

Prenominal possessors in West Flemish
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Part I: Two pronominal possessor constructions in West Flemish

1. Introduction: Two kinds of pronominal possessors in the Lapscheure dialect²

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| (1) | a | Valèresen hoed
Valère- <i>sen</i> hat | DP+ <i>sen</i> + | NP | ‘genitive construction’ |
| | b | (Valère) zenen hoed
(Valère) his hat | (DP) + poss.pronoun + NP | | ‘doubling construction’ |

Synchronically: '*sen*' in contemporary WF (1a) is not simply the reduced/weak form of the masculine possessive pronoun *zenen* in (1b).³

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| (1) | c | Mariesen hoed
Marie- <i>sen</i> hat | DP+ <i>sen</i> + | NP | ‘genitive construction’ |
| | d | (Marie) euren hoed
(Marie) her hat | (DP) + poss.pronoun + NP | | ‘doubling construction’ |

The WF *sen* construction is reminiscent of the Afrikaans construction. Where relevant I will point at some differences between the two patterns.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|--|----|---|-----------------------|
| (2) | a. | Jan se bevele
Jan <i>se</i> orders | | b. | die predikant se motor
the curate <i>se</i> engine | (Ponelis 1979, p.126) |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------|--|----|---|-----------------------|

(W)Flemish vs. Standard Dutch

For many (though not all) speakers of WF, the *sen* construction is more productive than the *-s* genitive in StD, which, for many speakers, is almost restricted to proper names and kinship terms. See Corver 1990: 175-7 and ANS 1997, vol I: 163, II: 821 for discussion.

The doubling construction also exists in informal StD (ANS 1990: 163, 294, 822).

1.1. The sen construction (Haegeman 2004)

-sen invariant: no agreement with possessor or possessum

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------|------|
| (3) | a | Valère <i>sen</i> | hund | Marie <i>sen</i> | hund | MSG |
| | | Valère <i>sen</i> | dog | Marie <i>sen</i> | dog | |
| | b | Valère <i>sen</i> | hoage | Marie <i>sen</i> | hoage | FSG |
| | | Valère <i>sen</i> | hedge | Marie <i>sen</i> | hedge | |
| | c | Valère <i>sen</i> | hus | Marie <i>sen</i> | hus | NEUT |
| | | Valère <i>sen</i> | house | Marie <i>sen</i> | house | |
| | d | Valère <i>sen</i> | huzen | Marie <i>sen</i> | huzen | PL |
| | | Valère <i>sen</i> | houses | Marie <i>sen</i> | houses | |
| | e | * <i>djungers sen</i> | hus | * <i>die mensen sen</i> | hus | |
| | | the children <i>sen</i> | house | those people <i>sen</i> | house | |
| | f | possessor ⁴ _{SG} | <i>sen</i> _{SG} | NP | | |

- *se/sen* alternation: *-sen/se*: independent of ϕ features of POSSESSUM
 -roughly: *se* [___#C], *sen* [___#V] (Taeldeman 1995)
-sen is not an adjectival inflection (see below)

Table 1: *sen* vs *se*

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² See also Haegeman (2003, 2004a,b,c)

³ Taeldeman (1995) suggests that one option for the development of '*sen*' could be the weakening and generalisation of the masculine singular *zyn* to all genders (1995: 227).

⁴ I use the label possessor in a broad sense. The relevant nominal may also have a thematic relation to the N. See section 2.

POSSESSUM begins with→	V	C
POSESSUM ↓		
MASCULINE SG	Mariesen hoet Marie <i>sen</i> hat	Mariese paraplu Marie <i>se</i> umbrella
FEMININE SG	Mariesen henne Marie <i>sen</i> hen	Mariese veste Marie <i>se</i> jacket
NEUTER SINGULAR	Mariesen hoedje Marie <i>sen</i> little hat	Mariese kleed Marie <i>se</i> dress
Plural	Mariesen hoeten/hennen/hoedjes Marie <i>sen</i> hats/hens/little hats	Mariese paraplus/vesten/kleren Marie <i>se</i> umbrellas/jackets/clothes

1.2. The doubling construction:⁵

possessive pronoun - matches possessor (*zijn* ('his'), *eur* ('her'), *under* ('their'))
- agrees with possessum for gender and number (MSG= *en*)

-possessive pronoun agrees with POSSESSUM:

(4)	MASC SG	FEM SG	NEUT SG
a	euren hoed her-MSG hat	eur veste her jacket	eur kleed her dress
b	Marie euren hoed Marie her-MSG hat	Marie eur veste Marie her jacket	Marie eur kleed Marie her dress

The *en*- ending of the third person MASC possessive pronoun is not the same as that of adjectives, but is like that of determiners:

Table 2: inflections of adjectives, determiners

	MASC <i>Hoed</i>	FEM <i>veste</i>	NEUT <i>kleed</i>	PLURAL <i>kleren</i>
<i>Eur</i> ('her')	Eur(en)	Eur	Eur	eur
Determiner (DEM)	Dien(en)	Die	Die	die
<i>Geen</i> ('no')	Geen(en)	Geen	Geen	Geen
Adjective <i>Dier</i> ('expensive')	Dieren	Diere	Dier	diere

The possessive pronoun used in the doubling construction has the same properties as that in the non doubling pattern. Possessive pronoun matches POSSESSOR in person-number-gender:

Table 3: third person possessive pronouns

POSSESSUM→	MASC <i>Hoed</i>	FEM <i>veste</i>	NEUT <i>kleed</i>	PLURAL <i>kleren</i>
(POSSESSOR) ↓				
MASC (<i>Valère</i>)	Zen(en)	Zen	Zen	zen
FEM (<i>Marie</i>)	Eur(en)	Eur	Eur	eur
PL (<i>Djoengers</i>)	Under(en)	Under	Under	under

⁵ For more examples of languages with possessor doubling see, among others, Delsing (1993, 1998) Julien (1999), Fiva (1984), Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria (2003), Weiss (2006).
For English dialects in West Somerset (*Mary Jones her book*) see Wright (1905) (Bernstein and Tortora 2005: 1233)

2. Comparing the WF prenominal possessor constructions: similarities

2.1. Constituency

- (5) a [Marie se boek] een-k a gelezen. V2
 Marie *sen* book have-I already read
 b. [Marie euren boek] een-k a gelezen.
 Marie her-MSG book have-I already read
- (6) a K'een geklaapt [over [Marie se boek]] . PP complement
 I have talked about Marie *sen* book
 b K'een geklaapt [over [Marie euren boek]].
 I have talked about Marie her-MSG book
- (7) a K'een [Marie se blouse] en [Marleen se rok] gewassen. coordination
 I have Marie *sen* shirt and Marleen *sen* skirt washed
 b K'een [Marie eur blouse] en [Marleen eure(n) rok] gewassen.
 I have Marie her shirt and Marleen her-MSG skirt washed
 c K'een [Marie sen blouse] en [Marleen eure(n) rok] gewassen.
 I have Marie *sen* shirt and Marleen her-MSG skirt washed
 d K'een [Marie eur blouse] en [Marleen sen rok] gewassen.
 I have Marie her shirt and Marleen *sen* skirt washed

2.2. Thematic relations and thematic hierarchy

- *sen*: not exclusively POSSESSOR role;

-hierarchy: POSSESSOR > AGENT > THEME (Cinque 1980, Kolliakou 1999)

- (8) a. Marie se foto stung in de gezette.
 Marie *sen* picture stood in the newspaper
 (i) POSSESSOR, (ii) AGENT/CREATOR, (iii) THEME
 b. K'een Marie se schilderye van Picasso gekocht.
 I have Marie *sen* painting of Picasso bought
 c. thematic relations:
Marie: POSSESSOR, *Picasso* : AGENT / THEME
Marie: AGENT *Picasso* : THEME
 **Marie*: THEME, *Picasso* POSSESSOR
 **Marie*: THEME, *Picasso* AGENT
 **Marie*: AGENT, *Picasso* POSSESSOR

- 'possessive pronoun': not exclusively POSSESSOR role

-hierarchy: POSSESSOR > AGENT > THEME (Cinque 1980, Kolliakou 1999)

- (9) a. Eure(n) foto stung in de gezette.
 her-MSG picture stood in the newspaper
 (i) POSSESSOR, (ii) AGENT, (iii) THEME
 b. K'een eur schilderye van Picasso gekocht.
 I have her picture of Picasso bought
 c. thematic relations = (8c)

- possessor doubling: not exclusively POSSESSOR role

-hierarchy: POSSESSOR > AGENT > THEME (Cinque 1980, Kolliakou 1999)

- (10) a. Marie eure(n) foto stung in de gezette.
 Marie her-MSG picture stood in the newspaper
 (i) POSSESSOR, (ii) AGENT/CREATOR, (iii) THEME
 b. K'een Marie eur schilderye van Picasso gekocht.
 I have Marie her painting of Picasso bought
 c. thematic relations = (8c)

2.3. Realisation of the prenominal possessor

2.3.1. Semantic properties

[+ANIMATE, (+HUMAN)] constraint

(11)	a	die katte se steert that cat <i>se</i> tail	die duve se vlerke that pigeon <i>se</i> wing	*?die musse se vlerke that sparrow <i>se</i> wing
	b	?die katte euren steert	die duve eur vlerke	?? die musse eur vlerke
	c	*die dooze se deksel that box's cover	*die deure se slot that door <i>se</i> lock	*die veste se senteuere that jacket <i>se</i> belt
	d	*die dooze eur deksel that door her lid	*die deure eur slot	*die veste eur senteuere

Observe that this constraint does not apply to Afrikaans:

(12)	a	die boek se omslag That book <i>se</i> cover	b	die stoel se leuning that chair <i>se</i> back
	c	die fiets se voorwiel that bicycle <i>se</i> front Wheel	d	die ketting se skakels that chain <i>se</i> links
	e	die haelstorm se skade the hailstorm <i>se</i> damage	(Ponelis 1979: 126-7)	
	f	gister se vertoning yesterday <i>se</i> show	g	hebreeus se grammaticka hebrew <i>se</i> grammar
	h	die water se grens the water <i>se</i> line	i	Europa se bevolking Europe <i>se</i> population
	j	potplante se blae potplants <i>se</i> leaves	k	twee jaar gelede se begroting two years ago <i>se</i> budget
			(Ponelis 1992: 283)	

+/- definite (see 2.6.)

Quantificational:

(13)	a	Da-s niemandse velo. That-is no one <i>-sen</i> bicycle	'That is no one's bicycle.'
	b	Da-s niemand eure(n) velo. that-is no one her-MSG bicycle	'That is no one's bicycle.'

2.3.2. Syntactic properties

'Group genitive' (Delsing 1998, Jespersen 1934, 1938)

In standard Dutch the 'group genitive' is restricted in use:

Een vooropgeplaatste genitief op *-s* komt in de standaardtaal alleen voor bij eigennamen en bij sommige soortnamen die als aanspreking gebruikt kunnen worden. De soortnamen kunnen eventueel door een bezittelijk voornaamwoord, maar niet door andere woorden, voorafgegaan worden. (ANS: I: 163)

Tr:lh : A preposed genitive in *-s* occurs in the standard language only with proper names and with some common nouns which can be used as terms of address. The common names may possibly be preceded by a possessive pronoun but not by other words. ⁶

WF(14)a.	de nieuwe juffrouw se velo the new miss <i>sen</i> bicycle	
b	% ⁶ [de (nieuwe) juffrouw van Frans] se velo the (new) miss of French <i>sen</i> bicycle	postnominal PP
b'	*de (nieuwe) juffrouw se [van Frans] velo	

⁶ Some WF speakers seem to restrict the possessor to proper names, like in St.D.

- b'' *?de (nieuwe) juffrouw se velo [van Frans] extraposed modifier: *
 c %⁶ [men vriendinne ut Gent] se velo
 my friend from Ghent *sen* bicycle
 c' * Men vriendinne sen [ut Gent] velo
 c'' *? men vriendinne se velo [ut Gent]
 d %⁶ [men vriendinne die in Gent weunt] se velo⁷
 my friend who in Ghent lives *sen* bicycle
 d' * ?men vriendinne se velo [die in Gent weunt]
 e de nieuwe juffrouw sen (eersten) eigen velo (cf. Börjars 2003: 148)
 the new miss *se* (first) own bicycle

Ponelis (1979: 126) provides the following for Afrikaans:

- (15) my koei wat dood is se vel
 My cow that dead is *se* skin

- (16) a. [de nieuwe juffrouw] eure(n) velo
 the new miss her bicycle
 b [de (nieuwe) juffrouw van Frans] euren velo
 the (new) miss of French her bicycle
 b' *de (nieuwe) juffrouw euren velo [van Frans]
 c [men vriendinne ut Gent] eure(n) velo
 my friend from Ghent her bicycle
 c' ?men vriendinne eure(n) velo [ut Gent]
 d [men vriendinne die in Gent weunt] eure(n) velo
 my friend who in Ghent lives her-MSG bicycle
 d' *?men vriendinne eure(n) velo [die in Gent weunt]
 e de nieuwe juffrouw euren (eersten) eigen velo (cf. Börjars 2003: 148)
 the new miss her (first) own bicycle

2.4. (Mixed) Recursion

- (17) a. [DP₁ [DP₃ [DP₃Marie] se moeder] se veste]
 Marie *se* mother *sen* jacket
 b [DP₁ [DP₃ [DP₃Marie] eur moeder] eur veste]
 Marie her mother her jacket
 c. [DP₁ [DP₂ [DP₃Marie] eur moeder] se veste]
 d [DP₁ [DP₂ [DP₃Marie] se moeder] eur veste]

2.5. Prenominal possessor : unique

- (18) a. *Marie eur Jan zenen foto
 Marie her Jan his picture
 Cf. Marie eure(n) foto van Jan
 Marie her-MSG picture of Jan
 b *Marie eur Janse foto
 Marie her Jan *sen* picture
 Cf. Mariesen foto van Jan
 Marie's picture of Jan

2.6. Definiteness of DP determined by definiteness of prenominal possessor

Diagnostic: WF:

- (i) *Er* insertion is obligatory with (copy/trace of) all indefinite (non-generic) subjects.

⁷ Observe that the group genitive is also possible when the possessor ends in a verb (cf. Börjars, Denison and Scot (2007:5) on English).

- (19) a k peinzen dan *(der) (drie/vee) studenten diene(n) boek goan lezen.
I think that *(there) (three/many) students that book go read
'I think that (three/many) students will read that book.'
- b k geloven dan (*der) katten we gas eten. (generic)
I believe that (*there) cats indeed grass eat
'I believe that cats do eat grass.'
- c k peinzen dan (*der) de studenten diene(n) boek we goan lezen.⁸ (definite)
I think that (*there) the students that book well go read
'I think that the students will read that book.'
- d Wien/Weknen aannemer peinzje-gie dat *(der) dat hus goa kuopen?
Who/which contractor think-you you that *(there) that house goes buy
'Who /which contractor do you think will buy that house?'

Indefinite (non-generic) subjects need not be adjacent to conjunction+*der*, definite subjects must be adjacent to conjunction (or to finite V).

- (20) a k peinzen dan der van d joare (drie/vee) studenten diene(n) boek goan lezen.
I think that there of this year (three/many) students that book go read
'I think that (three/many) students will read that book this year.'
- b *k geloven dan neu katten we gas eten. (generic)
I believe that now cats indeed grass eat
'I believe that cats do eat grass now.'
- c *k peinzen dan van djoare de studenten diene(n) boek we goan lezen. (definite)
I think that this year the students that book well go read
'I think that this year the students will read that book.'

Prenominal possessor determines definiteness of DP (cf Schoorlemmer 1998: 75)

- (21) a kpeinzen dat *(der) gisteren [en studentinne sen us] verkocht is.
I think that there yesterday a female-student *sen* house sold is
[*en studentinne sen us*]: indefinite
- b kpeinzen dat (*der) (*gisteren) [die studentinne sen hus] verkocht is.
I think that (*there) (*yesterday) that female-student *sen* house sold is
[*die studentinne sen us*]: definite
- c [Wekken studentinne sen hus] is *(ter) verkocht?
which female student *sen* house is *(there) sold
[*wekken studentinne sen hus*]: Wh-NP
- d tschynt dat (*der) [en weewe sen hus] atent goed verkuopt.
it seems that (*there) a widow *sen* house always well sells
[*en weewe sen us*]: indefinite (Generic)
- generic/definite
- (22) a kpeinzen dat *(der) al [en studentinne eur us] verkocht is.
I think that *(there) already a female-student her house sold is
[*en studentinne eur us*]: indefinite
- b kpeinzen dat (*der) al [die studentinne eur hus] verkocht is.
I think that (*there) (*already) that female-student her house sold is
[*die studentinne eur us*]: definite
- c [Wekken studentinne eur hus] is *(ter) verkocht?
which female student her house is *(there) sold
[*wekken studentinne eur hus*]: indefinite

⁸ *Der* would be licit when, for instance, related to a stranded P:

(i) dan der die studenten a dikkerst over geklaapt een
that there those students already often about talked have
'that those students have already often talked about it'

- d tschynt dan (*der) en weewe eur hus atent goed verkuopt.
it seems that (*there) a widow eur house always well sells
[*en weewe eur us*] : generic/definite

Alexiadou (2005a: 792): D: locus of definiteness determination: pronominal possessor: agrees with D in definiteness features/ endows D with definiteness features.

Definiteness of containing DP independent of definiteness of postnominal *van* DP :

- (23) a Ze zeggen dat-*(der) [een hus van nen/dienen student] verkocht is.
they say that *(there) a house of a/that students sold is
[*een hus van nen student*] : indefinite
[*een hus van diene(n) student*]: indefinite
- b Ze zeiden dat (*der) [t hus van nen/dienen student] a verkocht is.
they said that (*there) the house of a/that student already sold is
[*t hus van nen student*]: definite
[*t hus van diene(n) student*]: definite

2.7. Summary

Table 4: Similarities between the two possessor constructions

	<i>Sen</i> possessor	Doubling construction
Constituent with <i>possessum</i>	+	+
Thematic relation (AGENT, THEME etc)	+	+
Hierarchy: POSS>AG>TH	+	+
Animacy effect	+	+
Quantifier possessor	+	+
+/-Definite possessor	+	+
Possessor: complex DP	+	+
Definiteness of possessor determines definiteness DP	+	+

3. Differences between the *sen* genitive and the doubling construction

3.1 Agreement:

- *se/sen* alternation: -*sen/se*: independent of ϕ features of POSSESSUM
 -roughly: *se* [___#C], *sen* [___#V] (Taeldeman 1995)

-*sen* is not an adjectival inflection (cf. Table 5)

Table 5: inflection of pronominal adjectives in -*se* in WF

Articles	Indefinite	Definite
Masculine sg	Nen gedomsen hund A god-damn- <i>sen</i> dog	diene(n) gedomsen hund that god damn <i>sen</i> dog
Feminine sg	En gedomse henn A goddamn <i>se</i> hen	Die gedomse henn that goddamn- <i>se</i> hen
Neuter singular	En gedoms hundje A goddamn- <i>s</i> doggie	da gedoms hundje that goddamn- <i>s</i> doggie
Masculine plural	Ø gedomse hunden Ø goddamn- <i>se</i> dogs	Die gedomse hunden those goddamn- <i>se</i> dogs
Feminine plural	Ø gedomse hennen Ø goddamn- <i>se</i> hens	Die gedomse hennen those goddamn- <i>se</i> hens

Neuter plural	∅ gedomse hondjes ∅ goddamn- <i>se</i> doggies	Die gedomse hondjes those goddamn- <i>se</i> doggies
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3.2 . Number restriction on *sen* possessor:

-singular restriction: the possessor in the *sen* construction is singular:

- | | | | | |
|------|---|--|---|---|
| (24) | a | Mariesen hoed
Marie <i>sen</i> hat | b | Marie euren hoed
Marie her –MSG hat |
| | c | *djoengers <i>sen</i> hoed
the children <i>sen</i> hat | d | *de mensen <i>sen</i> geld
the people <i>sen</i> money |
| | e | djoengers underen hoed
the children <i>their</i> –MSG hat | f | de mensen under geld
the people <i>their</i> money |

But:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (25) | a | Valère en Godelieve <i>sen</i> oto
Valère and Godelieve <i>sen</i> car |
| | b | ??Valère en Godelieve underen oto
Valère and Godelieve <i>their</i> –MSG car |
| | c | Valère en Godelieve *zynen/*euren oto
Valère and Godelieve his/her-MSG car |

Table 6: Summary: agreement patterns *sen* construction and doubling construction

	<i>Sen</i>	Pronoun
With POSSESSUM	-	+ (NUMBER, GENDER)
With POSSESSOR	+SG (NUMBER)	+ (PERSON, NUMBER, GENDER)

The number restriction in the *sen* construction concerns the features of the (head of the) possessor, the number of the N adjacent to the possessor is not relevant:

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (26) | a | [men <u>vriendinne</u> me al eur <u>katten</u>] <i>sen</i> us
my friend with all her cats's house
SG head noun + <i>sen</i>
PL N <i>katten</i> ('cats') in complement adjacent to <i>sen</i> not relevant |
| | b | de <u>dochter</u> van men <u>vriendinne</u> <i>sen</i> exoamen
the daughter of my friend <i>sen</i> exam |
| | c | *de <u>dochters</u> van men <u>vriendinne</u> <i>sen</i> exoamen
the daughters of my friend <i>sen</i> exam
<i>dochters</i> ('daughters'): PL head noun: * <i>sen</i>
<i>vriendinne</i> ('friend'): SG N in complement and adjacent to <i>sen</i> : not relevant |

3.3. Reciprocal possessors (Haegeman 2003, 2004b,c) (see section 4.3 below)

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (27) | a | dan ze mekoar- <i>se</i> teksten gelezen een
that they each-other <i>sen</i> texts read have |
| | b | *dan ze mekoar under/zen/eur teksten gelezen een
that they each-other their/his/her texts read have |

Incompatibility of reciprocal possessor with the doubling construction in StD and German:

- | | | | |
|------|---|--------|---|
| (28) | a | Dutch | *Ze hebben elkaar hun/z'n/d'r gasten gezien.
they have each other their/his/her guests seen (ANS 1990: vol II: 822.) |
| | b | Dutch | Ze hebben elkaars gasten gezien.
they have each other 's guests seen (ANS 1990: vol II: 822.) |
| | c | German | *Sie haben einander ihre Gäste gesehen.
they have each other their guests seen (Cornelia Hamann, p.c) |

Indirect object reciprocal is not excluded as such:

- (29) a WF dan ze mekoar gisteren under gasten vooren gesteld een
that they each other yesterday their guests presented have
b Du dat ze elkaar gisteren hun gasten voorgesteld hebben
that they each other yesterday their guests presented have
c Ge dass sie einander gestern ihre Gäste vorgestellt haben
that they each other yesterday their guests presented have

3.4. Adjacency POSSESSOR and *sen*

3.4.1. prenominal quantifiers (*al- heel*)

- (30) a k'een [al [Marie *sen* boeken]] gezien. Q Poss *sen* NP
I have all Marie *sen* books seen
b [al [Marie *sen* boeken]] een-k gezien =constituent (V2)
all Marie *sen* books have I seen
c *k'een [Marie al *sen* boeken] gezien. *Poss Q *sen* NP
d *[Marie [QP [Q al] [FP t *sen* boeken]]
- (25) a k'een [al [Marie *eur* boeken]] gezien.⁹ Q Poss *eur* NP
I have all Marie her books seen
b [al [Marie *eur* boeken]] een-k gezien constituent: V2
All Marie her books have- I seen
c k'een [Marie al *eur* boeken] gezien. Poss Q *eur* NP
I have Marie all *eur* books seen
d [Marie al *eur* boeken] een-k gezien constituent: V2
e [Marie [QP [Q al] [FP t *eur* boeken]]
- (26) a k'een [heel Marie *sen* brief] gelezen. *Heel* Poss *sen* NP
I have whole Marie *sen* letter read
'I have read all of Mary's letter'
b [Heel Marie *sen* brief] een-k gelezen. =constituent: V2
c *k'een [Marie heel *sen* brief] gelezen. *Poss *heel sen* NP
- (27) a k'een [heel [Marie *euren* brief]]¹⁰ gelezen. *Heel* Poss *eur* NP
I have whole Marie her MASC SG letter read
b [Heel [Marie *euren* brief]] een-k gelezen constituent: V2
c k'een [Marie heel *euren* brief] gelezen. Poss *heel eur* NP
I have Marie whole her-MASC SG letter read

3.4.2. Appositives/ NRR

- (28) a. *men moeder, die eure(n) pols gebroken eet, *sen* velo

⁹ *Allemole* ('all') behaves differently:

- (i) a k'een *allemole* [Marie *eur* boeken] gezien.
I have all Marie her books seen
b *?? k'een Marie *allemole* *eur* boeken gezien.
I have Marie all *eur* books seen

Perhaps *allemole* occupies a specifier position and blocks XP movement of *Marie*.

- (i) c *[_{TopP} Marie [QP *allemole* [Q]] [_{DP} t *eur* boeken]]

¹⁰ *Heelegans* ('all/whole') behaves differently:

- (i) a k'een [*heelegans* [Marie *euren* brief]] gelezen.
I have *heelegans* Mary her MASC SG letter read
b [*Heelegans* [Marie *euren* brief]] een-k gelezen
c *k'een Marie *heelegans* *euren* brief gelezen
I have Marie whole her-MASC SG letter read

Perhaps *heelegans* occupies a specifier position and blocks XP movement of *Marie*.

- (i) c *[_{TopP} Marie [QP *heelegans* [Q]] [_{DP} t *euren* brief]]

- my mother, who her wrist broken has, *sen* bicycle
 b *Marleen, men beste vriendinne, *sen* velo
 Marleen, my best girlfriend, *sen* bicycle
 (29) a. men moeder, die eure(n) pols gebroken eet, eure(n) velo
 my mother, who her wrist broken has, her-MSG bicycle
 b. Marleen, men beste vriendinne, eure(n) velo
 Marleen, my best girlfriend, her-MSG bicycle

3.4.3. 'Remote' possessor¹¹

- (30) a. *Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} *sen* hus] verkocht een.
 that is that nurse that-PL-they yesterday *sen* house sold have
 b. *Wekken verpleegster zei-je gie dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} *sen* hus] verkocht een?
 which nurse said-you -you that-PL-they yesterday *sen* house sold have
 (31) a. Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} *eur* hus] verkocht een.
 that is that nurse that-PL-they yesterday her house sold have
 'That's the nurse whose house they sold yesterday.'
 b. ?Wekken verpleegster zei-je gie dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} *eur* hus] verkocht een?
 which nurse said you that-PL-they -they yesterday her house sold have

3.4.4. Deictic markers and possessors (see 5.3. for an account)

- (32) a. [Marie hier] eet da gedoan. V2→ constituent
 Marie here has that done
 b. Dat is van [Marie hier]. Complement of P→constituent
 that is of Marie here
 c. [An [Marie hier]] meug-je da niet togen. V2+Complement of
 P→constituent To Marie here may you that not show
 d. [DP+ier]: 'DP who is sitting here', deictic, linked to speech situation
 (33) a. [Die studente hier] eet da gedoan.
 that student here has that done
 b. Dat is van [die studente hier].
 that is of that student here
 c. [An [die studente hier]] meug-je da niet togen.
 to that student here may you that not show
 (34) a. Dat is Marie *sen/eur* uswerk.
 that is Marie *sen/her* homework
 b. *Dat is [Marie hier] *sen* uswerk.
 that is [Marie hier] *sen* homework
 c. dat is [Marie hier] *eur* uswerk
 that is Marie hier her homework
 (35) a. Dat is die studente *sen /eur* uswerk.
 that is that female student *sen/her* homework
 b. *Dat is [die studente hier] *sen* uswerk.
 that is that (female) student here *sen* homework
 c. Dat is [die studente hier] *eur* uswerk.
 that is that (female) student here her homework
 cf. d. ?Dat is [die dochter [van hier]] *sen* winkel
 that is that daughter of here *sen* shop

¹¹ See Haegeman (2004a) for arguments that this is not possessor movement

3.4.5. Ellipsis of head noun of possessor construction

- (36) a Marie eur boeken b *Marie eur \emptyset
 Marie her books
 c Marie d'eure d *de Marie eure
 Marie de her+e e * Marie eure
- (37) a Marie se boeken b *(de) Marie sen \emptyset
 Marie se books c *Marie de sen \emptyset

3.5. Summary

Table 7: differences between the two possessor constructions

	<i>Sen</i> possessor	Doubling possessor
Agreement possessor	SG possessor	+
Agreement <i>possessum</i>	-	+
Reciprocal possessor	+	-
Adjacency possessor in DP	+	-
Possessor= appositive/NRR	-	+
Remote possessor in clause	-	+
Deictic marker <i>hier</i> on possessor ¹²	-	+
Ellipsis of <i>possessum</i>	-	+(with article and <i>-e</i> ending)

Part II: Speculations on possessors and the syntax of the nominal projection**4. The *sen* possessor: the subject in the nominal domain (cf. Corver 2006, Den Dikken 2006)**4.1. *sen* cf. genitive 's¹³

- *sen* is not an adjectival ending (Table 5)
- parallel to 'Saxon Genitive', in also allowing 'group genitive' cf. (14)
- restriction to singular: similar to the English Saxon Genitive (cf. Börjars 2003)

Coordination

- (38) a Valère en Godelieve *sen* oto
 Valère and Godelieve *sen* car
 b John and Mary's car (Bernstein & Tortora (2005: 1229): collective reading preferred.

4.2. *sen*: inflectional head in nominal domain

- (39) a Marie *sen* nieuwen oto
 Marie *sen* new car
 b [_{DP} [_{IP} Marie [_I *sen*] [_{NP} nieuwen oto]]]

The position of the *sen* possessor in the nominal IP-domain corresponds to the canonical subject position in the verbal IP domain (SpecIP).

¹² We will see in section 5 that discourse markers are incompatible with the *sen* possessor and that they are compatible with the doubling possessor.

¹³ For the status of the English 's genitive see also Börjars (2003, 2007).

4.3. Variation in the agreement properties of the *sen* genitive correlates with variation in the copula

Den Dikken's (1998): possessive 's' corresponds to the third person singular of the nominal copula (*is/was*) (cf. Benveniste 1966): *have = be + to*.

Following Den Dikken (1998): WF possessive *sen* in the nominal inflectional domain corresponds to a copula in the clausal domain.

West Flemish and French Flemish (Marteel, 1992: 158) : only singular possessor in *sen* construction;

- (40) a me vaederse klakke b me moederse schort
 my father –*se* cap my mother-*se* pinafore
- c Marietjese veint
 Marie-DIM-*se* husband
- d me broeresen appel e me voadersen erpels
 my brother-*sen* apple my father-*sen* potatoes

Afrikaans: *se-*: nominal copula: both SG + PL

- (41) a. Jan se bevele b. die predikant se motor
 Jan *se* orders the curate *se* engine (Ponelis 1979, p.126)
- c die amptenare se verslag
 the official-PL *se* report (Ponelis 1979, p.127)
- d die besoekers se vriendelikheid
 the visitors –PL *se* kindness (Ponelis 1992 283)

Table 8: Inflectional paradigm of the copula 'be':

'be'	Eng	WF	FF (Marteel 1992: 55)	Afrikaans (Robbers 1997: 25)
1sg	Am	zyn	zyn	Is
2sg	Are	zyt	zyt	Is
3sg	Is	is	is	Is
1pl	Are	zyn	Zyn	Is
2pl	Are	zyt	Zyt	Is
3pl	Are	zyn	Zyn	Is

4.4. The reciprocal possessors

- (42) a dan ze mekoar-*se* gasten gezien een
 that they each other *se* guests seen have
- b *dan ze mekoar under gasten gezien een
 that they each other their guests seen have
- c They read each other's books.

(43) *They think that each other are nice. (cf. Woolford 1999, p. 257)

- (44) a. A loro importa solo di *se* stessi. (Rizzi 1990, his (12b))
 to them matters (SG) only of themselves
 dative binds post-verbal anaphor
- b. *A loro interessano solo *se* stessi. (Rizzi 1990, his (13))
 to them interest (PL) only themselves
 dative cannot bind post-verbal anaphor

(45) The anaphor agreement effect. (Rizzi 1990: 26)
Anaphors do not occur in syntactic positions construed with agreement.

Rizzi (1990) : Italian verbal agreement, being composed of person and number, is [+pronominal]/ 'referential'. Thus it is also [-anaphoric]. [+pronominal] verbal agreement enters into a CHAIN with the element it is construed with. CHAIN formation between an anaphor and [+pronominal] agreement will

result in a clash in feature specifications and in binding requirements between the CHAIN links.¹⁴ [+anaphoric] elements are subject to principle A of the Binding Theory and [+pronominal] elements are subject to Principle B.

(42b): anaphor agreement effect: anaphor *mekoar* ('each other') construed with agreement (*under* = person + number).

(42a): no agreement? But: WF *se(n)* imposes a number ([+SINGULAR]) restriction on the pronominal possessor. So the anaphoric possessor (*mekoar* in (42a)) does enter into an agreement relation with *se(n)*. Rizzi's (1990) terms, the restriction to the [NUMBER] feature could be argued to entail that *se(n)*-agreement cannot qualify as [+PRONOMINAL]. Putting it differently, *se(n)* is not referential. The pronominal possessor *under*, having person + number, is [+PRONOMINAL].

Burzio (1995, pp. 19-20) argues that the ban on construal of anaphors with agreement (45) should be related to relative strength of the agreement head. A 'strong' agreement head cannot be construed with anaphors, but a weak agreement head can. In the WF *se(n)*-construction, nominal (possessor) agreement only encodes [NUMBER]; *se(n)* lacks [PERSON] / [GENDER]. Hence, realised as *se(n)*, WF nominal AGR is substantively weaker than its counterpart in the doubling constructions, which encodes [PERSON], [NUMBER] (and [GENDER]) features.

5. Possessors, DP internal particles and DP-internal movement

5.1. Clausal and nominal particles

- (46) a Zè/né, m'een al een medalie.
zè/né, we have already a medal. 'Look, we already have a medal.
b M'een al een medalie zè/né.
we already have a medal, zè/né 'We already have a medal, look.'
c Zè, dienen boek moe-j lezen.
zè this book must-you read 'This book you must read.'
d Dienen boek moe-j lezen zè.
this book must-you read zè

Hypothesis: *zè*: functional head that selects a clause as its complement and that may attract the clausal complement to its specifier (cf. Munaro and Poletto 2004 etc):

- (47) a [[zè] clause] zè clause
b [Clause [zè] ~~clause~~] clause zè
- (46) e Dienen boek zè.moe-j lezen
this book zè must-you read
- (48) a Dienen boek hier zè moe-j lezen!
this boek here zè must you read 'You should read this book here.'
b [_{DP} Dienen boek zè hier] moe-j lezen!
- (49) a Dienen boek doa zè moe-j lezen!
this boek there zè the must you read
b [_{DP} Dienen boek zè.doa] moe-j lezen!
- (50) a [_{DP} Dienen boek gunter zè] moe-j lezen!
this boek yonder zè must you read
b [_{DP} Dienen boek zè gunter] moe-j lezen!

Proposal: in (48)-(50) particle *zè* is DP internal.

DP-internal *zè* drives the movement of the containing DP to the clausal left periphery.

- (51) a Ge moet [dienen boek]_ilezen.

¹⁴ For reasons of space, I am simplifying Rizzi's account. See also Woolford's (1999) discussion and her clarifications on the application of generalisation (2).

- You must this book read
 b *Ge moet [dienen boek zè hier] lezen.
 You must this book zè here read
 c [Dienen boek zè here] moe-j lezen

5.2. The possessor doubling construction in WF and the particle *zè*.

- (52) a [Die studente eur werk] een-k gelezen. V2→constituent
 that student her work have-I read
 b [Al [die studente] eur werk] een-k gelezen.
 all that student her work have-I read
 c [[Die studente] al eur werk] een-k gelezen.
 d Q DP poss NP e DP Q poss NP
- (53) a [[Die studente zè] eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 that student zè her work must you once read
 b *[Al [die studente zè] eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 all that student zè her work must you once read.
 c ?[[Die studente zè] al eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 d *Q DP zè poss NP e DP zè Q poss NP
- (54) a [[Die studente zè hier] eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 that student zè here her work must you once read
 b *[Al [die studente zè hier] eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 all that student zè here her work must you once read.
 c [[Die studente zè hier] al eur werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 d *Q DP zè hier poss NP e DP zè hier Q poss NP

Observation.

In the doubling possessor construction, the possessor DP can move to the DP edge. This movement becomes obligatory when a possessor DP contains the particle *zè*. Why? To reach an edge of the DP (phase), from which *zè* triggers DP movement to the left periphery. If the DP containing *zè* did not move to the edge, it would not be accessible for an attractor with a matching feature outside the phase.

- (55) a [_{CP} [_{DP} [_{AP} How important] an issue] will that be for your team?
 - leftward movement of *how important* internally to DP
 b * [_{CP} [_{DP} A [_{AP} how important] issue] will that be for your team?
 - leftward movement of DP
- (55) c *That will be [_{DP} [_{AP} how important] an issue] for your team?
 d *That will be [_{DP} a how important issue] for your team?
- (56) a Kmoen [die studente hier eur werk] nog verbeteren.
 I must that student here her work still correct
 b K moen [al die studente hier eur werk] nog verbeteren.
 I must all that student here here work still correct
 c Kmoen [die studente hier al eur werk] nog verbeteren.
- (57) a [[Die studente hier] eur werk] moen-k nog verbeteren.
 that student here her work must I still correct
 b [Al [die studente hier] eur werk] moen-k nog verbeteren
 all that student here her work must I still correct.
 c [[Die studente hier] al eur werk] moen-k nog verbeteren.
 d Q DP hier poss NP e DP hier Q poss NP

The presence of *hier* does not trigger movement of the containing DP to the clausal left periphery (56). Nor does it trigger obligatory movement of the possessor to the leftmost position in the DP (56/7c). Hypothesis: the (deictic?) feature of *hier* can be checked DP internally, the (focal?) feature of *zè* cannot be checked DP internally (contra Giusti etc)

5.3. The *sen* genitive and DP internal *zè*

- (58) a [die studente] *sen* werk
that student *sen* work
- b [Al [die studente] *sen* werk] moen-k nog verbeteren. Constituent (V2)
all that student *sen* work must I still correct
'I still have to correct all that student's work.'
- c *[Die studente] al *sen* werk moen-k nog verbeteren.
that student al *sen* work must I still correct
- d Q DP *sen* NP e *DP Q *sen* NP
- (59) a *[[Die studente *zè*] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
that student *zè* *sen* work must you once read
- b *[Al [die studente *zè*] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
all that student *zè* *sen* work must you once read.
- c *[[Die studente *zè*] al *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
- d *Q DP *zè* *sen* NP e *DP *zè* Q *sen* NP
- (60) a *[[Die studente *zè* hier] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
that student *zè* here *sen* work must you once read
- b *[Al [die studente *zè* hier] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
all that student *zè* here *sen* work must you once read.
- c *[[Die studente *zè* hier] al *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
- d *Q DP *zè* hier *sen* NP e *DP *zè* hier Q *sen* NP

Observation.

For a possessor DP associated with *zè* the *sen* construction is unavailable. Why? In the *sen* construction the possessor containing *sen* cannot move leftward (cf. adjacency condition 3.4.), hence it cannot reach the edge of the DP, from which movement of the containing DP to the clausal left periphery can be triggered.

We correctly predict that there will be no problem if the particle *zè* is associated with a DP containing a *sen* possessor. The containing DP as a whole can move leftward across *zè*, to reach the phase edge and trigger movement.

- (61) a Die studente *sen* werk *zè* moe-j een kee lezen.
that student *sen* work *zè* must you once read
- b Al die studente *sen* werk *zè* moe-j een kee lezen
all that student *sen* work *zè* must you once read.
- c *Die studente al *sen* werk *zè* moe-j een kee lezen. (Adjacency 3.4.)
- d Q DP *sen* NP *zè* e DP Q *sen* NP *zè*
- (62) a Die studente *sen* werk *zè* hier moe-j een kee lezen
that student *sen* work *zè* here must you once read
- b Al die studente *sen* werk *zè* hier moe-j een kee lezen
all that student *sen* work *zè* here must you once read.
- c *Die studente al *sen* werk *zè* hier moe-j een kee lezen
- d Q DP *sen* NP *zè* hier e *DP Q *sen* NP *zè* hier

Deictic *hier* and the *sen* possessor (cf. (56-7) for the doubling construction & *hier*)

- (63) a *[[Die studente hier] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
that student here *sen* work must you once read
- b *[Al [die studente hier] *sen* werk] moe-j een kee lezen.

- all that student here *sen* work must you read.
 c *[[Die studente hier]al sen werk] moe-j een kee lezen.
 d *Q DP hier *sen* NP e *DP hier Q *sen* NP

The presence of *hier* in the possessor DP is incompatible with the *sen* possessor, though recall that *hier* is compatible with the doubling construction (see (56-7)). (see also 3.4.4. above). Why?

- (64) a [[die studente hier] d'eure] een-k nog niet
 that student here the her-e have I not yet
 b *[de [die studente hier] eure] een-k nog niet
 the that student here her-e have I not yet
 (65) a [heel [die studente hier] den euren] moen-k nog lezen
 all that student here the her MASC SG must-I still read
 b [al [die studente hier] d'eure] moen-k nog lezen
 all that student here the her-e must I still read

From the ellipsis pattern in (64)-(65) we deduce that in the doubling construction, though it may be lower than *al/heel*, the possessor DP occupies a position to the left of that of the determiner. Assume that this is the position in which deictic *hier* as associated with a DP possessor can also be checked. If this position is not available to the *sen* possessor, which by hypothesis is lower (39) in the IP domain of the DP, then we account for the contrast observed. *Hier* will be available when associated with the complete DP:

- (66) a [[Die studente *sen* werk] hier] moen-k nog lezen.
 That student *sen* work here must I still read
 b [[Al [die studente] *sen* werk] hier] moen-k nog lezen.
 all that student *sen* work here must I still read
 c *[[[Die studente] al *sen* werk] hier] moen-k nog lezen.
 d Q DP *sen* NP *hier* e *DP Q *sen* NP *hier*

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