

***KRY* (“GET”)-PASSIVES IN AFRIKAANS:**

A MINIMALIST ANALYSIS



**Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
MA in Linguistics for the Language Professions**

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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December 2013

Abstract

This study focuses on the grammatical properties and syntactic derivation of KRY (“get”)-passives in Afrikaans. Analyses of the corresponding phenomenon in other West-Germanic languages are examined and used as background for the study. The aim of the study is to provide a minimalist analysis of the internal structure of Afrikaans KRY-passives; no such analysis has to date been attempted within the framework of Minimalist Syntax. As an introduction to the phenomenon in Afrikaans, some grammatical background about *kry* and its syntactic distribution is provided, with special attention paid to the use of this verb in passive constructions. A new analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives is put forward involving a small clause structure and a light verb component. The main hypothesis of the analysis is that eventive and stative KRY-passives are derived in basically the same manner, the important difference being the presence of a [process] and a [stative] feature, respectively, on the small clause light verb. This hypothesis provides support for the idea that the eventual eventive or stative interpretation of the structure is a consequence of the derivational process rather than being based on lexical features that are already present at the start of the derivation.

Opsomming

Hierdie studie fokus op die grammatikale eienskappe en sintaktiese afleiding van KRY-passiewe in Afrikaans. Analises van die ooreenstemmende verskynsel in ander Wes-Germaanse tale word ondersoek en as vertrekpunt vir die studie gebruik. Die doel van die studie is om 'n minimalistiese analise van die interne struktuur van Afrikaanse KRY-passiewe te ontwikkel; so 'n analise is nog nie tevore binne die raamwerk van Minimalistiese Sintaksis aangebied nie. As algemene inleiding tot die verskynsel in Afrikaans, word enkele aspekte van *kry* se grammatikale eienskappe en sintaktiese verspreiding beskryf, met besondere klem op die gebruik van hierdie werkwoord in passiefkonstruksies. 'n Nuwe analise van KRY-passiewe in Afrikaans word voorgestel, een wat gebruik maak van 'n beknopte sin ("small clause")-struktuur en 'n ligte werkwoord ("light verb")-komponent. Die vernaamste hipotese van die analise is dat gebeurtenis ("eventive") en toestand (oftewel statief, "stative") KRY-passiewe wesenlik op dieselfde manier afgelei word, met een belangrike verskil, naamlik die teenwoordigheid van, onderskeidelik, 'n [proses]- en 'n [statief]-kenmerk by die beknopte sin se ligte werkwoord. Dié hipotese verleen steun aan die idee dat die uiteindelijke gebeurtenis- of toestand-interpretasie van die struktuur die gevolg is van die afleidingsproses, en dus nie gebaseer is op leksikale kenmerke wat reeds teenwoordig is by die aanvang van die afleiding nie.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This study focuses on the phenomenon of KRY(“GET”)-passives in Afrikaans. As far as could be ascertained, no comprehensive study of Afrikaans KRY-passives has yet been undertaken. Molnárfi (1995) does offer a description of the semantic and syntactic properties of *kry*, but he does not go into any detail regarding the derivation of passive constructions containing *kry*. The aim of this study, then, is to provide an analysis of the Afrikaans KRY-passive within the framework of Minimalist Syntax.

The main question to be answered concerns the manner in which Afrikaans KRY-passives are derived. A further important question relates to the manner in which constructions obtain their meaning, especially with regard to the interaction between lexical and syntactic factors.

In Chapter 2, the focus falls on analyses of GET-passives in some West-Germanic languages, specifically English, Dutch and German. As very little has to date been written about Afrikaans KRY-passives, the aim of this chapter is to provide a background and point of departure for the current study. The proposed analysis of KRY-passives is to a great extent informed by the work done in related languages by the authors cited in Chapter 2, especially with regard to the apparent differences between KRY-passives in Afrikaans and GET-passives in English, and the apparent similarities between KRY-passives and Dutch KRIJGEN-passives. In Chapter 3, I present a summary of Molnárfi’s (1995) analysis of Afrikaans *kry*. While Molnárfi does not specifically focus on passive constructions, his insights do prove instructive, specifically with regards to *kry*’s merging with a small clause complement. In this

chapter, I also provide several examples of constructions where Afrikaans *kry* may be used (including passive constructions), and a brief introduction to light verbs. A new minimalist analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives is presented in Chapter 4, where I also discuss the differences between eventive and stative KRY-passives and their derivations. Subsequent to this analysis, I present a brief deliberation of the outcomes of my analysis juxtaposed with some of the theoretical views gleaned in Chapter 2. The concluding chapter, Chapter 5, provides a summary of the approach that was followed in the study, the main findings of the investigation and some suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2

Theoretical background: GET-passives in some West-Germanic languages

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 deals, in broad outline, with several analyses of GET-passives that have been proposed in the literature. The analyses all concern the occurrence and nature of GET-passives in the West-Germanic languages English, Dutch and, to a lesser extent, German. The first analysis is that presented by Hoekstra (1984), which examines the various complement structures taken by *krijgen*, the Dutch counterpart of *get*. The second analysis is that of Washio (1993), which focuses on the phenomenon of causative structures that express passive meaning. The third analysis, put forward by Alexiadou (2005), addresses the semi-lexical nature of *get* and the status of its complements. Brief attention is next given to Hollmann's (2005) analysis which aims to account for the differences in passivisability among periphrastic causatives, of which *get* is one.¹ The discussion then turns to Van Noord and Kordoni's (2005) raising analysis of Dutch KRIJGEN- and German KRIEGEN/BEKOMMEN-passives. The next analysis is that of Butler & Tsoulas (2006), who argue for a control analysis of English GET-passives as opposed to the more traditional raising analysis. The final analysis to be discussed is that of Embick (2004), who focuses on the derivation of resultative passives.

The discussion of the above-mentioned analyses provides the background to Chapter 3, which deals with various aspects of Afrikaans KRY-passives. In each case, I will examine whether the findings of the studies in question hold for Afrikaans as well.

¹ A detailed discussion of Hollmann's paper falls outside the scope of this study. The issues raised in that paper are noted here merely to call attention to an interesting question that arises in connection with GET-passives, namely why *get* does not passivise very readily in English.

2.2 Previous analyses

2.2.1 Hoekstra (1984)

According to Hoekstra (1984:65), the Dutch verb *krijgen* originally had the meaning “to strive after, to endeavour to”. This evolved into “to fight” or “to battle”, a meaning which is still visible today in a noun like *krijger* (“fighter, warrior”), which has also been retained in Afrikaans as *kryger*. This meaning has, however, been lost in the verbal component in both languages, where *krijgen/kry* currently means “to get, to receive, to experience”, as in *Hy kry koud* (“He is cold”). Although Hoekstra does not discuss passives exclusively, he does provide valuable insight into the variety of complements that Dutch *krijgen* can take.

Firstly, Hoekstra (1984:65) notes the simple transitive complement accompanying *krijgen*, as in (1).

- (1) Ik krijg een fiets.
 I GET.PRES a bicycle
 “I’m getting a bicycle”

Here, the speaker receives the bicycle not through any effort on his part, but from a donor (Hoekstra 1984:65). The same semantics can be observed in the Afrikaans counterpart of (1), *Ek kry ’n fiets*, where the speaker also does not obtain the bicycle by virtue of his own endeavours, except when the meaning of “find” is attributed to *kry*, in which case the speaker has obtained (found) the bicycle either by stumbling upon it unexpectedly or after an active search. Were the speaker to have searched for and then found the bicycle, it would be more likely for the definite article *die* (“the”) to be used with *fiets*, as that would indicate that the speaker had had a specific bicycle in mind when setting out to find one. On the whole,

however, (1) would be read as the speaker's having received a bicycle or his having found a bicycle by chance.

The second type of complement is described by Hoekstra (1984:66) as NP + AP/PP, where *krijgen* combines with an AP (2) or a PP (3).

(2) dat we de woningen klaar krijgen.

that we the houses ready GET.PRES

“that we get the houses ready”

(3) Zij probeerden de begroting op tijd in de krant te krijgen.

they TRY.PAST the budget on time in the newspaper to GET.INF

“they tried to get the budget in the newspaper on time”

According to Hoekstra (1984:66), *krijgen* takes a small-clause complement in (2) and (3), represented by, respectively, *de woningen klaar* and *de begroting op tijd in de krant*. The Afrikaans counterparts are very similar to Hoekstra's Dutch examples: *dat ons die huise klaar kry*, *Hulle het probeer om die begroting betyds in die koerant te kry*. In fact, a small-clause reading seems plausible for the Afrikaans translations of the AP/PP complements.

Hoekstra's (1984:67) third KRIJGEN-construction consists of an NP and a participle, as in (4).

(4) dat hij zijn brommer niet gemaakt krijgt.

that he his moped not repair.PART GET.PRES

“that he doesn't get his moped repaired”

Hoekstra (1984:68) notes that it is possible to add a *door* (“by”) adjunct to the kind of construction represented by (4): *dat hij zijn brommer door een fietsmaker gemaakt krijgt*. This, along with the presence of the participle, means that Hoekstra’s third construction type can be construed as a KRIJGEN-passive. In Afrikaans, the corresponding sentence is *dat hy sy bromfiets deur ’n fietsmaker reggemaak kry*. Without judging the veracity of the statement that (4) is a passive sentence in Dutch, it is important to note that the Afrikaans counterpart does not represent a passive in the traditional sense. Firstly, *Hy kry sy bromfiets reggemaak* contains a nominative agent *hy*, and secondly, this sentence contains an active verb *kry*. The sentence does, however, express a passive meaning².

The fourth *krijgen*-construction identified by Hoekstra (1984:69) concerns the *te* (“to”) infinitive, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) Ik dacht dat verpleegsters daarover alles te lezen kregen.
 I THINK._{PAST} that nurses there-about everything to read.INF got.PAST
 “I thought nurses got to read all about it”

Hoekstra (1984:69) notes that this construction “shares a number of essential characteristics with passives”.³

An interesting fact pointed out by Hoekstra (1984:70) is that the *te* may be omitted with “intransitive complement verbs”, a state of affairs not possible where “transitive complement verbs” are concerned; this is illustrated in (6).

² See the discussion of Waschio (1993) below for more on non-passive constructions that express a passive-like meaning.

³ For such similarities, cf. Hoekstra and Moortgat (1979).

- (6) We kregen buitenlanders naast ons wonen.
 We GET._{PAST} foreigners next-to us live.INF
 “Some foreigners moved in next door”

Hoekstra (1984:70) accounts for the *te*-infinitive’s passive-like character with reference to the properties of the canonical passive. The passive verb’s morphology absorbs the θ -role and case that would normally have been assigned to its complement. Hoekstra assumes that “*te*-morphology” “absorbs the case-assigning capacity of the verb” (e.g. *lezen* in (5)). This would mean that *krijgen* is the only element left that is able to assign case. In a transitive construction, this (accusative) case would be assigned to the object argument. Hoekstra (1984:70) concludes that *te*-morphology resembles passive morphology in that it absorbs case; unlike passive morphology, however, it does not absorb the thematic role that is required to value the subject of the small clause, which is interpreted as the subject of the infinitive “if this infinitive is intransitive”. This explains why in intransitive constructions, where case is not assigned by the verb, “infinitives can occur without *te*” (Hoekstra 1984:70).

The last complement category of *krijgen* identified by Hoekstra (1984:71) is that of the bitransitive, as illustrated in (7).

- (7) Zij krijgen nieuwe grensrechters toegewezen.
 They GET._{PRES} new linesmen assign.PART
 “They get new linesmen appointed”

In this case, Hoekstra (1984:71) notes that both *van*- (as an argument of *krijgen*) and *door*-phrases (as part of the small-clause *nieuwe grensrechters toegewezen*) can be added to the

construction⁴. This is possible because in this example “there is no sense of ‘striving for’ or ‘obtaining through one’s own efforts’”, which means that a separate party is “responsible for the acquisition” and can be mentioned in a *van-* or *door-*phrase (Hoekstra 1984:71). The addition of a *van-* or *door-*phrase places this kind of construction in the same passive-like category as the construction illustrated in (4) above. The Afrikaans counterpart of (7), *Hulle kry nuwe grensregters toegewys*, is again not a traditional passive (as it contains an active verb *kry* and a nominative agent *hulle*), but expresses a passive meaning nonetheless. In the next section, attention will be paid to Washio’s (1993) assertions regarding instances like these where non-passive sentences express passive meaning.

2.2.2 Washio (1993)

Washio (1993:45) argues that some non-passive constructions express a passive meaning as well as the more usual causative one. In this regard, he points out the “potential passive/causative ambiguity” observed in a causative construction like (8).

(8) John had his watch stolen by Mary.

This sentence can mean either that John in some way caused Mary to steal his watch (causative reading), or that John’s watch was stolen by Mary (passive reading). The causative reading has John as the causer of the event, whereas under the passive reading, John is what Washio (1993:46) calls the “affectee”.⁵ Washio’s observations have interesting implications for Afrikaans causatives and passives. A sentence like (9), for instance, expresses a passive meaning even though it is causative.

⁴ For instance, *Ze krijgen van/door de KNVB nieuwe grensrechters toegewezen* (Hoekstra 1984:71).

⁵ Washio (1993:46-65) provides several examples from Japanese, Korean and Mongolian to illustrate this ambiguity. His analysis of such examples will not be examined here, given the present restricted focus on GET-passives in West-Germanic languages.

- (9) Johan laat Susan werk.
John LET.PRES Susan work.INF
“John causes Susan (to) work”

There is no hint of passive syntax here, and yet the meaning is quite clear: Susan is being caused or allowed to work by John. Susan is the “affectee”, like John in Washio’s example in (8) above. Unlike the English sentence in (8), the Afrikaans sentence in (9) does not allow for an ambiguous reading. The causative sentence allows only a passive interpretation. The same observation holds in (10).

- (10) Johan kry Susan gearresteer.
John GET.PRES Susan arrest.PART
“John causes Susan to be arrested”

Here, Susan is again the “affectee” since John is the one who causes her to be arrested. This sentence cannot plausibly be called “passive” in the traditional structural sense, but the meaning is taken to be passive-like.

We will return to the phenomenon illustrated in (9) and (10) in Chapter 4, where an attempt is made to develop an analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives. It will be argued in that chapter that active constructions containing *kry* express a passive-like meaning even though they do not exhibit the structural properties of passives.

2.2.3 Alexiadou (2005)

As a starting point for her analysis of GET-passives, Alexiadou (2005:13) claims that, in German and English, “a passive-like meaning may be obtained through a non-canonical passive construction”. Consider the German sentence in (11).

(11) Er kriegte seine Miete von der Firma bezahlt.

He GET.PAST his rent from the firm pay.PART

“He got his rent paid by the firm” (Alexiadou 2005:14)

This sentence conveys a clear passive meaning by virtue of the fact that it contains the “by-phrase” *von der Firma*. Interestingly, English GET-passives are formed by replacing the conventional passive auxiliary *be* with *get*, as shown by the examples in (12).

(12) a. John was killed in the war.

b. John got killed in an accident. (Alexiadou 2005:13)

Alexiadou (2005:14) argues that *get* is “the semi-lexical variant of a major lexical head, since it lacks argument selection properties”; this is illustrated by the sentence in (12b), where “*get* does not seem to license the thematic role of the subject”. Licensing of argument structure does, however, occur in instances where *get* is used as a lexical verb, as in (13), and in causative structures, as in (14).⁶

(13) Susan got a book.

(14) John got Mary blamed for the accident. (Alexiadou 2005: 14)

⁶ See above for a discussion of Washio’s (1993) approach to non-passive structures that display passive-like meaning.

According to Alexiadou (2005:15), *get* seems to behave “more like a lexical verb than like an auxiliary” on the lexical-auxiliary continuum. This is shown by *get*’s behaviour with regard to negation contraction and question formation. Whereas auxiliaries like *do* and *be* allow negation contraction (*He didn’t get killed / He wasn’t killed*), *get* does not (**He gotn’t killed*). *Get* also does not pattern like *do* and *be* as far as question formation is concerned: *Did he get killed?* and *Was he killed?* are both acceptable, but **Got he killed?* is not.

Alexiadou (2005:15) points out that the external argument of the VP in GET-passives, in contrast to those of BE-passives, has no implicit realization, and that “GET-passives are compatible with reflexive action, while BE-passives are not”. These two observations are illustrated in (15a) and (15b), respectively:

- (15) a. I got dressed (by my mother or by myself).
 b. I was dressed (only by my mother).

Furthermore, Alexiadou (2005:16-17) claims that *get*-passives do not seem to be “fully productive” in the way BE-passives are. A potential problem with this claim is that the examples she uses to illustrate this presumed lack of productivity, such as those in (16)-(20) below, seem to be acceptable to many native speakers, although she marks some of them as being ungrammatical or at most marginally grammatical.

- (16) The truth got known.
 (17) ^{??}Mary got feared.
 (18) Mary got followed by a little lamb.
 (19) Mary got seen.
 (20) *The electricity light got invented.

Although the grammaticality of (17) is in doubt, the dubious status of (20) can likely be ascribed to the erroneous form of the adjective and not to the use of *get*. Butler and Tsoulas (2006:3) make essentially the same point about grammaticality with regards to (18) and an utterance very similar to (19). In short, it is doubtful whether the GET-passive is in fact unproductive in current English, as claimed by Alexiadou (2005:16-17).

Another feature of GET-passives, pointed out by Siewierska (1984:161, in Alexiadou 2005:17) is that they “describe events that are perceived to have a fortunate or unfortunate consequence on the subject”; GET-passives are only permitted with verbs that “allow for the subject of the construction to be interpreted as *affected*” (emphasis in original). For example, in *The cabinet got sorted*, the subject *the cabinet* undergoes a change of state from unsorted to sorted, that is, it is affected in a positive way.

Alexiadou (2005:18) claims that *get* “selects both stative as well as eventive complements”.⁷ She goes on to state that “the participle under *get* can be modified by adverbials which modify the result state, but not by adverbs that bring about agentivity/intentional interpretation”, as illustrated in (21a), which is acceptable, and (21b), which is not (as *carefully* suggests some kind of “intentional interpretation”).

- (21) a. John got *sloppily* dressed.
 b. ^{??}The manuscript got *carefully* destroyed.

According to Alexiadou (2005:18), the disputed grammaticality of *get* constructions containing adverbs that carry agentivity features indicates that the complement of *get* is “a

⁷ Embick (2004) also holds that *get* can be paired with stative and eventive passive participles; see Chapter 4 for discussion.

participle that carries eventivity features”. She (2005:19-20) furthermore claims that *get* is a light verb that takes a resultative phrase (RP) (which includes a resultative participle, like *pushed* in (22)) as its complement. This resultative phrase is the constituent from which the subject is raised.⁸

(22) John got [_{RP} t pushed].

Alexiadou (2005:20) concludes that “*get* is generated in a v/Voice type of head” and that it is therefore semi-lexical, which restricts its complement selection options.

In view of Alexiadou’s observations, some remarks on Afrikaans KRY-passives are in order at this point. Firstly, it is not possible to form Afrikaans KRY-passives by substituting the usual passive auxiliary *wees* (past *is*, present *word*, perfect *was*) for *kry*: *Sy is geslaan* (“She was hit”) cannot be expressed as **Sy kry geslaan*⁹ (“She got hit”). Instead, a *get*-passivization of *Sy is geslaan* would have to be *Sy is geslaan gekry*.

Furthermore, as illustrated in (23) Afrikaans passive *kry* is not compatible with a reflexive action, as English *get* seems to be (see (15a) above).

(23) a. Sy is aangetrek gekry.

she BE._{PAST} dress.PART got.PART

“She got dressed_[pass]”

b. Sy is (deur haar ma) aangetrek gekry.

she BE._{PAST} (by her mother) dress.PART got.PART

“She got dressed (by her mother)”

⁸ See Chapter 4 for Embick’s (2004) proposals regarding *get*’s complement and the structures associated with it.

⁹ Note that this sentence is grammatical if interpreted as agentive, where the meaning would be “She manages to hit (something)”.

- c. *Sy is (deur haarself) aangetrek gekry.
she BE.PAST (by herself) dress.PART got.PART
“She got dressed (by herself)”

As evidenced by (23c), she could not have been dressed by herself; only by her mother (or some other agent external to herself).

2.2.4 Hollmann (2005)

Hollmann (2005:193) uses corpora to investigate “the differences in passivisability of English periphrastic causatives”, including *get*. He (2005:194) states that *get* passivises “only marginally”, citing the following examples.

- (24) ?Recruits were got to hop on the spot.
(25) The agreeableness of a thing depends [...] on the number of people who can be got to like it.

Hollmann (2005:194) notes that speakers of American English have indicated an “increased acceptability if *got* is replaced with *gotten*”.

According to Stefanowitsch (2001:196-209, in Hollmann 2005:196), the passivisability of *get* “depends on the compatibility between the semantics-pragmatics of the passive construction, and of the relative causative construction”. In the passive, the salience of the causee is increased relative to that of the causer. In order for a causative to be readily passivisable, it must therefore have a relatively more salient causee. This is taken to be the reason for *get*’s “marginal passivisability”, as it has a more salient causer, which Stefanowitsch regards as

“very agentive, having to act on the causee for a prolonged period of time” (2001:205, in Hollmann 2005:196). Hollmann uses so-called “implication universals”¹⁰ to explain why causatives like *have*, *cause*, *force*, *make*, *persuade* and *get* passivise to different degrees; this approach does not have a bearing on the present study. To test Hollmann’s findings against Afrikaans data, it would be necessary to conduct a study into the relative degrees of salience of the causers and causees in causative constructions formed with verbs like *forseer/dwing* (“force”), *oortuig* (“persuade”), *maak* (“cause”) and, of course, *kry* (“get”). Amongst others, such a study would have to address the question of whether Afrikaans *dwing* (“force”) can passivise as readily as its counterparts in other languages (Hollman 2005:194), and whether its expected passivisability can be explained by the presence of a more salient causee.

2.2.5 Van Noord & Kordoni (2005)

Van Noord & Kordoni (2005:2) point out that Dutch KRIJGEN-passives are formed from ditransitive verbs like *sturen* (“to send”) and *betalen* (“to pay”). They use the terms *primary object* (obj1) and *secondary object* (obj2) to differentiate between the objects associated with these verbs. For instance, in (26a), *hem* is the secondary object and *het boek* the primary. This distinction is important, as it is the secondary object that “surfaces as the subject of the KRIJGEN-passive”, as in (26b) (Van Noord & Kordoni 2005:2); whereas obj2 has dative case in the active sentence, it displays nominative case in the KRIJGEN-passive.

- (26) a. Ik stuur hem het boek toe.
 I SEND.PRES him the book to
 “I send him the book”

¹⁰ Hollmann (2001) takes these to be causation type, punctuality, directness, sphere of control and specificity. See Hollmann (2001:216) for a table illustrating *get*’s scores when weighed according to these “implication universals”.

- b. Hij krijgt het boek toegestuurd.
he GET.PRES the book send-to.PART
“He gets the book sent”

It is interesting to note that when the primary object becomes the subject of a passive sentence with a ditransitive verb, the auxiliary *worden* is used and not *krijgen*. This is illustrated by the following examples:

- (27) a. Ik stuur hem het boek toe.
I SEND.PRES him the book to
“I send him the book”
- b. Het boek wordt hem toegestuurd.
the book BE.PRES him send-to.PART
“The book is sent to him” (Van Noord & Kordoni 2005:2)

Furthermore, according to Van Noord & Kordoni (2005:3) secondary objects (e.g. *hem* in (27a)) “can never surface as the subject of a WORDEN-passive”, as illustrated in (28).

- (28) *Hij wordt het boek gegeven.
he BE.PRES the book give.PART
“He is given the book” (Van Noord & Kordoni 2005:3)

Van Noord & Kordoni also consider BEKOMMEN/KRIEGEN-passives, the German counterparts of English GET-passives and Dutch KRIEGEN-passives. They (2005:4) mention that Müller (2002) originally proposed a “control-like” analysis for passives like the one in (29):

(29) Der Junge bekam/kriegte den Ball geschenkt.

the boy GOT.PAST the ball give.PART

“The boy got the ball as a present”

However, German BEKOMMEN/KRIEGEN-passives do not carry the meaning that “somebody gets something” (Van Noord & Kordoni 2005:4). In the constructions at hand, the meaning of these verbs is “bleached” in the sense that the subject cannot be taken to be “a receiver” of “a thematic role from [*bekommen/kriegen*]” (Müller 2002, in Van Noord and Kordoni 2005:5).

This is illustrated by the following examples:

(30) Er bekam zwei Zähne ausgeschlagen.

he GOT.PAST two teeth out.knock.PART

“He got two teeth knocked out”

(31) Der Mann bekommt/kriegt das Fahren verboten.

the man GET.PRES the driving forbid.PART

“The man is forbidden to drive”

The “bleached” meaning of *bekommen* and *kriegen* is taken by Van Noord & Kordoni to indicate that Müller does not in fact favour a control analysis for German BEKOMMEN/KRIEGEN passives, contrary to what was proposed in Müller (2002).

As for Dutch KRIJGEN-passives, Van Noord & Kordoni (2005:7-8) propose a raising analysis,¹¹ citing as evidence the fact that *krijgen*, like raising verbs, does not allow NPs or PPs to replace their VP complements, as shown in (31). However, they (2005:8) do

¹¹ I will not enter into the details of Van Noord & Kordoni’s analysis here, as the HPSG framework adopted by the authors does not have a bearing on the analysis proposed in Chapter 4. I include a summary of the relevant findings of their paper here merely because of the insights it affords into the characteristics of Dutch and German GET-passives.

acknowledge that normal Dutch WORDEN-passives like the one in (33) also show this characteristic.

(32) *Hij krijgt uitbetaald en Piet krijgt dat ook.

he GET.PRES out.pay.PART and Peter GET.PRES that too

“He gets paid and so does Peter”

(33) *Ik werd door hem geslagen en zij werd dat ook.

I BE.PAST by him beat.PART and she BE.PAST that too

“I was beaten by him and so was she” (Van Noord & Kordoni 2005:8)

It should be noted that the Dutch KRIJGEN-passives discussed here do not represent passives in the traditional sense, as they always occur in active sentences and contain an active verb *kry*. Since I identify Afrikaans KRY-passives as those containing an auxiliary *word* (present tense) or *is* (past tense) and the form *gekry*, it is unlikely that comparisons with the data provided by Van Noord & Kordoni (2005) will be of any significance. Even so, it is worth noting that Afrikaans KRY-passives also cannot have their VP-complements replaced with other elements, as shown in (34).

(34) *Sy is getroos gekry en hy is dit ook gekry.

she BE.PAST comfort.PART got.PART and he BE.PAST that also got.PART

“She was comforted and so was he”

2.2.6 Butler & Tsoulas (2006)

Butler & Tsoulas (2006:1) point out that *get* does not act like an auxiliary verb; this is shown by the fact that *get* “requires *do*-support...like other main verbs”:

- (35) a. *Arthur gotn't arrested.
b. Arthur didn't get arrested.
- (36) a. *Got Arthur arrested?
b. Did Arthur get arrested?
- (37) a. *Susan got arrested and Arthur got too.
b. Susan got arrested and Arthur did too.

Although they agree that *get* behaves like a lexical verb, Butler & Tsoulas (2006:1) take issue with the idea that “[causative] *get* is an ECM [= exceptional case-marking – MV] verb taking a participial small-clause complement” and “passive *get* is an unaccusative variant of the same structure”. The resulting raising analysis of passive *get* is, according to Butler & Tsoulas (2006:2), based on unconvincing data. They proceed to point out what they believe to be the flawed arguments of those who propose such a raising analysis.

The examples used by Fox & Grodzinsky (1998:315) to argue for a raising analysis on the basis of expletive *there* as *get*'s subject, are judged by Butler & Tsoulas to be in fact ungrammatical.

- (38) a. *There (finally) got to be enough room in this house.
b. *There (finally) got to be enough water to take a bath.

The argument is that, if these sentences are grammatical (as claimed by Fox & Grodzinsky), *get* behaves like a raising verb such as *seem* in (39).

- (39) a. There seems to be a lot of room in this house.
b. There seems to be enough water to take a bath.

Butler & Tsoulas (2006:18) argue that the sentences in (38) actually pattern like control violations and not like raising constructions. Still, this reasoning is based on their judgment that the sentences in (38) are in fact ungrammatical; since this is a debatable issue, independent supporting evidence would have to be supplied against analysing *get* as a raising verb. To this end, Butler & Tsoulas (2006:11-12) point out that *get* cannot be categorised as a raising verb because of the degree of thematicity of the subject of *get*, another standard diagnostic when arguing for or against a raising analysis. They (2006:11) take issue with the idea that there is no thematic relation between *get* and the subject of a *get*-passive, pointing out that the subject of the *get*-passive can be “more or less agentive, in terms of the degree of intention on the part of the subject”. For example, in *Susan got Arthur arrested*, Susan either deliberately or accidentally caused Arthur’s arrest. According to Butler & Tsoulas (2006:12), this clearly shows that “[the] subject of a *get*-passive [...] *can* bear a very clear thematic relation to *get*”, which therefore disproves the raising analysis.

Butler & Tsoulas’s third argument against a raising analysis concerns the use of idiom chunk phenomena to provide evidence for or against such an analysis. A standard diagnostic is that a control relationship disturbs the thematic locality within the idiom, whereas raising does not. According to Butler & Tsoulas (2006:14), the process of idiom chunking “is restricted by something more than raising”, since “not all raising predicates treat the same idiom chunks the same way [see (40a) vs. (40b)] and not all idioms like their chunks to be raised [(40a) vs. (40c)]”:

- (40) a. The cat seems to have his tongue.
b. *The cat is likely to have his tongue.
c. *A bird in the hand seems/is likely to be worth two in the bush.

As support for the idea that GET-passives “instantiate control”, Butler & Tsoulas provide evidence from pseudocleft constructions, in which raising verbs cannot occur (as shown in (41a) below), but where control verbs are allowed (as shown in (41b)); in this type of construction, according to Butler & Tsoulas (2006:15), *get* “patterns like control”, as shown in (41c):

- (41) a. *To leave is what he’ll seem.
b. To leave is what he’ll promise.
c. Broken is what the teapot will get.

Butler & Tsoulas (2006:2,18) define GET-passives as “*get* with a participial complement”, noting that *get*-passives “can be formed with the whole range of participial types, including eventive participles”. They conclude that GET-passives should not be classified as passives or as raising constructions, but rather as control constructions.

2.2.7 Embick (2004)

This section deals with Embick’s (2004) proposals regarding the analysis of stative, eventive participles and resultative participles in English. Embick’s proposals will be employed in Chapter 4, where an analysis of KRY-passives in Afrikaans will be proposed.

Embick (2004:355) states that there are two types of stative participle in English, namely resultative and stative. According to him, “[the] former type refers to a state that is the result of a grammatically represented event, whereas the latter type is a simple state, much like a simple ‘adjective’” (Embick 2004:355). The two types are illustrated in (42a,b), respectively.

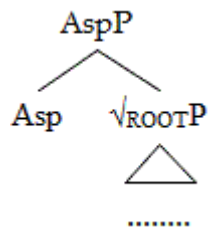
- (42) a. The floor was cleaned.
b. The floor was clean.

Kratzer (1994, in Embick 2004:361) defines a resultative adjective as denoting “a state that is the target state” of the event described. For instance, in (42a) *cleaned* describes the kind of state the floor is in after the action of cleaning, the “cleaning event”, has taken place. In (42b), by contrast, *clean* has a stative meaning.

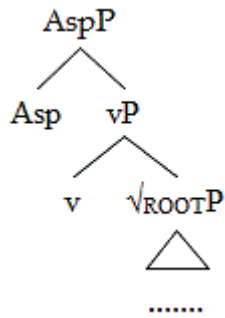
In terms of Embick’s analysis, the distinction between resultative and stative participles is not accounted for in lexical terms; in other words, these elements are not selected from the lexicon with their categorial and semantic features already “fixed”. Rather, these features are structurally added during the derivation (Embick 2004:356). More specifically, Embick claims that both resultative and stative participles are derived by merging a root¹² element with a specific functional head, where the latter supplies the relevant categorial and semantic features. In the case of (42a) this head is a light-verb *v*, and in the case of (42b) it is an aspectual element. This structurally-based distinction can be illustrated with the following structures (Embick 2004:362):

¹² Embick (2004:362) describes a root as a “category-neutral member of the lexical (as opposed to functional) vocabulary”.

(43)



(44)



Those elements which merge with an aspectual element become adjectival passives, as in (43), and those which merge with a *v* obtain verbal features to become verbal passives, as in (44) (Embick 2004:362). Statives such as *clean* in (42b) are not associated with any kind of *v*, which results in no eventivity being attributed to such adjectives (Embick 2004:363).

Embick presents an analysis of resultative participles that takes “the structures for the eventive passive and the stative as points of reference” (2004:383). Examples of the three types of construction are given in (45)-(47).

(45) The metal is hammered by John. (Eventive passive construction)

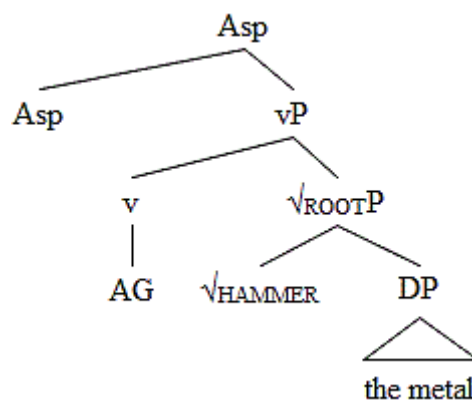
(46) The door was open. (Stative construction)

(47) The metal was hammered. (Resultative passive construction)

The meaning of the resultative in (47) is taken to be “the metal was in a state of having become hammered”, as opposed to the eventive reading “someone hammered the metal”.

Embick (2004:364) argues that the agentivity of the eventive passive in (45) allows it to license a *by*-phrase; he also notes that the “agentive interpretation” of the eventive is “associated with the feature [AG] [= Agent – MV] on v”. Furthermore, “[a]ttachment of Asp higher than v ... produces something eventive and agentive, corresponding to the verbal passive” (Embick 2004:362). On this analysis, then, the structure that is derived starts with a DP *the metal*, which is merged with the root $\sqrt{\text{HAMMER}}$ to form a $\sqrt{\text{ROOTP}}$. This is then merged with a v which contains the feature [AG]. The resulting vP is subsequently merged with an Asp (which presumably contains the passive auxiliary *BE*). It is furthermore assumed that the DP *the metal* is moved to the specifier position of the TP. The structure of the eventive passive is given in (48).

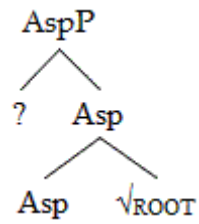
(48)



As regards the structure of the stative *clean* in (42b), Embick (2004:363) argues that, in contrast to the derivation of the eventive, “... the Asp head is attached to the Root”. Since the v is absent, no eventivity is encoded in the structure. The derivation involves merging the Root with Asp, as illustrated in the proposed structure of the stative in (49) below. Embick

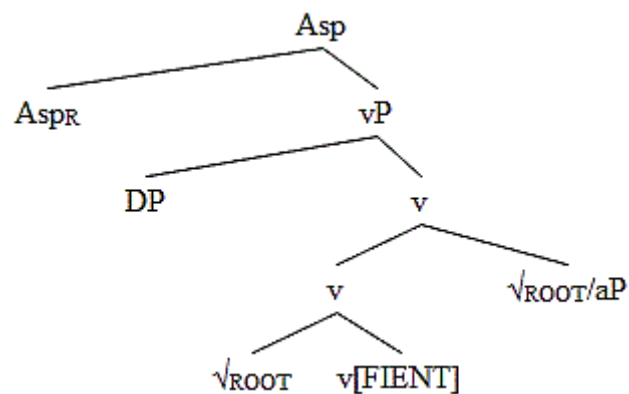
(2004:363) notes that the question mark in the specifier position in this structure “indicates concerns about where the argument is actually licensed”; however, he does not expand on this issue and the subsequent steps in the derivation.

(49)



Against the background of the structures in (48) and (49), Embick proposes the following structure underlying the resultative in (47):

(50)

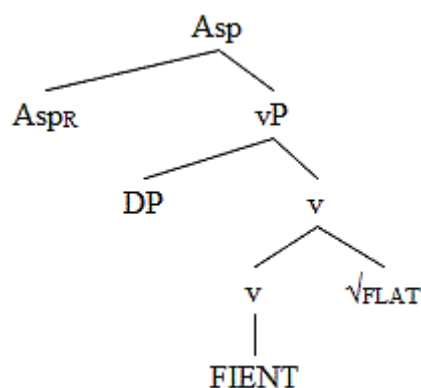


Embick outlines the differences between resultatives and eventives with reference to differences in agentivity and verbal structure. Resultatives are not agentive and therefore do not license a *by*-phrase, whereas eventives, which are agentive, do license such a phrase (Embick 2004:364). This means that the *v* which is present in resultatives “cannot be *v*[AG], but must instead be another type of verbaliser” (Embick 2004:365). The claim that a resultative must contain a *v* follows from the notion that it expresses a particular kind of

eventivity, namely the existence of a state resulting “from a prior event”; according to Embick (2004:365) this eventivity “is encoded grammatically in the form of a *v*”.

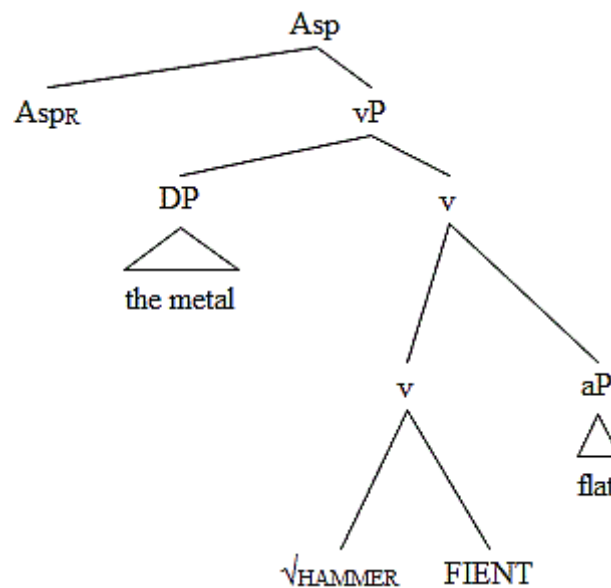
Instead of a *v* with an [AG] feature, the structure of the resultative contains a *v* with the feature [FIENT(IVE)], where fientive “is a type of BECOME-operator” which “denotes a ... *transition* event”; this means “that Asp takes a complement headed by *v*[FIENT]” (Embick 2004:366). The presence of Asp is furthermore required to counteract the inherent eventivity of the *v*P. According to Embick (2004:373), Asp creates “a state out of the event denoted by the *v*P headed by *v*[FIENT]”; *v*[FIENT], in turn, “always takes a stative complement” (Embick 2004:367). On this analysis, the structure for the resultative can be represented as follows;

(51)



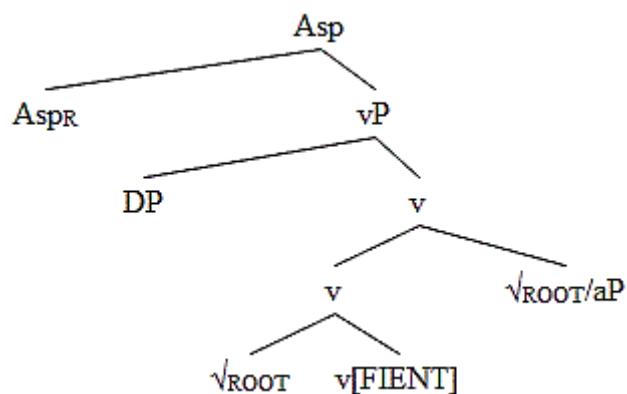
Embick (2004:368) also examines the structure of resultatives with secondary predicates. I will not go into the details of his analysis here, except to outline the implications of his findings for the nature of *v*[FIENT] and its complement. The structure in (52) represents a resultative with a secondary predicate in the form of the stative *flat*.

(52)



Embick (2004:370) claims that “when v [FIENT] has a root like $\sqrt{\text{HAMMER}}$ merged with it, its complement is an aP; when it (i.e. the root position or slot) is unoccupied, its complement is either a bare Root, which moves to v [FIENT], or perhaps an aP as well.” Adopting these ideas, Embick (2004:372) proposes the following structure for resultative participles:

(53)



In short, then, Embick (2004) proposes that a resultative participle such as *hammered* in (52) is syntactically derived in three steps: (i) merger of the Root (e.g. *hammer*) with a v [FIENT] head, (ii) merger of a theme argument (e.g. the DP *the metal*) with the resulting v , and (iii)

merger of the ensuing ν P with a resultative Asp head, AspR. The derivation of resultatives containing a secondary predicate (e.g. *flat* as in (52)) proceeds in the same manner, except for one additional step, namely merger of the secondary predicate with the ν containing the Root and the ν [FIENT] head, as illustrated in (53). The analysis of Afrikaans resultatives in Chapter 4 will in large part be based on Embick's (2004:356) proposal that different kinds of participles receive their categorial and semantic features during the derivation.

2.3 Summary

In this section, six analyses of GET-passives in English, KRIJGEN-passives in Dutch and KRIEGEN/BEKOMMEN-passives in German were briefly discussed. The first analysis, that of Hoekstra (1984) (see section 2.2.1) provides insight into the etymology and possible complements of *krijgen* in Dutch. Secondly, Washio's (1993) analysis (section 2.2.2) examines the nature of causative structures that are interpreted as having a passive-like meaning. Alexiadou's (2005) analysis was dealt with in section 2.2.3. This analysis deals with the fact that GET-passives in English and Dutch express passive meaning, even though they are not conventional passive constructions. This analysis also explores *get*'s semi-lexical nature, a state that becomes apparent when *get* is compared to *be*. Hollmann's (2005) analysis, discussed in section 2.2.4, presents an account of *get*'s marginal passivisability on the basis of evidence found in corpora. It is suggested that *get* does not readily passivise because of its more salient causer. The analysis discussed in 2.2.5 was that of Van Noord & Kordoni (2005), which deals with the derivation of Dutch KRIJGEN-passives. The authors also propose a raising analysis for Dutch KRIJGEN- and German KRIEGEN/BEKOMMEN-passives. Section 2.2.6 dealt with the control analysis of GET-passives presented by Butler & Tsoulas (2006). Finally, section 2.2.7 dealt with Embick's (2004) proposal that the features which distinguish resultative participles from stative ones are added during the derivation, and are

not simply selected from the lexicon. We will return to some of the points raised in the discussion of the various analyses in Chapter 4, which deals with the grammar of KRY-passives in Afrikaans.

Chapter 3

KRY-passives in Afrikaans

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the focus falls on existing analyses of Afrikaans KRY, and on the various constructions that *kry* may form part of. Attention is also paid to the theory of light verbs. In section 3.2, I will present a brief summary of Molnárfi's (1995) description of Afrikaans KRY in semantic and syntactic terms. In section 3.3, a selection of Afrikaans data will be presented to illustrate the various uses of *kry*. Section 3.4 provides a brief summary of some discussions of light verbs found in the literature.

3.2 Molnárfi (1995)

3.2.1 Molnárfi's semantic analysis

Molnárfi (1995:119) argues that Afrikaans *kry* behaves like a modal auxiliary, pointing out that modal auxiliaries tend to invite deontic and epistemic readings. He (1995:121) reaches the conclusion that *kry* "is a modal auxiliary with a deontic reading only". The deontic reading is tied to terminativity, whereas the epistemic reading has a single-phase event structure.¹³

Molnárfi (1995:119) plots the Aktionsart structure of a deontic reading as follows, where t_1 , t_m and t_n represent points on the temporal axis and E stands for *Ereignisstruktur* (i.e. event structure):

¹³ See Molnárfi (1995:119) for a full analysis.

(54)

| → → → |-----|

t₁ E₁ t_m E₂ t_n

E consists of interdependent launch (E₁) and result (E₂) phases, and t_m marks their meeting point. On the deontic reading, this “meeting point characteristic” must be reached, after which the second phase can be entered. As such, Molnárfi (1995:119) proposes a strong link between the deontic reading and terminativity.

Based on his semantic analysis, Molnárfi argues that *kry* is a deontic modal auxiliary that reconciles the semantic characteristics of the auxiliaries *kan* (“can”) and *wil* (“want to”).

3.2.2 Molnárfi’s syntactic analysis

Molnárfi (1995:113) argues that *kry*, when used as a main verb, merges with a small clause structure, that is, *kry* selects “a compulsory VP complement” that lacks “finite verb characteristics”. He uses the following example to illustrate this claim:

(55) Ek kry (die kamer) skoongemaak.

I get (the room) cleaned

“I cause the room to be/become clean” (Molnárfi 1995:110)

Molnárfi’s analysis of this kind of structure incorporates the semantic label *resultative*, which applies to *kry* and serves to indicate that the meaning of (55) is “I cause the room to be/become clean”, and not “I find the room in a clean state”.¹⁴

¹⁴ See the proposed analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives in Chapter 4 for a more detailed account of the ambiguity inherent in this type of construction.

Molnárfi (1995:110) represents the kind of structure associated with *kry* in the form of the sequence in (56). Here, NP₁ would represent *Ek* (as in (55) above), NP₂ represents *die kamer*, and XP represents the past participle *skoongemaak*. Molnárfi (1995:110) states that the sequence (NP₂) + XP forms the small clause.

(56) NP₁ + kry {RES} + (NP₂) + XP

According to Molnárfi, XP could stand for an “AP, PP, *to* + *infinitive* construction or embedded participle”. Significantly, *kry*-constructions must select a complement, and the action “encoded by *kry*” strives towards the achievement of the state expressed by the complement (Molnárfi 1995:110). This accounts for the “I cause the room to be/become clean” interpretation of *Ek kry die kamer skoongemaak* (“I get the room cleaned”). Notable here is Molnárfi’s finding that *kry* merges with a small clause complement – a finding that will be incorporated in the analysis of KRY-passives put forward in Chapter 4.

3.3 The Afrikaans data

3.3.1 Introductory remarks

In this section, I will briefly describe the various constructions in which *kry* can occur in Afrikaans. Not all of these constructions qualify as passives or express a passive meaning; the overview of the data relating to *kry* is merely intended as a starting point for the subsequent analysis of KRY-passives.

As was pointed out in the previous chapter, Afrikaans *kry* developed from the Dutch verb *krijgen*, which originally meant “to strive after” (Hoekstra 1984:65) and which later evolved to mean “to fight”; although the verb no longer carries this meaning, it is still present in the noun *krijger* (“warrior”). Afrikaans also has this noun (*kryger*) but, like Dutch, the “to fight”

meaning was lost in its verbal counterpart. In current Afrikaans the verb *kry* means “to get, obtain, acquire; receive; gather; catch (cold)” (*Pharos Major Dictionary*, 14th ed.). What follows now is a brief overview of the various constructions in which *kry* can occur.

3.3.2 Simple transitives

In Afrikaans, *kry* can be used in sentences which describe the physical status of the subject or herald a change in that status. An adverb like *skielik* (“suddenly”) can be used to illustrate this distinction. In (1a) Robert is said to be cold, and it is possible that he has been cold for quite some time; in (1b) Robert’s status changes from not-cold to cold. In (2), *kry hoendervleis* can only be interpreted as indicating a change in physical status or condition.

- (57) a. Robert kry koud.
 Robert gets cold
 “Robert is cold”
- b. Robert kry skielik koud.
 Robert gets suddenly cold
 “Robert is suddenly cold”
- (58) Robert kry hoendervleis.
 Robert gets chicken.bumps
 “Robert is shivering”

Kry can also be used in the conventional sense of *obtain* or *get*. In (59a), “’n katjie” is the nominal complement of *kry*, and the sentence means that Anja has received, found or in some way obtained a kitten. This can also be said of (59b), where the woman has received or found a baby, although here *kry* also has the added possible (and more probable) meaning of “gives birth to”.

- (59) a. Anja kry 'n katjie.
Anja gets a kitten
“Anja is getting a kitten”
- b. Die vrou kry 'n baba.
the woman gets a baby
“The woman is getting a baby”

3.3.3 Participles and small clauses

Kry can also take a participle as its (only) complement. In (60a), for example, *kry* does not require a nominal complement in addition to the participle *gewerk* (“worked”). In (60b) *kry* takes a small-clause complement in the form of *die heining geverf* (“the fence painted”). Here, *geverf* allows two interpretations: either “Jan manages to paint the fence” or “Jan finds the fence painted”. In (60c) *kry* also takes a small clause complement, namely *die mense aan die sing*. As in the case of (60b), *aan die sing* expresses two possible meanings: “The conductor manages to get the people to sing” or “The conductor finds the people singing”.

- (60) a. Die studente kry gewerk.
The students get work.PART
“The students manage to work”
- b. Jan kry die heining geverf.
Jan gets the fence paint.PART
“Jan manages to paint the fence” / “Jan finds the fence painted”
- c. Die dirigent kry die mense aan die sing.
The conductor gets the people to the singing
“The conductor manages to get the people to sing” / “The conductor finds the people singing”

3.3.4 Infinitives

As shown in (61), Afrikaans *kry* can also take infinitival complements:

(61) Ons kry sushi te ete.

We get sushi to eat

“We are served sushi”

3.3.5 Passives

Kry can combine with a passive auxiliary (some form of *wees*) and a passive participle (formed by adding the passive prefix *ge-* to a verb stem) to form a passive construction (in contrast to English *get*, which requires only a passive participle to form a passive). The Afrikaans *kry*-passive may include a *deur*-phrase, just like the English *get*-passive may include a *by*-phrase – the difference being that the Afrikaans *deur*-phrase may occur pre- or postverbally,¹⁵ whereas the English *by*-phrase may only occur postverbally.¹⁶ Importantly, the Afrikaans *kry*-passive may feature the thematically empty expletive pronoun *daar* in the structurally empty subject position, as illustrated in (62) and (63) below. As with conventional English passives, the passive object construction occurs preverbally in constructions with *daar*; unlike its English counterpart, however, the Afrikaans object construction cannot also occur postverbally.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Afrikaans *kry*-

¹⁵ Die steen word deur hom gelê.
the brick BE-PRES by him lay.PART
“The brick is layed by him”

or : Die steen word gelê deur hom.
the brick BE-PRES lay.PART by him
“The brick is layed by him”

¹⁶ **The brick is by him layed* is not acceptable in English, but *The brick is layed by him* is.

¹⁷ Daar is verskeie take afgehandel gekry.
there BE-PAST various tasks complete.PART got.PART
“There were various tasks completed”

vs. *Daar is gekry verskeie take afgehandel.

passives can pair with expletive *daar*, while this is not possible for English *get*-passives and expletive *there*.¹⁸

(62) Daar is koud gekry.

There was cold.got.PART

“People were cold”

(63) Daar is gewerk gekry.

There was work.PART got.PART

“Work got done.”

(64) Sy is doodgekry.

She was dead.got.PART

“She got killed”

3.4 Light verbs

It is generally accepted in the minimalist literature that a VP is contained in a so-called light verb shell, that is, a vP headed by the functional category v .¹⁹ The notion *light verb* plays an important role in the analysis of passives proposed by Embick (2004; cf. section 2.2.7), and is also incorporated into the analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives that will be put forward in Chapter 4. Some clarifying remarks on this notion are therefore in order here.

Jespersen (1965, in Butt 2003:1) first used the term “light verb” to refer to “English V+NP constructions” like *have a smoke*, *take a walk*, *give a shout*, where the second part of the construction is the nominal form of a verb. It is this “action nominal complement” which

¹⁸ **There were various tasks completed got* is not a possibility; only *Various tasks got completed* or *There were various tasks completed* are acceptable. In short, English does not allow GET-passives to contain expletive *there*.

¹⁹ Cf. Chomsky (1999); Radford (2000).

provides the “main semantic content of the predicate” (Kearns 1988/2002:1): hence, *I made a declaration of my love* means *I declared my love*. According to Traugott (1999, in Butt 2003:13), these constructions have occurred in English “at least since Old English” and, interestingly, have never morphed into “auxiliaries or affixes” or led to “the development of functional categories”. In other words, light verbs have remained very constant through the centuries in terms of number, type and “frequency of use”. As Seiss (2009: 510) points out, light verbs and auxiliaries may both “develop from main verbs”, and auxiliaries may further evolve into “clitics and morphological markers”, but “light verbs seem to be a dead end”.

Light verbs seem to form a sort of grey area between semantically empty and semantically contentfull elements. Even though they are not devoid of meaning – as Butt (2003:1) points out, “there is a clear difference between *take a bath* and *give a bath*” – these verbs are considered to be a “verbal licenser for nouns”: to *have a smoke* does not denote owning a cigarette; it means *to smoke*. According to Butt (2003:1), light verbs “appear to be semantically *light* in the sense that they are contributing something to the joint predication”.

Butt (2003:3-4) describes a number of characteristics by which light verbs can be identified. These, along with those from Butt (2009) and Butt and Lahiri (2002) listed in Seiss (2009), are briefly summarised here. Firstly, light verbs always form part of a “complex predication” with a “single subject and no embedding”. Light verbs also “span the entire verbal paradigm” (i.e. they can appear with more than one “tense or aspect form”), and “do not display a defective paradigm” (Seiss 2009:509). Furthermore, light verbs “are restricted in their combinations with main verbs” because they (light verbs) “exhibit subtle lexical-semantic differences in terms of combinatorial possibilities with main verbs” (Seiss 2009:509). Finally, light verbs are always “form-identical” to a main verb (Butt and Lahiri 2003, in Butt 2003:3) and “can be distinguished syntactically (and phonologically) from both auxiliaries and main

verbs”, which suggests that “they form a separate ‘semilexical’ class” (Butt and Geuder 2001, in Butt 2003:4). In fact, Butt (2003:6) places light verbs somewhere in the centre of the functional/lexical continuum by virtue of their “distinct distributional properties”.

One important observation noted by Butt (2003:4) regarding the differences between light verbs and auxiliaries, is that light verbs are used to “structure or modulate the event described by the main verb/predicator in a manner that is quite distinct from auxiliaries, modals or other main verbs”.²⁰ As Seiss (2009:509) notes, “light verbs contribute semantic information about the type of event”, whereas auxiliaries do not. Seiss (2009:509-510) also points out that light verbs are capable of changing “the valency of a construction”, i.e. adding arguments, which is something, again, that auxiliaries cannot do. It is also possible for light verbs to “determine” case and theta-role assignment, something that is generally thought to be beyond the ability of auxiliaries (Seiss 2009:510).

The origins, evolution and productivity of light verbs, and the criteria by which they are identified, are not of importance to this study and are mentioned here simply by way of introduction. However, the ability of light verbs to assign theta-roles will be crucial in the analysis presented in Chapter 4, where it will be shown that the interpretation of a sentence changes from eventive to stative depending on the features present in the *v* and *sc-v* (small-clause *v*).

3.5 Summary

In section 3.2, I provided a brief overview of Molnárfi’s (1995) observations regarding Afrikaans *kry*. Molnárfi claims that *kry* is a deontic modal auxiliary bearing the semantic

²⁰ It is important to note that Butt refers to main verbs as the other part of the construction because in other languages, including the South Asian languages discussed in her paper, this is indeed the case.

characteristics of the auxiliaries *kan* (“can”) and *wil* (“want to”). When *kry* is used as a main verb, Molnárfi states that it merges with a small clause structure to form a construction that must be interpreted as resultative.²¹ The idea of a small clause structure will be used in the analysis proposed in Chapter 4. In section 3.3, I presented a clarification of the origins of Afrikaans *kry*, and subsequently a range of complements with which *kry* may appear. These include simple transitives, participles and small clauses, infinitives, and passives. Chapter 3 ended with a brief discussion, in section 3.4, of the characteristics of light verbs and their importance to the analysis in Chapter 4. In the next chapter an attempt is made to develop a new analysis of KRY-passives within the Minimalist framework.

²¹ In setting out the analysis of KRY-passives in Chapter 4, I will posit that both eventive and stative readings are possible for KRY-passive constructions.

Chapter 4

A Minimalist Analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives

4.1 Theoretical framework

In this chapter an attempt is made to develop an analysis of KRY-passives in Afrikaans within a broad minimalist framework. In view of the restricted scope of this study, I will abstract away from several potentially interesting aspects of this type of construction, and of Afrikaans passive constructions in general. In particular, I will not address issues relating to the internal structure of the various complements of *kry*. For instance, while recognising the difference between verbal complements (*Daar is gewerk gekry*, “Work got done”) and adjectival complements (*Sy is gesond gekry*, “She got cured”), a detailed analysis of these types of complements will not be attempted here. Rather, the discussion will narrowly focus on the salient grammatical and associated semantic properties of KRY-passives.

As a starting point, consider the following example:

- (65) Die meisie is verwurg gekry.
 the girl BE.PAST strangle.PART got.PART
 “The girl got strangled”

This sentence allows two distinct interpretations. On the one hand, it can mean that the girl was found in a strangled state or in a state of having been strangled, which would be the stative meaning. On the other hand, it can mean that the girl got strangled, that someone managed to strangle her, which would be the resultative meaning.

At first glance, the second interpretation of the Afrikaans KRY-passive resembles that of the English GET-passive. As was pointed out in section 2.2.3, the English GET-passive involves a relatively simple construction that pairs the verb *to get* with a passive participle such as *strangled*, as in (66).

(66) The girl got strangled.

By contrast, the Afrikaans KRY-passive must contain a passive auxiliary (*word* in the present tense, *is* in the past tense, and *was* in the past perfect tense), a passive participle (deverbal, like *verwurg* in (67a), or adjectival, like *gesond* in (67b)), and the verb *kry* with the prefix *ge-* attached to it.

- (67) a. Die meisie is verwurg gekry.
 the girl BE.PAST strangle.PART got.PART
 “The girl got strangled” / “The girl was found strangled”
- b. Die meisie is gesond gekry.
 the girl BE.PAST healthy got.PART
 “The girl got cured” / “The girl was found in a healthy state”

Clearly, the kinds of operations that are involved in the derivation of the Afrikaans KRY-passive will be different from those required to derive English GET-passives. The aim of this chapter is to outline an analysis that can account for the facts of KRY-passives in Afrikaans. The analysis is presented with the broad framework of Minimalist Syntax. Several core devices of this framework will be adopted here without further discussion, including the notions *valued and unvalued features*, *phi (ϕ)-features*, *feature valuation and feature*

*agreement, case and theta (θ)-role assignment, c-command, probe and goal, and the operations External and Internal Merge.*²²

Three specific assumptions that will be adopted in the proposed analysis should be mentioned here. Firstly, following Oosthuizen (2013:82), verbs are taken to contain a [+V] categorial feature, an unvalued tense feature ([u-tense]) and a [c-select] feature.²³ Secondly, following Biberauer and Roberts (2010:265), T is taken to contain “an unvalued V-feature” by virtue of being the “position into which auxiliaries are merged” and therefore “inherently verbal”. Thirdly, I assume the existence of an Edge Feature, represented by a movement diacritic (\wedge) (Biberauer 2008 in Oosthuizen 2013:86) appended to the ϕ -features of a v and a T. This feature gives rise to VP-raising into the specifier position of vP , and vP -raising into the specifier position of TP.

The analysis set out below posits that a KRY-passive contains a small-clause (SC) verb that is merged with a VP constituent.²⁴ SCs are understood to be structures containing “a subject and a non-verbal predicate” but lacking “a complementiser and an element expressing tense” (Oosthuizen 2013:110). Following Oosthuizen (2013:111), I take SCs to be “asymmetric structure[s]” headed by a v .

4.2 An analysis of KRY-passives

Before examining the derivation of the KRY-passive in Afrikaans, let us first briefly consider the derivation of sentences containing the active form of *kry*. An example of such a sentence is given in (68).

²² See e.g. Chomsky (2000, 2004, 2005); Hornstein et al. (2005); Radford (2009).

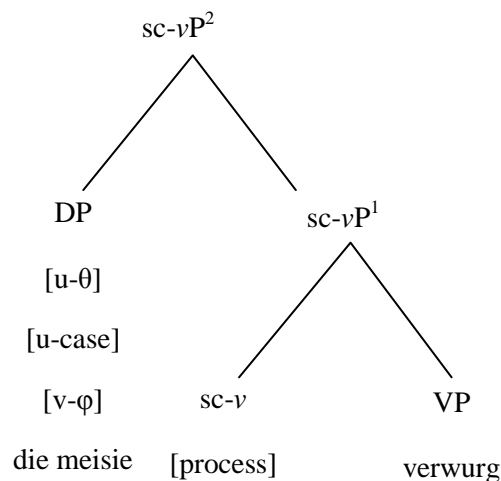
²³ As regards nominal expressions, Chomsky (2006, in Oosthuizen 2013:117) proposes that the DP is dominated by a further functional layer headed by a light noun *n*. For the purposes of this study, such an analysis will not be incorporated here.

²⁴ The possibility of the small-clause verb merging with an AP instead of a VP is not discounted here, but it will not be examined as part of this study.

(68) dat hy die meisie verwurg kry.

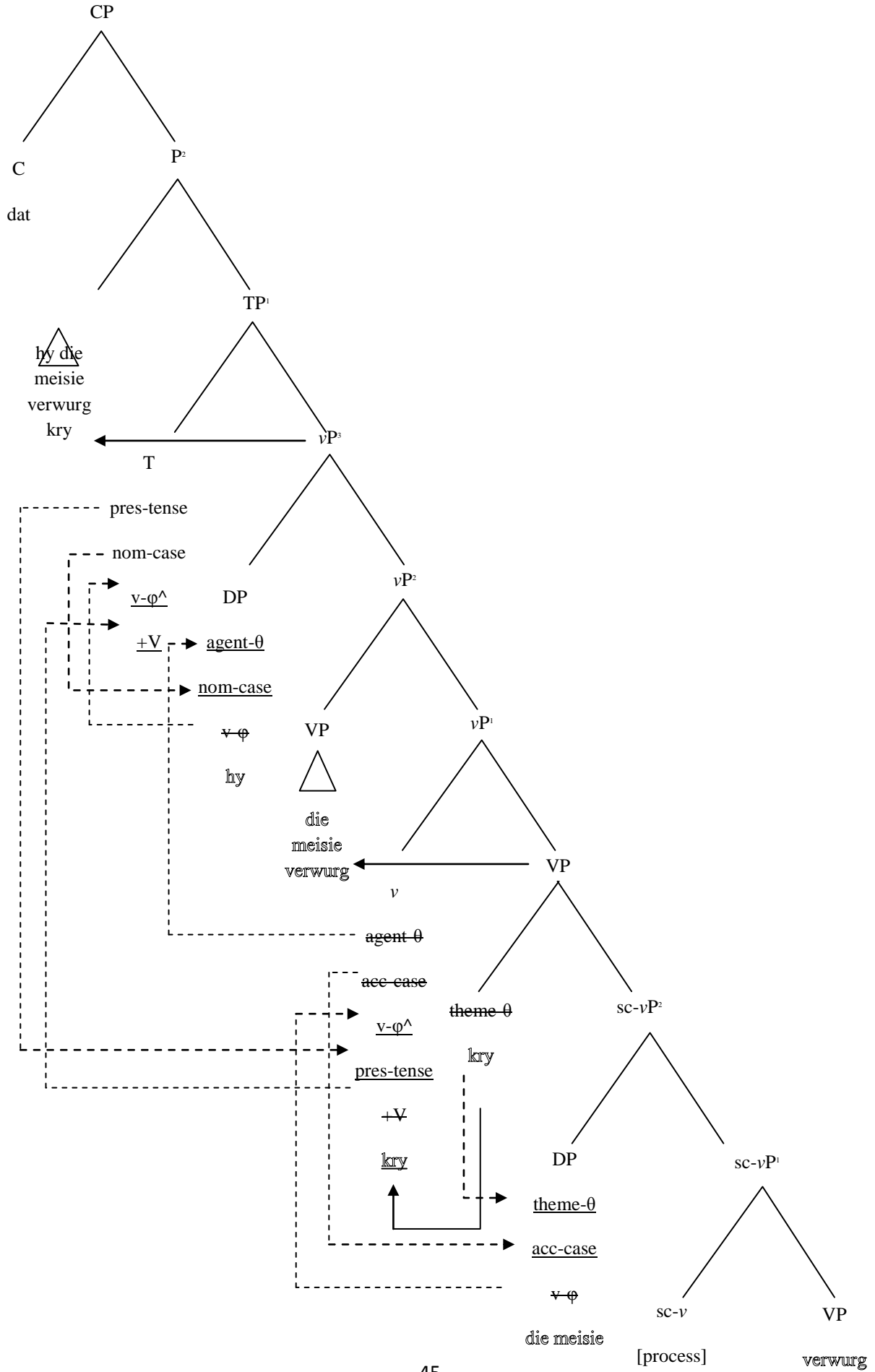
This sentence can be read on an eventive and a stative level. The eventive meaning is “that he manages to strangle the girl”, and the stative “that he finds the girl strangled”. Let us first examine the derivation of (68) with the eventive interpretation. It is proposed here that the derivation proceeds in the following steps:

- (69) a. An *sc-v* with the feature [process] merges with the VP *verwurg*.
 b. The DP *die meisie*, which is unvalued for θ -role and case and has valued ϕ -features, merges with the resulting *sc-vP*¹ to form the *sc-vP*² as shown below:



- c. The V *kry* merges with the *sc-vP*² in (b) to form a VP. At this point, the V *kry* values the θ -feature of the DP *die meisie* as theme.
 d. The VP formed in (c) merges with a light-verb to form *vP*¹. This *v* is agentive, valued for accusative case and contains the feature [+V]. It is unvalued for tense and contains a set of unvalued ϕ -features with a movement diacritic (\wedge) attached.
 e. The V *kry* is now raised to the agentive *v*.

- f. The DP *die meisie* values the v 's ϕ -features and the v in turn supplies the value [acc-case] to DP *die meisie*.
- g. Valuation of the v 's ϕ -features results in raising of the VP to [spec- v], triggered by the movement diacritic associated with the v 's ϕ -features. (The entire structure below the VP is pied-piped, but because V *kry* has already been raised to v , it is not part of this structure anymore.)
- h. The resulting vP^2 merges with the DP *hy*, which has valued ϕ -features but is unvalued for case and θ -role; the DP's θ -feature is valued as agentive by the v .
- i. The T, containing the features [pres-tense], [nom-case], [u- ϕ] and [u-V], merges with the vP^3 .
- j. T values the v 's tense-feature as present, and the latter in turn values the T's categorial feature as [+V]. The T furthermore donates [nom-case] to the DP *hy*, and this DP supplies the T's ϕ -features with the appropriate values. The movement diacritic appended to the T's ϕ -features subsequently triggers raising of the vP^3 to [spec-T].
- k. The C *dat* merges with the TP^2 , resulting in the word order illustrated in (68), *dat hy die meisie verwurg kry*. The entire derivation is illustrated in the figure below. (In this figure, the copies left behind during raising operations are given in outline font; dashed arrows indicate feature valuation; solid arrows indicate raising operations; strikethrough indicates that a feature value has been donated to some other element; and underlining indicates that a feature has been valued in the course of the derivation.)

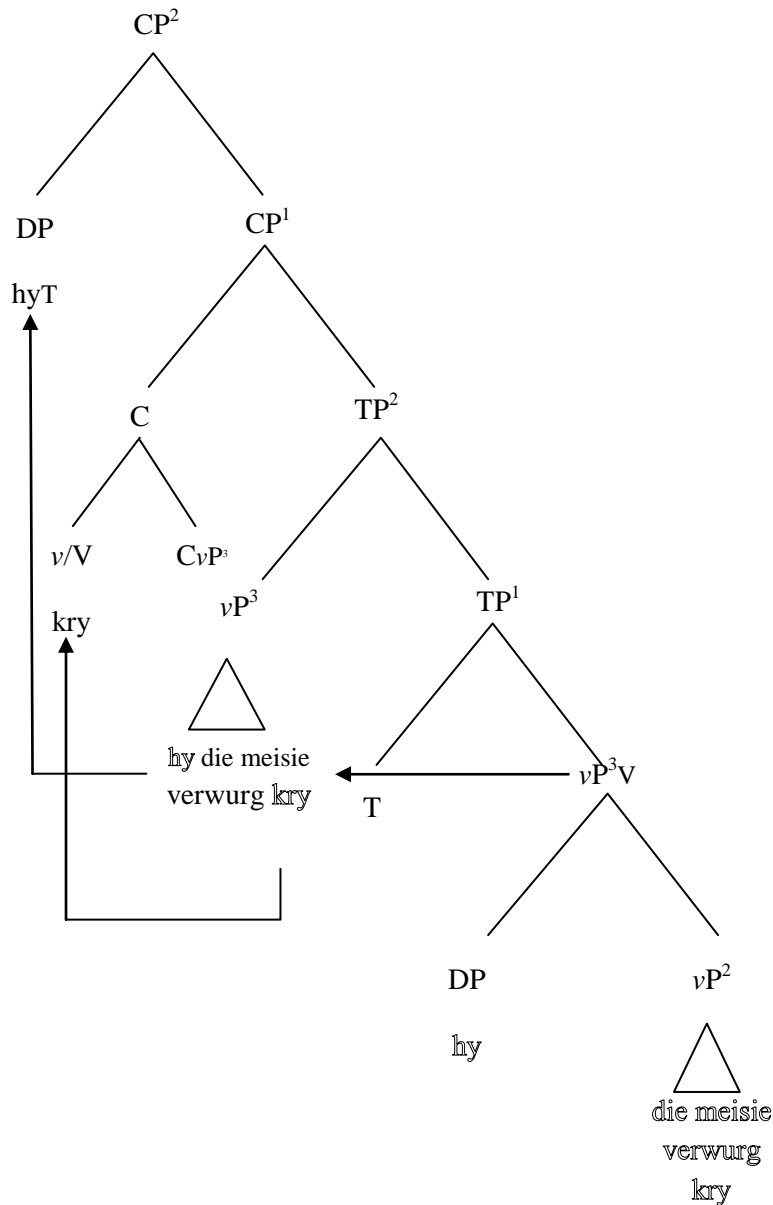


On this analysis, the eventive interpretation of (68) *dat hy die meisie verwurg kry* is the result of the presence of (i) the [process] feature on the *sc-v* and (ii) the [agent- θ] feature on the *v*. It follows that the same sentence would have a stative reading if the *sc-v* were a stative-*v* and not a process-*v*, and the light verb were an experiencer-*v* and not an agentive-*v*. (See section 4.1 for the distinction between these two interpretations of (68).)

In order to derive the surface word order of the corresponding main clause *Hy kry die meisie verwurg*, a number of extra operations must be applied. In this regard I present an adapted version of a similar derivation outlined in Oosthuizen (2013:53). After vP^3 is raised to [spec-T] (cf. (69j) above), C merges with TP^2 . For the correct word order to be derived, the verb *kry* is then raised to C and the subject *hy* is raised to the specifier position of the CP. The resulting structure is presented on the next page.

According to Oosthuizen (2013:53), the two operations just mentioned present a problem, as the DP *hy* is not active – i.e. it “does not contain an unvalued feature” – and the same can be said of the *v/V kry*. This means that, within the minimalist framework adopted here, raising operations involving these two constituents should not be possible. Oosthuizen (2013:54) suggests two possible solutions to the facilitation of DP-movement. One states that “both the C and the subject [DP] have a discourse-related feature, unvalued and bearing a movement diacritic in the case of the C, and valued in the case of the subject.” In this regard, it is suggested that the DP has the feature [topic-discourse], which values C’s [u-disc] feature.

The problem of the DP’s being an inactive goal can be addressed in two ways. Firstly, Oosthuizen (2013:54) argues that “the [DP] is visible from a probe-goal perspective simply by virtue of forming part of some other visible goal”, such as the raised vP^3 in (69j). Another



option is the possibility that “the T-head ... does not in fact carry the nominative case feature in Afrikaans, but that this feature is actually contained in the C-head.” If this were indeed the case, the DP raised with νP³ to [spec-TP] would still be unvalued for case, “making it an active goal that can be case-valued by the C” (Oosthuizen 2013:54).

For the *v/V kry* to raise to C in the above structure, similar theoretical obstacles must be overcome. Oosthuizen (2013:55) suggests firstly that C has an “unvalued V-related feature

with a movement diacritic.” The appropriate V-related feature is taken to be the “categorical feature [V].” Secondly, Oosthuizen notes the possibility that C, rather than T, represents the “locus of the valued tense feature in Afrikaans”. v/V *kry* in vP^1 would then still be unvalued for tense, giving C the opportunity to value its tense features, and allowing v/V to value C’s [V] feature. This would enable v/V raising to be triggered by the movement diacritic attached to C’s [V]-feature.

Having discussed the derivation of an active sentence containing *kry*, as represented by the example in (68), we turn our attention now to the derivation of a KRY-passive, such as the following:

- (70) dat die meisie verwurg gekry is.
 that the girl strangle.PART got.PART BE-PAST
 “that the girl got strangled” / “that the girl was found strangled”

Like its active counterpart, the passive sentence has both an eventive and a stative reading. The eventive interpretation is “that the girl got strangled”, and the stative is “that the girl was found strangled”. Considering first the eventive interpretation, the various steps in the derivation of (70) can be described as follows:

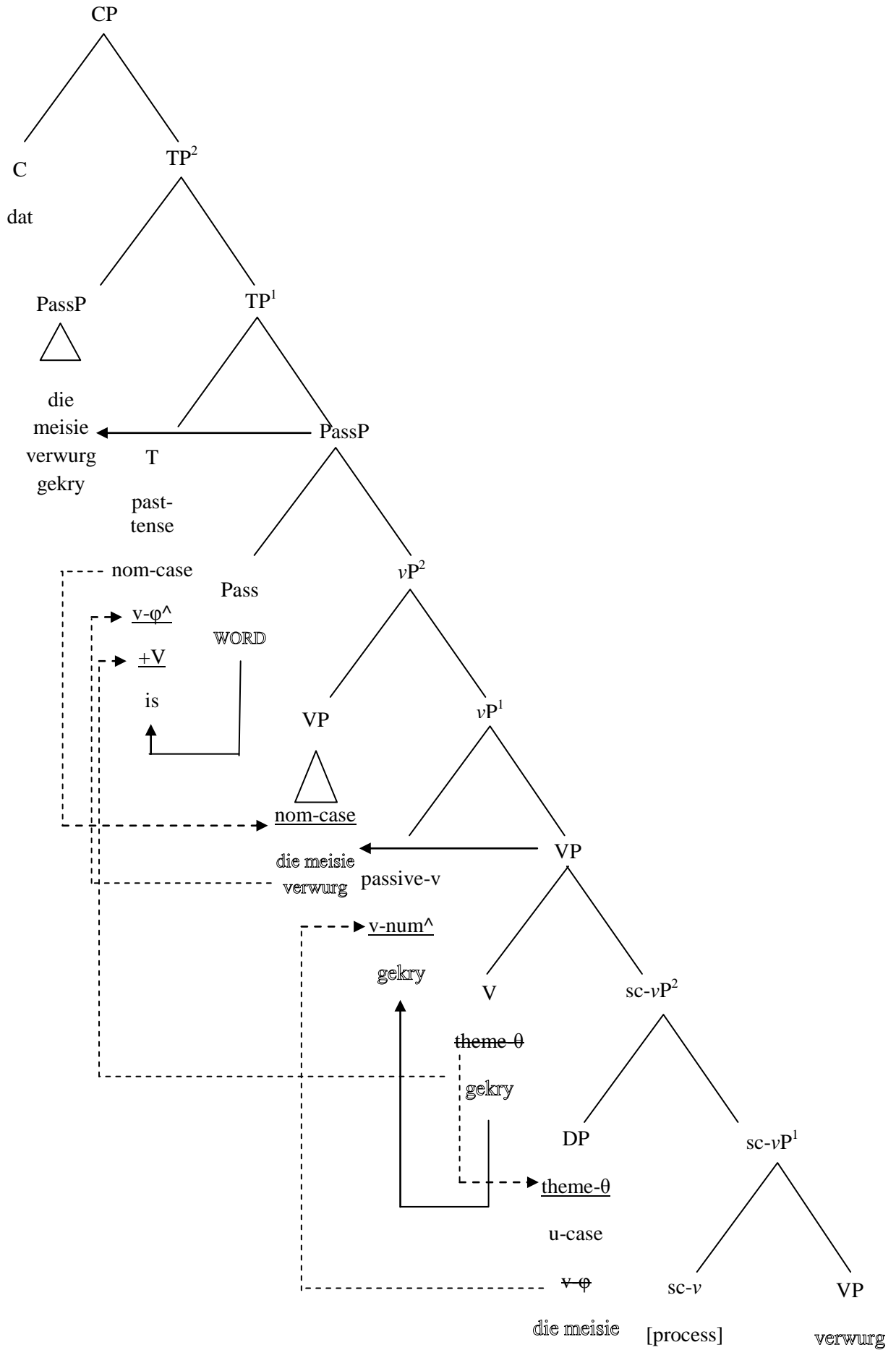
- (71) a. The VP *verwurg* merges with an $sc-v$ with a [process]-feature.
 b. The DP *die meisie* merges with the $sc-vP^1$; the DP carries the features [u- θ], [u-case] and [v- ϕ].
 c. The passive participle V *gekry* merges with the $sc-vP^2$. This V contains the feature [theme- θ] which serves to value the θ -feature of the DP *die meisie*.
 d. A passive light-verb with an unvalued [number] feature merges with the VP. The passive- v is “defective” in three ways: (i) it does not contain a θ -feature,

which means it cannot assign a θ -value to any DP and no external argument can be merged in the [spec-*v*] position, as such a subject would lack a θ -value; (ii) it does not contain a case-feature; and (iii) taking the ability to assign case to be linked to having a full set of ϕ -features,²⁵ it follows that passive-*v* has an incomplete set of ϕ -features. As a working hypothesis, it is assumed that the passive-*v* contains only a [u-num]-feature with a movement diacritic (\wedge) attached.

- e. The V *gekry* raises to the passive-*v*.
- f. The DP *die meisie* values the passive-*v*'s [number] feature. The movement diacritic attached to this feature triggers the raising of the entire VP containing the DP *die meisie* to the specifier position of the passive-*v*.
- g. The passive aspectual auxiliary (Pass) WORD ("be") merges with the vP^2 .
- h. The T merges with the PassP, and the Pass WORD is raised to the T. The T contains the features [u- ϕ^{\wedge}], [nom-case], [past-tense] and [u-V]. The [past-tense] feature results in WORD eventually being realised as *is*.
- i. The T's categorial feature is valued as [V] by the passive-*v*. The T's ϕ -features are valued by the DP *die meisie*, which in turn receives its [nom-case] value from the T. The movement diacritic appended to the T's ϕ -features triggers raising of the PassP into [spec-T].
- j. The C *dat* merges with the TP^2 , yielding the word order as in (70), *dat die meisie verwurg gekry is*.

The various steps in the derivation of (x) are shown in the structure below.

²⁵ Cf. Oosthuizen (2013:97) for references and discussion.



The various steps shown in the above structure describe the derivation of a KRY-passive with an eventive reading. When deriving the same sentence with a stative meaning, the only difference would concern the *sc-v*, which is a stative-*v* (and not a process-*v* as in the case of the eventive reading). In the case of the passive, the light-verb associated with *gekry* remains the same in both the stative and the eventive readings. Recall that this is not the case with the active sentence containing *kry* (cf. (68) above), where the light-verb associated with *kry* is an agentive-*v* on the eventive reading, and an experiencer-*v* on the stative reading.

This version of events seems to agree with Embick's (2004) assertion that the elements (i.e. participles) responsible for the different interpretations (eventive and stative in the present study) of the same construction do not emerge from the lexicon with "fixed" features; instead, these are added during the derivation.²⁶ The participle *verwurg* is only fully formed once it has merged with the *sc-v* with its [process] or [stative] feature, and the V *gekry* must move to the light verb to gain its [passive] feature.

As Alexiadou (2005:13) points out, "a passive-like meaning may be obtained through a non-canonical passive construction", at least in English and German. It is clear that the same can be said for non-canonical passive constructions in Afrikaans: a sentence such as (70) *dat die meisie verwurg gekry is* – a non-canonical passive formed by adding *kry* to the mix – has been shown to express a clear passive meaning: "that the girl got strangled". Clearly, though, further research is required to determine the precise semantic differences between canonical passives²⁷ and KRY-passives in Afrikaans.

²⁶ Cf. Section 2.2.7.

²⁷ For example, *Sy is verwurg.*
 she BE-PAST strangle.PART
 "She was strangled"

It should also be pointed out that the active *kry* example in (68) *dat hy die meisie verwurg kry* expresses a passive-like meaning if it is taken that the sentence allows the interpretation “that he causes the girl to be strangled”. Following Washio²⁸ (1993:46), this would make *die meisie* (“the girl”) the affectee, meaning that she is strangled by the causer, i.e. *hy* (“he”). A sentence like *Ons kry die koerant uitgegee*²⁹ also demonstrates this idea. While the structure of the sentence is clearly active, the meaning is taken to be passive-like, with *ons* (“we”) as the causer and *die koerant* (“the newspaper”) as the affectee. Of course, this would only be a plausible possibility if the example in question includes a participle: being a simple transitive construction, a sentence like (57a) *Robert kry koud* would not qualify.

4.3 Summary

In section 4.1, I outlined the scope of the current study, with the focus being limited to the salient grammatical and semantic properties of the Afrikaans KRY-passive. I started by explaining the difference between the eventive and the stative interpretations that are possible when trying to make sense of KRY-passives. I then briefly discussed the differences between the structure of the Afrikaans KRY-passive and that of the English GET-passive. This led to a summary of the core devices familiar to Minimalist Syntax that would be used in my analysis of the Afrikaans data. In section 4.2, I first provided an example of a sentence containing active *kry*, and demonstrated how this sentence could be read on an eventive and a stative level. I then outlined the various steps in the derivation of the active structure, which is claimed to include a small clause merged with the object of the sentence, and a light verb element to which *kry* is raised. Subsequently, I explained the influence the sc-*v*'s [process] feature and the *v*'s [agent- θ] feature have on the eventive interpretation of the sentence. I also

²⁸ Cf. Section 2.2.2.

²⁹ *Ons kry die koerant uitgegee.*
 we get.PRES the newspaper publish.PART
 “We cause the newspaper to be published” / “We get the newspaper published”

noted that if these features were changed, i.e. if the *sc-v* had a [stative] feature and the *v* had an [experiencer- θ] feature, the meaning of the sentence would change to a stative one. The discussion then addressed the derivation of the KRY-passive, which I claim also involves the merger of a small clause with a DP and the raising of the verb *gekry* to a (passive) light verb. I then explained that, when deriving the same passive sentence with a stative meaning instead of an eventive one, the *sc-v* would be stative and not a process-*v*. However, the light-verb remains the same on both readings of the passive sentence (which was not the case with the two active readings). Finally, I briefly explained why active *kry* can in certain cases be said to express a passive-like meaning.

Chapter 5

Summary and conclusion

5.1 General

Several analyses of GET-passives in English and their counterparts in Dutch and German have been proposed in the literature. Six of these analyses were discussed in Chapter 2, namely those put forward by Hoekstra (1984), Washio (1993), Alexiadou (2005), Hollmann (2005), Van Noord & Kordoni (2005), Butler & Tsoulas (2006), and Embick (2004). The present study attempted to present an analysis of Afrikaans KRY-passives against the theoretical background of the studies just mentioned. In Chapter 3, I summarised Molnárfi's (1995) analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of Afrikaans *kry*. In section 3.3 I presented an overview of the various constructions in which Afrikaans *kry* can be found. In that section I also provided a brief introduction to the formation of Afrikaans KRY-passives, with special attention to how these constructions differ from their English counterparts. I ended Chapter 2 with some remarks about the idea of a light verb, indicating that this element would be important to my analysis of *kry*-passives in the next Chapter. Chapter 4 included a delineation of the scope of the proposed analysis, and a summary of the theoretical devices that would be used. The chapter proceeded with an analysis of an active KRY-construction, and ended with an analysis of a passive KRY-construction. It was shown that the proposed analysis can account for both an eventive and a stative reading of the KRY-passive.

5.2 Main findings

This study concluded that the Afrikaans KRY-passive is a small-clause-based construction that relies on the features [process] and [stative] appended to a small clause light verb *sc-v*, and a

[passive] light verb for its semantic interpretation. In fact, the main finding of this study was that the derivation of the eventive KRY-passive differs very subtly from that of the stative KRY-passive. The analysis showed that eventive and stative KRY-passives can be distinguished from one another on the basis of the nature of the *sc-v*, which is a process-*v* in the case of the eventive, and a stative-*v* in the case of the stative. The influence that this feature, [process] or [stative], has on the passive participle determines the nature of the entire construction. Importantly, the participle does not enter the derivation with one of these features already attached; rather, the relevant feature is added in the course of the derivation.

The study also briefly examined the differences between Afrikaans KRY-passives and English GET-passives. Where Afrikaans *kry* combines with a passive auxiliary (*wees*) and a passive participle to form a passive, English *get* needs only a passive participle (as *get* essentially replaces the auxiliary found in a conventional passive construction³⁰). Some more nuanced distinctions between the Afrikaans and English constructions were discussed in section 3.3.5, most notably the non-occurrence of English GET-passives in conjunction with the expletive *there* – a type of construction which is allowed in Afrikaans.

It was furthermore found that active KRY-constructions containing a participle may express a passive-like meaning, in accordance with Washio's (1993) analysis. On this analysis, the subject is interpreted as the causer and the object as the affectee, making for an interpretation that sees the object (affectee) as in some way influenced or affected by the subject (causer). Active KRY-constructions that do not contain a participle lack this interpretation.

³⁰ Cf. Alexiadou (2005:13) for this point.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

Very little empirical work has been done on the use and acceptability of KRY-passives in spoken and written Afrikaans. In this regard, a corpus-based study (making use of, for example, national and regional newspapers, television and radio transcripts and other written material) could provide interesting results.

As mentioned in section 4.2, studying the semantic differences between canonical passives and KRY-passives in Afrikaans could also be profitable. Such a study could address questions such as the following: What layer of meaning is added to a construction when it changes from *Sy is verwurg* (a canonical Afrikaans passive containing the auxiliary *be* in the past tense form and a passive participle) to *Sy is verwurg gekry*? For instance, does the addition of *gekry* signal a certain difficulty inherent in the task of strangling the woman? Does the presence of *gekry* indicate that the act of strangling took a longer time to complete? In short, what prompts the speaker to use the KRY-passive instead of the conventional passive?

Furthermore, the present study has not provided a comprehensive discussion of the similarities and the differences between the Afrikaans KRY-passive and its Dutch counterpart. The studies cited in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.5 examined only non-passive constructions containing Dutch *krijgen*. A comparison of Afrikaans KRY-passives as defined in this study (see section 3.3.5) and similar constructions in Dutch³¹ could be insightful, also from a diachronic perspective.

³¹ E.g.: Het werd gedaan gekregen.
it BE-PAST done.PART got.PART
“It got done”

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