Bekommen ("get") + *zu*-infinitive construction and restructuring structure

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Abstract

　本論文では、ドイツ語の *bekommen* （英：get）が不定詞とともに現れるような *bekommen* ＋ *zu* 不定詞構文（BZIC）を扱う。この構文において、*bekommen* は、Wurmbrand（2003, 2004）の基準では機能的な主要部（functional restructuring predicates）に分類されるにもかかわらず、本動詞として使われた場合と同様の項構造・事象構造などの語彙的性質を保持している。そこで、本論文は Ramchand（2008ab, 2018）の提案する、動詞句を InitP（initiation phrase）、 ProcP（process phrase）などの下位事象を表す機能的な投射に分解するアプローチを援用し、BZIC の統語的分析を提示する。このアプローチでは、動詞の項構造・事象構造を統語構造にマッピングできる。この分析により、一見機能性と語彙性が矛盾しているように見える上述の *bekommen* の性質が、構造から自然に導ける。

Key Words: restructuring infinitives, grammaticalization, syntax, lexical semantics

1. Introduction

　　This paper is focused on the verb *bekommen* ("get") in its use with an infinitival complement. As presented in (1), *bekommen* (and *kriegen* in spoken German) can appear in combination with an infinitive with *zu* ("to").[1]

(1) . . .wenn meine Kinder 　　　 später so etwas 　　　 <u>zu hören bekommen</u> würden.
　　　 if　my　children.NOM *later　so　something*.ACC *to hear　get　　　would*
　　". . .if my children were to hear something like that later." (Hamburger Morgenpost, 13.08.2007)

The construction in (1)—henceforth, BZIC ("<u>b</u>ekommen + <u>zu</u>-<u>i</u>nfinitive <u>c</u>onstruction")—is often mentioned in relation to a similar construction with *haben* ("have"), shown in (2). As the translation shows, (2) is structurally ambiguous: In one structure, *haben* is the auxiliary verb that selects for an infinitival complement (2a). In this case, the construction has a deontic modal reading, just as its English counterpart. In another structure, *haben* functions as the main verb, and the infinitive is a modifier within

the nominal object of *haben* (2b).

(2) dass sie etwas zu essen haben
 that they something to eat have
  a. dass sie [[_{VP} etwas zu essen] haben] "that they have to eat something"
  b. dass sie [_{DP} etwas [PRO zu essen]] haben "that they have something to eat"

Bekommen in (1) can be analyzed on par with the structure in (2a). This is made clearer in (3a), where the nominal complement *Philips Brief* ("Philip's letter") is separated from the infinitive. The construction in (3a) also seems to involve a modal meaning, but this time, it is that of possibility. The structure in (2b) is also possible with *bekommen*, as shown in (3b). In (3b), the intervening PP *bei uns* ("with us") suggests that the infinitive cannot be the complement of *bekommen* because verbs and auxiliaries in the sentence final position must be string adjacent in German, when they are aligned in descending order.

(3) a. Philips Brief an seinen Vater hatte er nie <u>zu sehen bekommen.</u>
   Philip's letter.ACC *on his father had he*.NOM *never to see gotten*
  "He had never gotten to see Philip's letter to his father." (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 21.10.2009)
  b. . . . können den ganzen Tag über <u>etwas zu essen</u> **bei uns** bekommen
    can the whole day over something.ACC *to eat with us get*
  ". . .(the guests) can get something to eat with us all day long" (Mannheimer Morgen, 11.05.2013)

In what follows, constructions with the former structure—that is, constructions with (semi-)auxiliary *bekommen*—are mainly considered.

   BZIC is rarely discussed in the literature, mainly because of the less grammaticalized status of the verb *bekommen* ("get"): Only a few verbs can appear as the *zu*-infinitive in BZIC, most of them being perception verbs such as *sehen* ("see") and *hören* ("hear") (see Dekalo, 2017; Jäger, 2013). In addition, BZIC must contain an embedded verb with an accusative object, which seems to be related to *bekommen*'s property as a transitive verb in its main verb usage. However, because perception verbs systematically appear in the construction as infinitives, the syntactic structure of the construction deserves serious consideration. Moreover, the construction is important for a more general issue about the structure of restructuring constructions. The infinitival complements of *bekommen* show characteristics of infinitival verbal complements in restructuring constructions. However, *bekommen*'s behavior does not seem to fit the functional-lexical classification proposed by Wurmbrand (2003, 2004) for restructuring predicates. Therefore, by clarifying BZIC's structure, we can reexamine the notions of the functional and the lexical in the restructuring realm.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I introduce the restructuring phenomena and Wurmbrand's (2003, 2004) classification of functional-lexical restructuring (2.1) and then address the problem that BZIC poses for the classification (2.2). Then, I clarify the types of verbs that appear in BZIC based on Jäger's (2013) corpus study (2.3). In Section 3, I present an analysis of BZIC based on Ramchand (2008ab, 2018). First, I briefly introduce how the *v*P-decomposition and the underassociation mechanism proposed by Ramchand works (3.1). Based on these assumptions, I analyze BZIC with perception verbs and with the agentive verb *fassen* (3.2). Section 4 concludes the paper.

2. BZIC from the restructuring perspective

2.1 Restructuring constructions and functional-lexical classification

Since Bech (1955/57), it has become well known that some infinitival complements in German are transparent for usually clause-bound operations. This transparency effect is often termed *restructuring* in the generative literature. For instance, because German lacks long-distance scrambling, an element within a finite clause—for example, *die Lösung* ("the solution") in (4)—cannot be scrambled out from the clause.

> (4) *dass **die Lösung**ᵢ   niemand   geglaubt hat, [dass er   **t**ᵢ gefunden hätte]
>   *that the solution*.ACC *no-one*.NOM *believed has   that he*.NOM *found   had*
>   "that no one believed that he had found the solution"   (Haider, 2010, p. 144)

However, scrambling out of infinitival complements is possible if they are selected by a raising verb *scheinen* ("seem") (cf. (5a)), or a control verb *vergessen* ("forget") (cf. (5b)). As demonstrated in (5), the objects of the infinitives, *den Heinrich* ("Heinrich") and *das Zimmer* ("the room"), can be scrambled toward the position to the left of the matrix subject *niemand* ("nobody"), in both examples.

> (5) a. dass **den Heinrich**ᵢ   niemand [**t**ᵢ zu mögen] <u>scheint</u>
>   *that the Heinrich*.ACC *nobody*.NOM *to like   seems*
>   "that nobody seems to like Heinrich"
>   b. dass **das Zimmer**ᵢ niemand   [**t**ᵢ abzuschließen] <u>vergisst</u>.
>   *that   the room*.ACC *nobody*.NOM *off-to-lock   forgets*
>   ". . . that nobody forgets to lock the room."   (Lee-Schoenfeld, 2007, p. 12)

Therefore, both constructions in (5) are restructuring ones, and both *scheinen* and *vergessen* are regarded as restructuring predicates. Such a lack of a clausal boundary, which is often referred to as *restructuring*, has long been a central issue in the German syntax. Despite the variety of proposals made to account for

the monoclausality of restructuring constructions, the most popular view seems to be that the infinitival complement in restructuring constructions has less structure than that of the full-fledged infinitival clause.

In particular, Wurmbrand (2003, 2004) argued that there is a distinction between restructuring constructions with functional and lexical embedding verbs. In the former, the embedding verb is a functional head F located in the functional layer above the infinitival main verb (cf. (6a)). Because the embedding and the embedded verbs belong to a single clausal structure with the embedded verb serving as the main verb, monoclausality is trivially derived. Auxiliaries, modal verbs, and raising verbs such as *scheinen* in (5a) are thus classified as functional restructuring predicates. In the latter, the embedding verb is a lexical verb that optionally selects for an infinitival complement that is smaller than a CP (cf. (6b)). Monoclausality is thus due to the embedding verb's selectional property. Such lexical restructuring predicates include some control verbs, such as *versuchen* ("try") and *vergessen* ("forget") in (5b).

(6) a. functional restructuring $[_{FP} [_{vP} [_{VP} V] \, v] \ldots \textbf{F}]$

    b. lexical restructuring $[_{VP} [_{XP} \ldots V \ldots] \, \textbf{V}]$

Wurmbrand (2003, 2004) lists several diagnostics that distinguish functional from lexical restructuring predicates, one of which is the optionality of coherent structure: Only the latter predicates can optionally have a non-restructuring structure, allowing their complements to be extraposed. For instance, an infinitival complement can be extraposed when it is governed by lexical verbs such as *versuchen* ("try"), while it cannot when it is governed by a functional raising verb *scheinen* ("seem").

(7) a. weil der Hans   **versuchte** [den Wagen   zu reparieren]INF

      since the Hans.NOM *tried*   [*the car*.ACC *to repair*]INF

       "since Hans tried to repair the car"   (Wurmbrand, 2004, p. 1009, slightly modified)

    b.*weil der Hans   **schien** [den Wagen   repariert zu haben]INF

       since the Hans.NOM *seemed* [*the car*.ACC *repaired to have*]INF

        "since Hans seemed to have repaired the car"(Wurmbrand, 2004, p. 1009, slightly modified)

If we assume that extraposition can only operate on CP, but not on TP or *v*P, the contrast is expected because only lexical restructuring verbs optionally select for non-restructuring complements (i.e., CP) as well as restructuring ones (TP, *v*P, or smaller phrases).[2]

Another diagnostic is the thematic property of the restructuring predicates: The functional restructuring predicates are non-thematic, whereas lexical ones establish thematic relations with their arguments. For example, an epistemic modal verb *dürfte* ("might") allows embedded passive and the raising of the passive subject *Der Kuchen* ("the cake") to the matrix subject position (8a), while a lexical

verb *versuchen* ("try") does not (8b).

(8) a. <u>Der Kuchen</u> **dürfte** gegessen worden   sein.
   the cake.NOM *might eaten*   AUXPASS *be*
   "The cake might have been eaten."   (Wurmbrand, 2004, p. 996)

   b.*<u>Der Kuchen</u> **versuchte** gegessen zu werden.
   the cake.NOM tried   *eaten*   to AUXPASS
   "The cake tried to be eaten."   (Wurmbrand 2004, p. 996)

Moreover, some lexical restructuring verbs such as *erlauben* ("allow"), *empfehlen* ("recommend"), and *gelingen* ("manage") select for internal dative arguments, which suggests the presence of their own argument structure. The contrast is expected if functional restructuring predicates are attached above the thematic domain (i.e., *v*P), and lexical ones project their own thematic VP and *v*P.

   A similar reasoning is applicable to the event structural properties. As pointed out by Pitteroff (2014), only lexical restructuring predicates are sensitive to an event modifying adverb *wieder* ("again"). In (9a), the auxiliary *haben* ("have") does not introduce any eventuality to be modified by *wieder*. The only possible interpretation of *wieder* is thus the repetition of the event of reading the book. In (9b), on the other hand, the event of trying expressed by the matrix verb *versuchen* ("try") can also be targeted by *wieder*, so that there both matrix and embedded repetitive readings are possible.

(9) a. weil   Martin   das Buch   wieder gelesen **hat**.
    because Martin.NOM *the book*.ACC *again   read   has*
    "because Martin read the book again."   (Pitteroff 2014, p. 99, slightly modified)

   b. weil   Martin das Buch wieder zu lesen **versucht**.
    because Martin the book   again to read tries
    "because Martin tries to read the book again."

Again, the contrast is expected assuming that event structural relations are established within the lexical domain under *v*P, and only lexical restructuring predicates involve their own lexical domain.

2.2 Functional-lexical status of *bekommen*

   As indicated above, BZIC has restructuring characteristics. For example, the accusative object *die Wunderstücke* ("the wonderful pieces") can be scrambled before the subject *niemand* ("no one") (10a). Moreover, it is possible to front the verbal complex *Zu sehen bekommen* stranding all other non-verbal elements (10b), which is also a common diagnostic for restructuring (cf. e.g., Haider, 2010).

(10) a. Daß bis vor kurzem die Wunderstücke₁ trotzdem niemand zu sehen bekam,

    that until before short the wonderful.pieces.ACC *nevertheless no.one*.NOM *to see got*

    "That nevertheless no one got to see these wonderful pieces until recently,"

                                (Berliner Morgenpost, 17.06.1998)

  b. Zu sehen bekommen haben ihn bis anhin allerdings nur wenige,

    to see gotten have him.ACC *until now however only few*.NOM

    "Only a few people have seen it so far, however,"   (St. Galler Tagblatt, 14.04.2008)

    ihn ("it") = den sympathischen Nager.M.ACC (= the likable rodent)

However, *bekommen* in BZIC does not fit into Wurmbrand's (2003, 2004) above-mentioned functional-lexical classification. On the one hand, it behaves on par with functional restructuring predicates in that it disallows extraposition and therefore always involves a restructuring structure.

(11)*[. . .] daß ich endlich bekomme, einige Dinge zu hören,

    . . . that I finally get some things.ACC *to hear*

                          (Jäger, 2013, p. 157, translation added by author)

On the other hand, it behaves on par with lexical restructuring verbs in having its own argument structure. For example, the embedded passive subject *die Wunderstücke* cannot be raised to the matrix subject.

(12) *dass die Wunderstücke von niemandem gesehen zu werden bekamen

    that the wonderful.pieces.NOM *by no.one seen to* AUXPASS *got*

    "that no one got to see these wonderful pieces."

Moreover, as noted above, BZIC must contain an accusative object, which is plausibly related to the argument structure of *bekommen* as a transitive verb.

In addition, *bekommen* in BZIC seems to preserve its event structural properties in its use as a main verb, which strongly suggests its lexical nature. As Jäger (2013) pointed out, the addition of *bekommen* transforms the stative event of the perception verb into an eventive one. This is evidenced by its compatibility with a modifier *nach und nach* ("bit by bit") in (13a). According to Rothmayr (2009), this modifier expressing a gradual change is sensitive to change-of-state semantics and therefore is compatible only with eventive verbs. For this reason, the sentence without *bekommen* (13b) is degraded compared to the one with *bekommen* (13a).[3]

(13) a. die <u>nach und nach</u> den Druck   der Gesellschaft ihres Heimatortes

     who bit by bit   the pressure.ACC *the society*.GEN *their hometown*.GEN

    zu spüren bekommen.   (Kleine Zeitung, 19.04.1997)

    to feel   get

     "who (= young people) gradually come to feel the pressure of the society of their hometown.

     b . ?die <u>nach und nach</u> den Druck der Gesellschaft ihres Heimatortes spüren.

As such, BZIC poses a problem for Wurmbrand's (2003, 2004) functional-lexical distinction: It involves a lexical embedding verb with its own argument/event structure, although it obligatorily has a restructuring structure and disallows extraposition. However, if the functional restructuring schema can be extended into the domain that is usually considered lexical, we can integrate BZIC into Wurmbrand's distinction. To do so, I will decompose the structure below *v*P into several functional projections, following the approach proposed by Ramchand (2008ab, 2018). Because in the analysis to be proposed the properties of both embedded and embedding verbs interact with each other, I clarify which types of verbs appear as the infinitive in BZIC before we proceed to the analysis.

2.3 Restriction on verb types that appear in BZIC

As mentioned above, the verbs that can appear in BZIC as the infinitive are highly restricted. According to a corpus-based study conducted by Jäger (2013), 49 verbs appear in BZIC, among which 25 have only one occurrence per verb. The 9 most frequent verbs are listed below.

verb	*sehen* ("see")	*hören* ("hear")	*spüren* ("feel")	*essen* ("eat")	*lesen* ("read")	*fassen* ("grasp")	*fühlen* ("feel")	*trinken* ("drink")	*kaufen* ("buy")
Σ	370	285	173	96	46	44	32	19	13

(Table 1. Modified from Jäger, 2013, p. 70, Table 12)

Based on this distribution, Jäger (2013) classified the verbs into three classes. The most prominent class of verbs are perception verbs, such as *sehen* ("see"), *hören* ("hear"), *spüren* ("feel"), and *fühlen* ("feel"). Importantly, as mentioned by Haider (2010, p. 256), only perception verbs with experiencer external arguments are allowed in BZIC. The agentive counterparts of *sehen* and *hören*, i.e., *beobachten* ("watch")/*betrachten* ("look at") and *belauschen* ("listen in to"), respectively, cannot appear in BZIC.

(14)*Du   bekommst es   nicht zu beobachten/belauschen.

    you.NOM *get*   *it*.ACC *not   to watch   listen.in.to*

    "You do not manage to watch/listen in to it."   (Haider, 2010, p. 256, slightly modified[4])

The second class is grouped under the label of *consumption verbs* and includes verbs such as *essen* ("eat"), *lesen* ("read"), *trinken* ("drink") and *kaufen* ("buy"). However, the infinitives that fall under this class often do not function as infinitival complements of *bekommen* but rather as modifiers of the object noun phrase (Dekalo 2017; Jäger 2013). This is already shown in (3b) with the presence of an intervening PP *bei uns* ("with us") between *bekommen* and the infinitive. Although there indeed exist cases of genuine BZIC with consumption verbs, such data are rather minor.[5]

The third class contains a small number of agentive verbs represented by *fassen* ("grasp"). In fact, *fassen* is almost the only verb in this class that productively appears in BZIC. However, the BZIC with *fassen* is particularly important because it demonstrates the same characteristics as the BZIC with perception verbs in terms of restructuring. First, it passes the tests for restructuring, such as scrambling out of the embedded infinitive (15a) and verb cluster fronting (15b).

(15) a. Dennoch   hatte **ihn**$_i$ die Polizei   nicht [**t**$_i$ zu fassen]   bekommen.
       *nevertheless had him.*ACC *the police.*NOM *not   to grasp/catch gotten*
     "Nevertheless, the police had not been able to catch him."(Salzburger Nachrichten, 15.07.1999)
   b. <u>Zu fassen   bekommen</u> habe ich ihn   nicht.
       *to grasp/catch gotten   have I   him.*ACC *not*
     "I did not manage to catch him."   (Jäger, 2013, p. 227, translation added by author)

Second, also in BZIC with *fassen*, *bekommen* behaves parallel to functional restructuring predicates in that it disallows the infinitival complement's extraposition (16a). Nevertheless, it preserves its event structural properties, which is shown by its compatibility with *nach und nach*, a modifier that is sensitive to change-of-state semantics (16b). Again, the construction is degraded if *bekommen* is removed (16c).

(16) a.$^{??}$so daß sie   bekam, <u>den Griff   der am   Handgelenk baumelnden Zange zu fassen.</u>
       *so that she.*NOM *got   the handle.*ACC *the on.the wrest   dangling   plier to grasp*
                                                    (Jäger, 2013, p. 229 translation added by author)
   b. der den Antwortenden <u>nach und nach</u> an seinen eigenen Antworten zu fassen bekam.[6]
       *that the answerer.*ACC *bit by bit   on his   own   answers   to grasp got*
     "(His questions were like a great whirlpool) that gradually traps answerer in his own answers."
   c.$^{?}$ . . .der den Antwortenden <u>nach und nach</u> an seinen eigenen Antworten fasste.

In what follows, I mainly consider perception verbs and the verb *fassen* as relevant verbs that appear in BZIC.

3. Analysis

3.1 Ramchand (2008ab, 2018)

3.1.1 Decomposition of the structure within *v*P

Although in the standard generative syntax, event structural and argument structural properties are ascribed to a verb's lexical entry, some have proposed approaches that try to map these properties directly onto the syntactic tree (cf. Hale & Keyser, 1993; von Stechow, 1996; Rothmayr, 2009). In line with such approaches, Ramchand (2008ab, 2018) proposed that a structure within *v*P—EvtP in her framework— is decomposed into functional projections denoting subevents: InitP (initiation phrase), denoting a causation subevent, ProcP (process phrase), a dynamic/change subevent, and ResP (result phrase) denoting a result subevent. The head of a higher subevent-denoting phrase embeds a lower phrase as its complement. The hierarchical relationship between the projections corresponds to the *leads-to* relationship between the denoted subevents in the semantics. That is, when Init embeds ProcP, it means that a causation subevent leads to a dynamic/change subevent.

The specifier position of each projection is occupied by an actant, for which the event property denoted by the projection holds. For example, the holder of the property of the causing subevent, which leads to a dynamic/change subevent, is called the INITIATOR. If a single argument occupies several specifier positions, such as Spec,ProcP and Spec,InitP, it serves as both the UNDERGOER and the INITIATOR.

In this system, a verb is regarded as the morphological realization of a series of heads such as Init, Proc, and Res. A lexical verb is specified for the categorial features, which determine whether the structure involves all or a subset of the projections described in (16). For example, the verb *destroy* has the features <(Evt), Init, Proc, Res>, and the structure in (17).

(17) John destroyed the sandcastle.
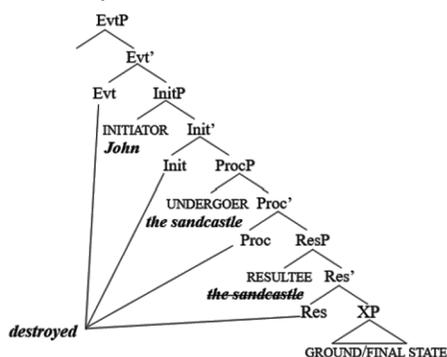
In the syntax, *destroy* is inserted in Res, Proc, Init, and Evt. Its internal argument occupies the specifiers of ResP and ProcP, which have the thematic roles of UNDERGOER and RESULTEE. The external argument, having the INITIATOR role, is inserted in Spec,InitP.[7] Therefore, the informal semantic interpretation of the

tree in (17) is as follows: An ɪɴɪᴛɪᴀᴛᴏʀ (*John*) initiates a causation subevent (e₁). Then, e₁ leads to a dynamic/change subevent (e₂) that affects an ᴜɴᴅᴇʀɢᴏᴇʀ (*the sandcastle*). Then, e₂ leads to a result subevent (e₃) that involves some final state (the destroyed state) of a ʀᴇsᴜʟᴛᴇᴇ (*the sandcastle*).

3.1.2 Underassociation

As mentioned previously, categorial features that a lexical verb has are lexicalized onto the syntactic tree as subevent-denoting projections. In Ramchand (2008ab), however, a lexical item is permitted to have features that are not spelled out into the structure. This mechanism is called *underassociation* and is possible under the constraints described in (18).

(18) Underassociation (Ramchand, 2008a, p. 98)

If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature, (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature, by Agree. (ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical encyclopedic content.

The condition (i) requires that when a category feature X of a lexical item α is underassociated, there must exist another lexical item β with the corresponding feature X' within the same phase, and the feature X' must be associated with a node in the syntactic tree. The condition (ii), in turn, involves the conceptual compatibility between the contents of the unified features X and X'. For example, the content of the feature <Init> of *destroy* is different from those of *create* and *strangle*. Because of constraint (ii), underassociation is only possible in cases in which at least one of the lexical items, α or β, has less specified or bleached conceptual meaning.

Using the underassociation mechanism, Ramchand (2008ab) analyzes Bengali V-V complex predicates. In Bengali, various light verbs can be combined with a main verb marked as a perfective/conjunctive participle to form a monoclausal structure. For example, the light verb *gælo* ("go") can be combined with an unaccusative verb *khul-* ("open") with perfective ending *-e*, giving rise to a telic interpretation (19a). Although this light verb construction is highly productive, there is a selectional restriction on which the category features of the main verb must be matched with those of the light verb. Therefore, an unaccusative light verb *gælo* (<Proc, Res>) is compatible with unaccusative verb "open" (19a), but incompatible with an unergative verb *bole* having <Init, Proc, Res> feature because of unmatching <Init> feature.

(19) a. dorja-ṭa   khul-e gælo
       door-ᴄʟᴀss. *open*-ᴇ *go*.ᴘᴀsᴛ3   "The door opened."   (Ramchand, 2008b, p. 126)

b.*O kothaṭa   bole   gælo

  he word-CLASS. *speak*-E *go*.PAST3   "He spoke" (intended)   (Ramchand, 2008b, p. 126)

Ramchand (2008ab) accounts for the restriction, assuming the following the structure.

(20) a.
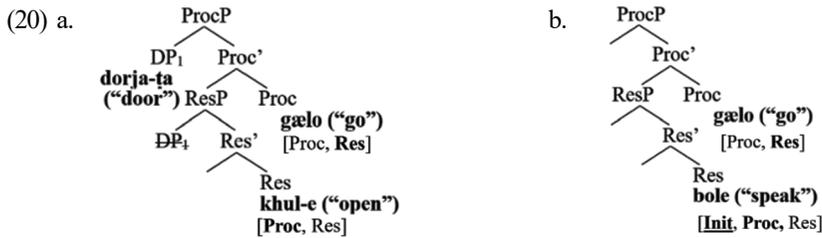
The light verb and the main verb lexicalize <Proc> and <Res>, respectively. The <Res> feature of the light verb is left underassociated. In the following trees, categorial features are indicated in brackets with the underassociated features bold-faced (e.g., [Proc, **Res**]). In the grammatical structure in (20a) for (19a), the main verb has an underassociated feature [**Proc**]. According to (18i), [**Res**] and [**Proc**] features are resolved by Agree. In the structure in (20b) for (19b), however, the main verb has feature [**Init**], which cannot be resolved, leading to the ungrammaticality of (19b). Note that the category features linked by Agree in (20a) conform to the constraint (18ii), because the light verb has very abstract conceptual meaning. Nevertheless, it is the light verb that is responsible for the entire property of the construction such as the telicity of the event and the argument structure.

3.2 Application of Ramchand (2008ab, 2018) to BZIC
3.2.1 BZIC with perception verbs

Following the approach proposed by Ramchand (2008ab, 2018) and introduced in the previous section, the structure of *bekommen* is represented as follows when it is used as the main verb:

(21) [$_{EvtP}$ DP$_1$ [$_{Evt'}$ [$_{ProcP}$ ~~DP$_1$~~ [$_{Proc'}$ [$_{ResP}$ ~~DP$_1$~~ [$_{Res}$ DP$_2$ <bekommen (HAVE)>$_{Res}$]] <bekommen>$_{Proc}$]] bekommen$_{Evt}$]]

Bekommen has categorial features <Proc, Res>, and as a transitive verb it takes an external argument DP$_1$ and an internal argument DP$_2$. Having <Proc, Res> feature without <Init>, *bekommen* is similar to unaccusative verbs, despite its transitivity. This is supported by the fact that *bekommen* cannot be passivized (22), just like unaccusative verbs, although an exact explanation of the unpassivizability of *bekommen* is beyond the scope of this paper.

(22)*Die Bücher   werden   am   Schalter im Lesesaal   <u>bekommen</u>.

     the books.NOM AUXPASS *on.the counter in.the reading.room gotten*

     Lit. "The books are gotten at the counter in the reading room."

                              (Holl, 2010, p. 19, translation added by author)

The presence of the <Proc> feature is motivated by *bekommen*'s compatibility with the modifier *nach und nach*, which is sensitive to the change-of-state event (cf. Rothmayr, 2009).

(23) <u>Nach und nach</u> bekam der Baum   ein dichtes Blätterkleid.

    bit by bit   got   the tree.NOM *a dense dress.of.leaves*.ACC

    "Gradually, the tree got a dense coat of leaves."   (Nordkurier, 31.05.2002)

Because, as shown at the beginning of this paper, constructions with *haben* ("have") are often parallel to those with *bekommen*, I consider *bekommen* to be an eventive counterpart of *haben*. This is schematically expressed in (21) with a notation *bekommen (HAVE)* that occupies Res.

Based on the structure of the main verb *bekommen*, I now consider BZIC's structure with perception verbs. First, I follow Rothmayr (2009) in considering perception verbs such as *sehen* ("see"), *hören* ("hear"), *spüren* ("feel"), and *fühlen* ("feel") as stative verbs, which contain neither a change-of-state feature (<Proc>) nor a causation feature (<Init>). The absence of <Proc> is already shown by the degradedness of (13b), in which a perception verb cooccurs with a process-sensitive adverbial *nach und nach*. The absence of <Init> can be seen in the incompatibility of perception verbs with manner adverbials such as *eingehend* ("closely") (24a). In this respect, they contrast with their agentive counterparts, such as *betrachten* ("look at"), as shown in (24b).

(24) a.*Die Irmi   sieht   <u>eingehend</u> das Bild.

      the Irmi.NOM *perceives closely   the picture*.ACC

      "Irmi perceives the picture closely."   (Rothmayr, 2009, p. 103)

    b. Die Irmi   betrachtet <u>eingehend</u> das Bild.

      the Irmi.NOM *looks.at closely   the picture*.ACC

      "Irmi is looking closely at the picture."   (Rothmayr, 2009, p. 102)

Because *eingehend* modifies the way the agent performs the described action, the incompatibility with it indicates the lack of <Init>, the locus of causation and agentivity. Based on this consideration, I propose that the perception verbs that can appear in BZIC have only a stative feature <Res>, apart from <Evt> which is always needed to complete the lexical verbal domain.

When the perception verbs are embedded in BZIC, the structure in (25) is obtained. Here, the perception verbs occupy Res, the head that is occupied by *bekommen (HAVE)* in (21).

(25)

```
              EvtP
           ／      ＼
        DP₁        Evt'
                ／      ＼
            ProcP       Evt
          ／     ＼         ＼
       D̶P̶₊     Proc'        ***bekommen***
             ／    ＼         [Proc, **Res**]
         ResP       Proc
        ／    ＼
     D̶P̶₊      Res'
            ／    ＼
         DP₂       Res
             ***zu sehen/hören/spüren...***
                  [**Proc**, Res]
```
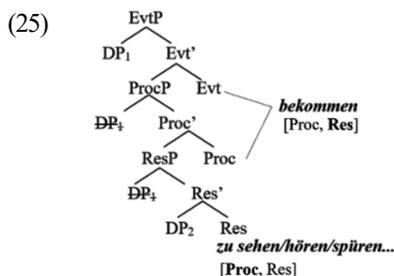
With this structure, the underasscociated feature [**Res**] of *bekommen* is resolved by Agree with the matching Res feature on the perception verb, complying with the constraint (18i). I argue that the constraint (18ii), which covers the conceptual compatibility between the content of *bekommen* and those of the perception verbs is also met in (25). One reason is that *bekommen* and its English counterpart *get* have relatively light semantic content. This is probably why verbs with the corresponding meanings are often subjected to grammaticalization in many languages. Another reason is the conceptual affinity between the reception event of *bekommen* and the perception event as well as that between the recipient and the experiencer theta role (as also pointed out by, e.g., Haider, 2010 and Jäger, 2013). Because in (25) the internal and external arguments are shared by the perception verb and *bekommen*, it is important that the theta roles assigned by each verb are compatible with each other. In this regard, these verbs are similar in having a usually animate and non-agentive recipient/experiencer argument (DP₁) and a usually inanimate theme argument (DP₂).

The underassociation mechanism correctly predicts that agentive perception verbs such as *beobachten* ("watch")/*betrachten* ("look at") and *belauschen* ("listen in to") cannot appear in BZIC (cf. (14)). Because they contain the <Init> feature that cannot be resolved by Agree with *bekommen*'s categorial feature, and because the agent thematic role of the external argument diverges considerably from the recipient role, neither constraint in (18) is met.

The structure in (25) presents a solution to the problem raised in Section 2.2. about the functional-lexical nature of *bekommen* in BZIC. Putting both *bekommen* and the embedded verb into the head position of the subevent-describing projections, we obtain a structure similar to that of functional restructuring construction in (6a). That is, the embedding verb *bekommen* is a functional head that is situated above the embedded perception verb's structure. Because the positions of the verbs are determined and there is no optionality about the complement size, restructuring is obligatory and extraposition is always impossible. However, because *bekommen* has the same categorial features and projects the same subevent structures as its main verb usage, the event structural and the argument

structural properties of the verb *bekommen* are preserved, such as the change-of-state meaning (cf. (23) and (13)). The restriction on which BZIC must contain an embedded verb that assigns accusative case to its object is also accounted for, assuming that the case assigning property must match between *bekommen* and its complement verb due to the underassociation mechanism.[8]

3.2.2 BZIC with *fassen*

Finally, I provide an analysis for BZIC with the agentive verb *fassen* ("grasp"). Here, I must point out that there is a usage of *bekommen* with an agentive subject implicating an effort of an intentional agent for obtaining something. According to Jäger (2013), it is this agentive variant that is compatible with agentive verbs such as *fassen*. Therefore, the BZIC with *fassen* often has a meaning that can be translated as "manage," as shown in (26).

(26) Silvy trank das erstbeste Bier, das sie zu fassen bekam,
    Silvy drank the first   beer that she to grasp got
    "Silvy drank the first beer that she managed to grasp."   (Jäger, 2013, p. 222)

In this regard, Haider (2021, p. 8, Footnote 16) noted that *kriegen* ("get"), the colloquial counterpart of *bekommen*, can be passivized if it is combined with *fassen*, although neither *kriegen* nor *bekommen* can be passivized when used as the main verb. Although such an example seems to be extremely rare, I found one example on the internet:

(27) 195-205 konnte von mir zu fassen gekriegt werden.[9]
    195-205 could by me to grasp gotten AUXPASS
    "(PDF-data of pages) 195-205 (of a document) could be gotten by me"

Assuming the InitP's presence is responsible for an agent/causer subject and the possibility of passivization (cf. (20)), it is safe to conclude that the *bekommen* in (26) and (27) has categorial features <Init, Proc, Res>. I assume that *fassen* also has a feature specification <Init, Proc, Res>. Then, the structure of BZIC with *fassen* can be represented as in (28).

(28) ...[$_{InitP}$DP$_1$ [$_{Init'}$ [$_{ProcP}$ ~~DP$_1$~~ [$_{Proc'}$ [$_{ResP}$ ~~DP$_1$~~ [$_{Res}$ DP$_2$ zu fassen$_{Res}$]] <bekommen>$_{Proc}$]] bekommen$_{Init}$]]]
                  [**Init**, **Proc**, Res]   [Init, Proc, **Res**]

As with the case of perception verbs, Res is occupied by the infinitive. The underassociated categorial features of *fassen* ([**Init**, **Proc**]) and those of *bekommen* ([**Res**]) are again resolved by Agree. The

constraint (ii) of (18) about the conceptual compatibility between the content of *bekommen* and that of *fassen* is also met. This is on the one hand due to the semantically bleached meaning of *bekommen*, expressing the success of some intended action. On the other hand, it is also due to the conceptual affinity of *fassen* toward agentive *bekommen*, expressing catching or acquiring by an intentional agent, as pointed out by Jäger (2013).

Regarding the functional-lexical status of *bekommen*, the same discussion as that for perception verbs is valid. Again, we see in (28) a structure similar to that of functional restructuring construction in (6a). Because *bekommen* has essentially the same categorial specification as it has when used as the main verb (except for the addition of <Init>), the event structural and argument structural properties of *bekommen* are preserved.

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I presented a structural analysis of a construction containing *bekommen* and an infinitive with *zu* (BZIC), using the *v*P-decomposition framework and the underassociation mechanism proposed by Ramchand (2008ab, 2018). Although *bekommen* at first glance does not seem to fit into the functional-lexical classification proposed by Wurmbrand (2003, 2004), both functional and lexical properties are straightforwardly derived from the proposed structure because the lexical domain within *v*P is decomposed into several functional projections.

As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, a question to be asked is how the "canonical" restructuring cases are integrated into the Ramchand's *v*P-decomposition framework. While there is little to say about functional restructuring predicates because they are situated above *v*P, the structure of lexical restructuring must be reinterpreted based on the framework. Because in canonical cases the lexical restructuring predicates place few restrictions on argument structural and semantic properties of embedded verbs, the complement verb must project an independent lexical domain, that is, EvtP, and involve no underassociation. However, there are cases in which embedded and matrix verbs are so tightly connected that the embedded event cannot be modified independently (cf. Keine & Bhatt, 2016). In such a case, either a smaller structure or an additional mechanism to derive the tight connection is needed.

Another question is the predictability and productivity of the underassociation mechanism for German restructuring infinitives. According to the constraint (18i), the agentive *bekommen* in 3.2.2. would pose less syntactic restriction on the embedded infinitive because it would be compatible with verbs with features <Init, Proc, Res> or <Proc, Res> or <Res>.[10] However, the constraint (18ii) restricts the possible embedded verbs severely because *bekommen* has considerable concrete semantic content compared to e.g., Bengali light verbs. As to the productivity, it seems that a similar mechanism of verbal complementation as BZIC is applicable to other related constructions, such as those using *geben* ("give") and *es gibt* ("there is"). I leave a concrete analysis of these issues to future research.

Notes

[1] Throughout the article, the following abbreviations are used in glosses: NOM=nominative case, ACC=accusative case, GEN=genitive case, AUXPASS=passive auxiliary, M=masculine, CLASS=classifier, PAST=past tense, 3=third person.

[2] Here, I ignore the so-called *third construction*, in which a verbal complement that is smaller than a CP seems to be extraposed. For example, in (i), the infinitival phrase {*ihm / dem Jungen*} *teuer zu verkaufen* is extraposed, from which, however, the object {*es / das Auto*} is scrambled out. Because the possibility of scrambling indicates that the infinitive has a structure smaller than a CP, (i) is problematic for the assumption that only a verbal phrase with the size of CP can be extraposed. However, because the third construction is possible only with lexical restructuring constructions, it does not affect the generalization that infinitival complements in functional restructuring structure (cf. (6a)) resist extraposition.

(i) weil   Fritz {es / das Auto} versucht {ihm / dem Jungen} teuer   zu verkaufen.

   because Fritz it the car   tries   him the boy   for much to sell (Reis & Sternefeld, 2004, p. 472)

[3] The test using *wieder* ("again") as in (9) did not yield a clear result because the event of "infinitive + *bekommen*" is hardly distinguished from the event of the infinitive.

[4] In Haider's (2010, p. 256, (12b)) original example, the verb *kriegen* is used instead of *bekommen*. *Kriegen* has essentially the same meaning as that of *bekommen*, except for its tendency to be used in spoken language.

[5] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, a genuine BZIC might be distinguished using a diagnostic whether the construction involves modality. However, as noted by Jäger (2018) and also shown by the examples in this article, modality can hardly be detected in many cases. As only cases with *fassen* in 3.2.2 clearly involve (possibility) modality, the status of being genuine BZIC has to be dissociated from the modal meaning.

[6] https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/guenter-gaus-das-ende-der-schonzeit-1156470.html (accessed on 2022.9.24)

[7] Ramchand (2018, pp. 79, 89), as opposed to Ramchand (2008ab), argued that the external argument is introduced by the head Evt, but the existence of the agent is somehow dependent on the Init projection denoting a causation subevent. Because this complication is orthogonal for the present discussion, I simply assume here that the external argument with the INITIATOR theta role is introduced by Init.

[8] I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for suggesting this explanation about the case assignment property.

[9] https://www.wertpapier-forum.de/topic/25063-tier-1-anleihen-teufelszeug-oder-ambrosia/page/31/ (accessed on 2022.9.24)

[10] The restriction that only verbs with <Res> feature can appear in BZIC might have to be abandoned because activity verbs such as *sprechen* ("speak/talk") also appear in BZIC. The <Res> feature might then be provided by the particle *zu* ("to"), as with the case of perfective ending *-e* in Bengali. This assumption is not implausible because *zu* has its origin in allative/purposive preposition.

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