

## Get it? Got it!

This paper has two interrelated aims: (i) to provide a unified analysis of all uses of *get* under the rubric of inchoativity/ingressivity, and (ii) to account for the fact that the inchoative/ingressive meaning component is absent from the interpretation of defective *got* as a stative-possessive or obligation verb.

English full-paradigm *get* (*to get*, *get(s)*, *getting*, *got*, *got(ten)*) has a variety of uses, ranging from ‘onset of possession’ (1a) to ‘experiencer-*get*’ (1g). With the exception of (1g), each use of full-paradigm *get* has an inchoative (1a–f) as well a causative (1a’–f’) version. The fact that *get* shows systematic inchoative/causative alternations for a range of complementation types suggests that *get* is not inherently causative: the causative uses of *get* are derived uses. The underlier for the derived causative *get* cases cannot involve a predicate like *become* (= COME + BE), as in McIntyre (2005), or *have* (= BE + TO), as in Gronemeyer (1999). Especially problematic for such approaches is (1b,b’): *become* (or the BE-component of its composition) and *have* do not take a directional PP complement. The overarching meaning component shared by all of (1a–g) is *inchoativity*, with causativity being added in the primed examples.

This paper presents an integrated structural account of the various *get*-constructions in (1a–g), centered around the proposal that *get* is quintessentially a lexicalization of an abstract inchoative operator INCH taking a small-clause complement whose predicate ranges from a dative PP (1a, a’, g) (with ‘onset of possession’-*get* derived from INCH+*to*, à la Benveniste’s 1966 analysis of *have* as *be+to*), a directional PP (1b,b’), and an AP (1c,c’), to a variety of verbal constituents (1d/d’–f/f’). The structures are in (2).

The ‘experiencer-*get*’ construction in (1g) (McIntyre 2005), which like (1f’) involves a gerund with an overt subject following *get* and thus seemingly belongs in the right-hand column in (1), is semantically and structurally aligned with non-causative (1a). Both (1a) and (1g) involve derivations in which the null head of the dative predicate of the small-clause complement of INCH incorporates into INCH, yielding transitive *get*, and P’s complement is promoted to surface subject (as in den Dikken 1995, and for ‘experiencer-*have*’ Belvin & den Dikken 1997). While (1a) alternates with causative (1a’), causativization of ‘experiencer-*get*’ (1g) is impossible (\**Dick got Susana [Jim stepping on her toe]* vs. double-object *Dick got Susana Jim*), for Case reasons: no single verb can assign two internal structural Cases.

In addition to the full-paradigm *get*-cases in (1), English has two patently non-inchoative uses of invariant simple-past (hence paradigm-less) *got*: the stative-possessive and obligation uses illustrated in (3). These sentences do not involve non-finite *got* in the complement of a (null) auxiliary (cf. *do*-support in tags: *I got rhythm, don’t I?*; even in *I’ve got rhythm*, the tag features *do*, suggesting that ‘*ve* is not auxiliary-*have*). One might elect to set these aside as representatives of a separate lexical entry, *got*, with defective tense (in effect, a preterit-present verb). An important reason not to do so, however, is the fact that in Korean as well the stative-possessive verb (*kaci* ‘have’) can occur with a morphological past-tense marker (*-ess*) attached to it without there being any semantic hint of past-time reference: (4). English (3) and Korean (4) thus share the presence of dissociated past-tense morphology. In Korean (4), past-time reference can be established via the addition of a second past-tense morpheme: *kaci-ess-ess-ta*. Apparently, simple-past morphology can suppress the otherwise systematic inchoative component of the semantics of *get*, and (in Korean) is combinable with a meaningful second past-tense morpheme. These facts suggest that the PAST morphology of *got* in (3) and *kaci-ess-ta* in (4) is not in T but attaches directly to the small-clause external operator; INCH+PAST (cf. (5)) focuses on the end-state rather than on the ingressive component, delivering a stative interpretation. This analysis applies to Korean *kaci* as well, *kaci* being a combination of *ka*=‘go’ and *ci*=INCH; the inchoative meaning component inherently present in the representation of *kaci* is suppressible by the addition of the past-tense marker *-ess* directly to *ci*=INCH. With *kaci-ess* being a complex under INCH, a second PAST morpheme *-ess* in T is free to join *kaci-ess*.

The paper closes by addressing the syntax of Korean verb-based ‘*get*’-constructions with *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* paralleling English inchoative, causative, experiencer, and passive *get*, as well as the middle-marker incarnation of *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* (6a–e). The analysis of all *-i/-hi/-li/-ki* constructions in Korean will be shown to be unifiable in terms of an abstract INCH operator that is lexically specified as requiring a verbal host.

## Examples

- (1)
- |    |                                     |     |  |
|----|-------------------------------------|-----|--|
| a. | Jim got a present (from a friend).  | a'. | Susana got Jim a present.              |
| b. | Jim got to the station on time.     | b'. | Susana got Jim to the station on time. |
| c. | Jim got tired.                      | c'. | Susana got Jim tired.                  |
| d. | Jim got fired/hired.                | d'. | Susana got Jim fired/hired.            |
| e. | Jim got to see the solution.        | e'. | Susana got Jim to see the solution.    |
| f. | Jim got going.                      | f'. | Susana got Jim going.                  |
| g. | Susana got Jim stepping on her toe. |     |  |

- (2)
- |    |                      |  |
|----|----------------------|--|
|    | INCH                 | [ <sub>RP</sub> SUBJECT [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]] |
| a. | <i>a present</i>     | P <sub>DAT</sub> ( $\emptyset$ ) <i>Jim</i>    |
| b. | <i>Jim</i>           | <i>to the station</i>                          |
| c. | <i>Jim</i>           | <i>tired</i>                                   |
| d. | <i>Jim</i>           | <i>fired/hired</i>                             |
| e. | <i>Jim</i> <i>to</i> | <i>see the solution</i>                        |
| f. | <i>Jim</i>           | <i>going</i>                                   |
| g. | <i>Jim stepping</i>  | P <sub>DAT</sub> ( $\emptyset$ ) <i>Susana</i> |
|    | <i>on her toe</i>    |  |

- (3)
- |    |                        |
|----|------------------------|
| a. | I got rhythm.          |
| b. | I got to (> gotta) go. |

- (4)
- |                  |          |                |
|------------------|----------|----------------|
| na-ka (>nayka)   | chayk-ul | kaci-ess-ta.   |
| I-NOM            | book-ACC | have-PAST-DECL |
| 'I have a book.' |          |                |

- (5)
- |           |                             |   |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---|
| INCH+PAST | [ <sub>RP</sub> SUBJECT     | [RELATOR [PREDICATE]]]                    |
|           | { <i>rhythm/PRO to go</i> } | P <sub>DAT</sub> ( $\emptyset$ ) <i>I</i> |

- (6)
- |    |               |                  |                                     |   |
|----|---------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| a. | mun-i         | cecello          | yel-li-ess-ta.                      | 'The door opened (got opened) by itself.' |
|    | door-NOM      | without.force    | open- <i>li</i> -PAST-DECL          |   |
| b. | Kibo-ka       | Donna-eykey      | chayk-ul ilk-hi-ess-ta.             | 'Kibo got Donna to read the book.'        |
|    | Kibo-NOM      | Donna-DAT        | book-ACC read- <i>hi</i> -PAST-DECL |   |
| c. | Kibo-ka       | Donna-eykey      | pal-ul palp-hi-ess-ta.              | 'Kibo got Donna stepping on his foot.'    |
|    | Kibo-NOM      | Donna-DAT        | foot-ACC step- <i>hi</i> -PAST-DECL |   |
| d. | i chayk-i     | Donna-eykey      | pal-li-ess-ta.                      | 'This book got sold to Donna.'            |
|    | this book-NOM | Donna-DAT        | sell- <i>hi</i> -PAST-DECL          |   |
| e. | i chayk-i     | cal ilk-hi-n-ta. |                                     | 'This book reads well.'                   |
|    | this book-NOM | well             | read- <i>hi</i> -PRES-DECL          |   |

## References

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