

The verb *krijgen* ‘to get’ as an undative verb

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Abstract

*This article will argue that the typology of verbs currently assumed in generative grammar has an incidental gap; we would expect that besides dyadic verbs with two internal arguments, in which the theme argument surfaces as subject, there are also dyadic verbs with two internal arguments, in which the goal argument surfaces as subject. We will show that such verbs do indeed exist and are instantiated by the verb *krijgen* ‘to get’ and its cognates *hebben* and *houden* ‘to keep’. We will call these verbs undative verbs given that they are characterized by the fact that they can assign accusative, but not dative case. We will further provide a discussion of the syntactic behavior of the *krijgen*-passive and what we will call the semicopular construction in (so-called standard and nonstandard) Dutch in order to show that these case properties of the main verbs *krijgen*, *hebben* and *houden* are also present in their uses as auxiliary and semicopular verbs.*

1. Introduction

One of the main findings of the syntactic research over the last 50 years is that the traditional distinction between intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs is insufficient. Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1986) have shown that the set of monadic verbs (verbs that take a single argument, which is realized as the subject of the clause) can be divided into two distinct subclasses. Next to run-of-the-mill intransitive verbs like *lachen* ‘to laugh’, there is a class of so-called unaccusative verbs like *arriveren* with a number of distinctive properties (which may differ from language to language). The examples in (1) illustrate some of the differences between the two types of monadic verbs that are found in Dutch; cf. Hoekstra (1984). The first property involves auxiliary selection in the perfect tense: the (a)-examples show that intransitive verbs take the perfect auxiliary *hebben* ‘to have’, whereas the unaccusative verbs take the auxiliary

zijn ‘to be’. The second property involves the attributive use of past/passive participles: the (b)-examples show that past/passive participles of unaccusative verbs can be used attributively to modify a head noun that corresponds to the subject of the verbal construction, whereas past/passive participles of intransitive verbs lack this ability. The third property involves impersonal passivization: the (c)-examples show that this is possible with intransitive but not with unaccusative verbs.¹

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|-----|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | Intransitive | Unaccusative |
| a. | <i>Jan heeft/*is gelachen.</i>
Jan has/is laughed | a'. <i>Jan is/*heeft gearriveerd.</i>
Jan is/has arrived |
| b. | <i>*de gelachen jongen</i>
the laughed boy | b'. <i>de gearriveerde jongen</i>
the arrived boy |
| c. | <i>Er werd gelachen.</i>
there was laughed | c'. <i>*Er werd gearriveerd.</i>
there was arrived |

Like the monadic verbs, the dyadic verbs (verbs that take two arguments, which are realized as a subject and an object) can be divided in two distinct subclasses. Next to run-of-the-mill transitive verbs like *kussen* ‘to kiss’ with an accusative verb object, we find so-called NOM-DAT verbs like *bevallen* ‘to please’ that take a dative object; since Dutch has no morphological case, we will illustrate this case property of the NOM-DAT verbs by means of the German verb *gefallen* ‘to please’ in (2a’). Lenerz (1977) and den Besten (1985) have shown that these NOM-DAT verbs are special in that the subject follows the dative object in the unmarked case; see Broekhuis (1992: Ch. 5) and Broekhuis (2008: Section 4.2) for more detailed discussions of the conditions under which the available word orders may arise. This unmarked order is illustrated in the (b)-examples.

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|-----|-----|----------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------|
| (2) | a. | Dutch: | <i>dat</i> | <i>jouw verhalen</i> | <i>mijn broer</i> | <i>niet</i> |
| | a’. | German: | <i>dass</i> | <i>deine Geschichten_{nom.}</i> | <i>meinem Bruder_{dat.}</i> | <i>nicht</i> |
| | | literal: | that | your stories | my brother | not |
| | | | | <i>bevallen.</i> | | |
| | | | | <i>gefallen.</i> | | |
| | | | | please | | |
| | | | | ‘that your stories do not please my brother.’ | | |
| | b. | Dutch: | <i>dat</i> | <i>mijn broer</i> | <i>jouw verhalen</i> | <i>niet</i> |
| | b’. | German: | <i>dass</i> | <i>meinem Bruder_{dat.}</i> | <i>deine Geschichten_{nom.}</i> | <i>nicht</i> |
| | | literal: | that | my brother | your stories | not |
| | | | | <i>bevallen.</i> | | |
| | | | | <i>gefallen.</i> | | |
| | | | | please | | |
| | | | | ‘that your stories do not please my brother.’ | | |

The (b)-examples in (3) show that the same word order variation is also found with passivized ditransitive verbs, and den Besten (1985) has argued that this shows the subject of the NOM-DAT verbs is an internal theme argument comparable to the direct object of a ditransitive verb.²

- (3) a. *Jan_{nom.} bood de meisjes_{dat} de krant_{acc.} aan.*
 Jan offered the girls the newspaper prt.
 'Jan offered the girls the newspaper.'
- b. *dat de meisjes_{dat} de krant_{nom} aangeboden werd.*
 that the girls the newspaper prt.-offered was
 'that the newspaper was offered to the girls.'
- b'. *dat de krant_{nom} de meisjes_{dat} aangeboden werd.*
 that the newspaper the girls prt.-offered was
 'that the newspaper was offered to the girls.'

That the subjects of unaccusative verbs are also internal arguments can be motivated by the examples in (4). The (b)-examples show that past/passive participles of transitive verbs like *kopen* 'to buy' can be used as an attributive modifier of a noun that corresponds to the internal theme argument (here: direct object) of the verb, but not to the external argument (subject) of the verb. The number sign is used to indicate that the primed example is only unacceptable under the intended agentive reading; the example is acceptable when the noun *meisje* is construed as a theme.

- (4) a. *Het meisje kocht het boek.*
 the girl bought the book
- b. *het gekochte boek*
 the bought book
- b'. *#het gekochte meisje*
 the bought girl

The fact that the past particle of *arriveren* in (1b') can be used as an attributive modifier of a noun that corresponds to the subject of the verb therefore strongly suggests that the subject of an unaccusative verb is also an internal theme argument. That subjects of unaccusative verbs are not assigned the prototypical semantic role of external arguments (that is, agent) can also be supported by the fact that they never allow agentive ER-nominalization (which we will use here to refer to the derivation of deverbal person nouns by means of the suffix *-er*). The primed examples in (5) show that whereas many subjects of intransitive and (di-)transitive verbs can undergo this process, unaccusative and NOM-DAT verbs never do.

- (5) a. *snurken* ‘to snore’ a’. *snurker* ‘snorer’ [intransitive]
 b. *arriveren* ‘to arrive’ b’. **arriveerder* ‘arriver’ [unaccusative]
 b. *kopen* ‘to buy’ c’. *koper* ‘buyer’ [transitive]
 d. *bevallen* ‘to please’ d’. **bevaller* ‘pleaser’ [NOM-DAT]
 e. *aanbieden* ‘to offer’ e’. *aanbieder* ‘provider’ [ditransitive]

A final argument for claiming that subjects of unaccusative verbs are internal arguments is provided by causative-inchoative pairs like (6), which show that the subject of the unaccusative construction in (6b) stands in a similar semantic relation with the (inchoative) verb *breken* as the direct object of the corresponding transitive construction with the (causative) verb *breken* in (6a); cf. Mulder (1992) and Levin (1993).

- (6) a. *Jan brak het raam.*
 Jan broke the window
 b. *Het raam brak.*
 the window broke

When we also take into account impersonal verbs like *sneeuwen* ‘to snow’ which do not take any argument at all and occur with the dummy subject *het* ‘it’, we may replace the more traditional classification in intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs, by the more fine-grained one in Table 1. Note that we only mention the *prototypical* semantic roles assigned to the arguments in question without intending to exclude the availability of other semantic roles;

Table 1. *Classification of verbs according to the nominal arguments they take*

	NAME	EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	INTERNAL ARGUMENT(S)
NO INTERNAL ARGUMENT	intransitive: <i>snurken</i> ‘to snore’	nominative (agent)	—
	impersonal: <i>sneeuwen</i> ‘to snow’	—	—
ONE INTERNAL ARGUMENT	transitive: <i>kopen</i> ‘to buy’	nominative (agent)	accusative (theme)
	unaccusative: <i>arriveren</i> ‘to arrive’	—	nominative (theme)
TWO INTERNAL ARGUMENTS	ditransitive: <i>aanbieden</i> ‘to offer’	nominative (agent)	dative (goal) accusative (theme)
	dyadic unaccusative (NOM-DAT): <i>bevallen</i> ‘to please’	—	dative (experiencer) nominative (theme)
	undative: ????	—	nominative (goal) accusative (theme)

external arguments, for example, need not be agents but can also function as causers, as is clearly the case when the human subject in (6a) is replaced by a nonhuman one like *de storm* 'the tempest': *De storm brak het raam* 'The storm broke the window'. The same holds for dative phrases in ditransitive construction, which can also function as, e.g. beneficiaries or a possessor; cf. Sections 3.2 and 3.4.

The reader will have noted that Table 1 includes one logical possibility that we have not discussed so far and which we have dubbed *UNDATIVE* verbs, in which an internal goal argument (that is, with the semantic role that is also assigned to the dative argument of a ditransitive verb) functions as the subject of the clause. In Section 2, we will argue that such verbs do indeed exist and that the verb *krijgen* 'to get' is one of the main representatives of this type. In fact, we will argue in sections 3 and 4 that not only the main verb *krijgen* functions as an undative verb, but that the same holds for the auxiliary and copular verb *krijgen* in semipassive and semicopular constructions.³

2. Undative constructions

The previous section introduced the so-called unaccusative verbs, that is, verbs that take an internal theme argument that surfaces as the derived subject of the clause.⁴ This section will argue that next to the set of unaccusative verbs, there is a set of undative verbs, which take an internal goal argument that surfaces as the derived subject of the clause.

2.1. The verb *krijgen* 'to get'

This section will show that the dyadic verb *krijgen* does not behave as a run-of-the-mill transitive verb and argue that it is a prototypical instantiation of the set of undative verbs, that is, verbs with a derived subject that originates as an internal goal argument. Consider the standard Dutch examples in (7).

- (7) a. *Jan gaf Marie het boek.*
Jan gave Marie the book.
b. *Marie kreeg het boek (van Jan).*
Marie got the book of Jan
'Marie got the book from Jan.'

It seems that the indirect object in (7a) and the subject in (7b) have a similar semantic role: they both function as the recipient of the theme argument *het boek* 'the book', which strongly suggests that they are both assigned the thematic role of goal. Given that underlying subjects are normally assigned the

thematic role of agent/causer, this also suggests that the verb *krijgen* ‘to get’ in (7b) does not have an external argument (although the agent/causer can be expressed in a *van*-PP), and thus that the noun phrase *Marie* is not an underlying but a derived subject. The remainder of this section will show that there are a number of empirical facts that support this claim.

First, Section 1 has shown that ER-nominalization is only possible when an external agentive argument is present. If the subject in (7b) is indeed an internal goal argument, we expect ER-nominalization of *krijgen* to be impossible. Example (8a) shows that this prediction is indeed borne out.⁵ Note that *krijgen* differs in this respect from the verb *ontvangen* ‘to receive’ which seems semantically close, but which has a subject that seems more actively involved in the event, that is, which is more agent-like.

- (8) a. **de krijger van dit boek*
 the get-er of this book
 b. *de ontvanger van dit boek*
 the receiver of this book
 ‘the receiver of this book’

Secondly, our discussion in Section 1 has further shown that unaccusative verbs cannot be passivized, which strongly suggests that the presence of an external argument is a necessary condition for passivization. If so, we correctly predict passivization of Example (7b) to be impossible. Again, *krijgen* differs from the verb *ontvangen*, which does allow passivization and must therefore be considered a regular transitive verb (contrary to what is claimed by Haeseryn et al. 1997: 54).

- (9) a. **Het boek werd/is (door Marie) gekregen.*
 the book was/has.been by Marie gotten
 b. *Het boek werd/is (door Marie) ontvangen.*
 the book was/has.been by Marie received
 ‘The book was/has been received (by Marie).’

Although the facts in (8) and (9) are certainly suggestive, they are of course not conclusive, since we know that not all verbs with an underlying subject allow ER-nominalization and that there are several additional restrictions on passivization, like the restriction that the subject of the corresponding active clause must be animate. There is, however, additional evidence that supports the idea that the subject of *krijgen* is a derived subject. For example, the claim that the subject of *krijgen* is a derived one may also account for the fact that the standard Dutch example in (10a), which contains the idiomatic expression *iemand de koude rillingen bezorgen* ‘to give someone the creeps’, has the counterpart in (10b) with *krijgen*. This would be entirely coincidental if *Jan* would be an external argument of the verb *krijgen*.

- (10) a. *De heks bezorgt Jan de koude rillingen.*
 the witch gives Jan the cold shivers
 'The witch gave him the creeps.'
 b. *Jan kreeg de koude rillingen (van de heks).*
 Jan got the cold shivers from the witch
 'Jan has gotten the creeps fro the witch.'

The final and probably most convincing argument in favor of the assumption that *krijgen* has a derived subject is that it is possible for *krijgen* to enter inalienable possession constructions. In standard Dutch, inalienable possession constructions require the presence of a locative PP like *op de vingers* in (11a). The nominal part of the PP refers to some body part and the possessor is normally expressed by a dative noun phrase: (11a) expresses the same as (11b), where the possessive relation is made explicit by means of the possessive pronoun *haar* 'her'. We refer the reader for a more detailed discussion of this construction to Broekhuis and Cornips (1996).

- (11) a. *Jan gaf Marie een tik op de vingers.*
 Jan gave Marie a slap on the fingers
 'Jan gave Marie a slap on her fingers.'
 b. *Jan gaf Marie een tik op haar vingers.*
 Jan gave Marie a slap on her fingers'
 'Jan gave Marie a slap on her fingers.'

Subjects of active constructions do not function as inalienable possessors in standard Dutch: an example like (12a) cannot express a possessive relationship between the underlying subject *Jan* and the nominal part of the PP and the example is therefore pragmatically weird (unless the context provides more information about the possessor). In order to express inalienable possession the weak reflexive *zich* must be added.⁶

- (12) a. *#Jan sloeg op de borst.*
 Jan hit on the chest
 b. *Jan sloeg zich op de borst.*
 Jan hit REFL on the chest
 'Jan tapped his chest.'

Note that the reflexive in (12b) is most likely assigned dative case (and not accusative). Of course, this cannot be seen by inspecting the form of the invariant reflexive in (12b) but it can be made plausible by inspecting the structurally parallel German examples in (13) where the possessor appears as a dative pronoun; see Broekhuis et al. (1996) for detailed discussion.

- (13) a. *Ich boxe ihm_{dat.} in den Magen.*
 I hit him in the stomach
 ‘I hit him in the stomach’.
- b. *Ich klopfe ihm_{dat.} auf die Schulter.*
 I pat him on the shoulder
 ‘I patted his shoulder.’

The subject of the verb *krijgen* is, however, an exception to the general rule that subjects of active constructions normally do not function as inalienable possessors, as is clear from the fact that the subject *Marie* in Example (14a) is interpreted as the inalienable possessor of the noun phrase *de vingers*. This would follow immediately when we assume (i) that inalienable possessors must be goal arguments and (ii) that subject *Marie* (14a) is not an underlying but a derived subject with the thematic role of goal. For completeness’ sake, Example (14b) shows that, just like in (11), the inalienable possession relation can be made explicit by means of the possessive pronoun *haar* ‘her’. A Google search shows that the verb *krijgen* again differs from the more agentive-like verb *ontvangen*. The number of hits for the string [*V een tik op de vingers*], with one of the present or past tense forms of the verb *krijgen* resulted in more than 13.000 hits, whereas there was not a single hit for the same string with one of the present or past forms of the verb *ontvangen*.

- (14) a. *Marie kreeg een tik op de vingers.*
 Marie got a slap on the fingers
- b. *Marie kreeg een tik op haar vingers.*
 Marie got a slap on her fingers

It may be useful to conclude with the observation that the possessive dative examples in (11) and (14) all allow an idiomatic reading comparable to English “to give someone/to get a rap on the knuckles”; compare the discussion of the examples in (10).⁷

2.2. The verbs *hebben* ‘to have’ and *houden* ‘to keep’

The discussion in the previous section strongly suggests that the main verb *krijgen* is a representative of a verb type that could be characterized as undative. This section will show that the verbs *hebben* ‘to have’ and *houden* ‘to keep’ exhibit very similar syntactic behavior as *krijgen*, and are thus likely to belong to the same verb class. We will start with a discussion of the verb *hebben*.

The main difference between *krijgen* and *hebben* seems to be that the former but not the latter may take a *van*-PP expressing an agent/causer; cf. the contrast

between (15b) and (15c). Note that we added a percentage mark to (15c) in order to express that some speakers do accept (15c) with the *van*-PP, albeit that in that case the meaning of *hebben* shifts in the direction of *krijgen*.

- (15) a. *Jan gaf Marie het boek.*
 Jan gave Marie the book
 b. *Marie kreeg het boek (van Jan).*
 Marie got the book from Jan
 c. *Marie heeft het boek (°van Jan).*
 Marie has the book from Jan

We will now start by briefly reviewing the data that suggest that *hebben* is an undative verb on a par with *krijgen*. The first thing to note is that *hebben* does not allow ER-nominalization. In this respect it differs from the verb *bezitten*, which is semantically very close to it.⁸

- (16) a. **een hebber van boeken*
 a have-er of books
 b. *een bezitter van boeken*
 an owner of books
 'an owner of books'

Secondly, just like *krijgen*, *hebben* cannot be passivized. Note that this also holds for the verb *bezitten*, which was shown in (16b) to be a regular transitive verb. This shows that passivization is not a necessary condition for assuming transitive status for a verb.

- (17) a. **Het boek werd (door Marie) gehad.*
 the book was by Marie had
 b. *??Het boek werd (door Marie) bezeten.*
 the book was by Marie owned

Thirdly, alongside the idiomatic examples in (10), we find the example in (18) with a similar meaning. Note that expressing the causer in a *van*-PP gives rise to a degraded result; see also the discussion of the contrast between the examples in (15b) and (15c).

- (18) *Jan heeft de koude rillingen (°van de heks).*
 Jan has the cold shivers from the witch
 'Jan got the creeps.'

Finally, like the subject of *krijgen*, the subject of *hebben* can be used as an inalienable possessor of the nominal part of a locative PP. This would follow immediately when we assume (i) that inalienable possessors must be goal arguments and (ii) that subject *Peter* in (19b) is not an underlying but a derived subject with the thematic role of goal.

- (19) a. *Jan stopt Peter een euro in de hand.*
 Jan puts Peter a euro in the hand
 ‘Jan is putting a euro in Peter’s hand.’
 b. *Peter heeft een euro in de hand.*
 Peter has a euro in the hand
 ‘Peter has a euro in his hand.’

The verb *houden* ‘to keep’ in (20a) seems to belong to the same semantic field as *hebben* ‘to have’ and *krijgen* ‘to get’, but expresses that transmission of the theme argument does not take place. Example (20b) and (20c) show, respectively, that ER-nominalization and passivization are excluded, and (20d) shows that the subject of this verb may act as an inalienable possessor.⁹

- (20) a. *Marie houdt de boeken.*
 Marie keeps the books
 b. **een houder van boeken*
 a keeper of books
 c. **Er worden boeken gehouden.*
 there are books kept
 d. *Mao hield een rood boekje in de hand.*
 Mao kept a red book_{dim.} in the hand
 ‘Mao held a red book in his hand.’

2.3. *Other potential cases*

If there is indeed a class of undative verbs, it will probably be very small because the number of verbs with two internal arguments (ditransitive and NOM-DAT verbs) is small at any rate. It might even be the case that this class is exhausted by the verbs *krijgen*, *hebben* and *houden* discussed in the previous section. However, since the class of undative verbs has not been extensively studied so far, it is hard to say anything definite about this. Nevertheless, we want to briefly discuss a number of possible candidates for this class.

One potential set of candidates for having undative status is constituted by verbs of cognition like *weten* ‘to know’ and *kennen* ‘to know’ in (21a), where the subject of the clause acts as a kind of experiencer. The facts that the semantic role of experiencer is normally assigned to internal arguments (see the discussion of the NOM-DAT verbs in Section 1) and that these verbs do not allow passivization suggest that they are indeed undative.

- (21) a. *Jan weet/kent het antwoord.*
 Jan knows the answer
 ‘Jan knows the answer.’
 b. **Het antwoord wordt (door Jan) geweten/gekend.*
 the answer is by Jan known

ER-nominalizations seems to point in the same direction: the ER-noun *kenner* in (22a) does exist but it does not exhibit the characteristic property of productively formed ER-nouns that they inherit the internal argument of the input verb and, in fact, has the highly specialized meaning 'expert'. The ER-nouns *weter* in (22b) does not exist at all (although it does occur as the second member in the compound *betweter* 'know-all').

- (22) a. *de kenner* (**van het antwoord*)
 the know-er of the answer
 'the expert'
- b. **de weter* (*van het antwoord*)
 the know-er of the answer

Finally, the examples in (23) show that the subjects of these verbs may enter into a possessive relationship with the nominal part of a locative PP. This is probably the strongest evidence in favor of undative status for these verbs, and furthermore strongly suggests that, like the thematic role goal, the thematic role experiencer cannot be assigned to an external argument, but must be assigned to an internal argument that corresponds to the dative argument of a ditransitive verb.

- (23) a. *Jan kent het gedicht uit het/zijn hoofd.*
 Jan knows the poem from the/his head
 'Jan knows the poem by heart.'
- b. *Jan weet het uit het/zijn hoofd.*
 Jan knows it from the/his head
 'Jan knows it like that.'

Other potential examples of undative verbs are *behelzen* 'to contain/include', *bevatten* 'to contain', *inhouden* 'to imply', and *omvatten* 'to comprise'. These verbs may belong to the same semantic field as *hebben* and Haeseryn et al. (1997: 54) note that these verbs are similar to *hebben* in rejecting passivization. It is, however, not clear whether the impossibility of passivization is very telling in this case given that many of these verbs take inanimate subjects, for which reason they of course also resist the formation of person nouns by means of ER-nominalization. We therefore leave the question of whether these verbs must be included into the set of undative verbs to future research.

3. The *krijgen*-passive

This section will show that Dutch has two types of passivization: regular passivization, which involve the auxiliary *worden* 'to be' and promotion of the direct object to subject, and *krijgen*-passivization, which involve the auxiliary *krijgen* and promotion of the indirect object to subject.

- (24) a. *Jan bood hun het boek aan.*
 Jan offered them the book prt.
 ‘Jan offered them the book.’
- b. *Het boek werd/is hun aangeboden.* [regular passive]
 the book was/has.been them prt.-offered
 ‘The book was offered to them.’
- c. *Zij_{nom} kregen het boek aangeboden.* [*krijgen*-passive]
 they got the book prt.-offered
 ‘They were offered the book.’

We will argue that, contrary to common belief (cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997), the *krijgen*-passive is fully productive and should therefore be accounted for not in the lexicon but in syntax. We will furthermore show that the choice of promoted object is intimately related to the case-assigning properties of the selected auxiliary. But before we do that, we want to make a number of general remarks about the nature of dative case.

3.1. Dative as a structural case

Section 2 has argued that the main verbs *krijgen*, *hebben* and *houden* are undative verbs and thus fill in the gap that we left open in Table 1, as in Table 2:

Table 2. Classification of verbs according to the nominal arguments they take

	NAME	EXTERNAL ARGUMENT	INTERNAL ARGUMENT(S)
NO INTERNAL ARGUMENT	intransitive: <i>snurken</i> ‘to snore’	nominative (agent)	—
	impersonal: <i>sneeuwen</i> ‘to snow’	—	—
ONE INTERNAL ARGUMENT	transitive: <i>kopen</i> ‘to buy’	nominative (agent)	accusative (theme)
	unaccusative: <i>arriveren</i> ‘to arrive’	—	nominative (theme)
TWO INTERNAL ARGUMENTS	ditransitive: <i>aanbieden</i> ‘to offer’	nominative (agent)	dative (goal) accusative (theme)
	dyadic unaccusative (NOM-DAT): <i>bevallen</i> ‘to please’	—	dative (experiencer) nominative (theme)
	undative: <i>krijgen</i> ‘to get’; <i>hebben</i> ‘to have’; <i>houden</i> ‘to keep’	—	nominative (goal) accusative (theme)

The classification in Table 2 seems to conflict with a longstanding tradition within the generative framework, which takes the dative in the continental West-Germanic languages to be not structural, but inherent (oblique) case.¹⁰ This tradition is motivated by the passivization pattern in (25); when dative is indeed an inherent case, it is obligatorily assigned to the goal argument, and we therefore correctly predict that the indirect object cannot surface as a derived subject in (25b).

- (25) a. *Jan bood hun_{dat} het boek aan.*
 Jan offered them the book prt.
 'Jan offered them the book.'
- b. **Zij_{nom} werden het boek aangeboden.*
 they were the book prt.-offered
- c. *Het boek werd hun_{dat} aangeboden.*
 the book was them prt.-offered
 'The book was offered to them.'

We nevertheless believe that the corollary of the classification in Table 2 that dative is not an inherent case in Dutch and German is a welcome result. First, it must be noted that it is not possible to claim that dative as such is always an inherent case. If so, we would predict that promotion of indirect objects to subject would be categorically excluded. The examples in (26) show that this prediction is clearly wrong.

- (26) a. *John offered them the book.*
 b. *They were offered the book.*
 c. **The book was offered them.*

Furthermore, appealing to the distinction between inherent and structural case does not provide a true explanation of the contrast between the Dutch examples in (25) and the English examples in (26), but simply replaces one problem (what determines whether the direct or the indirect object is promoted to subject) by another (what determines whether the indirect object is assigned inherent or structural case).

Apart from the fact that an appeal to the notion of inherent case does not solve the problem presented by the contrast in (25) and (26), such an appeal would actually be problematic in view of German absolute constructions like (27a), where the dative noun phrase is semantically licensed by being in a predicative relation with the locative PP *im Tor*, but dative case is structurally licensed by the preposition *mit* 'with' (Marcel den Dikken p.c.). When we technically implement this by assuming that the complement of the dative assigning preposition *mit* is a Small Clause (cf. Bennis and Hoekstra 1989 and references cited therein), the preposition assigns dative Case to a non-argument across a SC-boundary. This means that we are dealing with Exceptional Dative

Marking, which is a clear hallmark of structural case; the schematic representation in (27b) shows that the case-assignment is dissociated from the semantic relation, and hence cannot involve inherent case.

- (27) a. German: *Mit diesem Jungen im Tor werden wir
With this boy_{dat} in-the goal will we
sicher gewinnen.
certainly win*
'With this boy in the goal, we will certainly win.'
- b.
- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| selection | [_{PP} mit [_{SC} diesem Jungen im Tor]] | |
| case assignment | [_{PP} mit [_{SC} diesem Jungen im Tor]] | predication |

The claim that dative case is structural is also supported by the fact that, besides the "regular" passive illustrated in (25), in which the direct object is promoted, Dutch, German and Luxembourgish (Lenz 2006, 2009) also have passive-like constructions with *krijgen* like (28), in which not the direct but the indirect object is promoted to subject.

- (28) a. *Jan bood hun_{dat} het boek aan.*
Jan offered them the book prt.
'Jan offered them the book.'
- b. *Zij_{nom} kregen het boek aangeboden.*
they got the book prt.-offered
'They were offered the book.'
- c. **Het boek kreeg hun_{dat} aangeboden.*
the book got them prt.-offered

In the Dutch literature the *krijgen*-passive is often called the SEMI-PASSIVE (Haeseryn et al. 1997). The use of this notion reflects the fact that it is normally claimed that the *krijgen*-passivization is not a syntactic but a lexical rule. The main reason for this claim is that the *krijgen*-passivization seems idiosyncratically constrained in several respects; the examples in (29), for instance, show that the prototypical ditransitive verb *geven* 'to give' can undergo regular but not *krijgen*-passivization.¹¹

- (29) a. *Jan geeft de kinderen een cadeautje.*
Jan gives the children a present
'Jan is giving the children a present.'
- b. *Er werd de kinderen een cadeautje gegeven.*
there was the children a present given
'A present was given to the children.'
- b'. **De kinderen kregen een cadeautje gegeven.*
the children got a present given

The attempt to shift the explanatory burden to the lexicon is of course not surprising given that a syntactic approach to the *krijgen*-passive is incompatible with the claim that dative is an inherent case in the continental West-Germanic languages. It is not at all clear, however, whether pointing at the contrast between the two (b)-examples in (29) is conclusive, given that the regular passive is also subject to all kinds of idiosyncratic restrictions. For this reason, we will investigate the *krijgen*-passive in more detail. Section 3.2 will start by discussing the verb types that can undergo *krijgen*-passivization and show that, contrary to what is normally assumed in the literature, the *krijgen*-passive is fairly productive so that considering *krijgen*-passivization as a syntactic rule seems well-motivated. Section 3.3 discusses the role of the auxiliaries in the regular and *krijgen*-passive. Section 3.4, finally, concludes with a brief discussion of *krijgen*-passivization in a number of nonstandard varieties of Dutch.

3.2. Restrictions on the main verb

Krijgen-passivization is less common than regular passivization. In our view, the reason for this is not that this process is idiosyncratically constrained but, simply, that the set of verbs that are eligible to this process is a subset of the verbs that are eligible for regular passivization. Whereas regular passivization is possible with intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs, *krijgen*-passivization requires the presence of an indirect object and is therefore possible with ditransitive verbs only. Note in passing that the demoted object can be optionally expressed by means of an agentive *door*-phrase in all cases.

- (30) a. *Er werd (door de jongens) gelachen.* [regular passive]
 there was by the boys laughed
 (unavailable in English)
- b. *De hond_{theme} werd (door de jongens) geknuffeld.* [regular passive]
 the dog was by the boys
 cuddled
 'The dog was cuddled (by the boys).'
- c. *De prijs_{theme} werd de meisjes_{goal} (door Jan) overhandigd.* [regular passive]
 the reward was the girls by Jan
 prt.-handed
- c'. *De meisjes_{goal} kregen de prijs_{theme} (door Jan) overhandigd.* [*krijgen*-passive]
 the girls got the reward by Jan
 prt.-handed
 'The girls were handed the reward.'

The subsections below will show that, in other respects, *krijgen*-passivization is rather productive and that the occurring restrictions on it are not as random as the literature normally suggests. In order to do this, we will divide the ditransitive verbs into four semantic subclasses on the basis of the semantic role of the indirect object. After the discussion of these four subclasses, we will briefly discuss a rather special case of the *krijgen*-passive, namely one that does not seem to have an active counterpart.

3.2.1. *Indirect object is a goal.* *Krijgen*-passivization typically occurs with ditransitive verbs with a goal argument, that is, verbs that denote an event that involves or aims at the transmission of the referent of the theme argument to the referent of the indirect object. Two examples are given in (31).

- (31) a. *Marie biedt hem_{goal} die boeken_{theme} aan.*
 Marie offers him those books prt.
 ‘Marie is offering hem those books.’
- a'. *Hij krijgt die boeken aangeboden.*
 he gets those books prt.-offered
 ‘He was offered those books.’
- b. *Jan overhandigde haar_{goal} de prijs_{theme}.*
 Jan handed her the reward
 ‘Jan handed her the reward.’
- b'. *Zij kreeg de prijs overhandigd.*
 she got the reward handed
 ‘She was handed the reward.’

We can include examples like (32), which involve verbs of communication, by construing the notion of transmission in a broad sense, including transmission of information. An example like (32b') is perhaps less acceptable than its regular passive counterpart *Er werd ons meegedeeld dat . . .* ‘It was communicated to us that . . .’, but it seems grammatical.

- (32) a. *Jan las de kinderen_{goal} een leuk verhaal_{theme} voor.*
 Jan read the children a nice story prt.
 ‘Jan read a nice story to the children.’
- a'. *De kinderen kregen een leuk verhaal voorgelezen.*
 the children got a nice story prt.-read
 ‘The children were read a nice story.’
- b. *Peter deelde ons_{goal} gisteren mee*
 Peter informed us yesterday prt.
 [*dat hij ontslag neemt*]_{theme}
 that he resignation takes
 ‘Peter told us yesterday that he will leave his job.’

- b'. *?Wij kregen gisteren meegedeeld dat hij ontslag neemt.*
 we got yesterday prt-informed that he resignation takes
 'We were told yesterday that he will leave his job.'

All in all, it seems that the majority of ditransitive verbs with a goal argument can undergo *krijgen*-passivization. Example (33) provides a small sample of such verbs. See van Leeuwen (2006: Table 2) for a more extensive list of verbs based on extensive corpus research.

- (33) Ditransitive verbs with a goal object allowing *krijgen*-passivization
- a. Transmission verbs: *aanbieden* 'to offer', *aanreiken* 'to hand', *betalen* 'to pay', *bezorgen* 'to deliver', *doneren* 'to donate', *nabringen* 'to deliver subsequently', *opdragen* 'to dedicate', *opleggen* 'to impose', *opspelden* 'to pin on', *overdragen* 'to hand over', *overhandigen* 'to pass over', *presenteren* 'to present', *retourneren* 'to return', *toedienen* 'to administer', *toekennen* 'to assign', *toemeten* 'to allot', *toestoppen* 'to slip', *toewijzen* 'to assign', *uitbetalen* 'to pay out', *uitreiken* 'to hand', *vergoeden* 'to reimburse', *voorschrijven* 'to prescribe', *voorzetten* 'to serve', etc.
 - b. Communication verbs: *bijbrengen* 'to teach', *meedelen* 'to announce', *onderwijzen* 'to teach', *toewensen* 'to wish', *uitleggen* 'to explain', *vertellen* 'to tell', *voorlezen* 'to read aloud'.

It must be noted, however, that the verbs in (33a) must denote actual transmission of the theme argument in order to be able to undergo *krijgen*-passivization. This will become clear from the examples in (34): Example (34a) implies actual transmission of the package to Marie, and *krijgen*-passivization is possible; Example (34b), on the other hand, is an idiomatic example, which does not imply transmission of *de rillingen*, and *krijgen*-passivization is excluded.

- (34) a. *Jan bezorgde Marie/haar het pakje.*
 Jan delivered Marie/her the package
 'Jan brought Marie the package.'
- a'. *Marie/Zij kreeg het pakje bezorgd.*
 Marie/she got the package delivered
 'Marie was brought the package.'
- b. *De heks bezorgde Marie/haar de koude rillingen.*
 the witch delivered Marie/her the cold shivers
 'The witch gave Marie the creeps.'
- b'. **Marie/Zij kreeg de koude rillingen bezorgd.*
 Marie/she got the cold shivers delivered

Although the two lists in (33) show that *krijgen*-passivization is quite productive with ditransitive verbs with a goal argument, it is still true that a small subset of such verbs does not allow it. Example (35) provides a sample, which includes the proto-typical ditransitive verb *geven* 'to give'.

- (35) Ditransitive verbs with a goal object not allowing *krijgen*-passivization:
- Transmission verbs: *geven* 'to give', *schenken* 'to offer', *sturen* 'to send', *verschaffen* 'to provide', *zenden* 'to send'.
 - Communication verbs: *schrijven* 'to write', *vertellen* 'to tell/narrate', *zeggen* 'to say'.

The first question that we want to raise is: Why is it precisely the prototypical ditransitive verb *geven* that resists *krijgen*-passivization in Dutch (but see note 10)? When we compare *geven* to the verbs in (33a), we see that this verb is special in that it is neutral with respect to the *mode* of transmission; whereas all verbs in (33a) make to a certain extent explicit how the transmission is brought about, *geven* does not. As a result, the *krijgen*-passive in (36b) may be blocked by the simpler construction in (36c), which is also neutral with respect to the mode of transmission.

- (36) a. *Jan geeft de kinderen_{goal} een cadeautje_{theme}.*
 Jan gives the children a present
 'Jan is giving the children a present.'
- b. **De kinderen_{goal} kregen een cadeautje_{theme} gegeven.*
 the children got a present given
- c. *De kinderen kregen een cadeautje.*
 the children got a present
 'The children were given/got a present.'

In this context, it is interesting to observe that adding meaning to the verb *geven* by combining it with a verbal particle often improves the acceptability of examples like (36b). Apparently, the particle adds sufficient information about the mode of transmission to license the *krijgen*-passivization.

- (37) a. *Marie gaf hem_{goal} het zout_{theme} door/aan.*
 Marie gave him the salt prt./prt.
 'Marie passed/handed him the salt.'
- b. *Hij_{goal} kreeg het zout_{theme} door/?aan gegeven.*
 he got the salt prt./prt. given
 'He was handed the salt.'

Although this may be less conspicuous than in the case with *geven*, the transmission verbs in (35a) also seem more or less neutral with respect to the mode of transmission. And, like *geven*, the verbs *sturen* and *zenden* do allow *krijgen*-

passivization when a particle is added. This is shown for *sturen* in (38); see also Coleman (2006: 264).

- (38) a. *Els stuurde Marie_{goal} een mooie brief_{theme} (toe).*
 Els sent Marie a beautiful letter prt.
 'Els sent Marie a beautiful letter.'
- b. *Marie_{goal} kreeg een mooie brief_{theme} *(toe) gestuurd.*
 Marie got a beautiful letter prt. send
 'Marie was sent a beautiful letter.'

We therefore conclude that *krijgen*-passivization is fully productive with verbs of transmission and communication provided that these verbs specify the mode of transmission.

3.2.2. *Indirect object is a source.* When the indirect object is a source, that is, the argument where the transmitted theme originates, *krijgen*-passivization is always excluded in standard Dutch. An example is given in (39b). Note that the regular passive in (39c) is fully acceptable.

- (39) a. *Jan pakte Marie/haar_{source} het boek_{theme} af.*
 Jan took Marie/her het book prt.
 'Jan took the book from Marie.'
- b. **Marie/zij_{source} kreeg het boek_{theme} afgepakt.*
 Marie/she got the book prt.-taken
- c. *Het boek_{theme} werd Marie/haar_{source} afgepakt.*
 the book was Mare/her prt.-take
 'The book was taken from Marie.'

Colleman (2006: 265) suggests that the impossibility of examples like (39b) is due to the fact that the intended interpretation is incompatible with the meaning of the main verb *krijgen* 'to receive', and he suggests that this also accounts for the fact that verbs that express a denial of transmission like *onthouden* 'to withhold', *ontzeggen* 'to refuse' and *weigeren* 'to refuse' resist *krijgen*-passivization as well; cf. (40b). Note that regular passivization is again acceptable.

- (40) a. *Jan weigerde haar het boek.*
 Jan refused her the book
 'Jan denied her the book.'
- b. **Zij kreeg het boek geweigerd.*
 she got the book refused
- c. *Het boek werd haar geweigerd.*
 the book was her refused
 'She was denied the book.'

It is not clear to us whether Coleman's claim can be fully maintained given that it is not hard to find examples on the internet that are also accepted by our standard Dutch informants. Some somewhat adapted/simplified examples are given in (41).

- (41) a. *dat hij een levensverzekering geweigerd kreeg.*
 that he a life insurance refused got
 'that he was refused a life insurance.'
- b. [*een kliniek*] *waar een kankerpatiënt een abortus*
 a clinic where a cancer patient an abortion
geweigerd kreeg.
 refused got
 '[a clinic] where a cancer patient was refused [an abortion].'
- c. *dat hij de toegang ontzegd kreeg.*
 that he the entrance denied got
 'that he was denied entrance.'
- d. *Zulke ouders mogen de voogdij ontzegd krijgen.*
 Such parents may the guardianship deprived get
 'Such parents may be deprived of guardianship.'

3.2.3. *Indirect object is a beneficiary.* There is an extremely small set of verbs in standard Dutch that take a beneficiary indirect object. The prototypical example is *inschenken* 'to pour in' in (42a). As can be seen in (42a'), this verb allows *krijgen*-passivization. The beneficiary is normally optional in Dutch, although the verb *kwijtschelden* 'to remit' in (42b) seems to be an exception to this rule. Note that these examples do not necessarily involve a goal argument given that in the (b)-examples the pronoun is not the recipient of the direct object.

- (42) a. *Jan schenkt Els_{benefactive} een kop koffie_{theme} in.*
 Jan pours Els a cup coffee prt.
 'Jan pours Els a cup of coffee.'
- a'. *Els_{benefactive} krijgt een kop koffie_{theme} ingeschonken.*
 Els gets a cup coffee prt.-poured
 'Els was poured a cup of coffee (by Jan).'
- b. *De gemeente schold hem de belasting kwijt.*
 the municipality remitted him the taxes prt.
 'The municipality remitted his taxes.'
- b'. *Hij kreeg de belasting kwijtgescholden.*
 he got the taxes prt.-remitted
 'His taxes were remitted.'

3.2.4. *Indirect object is a possessor.* The examples in (43) show that *krijgen*-passivization is also allowed with inalienable possession constructions of the type discussed in Section 2, that is, with constructions in which the indirect object acts as an inalienable possessor of the body part mentioned in a locational PP.

- (43) a. *Marie zet hem_{possessor} het kind op de knie.*
 Marie puts him the child on the knee
 'Marie is putting the child on his knee.'
 b. *Hij krijgt het kind op de knie gezet.*
 he gets the child on the knee put
 'The child was put on his knee.'

Note that the direction of transmission of the theme again plays a role: in (43a), the theme is transmitted to the referent of the indirect object, which therefore also acts as a kind of goal, and *krijgen*-passivization is possible; in (44a), on the other hand, the theme is removed from the referent of the indirect object, which therefore also acts as a kind of source, and *krijgen*-passivization is excluded in standard Dutch.

- (44) a. *Peter trekt hem_{possessor} een haar uit de baard.*
 Peter pulls him a hair out.of the beard
 'Peter pulls a hair out of his beard.'
 b. **Hij krijgt een haar uit de baard getrokken.*
 he gets a hair out.of the beard pulled
 'Someone (Peter) pulled a hair out of his beard.'

3.2.5. *A special case.* The previous subsections discussed the *krijgen*-passive of several types of ditransitive verbs. This subsection concludes with a special case of "*krijgen*-passivization". Consider the prime-less examples in (45). These examples do not contain an indirect object at all, but nevertheless the primed examples seem to act as a kind of "*krijgen*-passive" of these constructions.

- (45) a. *Ik stuur de hond op hem af.*
 I send the dog on him prt.
 'I set the dog on him.'
 a'. *Hij kreeg de hond op zich afgestuurd.*
 he got the dog ON REFL prt.-sent
 'The dogs were set on him.'
 b. *Peter heeft een pakje naar Els toegestuurd.*
 Peter has a package to Els prt.-sent
 'Peter sent a package to Els.'

- b'. *Els kreeg een pakje naar zich toegestuurd.*
 Els got a package to REFL prt.-sent
 'Els was sent a package.'

If the primed examples of (45) were derived by promotion of an indirect object, we would expect the examples in (46) to be acceptable, but they are not.

- (46) a. **Ik stuur hem de hond op zich af.*
 I send him the dog on REFL prt.
 b. **Peter heeft Els een pakje naar zich toegestuurd.*
 Peter has Els a package to REFL prt.-send

To our knowledge, examples like (45) have not been discussed in the literature. We leave them for future research while suggesting that the ungrammaticality of (46) may be due to the fact that the weak reflexive *zich* is normally subject-oriented, as in (47).

- (47) a. *Jan legt het boek voor zich.*
 Jan puts the book in.front.of REFL
 'Jan is putting the book in front of himself.'
 b. *Jan houdt de honden bij zich.*
 Jan keeps the dogs with REFL
 'Jan is keeping the dogs near him.'

3.2.6. *Conclusion.* The previous subsections have shown that *krijgen*-passivization is a fairly productive rule, although there are a number of systematic constraints on its application in standard Dutch. Verbs of transmission (including those of communication) can normally be passivized provided that two conditions are met: (i) the verb indicates what the mode of transmission is, and (ii) the referent of the indirect object is the goal (and not the source) of transmission. Further we have seen that *krijgen*-passivization is possible with more than one type of indirect object: goals, beneficiaries and possessives can all be promoted to subject under *krijgen*-passivization; only sources are exempt from this process. This suggests that, contrary to what is normally assumed, *krijgen*-passivization is a productive syntactic rule, just like the "regular" form of passivization.¹²

3.3. *The role of the auxiliary*

The fact that *krijgen*-passivization is a productive process suggests that the more traditional view that attributes this process to the lexicon is not feasible and that a more syntactic approach is in order. Consider again the prototypical cases from (25) and (28), repeated here as the (b)- and (c)-examples in (48).

- (48) a. *Jan bood hun het boek aan.*
 Jan offered them the book prt.
 'Jan offered them the book.'
- b. *Het boek werd/is hun aangeboden.*
 the book was/has.been them prt.-offered
 'The book was sent to them.'
- b'. **Zij werden/zijn het boek aangeboden.*
 they were/have.been the book prt.-offered
- c. *Zij_{nom} kregen het boek aangeboden.*
 they got the book prt.-offered
 'They were offered the book.'
- c'. **Het boek kreeg hun_{dat} aangeboden.*
 the book got them prt.-offered

The obvious question that the passive constructions in (48) raise is what determines which of the two internal arguments is promoted to subject. It seems that there are just three crucial aspects that are relevant in the syntactic description of the two types of passive constructions. The first aspect concerns the form of the main verb: the two constructions both require that the main verb take the form of a passive participle. The second aspect concerns the auxiliary: the auxiliary in the regular passive is *worden* 'to be', whereas it is *krijgen* in the *krijgen*-passive. The third aspect involves the object that is promoted to subject (if any): the theme argument in the regular passive, and the goal argument in the *krijgen*-passive.

The fact that the form of the main verb is the same in the two constructions makes it pretty implausible that this form is related to the question which object is promoted to subject. This just leaves the option that there is a one-to-one relation between the choice of auxiliary and the choice of object that will be promoted to subject. We can make this more precise by formulating the hypothesis in (49).

- (49) The case assigning properties of the passive auxiliaries determine which object of a ditransitive verb will be promoted to subject.
- a. Passive participles are unable to assign case.
 - b. The auxiliaries *worden* and *zijn* are unaccusative verbs and thus unable to assign accusative case; the direct object is promoted to subject.
 - c. The auxiliary *krijgen* is an undative verb and thus unable to assign dative case; the indirect object is promoted to subject.

The claim in (49a) is part of a tradition that started with Jaeggli (1986) and Baker et al. (1989), according to which passive participles do not have the ability to assign case.¹³ This means that the "surviving" object must be assigned

case by the auxiliary. The fact that it is the theme argument that must be promoted to subject in the regular passive construction can now be related to the fact that the verbs *worden* and *zijn* are unaccusative (which is clear from the fact that they form their present tense with the auxiliary *zijn*) and cannot assign accusative case in any of their uses. The examples in (50), for example, show that when these verbs are used as copular verbs they cannot assign accusative case to the external argument of the predicative part of the construction, for which reason this argument must raise to the subject position of the clause in order to be assigned nominative.

- (50) a. _____ *wordt/is* [_{SC} *Jan ziek*] [no accusative case]
 b. *Jan wordt/is* [_{SC} *t_{Jan} ziek*] [promotion to subject]
 Jan is/has.been ill
 ‘Jan has been ill.’

The fact that it is the goal/beneficiary/possessor argument that must be promoted to subject in the *krijgen*-passive can now be made to follow from our claim, which was substantiated in Section 2, that main verb *krijgen* is not able to assign dative case. That the theme argument can be realized as the direct object of the passive construction is, of course, related to the fact that main verb *krijgen* is able to assign accusative case.

- (51) a. _____ *kreeg Marie het boek_{acc} aangeboden* [no dative case]
 b. *Marie kreeg t_{Marie} het boek aangeboden.* [promotion to subject]
 Marie got the book prt.-offered subject
 ‘Mare was offered the book.’

Obviously, the fact that goal argument is realized as the indirect object in the regular passive implies that *worden* and *zijn* are able to assign dative case. This seems to be supported by copular constructions like (52).¹⁴

- (52) a. *Dat probleem is mij_{dative} [_{SC} *t_{dat probleem} bekend*].*
 that problem is me known
 ‘That problem is known to me.’
 b. *Het geluid werd/was mij_{dative} [_{SC} *t_{het geluid} te hard*].*
 the sound became/was me too loud
 ‘The sound became/was too loud for me.’

3.4. The *krijgen*-passive in nonstandard varieties of Dutch

Section 3.2 has argued that *krijgen*-passivization is a fairly productive rule in standard Dutch by showing that it is possible with more than one type of indirect object: goals, beneficiaries and possessives can all be promoted to subject. *Krijgen*-passivization is, in fact, only excluded when the indirect object of the active verb functions as a source. This section will briefly investigate *krijgen*-

passivization in nonstandard eastern varieties of Dutch such as Heerlen Dutch.¹⁵ In these varieties, *krijgen*-passivization is even more productive than in standard Dutch. In fact, since the use of double object constructions is much more widespread in this variety of Dutch, the *krijgen*-passivization is, in fact applicable to a wider range of constructions.

3.4.1. *Indirect object is a goal.* As in standard Dutch, *krijgen*-passivization typically occurs with verbs of transmission and communication. One example of Heerlen Dutch is given in (53).

- (53) a. *Ik breng hem_{goal} de foto's_{theme}.*
 I bring him the pictures
 'I will bring him the pictures.'
 b. *Hij krijgt de foto's gebracht.*
 he gets the pictures brought
 'He will be brought the pictures.'

3.4.2. *Indirect object is a source.* The examples in (54) show that, unlike standard Dutch, *krijgen*-passivization is allowed in Heerlen-Dutch when the indirect object is a source.

- (54) a. *Ik heb mijn ouders_{source} het rapport_{theme} weggehouden.*
 I have my parents the report prt.-hold
 'I kept the report from my parents.'
 b. *De ouders/zij_{source} kregen het rapport_{theme} weggehouden.*
 the parents/they got the report prt-hold
 'The report was kept from my parents.'
 c. *Het rapport_{theme} werd de ouders/hun_{source} weggehouden.*
 the report was the parents/them prt-off
 'The report was kept from my parents.'

The examples in (55) further show that the same holds for verbs that express a denial of transmission like *weigeren* 'to refuse', which were shown to sometimes resist *krijgen*-passivization in standard Dutch; cf. (40b).

- (55) a. *Marie weigert Jan/hem_{source} een boek_{theme}.*
 Marie refuses Jan/him a book.
 'Marie denied Jan/him the book.'
 b. *Jan/hij_{source} kreeg een boek_{theme} geweigerd.*
 Marie/she got a book refused
 'Jan/he was denied the book.'
 c. *Een boek_{theme} werd Jan/hem_{source} geweigerd.*
 a book was Jan/him refused
 'Jan/he was denied the book.'

This means that Colleman's (2006: 265) claim that the meaning of the main verb *krijgen* 'to receive' imposes restrictions on *krijgen*-passivization in standard Dutch can certainly not be extended to the nonstandard varieties of Dutch.

3.4.3. *Indirect object is a beneficiary.* The set of verbs with a beneficiary indirect object is much larger in the eastern dialects and Heerlen Dutch than in standard Dutch; see also Section 3.5. The claim that the *krijgen*-passive is syntactically derived, of course, predicts that these nonstandard constructions can readily undergo *krijgen*-passivization. This is confirmed by the Heerlen Dutch data in (56) and (57), which show that both the regular and the *krijgen*-passive are fully acceptable.

- (56) a. *Jan haalt Els/haar_{ben} een kop koffie_{theme}.*
 Jan fetches Els/her a cup coffee
 'Jan got Els a cup of coffee.'
- b. *Els/haar werd een kop koffie gehaald (door Jan).*
 Els/her was a cup of coffee fetched by Jan
- c. *Els/zij krijgt een kop koffie (door Jan) gehaald.*
 Els/she gets a cup coffee by Jan) fetched
- (57) a. *Els kocht Jan/hem_{benefactive} een boek.*
 Els bought Jan/him a book.
 'Els bought a book for Jan/him.'
- b. *Jan/hem werd een boek gekocht.*
 Jan/him was a book bought
- c. *Jan/Hij kreeg een boek gekocht (door Els).*
 Jan/he got a book bought by Els

3.4.4. *Indirect object is a possessor.* The examples in (58) show that *krijgen*-passivization is also allowed with inalienable possession constructions of the type discussed in Section 2, that is, with constructions in which the indirect object acts as an inalienable possessor of the body part mentioned in a locational PP.

- (58) a. *Hij heeft me_{poss} dat stuk uit het scheenbeen gekapt.*
 he has me that piece out the shinbone cut
 'He has cut a piece out of my shinbone.'
- b. *Ik krijg dat stuk uit het scheenbeen gekapt.*
 I get that piece out the shinbone cut
 'Someone cut a piece out of my shinbone.'

Heerlen Dutch differs from standard Dutch, however, that *krijgen*-passivization is also possible when the indirect object of the active sentence acts as the

source. This is, of course, not surprising in the light of our earlier observation in Subsection 3.4.2.

- (59) a. *Peter trekt hem_{poss} een haar uit de baard.*
 Peter pulls him a hair out.of the beard
 'Peter pulls a hair out of his beard.'
- b. *Hij krijgt een haar uit de baard getrokken.*
 he gets a hair out.of the beard pulled
 'Someone pulled a hair out of his beard.'

Furthermore, it can be noted that the use of possessive datives is more common in these nonstandard varieties, due to the fact that dative possessors may also take a direct object associate. This is illustrated in (60a) for Heerlen Dutch and for the Montfort dialect in (61a); cf. Bakkes (1996: 187). The (b)- and (c)-examples show that, as expected under the claim that the *krijgen*-passive is syntactically derived, both regular and *krijgen*-passivization are possible.

(60) Heerlen Dutch

- a. *Ik was haar_{poss} de handen.*
 I wash her the hands
 'I wash her hands.'
- b. *De handen werden haar (door mij) gewassen.*
 the hands were her by me washed
 'Her hands were washed (by me).'
- c. *Zij kreeg de handen (door mij) gewassen.*
 she got the hands by me washed
 'Her hands were washed (by me).'

(61) Montfort dialect

- a. *Zij knipt mij_{possessor} de amandelen.*
 she cuts me the tonsils
 'She is cutting my tonsils.'
- b. *Mij zijn de amandelen (door haar) geknipt.*
 me are the tonsils by her cut
 'My tonsils are cut (by her).'
- c. *Ich kreeg de amandele geknipt.*
 I got the tonsils cut
 'My tonsils were cut.'

3.4.5. *Reflexive dative.* Example (62a) shows that the dative object may also be a reflexive pronoun; cf. Cornips and Hulk (1996). Reflexive pronouns may of course also appear in the beneficiary or possessive constructions discussed in Subsections 3.2.3 and 3.2.4 above, but the construction in (62a) is

special in that the reflexive cannot be replaced by a referential noun phrase or a personal pronoun; (62b) is unacceptable.

(62) Heerlen Dutch

- a. *Elke ochtend drinkt Jan zich een glas melk.*
 each morning drinks Jan REFL a glass of milk
 ‘He drinks a glass of milk each morning.’
- b. **Elke ochtend drinkt Jan Marie/haar een glas melk.*
 each morning drinks Jan Marie/her a glass of milk

The examples in (63) show further that inherent reflexive constructions of the type in (62a) are special in that they resist any form of passivization. Example (63a) shows that regular passivization is not only excluded when the dative is realized as a reflexive, but also when it is replaced by a referential noun phrase or a personal pronoun.

- (63) a. **Elke ochtend wordt Marie/haar/zich een glas melk*
 each morning is Marie/her/REFL a glass of milk
gedronken.
 drunk
- b. **Elke ochtend krijgt Marie/zij/zich een glas melk*
 each morning gets Marie/she/REFL a glass of milk
gedronken.
 drunk

Although the impossibility of the examples in (63) may be surprising in the light of the productivity of the two passive constructions, it seems to be part of a more common pattern: passivization of inherently reflexive constructions is also impossible in standard Dutch. This is illustrated for the inherently reflexive resultative construction in (64a); both the regular passive in (64b) and the *krijgen*-passive in (64c) are ungrammatical.

- (64) a. *Hij dronk *Marie/*haar/zich een delirium.*
 he drank Marie/her/REFL a delirium
 ‘He drank so much that he got a delirium’
- b. **Er wordt Marie/haar/zich een delirium gedronken.*
 there is Marie/her/REFL a delirium drunk
- c. **Marie/zij/zich kreeg een delirium gedronken.*
 Marie/she/REFL got a delirium drunk

This shows that the ungrammaticality of the example in (63) does not bear on the question whether *krijgen*-passivization is a productive, syntactic process or not, but must receive an independent explanation: the reason for the impossibility of the reflexives in the passive examples in (63) and (64) is of course that

the reflexives do not have an antecedent, and the impossibility of the referential noun phrases and a personal pronouns is most likely due to the fact that they cannot be used as an object in (62b) and (64a) either.

3.4.6. *Conclusion.* This section has shown that the eastern Dutch dialects and the regional variety Heerlen Dutch allow dative objects in a much wider range of constructions than standard Dutch; the referents of dative objects may act as goals, sources, beneficiaries, and inalienable possessors. Dative objects in all these functions can be promoted to subject under *krijgen*-passivization. This shows that these nonstandard varieties of Dutch are not subject to the constraints on *krijgen*-passivization that were established for Dutch. We therefore conclude that *krijgen*-passivization is fully productive in these nonstandard varieties of Dutch, which again supports our earlier claim that dative is not an inherent, but a structural case.

3.5. *Geographical distribution of the possessive double object construction*

This section will provide a geographical distribution of the nonstandard inalienable possession constructions in the Dutch dialects, that is, double object constructions with a dative possessor (henceforth possessive double object construction). In this way, we hope to get some insight in the geographical distribution of *krijgen*-passivization in nonstandard varieties of Dutch, which has not been examined in a systematic way so far. This hope is based on the fact that double object constructions are the prototypical ones allowing *krijgen*-passivization and, as such, are reliable predictors for the availability of the nonstandard forms of *krijgen*-passives.

There are at least two important studies of the geographical distribution of the possessive double object construction. First, van Bree (1981) presents a set of data collected by means of questionnaires that were sent out to dialect speakers throughout the Dutch spoken language area between 1973 and 1979. The results show that this type of construction is mainly found in the eastern part of the Netherlands: Limburg, Gelderland (Achterhoek), Overijssel (east) and Drenthe; cf. van Bree (1981: Map 2). Interestingly, the geographical distribution of the benefactive double object construction is a larger one; it is not only a common construction in the eastern part of the Netherlands but also in the southern dialects of the Flemish provinces Antwerpen and Oost-Vlaanderen; cf. van Bree 1981: Map 3 and 4).

Secondly, the *Atlas of the Dutch Dialects* reveals about the same geographical distribution of the possessive double object construction; cf. Barbiere et al. (2005: Map 78A) (see Section 4.4 for the social distribution of this type of construction). This construction is quite common nowadays in the eastern part

of the Netherlands again: parts of the provinces of Drenthe, Overijssel, Gelderland, and Limburg. In the very south of Limburg, the reflexive dative object also appears in combination with a possessive pronoun, as in (65); see Barbierts et al. (2005: 66), and also Cornips (2006).

- (65) *Hij wast zich zijn handen.*
 he washes REFL his hands
 ‘He is washing his hands.’

Given that we have assumed that the availability of the possessive double object construction is a reliable predictor for the availability of nonstandard *krijgen*-passives, we can conclude that the latter will also mainly be found in the eastern dialects (including Limburg).

3.6. *Conclusion*

Krijgen-passivization is a productive syntactic rule. Given that the regular and the *krijgen*-passive differ in only two respects, viz., in the choice of auxiliary (*worden* versus *krijgen*) and the choice of object that is promoted to subject (direct versus indirect object), it seems obvious that the two must be related. We have shown that the attested patterns follow if we assume that passive participles do not assign case and the auxiliaries *worden* and *krijgen* have different case-assigning properties: *worden* is an unaccusative verb and thus unable to assign accusative case to the theme argument, which must therefore be promoted to subject in order to be assigned nominative case; *krijgen*, on the other hand, is an undative verb and thus unable to assign dative case to the goal argument, which must therefore be promoted to subject in order to be assigned nominative case.

4. **Semicopular constructions**

4.1. *The dialectal semicopular construction*

In Section 3.2.4, it was shown that *krijgen*-passivization is fully productive in inalienable possession constructions. We have shown that this holds not only for the standard Dutch constructions, in which the dative functions as an inalienable possessor of a noun phrase embedded in a locational PP, but also for eastern dialect varieties in which the possessive dative can in addition function as an inalienable possessor of a direct object. This section will look at another case of nonstandard dative possessors, which can be found in copular constructions. Consider the standard Dutch constructions in the primeless examples in

(66); in those varieties of Dutch that allow the possessive double object construction, these examples alternate with the primed examples in (66), with a possessive dative that enters into a relation with the subject of the clause.

(66) Possessive pronoun (standard Dutch)

- a. *dat haar handen_{nom} vies zijn.*
 that her hands dirty are
 'that her hands are dirty.'
- b. *dat haar haren_{nom} grijs zijn.*
 that her hairs grey are
 'that her hair is grey.'
- c. *dat zijn fietsband_{nom} lek is.*
 that his bike.tire punctured is
 'that his bike tire is punctured.'

Possessive dative (Heerlen Dutch)

- a'. *dat de handen_{nom} haar_{dative} vies zijn.*
 that the hands her dirty are
 'that her hands are dirty.'
- b'. *dat de haren_{nom} haar_{dative} grijs zijn.*
 that the hairs her grey are
 'that her hair is grey.'
- c'. *dat de fietsband hem_{dative} lek is.*
 that the bike.tire him punctured is
 'that his bike tire is punctured.'

Although dative possessors normally cannot be construed with the subject of a clause, these facts follow when we assume that the subject of the clause is base-generated as the external argument of the predicative phrase *vies* 'dirty', and subsequently promoted to subject of the clause due to the fact that copular verbs are unaccusative verbs and hence unable to assign accusative case to the external argument of *vies*. The underlying structure of (66a) is therefore as given in (67a), in which the possessive dative and the derived subject are in the required configuration to establish the possessive relation, and the surface structure in (66a) is only derived after raising of *de handen* 'the hands' to subject position. Note that the movement into subject position is optional and that, as a consequence, the underlying order may also surface: *dat haar de handen vies zijn* 'that her hands are dirty'.

- (67) a. *dat [_____ haar [_{SC} de handen vies] zijn]*
 b. *dat [de handen haar [_{SC} t_{de handen} vies] zijn]*
 that the hands her dirty are
 'Her hands are dirty.'

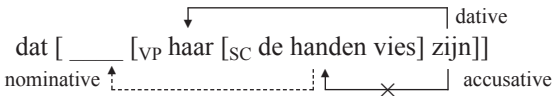
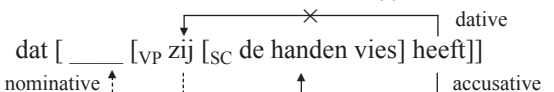
One crucial difference between the standard and the nonstandard Dutch constructions in (66) involves attributive modification of the possessed body-part noun. This is possible in the standard Dutch construction, in which the possessive relation is expressed by means of a possessive pronoun, but not in the nonstandard construction, in which the possessive relation is expressed by means of a dative possessor. This difference is illustrated in (68); see Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992) for similar observations in French.

- (68) a. *dat haar mooie handen vies zijn.*
 that her beautiful hands dirty are
 ‘that het beautiful hands are dirty.’
 b. *dat de (*mooie) handen haar vies zijn.*
 that the beautiful hands her dirty are

Interestingly, the nonstandard possessive dative copular constructions in the primed examples in (66) alternate with the semicopular constructions in (69), where the copular verb *zijn* ‘to be’ is replaced by *hebben* and in which it is the possessive dative that surfaces as the subject of the clause. For completeness’ sake, the examples in (69) also show that *krijgen* can likewise be used in the semicopular construction, in which case it functions as the counterpart of the regular copular *worden* ‘to become’.

- (69) a. *dat Marie/zij_{nom} de handen vies heeft/krijgt.*
 that Marie/she the hands dirty has/gets
 b. *dat Marie/zij_{nom} de haren grijs heeft/krijgt.*
 that Marie/she the hairs grey has/gets
 c. *dat Jan/hij_{nom} de fietsband lek heeft/krijgt.*
 that Jan/he the bike tire punctured has/gets

The fact that the examples in (69) involve the undative verbs *hebben* and *krijgen* is not unexpected. First, recall that the acceptability of the primed examples in (66) immediately follows from our earlier assumption that copular verbs are unaccusative and thus able to assign dative case to the possessor but not able to assign accusative case to the external argument of the predicate, which must therefore be promoted to subject in order to be assigned nominative case; cf. the schematic representation in (70a), in which the dotted line means to suggest that the movement into the subject position is optional. The undative verb *hebben* in (69), on the other hand, is able to assign accusative case to the external argument of the predicate, but not to assign dative case to the possessor, which must therefore be promoted to subject, as indicated by the schematic representation in (70b). Note that this analysis of the semicopular construction also correctly predicts that it is never possible to add a dative (that is, second object) object to the examples like (69).

- (70) a. 
- b. 

For completeness' sake, the examples in (71) show that the semicopular construction is not only possible with adjectival predicates but also with a post-position/particle like *af* in Heerlen Dutch; see also Bakkes (1996: 187).

- (71) a. *Hem is het been af.*
 him is the leg prt.
 'His leg is missing/torn off.'
- b. *Hij heeft het been af.*
 he has the leg prt
- c. *Hij krijgt het been af.*
 he gets the leg prt.

4.2. Similar constructions in standard Dutch

Semicopular constructions of the type in (69) and (71) are unacceptable in standard Dutch, due to the earlier established fact that this variety only allow possessive datives with noun phrases within locational PPs; cf. Section 3.2. There are nevertheless two standard Dutch constructions that closely resemble the semicopular construction in various respects. First, consider the examples in (72), which may be rejected by some speakers of standard Dutch in this form, but which are fully acceptable when the clauses are extended with certain adverbs; see the examples in (75) below.

- (72) a. *Jan/Hij heeft de kwast schoon.*
 Jan/he has the brush clean
- b. *Jan/Hij heeft het raam open.*
 Jan/he has the window open

The dialectal and the standard Dutch constructions in, respectively, (69) and (72) differ in at least three respects; cf. Broekhuis and Cornips (1994). The first difference was already mentioned in section 4.1: whereas the dialectal construction in (73a) does not allow attributive modification of the possessed noun phrase, the standard Dutch example in (73b) shows that the direct object does allow for modification by an attributive adjective.

- (73) a. *Jan heeft de (*oude) fietsband lek.* [dialectal semicopular
 Jan has the old bike.tire punctured construction]
 b. *Jan heeft de oude kwast schoon.* [standard Dutch
 Jan has the old brush clean construction]

The second difference was also mentioned earlier: contrary to what is the case in (69), the examples in (72) do not express a possessive relation. This can be made clear by adding a possessive pronoun to the external argument of the predicative adjective: Example (74) shows that this leads to an unacceptable result with the nonstandard construction in (69c), but to a fully acceptable result with the standard Dutch construction in (72a). The number sign # expresses that Example (74a) cannot be used to express the intended meaning; it is acceptable with a similar meaning as (74b).

- (74) a. *#Jan heeft mijn band lek.* [dialectal semicopular
 Jan has my tire punctured construction]
 b. *Jan heeft mijn kwast schoon.* [standard Dutch
 Jan has my brush clean construction]

Thirdly, the standard Dutch examples in (72) imply that the subject of the clause is a controller in the sense that it can intentionally try to affect the state that the object is in, which is clear from the fact that adverbial phrases like *nog niet* 'not yet' or *eindelijk* 'finally' are typically found with these examples, as in (75); cf. van Bree (1981: 275). These adverbial phrases express that the subject of the clause is actively involved in the process of cleaning the brush or closing the window: Jan is in the process of cleaning the brush or opening the window and has not yet/finally succeeded in obtaining the desired result.

- (75) a. *Jan heeft de kwast nog niet/eindelijk schoon.* [standard Dutch
 Jan has the brush not yet/finally clean construction]
 b. *Jan heeft het raam nog niet/eindelijk open.* [standard Dutch
 Jan has the window not yet/finally open construction]

This involvement is also clear from the fact that the verb *hebben* can be replaced by the verb *krijgen* 'to get', as in (76). In these cases, it is also possible to use the subject-oriented adverbial phrase *met moeite* 'with difficulty', which underlines the fact that Jan is actively involved in the process of cleaning the brush or opening the window by expressing that Jan has some difficulty in obtaining the desired result. The examples in (76) show that it is also possible to use the verb *houden* 'to keep' in this construction.

- (76) a. *Hij kreeg/hield de kwast (met moeite)* [standard Dutch
 he got/kept the brush with difficulty construction]
schoon.
 clean

- b. *Hij kreeg/hield het raam (met moeite) [standard Dutch
he got/kept the window with difficulty construction]
open.
open*

It is important to stress that it is not incidental from the present perspective that it is the three verbs *hebben*, *krijgen* and *houden* that enter the standard Dutch construction; these are precisely the verbs that we have identified with certainty as undative main verbs.

A second standard Dutch construction that also involves *hebben* + adjective is given in (77a). The fact that *het* cannot be replaced by the demonstrative pronoun *dat* 'that' shows that this construction involves the nonreferring element *het* that we also find in impersonal copular constructions like (77b), which refer to certain types of atmospheric/meteorological conditions.

- (77) a. *Ik heb het/*dat benauwd/warm/koud.*
I have it/that sultry/warm/cold
'I am short of breath/warm/cold.'
- b. *Het/*Dat is benauwd/warm/koud.*
it/that is sultry/warm/cold
'It is sultry/warm/cold.'

The verb *hebben* in (77a) can be replaced by *krijgen* 'to get', as is shown in (78a), but the fact that the adverbial PP *met moeite* 'with difficulty' cannot be added suggests that the subject of the clause is not a controller, but rather acts as a kind of experiencer. When we use the verb *houden*, as in (78b), the translation with *to keep* is no longer appropriate; instead, the proper translation rather requires the copular verb *to remain*. This suggests again that the subject functions as an experiencer in this construction.

- (78) a. *Ik krijg het (*met moeite) benauwd.*
I get it with difficulty sultry
'I am getting out of breath.'
- b. *Ik houd het benauwd.*
I remain/*keep it sultry
'I am remaining out of breath.'

Note in passing that it is possible to add the adverbial PP *met moeite* to examples like (79a) and to use the verb *houden* with the meaning *to keep* with the adjective *warm*. This is only an apparent counterexample to the claim that the subject in (77a) is an experiencer, since Example (79a) turns out to be ambiguous: on one reading, the pronoun *het* is a nonreferring expression, just as in (77); on the second reading it is a deictic pronoun that refers to some entity in

the domain of discourse (e.g., *het gerecht* ‘the dish’), as is clear from the fact that *het* can be replaced by the demonstrative *dat* ‘that’. The Examples (79b) and (79c) are only licensed on the second reading, which actually involve the same construction type as in (72).¹⁶

- (79) a. *Ik heb het/dat warm.*
 I have it/that warm
 ‘I am warm’
- b. *Ik krijg het/dat met moeite warm.* [het = het gerecht
 I get it/that with difficulty warm ‘the dish’]
 ‘I am getting it/that warm with difficulty.’
- c. *Ik houd het/dat warm.* [het = het gerecht
 I keep it/that warm ‘the dish’]
 ‘I am keeping it/that hot.’

It is probably not necessary anymore to say that it is not incidental from the present perspective that it is the three verbs *hebben*, *krijgen* and *houden* that can enter this standard Dutch construction exemplified in (77) and (78); these are precisely the verbs that we have identified with certainty as undative main verbs.

For completeness’ sake, we would like to note that although the meanings of (77a) and (79a) are very close to the meaning of the copular construction *Ik ben benauwd/warm* ‘I am short of breath/warm’, it would nevertheless be wrong to conclude that the adjective is predicated of the subject *ik* in (77a) and (79a), since a paraphrase by means of a copular construction is often excluded with structurally similar examples. This is illustrated in (80); Example (80a) expresses a totally different meaning than Examples (80b). The English paraphrases attempt to express this difference.

- (80) a. *Ik heb het gezellig/goed/prettig.*
 I have it cozy/good/nice
 ‘I am feeling comfy/good/fine.’
- b. *Ik ben gezellig/goed/prettig.*
 I am cozy/good/nice
 ‘I am a sociable/good/nice guy.’

4.3. *Distinguishing perfect and semicopular constructions*

Section 4.1 has shown that in nonstandard varieties of Dutch that allow the possessive double object construction, the standard Dutch copular construction in (81a) has the semicopular alternate in (81b).

- (81) a. *Zijn band is lek.*
 his tire is punctured
 b. *Hij heeft de band lek.*
 he has the tire punctured
 'His tire is punctured.'

Now, consider the standard Dutch Example (82a), which can be construed either as a passive or as a copular construction, depending on whether the participle is construed as verbal (= with an activity reading) or adjectival (= with a state reading). The actual reading can be established by means of several tests: addition of the adverb *vanmorgen* 'this morning', as in (82b), suggests that we are dealing with the verbal, that is, passive participle, which is confirmed by the fact that the passive *door*-phrase can be added to such examples; addition of adverbial phrases like *sinds gisteren*, as in (82c), suggests that we are dealing with a copular construction, which is confirmed by the fact that the *door*-phrase cannot be added. Further evidence for these conclusions is that (82d) shows that the participle cannot occur postverbally when the adverbial phrase is *sinds gisteren*, which is a hallmark for adjectival (nonverbal) status.

- (82) a. *Zijn fiets is gestolen.* [is = passive auxiliary]
 his bicycle is stolen [is = copular]
 Passive construction: 'His bike has been stolen.'
 Semicopular construction: 'His bike is stolen.'
 b. *Zijn fiets is vanmorgen (door Peter) gestolen.*
 his bicycle is this.morning by Peter stolen
 'His bicycle has been stolen (by Peter) yesterday.'
 c. *Zijn fiets is sinds gisteren (*door Peter) gestolen.*
 his bicycle is since yesterday by Peter stolen
 'His bicycle is stolen since yesterday.'
 d. *dat zijn fiets vanmorgen/*sinds gisteren is gestolen.*
 that his bicycle this.morning/since yesterday is stolen
 'that his bicycle has been stolen yesterday.'

In the nonstandard varieties of Dutch that allow the semicopular construction in (81b), the copular construction in (82a) alternates with the construction in (83a), which then involves an adjectival participle. However, this sentence can also be interpreted as a perfect tense construction, that is, with a verbal participle.

- (83) *Hij heeft de fiets gestolen.*
 he has the bicycle stolen
 Perfect construction: 'He has stolen the bike.'
 Semicopular construction: 'His bike was stolen.'

The construction in (83) can also be disambiguated in several ways. First, we expect that the semicopular construction can also occur in the perfect tense, with the result that the semicopula *hebben* may occur as the past participle *gehad*. The auxiliary *hebben*, on the other hand, never has the form of a past participle, which means that Example (84) can only be used as a semicopular construction. Note that Example (84) also shows that participle *gestolen* must be adjectival; Dutch never allows more than one verbal past participle in a single clause.

- (84) *Hij heeft de fiets gestolen gehad.*
 he has the bike stolen had
 Semicopular Construction: 'His bike was stolen'

Secondly, the construction can be disambiguated in similar ways as (82a): addition of the adverb *vanmorgen* in (85a) is only possible on the verbal reading of the participle (cf. *hij stal vanmorgen de fiets* 'he stole the bike this morning'), whereas addition of *sinds gisteren* in (85b) triggers the adjectival/state reading (cf. **Hij steelt sinds gisteren de fiets* 'He is stealing the bike since yesterday'). This is confirmed by the fact illustrated in the primed examples that whereas the participle can either precede or follow the auxiliary in clause-final position when the adverbial phrase *vanmorgen* is used, it must precede the auxiliary when the adverbial phrase *sinds gisteren* is used; cf. the discussion of the primed examples in (82) where it was shown that adjectival participles cannot occur postverbally.

- (85) a. *Hij heeft vanmorgen de fiets* [perfect construction]
 he has this.morning the bicycle
gestolen.
 stolen
 'He has stolen the bike this morning.'
- a'. *dat hij vanmorgen de fiets* <*gestolen*>
 that he this.morning the bicycle stolen
heeft <*gestolen*>.
 has
- b. *Hij heeft sinds gisteren de fiets* [semicopular
 he has since yesterday the bicycle construction]
gestolen.
 stolen
 'His bike was stolen since yesterday.'
- b'. *dat hij sinds gisteren de fiets* <*gestolen*>
 that he since yesterday the bicycle stolen
heeft <**gestolen*>.
 has

The third way of disambiguation focuses on the fact that the subject of the semicopular construction must enter in a possessive relation with the object of the construction. Since we have seen that attributive modification of the object blocks this possessive relationship, Example (86a) can only be interpreted as a perfect tense construction. Since adding a possessive pronoun to the object likewise blocks the possessive relation, (86b) must also be interpreted as a perfect tense construction.

- (86) a. *Hij heeft de nieuwe fiets gestolen.*
 he has the new bike stolen
 impossible reading: 'His new bike was stolen'
 possible reading: 'He has stolen the new bike'.
 b. *Hij heeft haar/zijn fiets gestolen.*
 he has her/his bicycle stolen
 'He has stolen her/his bicycle.'

Section 4.2 has shown that standard Dutch has a similar semicopular construction with *hebben* 'to have', which occurs under somewhat more strict conditions than the nonstandard construction. A sentence like (87a), for example, is ambiguous between a perfect and a semicopular reading. That (87a) can be interpreted as a perfect construction is clear from the fact that it has the present tense counterpart in (87b), and that it can be interpreted as a semicopular construction is evident from the fact that *hebben* can be replaced by the semicopular verb *krijgen* 'to get' in (87c). Observe that, in contrast to what is the case in the nonstandard construction, the standard Dutch semicopular construction is possible when the object contains a possessive pronoun.

- (87) a. *Jan heeft zijn raam niet gesloten.*
 Jan has his window not closed
 Perfect construction: 'Jan has not closed his window.'
 Semicopular construction: 'Jan doesn't have his window closed.'
 b. *Jan sluit zijn raam niet.*
 Jan closes his window not
 c. *Jan krijgt zijn raam niet gesloten.*
 Jan gets his window not closed

The semicopular and perfect readings in (87a) are again subject to the familiar restrictions: use of punctual adverbs like *gisteren*, as in (88a), is only possible on the verbal/eventive reading of the participle, whereas addition of nonpunctual adverbs like *altijd* in (85b) triggers the adjectival/state reading. Placing the participle after the finite verb in clause-final position, as in (88c), is only possible in the perfect tense construction, that is, when the participle is verbal; this is clear from the fact that this construction is only compatible with punctual adverbial phrases like *gisteren*.

- (88) a. *Jan heeft gisteren zijn raam gesloten.*
 Jan has yesterday his window closed
 ‘Jan didn’t close his window yesterday.’
- b. *Jan heeft altijd zijn raam gesloten.*
 Jan has always his window closed
 ‘Jan always has his window closed.’
- c. *dat Jan zijn raam gisteren/*altijd heeft gesloten.*
 that Jan his window yesterday/always has closed
 ‘that Jan didn’t close his window.’

4.4. *Geographical and social distribution of the semicopular construction*

This section will provide the geographical and social distribution of the non-standard semicopular construction. Given our claim that the semicopula verb *hebben* is undative, the fact that the subject of this construction is able to enter into a possessive relation with the direct object is expected: we are dealing with a derived subject that originates in the same position as the possessive dative. It therefore does not come as a surprise either that the study of van Bree (1981) shows that the semicopular construction is found in almost the same area as the possessive double object construction, namely in the eastern part of the Netherlands: Limburg, Gelderland (Achterhoek), Overijssel, Drenthe and Groningen (Map 1). It is expected that this geographical distribution also predicts where nonstandard forms of the *krijgen*-passive can be found.

Two sociolinguistic studies have examined the semicopular and the possessive double object construction in Limburg, namely in Heerlen (Cornips 1998) and Montfort (Bakkes 1996). The semicopular and the possessive double object construction are counted together in Table 3 and 4 due to the low frequency of the tokens of each construction in the spontaneous speech corpus. The study by Cornips shows that the use of both types of constructions increase significantly from older to younger speakers.

The study by Bakkes (1996) shows, however, that, in contrast to Heerlen Dutch, the semicopular *hebben* and the double object possession constructions are the least frequently produced ones by the youngest generation in the Montfort dialect.

Thus, in Heerlen Dutch these constructions seem to be on the rise, whereas in the dialect of Montfort they seem to be on the decline. The age stratifications show that it is not possible to predict the future of dialectal semicopular and the possessive double object construction, and, hence, the use of nonstandard *krijgen*-passive in the eastern part of the Netherlands. It is especially the symbolic values attached to these linguistic phenomena that might explain why the linguistic outcomes of language contact between dialect and standard varieties

Table 3. *The use of semicopular and the possessive double object constructions in Heerlen Dutch*

age	number of speakers	#speakers producing inalienable possession constructions	
60 >	30	9	30%
20–40	37	20	54%

$\chi^2 = 3.92$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$

Table 4. *The use of semicopular and the possessive double object construction in the Montfort dialect*

age	number of speakers	Tokens of inalienable possessive construction	# words
61–88	14	24 62%	30682
44–56	10	11 28%	72686
17–28	13	4 10%	291305

may differ per place, context and language variety and hence, may be so different for speakers living in the same area.

4.5. Conclusion

This section has discussed a number of semicopular constructions, which differ from the regular copular construction in that the argument that the predicative part of the construction is predicated of is not realized as the subject but as the object of the clause. The discussion of the eastern dialectal possessive construction in 4.1 has clearly shown that the subject of these constructions is a derived one with a semantic role similar to that assigned to indirect objects in ditransitive constructions. It is therefore not a coincidence that the verbs that are used in these constructions are the undative verbs *krijgen*, *hebben* and *houden*.

5. Summary

This article has argued that the typology of verbs currently assumed in generative grammar contains an incidental gap. We would expect that besides dyadic verbs with two internal arguments, in which the theme argument surfaces as subject, there are also dyadic verbs with two internal arguments, in which the goal argument surfaces as subject; cf. Table 1. The goal of this article has been

to show that such verbs do indeed exist and are instantiated by the verb *krijgen* ‘to get’ and its cognates *hebben* and *houden* ‘to keep’. We have called these verbs undative verbs given that they are characterized by the fact that they can assign accusative, but not dative case. We have further shown by extensively discussing the syntactic behavior of the so-called *krijgen*-passive and what we have called the semicopular construction that these case properties of the main verbs *krijgen*, *hebben* and *houden* are also present in their uses as auxiliary and semicopular verbs.

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Notes

1. One of the reviewers of this paper points out that functional theories have shown that the tests applied to distinguish unaccusative from unergative (here: intransitive) verbs do not relate to syntactic, but rather to semantic criteria. We take the view that in the end the syntactic and semantic verb (or event) classifications will converge; see Rosen (2003) and Levin and Rapoport Hovav (2005) for reviews of some recent proposals in generative syntax that motivate this view. Correspondence address: Leonie Cornips, Meertens Institute, P.O. Box 94264, 1090 GG Amsterdam, The Netherlands. E-mail: leonie.cornips@meertens.knaw.nl.
2. We cannot discuss the notions of internal and external argument here: external arguments of verbs are normally arguments with the semantic role of agent or causer, which must be realized as the subject of the construction. Internal arguments are assigned semantic roles like theme or goal, that is, the semantic roles that are normally assigned to the objects in active (di-)transitive constructions; see Williams (1981).
3. The classification in Table 1 is based on the assumption that the presence of goal/experiencer requires a theme argument to be present as well. This is, of course, related to meaning; in order for a goal or an experiencer to be present there must be some other argument that can be located/experienced. An external argument cannot subsume this role since, if present, it functions as the agent of the event; this implies that the located/experienced argument must be realized as a theme.
4. We will use the notion of underlying subject for nominative arguments that are assigned the external thematic role of agent or causer, and the notion of derived subject for nominative arguments that are assigned an internal thematic role. The noun phrase *Jan* in the active construction in (3a) is thus an underlying subject, whereas the noun phrase *de krant* ‘the newspaper’ in the passive constructions in (3b) and (3b’) is a derived subject. Similarly, the noun phrase *Jan* in the transitive construction in (6a) is an underlying subject, whereas the noun phrase *het raam* in the unaccusative construction in (6b) is a derived object.
5. The noun *krijger* does occur with the meaning ‘warrior’, in which case it is an ER-noun derived from the verb *krijgen* ‘to fight/wage war’, which became obsolete after the 17th century; cf. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. lemma *krijgen II*.
6. One reviewer points out directives like *Zo, nu wassen allemaal de handen* ‘Okay, let’s all wash hands’ also trigger a possessive reading. We take it that this is not syntactically but pragmatically conditioned.

7. Standard Dutch inalienable possession constructions are, in fact, conspicuously often construed with an idiomatic reading (cf. Broekhuis and Cornips 1996), but we cannot conclude from this that the possessive dative construction is lexicalized given that the compositional, that is, literal meaning is normally also available.
8. Note, however, that there is a noun *hebberd*, which is used to refer to greedy persons. This noun is probably lexicalized, which is not only clear from the meaning specialization but also from the facts that it is derived by means of the unproductive suffix *-erd* and that it does not inherit the theme argument of the input verb: *een hebberd (*van boeken)*.
9. Example (ia) shows that the verb *houden* is also used in relation with life stock. In this case ER-nominalization and passivization are possible. The fact that the object in (ia) must be a bare plural (or a mass noun) suggests that we are actually dealing with a semantic (that is, syntactically separable) compound verb comparable to particle verbs.
 - (i) a. *Jan houdt schapen/*een schaap.*
 Jan keeps sheep/a sheep
 'Jan is keeping sheep'
 - b. *schapenhouder* 'sheep breeder'
 - c. *Er worden schapen gehouden.*
 there are sheep kept
10. The definitions of inherent and structural case are normally not very precise, but generally amount to saying that inherent case is assigned to a noun phrase by being in a certain *semantic* relation with some other element in the clause, whereas structural case is assigned to a noun phrase by being in a certain *structural* relation with some other element in the clause; cf. Crystal (1991) and Chomsky (1986: 193). Since the semantic but not the structural relations remain constant during the derivation, only structural case can be affected by the syntactic environment of the noun phrase (e.g., active versus passive); inherent case is assumed to be assigned once and for all.
11. Note that this does not hold for all languages; *krijgen*-passives like (29b') are possible in Moselle-Franconian dialects and German, as will be clear from the examples in (i), taken from Lenz (2006: 174, 2009):
 - (i) a. *Hen kritt ginn.*
 - b. *Er kriegt gegeben.*
 he gets given
12. One of the reviewers of this article claims that assuming a syntactic rule for passivization "does not take into account that passivization is based to a great extent on the semantics and the information-structure of the utterance". It is indeed true that by postulating a certain syntactic rule, generative grammar does not make any claim about the *use* of this construction: the generative syntax is simply a derivational system that creates an in principle infinite number of syntactic representations. These representations are subsequently used as inputs for the cognitive system, and it is the latter (and not the former) system that selects the optimal representation to express certain semantic and/or information-structural information. For a formalized generative model that is explicitly based on this division of labor and that (in principle at least) is also able to account for the fact that languages may differ with respect to the representations they select for expressing the same semantic and/or information-structural information, we refer the reader to Broekhuis (2008).
13. To be more precise, it is assumed that the demoted external argument (= subject from the active clause) is realized as an "affixal argument" in the form of the passive morphology on the main verb, which accounts for the fact that the agent is understood to be implicitly present in passive constructions. When we assume that this "affixal argument" is similar to clitics

in that it requires case, it can be said that it “absorbs” the accusative case of the main verb. In our proposal we go a bit further and assume that passive participles are like adjectives in that they are normally not able to assign case at all.

14. In some analyses, it is assumed that dative case in (52a) is assigned by the adjective *bekend*; cf. van Riemsdijk (1983). If correct, this example does not support our claim that copula verbs can assign dative case. More, and probably better, evidence that copular verbs are able to assign dative case is provided by the dialectal semicopular construction discussed in Section 4.1; cf. the discussion of the schematic representations in (70).
15. Heerlen Dutch is the result of a very rapid process of a language shift due to the expanding coal mining in the region with the local dialects as the source and standard Dutch as the target language, which took place in the beginning of the 20th century. This variety is described and analyzed in Cornips (1994, 1998) on the basis of a large corpus of spontaneous speech. The examples from this section are also taken from this corpus.
16. The pronoun *het* in Example (79b) can also be interpreted as an anticipatory pronoun introducing (an implicit) locational phrase: *Ik krijg het met moeite warm (in de kamer)* ‘I can hardly heat the room’. We will not discuss this construction here and refer the reader to Bennis and Wehrmann (1987).

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