

THE REMOTE POSSESSOR CONSTRUCTION IN WEST FLEMISH*

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1. AIM AND SCOPE OF THE PAPER

This paper focuses on the West-Flemish (WF) data in (1), in which a relative (1a) or interrogative (1b) possessor is separated from the *possessum* DP

- (1) a. Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} eur us] verkocht een.
that is that nurse that-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 us] verkocht een?
which nurse said you that-they yesterday her house sold have
'Who was the nurse whose house you said they sold yesterday?'¹

In the examples in (2) a prenominal possessor DP is adjacent to its *possessum*, to which it is related by a 'doubling' possessive pronoun. This possessive pronoun matches the possessor in terms of person, number and gender features.

- (2) a. Z'een gisteren [die verpleegster eur us verkocht]
 they have yesterday that nurse her house sold
 'They sold that nurse her house yesterday'
- b. Kweten nie [wekken verpleegster eur us] dan-ze gisteren verkocht een
 I know not which nurse her house they yesterday sold have
 'I don't know which nurse's house they sold yesterday.'

The bracketed possessive DPs in (2a,b) can be seen as a kind of extension of the possessive constructions in (2c) in which a possessive pronoun is used all by itself:

- (2) c. Z'een gisteren [eur us verkocht]
 they have yesterday her house sold
 'They sold her house yesterday.'

In (2a) and in (2b) the possessor is specified by means of an additional peripheral DP, *die verpleegster* ('that nurse') in (2a) and *wekken verpleegster* ('which nurse') in (2b). In (2a,b) possessor and *possessum* form a single constituent as can be shown by the fact that the sequence possessor-*possessum* can constitute the first constituent in a V2 sentence and that it can also be the complement of a preposition:

- (3) a. [Die verpleegster eur us] een-ze gisteren verkocht.
 that nurse her house have-they yesterday sold
 'That nurse's home, they sold yesterday.'
- b. Z'oan men geklaapt [_{PP} over [die verpleegster eur us]].
 they had me talked about that nurse her house

‘They had talked to me about that nurse’s home.’

At first sight one might therefore conclude that the remote relative and interrogative possessors in (1) are derived by leftward possessor extraction. Under this assumption, the DP containing the *possessum* would contain a trace of the possessor. In minimalist terms the trace would be a copy of the possessor.

- (1) a'. Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} t_{eur us}] verkocht een.
 that is that nurse that-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} t_{eur us}] verkocht een?
 which nurse said you that-they yesterday her house sold have
 ‘Who was the nurse whose house you said they sold yesterday?’

An A'-movement analysis of (1) would mean that WF is similar to Greek and Hungarian, in which A'-extraction of a possessor from a DP has been postulated to derive the patterns in (4):

- (4) a. [_{CP} [Tinos_i] [_{IP} mu ipes [_{CP} t_i pos dhiavases [_{DP} t_i to vivlio]]]]
 whose me-gen said that read-2sg the book
 ‘You told me you read whose book?’ (Greek, Horrocks and Stavrou 1987).
- b. [_{CP} [_{TopP} Marinak_i [_{FocP} PETER làtta [_{IP} [_{DP} t_i a kalapja]]]]].
 Mari-dative Peter saw the hat
 ‘PETER saw Mary’s hat.’
- c. [_{CP} [_{FocP} Kinek_i làtta [_{IP} Kati [_{DP} t_i a kalapja]]]]?]

whose-dative saw Kati the hat

'Whose hat did Kati see?' (Hungarian, Szabolcsi 1983, 1987, 1994)

My paper provides evidence against an extraction account for the WF remote possessor construction in (1) and will then offer an analysis of these data in terms of a resumptive pronoun strategy.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 offers arguments against a movement analysis for the WF remote possessor construction. In section 3 I propose that the relation between the possessor and the possessed DP is established by the resumptive pronoun strategy and not by movement. In section 4 I speculate on two questions concerning cross-linguistic variation. The first raises the question why the remote possessor construction is available in WF while it is not in its close Standard Dutch counterpart. I tentatively link this to other property of the WF pronoun system. The second question concerns the distinction between languages like WF which do not display possessor extraction and those like Hungarian and Modern Greek, which do. In this section I look at some recent proposals concerning possessor extraction and I provide an alternative analysis which integrates these proposals. Section 5 is a brief summary of the paper.

2. ARGUMENTS AGAINST POSSESSOR EXTRACTION

2.1. Germanic asymmetries

A first problem with treating the data in (1) in terms of movement is that such an analysis would imply that the syntax of the WF DP is markedly different from that of its Germanic counterparts.

2.1.1. Dutch and German

Like WF, colloquial Dutch and German have the possessor doubling pattern (2a,b), as discussed in some detail by Corver (1990) and illustrated for Dutch by (5a).

- (5) a. Ik heb [_{DP} Jan z'n auto] gewassen.

I have Jan his car washed

'I have washed Jan's car.'

In Dutch and in German, the remote possessor construction is not available, however: (5b) and (5c), the Dutch analogues of (1), are ungrammatical:

- (5) b. *Dat is die verpleegster dat ze gisteren [_{DP} d'r us] verkocht hebben.

that is that nurse that they yesterday her house sold have

- c. *Welke verpleegster zei je dat ze gisteren [_{DP} d'r us] verkocht hebben?

which nurse said you that-they yesterday her house sold have

At first sight, it is not obvious how to differentiate the Dutch and German possessor doubling constructions from their WF counterparts. The pre-nominal possessor seems to have the same distributional and morphological properties in these West-Germanic languages.

2.1.2. Norwegian

Norwegian also displays the possessor doubling construction (Fiva 1984, Corver 1990, Delsing 1993, 1998).

- (6) Per sin bil (Norwegian: Fiva 1984; Delsing 1993, 1998)
 Per his car
 'Per's car'

Norwegian is of particular interest for our purposes since a remote possessor construction is available in this language. However, the relevant construction turns out to be heavily constrained. It is only grammatical if the *possessum* DP is a predicate. Compare the grammatical (7a,b,c) with the ungrammatical (7d,e). Moreover, the remote possessor and the *possessum* must be clause-mates. (cf Corver 1990 for details).

- (7) a. Hvem_i er det [t_i sin tante]?
 who is it his aunt
 'Whose aunt is it?'
 b. Hvem_i er det [t_i sin bil]?
 who is it his car
 'Whose car is this?'
 c. Hvem_i er han [t_i sin bror]?
 who is he his brother
 'Whose brother is he?'
 d. *Hvem_i skal vi forfore [t_i sin soster] na?
 who shall we seduce his sister now
 e. *?Hvem_i kjenner du [t_i sin bror]?
 who know you his brother

Corver (1990: 185) furthermore signals the contrast in (8). Extraction of the possessor *hvem* *sin tante* from the predicate [Spec,DP] in (8a) is grammatical; extraction of *hvem* from inside a DP which itself functions as a pre-nominal possessor is not possible (8b).

- (8) a. [Hvem sin tante]_i er det [t_i sin katt]?
 who his aunt is that his cat
 ‘Whose aunt’s cat is that?’
 b. *[Hvem]_i er det [[t_i sin tante] sin katt]?
 who is that his aunt his cat

The WF remote possessor pattern differs in a number of respects from its Norwegian counterpart. First of all, the data in (1) above show that the WF remote possessor need not be a clause-mate to the *possessum* (1). Indeed, a remote possessor construed with a clause mate predicate leads to ungrammaticality in WF.²

- (9) a. *Wien_i is da [t_i z'n tante]?³
 who is that his aunt
 b. *Wien_i is da [t_i zenen oto]?
 who is that his car
 c. *Wien_i ist-je[t_i z'n broere]?
 who is he his brother

Increasing the distance between the possessor and the related DP improves the sentences (10a,b), and when the *possessum* predicate is construed with a non-local possessor the result is grammatical (10c):

- (10) a. ??Wien was da doa gisteren [_i zenen oto]?

who was that there yesterday his car

‘Whose car was that yesterday?’

- b. ??Wien_i is da gunter [_i zenen oto]?

who is that there his car

‘Whose car is that over there?’

- c. Wien zej-gie dat da doa [_i zenen oto] is?

who said-you you that that there his car is

‘Whose car did you say that it was?’

Because the remote interrogative possessor and the *possessum* must preferably not be clause mates, the WF equivalents of the ungrammatical Norwegian (7d,e) are also ungrammatical.

- (9) d. *Wien_i goan me [_i zen zuster] neu ipvrijen?

Wie shall we his sister now ‘make love to’

- e. *?Wien_i ken-je gie [_i zen broere]?

who know you his brother

Again, however, a remote possessor can be construed with a non-local *possessum*:

- (10) d. Wien_i zei je goe dan-ze [_i zen zuster] zoun willen ipvrijen?

who said you that they his sister would like ‘make love to’

‘Whose sister did you say that they would like to chat up?’

- e. Wien_i zei-je gie da-j [_i zen broere] kent?

who said-you that you his brother know

‘Whose brother did you say that he knows?’

Construal of the remote possessor with a DP which is itself a prenominal possessor does not lead to degradation:

(11) a. Wien zei-je gie dan-ze [_{DP1} [_{DP2} [_{DP3} -] zen dochter] eur us] a verkocht een?

who said-you that-they [[[his daughter] her house] already sold have

‘Whose daughter’s house did you say that they have already sold?’

b. Dat is dienen vent dan-ze [_{DP1} [_{DP2} [_{DP3} -] zen dochter] eur us] a verkocht een.

that is that man that-they his daughter her house already sold have

‘That’s the man whose daughter’s house they have already sold.’

(11a) and (11b) would be parallel to the pattern in (11c) in which the DP *Valère* is the pre-nominal possessor of *zen dochter* (‘his daughter’), which is in turn the pre-nominal possessor of *eur us* (‘her house’):

(11) c. [_{DP1} [_{DP2} [_{DP3} Valère] zen dochter] eur us]

Valère his daughter her house

‘Valère’s daughter’s house’

2.1.3. Conclusion

If the WF remote possessor construction is to be analysed in terms of a left-branch A'-extraction, then the conclusion of this section has to be that WF differs from the other

Germanic languages in allowing a non-local application of left-branch A'-extraction from DP. In Standard Dutch extraction of the prenominal possessor is categorically excluded, and in Norwegian it is restricted to local extraction from predicate DPs. These asymmetries with the left-branch extraction data in the other Germanic languages at first sight cannot be made to follow from anything.

2.2. WF-internal asymmetries

Even if we restrict the discussion to WF as such, a left-branch extraction analysis of the remote possessor construction in (1) would lead to a series of undesirable consequences. Among other things, such a movement analysis would lead us to conclude that WF *wh*-extraction from the DP differs radically from *wh*-extraction in the clause. We would be led to the conclusion that unlike *wh*-extraction from the clausal domain, *wh*-extraction from the DP is not restricted by the locality constraints on A'-movement standardly assumed in the literature (subjacency, *wh*-island, etc). Moreover, what would have to be the trace (or copy) of the moved constituent would have to be taken to have properties which differ from those of its antecedent.

2.2.1. *Wh*-islands

A movement analysis would derive the WF remote possessor pattern in (1) by long extraction of possessors. A consequence of such an analysis would be that movement would have to be unconstrained. As shown by (12), the remote possessor can be construed with a possessive DP contained within a *wh*-island. The relevant island may be introduced by the interrogative subordinator *ofda* ('whether') (12a,b) or by a moved *wh*-constituent (12c,d). Observe that the

remote possessor may be construed both with a subject *possessum* (12a,c) and with an object *possessum* (12b,d).

- (12) a. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie mee weten [of da zen moeder tun hertrouwd is].
that is that man that-I don't remember if that his mother then remarried is
- b. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie mee weten [of dan-ze zen moeder a gevraagd een].
that is that man that I not remember if that-they his mother already asked have
- c. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie mee weten [me wien da zen moeder hertrouwd is].
that is that man that-I don't remember with whom that his mother remarried is
- d. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie mee weten [wien dat-er zen moeder gevraagd eet].
that is that man that-I not remember who that there his mother asked has

Normally, *wh*-extraction of a clausal constituent in WF is subject to *wh*-island constraints as shown by the degradations in (13).

- (13) a. ??Dat is dienen schryver dank nie mee weten [of dan de studenten t kennen].
that is that writer that I not remember whether that the students know
- b. ??Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie verstoan [woarom dan men ukders t nie vroagen].
that is that man whom I not understand why that my parents not invite

Furthermore, WF displays an asymmetry between object extraction from an island, which is marginal (13), and subject extraction, which is ungrammatical (14).

- (14) a. *Dat is dienen schryver dank nie mee weten [of da t men studenten kent].
that is that author that-I not remember whether that my students knows

- b. *Dat is dienen vent dank nie verstoan [woarom da t men oukders nie vroagt].
that is that man that-I not understand why that my parents not invites

As shown by (12), the remote possessor can be construed with a possessive DP across an island, regardless whether the relevant DP is subject (12a,c) or object (12b,d). An analysis of the remote possessor in terms of an unconstrained left-branch extraction in the WF possessive constructions would mean that this kind of extraction contrasts systematically with *wh*-extraction in the clausal domain. This asymmetry between the application of *wh*-movement in the clause and that in the DP goes against the trend that attempts to bring the properties of DP in line with those of the clause.

2.2.2. Complex NP constraint

The WF remote possessor may also be related to a *possessum* inside a complex NP as shown by the examples in (15): in (15a) the *possessum* is an object, in (15b) it is a subject.

- (15) a. Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [dan-k zen moeder in men klasse oan]
that is the boy that-I remember the time that I had his mother my class
'That's the boy that I still remember the days when I had his mother in my class.'
- b. Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [da zen moeder in men klasse zat]
that is the boy that-I remember the time that his mother my class sat
'That's the boy that I still remember the days when his mother was in my class.'

Again, normally extraction from a complex NP is not possible in WF, subject extraction leading to a sharper violation than object extraction:

- (16) a. *Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [dan-k t in men klasse oan]
that is the boy that-I remember the time that I had my class
- b. **Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [da t in men klasse zat]
that is the boy that-I rember the time that my class sat

Again, a possessor movement analysis would be problematic as it would imply that the relevant movement generally can violate the CNPC, which is otherwise observed in WF.

2.2.3. Recursive possessives and left-branch extraction

Obviously, the very fact that the WF remote possessor construction would be derived by a left-branch extraction is remarkable since such extractions are severely limited cross-linguistically (Corver 1990, Gavruseva 2000). The data in (11), repeated in (17b,c), show that in the remote possessor construction a left-branch would have to be extracted from a specifier position which itself is embedded inside another possessive specifier. In (17a), for instance, *dienen vent* ('that man') is the prenominal possessor inside DP2 *dienen vent zen dochter* ('that man his daughter'), which, in turn, is the prenominal possessor for DP1 *dienen vent zen dochter eur us*.

- (17) a. Z'een [DP1 [DP2 [DP3 dienen vent] zen dochter] eur us] a verkocht.
they have that man his daughter her house already sold
'They've already sold that man's daughter's house.'

As shown by (11), repeated here as (17b,c), an interrogative pattern or relativisation on the basis of the most deeply embedded left-branch *dienen vent* is possible:

- (17) b. Wien zei-je gie dan-ze [_{DP1} [_{DP2} [_{DP3} -] zen dochter] eur us] a verkocht een?
 who said-you that-they [[[his daughter] her house] already sold have
- c. Dat is dienen vent dan-ze [_{DP1} [_{DP2} [_{DP3} -] zen dochter] eur us] a verkocht een.
 that is that man that-they his daughter her house already sold have

A movement analysis would entail that the remote possessor in WF can cross two DP boundaries without any problem.

2.3. Extraction from extraposed PPs

In WF, as in standard Dutch, *wh*-extraction from a PP (i.e. with stranding) is only possible with so-called R-pronouns. In (18a), for instance; extraction of the interrogative pronoun *wie* ('who') is ungrammatical, only pied piping is allowed (18b). In (19) the preposition takes an R-pronoun as its complement and both pied piping (19b) and P-stranding (19a) are possible.

- (18) a. *Wien_i eej-gie gisteren [_{PP} t_i mee] gewerkt?
 who have-you you yesterday with worked
- b. Met wien_i ee-j gie gisteren [_{PP} t_i] gewerkt?
 with who have-you you yesterday worked
 'With whom did you work yesterday?'
- (19) a. Woar_i ee-je gie gisteren [_{PP} t_i mee] gewerkt?

where have-you you yesterday with worked

‘What did you work with yesterday?’

- b. Waormee_i ee-j gie gisteren [_{PP} _{t_i}] gewerkt?

with where have-you you yesterday worked

‘With what did you work yesterday?’

However, a remote possessor, even when it is not an R-pronoun, can be construed with a PP-internal *possessum*:

- (20) a. Wien_i zei-je gie da-j vroeger nog [_{PP} vu [_{NP} _{t_i} zenen zeune]] gewerkt eet ?

who said-you you that-you before still for his son worked have

- b. Dat is dienen vent_i dan-k vroeger nog [_{PP} vu [_{NP} _{t_i} zenen zeune]] gewerkt een

that is the man that-I before still for his son worked have

Extraction of the R-complement of a PP is possible from the middle field as illustrated by (19b). Extraction of the R-complement of a PP from an extraposed PP is banned though, as shown by (21). The PP *mee menen modem* (‘with my modem’) in extraposed position is an island for extraction.

- (21b) a. K’een gisteren gewerkt mee menen modem

I have yesterday worked with my modem

‘Yesterday I used my modem.’

- b. *Woar_i ee-j gie gisteren gewerkt [_{PP} _{t_i} mee _{t_i}]

where have-you you yesterday worked with

The syntax of extraposed constituents awaits a definitive analysis⁴. In traditional GB-terms, the ungrammaticality of the extraction of *woar* in (21b) can be interpreted in terms of an ECP violation. Pursuing a formal licensing and identification analysis of ECP, we might assume that the PP itself does not contain the structure to both license and identify the trace and that the middle field position of the PP, though not the extraposed position, will allow the trace to meet its licensing requirements. Once again a remote possessor can be related to a *possessum* contained in an extraposed PP:

- (22) a Wien_i zei-je gie da-j vroeger nog gewerkt eet [_{PP} vu [_{NP} t_i zenen zeune]]?
 who said-you you that-you before still worked have for his son
- b. Dat is dienen vent_i dan-k vroeger nog gewerkt een [_{PP} vu [_{NP} t_i zenen zeune]]
 that is that man that-I before still worked have for his son

If we assume a movement analysis for the remote possessor construction, we are led to the conclusion that the WF possessor DP would have to contain the structure and properties required to license the left-branch trace. It is not clear, again, how the language could then be differentiated from Standard Dutch and German, which do not allow for such constructions.

2.4. Extraction from a subject DP?

2.4.1. Licensing of the trace

If the WF remote possessor construction in (1) is derived by left-branch extraction, then such left-branch *wh*-extraction would also have to be launched from DPs in the canonical subject

position, i.e. the position to the immediate right of the (inflected) complementiser. (23) illustrates an active sentence, (24) a passive.

- (23) a. Dat is dienen vent da [- zen broere] gisteren zen us verkocht eet.
 that is that man that [- his brother] yesterday his house sold has
 ‘That’s that guy whose brother sold his house yesterday.’
- b. Wien zei-je gie da [- zen broere] gisteren zen us verkocht eet?
 who said-you that [- his brother] yesterday his house sold has
 ‘Whose brother did you say sold his house yesterday?’
- (24) a. Dat is dienen vent dan [- zen uzen] gisteren verkocht zyn.
 that is that man that his houses yesterday sold are
 ‘That’s the guy whose houses were sold yesterday.’
- b. Wien zei-je gie dan [- zen uzen] gisteren verkocht zyn?
 who said you that his houses yesterday sold are
 ‘Whose houses did you say were sold yesterday?’

WF definite subject DPs must be immediately adjacent to the complementiser, and nothing can intervene between the complementiser and the subject.⁵

- (25) a. Kpeinzen da (*gisteren) Valère zen us verkocht eet.
 I think that (*yesterday) Valère his house sold has
 ‘I think that Valère sold his house yesterday.’
- b. Kpeinzen da (*gisteren) men broere zen us verkocht eet.
 I think that (*yesterday) my brother his house sold has

'I think that my brother sold his house yesterday.'

In (23) and (24), with possessive subjects, nothing can intervene between the complementiser *da* ('that') and the possessive subject DP, as shown by (26,27). I will take this as evidence that the bracketed possessive subject DP in (23,24) occupies the canonical subject position.

- (26) a. *Dat is dienen vent da gisteren [- zen broere] zen us verkocht eet.
 that is that man that yesterday [- his brother] his house sold has
 b. *Wien zei-je gie da gisteren [- zen broere] zen us verkocht eet?
 who said-you that yesterday [his brother] his house sold has
- (27) a. *Dat is dienen vent dan gisteren [- zen uzen] verkocht zyn.
 that is that man that yesterday his houses sold are
 b. *Wien zei-je gie dan gisteren [- zen uzen] verkocht zyn?
 who said you that yesterday his houses sold are

If the remote possessor construction were derived by *wh*-extraction, WF would have to freely allow left-branch extraction from the canonical subject position. In other words, a left-branch trace inside the canonical subject position would have to be licensed. This is a surprising result for a number of reasons.

First, cross-linguistically extraction from the canonical subject position tends to be a marked phenomenon and often triggers language-specific mechanisms to ensure the licensing of the subject trace. In a pattern similar to the well-known French *que/qui* alternation, WF extraction of a subject relative⁶ leads, obligatorily for some speakers and optionally for others, to an alternative form of the complementiser: *da* is replaced by *die*.

- (28) a. Dat is dienen vent die/da dienen buot gekocht eet.
 that is that man who/that that boat bought has
 'That is the man who bought the boat.'
- b. Dat is dienen vent dan-ze zeggen die/da dienen buot gekocht eet.
 that is that man that-they say who/that that boat bought has
 'That is the man who they say bought that boat.'

These data suggest that for some speakers the complementiser *da* is not able itself to license a trace in the canonical subject position. However, what would be analysed as an extraction of a left-branch possessor from inside a subject DP does not lead to such a *da/die* alternation:

- (29) a. Dat is dienen vent [_{CP} da/*die [_{IP} [_{DP} t_i zen broere] gisteren zen us verkocht eet]]
 that is that man that his brother yesterday his house sold has
- b. Dat is dienen vent [_{CP} dan/*dien [_{IP} [_{DP} t_i zen uzen] gisteren verkocht zyn].]
 that is that man that his houses yesterday sold are

I will not pursue in detail the mechanisms that might be invoked for the licensing of the DP-internal trace, since much depends on one's theoretical assumptions. I assume, though, following Rizzi (1986, 1990), that a trace is subject to a dual requirement of formal licensing and identification. The WF complementiser agrees in person and number with the subject (see Bennis and Haegeman 1984, Haegeman 1992):

- (30) a. K peinzen da/*dan dienen student nen buot gekocht eet.
 I think that-3sg/*that-3pl that student a boat bought has

‘I think that that student has bought a boat.’

- b. K peinzen dan/*da die studenten nen buot gekocht een.

I think that-3pl/*that-3sg those students a boat bought have

‘I think that those students have bought a boat.’

If the possessive subject DP did contain a trace of the remote possessor, the agreeing complementiser might be argued to be implicated in the licensing of the trace. However, it does not seem plausible that the complementiser be held responsible for identification of an empty category in the (adjacent) specifier of the subject. We have already seen that there is no *da/die* alternation. Moreover, the complementiser agrees with the containing subject-DP *possessum* and cannot agree with the possessor. In (31), for instance, the remote possessor is singular (*dienen vent*, ‘that man’) but the complementiser agrees with the plural *possessum* (*zen broers*, ‘his brothers’).

- (31) a. Kpeinzen dan/*da [[*dienen vent*] *zen broers*] nen buot gekocht een.

I think that-pl/*that-sg that man his brothers a boat bought have

‘I think that that man's brothers have bought a boat.’

- b. Dat is *dienen vent* dan [_{DP} *zen broers*] nen buot gekocht een.

that is that man that-3pl his brother a boat bought have

‘that is the guy whose brothers bought a boat’

- c. *Dat is *dienen vent* da [_{DP} *zen broers*] nen buot gekocht een

that is that man that-3sg his brother a boat bought have

As an alternative, we might assume that the subject-internal trace of the possessive is fully licensed and identified within the possessive subject DP, perhaps by virtue of the

presence of the doubling possessive pronoun. The doubling pronoun systematically agrees with the remote possessor in terms of number, person and gender features. The pronoun could thus plausibly be argued to identify the trace. If the WF possessor trace were indeed taken to be licensed by virtue of the doubling ‘matching’ possessive pronoun, however, it would not be at all clear what could ban extraction in the other Germanic languages (Dutch, German) with a doubling possessor construction which shares the crucial properties of the WF construction.

2.4.2. A non-matching trace

The examples of subject extraction in the preceding section all illustrate a remote relative possessor. Things become more complex when we also take into consideration remote interrogative possessors. The data to be discussed below would seem to indicate that there is a mismatch in the definiteness features between the moved constituent and what would be its ‘trace’ of the remote possessor. In Minimalist terms we would have to conclude that movement of an indefinite constituent leaves a definite copy.

Before elaborating the relevant argument I first need to present some properties of subjects and of interrogative extraction in WF. Consider (32), with a quantified subject. For all quantified or indefinite subjects *er*-insertion is strictly obligatory, regardless of whether the predicate is transitive or not and regardless of whether the indefinite has a strong or a weak reading.⁷ (32a) illustrates a quantified subject, (32b) an indefinite subject with a numeral and (32c) a bare plural.

- (32) a. Kpeinzen dan *(der) vee studenten dienen boek goan kuopen.
 I think that *(there) many students that book go buy
 'I think that many students will buy that book.'

- b. Kpeinzen dan *(der) drie uzen verkocht zyn.
I think that there three houses sold are
'I think that three houses have been sold.'
- c. Kpeinzen dan *(der) studenten no de feeste goan kommen.
I think that *(there) students to the party go come
'I think that students will come to the party.'

While the definite subject DP must be adjacent to the inflected complementiser (cf. (25)), the indefinite subject may be separated from *er* by one or more constituents ⁸. I conclude that the indefinite subject occupies a position lower than the canonical subject position.

- (33) a. Kpeinzen dan *(der) morgen vee studenten dienen boek goan kuopen.
I think that *(there) tomorrow many students that book go buy
'I think that many students will buy that book tomorrow.'
- b. Kpeinzen dan *(der) dienen boek morgen vee studenten goan kuopen.
I think that *(there) that book tomorrow many students go buy
'I think that many students will buy that book tomorrow.'

Extraction of the interrogative subject - *wien* ('who') or a D-linked *wh*-phrase - always triggers *er*-insertion in WF.

- (34) a. Wien peinzje-gie dat *(der) dat us goa kopen?
who think you that *(there) that house goes buy
'Who do you think will buy that house?'
- b. Weknen zeune peinzdeg-je gie dat *(der) dat us ging kopen?

which son thought-you you that *(there) that house went buy

'Which son did you think was going to buy that house?'

- c. Wekeenen van die zeuns peinzdeg-je gie dat *(der) dat us ging kopen
 which one of those sons thought-you you that *(there) that house went buy
 'Which one of these sons did you think was going to buy that house?'

This suggests that interrogative subjects and their traces have the syntactic status of indefinite DPs. Like the quantified or indefinite subjects in (32) and (33), they are banned from the canonical C-adjacent subject position and occupy a lower position. Interrogative *wh*-extraction is not launched from the canonical subject position but from a lower position in which the trace can be licensed. As a result, we also do not expect there to be a need for the (last resort) *da/die* replacement strategy.

- (35) a. *Wien peinzje-gie die der dat us goa kopen?
 b. *Weknen zeune peinzdeg-je gie die der dat us ging kopen?
 c. *Wekeenen van die zeuns peinzdeg-je gie die der dat us ging kopen

DPs may be indefinite due to a number of factors. One is the presence of an indefinite article, a quantifier or a numeral. Also indefinite are DPs with a pre-nominal indefinite possessor. This is shown by the availability of the *there* construction in English (36a) in which the DP in construction with *there* contains an indefinite possessor, *a student's*. (36a) contrasts with (36b) with the definite possessor:

- (36) a. There is a student's mother waiting in your office.
 b. *There is the new student's mother waiting in your office.

In WF too, the presence of a pre-nominal indefinite possessor DP in the doubling construction renders a DP indefinite. Like all indefinite DPs, such a DP requires *er*-insertion when it functions as a subject (37a). A pre-nominal definite possessor DP renders the containing DP definite, hence *er*-insertion is ungrammatical (37b).

(37) a. Kpeinzen dat *(ter) [nen student zen moeder] da geschreven eet.

I think that *(there) a student his mother that written has

'I think that a student's mother has written that'

b. K peinzen dat (*ter) [dienen student zen moeder] da geschreven eet.

I think that (*there) that student his mother that written has

'I think that that student's mother has written that.'

Like other indefinite subjects, the possessive subject DP with an indefinite pre-nominal possessor can be separated from the complementiser by intervening material (38a,b), but a possessive subject DP with a definite pre-nominal possessor must be adjacent to the complementiser (38c).

(38) a. Kpeinzen datter dienen brief [nen student zen moeder] geschreven eet.

I think that there that letter a student his mother that written has

'I think that a student's mother wrote that letter.'

b. *Kpeinzen dat dienen brief [dienen student zen moeder] geschreven eet.

I think that that letter that student his mother that written has

Negative quantifiers such as *niemand* ('no one') behave syntactically as indefinites, requiring *er*-insertion when subjects (39a) and allowing for the occurrence of a constituent separating them from the complementiser. (39b).⁹

(39) a. Kpeinzen dat *(ter) niemand dienen boek kent.

I think that *(there) no one that book knows

'I think that no one knows that book.'

b. Kpeinzen dat *(ter) dienen boek niemand kent.

I think that *(there) that book no one knows

'I think that no one knows that book.'

As expected, the presence of a prenominal possessive, *niemand*, turns a possessive DP into an indefinite. When such a DP is a subject there is obligatory *er*-insertion and a constituent may intervene between the DP and the complementiser + *er*.

(40) a. Kpeinzen dan *(der) [niemand zen oukders] da weten.

I think that *(there) no one his parents that know

'I think that no one's parents know that.'

b. Kpeinzen dan *(der) da neu nog [niemand zen oukders] weten.

I think that *(there) that now no one his parents know

'I think that no one's parents know it yet.'

Let us return to the remote possessor construction in (1). A left-branch extraction analysis for such data raises a problem in the light of the discussion above in which the following points have been established.

- (i) Interrogative DPs such as *wien* act syntactically as indefinites. When subjects they require *er*-insertion and they are lower than the canonical subject position.
- (ii) The presence of a pre-nominal indefinite possessor DP turns the containing DP into an indefinite.

If the remote possessor construction in (1) were to be derived by extraction, then we would be led to assume that the stranded *possessum* DP contains a trace (or a copy) of the remote possessor. The specifier position of the DP from which an interrogative possessor such as, for instance, *wien* ('who') has been extracted therefore ought to contain the trace/copy of the indefinite possessor and would thus be expected to behave like any other indefinite DP. If the stranded *possessum* DP is a subject we would expect that:

- (i) the *possessum* DP should not be able to occupy the canonical subject position, which is strictly reserved for definites;
- (ii) the *possessum* DP requires *er*-insertion;
- (iii) the *possessum* DP can be separated from the complementiser position by an intervening maximal projection.

These three predictions are not borne out. As shown by (41a), the stranded *possessum* subject DP which, under an extraction account, should contain the trace of *wien* is incompatible with *er*-insertion. As shown by (41b), the possessive subject DP must be adjacent to the complementiser.

- (41) a. [Wien] zei-je gie [_{CP} da (*der) [_{DP} t_i zen broere] zen us verkocht eet]?

who said you that (*there) his brother his house sold has

'Whose brother did you say has sold his house?'

- b. *[Wien] zei-je gie [_{CP} da verleden joare [_{DP} t_i zen broere] zen us verkocht eet]?

who said you that last year his brother his house sold has

Replacing *wien* by a D-linked interrogative will not affect the judgements:

- (42) a. [Weknen zeune_i] zei-je gie [_{CP} da (*der) [_{DP} t_i zen wuf] nen oto gekocht eet]?

which son said you that (*there) his wife a car bought has

'Which son's wife did you say has bought a new car?'

- b. *[Weknen zeune_i] zei-je gie [_{CP} da tun [_{DP} t_i zen wuf] nen oto gekocht eet]?

which son said you that then his wife a new car bought has

We are led to the conclusion that the *possessum* DP construed with a remote interrogative possessor does not behave as if it contained a trace/copy of interrogative. Rather, the DP behaves as if it were syntactically definite, i.e. as if its specifier –if it has one– were definite. This observation casts further doubts on a left-branch extraction/movement analysis in which a remote possessor is construed with a trace/copy.

3. AN ALTERNATIVE ANALYSIS: RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

3.1. Summary of the problems

We are trying to analyse the relation between the remote possessor and the stranded *possessum* in (1), repeated here for the reader's convenience as (43).

- (43) a. Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [eur us] verkocht een.
 that is that nurse that-they yesterday [her house] sold have
 'That's the nurse whose house they sold yesterday.'
- b. Wekken verpleegster zei-je gie dan-ze gisteren [eur us] verkocht een?
 which nurse said you that-they yesterday [her house] sold have
 'Who was the nurse whose house you said they sold yesterday?'

An analysis in which the relation between the remote *wh*-possessor - relative in (43a) and interrogative in (43b) – is established by possessor extraction from the left periphery of the DP to the left periphery of the clause might have seemed an attractive path to pursue. Such an approach would make WF interestingly similar to other languages with possessor extraction and would reveal an unexpected contrast with the Germanic languages. However, the overview of related constructions in WF and in Germanic languages has revealed that, apart from the obvious problems independently associated with left-branch extractions (Corver 1990, Gavruseva 2000), a movement analysis of the remote possessor construction raises a range of problems. In essence, the left-branch extraction required to derive the WF remote possessor construction would have to be associated with a set of properties radically distinct from other extraction patterns in the language in general – i.e. outside the possessive domain - and from the similar doubling constructions in Dutch and German and in Scandinavian. I summarise these major asymmetries here.

- (i) WF would be different from its German and Dutch counterparts in being the only West Germanic language to freely allow possessor extraction (i.e. a left-branch extraction) in the doubling construction.

- (ii) The remote possessor in the WF doubling construction fails to display any of the constraints on possessor extraction found with Norwegian doubling.
- (iii) The WF remote possessor construction displays no degradation – i.e. neither a strong ECP effect nor a weaker subjacency effect - when an additional DP boundary is crossed.
- (iv) While WF exhibits *wh*-island effects in relative and interrogative A'-movement, possessor extraction would have to be unconstrained.
- (v) While WF relative and interrogative A'-movement is constrained by the CNPC, possessor extraction would have to be possible out of a complex NP..
- (vi) The subject/object asymmetries normally found with WF *wh*-extraction from *wh*-islands or in cases of CNPC violations would have to be absent in the case of possessor extraction.
- (vii) Left-branch extraction of the possessor from a PP would not be restricted to R-pronouns.
- (viii) Left-branch extraction of the possessor would have to extend freely to DPs contained in extraposed PPs, which normally do not allow extraction.
- (ix) While WF displays constraints on extractions from the canonical subject position, left-branch possessor extraction from inside that position would have to be completely unconstrained.
- (x) In WF, the trace/copy of a subject interrogative *wh*-constituent has the features of an indefinite DP in that it always triggers *er*-insertion. Given the distributional properties of the containing DP, the alleged trace/copy of the remote interrogative *wh*-possessor, on the other hand, would have to be interpreted as definite.

3.2. The resumptive pronoun strategy

The WF data in (44/46) hold the key to an analysis of the remote possessor construction in To overcome *wh*-island and CNPC violations as those in (13) - (15), WF uses resumptive pronouns.

- (44) a. Dat is dienen schryver dank nie weten [of dan de studenten em kennen].
that is that writer that I not know whether that the students him know
- b. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie verstoan [woarom dan men ukders em nie vroagen].
that is that man whom I not understand why that my parents him not invite
- (45) a. Dat is dienen schryver dan-k nie weten [of datje men studenten kent].
that is that author that-I not know whether that-he my students knows
- b. Dat is dienen vent dan-k nie verstoan [woarom datje men oukders nie vroagt].
that is that man that-I not understand why that-he my parents not invites
- (46) a. Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [dan-k em in men klasse oan]
that is the boy that-I remember the time that I had him my class
- b. Da's dienen jungen dan-k men nog [den tyd erinneren [datje in men klasse zat]
that is the boy that-I rember the time that he my class sat

Resumptive pronouns are also, perhaps more marginally, possible as an alternative to licit extraction:

- (47) a. ?Dat is nen schryver dan-k zoun peinzen [dan al de studenten em kennen].
that is a writer that I would think that all the students him knew

- b. ?Dat is nen student dan-k zoun peinzen [dat-je goat willen Toalkunde doen].
that is a student that I would think that he will want linguistics do

As is the case with resumptive pronouns in general, the strategy fails for the highest subject:

- (47) c *Dat is dienen schryver [datje men studenten kent].
that is that author that that-he my students knows

When the resumptive pronoun strategy alternates with extraction there is, as expected, an interpretive difference. Consider (48):

- (48) a. Dat is den dokter dat Valère gezeid eet da tje zou willen
That is the doctor that Valère said has that he would want
'That's the doctor that Valère says he would like to have.'
b. Dat is den dokter dat Valère gezeid eet da tje em zou willen
That is the doctor that Valère said has that he him would want

(48a) can have an intentional interpretation: it can be used in a situation where Valère has some general requirements about a doctor; alternatively, (48b) can be used in a context in which there is one specific doctor that Valère wants. Only the latter reading survives in (48b) with the resumptive pronoun.

Exploring the above, I would like to propose that the WF remote possessor be related to the *possessum* DP by virtue of construal with a resumptive pronoun. I assume that the possessor doubling construction is simply an extension of the non-doubling construction with

a possessive pronoun, to which a possessor is added. Thus (49a) is the basis for the doubling pattern in (49b):

- (49) a. Euren foto
her picture
- b. Marie euren foto
Marie her picture

There are a number of distinct ways of implementing the resumptive pronoun analysis for the remote possessor pattern. One option is to assume that the doubling possessive pronoun itself functions as the resumptive pronoun. Alternatively, given the clitic nature of the possessor *zenen*, which contrasts with a stronger form *zynen*, it could be proposed that the possessive pronoun is a clitic, i.e occupies a head position, and that it identifies a non-overt pronominal, *pro*, in a specifier-position (50a). The non-overt pronominal is then the resumptive pronoun. Below I will summarise the analysis in Haegeman (2001), which takes the latter option.

Following various discussion in the literature (Zribi Hertz 1998, Picallo 1994), I assume that the possessive clitic is base generated as the head of the inflectional layer of the DP. To account for the incompatibility of the possessive pronoun and D, I assume that the possessive pronoun cliticises to D. (See Corver 1990 for the same idea, and Haegeman 2001 for additional discussion). In the case of possessor doubling, the possessive pronoun moves from I to D, and the DP possessor moves through the nominal [Spec,IP] to [Spec,DP] (50b).¹⁰

- (50)
- | | |
|------|-----------|
| DP | |
| Spec | D' |
| D | IP |
| | Spec I' |
| | I NP |
| | [p,g,n] |

- a. euren_i pro t_i foto ...
- b. Marie_meuren_i t_m t_i foto ...

In the remote possessor construction, an operator in a left-peripheral binds the resumptive null pronoun licensed by the clitic possessor *zenen*.¹¹

- (51) a. [CP *wh_i* ... [DP [D POSS_j] "[IP *pro_i* [I t_j]. ...]]] ...]

Remote possessor constructions are instantiations of construal of a *wh*-operator with a resumptive pronoun (48b). The resumptive possessive pronoun is independently available in (51b):

- (51) b. Wien_i ee-j gie men neu a were gevraagd of da [*pro_i* zen moeder] nog leeft?
 who have-you you me now already asked whether that his mother still lives

Like all pronouns, the DP-internal resumptive pronoun construed with the remote possessor will be interpreted as definite (52a).¹² Subject pronouns bound by a quantificational element continue to occupy the canonical subject position (52b,c):

- (52) a. Kweten nie of da (*der) zie getrowd is.
 I know not if that (*there) she married is.
 ‘I don’t know if she’s married.’
- b. Iedere studente peinst da (*er) zie de beste kanse eet.
 Every student thinks that (*there) she the best chance has.
 ‘Every student thinks that she has the best chances.’
- c. Wekken studente peinst niet da (*er) zie nog tyd eet?
 which student thinks-there not that (*there) she still time has
 ‘Which student doesn’t think that she still has time?’

A possessive DP containing a (definite) resumptive possessive pronoun as its specifier will have the properties of a definite DP. Hence, when such a DP is a subject, it will, like all definite subject DPs, occupy the canonical subject position. Consequently, that *er*-insertion will not be possible and the subject DP has to be adjacent to the complementiser.¹³

The remote possessor construction, while available for both interrogatives and relatives (cf (1)) is more natural with the latter than with the former. This is not unexpected, it has been documented in the literature that the resumptive pronoun strategy is favoured in the context of D-linking (Doron 1982, Demirdache 1997, Sharvit 1999: 591). Thus among interrogatives (53a) is more natural than (53b):

- (53) a. ?Wien zei-j gie da-j morgen zen exoamen goa verbeteren?
 who said you that you tomorrow his exams correct
 ‘Whose exam did you say you are correcting tomorrow?’
- b. Wekken studenten zei-j gie da-j morgen under examens verbeteren?

which students said-you you that you tomorrow their exams correct?

‘Which students’ exams did you say that you are correcting tomorrow?’

The remote possessor construction, in which the possessor occurs initially alternates with a construction in which the entire possessive DP is fronted. There are interpretive differences, though, which are illustrated in (54) and in (55). Again the remote possessor construction, with its resumptive pronoun, gives rise to D-linked readings of the interrogative possessor. In (54a) the possessive DP *weknen student zen werk* is fronted. The possessive *zen* may be taken to be inside the scope of the quantified subject *iedere leroare*, in which case *weknen student* means something like ‘what kind of student’. The fronted DP may also be taken to be specific, i.e. ask for a specific student whose work every teacher wants to correct. (54b) has a remote possessor, *weknen student*, and the pronoun *zen werk*, inside the *possessum*, is sentence-internal. In this example *zen* has a referential reading, and *weknen student* asks the question about a specific student.

- (54) a *Weknen student zen werk wilt iedere leroare verbeteren?*
 which student his work wants every professor correct
 ‘Which student’s work does every teacher want to correct?’
- b *Weknen student wilt iedere leroare zen werk verbeteren?*
 which student wants every professor his work correct
 ‘Which student’s work does every teacher want to correct?’

In (55a) the DP *hoevee studenten onder werk* is fronted as a whole. Again it may receive a reading within the scope of the quantified subject *iedere leroare*, where the question is about the number of student papers that each teacher is willing to correct, or it may have a specific

reading asking about the total those specific papers that all the teachers would want to correct. In the first reading there are as many sets of papers as there are teachers, in the second reading there is one specific set of papers. In (55b) with the remote possessor construction, only the latter reading is possible: the question is about the number of the specific set of those papers that each teacher would be willing to correct.

- (55) a Hoevee studenten under werk wilt iedere leroare verbeteren?
 how many students their work wants every teacher correct
 ‘How many students’ papers does each teacher want to correct?’
- b Hoevee studenten wilt iedere leroare under werk verbeteren?
 how many students wants every teacher their work correct
 ‘How many students’ papers does each teacher want to correct?’

3.3. When resumptive pronouns are not available

The reader might object that some of the data discussed would be compatible with a view that in fact possessor extraction is available, namely those cases in which no constraints on extraction would be violated. Observe, though, that if movement were ever available for the remote possessor analysis the ungrammaticality of the data mentioned in (9) and repeated here as (55), would be unexpected:

- (55) a. *Wien_i is da [z'n tante]?
 who is that his aunt
- b. *Wien_i ist-je [z'n broere]?
 who is he his brother
- c. *Wien_i goan me [t_i zen zuster] neu ipvrijen?

Wie shall we his sister now ‘make love to’

- d. *?Wien_i ken-je gie [t_i zen broere]?

who know you his brother

Recall that (55a) and (55b) are the WF ungrammatical analogues of what have been argued to be grammatical cases of Norwegian extraction. If a possessor could be extracted by movement then nothing should stop short extraction of the possessor from a predicate or from a complement. In WF short extraction of predicates and of complements is grammatical:

- (56) a. Wien_i is da [t_i]?

who is that

‘Who’s that?’

- b. Wad_i ist-je [t_i]?

what is he

‘What does he do?’

- c. Wien_i goan me [t_i] neu ipvrijen?

who shall we now ‘make love to’

‘Who shall we chat up now?’

- d. Wien_i ken-je gie [t_i]?

who know you

‘Whom do you know?’

However, the resumptive pronoun strategy in WF is in fact not possible with predicate fronting (57a) and neither is it possible to establish very in local relations (57b,c,d).

- (57) a. *Wien_i is da [em_i]?
 who is that him
- b. *Weknen schryver ken-je gie [em_i]?
 which writer know you
- c. ??Dat is nen schryver [dan al de studenten em kennen].
 that is a writer that all the students him knew

But (57b) and (57c) can be much improved if the distance between the interrogative and the resumptive pronoun is increased (cf. also the discussion of (10) and (47)):

- (58) a. ?Weknen schryver zei-je gie dan de studenten [em_i] allemole kennen?
 which writer said you that the students him all know
- b. ?Dat is nen schryver dan-k zoun peinzen [dan al de studenten em kennen].
 that is a writer that I would think that all the students him knew

Many questions remain as to the application of the resumptive pronoun strategy in WF, I hope to return to those issues in future work.

4. POSSESSOR EXTRACTION AND PARAMETRIC VARIATION

4.1. West Flemish vs Standard Dutch

Obviously we need to address the question what distinguishes standard Dutch, which lacks the remote possessor construction in (1), from WF which has it productively. At this point I do not have an answer to this issue. The answer to this question must be related to the

observation that the resumptive pronoun strategy as such is not available in standard Dutch. The absence of resumptive pronouns in Dutch and its availability in WF in turn calls for an explanation. Possibly this contrast between the languages may be related to subject pronoun doubling in WF. As I have discussed in earlier work (Haegeman 1992), WF full subject pronouns are often doubled by a clitic. This strategy is not available in standard Dutch. I hope to return to this issue in later work.

- (59) a. Ze goa zie no Gent
 she goes she to Ghent
 ‘She goes to Ghent.’
- b. Ze goan zunder no Gent
 they go they to Ghent
 ‘They go to Ghent.’

4.2. Possessor extraction

A second remaining question concerns the difference between WF, in which the remote possessor construction is the reflex of a resumptive pronoun strategy, and genuine possessor extraction languages such as Hungarian and Greek. In Haegeman (2001) I have provided an answer to this question and I will summarise it here. My analysis is based on Gavrusseva (2000) but also departs from her analysis in some respects. Gavrusseva (2000) correlates the availability of possessor extraction to the availability of DP-internal movement of the possessor to [Spec,DP]. I quote at length here:

Extraction of *wh*-possessors is possible in a language if possessors extract through SpecDP, an escape hatch position, which is taken to be similar in its properties to the

clausal CP. I argue that one of the properties shared by the heads of the DP and CP is the ability to be endowed with an uninterpretable Q-feature. The 'strength' of the Q-feature determines the level at which possessor movement to SpecDP takes place. ... in languages such as Hungarian, Tzotzil, and Chamorro, possessors move to SpecDP in overt syntax due to a 'strong' value of the Q feature. This property is argued to be responsible for licensing possessor extraction in languages with overt *wh*-movement. An examination of the data in Germanic shows that prenominal possessors move overtly only to an A-position where they check structural case and phi-features of the nominal Agr/D. The necessary step of possessor movement through SpecDP is delayed until LF due to the 'weak' nature of the Q –feature on D in Germanic. ... In addition, it is shown that the 'strength' values of Q interact in a subtle way with the case and phi-feature content of the lower projection, which I call Agr/DP in this paper. (Gavruseva 2000: 746-7)

In her discussion, Gavruseva seems to imply that the prenominal possessor in Germanic doubling patterns does not occupy [Spec,DP], which is the escape hatch for extraction of the pre-determiner possessor in Hungarian. She says

The distributional evidence supports my proposal: the Germanic languages do not manifest a complementary distribution between lexical and *wh*-possessors that would suggest obligatory movement to SpecDP. The lack of such distributional contrasts indicates that overt possessor movement in the DP is not available in Germanic. My proposal also entails that Germanic possessives have an articulated DP structure (Gavruseva 2000: 765)

I will assume that by [Spec,DP] Gavrusseva refers to the specifier of the position in which the determiner is merged. In Haegeman (2001) I discuss the grounds for assuming that the pre-nominal possessor in the WF doubling construction occupies [Spec,DP]. Two arguments seem to be relevant: (i) the clitic possessive pronoun is in complementary distribution with the determiner, suggesting that they share a position. This argument was also advocated by Corver (1990). (ii) When the *possessum* is ellipsed, the possessive pronoun cannot be spelt out as a clitic but must have an expanded form (60a). Presumably the fuller form of the pronoun is required to licence the empty *possessum* (cf. Kester 1996, cf. Zribi Hertz 1998 for similar patterns in French). In these ellipsis patterns, the determiner is spelt out separately and in the doubling construction the possessor precedes the spelt out determiner:

- (60) a da woaren de zyne Ø
 that were the his
 ‘Those wore his’
 b da woaren Valère de zyne
 that were Valère the his
 ‘Those were Valère’s’

Like Gavrusseva, though, I assume that in the Germanic languages which disallow possessor extraction, [Spec,DP], when occupied by a possessor, is construed as an A-position. I propose that in these cases [Spec,DP] is the analogue of the subject-initial position in a V2 pattern. The analogy is built on work by Cardinaletti on the first position in V2, which I briefly summarise here.

Cardinaletti (1992) shows that the first constituent in the Germanic V2 pattern displays a subject/object asymmetry. Sentence-initial objects in V2 clauses are never stress-neutral,

they always receive at least secondary stress (Cardinaletti 1992: 2). Typically, fronted objects are *wh*-phrases (61a), or they receive a topic or a focal reading (61b). Given the stress requirement, sentence-initial object clitics are not possible (61c). Cardinaletti concludes that the sentence-initial objects in the V2 pattern occupy an A'-position.

- (61) a Ge Was magst du nicht?
 Wf Wat eet-je gie nie geren?
 what like you not
- b Ge BOHNEN mag ich nicht .
 Wf BUONEN eten-k nie geren.
 beans like I not
- c Ge *Es hat er gegessen.
 Wf *T eet-je geeten.
 it has he eaten

Initial subjects, on the other hand, may be *wh*-constituents (62a) or topics (62b), but they do not necessarily come with the particular stress-pattern associated with A'-positions and may also be realised by weak/clitic pronouns (62c) by an expletive (62d), or by *weather it* (62e), suggesting that sentence-initial subjects may be construed as occupying an A-position..

- (62) a Ge Wer mag Bohnen?
 Wf. Wien eet -ter geren buonen?
 who likes beans
- b Ge ICH mag Bohnen.
 Wf IK eten geren buonen.

- I like beans
- c Ge Ich mag Bohnen.
Wf k eten geren buonen.
I like beans
- d Ge Es kommt ein Zug an.
Wf T komt nen treng an.
there comes a train to
- e Ge Es hat den ganzen tag geregnet.
Wf T'ee hiel den dag geregend.
it has the whole day rained

Long extraction of an object launched from the initial position in an embedded V2 clause is grammatical in German (63a). Long extraction of a subject from an embedded V2 pattern is only possible with stressed focal or topic subjects, i.e. when the extraction site is construed as an A'-position, but it is disallowed with unstressed subjects, i.e. when the extraction site must be construed as an A-position. Thus in (63b) the focused subject can be extracted, but the unstressed weak pronouns in (63c,d) resist extraction, as do *weather es* in (63e) or expletive *es* in (63f).:

- (63) a. DEN HANS glaube ich [t hat er getroffen].
Hans, think I t has he met
- b. DER HANS /ER glaube ich [t hat gerade angeruffen].
HANS/HE think I has just called
- c. *Er glaube ich [t hat gerade angerufen].
he believe I has already called

- d *Es glaube ich [t hat viel gekostet].
 it think I has much cost
- e *Es glaube ich [t hat viel geregnet].
 it think I has much rained
- f *Es glaube ich [t komt ein Zug an].
 it think comes a train to (Cardinaletti 1992: 3)

Cardinaletti (1992) concludes that long extraction from a V2 complement must be launched from an A'-position.

In Haegeman (2001) I exploit the analogy between the DP-periphery and the clausal periphery. I propose that the pre-nominal DP-possessor in the Germanic doubling construction occupies an A-position and, like its clausal counterpart in (63c-f), resists extraction.¹⁴

On the other hand, with Gavrusseva (2000) I propose that the pre-nominal possessor in possessor extraction languages such as Hungarian and modern Greek occupies an A' position. I propose a reformulation of Gavrusseva's analysis according to which possessor extraction is dependent on movement to what she calls [Spec,DP]. The crucial specifier which serves as the escape hatch for possessor raising is not [Spec,DP], i.e. the specifier position in whose head position the determiner is merged. Rather, the specifier concerned is part of a higher projection.

(64) a. Germanic

 [FP [DP possessor_i [D' pronoun_i ... [NP]]]

 b Possessor extraction languages

 [FP Possessor [DP [D' az [NP]]]

In fact, on a speculative note and departing further away from Gavruseva's original proposal, observe that it is not even obvious that in possessor extraction patterns, the extracted possessor has moved through [Spec,DP] at all. Panagiotidis's discussion (2000:719) reveals that in certain cases the Greek [Spec,DP] cannot be occupied by the pre-nominal possessor: in the presence of a demonstrative, the pre-nominal possessor obligatorily precedes the demonstrative, which itself immediately precedes the determiner (65a). The possessor cannot, in such cases, occupy the position adjacent to D (65b):

- (65) a. ?[tis polis] afti i katiki
 the –gen city these the inhabitants
 b *afti [tis polis] i katiki

If, as suggested by Panagiotidis (2000: 732, (27)), the demonstrative *afti* in (59a) occupies the specifier position of the functional head hosting the determiner *i*, then these data constitute evidence that the Greek pre-nominal possessor occupies a position higher than [Spec,DP]. Since [Spec,DP] is occupied by the demonstrative, we conclude that it is perhaps not a crucial step for possessor movement.

The same conclusion is drawn for Hungarian by Knittel (1998), who suggests that the pre-nominal dative possessor occupies a kind of disjointed position outside the core projections of DP. The pre-nominal has a predication relation with a *possessum* DP and is co-indexed with a null pronoun inside the *possessum* DP. The null pronoun is itself in the specifier of a nominal TopP. To cite Knittel:

Nous concluons donc en analysant la marque *nak* comme la tête d'une projection AgrP "faible" ...instanciant une relation de prédication entre possesseur et possédé (1998: 124)

...l'élément datif n'est pas extrait, mais généré à l'extérieur du syntagme, qui comporte un pronom non-explicite avec lequel il est coindicé. (1998: 125)¹⁵

5. SUMMARY

In this paper I have discussed the remote possessor construction displayed in WF (1) repeated here as (65).

- (65) a. Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren eur us verkocht een.
 that is that nurse that-they yesterday her house sold have
 'That's the nurse whose house they sold yesterday'
- b. Wekken verpleegster zei-je gie dan-ze gisteren eur us verkocht een?
 which nurse said you that-they yesterday her house sold have
 'Who was the nurse whose house you said they sold yesterday?'

One might be tempted to derive (65) by means of a movement analysis in which a left-branch possessor is extracted from a doubling possessor construction. This paper shows that such an analysis is not very plausible as the movement invoked to derive (65) would be subject to none of the constraints associated with movement in WF. I propose therefore that the remote possessor is related to the possessive DP by being construed with a resumptive pronoun. The pre-nominal possessor in WF occupies [Spec,DP], which is construed as an A-position. In the

same way that the subject of an embedded V2 pattern in German resists extraction because it occupies an A-position, the prenominal possessor cannot be extracted. Tentatively, I propose that in languages which display possessor extraction the prenominal possessor occupies an A'-position which is plausibly higher than [Spec,DP].

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¹ This pattern is not available for the possessive *sen*-construction (i), in which *sen* is a bound morpheme and which thus violates the stray affix filter.

- (i) a. *Dat is die verpleegster dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} sen us] verkocht een.
 That is that nurse that-they yesterday *sen* house sold have
- b. *Wekken verpleegster zei-je gie dan-ze gisteren [_{DP} sen us] verkocht een?
 Which nurse said-you you that they yesterday *sen* house sold have

² The Dutch equivalents of these examples are also ungrammatical (Corver 1990: 183). For an explanation see also section 3.

³ In the representation I include a trace in order to represent the movement analysis. As we will see I reject this analysis later on.

⁴ See Haegeman (1998) for some discussion on extraposition in WF.

⁵ Except for object clitics, which need not concern us here.

⁶ In my dialect interrogative subjects trigger *er*-insertion, suggesting that such subjects do not occupy the canonical subject position (cf. section 2.4.2.). This is illustrate in (ia). For other speakers *er*-insertion is not required but then they again have *da/die* alternation. This is shown in (ib):

- (i) a. Wien peinz-je gie dat-*(er) da goa doen?

Who think you that-there that goes do

- b. Wien peinz-je gie die da goa doen?

Who think you *die* that goes do

Thanks to Karen Lahousse and the doctoral students at Louvain University for their help on these examples.

⁷ When the indefinite has a generic reading *er*-insertion is not required:

- (i) k peinzen da (*der) nen student dienen boek nie zou kuipen

I think that (*there) a student that book not would buy

With respect to *er*-insertion, some WF speaker seem to make a distinction between weak and strong readings, with *er*-insertion only obligatory for the former (pc doctoral students, University of Louvain).

⁸ For the discussion I treat quantified DPs as indefinites. There are obviously differences but these do not bear on the present argument.

⁹ For differences between N-words and indefinites see Haegeman (1997).

¹⁰ At this point, I do not have a full account for the obligatory movement of the lexical possessor to [Spec,DP]. In section 4.2. I will assume that the DP-periphery is analogous to the clause periphery. In Haegeman (2001) I apply Cardinaletti's (1997) analysis for the Italian clause to the WF DP. I propose that in the same way that Cardinaletti (1997) postulates two A-positions for the clausal subject, each with a specialised function: the lower A-position is occupied by the null pronoun and the higher one is occupied by the lexical subject. For the DP I also assume that there are two peripheral possessor positions: one occupied by the null pronoun in DPs with only a pronominal possessor, and one which is occupied by the lexical possessor in the doubling construction. I assume that whatever forces the movement of the lexical subject to the higher A-position in the Italian clause can also be invoked for the movement of the

lexical possessor in the DP. Thanks to Elena Gavruseva for pointing out this problem. I refer to Haegeman (2001) for a full account.

¹¹ For arguments that *pro* occupies the nominal [Spec,IP] rather than [Spec;DP] I refer to Haegeman (2001).

¹² In WF the occurrence of the full pronoun *zie* in post-complementiser position without a doubling clitic is marked. The more natural forms would be:

- (i) a. Kweten nie of da-se zie getrowd is.
I know not if that -she she married is
- b. Kweten nie of da-se getrowd is.
I know not if that -she married is

Again, in such cases, *er*-insertion is not possible. Observe that as such the presence of the clitic *se* need not rule out the presence of *er*, as long as this is not an instantiation of the existential *er*. Partitive (*d*)*er* is for instance possible.

- (ii) a. Kweten nie of da-se zie der vele kent
I know not if that -she she there many knows
'I don't know if she knows many.'
- b. Kweten nie of da-se der zie vele kent
I know not if that -she there she many knows

¹³ For analogous use of resumptive possessives in Hebrew see Borer (1983: 74, Shlonsky 1992: 445), for recent discussion of resumptive strategies and possessors in Welsh see among others Willis (2001).

¹⁴ Haegeman (2001) elaborates a 'split DP' analysis in which the left periphery of the DP is split into separate projections along the lines of Rizzi's 1997 split CP. The head in which the determiner merges is taken to be analogous to Rizzi's clausal Fin.

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Translation:

We conclude that by analysing the marker *nak* as the head of a weak AgrP... which establishes a predicate relation between the possessor and the *possessum*...

the dative element is not extracted but base-generated externally to the phrase, which itself contains a non-overt co-indexed pronoun.