

Flemish External Possession: affectedness and movement¹²

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1. Introduction

I discuss Flemish possessive structures such as (1), which are described as examples of external possession (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013).

- (1) 't Is spijtig da [Jan] toen just [zenen velo] kapot was.
it is unfortunate that Jan then just his bike broken was
'It's unfortunate that Jan's bike was broken just then.'

The possessor (*Jan*) is separated from the possessive DP (*zenen velo* 'his bike') by the clausal adjunct (*toen just* 'just then'). This phenomenon will be called Flemish External Possession (FEP).

- This talk provides arguments for a syntactic dependency between the possessor DP and the possessee DP in the FEP-pattern (FEP).

It is this syntactic dependency that discerns the FEP-pattern from superficially similar patterns such as the German Possessive Pronoun Dative (2) (Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) Non-Possessor Dative; GPPD).

- (2) Mein Bruder hat [der Mami] leider [ihr Auto] zu Schrott gefahren.
my brother has the mom.DAT unfortunately her car to scrap driven
'Unfortunately, my brother totaled mom's car.'
(Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 105 (6a))
- Crucially, the dative argument in the GPPD (*der Mami*) is not analyzed as syntactically dependent on the possessive DP (*ihr Auto*), even if it does indirectly receive the interpretation of Possessor.
 - Instead, coreference between the possessive pronoun and a base-generated Maleficiary/Beneficiary dative argument results in the Possessor interpretation (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 106–107).
- There is, however, a syntactic dependency between the dative argument and the possessive DP in 0. Note that Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) possessor dative (German definite article dative; GDAD) has a definite article within the possessive DP.
- (3) Mein Bruder hat [der Mami] leider [das Auto] zu Schrott gefahren.
my brother has the mom.DAT unfortunately the car to scrap driven
'Unfortunately, my brother totaled mom's car (totaled the car on mom).'

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- I will show arguments for syntactic dependency between the (external) possessor and the possessee DP for FEP (semantic arguments, c-command data and locality restrictions). I do this by comparing the FEP to the GPPD and the GDAD. The FEP will be shown to indeed exemplify external possession, contrary to the superficially similar GPPD-pattern.
- This leads to the claim that a possessive pronoun within a possessive DP can, as proposed for the GPPD (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006), but need not encode the Possessor argument. As such, possessive pronouns need not be syntactically 'richer' than definite articles.
- I show, thus, the complexity of external possession data and its relation to the type of linking element within the possessive DP.
- I further continue to show that the FEP is an example of external possession with a control structure involving movement. I take the possessor in the FEP to move to a (verbal) position which assigns the possessor case and gives it an Affectee interpretation. These phrases are taken to be available at different levels within the clause depending on the function of the possessee it is related to.
- Throughout the paper I look at how the FEP relates to typological issues with respect to external possession.

2. Flemish External Possession: the data

- Flemish and Standard Dutch have three typical DP-internal possessive patterns: a prenominal 's genitive ((4)a), a postnominal prepositional *van*-possessor ((4)b), and a doubling pattern³ ((4)c). The doubling pattern consists of a possessor DP, a possessive pronoun agreeing in gender, person and number with the possessor⁴, and a possessee NP.

- (4) a. Het is [Marie's velo] die kapot is. prenominal 's genitive⁵
it is Mary's bike that broken is
b. Het is [de velo **van** Marie] die kapot is. postnominal *van*-PP
it is the bike of Mary that broken is
c. Het is [Marie **eur** velo] die kapot is. doubling pattern
it is Mary her.F.SG bike that broken is
'It's Mary's bike that's broken.'

- These semantically equivalent internal possession patterns all have the possessor and possessee forming one constituent.
- In some Flemish varieties⁶ a possessor can occur external to its possessive DP (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013).

³ This pattern has also been called the prenominal periphrastic possessor construction, cf. Hendriks (2010; 2012).

⁴ In Flemish the possessive pronoun additionally also agrees in gender and number with the possessee (Haegeman 2013).

⁵ In West-Flemish the prenominal genitive has a variant spelled out as *se/sen* (Haegeman 2013).

⁶ Buelens & D'Hulster (2014) show that the FEP-pattern is accepted by 34% of West-Flemish regiolect speakers and by 12% of Brabantian regiolect speakers. The pattern is thus not widely

- The possessive DP in this case resembles that of the doubling pattern ((4)c): a possessive pronoun, agreeing in phi-features with the possessor and the possessee⁷.
 - The possessor DP resides in a position external to the possessee DP, higher in the clausal structure (5). This can be seen by the intervening AdvP with clausal scope (*toen juste*) (Haegeman and van Koppen 2012).
- (5) 't Moest lukken dat [POSSESSOR Marie] [AdvP toen just] [POSSESSEE eur velo]
it had-to happen that Mary then just her.F.SG bike
 kapot was.
broken was
 'It so happened that Mary's bicycle was broken just then.'
- Such a configuration is impossible with the other DP-internal possessor structures:
- (6) a. *'t Moest lukken dat Marie toen just 's velo kapot was.
it had-to happen that Mary then just 's bike broken was
 b. *'t Moest lukken dat Marie toen just de velo van kapot was.⁸
it had-to happen that Mary then just the bike of broken was
- The FEP-pattern can occur with the possessee DP in subject ((7)a), direct object ((7)b) and predicate position ((7)c).
- (7) 't Moest lukken dat ...⁹
it had-to happen that
- a. ... [Marie] toen just [eur velo] kapot was.
Mary then just her.F.SG bike.SUBJ broken was
 'It so happened that Mary's bike was broken just then.'
- b. ... Hanne [Marie] toen just [eur velo] geleend had.
Hanne Mary then just her.F.SG bike.DO borrowed had
 'It so happened that Hanne had borrowed Mary's bike just then.'
- c. ... het [Marie] toen just [eur verjaardag] was.
it Mary then just her.F.SG birthday.PRED was
 'It so happened that it was Mary's birthday just then.'

acceptable, but is spread throughout two historically very distinct regions of the Flemish language area.

⁷ The possessive pronoun agrees in gender, number and person with the possessor and in gender and number with the possessee.

⁸ If one takes the 's genitive marker and the preposition *van* to be structurally stronger related to the possessor than to the possessee, the structure with the possessor is still ungrammatical:

- i. *'t Moest lukken dat Marie's toen just velo kapot was.
it had-to happen that Mary's then just bike broken was
- ii. *'t Moest lukken dat van Marie toen just de velo kapot was.
it had-to happen that of Mary then just the bike broken was

⁹ The subject-related FEP only occurs in subordinate clauses, while object- and predicate-related FEP also occur in matrix clauses (cf. section 7).

- Note that the FEP does not allow a definite article as the determiner of the possessee DP is ungrammatical in Flemish (8)¹⁰.

(8) *Mijn broer heeft [ons ma] jammer genoeg [de auto] pertetotal gereden.
my brother has our mother unfortunately the car to.scrap driven

3. External possession

- Narrow definition: external possession is defined by Payne and Barshi (1999, 3) as "[...] a semantic Possessor-Possessum relation [...] expressed by coding the Possessor as a core grammatical relation of the verb and in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum."¹¹
 - Which element has the Possessor role?
 - The main element within the above definition is the Possessor. Thus, to identify an external possession pattern under this definition, one must first tackle the issue of the identification of the Possessor constituent. While in most cases the Possessor is easily identified as that element which is interpreted as the possessor of the possessee DP in question, this is not always the case.
 - Patterns in which the Possessor role is encoded internal to the possessive DP but co-referential with an argument of the verb, are under this definition not seen as external possession patterns.
 - E.g. German GPPD pattern in which the Possessor role is taken by Lee-Schoenfeld (2006, 106–107) to be encoded internal to the possessive DP by the possessive pronoun. It is co-referential with a Beneficiary/Maleficiary argument of the verb (2).
 - Possessor is taken to be "a core grammatical relation of the verb", so the Possessor must have argument properties.
 - Possessor must be "in a constituent separate from that which contains the possessum".

¹⁰ A pattern which does display possession without making use of a possessive pronoun, is the 'ik heb de band lek'-construction (a), found almost exclusively in the eastern part of the Netherlands (van Bree 1981), or the possessive passive construction (b) in Heerlen Dutch (Broekhuis and Cornips 1994):

- a. Ik heb de band lek.
I have the tire leaky
 'I have a flat tire.'
- b. Hemis de band lek.
him is the tire leaky
 'He has a flat tire.'

We will at present not go into these patterns, as the possession in these patterns is not nominal but verbal and as both patterns are unavailable in Flemish.

¹¹ In external possession the possessor is related to both the possessee DP and an argument position within the clausal spine. So, external possession patterns necessarily involve a deviation from Baker's (1988b) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis, following the thematic uniqueness theory proposed by Carlson (1984).

- Broad definition: Deal (2013a, 2) takes external possession to be defined as “a phenomenon where a nominal is syntactically encoded as a verbal dependent but semantically understood as the possessor of one of its co-arguments”.
 - Element understood as the possessor must be an argument.
 - Verbal dependent need not have a Possessor role, but should merely be semantically understood as the possessor. This allows for assuming that pronominal binding analyses fall under external possession.
- Further questions within the study of external possession are identified by Landau (1999) and Deal (2013a).
 - Landau (1999) looks at the nature of the position of the external possessor and the nature of its relation to the possessee.
 - Deal (2013a), too, looks at the nature of the syntactic dependency between the external possessor and possessee and distinguishes between different types of external possession based on the following parameters:
 - Does the possessor receive case within the possessive DP?
 - If the possessor does not receive case within the possessive DP, does the possessor move to a DP-external position?
 - If the possessor does not receive case within the possessive DP and moves to a DP-external position does it receive a theta-role (with the interpretation of Affectedness) in this position or not?

So, to identify the nature of the FEP pattern as an external possession pattern I will look at the following factors:

- Is the element interpreted as possessor external to the possessive DP? Yes.
- Is the element interpreted as possessor a verbal dependent (argument)? Yes.
- Is there a syntactic dependency between the external argument and the possessive DP that indicates that the element interpreted as possessor receives a Possessor role? Yes.
- What is the nature of the syntactic dependency between the external possessor and the possessive DP?
 - Does the possessor receive case within the possessive DP? Unclear.
 - Does the possessor move to its external position? Yes.
 - Does the possessor receive an interpretation of Affectedness? Yes.
- What is the nature of the position to which the possessor moves?

4. FEP: argument status of the external possessor

Aside from being in a separate constituent from the possessee, the possessor in the FEP also shows a number of argument properties. The properties to be discussed here are the interpretation of affectedness (theta-role), thematic restrictions on the FEP (verbal dependent) and a number of subject properties of the subject-related FEP.

4.1. Affectedness interpretation

Apart from the possessor interpretation, which is also present in the internal possessor patterns (4), the FEP possessor is obligatorily interpreted as an affected argument.

- Hole (2005, 8) defines an affected argument as an argument that is both consciously involved in and causally affected by the eventuality at hand¹².
 - Aliveness is seen as a criterion for affectedness by Hole (2006) and is rephrased as a “ban on the dead possessor” by Deal (2010). The idea is that a dead participant cannot be affected by an event, and hence dead arguments cause unacceptability in structures that require an affectee.
 - “Ban on the dead possessor” is in effect for the FEP-pattern but not for the internal possessor (Haegeman 2011).
 - ((9)a), the internal pattern, is acceptable regardless of whether the possessor (*grootmoeder* ‘grandmother’) is alive or not at the time of the event.
 - ((9)b), the external pattern, is only acceptable if the possessor (*grootmoeder* ‘grandmother’) is alive at the time of the event.
- (9) a. ... omdat ik [men grootmoeder eur ring] toen just kwijt was.
 becauseI my grandmother her.F.SG ring then just lost was
 b. ... omdat ik [men grootmoeder] toen just [eur ring] kwijt was.
 becauseI my grandmother then just her.F.SG ring lost was
 ‘... because I had just then lost my grandmother’s ring.’
- Assuming that the obligatory nature of the affectedness interpretation on the external possessor is due to it receiving a theta-role of Affectee (cf. Berman 1982; Kitagawa and Kuroda 1992; Gerds 1999; Hole 2004; Hole 2005; Hole 2006; Schrock 2007; Bowers 2010; K. Kim 2011; Deal 2012; K. Kim 2012; Deal 2013a; Deal 2013b; Tsai 2014), this points to the external argument interpreted as possessor being an argument.

4.2. Thematic restrictions (Haegeman 2011)

- The predicates that allow the FEP pattern are either stative or resultative, with judgements varying about the acceptability of other argument structures for the verb.
- Overall, it seems that the possessee - when subject - is unable to be an agent, which would follow from the thematic hierarchy (Alexiadou et al. 2007, 583). Since the agent is proposed to be the highest argument in the clause, it is impossible for a possessor to surface higher than a possessee agent.
- (10) shows different degrees of agentivity of the subject possessee, correlating to different degrees of stativity of the predicate.¹³

¹² Affectees are here thus to be discerned from Malefactive/Benefactive arguments, contrary to how Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) appears to define them. Malefactive/Benefactive arguments, which are commonly expressed by indirect objects, do not necessarily have to be involved in the event represented by the sentence. Affectees, on the other hand, are obligatorily (emotionally) involved in the event. This distinction is not always made throughout the literature, but should be kept in mind.

¹³ However, within the thematic hierarchy of the DP, the possessor is higher than the agent role (Alexiadou et al. 2007). The agent within the DP can then possibly allow a possessor above, suggesting that this may be possible at the clause level as well:

le portrait d' Aristotle de Rembrandtde Pierre
the portrait of Aristotle of Rembrandtof Pierre

(Alexiadou et al. 2007, 583)

- (10) a. *?? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een appel gegeten had.
that Karel then just his mother an apple eaten had
 Intended: '... that Karel's mother had just then eaten an apple.'
- b. ? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een taart gekregen had.
that Karel then just his mother a pie received had
 '... that Karel's mother had just then received a pie.'
- c. ? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] de griep had.
that Karel then just his mother the flu had
 '... that Karel's mother had the flu just then.'

These restrictions with respect to the verb suggest that the external element interpreted as possessor is dependent on the verb.

4.3. Subject properties of the external possessor the subject-related FEP

For the subject-related FEP, even more argument characteristics can be described: in the subject-related FEP, namely, the possessor takes on some, but not all, of the subject properties that are normally held by the subject (possessee).

- The possessee DP, which remains higher than the predicate merge position, retains such subject properties as controlling T-agreement (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013).
- The possessor DP, however, triggers *er*-insertion when it is indefinite, controls Complementizer Agreement, and, like subjects, displays no WCO effects.

4.3.1. *Er*-insertion (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013)

- Flemish indefinite subjects require *er*-insertion ((11)a). Definite subjects do not ((11)b).

- (11) a. ... dan *(der) **veel** studenten underen GSM afzetten.
that there many students their.M.SG mobile off.switch
 '... that many students switch off their phones.'

(Haegeman and Danckaert 2013 (25b))

- b. ... dan (*der) **de** studenten underen GSM afzetten.
that there the students their.M.SG mobile off.switch
 '... that the students switch off their phones.'

- An indefinite external possessor related to a subject possessee also triggers *er*-insertion ((12)a), while such definite external possessors do not ((12)b).

- (12) a. ... dan *(der) **veel** studenten atent underen GSM af stoat.
that there many students always their.M.SG phone off.stands
 '... that many students' phones are always off.'

(Haegeman and Danckaert 2013 (25a))

Furthermore, Kim (2011) shows that an Experiencer can be structurally higher than an agent in Japanese indirect passives and Korean adversity passives. It must be kept in mind therefore that the thematic hierarchy is not a watertight argument against agent external possessors.

- b. ... dan (*der) **de** studenten atent underen GSM af stoat.
that there the students always their.M.SG phone off.stands
 '... that the students' phones are always off.'

4.3.2. Complementizer Agreement (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013)

- Some speakers of West-Flemish have agreement of the complementizer with the subject of the clause. In (13) the complementizer (*omdan* 'because') agrees with the plural subject (*André en Valère*).

- (13) ... omda-n/*omdat [André en Valère] toen juste gebeld oan/*oat.
*because.PL/*SG André and Valère then just phoned had.PL/*had.SG*
 '... because André and Valère called just then.'

(Haegeman and Danckaert 2013 (24a))

- In the subject-related FEP, it is not the subject possessee that controls the Complementizer Agreement, but the external possessor. In (14) the complementizer agrees with the plural external possessor (*André en Valère*) rather than with the singular subject (*underen computer*). The inflected verb still agrees with the singular possessee subject.

- (14) ... omda-n/*omdat [André en Valère] toen juste [underen computer] kapot
*because.PL/*SG André and Valère then just their computer broken*
*was/*woaren.*
*was.SG/*were.PL*
 '... because André and Valère's computer broke down just then.'

(Haegeman and Danckaert 2013 (24b))

- In the internal doubling pattern with a subject possessee, the complementizer agrees with the subject possessee (15), as it does with canonical subjects.

- (15) ... *omda-n/omdat [André en Valère underen computer] toen juste kapot
because.PL/S.G André and Valère their computer then just broken
*was/*woaren.*
*was.SG/*were.PL*

- Note that FEP is not dependent on CA (some speakers who do not have CA, can still have FEP and conversely, speakers who do not have FEP, can still have CA). FEP is also possible in sentences that do not require CA:

- (16) Mee Valère toen juste zen computer kapot te zijn, ...
with Valère then just his computer broken to be
 'Since Valère's computer was broken just then, ...'

(Haegeman and Danckaert 2013 (25b))

4.3.3. *No WCO effect* (Haegeman 2011)

- Like subjects, the Flemish external possessor does not give rise to Weak Cross-Over effects.
 - A subject moved across a co-indexed pronoun is fine ((17)a).
 - The external possessor, allows the intervening co-indexed pronoun as if it were a subject ((17)b).

- (17) a. ... dat [Valère] in zenen, bureau [zenen, GSM] atent afzet.
 that Valère in his office his.M.SG phone always off puts
 '... that Valère always switches his mobile off in his office.'
 b. ... dat [Valère] in zenen, bureau [zenen, GSM] atent af staat.
 that Valère in his office his.M.SG phone always off stands
 '... that in his office, Valère always has his mobile switched off.'

(Haegeman 2011, 11 (39))

Conclusion: the external element interpreted as possessor in the FEP is in a constituent other than the possessee (cf. the intervention of a clausal adjunct between the possessor and possessee in (5)) and is an argument.¹⁴

5. Syntactic dependency of possessor on possessee: two alternatives from German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006)

Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) discusses two dative argument patterns in German in which the dative argument is in some way related to a possessee DP, but is not internal to the possessive DP (as witnessed by the adjunct '*leider*' with clausal scope intervening between the dative argument and the possessee). The dative argument in both patterns receives the interpretation of possessor.

- German possessive pronoun dative (GPPD, Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) non-possessor dative) ((2), repeated here as (18)).
- (18) Mein Bruder hat [der Mami] leider [ihr Auto] zu Schrott gefahren.
 my brother has the mom.DAT alas the car to scrap driven
 'Unfortunately my brother totaled mom's car (totaled the car on mom).'
- (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 104 (6a))
- German definite article dative (GDAD, Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) possessor dative ((3), repeated here as (19)).

- (19) Mein Bruder hat [der Mami] leider [das Auto] zu Schrott gefahren.
 my brother has the mom.DAT unfortunately the car to scrap driven
 'Unfortunately, my brother totaled mom's car (totaled the car on mom).'
- (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 104 (2a); Buelens and D'Hulster 2014 [added adjunct])

¹⁴ As we assume that the object- and predicate-related external possessors are structurally similar to the subject-related external possessor, we can extrapolate the argument status of the external possessor to these types of external possessors as well.

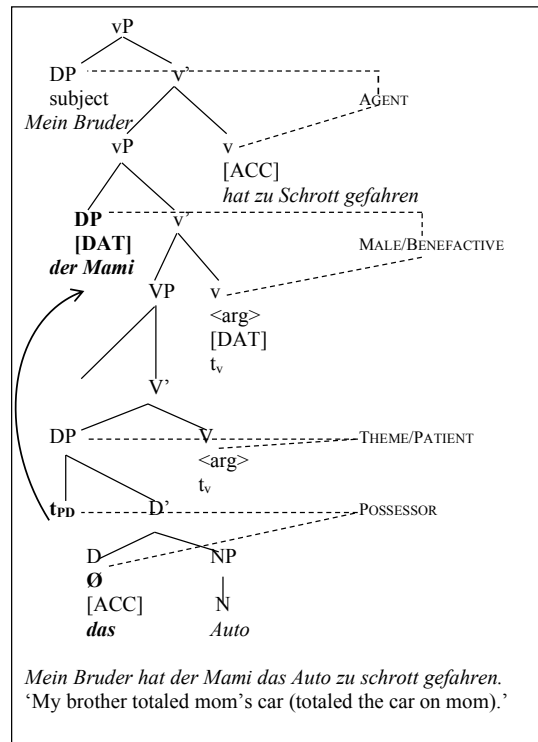
- The crucial overt difference between the GPPD and the GDAD lies in the determiner: GPPD has a possessive pronoun as determiner (*ihr* 'her') whereas GDAD has an article determiner (*das* 'the').
- Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) analyses the dative argument in the GDAD as an external possession pattern in the narrow sense (Payne and Barshi 1999), whereas the same dative argument in the GPPD is analyzed as a base-generated Malefactive/Benefactive argument only associated with the possessee DP through coreference with the possessive pronoun. As such, only in the GDAD is there syntactic dependency between the dative argument and the possessee. The GPPD dative argument is syntactically independent from the possessee DP.

5.1. GDAD: an analysis of external possession (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006)

Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) analysis of the GDAD (cf. (19)) follows Landau's (1999) work on external possession in Hebrew: both propose a movement-approach to external possession.

- The key component in Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) analysis of the GDAD is the idea that the article is in a certain sense defective. Namely, in contrast with the German possessive pronoun, the article cannot assign case to the argument in its specifier. The 'defectiveness' of the article then leaves the possessor caseless when it is merged DP-internally. The possessor, to receive case, moves to a higher position within the structure. must then receive case elsewhere in the structure, leading to movement (20).

(20)



(based on Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 127 (42))

- SpecDP, the DP-internal position assumed for the possessor under discussion, is an 'escape hatch' position within and thus movement out of the DP from this position is warranted.
- The higher position to which the possessor moves, is proposed to be associated with the matrix verb of the sentence.
 - The matrix verb, according to Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) must in some sense be able to have an interpretation of affectedness.
 - Affectedness is syntactically encoded as a light verb with a Malefactive/Benefactive theta-role and interpretation.
 - In the specifier of this position, the case feature of the possessor DP is licensed.
- Thus, the possessor receives its Possessor theta-role within the DP, but the search for case forces it to move higher within the structure. The higher case position is associated with an Affectee theta-role, resulting in a double theta-role on the possessor.
- As the movement is motivated by case and not by a theta-role, this movement is allowed within the minimalist dynamic structure building framework.

- Furthermore, under the assumption that control involves movement and the assignment of a theta-role (cf. Hornstein 1999; Deal 2013a), the proposed analysis forms no issue with respect to one argument carrying two theta-roles.
- In its landing position, the dative Malefactive/Benefactive external possessor remains syntactically dependent on the possessive DP through its trace in SpecDP.

5.2. GPPD: an analysis of pronominal binding (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006)

The GPPD (cf. (18)) dative argument on the other hand, is argued by Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) to not be syntactically dependent on the possessee DP.

- Instead, the dative Malefactive/Benefactive argument is taken to be base-generated in a Malefactive/Benefactive verbal phrase and is merely connected to the possessive pronoun within the possessive DP by pronominal binding.¹⁵ It is the possessive pronoun that expresses the Possessor theta role (21).
- The possessive pronoun is capable of assigning case and thus there is no reason for movement out of the DP, were a possessor to be generated there. In the case of the GPPD, however, no such overt Possessor argument is present.¹⁶

¹⁵ The coreference between the dative argument and the possessive pronoun is coincidental: if there was no affected dative argument in the clause, the possessive pronoun could as easily corefer with the subject (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 128).

¹⁶ See Georgi & Salzmann (2011) for a different analysis of the German dative argument patterns, where D, whether filled by a possessive pronoun or a definite article, never assigns case to its specifier.

The syntax tree for the German sentence "Mein Bruder hat der Mami ihr Auto zu Schrott gefahren." is structured as follows:

- VP** (Verb Phrase) branches into **DP** (Determiner Phrase) and **v'**.
 - DP** branches into **subject** and **mein Bruder**.
 - v'** branches into **v** and **ACC** (Accusative).
 - v** branches into **hat zu Schrott gefahren**.
 - ACC** branches into **AGENT**.
- VP** branches into **DP** and **v'**.
 - DP** branches into **[DAT]** (Dative) and **der Mami_i**.
 - v'** branches into **v** and **MALEF/BENEFACTIVE**.
 - v** branches into **<arg>** (argument) and **[DAT]** (Dative).
 - [DAT]** branches into **t_v** (trace).
- VP** branches into **V'**.
 - V'** branches into **V** and **THEME/PATIENT**.
 - V** branches into **<arg>** (argument).
 - <arg>** branches into **t_v** (trace).
- DP** branches into **D'**.
 - D'** branches into **D** and **NP** (Noun Phrase).
 - D** branches into **[GEN]** (Genitive) and **[ACC]** (Accusative).
 - [GEN]** branches into **ihr_i**.
 - [ACC]** branches into **ihr_i**.
 - NP** branches into **N** and **Auto**.

German has two patterns in which a dative is interpreted as a possessor:

- **GPPD**: pattern in which the Possessor is contained within the possessive pronoun in the possessive DP. It is co-referential with a base-generated Malefactive/Benefactive in SpecvP[Mal/Ben]. The dative argument is not a Possessor and is syntactically independent from the possessive DP.

Lee-Schoenfeld's (2006) arguments for a syntactic dependency of the possessor DP on the possessee DP in the GDAD-pattern can be grouped into three categories:

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- (25) a. * [Der Hund] ist [Lena] herumgelaufen.
the dog.SUBJ is Lena.DAT around.run
'Lena's dog ran around.'
(Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 112 (14b))
- b. [Der Hund] ist [Lena] überfahren t_i worden.
the dog.SUBJ is Lena.DAT over.driven PASS
'Lena's dog was run over (by a car).'
- (based on Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 112 (15a))

Flemish, in contrast with German, does allow subject possessors (26).

- (26) ... dat [Lena] toen just [haaren hond] rondliep.
that Lena then just her dog.SUBJ ran.around
'Lena's dog ran around just then.'

- However, while in German there is no phrase available above VoiceP to host the external possessor of a subject possessee so that the possessor c-commands the possessee, it is possible to presume that Flemish would have such a position. I go into more detail about this below (cf. 7.5).
- Furthermore, there is evidence that in Flemish too, even in the subject-related external possessor, there is a c-command restriction. For instance, while Flemish allows the scrambling of a direct object over an indefinite subject ((27)b) (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013), a subject possessee cannot be scrambled over its external possessor ((28)b).

- (27) a. ... dan der [veel studenten] atent [underen GSM] aanzetten.
that there many students.SUBJ always their mobile.OBJ on.put
b. ... dan der [underen GSM] [veel studenten] atent aanzetten.
that there their mobile.OBJ many students.SUBJ always on.put
'... that many students always switch on their phones.'
- (28) a. ... dan der [veel studenten] atent [underen GSM] anstaat.
that there many students always their mobile on.stands
'... that many students' phones are always on.'
- b. * ... dan der [underen GSM] [veel studenten] atent anstaat.
that there their mobile many students always on.stands
(Haegeman 2011, 11 (40))

- o In Flemish, a direct object (*underen GSM* 'their mobile') can be moved across a(n indefinite) subject (*veel studenten* 'many students') **Error! Reference source not found..**
- o The possessee DP (*underen GSM* 'their mobile') cannot move across the indefinite external possessor (*veel studenten* 'many students') **Error! Reference source not found..**
- As the possessor does at some point in the derivation of c-command the possessee, but scrambling is still ungrammatical, it seems that there is a strict c-command restriction on

the FEP stating that the possessor must at all points of derivation c-command the possessee.

6.3. Locality restrictions

6.3.1. Clause mate condition

In GDAD, the possessor and possessee must be clause mates (cannot be separated by categories such as IP or vP) ((29)a). In ((29)b), no such subject-containing category intervenes between the possessor and the possessee (*versuchen* 'try' selects a VP, whereas *beschließen* 'decide' selects a vP¹⁸).

- (29) a. * Jan hat Luise beschlossen [_{VP/IP} **die** Haare zu waschen].
Jan has Luise.DAT decided the hair to wash
'Jan has decided to wash Luise's hair'
- b. Jan hat Luise versucht [_{VP} **die** Haare zu waschen].
Jan has Luise.DAT tried the hair to wash
'Jan has tried to wash Luise's hair.'
- (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 113 (17b-c))

Flemish also shows a clause mate condition (30). Negative concord between the negated external possessor (*geeneenen student* 'no student') and sentential negation (*nie meer* 'no longer') is only possible when the possessor is not clause-external (Haegeman 2011).

- (30) ... dat er **geeneenen student** toen juste [zenen GSM] **nie meer** anstond.
that there no student then just his.m.sg mobile no more
on.stood.sg
'... that no student had their phone on at that moment.'
- (Haegeman 2011, 10 (38))

6.3.2. Ban on movement out of complex DPs

The GDAD dative argument cannot move out of an embedded DP: the complex DP blocks movement out of the specifier of the embedded DP. In the only possible reading of (31), the possessor (*Lena*) possesses the entire complex possessive DP (*[das Fohlen [der Stute]]* 'the mare's foal'). The interpretation in which the possessor *Lena* possesses only the embedded DP (*das Fohlen* 'the foal'), is ungrammatical.

- (31) Tim pflegte [Lena] [das Fohlen [der Stute]] gesund.
Tim treated Lena.DAT the foal the mare.GEN healthy
(Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 113 (18a))

The same property is found in the FEP. In (32) the possessor (*Lieven*) cannot be interpreted as a possessor of the DP embedded within the complex DP (*zijn* *velo* 'his bike'); instead the possessor can only be interpreted as the possessor of the entire complex DP (*het stuur* *van zijn* *velo* 'the bike's handlebars').

¹⁸ See Wurmbrand (2001) for an overview of restructuring infinitival constructions.

- (32) ... dat [Lieven] toen just [het stuur [van [zijn]en velo]] gebroken was.
that Lieven then just the handlebars of his bike broken were
'... that the handlebars of Lieven's bike were just then broken.'
(Haegeman 2011, 11 (42a))

The GPPD, can be interpreted as the possessor of a possessee DP embedded in a complex DP introduced by a definite article determiner¹⁹:

- (33) Tim pflēgte [Lena.] [das Fohlen [ihre Stute.]] gesund.
Tim treated Lena.DAT the foal her mare.GEN healthy
'Tim cured the foal of the mare which belongs to Lena.'
(Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 113 (18b))

6.3.3. More locality restrictions on the Flemish External Possessor

Aside from the arguments provided by Lee-Schoenfeld (2006), we can observe that the FEP is very strict within its locality restrictions. As shown above (cf. 6.2) the relation between an external possessor and its possessee is stricter than the relation between a subject and a direct object. I will show that no subject can appear between an external possessor and an object possessee and that the relation between an external possessor and its possessee is also stricter than the relation between an expletive and its associate. The strictness of these locality restrictions argue in favor of a (strong) syntactic dependency between the external possessor and its possessee.

- No subject can intervene between the external possessor and the object-possessee (**Error! Reference source not found.**b). The subject (*Pieter*) cannot intervene between the external possessor (*Theo*) and the object possessee (*zijn handjes* 'his hands'). The movement itself is unproblematic, as the movement of the entire DP object (*Theo zijn handjes* 'Theo his hands') over the subject (*Pieter*) in (**Error! Reference source not found.**c) shows.

- (34) a. Pieter gaat [Theo.] nen keer [zijn_i handjes] wassen.
Peter goes Theo once his hands wash
'Peter will once wash Theo's hands.'
b. * [Theo.] gaat Pieter nen keer [zijn_i handjes] wassen.
Theo goes Pieter once his hands wash
c. [Theo_i zijn_i handjes] gaat Pieter nen keer wassen.
Theo his hands goes Pieter once wash

- A definite object cannot intervene between the external possessor and its subject DP possessee. A direct object (*dat appartement* 'that apartment') cannot intervene between the external possessor (*Lieven*) and its subject DP possessee (*zijn moeder* 'his mother') in ((35)b). This is stricter than the restrictions on locality between an expletive (*der* 'ER')

¹⁹ Complex DPs introduced by a possessive pronoun can, through coreference, allow the interpretation where the external possessor possesses the embedded possessee. This is, however, no argument for syntactic dependency.

and its associate (*veel studenten* 'many students'), where a definite object (*dienen boek* 'that book') can intervene ((36)b) (Haegeman, 2011). This is schematized in (37).

- (35) a. ... da **Lieven** toen just [**zijn moeder**] [**dat appartement**] geërfd had.
that Lieven then just his mother.SUBJ that apartment.OBJ inherited had
b. * ... da **Lieven** toen just [**dat appartement**] [**zijn moeder**] geërfd had.
that Lieven then just that apartment.OBJ his mother.SUBJ inherited had
(Haegeman 2011, 12 (44d))
- (36) a. ... dan **der** (spijtig genoeg) [**veel studenten**] [**dienen boek**]
that there (sadly enough) many students.SUBJ that book.OBJ
tegenwoordig nie kennen.
nowadays not know
b. ... dan **der** (spijtig genoeg) [**dienen boek**] [**veel studenten**]
that there (sadly enough) that book.OBJ many students.SUBJ
tegenwoordig nie kennen.
nowadays not know
'... that unfortunately, many students nowadays not know that book.'
(Haegeman 2011, 12 (44a-b))

- (37) a. ✓ dat er DPobject DPsubject
that ER
b. * dat er ExtPobject DPsubject DPobject
that ER

6.4. Overview of properties

The properties discussed here show that the FEP pattern behaves more like the GDAD pattern, in which syntactic dependency between the possessor and possessee are assumed, than like the GPPD even though it does appear with a possessive pronoun within the possessive DP.

	GPPD	GDAD	FEP
Possessive linking element	Possessive pronoun	Definite article	Possessive pronoun
Element other than external possessor can carry Possessor role	✓	*	*
Possessor must c-command possessee	*	✓ At some point in derivation	✓ At the end of the derivation
Possessor and possessee must be clause mates	*	✓	✓
Possessor can be related to element embedded within complex DP	✓	*	*
Subject possessee cannot move over its external possessor	n/a	n/a	✓
Subject cannot intervene between external possessor and object possessee	?	?	✓
Definite object cannot intervene between external possessor and subject possessee	n/a	n/a	✓

The external element that receives a Possessor interpretation in the FEP is syntactically dependent on the possessive DP it is related with.
The external element can therefore be analyzed as receiving the Possessor role inside the possessive DP.
It furthermore also receives an Affectee interpretation and is external to the possessive DP and should thus also be present at a higher clausal position.
An external possession pattern, in the narrow sense, can thus also appear with a possessive pronoun as a possessive marker, and not only with an article.

7. FEP: a movement analysis

7.1. Case and the FEP

Case is proposed as a trigger for movement for movement analyses of external possession (cf. German (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006)).

- The same trigger for movement does not immediately seem very likely for Flemish:
The possessive marker in the internal doubling pattern is the same as the one used in the external possessor pattern, rendering any analysis of external possession on the basis of a lack of case puzzling for the internal doubling pattern. Why would the source for the possessor's case in the internal possession pattern not be available for the possessor in the external possession pattern?
- However, the case found on the external possessor does seem to differ from that found on the internal possessor of the doubling pattern. While Flemish does not have morphological case on full DPs, pronouns do show at least nominative vs. non-nominative morphological case.

- (38) a. Zie(-doar) goat naar school.
 she.NOM(-there) goes to school
 'She goes to school.'
 b. * Eur(-doar) goat naar school
 her.NONNOM(-there) goes to school

- (39) a. * Peter kent zie(-doar)
 Peter knows she.NOM(-there)
 b. Peter kent eur(-doar).
 Peter knows her.NONNOM(-there)
 'Peter knows her.'

- When looking at the case of the pronouns within the possessive patterns under discussion, the data show us that:
 - In the internal doubling pattern: the possessor is always nominative, regardless of the function of the possessee.

- (40) a. 't is zie-doar eur vriendin die trompet speelt.
 it is she.NOM-there her friend that trumpet plays
 'It's her friend who plays the trumpet.'
 b. * 't is eur-doar eur vriendin die trompet speelt.
 it is her.NONNOM-there her friend that trumpet plays
- (41) a. 't is zie-doar eur boek da-k nog nie gelezen een.
 it is she.NOM-there her book that-I yet not read have
 'It's her book that I haven't read yet.'
 b. * 't is eur-doar eur boek dak nog nie gelezen een.
 it is her.NONNOM-there her book that-I yet not read have

- In the FEP: the possessor's case is dependent on the function of the possessee.
 - when related to a subject possessee DP: possessor is nominative
- (42) a. 't was spijtig da zie-ier toen juste eur scheerapparaat kapot was.
it was unfortunate that she.NOM-here then just her razor broken was
 'It was unfortunate that her razor was broken just then.'
 b. * 't was spijtig da eur-ier toen juste eur scheerapparaat kapot
it was unfortunate that her.NONNOM-here then just her razor broken
 was.
 was
- when related to an object possessee DP: possessor is non-nominative
- (43) a. ??* Tom vertelde da Peter zie-doar toen juste eur handjes gewassenhad.
Tom said that Peter she.NOM-there then just her hands washed had
 b. Tom vertelde da Peter eur-doar toen juste eur handjes gewassenhad.
Tom said that Peter her.NONNOM-there then just her hands washed had
 'Tom said that Peter had washed her hands just then.'
- When related to a predicate: judgments vary.
- If case were to be assigned to the possessor within the possessive DP in the FEP, the dependency of the case assigned to the possessor on the function of the possessee it is related to is unexpected. An analysis of movement triggered by case, could then still be proposed.
- An analysis of case assignment for the Flemish possessive DP and the FEP could be like the one proposed for Nez Perce by Deal (2013b, 409–420).
 - In Nez Perce, as in Flemish, some structures allow for an alternation between an internal possession pattern, in Nez Perce characterized by genitive on the possessor, and an external possession pattern, in Nez Perce characterized by object case on the possessor.
- (44) Angel-nim paa-'yax'-na'ny-Ø-a Tatlo-na/Tatlo-nm taaqmaal.
Angel-ERG 3/3-find-μ-P-REM.PAST Tatlo-OBJ/Tatlo-GEN hat.NOM
 'Angel found Tatlo's hat.'
 (Deal 2013b, 415 (59a))
- Deal proposes an analysis based on Borer (1984) proposal of morphological case. Deal takes the possessive DP to be incapable of syntactic case assignment. This results in the possessor moving to an external position to receive syntactic case there. If it does not move to a position in which it can receive case, the default morphological case²⁰, in Nez Perce genitive, is assigned to the possessor at PF. She defines this morphological case rule as follows:

²⁰ For more on default case cf. Schütze (2001) and Marantz (1991).

- (45) For any case value (including unspecified),
 [Case:α] → [Case:Gen] / [_{DP} DP:[—] [_{DP} . . .]]
 (Deal 2013b, 412 (51))
- A similar analysis could be proposed for Flemish. The possessor does not receive syntactic case within the possessive DP and must move to an external position to receive syntactic case. If it is related to an object possessee, the position it moves to will assign it non-nominative case. If it is related to a subject possessee, the position it moves to will assign it nominative case. If it does not move to a position in which it can receive case, it receives the morphological default case of nominative²¹ at PF level. The following formalization, parallel to Nez Perce could be proposed for Flemish then:
- (46) For any case value (including unspecified),
 [Case:α] → [Case:Nom] / [_{DP} DP:[—] [_{DP} . . .]]

Case is not assigned to the possessor within the possessive DP; the possessor must move to a case assigning position external to the possessive DP; in the internal doubling pattern default case appears at PF.

7.2. Movement vs. base generation

While the comparison with the two German possessive patterns above showed that there was a syntactic dependency in the FEP between the external possessor and the possessive DP, the type of syntactic dependency must still be investigated. More specifically the question at hand here will be:

- whether the possessor has moved from its base-generated SpecDP position
 - or whether it stands in some type of control relation with a *pro* in the possessive DP without moving to the external position it occupies in the surface position
- I will here argue that the possessor has undergone movement.
- Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) argues for a movement-based external possession pattern in the GDAD. As discussed above, the possessor is said to move for case reasons, due to a defective determiner, the definite article. Since the FEP uses a possessive pronoun as determiner, just as the internal doubling pattern does, this cannot be the case for Flemish. Any movement analysis proposed for Flemish, cannot rely on case.
 - The key observation for Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) to support the movement analysis as opposed to one based on control or binding is an adjunct-argument asymmetry, also observed for Hebrew (Landau 1999).
 - GDAD external possessors cannot be extracted from PP-adjuncts ((47)a), but can be extracted from PP-arguments ((47)b).

²¹ In Flemish nominative is used in out-of-the-blue contexts, which could suggest that in Flemish, nominative is indeed the default case.

(i) - Wie gaat er naar het toneel morgen?
who goes ER to the theatre tomorrow
 - Ik.

I.NOM

'Who's going to the theatre tomorrow? Me.'

(Buelens, 304 (footnote 24 (ii)))

- (47) a. * Tim musste seiner Schwester [wegen der Katze] aufräumen.
Tim had.to his sister.DAT because.of the cat up.tidy
 'Tim had to clean up because of his sister's cat.'
 (Lee-Schoenfeld, 2006:119 (29a))
- b. Er stand der Braut [auf der Schleppe].
he stood the bride.DAT on the train
 'He stood on the bride's train.'
 (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 119 (27a))

- Control (48) and binding (49) do allow a syntactic relation with an element within an adjunct PP. So, for German, the adjunct-argument distinction clearly points towards a movement account (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 121).

- (48) Britta hat sich [beim PRO_i Warmlaufen] vor dem Spiel verletzt.
Britta has self at.the warm.running before the game injured
 'Britta injured herself while warming up before the game.'
 (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 121 (31))
- (49) Tim lässt Lena nicht [neben sich_i] essen.
Tim lets Lena not next.to self eat
 'Tim doesn't let Lena eat next to him.'
 (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006, 121 (32a))

- This asymmetry, however, is not applicable for Flemish, where possessors cannot be extracted out of PPs even if the PP is an argument of the verb (50). Instead, the possessee DP must always be a full DP.

- (50) a. * Het kind legde zich vader [op zijn buik].
the child lay self father on his belly
 'The child lay down on the father's belly.'
- b. * Tim moest zijn zus door eur kat opruimen.
Tim had.to his sister because.of her cat up.tidy
 'Tim had to clean up because of his sister's cat.'

- Locality restrictions (cf. 6.3)
- An external possessor related to a subject is more difficult than one related to an object. The group of speakers who accept the subject-related FEP ((51)a) is a subset of the group of speakers who accept the object-related FEP ((51)b). While both are grammatical within one group of speakers, there is also a group of speakers who accepts the object-related FEP, but not the subject-related FEP. This could be related to the cross-linguistic observation that extraction out of subjects is more difficult than extraction out of objects.

- (51) 't Moest lukken dat ...
it had-to happen that
- a. ... [Marie] toen just [eur velo] kapot was.
Mary then just her.F.SG bike.SUBJ broken was
 'It so happened that Mary's bike was broken just then.'
- b. ... Hanne [Marie] toen just [eur velo] geleend had.
Hanne Mary then just her.F.SG bike.DO borrowed had
 'It so happened that Hanne had borrowed Mary's bike just then.'

- An external possessor related to an agent is more difficult than one related to a non-agent. As shown above in (10), the subject-related FEP within non-stative patterns is more difficult than within a stative pattern. This follows cross-linguistic patterns of extraction data.

- (52) a. *?? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een appel gegeten had.
that Karel then just his mother an apple eaten had
 Intended: '... that Karel's mother had just then eaten an apple.'
- b. ? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een taart gekregen had.
that Karel then just his mother a pie received had
 '... that Karel's mother had just then received a pie.'
- c. ? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] de griep had.
that Karel then just his mother the flu had
 '... that Karel's mother had the flu just then.'

- The ungrammaticality of an external possession pattern with the *se/sen* possessive pattern would follow easily from a movement account.

- (53) a. 't es [Marie sen velo] die kapot es.
it is Mary sen velo that broken is
- b. *'t Moest lukken da Marie toen just sen velo kapot was.
it had-to happen that Mary then just sen bike broken was

- The possessor in the *se/sen* possessive pattern must be adjacent to the possessive marker *se/sen* (Haegeman 2013). The intervention of an appositive between the possessor and possessee is ungrammatical in the *se/sen* possessive pattern but grammatical in the doubling pattern.

- (54) a. * Marleen, men beste vriendinne, sen velo
Marleen my best friend sen bike
- b. Marleen, men beste vriendinne, euren velo
Marleen my best friend her.F.SG bike
 'Marleen, my best friend, her bike.'

(Haegeman 2013, 18 (33b&34b))

- As *se/sen* shows very little morphology, Haegeman (2013) assumes that it is dependent on the possessor for its featural content.

- o If there was a PRO within the possessive DP that was controlled by the external possessor there is no clear reason why *se/sen* could not receive its featural content from PRO. If there is only a trace present within the possessive DP, this follows quite naturally.

- The possessor from the FEP-pattern has undergone movement to its external position.
- As the possessor has an affectedness interpretation too, an analysis of control involving movement (cf. Hornstein 1999; Deal 2013a) is proposed.

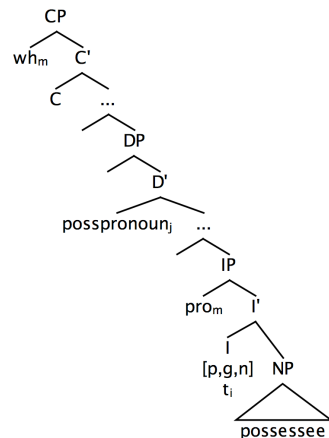
7.3. Possessor relativization: movement vs. resumption

Flemish has a third type of possessive pattern in which the possessive pronoun appears as possessive marker. In the Flemish possessor relativization pattern a possessor of the doubling pattern is relativized (Haegeman 2009; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011).

- (55) *Dat is die verpleegster [dat ik denk [dat ik [PP methaar zoon]nog gewerkt heb]].*
that is that nurse that I think that I with her son PRT worked have
 (Haegeman 2011, 1 (1b); Haegeman and Danckaert 2011, 14 (59b))
 'That's that nurse of whom I think that I used to work with her son.'

- Haegeman (2009), following Salzmann's (2006; 2008), proposes an analysis of resumption for these patterns. The possessive pronoun is taken to act both as possessive marker and as Possessor through a *pro* within the possessive DP. The argument which is interpreted as the relativized possessor receives this interpretation through co-indexation.

(56)



(Haegeman 2009, 33 (50)-(51))

- An analysis of extraction for Flemish possessor relativization is rejected mainly based on the observation that this pattern can occur in a number of contexts which do not generally allow for extraction (Haegeman 2009). An example of this is (55) in which the possessor is related to a possessive DP embedded within a PP.

This is ungrammatical with the FEP:

- (57) **k denk dak da [Marie] gisteren [PP op euren computer] gezien een.*
I think that-I that Mary yesterday on her computer seen have
 Intended interpretation: 'I think that I saw that on Mary's computer yesterday.'

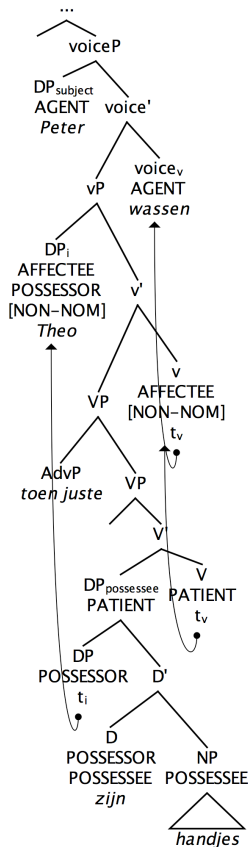
- While the possessive pronoun can appear in a resumptive pattern such as Flemish possessor relativization, the syntactic distribution of this pattern differs substantially from that of the FEP.
- The FEP is more restricted than Flemish possessor relativization. An analysis of resumption for the FEP-pattern will therefore not be pursued.
- While the possessive pronoun can act as a resumptive pronoun, it does not have to act this way, and in fact does not act as one in the FEP pattern.

7.4. Analysis of object-related FEP

The object-related FEP is most similar to most cross-linguistic external possession patterns and will therefore be discussed first.

- Following the analysis of the GDAD presented by Lee-Schoenfeld (2006) and the analysis of the possessive DP proposed by Haegeman (2004), the analysis proposed here assumes that the possessor DP is syntactically related to the canonical position of possessors in the doubling pattern, SpecDP.
 - o SpecDP can be analyzed as an 'escape hatch' position allowing movement of the possessor out of the DP.
 - o The possessive pronoun is taken to reside in D (Haegeman 2004).
 - o The Possessor theta-role is assigned by the possessive pronoun to its specifier.
 - o The possessive pronoun cannot, however, assign case to its specifier.
 - o The possessee NP is the complement of D.
- The entire possessee DP is in the object position of the complement of the verb which assigns it its theta-role.
- The VP can then be augmented by the adverbial phrase.
- In between the Adverbial phrase and voiceP (which introduces the agent subject to the structure) I propose that the external possessor is moved to.
- Following among others Lee-Schoenfeld (2006), the external possessor is taken to be ascribed an Affectee role, introduced by a phonologically null light verb. This light verb assigns non-nominative case to the possessor.
- The verbal structure is finished by introducing the subject of the verb into SpecvoiceP, merged on top of the Affectee vP continuing the vP-shell. Here the subject receives its Agent role from the agentive little v.

- (58) Peter ging Theo_i toen juste zijn_i handjes wassen.
Peter was.going.to Theo then just his hands wash
'Peter was going to wash Theo's hands just then.'



- The locality restrictions on the FEP follow from the closeness of the Possessee DP and the Specifier position of the Affectee v and from the limitations on movement. The Adverbial Phrase is taken to be transparent to movement. Movement higher in the clause would result in intervention effects with the subject position.
- As the possessor receives a Possessor role within the DP and then moves to a position in which it receives an Affectee role, this analysis is one of control involving movement.

- Furthermore, this analysis, if we presume that the position that assigns the Affectee role to the external possessor could be the position in which IOs are base-generated, could explain the ungrammaticality of external possession with IOs in Flemish.

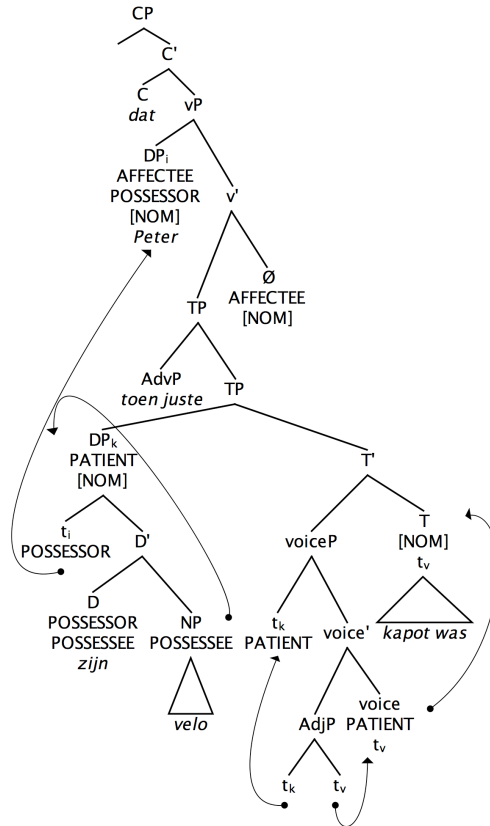
- (59) ??* ... meeda Karel [Lieve] vrijdag [eur moeder] da cadeau wou geven.
because Karel Lieve Friday her mother that present wanted give
Intended interpretation: '... because Karel wanted to give Lieve's mother that present on Friday.'

There simply is no position available higher than vAff, in which the IO is generated, which could host the external possessor related to it so that it c-commands that position without the intervention of another argument.

7.5. Analysis of subject- and predicate-related FEP

- The analysis of the subject-related and predicate-related FEP are assumed to be similar to the object-related FEP in that the possessor will always be related to SpecDP where it receives its Possessor role and is associated to the possessee DP. The structure of the possessive DP is assumed to be identical.
- The possessor will also always be assumed to be associated with a little v Affectee head.
- The position of the little v Affectee head will differ in the different structures. In the subject-related FEP I propose a high null head which assigns an Affectee interpretation to the external possessor in its specifier position. It is also taken to assign nominative case to its specifier. This contrasts with German where only the little v Affectee head position associated with the object possessee is present, but is similar to high applicative positions proposed by among others Rivero (2009) for Bulgarian (cf. among others Baker 1988a; Pytkänen 2000; Pytkänen 2002; for applicatives Pytkänen 2008).
- This subject-related Affectee head will be higher in the clause, between CP and TP.

- (60) ... dat Peter toen just zijn velo kapot was.
that Peter then just his bike broken was
'... that Peter's bike was broken just then.'



- The position between CP and TP can be related to the strict locality restrictions on the subject-related FEP, since its upper domain is restricted by the CP. So, crossing the subject-related external possessor is impossible for A-arguments, since there is no position available in the A-domain above the FEP position.²²

²² The fact that the subject-related FEP cannot occur in matrix clauses could also be related to its position at the right edge of the CP. Flemish is a matrix V2-language and since the subject-related FEP occupies a position above the subject, the canonical subject position would be unavailable for

- The predicate-related FEP will occupy a position similar to the object-related FEP but in a predication structure rather than in a full verb or adjectival argument structure.

8. FEP and questions for a typology of external possession

In this concluding section of the paper, I will discuss some typological issues related to external possession. Namely, the key questions regarding external possession as described by Landau (1999) with respect to the position of the external possessor and the relationship it attains with the possessee.

8.1. The position of the external possessor

- The question of the position of the external possessor can be answered in general for the FEP. There are at least three different positions to be described for Flemish: one between CP and TP (related to a subject possessee) (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013), one between voiceP and VP (related to an object possessee) and one within the predication phrase (related to a predicate possessee). This results in a large variety of positions available for external possessors in Flemish. For German, only one such position is available, related to an object possessee (Lee-Schoenfeld 2006).
- The position is associated with an Affectee interpretation, taken to be related to a theta-role.²³
- While the nature of this proposed head seems to be verbal when it is lower in the structure, it is not immediately clear why a position between CP and TP should have a verbal nature. It may be possible to assume a more general predication or applicative structure for all proposed positions hosting the external possessor in Flemish.

The external possessor in the FEP is situated in a head with an affectee interpretation. These heads are located (i) between CP and TP and (ii) between voiceP and VP. The exact nature of the heads is not entirely clear. Different proposals are possible.

8.2. The type of syntactic dependency between the external possessor and the possessee

I will briefly look at how the FEP fits into Deal's (2013a) typology of external possession and the questions it poses for the system she proposes.

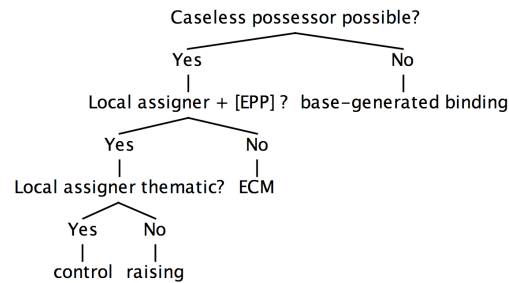
- As discussed in section 3, Deal (2013a) proposes a typology for external possession patterns based on the following parameters:
 - whether the structure has a caseless possessor within the possessive DP;
 - whether in the case of a caseless possessor there is a local case assigner with an; EPP feature (attracting the possessor to its specifier);

the subject in a matrix clause, resulting in ungrammaticality since all sentences require the subject-position to be filled.

²³ It is not entirely clear, however, whether Affectee should indeed be taken to be associated with a theta-role. A number of similar 'affectedness' conditions have also been described for other structures (cf. 'newsworthiness' for multiple subject phrases in Korean (J. H. Yoon 2009)) suggesting that this position may not be a simple A-position, but instead is a linking position between the A- and the A'-domain.

- and whether if there is such a local case assigner with an EPP feature that assigner is also thematic or not.
- The categories that are distinguished are external possessor like raising, like control, like ECM and like binding. These types are grouped under Type A.

(61)



(Deal 2013a, 21 (67))

- Aside from these types of external possession concerning possessors which can be categorized as A-elements, Deal (2013a) also discusses a type of external possession where the possessor has a mix of both A- and A'-properties. This type is called Type B.
- Under this typology, Flemish object-related external possession would fall under a control analysis, while Flemish subject-related external possession would fall under Type B.
- It is surprising to find that Flemish's different kinds of external possession patterns would fall under different types of the proposed typology.
 - Theoretically, it would be an expected example of a language for the typology: Deal (2013a) notes that it is surprising that all languages she discusses fall within neat categories. However, as all other languages that have external possession patterns fall within neat categories, Flemish would remain an anomaly.
 - Deal (2013a) points towards Korean as a language for which both a Type A and a Type B approach have been proposed. Type A, as it suggests an affectedness condition (J. H. S. Yoon 1990; Tomioka and Sim 2007), but Type B, as a relationship with the focus system has been proposed (M.-J. Kim 2000).
- It is not entirely clear whether the Affectee interpretation is a theta-role. If it is not a theta-role, then there is no analysis of control but one of raising. If this is a cross-linguistic phenomenon, then the control analysis should not be included in Deal's (2013a) typology, leading to the question of why there should be a gap in the system (both in the case of ECM and of control).
 - It seems that if affectedness in one pattern is a matter of discourse structure and not a theta-role, it should not be interpreted as such in the other structures, and vice versa.

- For the object-related FEP, the similarities between the external possessor and the IO seem to point towards affectedness as a theta-role, or if it is not affectedness which is the thematic role, then at least the function which is performed by the external possessor, not further specified, could be described as a theta-role.
- On the other hand, the observation that in West Flemish, the ordering of arguments is rigidly ordered SU > IO > DO, and that the external possessor does not fit into this strictly ordered thematic hierarchy, but can instead be added in between the 'fixed' arguments, points towards it not being like one of the regular arguments in the structure.
- Instead, one could propose a predicate relation between the external possessor and the phrase below it, where the external possessor can be seen as the subject of the phrase. This in contrast to a specialized affectedness position within the phrase. The affectedness interpretation could then arise from this predicate relation, rather than being the function of the phrase.
- Another option is to propose an applicative structure (cf. Rivero 2009; Rivero and Arregui 2010; Tsai 2014).

9. Conclusion

- The FEP-pattern is an example of external possession, both in the narrow and broad sense of the definition:
 - the external possessor is a semantic argument of the possessee DP (the possessor), and a syntactic argument of the verb (the affectee);
 - the external possessor is in a constituent other than the possessee DP.
- The FEP shows that a possessive pronoun can occur within external possession patterns.
- The nature of the syntactic dependency of the FEP is taken to be control involving movement: the possessor receives an Affectee interpretation but also shows sensitivity to locality restrictions.
- The possessor moves because of case, which is taken to not be assigned within the possessive DP. The nominative case which appears in the internal doubling pattern is taken to be a default morphological nominative case.
- The syntactic argument status of the external possessor is formalized through a vP-shell structure, in the line of work by Ramchand (2008), where each v-head adds an argument to the structure resulting in an additional semantic role as well as a syntactic argument.
- For the highest head hosting the external possession pattern, assigning it an affectee interpretation, the verbal nature of that head is questioned.
- The FEP shows that external possessors can be related to different types of possessee (subject, object, predicate) within the same language. For Deal's (2013a) this means that one language can fall under different entries within the typology, and more specifically can have both an external possession of Type A (A-position) and of Type B (subject-related, A- and A'-properties).

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