb but they associate it with the wrong particle.

(17) Every time I read the newspaper I learn more about the terrible actions against people that should be our friends. Their houses are set on fire, they're **beaten down** with bottles or baseball rags or they are even killed in fights...ICLE-GE-AUG-0069.1

(18) It will then be much easier and rapid to find a job that suits you if you can search for it in different countries at the same time, and if you do not have to **fill up** many forms and to do a lot of administration work. ICLE-FR-UCL-0064.3

In (17), the student should have used the phrasal verb beat up (assault) instead of beat down (break down/knock down a door, or negotiate lower price). In (18), the student should have employed the phrasal verb fill in/out (complete a form, a questionnaire, write) instead of fill up (fill a container, a room, etc.).

Lack of collocational awareness

The word *collocation* comes from the Latin *collocare* meaning "place together". Learners are, however, unaware of the special and privileged relationships which naturally exist between certain words within a statement and they tend to combine awkwardly and in an inappropriate manner some phrasal verbs with other words, as illustrated by the following statements:

- (19) In former days girls did not often have the chance to enjoy education or to get a job beside traditional professions like chambermaids or housemaids. Usually they had to marry and to set up a family. ICLE-GE-SAL-0013.3
- (20) This well established middle-class still didn't give women the same opportunities as men, so in the seventies due to the ferments developed feminism **broke out**. ICLE-IT-ROMS-0034.2
- (21) Anyway, it is also true that others problems have showed up as consequences of the fights that have been **carried out**. ICLE-IT-ROMS-0004.2

In (19), the student should have used the single-word verb *start* in this context (start a family) instead of the phrasal verb *set up*. Indeed, *set up* naturally occurs with words relating to business (set up a business, create something or start it). In (20), the student should have used the simple verb *emerge* (start to exist, appear, become known) because it is the birth of the feminist movement, whereas the phrasal verb *break out* rather occurs with words belonging to the lexical field of war, battle, violence, revolt, rebellion, etc. In (21), the student should have used the phrasal verb *put up* instead of *carry out*. Indeed, the phrasal verb *put up* something means "to show a particular level of skill, determination, etc. in a fight or contest". As a result, *put up* perfectly fits with the given context (lead the fight, fight, defend, resist),

whereas *carry out* naturally occurs with words referring to experiments, researches, surveys, inquiries, investigations, etc. (conduct, do and complete a task).

Incorrect and inappropriate phrasal verbs thought up by learners

In order to make up for a lack or deficiency in the target language, learners feel the need to create new phrasal verbs which very often do not exist in English.

- (22) The "insiders", that is her family including me of course, know that she has got a fancy about "Freundin" not because of the latest hair-cuts, about "Brigitte" not because of the instructions to **fashion** your jeans **up** by stone-washing and colouring them...ICLE-GE-AUG-0048.3
- (23) Tennis courts and clubs mushroomed up all over the place...ICLE-GE-AUG-0012.4
- (24) It is obvious that we cannot reach absolute equality but we sure can level down social differences. ICLE-FIN-JYV-0062.1

Although the phrasal verbs *fashion up* (22) and *mushroom up* (23) do not exist in English, we cannot strictly speak of mistakes in learners' productions. Indeed, in these examples, the particle *up* means "more", "greater"; it acts as an intensifier or emphasizer. This clearly shows that non-English speaking learners have well understood and memorized the aspectual value of phrasal verbs formed with up, and that they properly apply the rule and use it in a creative manner in (22) and (23). In (23), *mushroom up* can be corrected by using the phrasal verb *pop up* (spring up suddenly) or by using the idiomatic expression *spring up like mushrooms*.

As for the example (24), the phrasal verb level down does not exist in the dictionary. The student has deliberately associated the support verb level (make something flat or smooth, make something equal or similar) with the particle down (decrease) since he speaks of "reducing social differences" in his/her essay. His/her intention is interesting and clearly shows that he/she is aware of the semantic value of the particle down. His/her production is, however, incorrect since the phrasal verb level down does not exist. The most judicious correction would thus be the phrasal verb iron out (reduce, eliminate, eradicate, get rid of any problems or difficulties that are affecting something) or the phrasal verb smooth out (resolve, eliminate, make problems or difficulties disappear).

Syntactic errors

Non-native learners are unaware of the syntactic properties of phrasal verbs and they transitively use non-transitive phrasal verbs, and vice versa.

- (25) Although parents use light or heavy manners in **growing up** their children, they are not able to control the future and the idea of having to pay a large sum of money for their children's offences cannot change the situation. ICLE-IT-TOR-0015.1
- (26) Then, the hormones having ceased to be excessively produced, which is only after two or three years, he or she begins to look for another love, **splitting up** the relationship.ICLE-PO-POZ-0031.5

In (25), the student transitively used the phrasal verb *grow up*, which is, however, non-transitive. He should have used the transitive phrasal verb *bring up*. In (26), the student transitively used the non-transitive phrasal verb *split up*. He should have used the transitive one-word verb end or the transitive phrasal verb *end up*.

Influence of the mother tongue

The "negative transfer" or "interference" from the native language (L1) to the target language (L2) is mainly due to the great influence of the learner's mother tongue, but also to the intrinsic complexity of the target language.

- (27) The ideal environment to **grow up** children is the traditional family made up of mother, father and one or more children. ICLE-IT-TOR-0017.3
- (28) Finally as I had decided to leave my bed, to **stand up** in order to take off the receiver, I heard the wellknown voice of my mother saying: "Good morning, darling,... ICLE-GE-AUG-0024.1
- (29) Butter went out in the course of the week and new one not bought.ICLE-GE-AUG-0057.1
- (30) How to come up again when you were fallen in the snow without having to **make** your skis **off.** ICLE-GE-AUG-0057.1

Example (27) is taken from the Italian learners' sub-corpora. At first sight, we could think that it is a confusion between the phrasal verbs bring up (transitive) and grow up (non-transitive) on the student's part. However, a closer examination of the Italian learners' sub-corpora shows that the phrasal verb grow up is used thirteen times transitively and that there are four occurrences of grow a child. Yet, raise a child in English is translated into Italian as crescere un bambino, and crescere in Italian is translated into English as grow, hence the

incorrect use of the phrasal verb grow up in the example (27). Thus, the great influence of the Italian learners' mother tongue and the ignorance of the syntactic constraints of the target language (i.e. English) on the Italian learners' part both have resulted in a negative transfer (also called interference) in the Italian learners' productions.

The examples (28), (29) and (30) are extracted from the German learners' sub-corpora. The English phrasal verbs get up, run out and take off are respectively translated into German as aufstehen, ausgehen and abmachen, which are respectively formed from the combination of auf + stehen (translated into English as up + stand), aus + gehen (translated into English as out + go) and ab + machen (translated into English as off + make), hence the incorrect uses of the phrasal verbs stand up in (28), go out in (29) and make off in (30). The student should have respectively used the phrasal verbs get up in (28), run out in (29) and take off in (30). The great influence of the German learners' mother tongue has thus resulted in a negative transfer (interference) in their productions.

Conclusions

Whereas previous studies (Dagut & Laufer 1985, Hulstijn & Marchena 1989, Klein 1989, 1995, Yorio 1989, Sjöholm 1995, Liao & Fukuya, 2004) only explored the avoidance strategy adopted by foreign learners of English with regard to phrasal verbs and involved a small number of participants, this work – based on computer learner corpora generating large quantities of data – identified and examined the different types of phrasal verb errors and misinterpretations committed by learners.

The present study helped account for the challenges faced by non-English speaking learners with respect to phrasal verbs. In particular, this work has shown that the phrasal verb errors of use in learners' productions are caused by the constraints induced by the learners' mother tongue (L1) on the target language (L2), as well as the inherent complexity of the target language.

In order to extend this study, it would be interesting to examine the use of phrasal verbs in non-native students' productions by taking into account other factors such as the influence of the learners' level of language proficiency, the duration of the period of exposure in Englishspeaking countries, the semantic value of phrasal verbs (spatial, aspectual, idiomatic) and so on.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Multiple-choice test on phrasal verbs

TEST

1. Native language:							
2. Age:							
3. Gender: Male / Female							
4. Language at home: First language:	Second language:						
5. Other foreign languages: First:	_ Second:	Third:					
6. How many years have you studied English?		-					
7. Years of English at university:							
8. How long have you been in English-speaking c	countries?						
Read the following sentences and choose the best answer that completes the sentence.							

Write the letter of your answer in the blank. Be sure to answer all of the questions.

1. When the bomb _____, people were working in the factory. a) burnt off b) went off c) erupted d) exploded their friend's death from suicide. 2. They never a) overcame b) got over c) left out d) defeated 3. Ashley has studied hard all semester; therefore she is likely to ______ her exams. a) pass b) get through c) come through d) proceed 4. Francesco attended the University of Columbia for two semesters in order to _____ his English. a) better up b) enlarge c) improve d) brush up on 5. Travelers and tourists had to ______ bad weather and muddy roads. a) tolerate b) put up with c) stand out with d) outstand 6. Companies were forced to _______ interesting contracts because of the lack of manpower. a) avoid b) strike off c) refuse d) turn down 7. – Good morning, I'd like to talk to Kate Smith. a second. I'm trying to connect you. Who is calling? – A friend from Brighton. please. a) hold on b) capture c) wait d) fall down

8. A year later, to my surprise, she ______ at our tree and confessed me her love.

a) turned up b) sprang up c) appeared d) occurred

9. Sarah was very concerned with family matters such as how to ______ one's children?a) listen b) raise c) bring up d) come across

10. Brian _____ business for five years in Hong Kong. a) ran b) liked c) carried on d) took off