GET and HAVE + past participle or supine

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1. Introduction

The Nordic languages have non-canonical passive constructions with GET + past participle, as in the Swedish examples in (1).[1] These examples have in common that the subject of GET is not (necessarily) interpreted as the agent of the participial event. As in canonical passives, the external argument of the participial verb is demoted or implicit in GET-passives.

(1) a. Anna   fick   honom   avskedad.   (Swe.)

        Anna   got   him   fire.PASTPART.C.SG

        'Anna got him fired.'

    b. Anna   fick   cykeln   stulen.

        Anna   got   bike.DEF.C.SG   steal.PASTPART.C.SG

        'Anna got her bike stolen.'

    c. Anna   fick   bilen   reparerad

        Anna   got   car.DEF.C.SG   repair.PASTPART.C.SG

        'Anna got her car repaired.'

GET-passives can have several different readings, depending partly on the properties of the participle, but also partly on the context (see e.g. Larsson 2012 and references there). In (1a) above, the primary reading is causative: Anna causes him to be fired. (1b), on the other hand, primarily has a malefactive reading, and Anna has no influence over the stealing of the bike. Finally, (1c) is primarily benefactive: Anna is the beneficiary of the repairing of her car.

In addition to the passive readings, GET + participle can sometimes have an active reading, in the sense that the subject is interpreted as the agent of the participial event. On this reading, the participial verb must be agentive, and the subject animate (cf. Larsson 2009, 2012, Taraldsen 2010, Hansen & Heltoft 2011, Klingvall 2011, Lundquist 2011, and see further section 3). Unlike the GET-passive, the active construction can have a participle of an intransitive or reflexive verb. A Norwegian example is given in (2).

(2) Eg får ikkje arbeidt.   (No.)

I   get   not   work.PASTPART.N.SG

'I don't get any work done.'

(Faarlund et al. 1997:847)

In Swedish, the passive and active constructions with GET can to some extent be distinguished by means of word order, particle placement and agreement: in GET-passives, the object is often preverbal (see (1a-c)), in the active construction, it is normally postverbal, but also a preverbal DP may allow for an active reading; cf. (3) (see Larsson 2012 for a discussion of the variation).

(3) a. Frida fick skrivet   breven   alldeles på egen hand   (Swe.)

Frida got write.PASTPART.N.SG letter.PL.DEF all   on own hand

'Frida managed to get the letters written all by herself.'

b. Frida fick breven   skrivna   alldeles på egen hand

Frida got write.PASTPART   letter.PL.DEF all   on own hand

'Frida managed to get the letters written all by herself.'

Also in (varieties of) Norwegian, there is word order variation in GET-passives. However, the active reading is only available when the object is postverbal; cf. (4) and (5).

(4) a. Jens fikk reparert   bilen.   (No.)

Jens got repair.PASTPART.N.SG car.DEF.C.SG

'Jens got the car repaired.'

b. Jens fikk bilen   reparert

Jens got car.DEF.C.SG   repair.PASTPART.N.SG

'Jens got the car repaired.'

(Taraldsen 1995:208)

(5)   (No)

Jens$_i$ fikk bilen   reparert   (*og han$_i$ gjorde det helt selv$_i$.)

Jens got car.DEF.C.SG repair.PASTPART.N.SG and he did it all self

In some Danish varieties, the object obligatorily precedes the participle, even on the active reading (see section 2 below). There is also variation with respect to participial form and agreement. Some Swedish speakers can have the supine form (i.e. the form used to form the perfect tense) in the active construction with GET (see below and cf. Larsson 2009, 2012). The active construction with GET is, however, more

restricted in Swedish than in Danish and Norwegian, and it is, for instance, not possible in generic contexts (Lundquist 2011). It hardly occurs at all in written Swedish (see section 3 below).

In addition to the constructions with GET, the Nordic languages have a construction with HAVE + past participle, which does not have the syntax and semantics of a perfect, but which rather should be understood as a stative version of the GET-passive (see Larsson 2009 for extensive discussion). A Swedish example is given in (6); as in the GET-passive, the subject is not (necessarily) interpreted as the agent of the participial verb.

(6)   Han   hade   väskorna   packade.   (Swe.)

    he   *had*   *bag.DEF.PL*   *pack.PASTPART.PL*

    'He had the bags packed.'

In the present-day languages (with the possible exception of Finland Swedish), this construction with HAVE is typically more restricted than the GET-passive, but it shows some of the same variation in word order and has a similar range of interpretations.[2]

In the Danish part of the ScanDiaSyn-survey, several sentences with GET + participle was included to investigate word order variation with different verbs and different kinds of objects (reflexives, light pronouns and DPs). Two sentences with HAVE were also tested in Denmark. In the Swedish survey, two sentences with GET + participle of an intransitive verb were tested. The results from the Nordic Syntax Database (Lindstad et al 2009) are presented in section 2 below. Spontaneous data e.g. from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009) are discussed in section 3.

2. Results

HAVE + participle in Danish

Sentence (#1319) and (#1320) test the order between an object DP and participle embedded under HAVE. The context does not make the sentence unambiguously passive or active.

(7)   a.   Jeg   har   kufferterne   pakket.   (#1319) (Da.)

        I   *have*   *bag.DEF.PL*   *pack.PASTPART.N.SG*

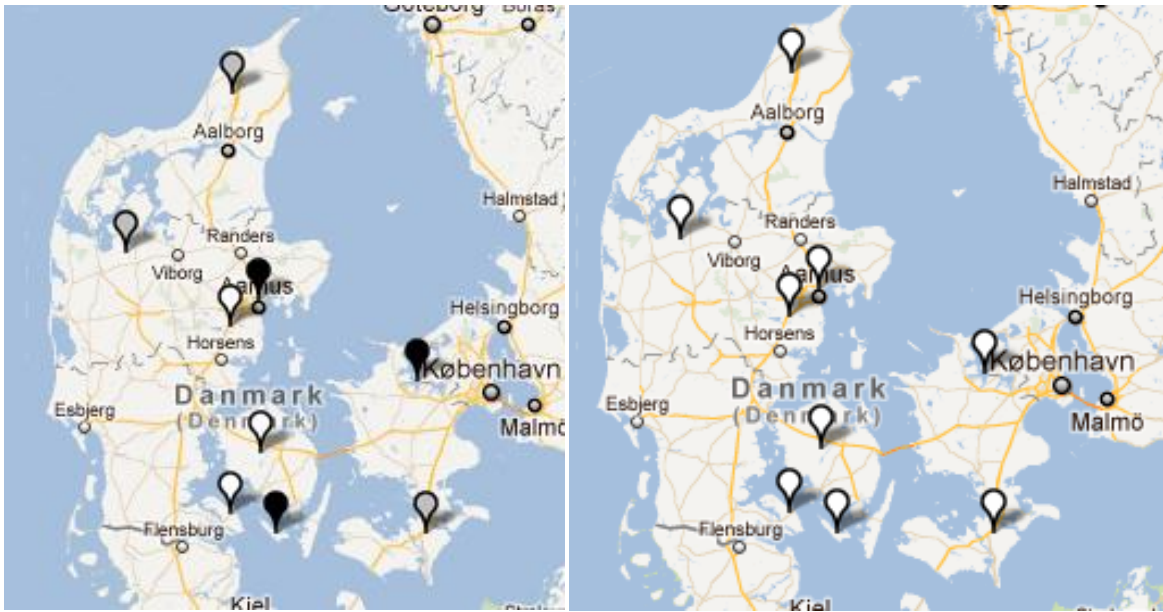   'I have the bags packed.'

    b.   Jeg   har   pakket   kufferterne.   (#1320)

        he   *had*   *pack.PASTPART.N.SG*   *bag.DEF.PL*

        'I have packed the bags.'

The sentence with a preverbal object is accepted in three locations in Denmark (Eastern Jutland, Fyn and Als); see Map 1. With the object in postverbal position (#1320), the sentence is accepted in all locations where it has been tested; see Map 2. This sentence can be interpreted as a perfect tense (and would be the normal perfect).

Map 1: HAVE + participle and the order object DP – participle (#1319: Jeg har kuffertene pakket. 'I have the bags packed.')

Map 2: HAVE + participle and the order participle-object DP (#1320: Jeg har pakket kuffertene. 'I have packed the bags.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score.)

GET + participle and DP object in Danish

Sentence (#1306) and (#1305) test the word order possibilities in GET-passives:

(8)   a.   Ken   fik   bilen   repareret   på   værkstedet.   (#1306) (Da.)

          Ken   got   car.DEF.C.SG.   repair.PASTPART.N.SG   at   garage.DEF

     b.   Ken   fik   repareret   bilen   på   værkstedet   (#1305)

          Ken   got   repair.PASTPART.N.SG   car.DEF.C.SG   at   garage.DEF

          'Ken got the car repaired at the garage.'

The order object DP – participle is accepted in more locations in the construction with GET, than with HAVE. Sentence (#1306) gets low scores only on Zealand; see Map 3. With a postverbal DP, sentence (#1305) gets low scores on Fyn, and intermediate scores on Ærø; see Map 4.
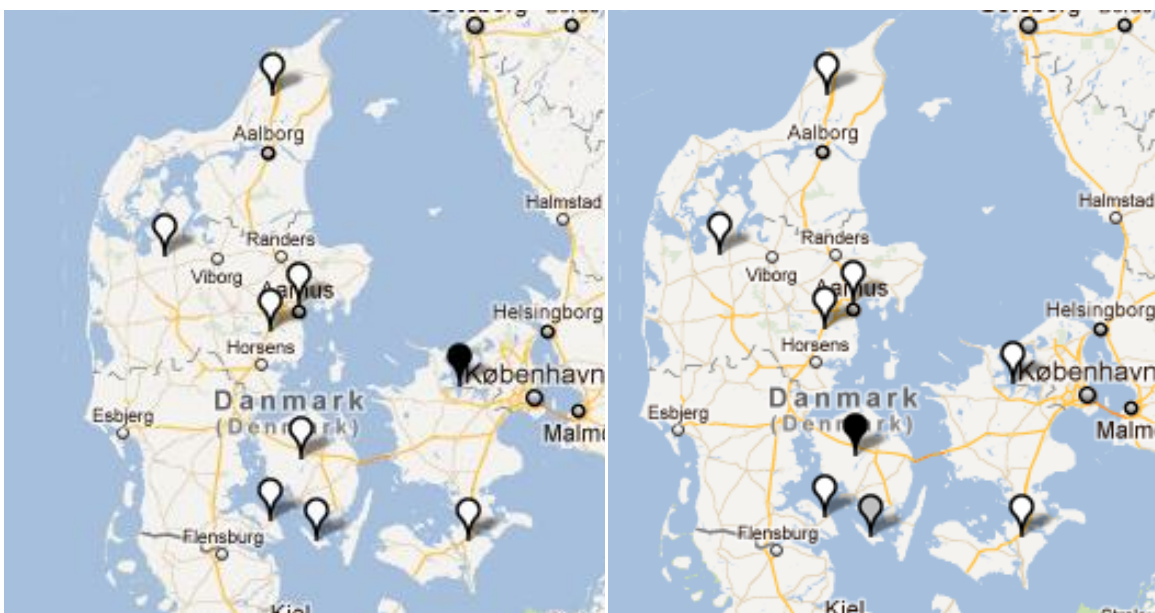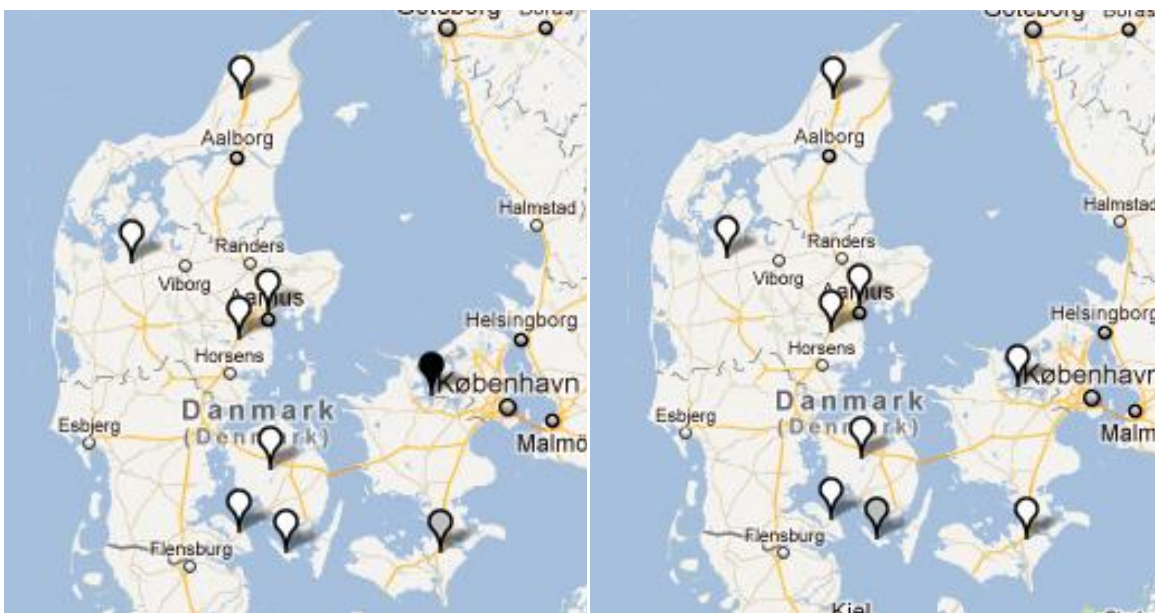
Map 3: GET-passive with the order object DP - participle (#1306: Ken fik bilen reparert på værkstedet. 'Ken got the car repaired at the garage'.)

Map 4: GET-passive with the order participle-DP (#1305: Ken fik reparert bilen på værkstedet. ' Ken got the car repaired at the garage.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

The primary reading of sentence (#1306) and (#1305) above is benefactive (or perhaps causative). The pattern is similar when the subject is (primarily) interpreted as maleficiary, as in sentence (#1362) and (#1361):

(9)   a.   Jeg   fik   min   cykel   stjålet.   (#1361) (Da.)

           I   got   my   bike   steal.PASTPART.N.SG

      b.   Jeg   fik   stjålet   min   cykel.   (#1362)

           I   got   steal.PASTPART.N.SG   my   bike

           'I got my bike stolen.'

As in the benefactive GET-passive, the malefactive GET-passive with a preverbal object DP (#1361) gets low scores only on Zealand; see Map 5. However, a postverbal DP is more widely accepted in the malefactive sentence (#1362) than the benefactive; cf. Map 6 with Map 4 above. Sentence (#1362) is accepted all across Denmark, except on Ærø where it gets an intermediate score.

Map 5: Malefactive GET-passive with the order object DP-participle (#1361: Jeg fik min cykel stjålet. 'I got my bike stolen.')

Map 6: Malefactive GET-passive with the order participle-object DP (#1362: Jeg fik stjålet min cykel. 'I got my bike stolen.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

Verbs of perception and cognition are more restricted in constructions with GET, and they typically do not appear in GET-passives (although a causative reading can sometimes be forced). If accepted, sentence (#1359) and (#1360) therefore (primarily) have an active reading.

(10)   a.   Fik   du   filmen   set?   (#1359) (Da.)

          got   *you*   *movie.DEF*   *see.PASTPART*

       b.   Fik   du   set   filmen?   (#1360)

          got   *you*   *see.PASTPART*   *movie.DEF*

          'Did you get to see the movie?'

With a perception verb, the order DP-participle (#1359) is considerably more restricted than in the benefactive and malefactive sentences. It gets a high score only in one location, in Eastern Jutland; see Map 7. It gets an intermediate score on Als and Ærø. With a postveral DP, sentence (#1360) is accepted all across Denmark; see Map 8.
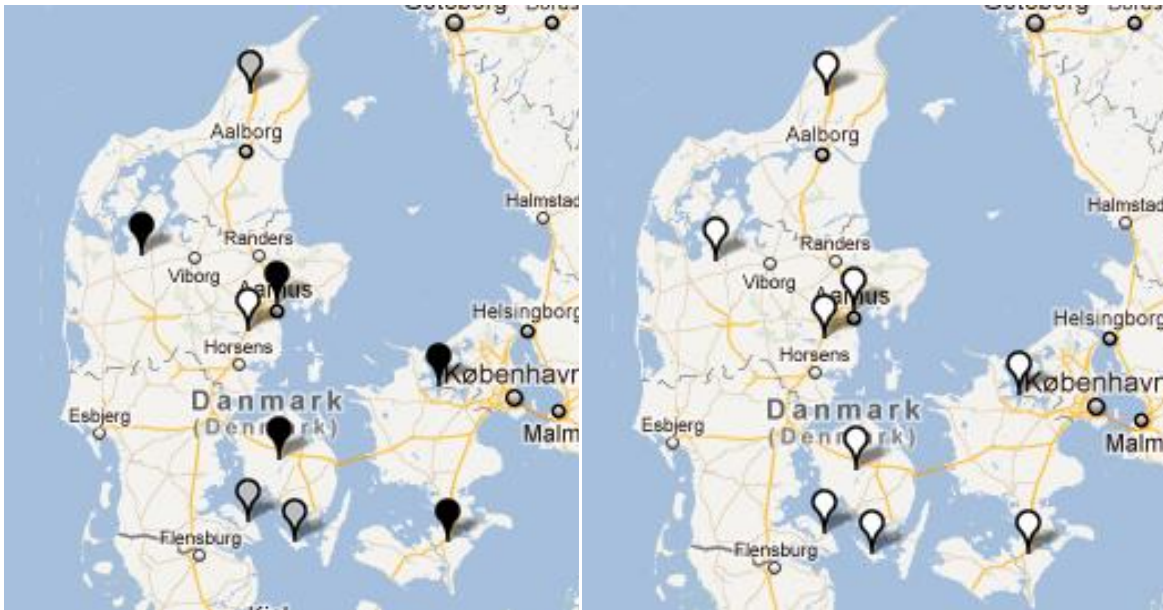
Map 7: GET + participle of a perception verb, and the order DP – participle (#1359: Fik du filmen set? 'Did you get to se see the movie?')

Map 8: GET + participle of a perception verb, and the order participle-DP (#1360: Fik du set filmen? 'Did you get to see the movie?')

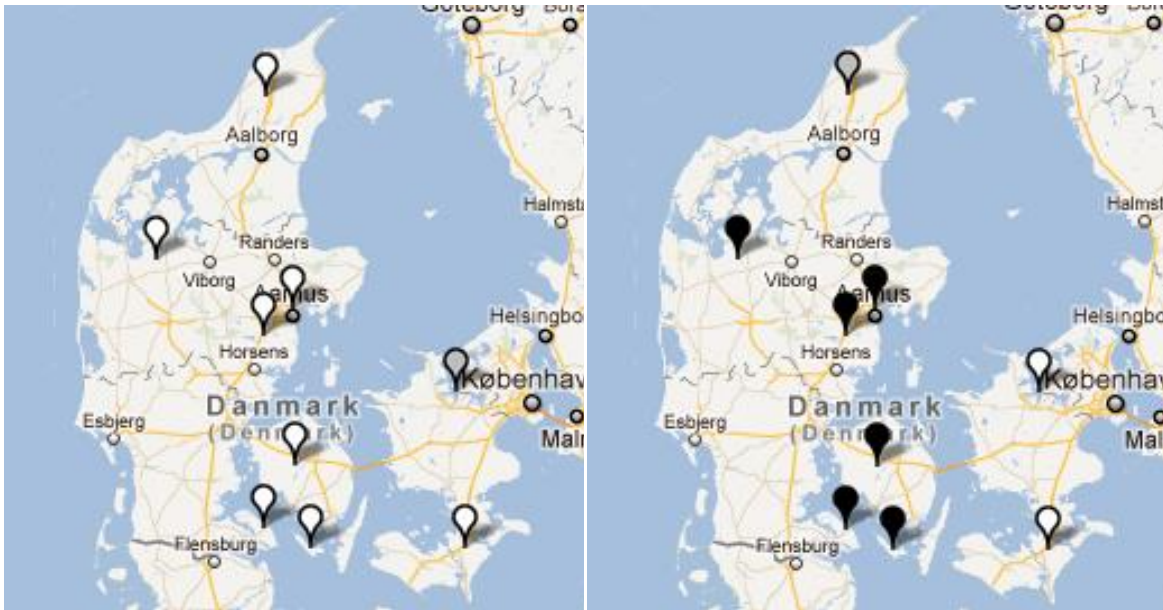*(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).*

GET + participle and pronominal object or reflexive in Danish

Sentence (#1310) and (#1309) test the word order possibilities in a construction with the infinitive of GET, a participle of the verb *lave* 'repair' and a pronominal object:

(11) a. (Vi   sender   den   på   værksted)   for   at   få   den   lavet.   (#1309) (Da.)
          we   send   it   on   garage   in.order   to   get   it   fix.PASTPART.C.SG

      b. (Vi   sender   den   på   værksted)   for   at   få   lavet   den.   (#1310)
          we   send   it   on   garage   in.order   to   get   fix.PASTPART.C.SG   it
          '(We are sending it to the garage) in order to get it fixed.'

In the context, the participle gets a passive reading – the matrix subject referent is not the agent of the repairing.

     With a pronominal object, the order object–participle is often the only possible in GET-passives; cf. Map 9 and 10. With a preverbal pronoun, sentence (#1309) gets a high score all across Denmark, except on Zealand where it gets an intermediate score (Map 9). The order participle–pronoun (#1310) is only accepted on Zealand and Falster (Map 10). (Cf. Bentzen 2014 for a discussion of object shift in the Nordic dialects.)

Map 9: GET-passive with the order object pronoun-participle (#1309: (Vi sender den på værksted) for at få den lavet. '(We are sending it to the garage) in order to get it fixed.')

Map 10: GET-passive with the order participle-object pronoun (#1310: (Vi sender den på værksted) for at få lavet den. '(We are sending it to the garage) in order to get it fixed.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

Also sentence (#1315) and (#1316) tests the word order possibilities in a construction with GET + participle, with the verb *sælge* 'sell' and a pronominal object:

(12) a. De   fik   den   solgt   (på loppemarkedet)   (#1315) (Da.)

          they   got   it   sell.PASTPART.N.SG   at   flee.market.DEF

      b. De   fik   solgt   den   (på loppemarkedet)   (#1316)

          they   got   sell.PASTPART.N.SG   it   on   flee.market.DEF

          'They got it sold (at the flee market).'

In these sentences, nothing necessarily excludes an active interpretation.

With the order object–participle (#1315), the pattern is the same as in the GET-passive with *lave* 'repair'; cf. Map 9 above with Map 11 below. A preverbal pronoun is accepted all across Denmark, but the sentence gets an intermediate score on Zealand. The sentence with a postverbal pronoun (#1316) is, on the other hand, more generally accepted than in the corresponding sentence with *lave*; cf. Map 10 above with Map 12 below. The sentence with *sælge* and a postverbal pronoun does not get low scores in any location (Map 12). However, it gets intermediate score in some of the locations where a postverbal pronoun is judged unacceptable in the sentence with *lave*.
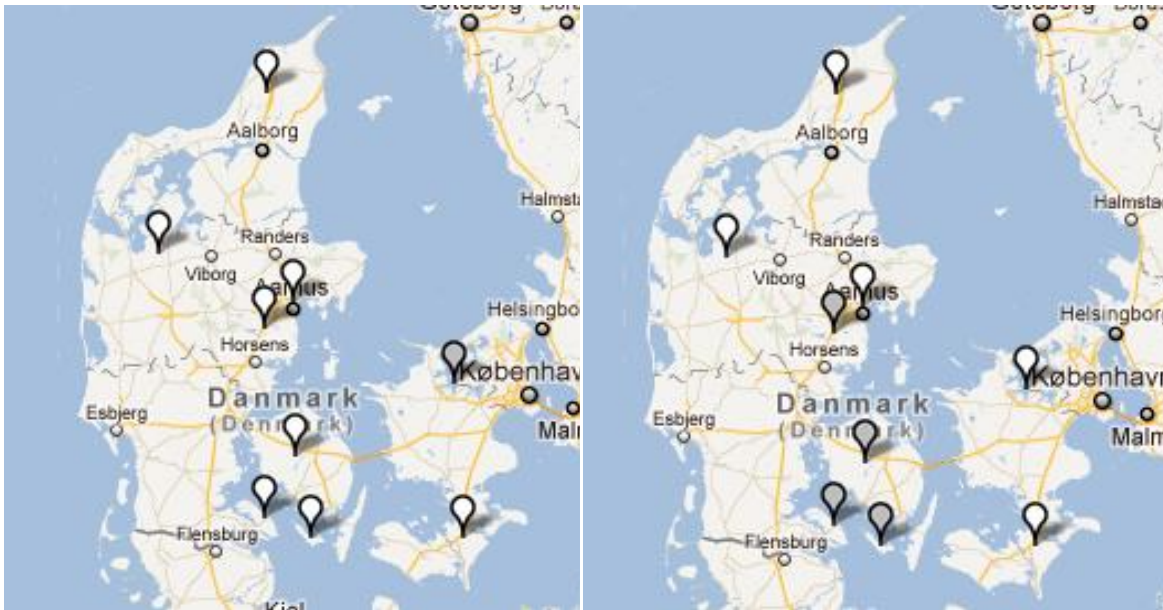
Map 11: GET + participle and the order object
pronoun-participle (#1315: De fik den solgt (på
loppemarkedet.) 'They got it sold (on the flee
market).')

Map 12: GET + participle and the order participle-
object pronoun (#1316: De fik solgt den (på
loppemarkedet9. 'They got it sold (on the flee
market).')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

Sentence (#1318) and (#1317) test the word order possibilities in a construction with the present tense of
GET and a reflexive verb;

(13)	a.	Han	får	sig	aldrig		taget	sammen.	(#1317) (Da.)
		he	*gets*	*refl*	*never*		*take.PASTPART.N.SG*	*together*	
	b.	Han	får	aldrig	taget		sig	sammen.	(#1318)
		he	*gets*	*never*	*take.PASTPART.N.SG*		*refl*	*together*	

'He never manages to get himself together.'

In these sentences, the participle is unambiguously active.

Unlike the sentences with pronominal objects, some informants prefer the order participle–
reflexive; cf. Map 13 and 14. Sentence (#1317), with a reflexive preceding the participle (and the adverb
aldrig 'never'), is judged ungrammatical on Zealand, Falster and Bornholm (Map 13). The sentence with
a postverbal reflexive (#1318) is accepted in most locations where it was tested (Map 14). In Aarhus
(Jutland) and on Fyn, a couple of speakers judge the sentence as ungrammatical, but others accept it.
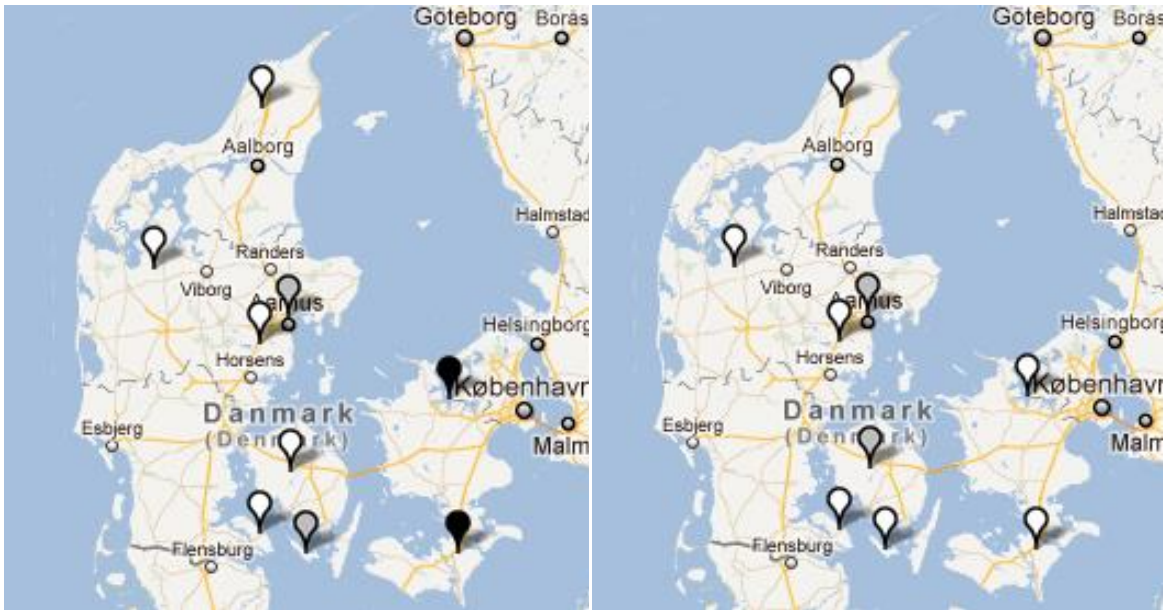
Map 13: GET + participle of reflexive verb and the order reflexive-participle (#1317: Han får sig aldrig taget sammen. 'He never manages to get himself together.')

Map 14: GET + participle of reflexive verb and the order participle-reflexive (#1318: Han får aldrig taget sig sammen. 'He never manages to get himself together.')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

GET + active, intransitive past participle or supine in Swedish

Two sentences with GET + participle or supine were tested in the Swedish survey. Both sentences involve an unambiguously active participle of an unergative verb, *sova* 'sleep'. The neuter singular passive participle of *sova* is *sovet* in Standard Swedish, whereas the perfect participle (or supine) is *sovit*. Sentence (#1431) involves the supine form, sentence (#1432) the neuter singular passive participle. In both cases, the participle is followed by a particle (see the section on particle placement in passives Lundquist 2014). Some informants found it difficult to hear the difference between the two participial forms (see section 3 below).

(14) a. Äntligen   fick   jag   sovit   ut!   (#1431) (Swe.)

         finally   got   I   sleep.SUP   out

      b. Äntligen   fick   jag   sovet   ut!   (#1432)

         finally   got   I   sleep.PASTPART.N.SG   out

         'Finally, I managed to sleep until rested.'

The sentence with the supine form is judged ungrammatical in most parts of Sweden and Finland; see Map 15. It is, however, accepted in a few scattered locations, particularly in the geographical periphery. The sentence gets an intermediate score in a few locations, mainly in the western parts of Sweden.

Map 15: GET + supine of an unergative verb

(#1431: Äntligen fikk jag sovit ut! 'Finally I managed to sleep until rested!')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

Also the sentence with a neuter singular participle is judged ungrammatical in most parts of Sweden, but it is accepted in a couple of locations in the western parts of Sweden and in three locations in Finland (see Map 16). In several locations, mainly in the western parts of Götaland, it gets an intermediate score.

Map 16: GET + neuter singular participle of an unergative verb

(#1432: Äntligen fikk jag sovet ut! 'Finally I managed to sleep until rested!')

(White = high score, grey = medium score, black = low score).

3. Discussion

3.1 Other data sources

Pedersen (2010) investigates word order in constructions with GET + participle in corpora of spoken Danish. She notes that the order object–participle dominates in Northern Jutland and on Fyn, but is less frequent in Copenhagen and rare on Zealand (see Table 1). Pedersen also shows that in Copenhagen, reflexive pronouns always follow the participle, while light pronouns typically (but not exclusively) occur in preverbal position. Word order also correlates with interpretation. In Copenhagen the order participle–object is only consistent with an active reading.

	# examples	% NV
Northern Jutland	131	95
Fyn	112	94
Borhholm	17	65
Copenhagen	356	28
Zealand	136	2

Table 1. The frequency of the order object-participle (NV) in constructions with GET (from Pedersen 2010:58)

The results from the ScanDiaSyn survey are largely consistent with Pedersen's results, although the data in Table 1 represents the language of speakers that are 1-3 generations older than the informants in the ScanDiaSyn survey. As pointed out by Pedersen (p.c.), whenever the system has changed, the development moves towards the system in Copenhagen.

As observed above, only pronominal objects are allowed in preverbal position in Zealand (cf. Map 3 and Map 9). On Zealand, Bornholm and Falster, reflexives are only accepted in postverbal position (see Map 13 and 14). The fact that the judgments also vary somewhat depending on whether the reading is benefactive, malefactive, possibly causative or active, and what type of verb is involved, clearly suggests that the word order is not only determined by the type of object. However, the distinction between different readings seems to correlate with word order in different ways in different geographical areas.

Larsson (2012) investigates constructions with GET + participle in three corpora of written and spoken Swedish, including the Nordic Dialect corpus. In the written material, only 3 % (32/974) of the examples with DP or pronominal objects have postverbal objects, and postverbal objects tend to be heavy. In the spoken corpora, 17 % (12/70) of the objects are postverbal, and many of them are pronominal and light. In spoken but not written Swedish, word order partly correlates with voice: in examples with a postverbal object, the reading is active (as in the Danish dialect spoken in Bornholm). However, also examples with a preverbal object can have an active reading in Swedish (cf. (3b) above). As pointed out by Taraldsen (1995), this is not possible in (varieties of) Norwegian, but judging from Pedersen's (2010) results, is possible in the varieties of Danish that allow objects in preverbal position.

In the Swedish corpora investigated in Larsson (2012), there are only very few (4/1294) examples of reflexives in the constructions with GET, and there are no examples with unambiguously intransitive verbs in the complement of GET. Also the use of GET with perception verbs is very limited, with only one or two examples. Larsson (2012) concludes that the construction with GET + active participle is marginal in Swedish, and that it is restricted to informal (spoken) language and contexts that are not covered by the investigated corpora. (Note that the Swedish dialect material involves interviews.) In this respect, Swedish contrasts with both Danish and Norwegian. In the Norwegian part of the Nordic Dialect Corpus, there are several hundred examples of GET + participle from all across Norway, and many of them have an active reading. In the Swedish part of the corpus, there are altogether 21 examples, many of which are not unambiguously active or passive.

The fact that the active construction with GET is marginal in Swedish is also clear from the ScanDiaSyn survey. Only 16 % of the Swedish-speaking informants judge the sentence with the participial form as fully grammatical; the corresponding number for the sentence with the supine form is 11 %. Many speakers are uncertain: 15 % of the informants give the sentences an intermediate score (3). Younger speakers accept the sentences to a higher extent than older speakers: 33 % (7/21) of the speakers under 30 give the sentence with the participial form the highest score, compared to 11 % (5/46) of the speakers aged over 50. The construction is, however, not a recent innovation in Swedish. It is judged perfectly grammatical by Ljunggren (1934), who is from Southwestern Sweden, and it can be traced back to Old Swedish, where it was more widespread (see Larsson 2012).

3.2 Theoretical issues regarding GET and HAVE + participle

Lødrup (1996) points to differences between the active and passive constructions with GET + participle in Norwegian. For instance, the matrix verb (i.e. *få* 'get' in Norwegian) can be passivized in GET-passives, but not in the active construction, and there are also differences with respect to control infinitives and imperatives in Norwegian. Lødrup suggests that the active construction involves an auxiliary GET, whereas the GET-passive with a postverbal DP should be treated as a complex predicate. On the other hand, he argues that Norwegian GET-passives with a postverbal DP are syntactically more different from GET-passives with a preverbal DP than usually assumed: the construction with a preverbal DP is analyzed as an "ordinary 'raising to object' construction" (1996:89). Given that the two orders between object and participle can correlate with interpretational differences and have different restrictions on the type of verb, it seems likely that they should be given different syntactic analyses. However, as we have seen, the dialect data suggests that the factors that determine word order vary between dialects. In Standard Swedish, the word order in GET-passives seems to correlate mainly with the weight of the object, and in varieties of Danish, the order between participle and object seems to depend largely on whether the object is pronominal or not. In varieties of Swedish and Danish, both orders allow both an active and a passive reading, but in the Norwegian varieties discussed in the literature, only a passive reading is possible in the construction with a preverbal DP. The difference between GET in GET-passives and GET-actives is also less clear in Swedish than in Norwegian.

It has been pointed out that the subject of the active construction with GET disallows inanimate subjects (Larsson 2009, Taraldsen 2010). Taraldsen (2010) suggests that the subject of GET is base-generated in an applicative phrase in the participial phrase both in the active and in the passive construction (cf. Taraldsen 1995). Thus, he gives GET-passives in Norwegian an analysis in the spirit of what e.g. Pylkkänen (2008) suggests for Japanese adversity passives. (Cf. also Hansen & Heltoft 2011 who assume that the subject of Danish GET-passives is a raised indirect object of the participial verb, but stated in somewhat different terms.) Taraldsen stipulates that the argument introduced by the applicative is necessarily animate. However, among other things, Taraldsen's account does not explain the differences between GET in passives and in actives that were noted by Lødrup. Moreover, the analysis does not straightforwardly account for the possibility of the supine form in some Swedish dialects; the supine is otherwise unambiguously active. As pointed out by Lundqvist (2011), also many

ability/possibility modals with perfective morphology disallow inanimate subjects. When used with an infinitive, GET is generally treated as a modal auxiliary in Swedish and Norwegian (with partly different interpretational possibilities in the two languages), and the active construction with GET + participle has a perfective reading and expresses that the subject has managed to do something.

There are varieties of Norwegian that seem to allow inanimate subjects in the active construction with GET; examples like (15) can be found in the NDC.

(15) så er vi ute og fisker om (No.)

so are we out and fish.PRES in

om våren når isen får gått

in spring when ice.DEF get.PRES go.PASTPART.N.SG

'and we go are out fishing in spring when the ice has gone'

(brunlanes_03gm; Eastern Norway)

It is not immediately clear that the active construction with GET should be given the same analysis in Swedish as in Norwegian, or that it has the same structure in all Swedish or Norwegian varieties (given e.g. the variation in the form of the participle and subject requirements). As noted, the construction is much more restricted in Swedish than in Norwegian, and it does not occur in e.g. generic contexts (Lundquist 2011). These distributional differences require further investigation. Comparisons are complicated by the fact that a construction with GET + participle are often several-way ambiguous, but the ambiguity might vary between varieties. In addition, many Swedish speakers are genuinely uncertain in their intuitions of the active constructions. (Northern) Norwegian varieties that make a distinction between participle and supine, and which have a more extensive use of the active construction with GET than Swedish, would therefore be of particular interest.

The results of the Swedish survey seem to suggest that there are speakers who only allow the perfect participial form (*sovet*) in the construction with GET, while other speakers (also) have the supine form (*sovit*). It should however be noted that many dialects (in e.g. Finland and Western Sweden) have a single form (either *sovet* or *sovit*) for both participle and supine, and speakers can find it hard to perceive the distinction. Moreover, some dialects have a single form, distinct from both the standard participle and the supine, which is used in both passives and perfects, and perhaps with GET. This variation was not captured in the survey (cf. the chapter on participle agreement, Larsson 2014). On the other hand, it can also be noted that some speakers that do make a distinction between the participle and the supine are uncertain about which form can be used in the construction with GET, and variation can be noted when the constructions is used (in informal Swedish, e.g. in blogs).

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Nordic Syntax Database: http://www.tekstlab.uio.no/nota/scandiasyn/index.html

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[1] Capitalized GET is used to cover forms *få* 'get' in Swedish and the correspondences in the other Scandinavian languages.

[2] In some dialects (perhaps particularly in Denmark), what appears to be a perfect of HAVE sometimes takes a participial complement; a Danish example is given in (i). This construction was not investigated in the ScanDiaSyn survey, and little is known of its distribution and properties (but see Jensen 2001 and references there).

(i) og han har også haft bygget kirken
And he has also have.PASTPART build.PASTPART the.church
'and he has also gotten the church built' (NDC, Sjaelland)