

# EXPRESSING POSSESSION WITH HAVE AND BE: AFFECTED POSSESSION STRUCTURES IN FLEMISH<sup>12</sup>

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## Abstract

This paper concerns a cartographic account of Flemish Event Possessives (FEVPs) which alternate between a variety with HAVE and one with BE. The FEVP matrix subjects have the interpretation of both being the Possessor (in its broadest meaning) of the event expressed in the embedded clause and being affected by it, the latter shown by among others the ‘ban on dead arguments’ diagnostic (Hole 2006, 387-388).

Cross-linguistically the alternation between possessive HAVE and BE appears with a nominative subject in the HAVE-variety, but a dative subject in the BE-variety. In line with the analysis of HAVE as the spell-out of BE with a preposition or a case (cf. Benveniste 1966; Freeze 1992; Kayne 1993; Hoekstra 1994, 1995; Belvin and den Dikken 1997; den Dikken 1997), Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) argue that HAVE and BE respectively assign accusative and dative case to their complements in Heerlen Dutch possessives.

As expected, the matrix subject in the Flemish HAVE-FEVP is nominative. The availability of a pronominal direct object *het* (‘it’) in HAVE-FEVPs, but not in BE-FEVPs, follows from the above mentioned traditional analyses of possessive HAVE and BE as well. What is unexpected, however, is that the matrix subject of the Flemish BE-FEVP does not surface with dative case but instead with nominative.

I argue that the nominative matrix subject of the FEVP in both its varieties occupies a similar (applicative) relation to the clausal domain as that observed for the Possessor of the subject-related Flemish External Possessor pattern (FEP) (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014). For the subject-related FEP-pattern, Haegeman and Danckaert (2013) argue that the Possessor occupies a position higher in the clause than its unmarked DP-internal position (cf. Landau 1999; Payne and Barshi 1999; Hole 2004, 2006; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006; Deal 2010, 2013, *forthc.*).

Along those lines, I argue that in the FEVP an Affectee feature [+AFF] on an applicative light verb attracts the Possessor subject to its specifier

(for Affectee and applicative structures cf. Marantz 1993; Pyllkänen 2000, 2002, 2008; McFadden 2004; Hole 2004, 2006; Rivero 2009; Kim 2011, 2012; Rivero and Arregui 2010, 2012). It is in this high applicative position that it receives the (default) nominative case.

Specifically, the FEVP is analyzed, following Belvin and den Dikken's (1997) analysis of possessive HAVE and BE in Dutch, as a small clause headed by Agr. I take the event being encoded by the full clause CP to be in the specifier of Agr and the Possessor as the complement of Agr:

(a) BE-FEVP:

[<sub>VP</sub> we<sub>j</sub> [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>Γ</sub> I+Agr<sub>Γ</sub>] [<sub>AgrP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> dat...] [<sub>Agr'</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]]

(b) HAVE-FEVP:

[<sub>VP</sub> we<sub>j</sub> [<sub>V</sub> v [<sub>IP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>Γ</sub> I+Agr<sub>Γ</sub>+Pe [<sub>het<sub>k</sub></sub>] [<sub>AgrP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> dat...<sub>k</sub>] [<sub>Agr'</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]]]]

The verb BE, then, in Flemish alternates freely with HAVE in the FEVP and can be said to be a dummy verb used not only to encode possessive structures, but also affected possessive structures.

**Keywords:** Flemish cartographic syntax, affected possession, Flemish Event Possessives, Flemish External Possession, nominative-dative alternation.

## 1. Introduction: The Nominative-Dative Alternation in Possessive HAVE and BE

In this paper I discuss a type of alternation between possessive HAVE<sup>3</sup> and BE in varieties of Flemish. More specifically, I describe and provide an analysis for sentences such as those in (1), which I shall refer to as Flemish Event Possessives (henceforth FEVP)<sup>4</sup>. In (1) a matrix subject (*we* 'we') is interpretively linked to the event expressed in the embedded full clause (*dat onze valiezen plots openscheurden* 'that our suitcases suddenly ripped open'). The subject and the embedded full clause are syntactically linked in (1a) through the verb HAVE (*hebben ... gehad* 'have ... had') and in (1b) through the verb BE (*zijn ... geweest* 'are ... been').

- (1) a. We hebben het nog gehad dat onze valiezen plots  
*we.NOM have it PRT<sup>5</sup>had that our suitcases suddenly*  
*openscheurden.*  
*open-ripped*

- b. We            zijn nog geweest dat onze valiezen plots  
*we.NOM are PRT been that our suitcases suddenly*  
 openscheurden.  
*open-ripped*  
 ‘We’ve had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped open.’

The interpretation of these sentences is close to that of Experiencer patterns: the matrix subject has something happen to them and what happens to them is expressed in the embedded clause. In Flemish the possession of an event can be expressed in two different ways: either with BE or with HAVE (1a-b). Note that the meaning of the HAVE-FEVP (1a) seems to be the same of the meaning of the BE-FEVP (1b). It seems then that Flemish exhibits an alternation between HAVE and BE which can be understood as an extension of the possessive domain from the possession of entities (and states) to the possession of events. As cross-linguistically possessive HAVE and BE alternations appear together with a nominative-dative alternation in their subject (cf. Benveniste (1966) and others for Latin), the lack of case alternation in the FEVP’s matrix subjects is unexpected. Both in the HAVE-FEVP and in the BE-FEVP the subject is nominative. I will argue that the Possessor is not in the matrix subject position where it has received a Possessor theta-role, but is in a higher position associated with a light verbal head introducing an Affectee role into the structure. In Flemish this light verbal head is associated with (default) nominative case.

I will further compare the FEVP with patterns such as those in (2b) below, where a Possessor which can also occur DP-internally (2a), is found external to the possessive DP. These patterns are known as Flemish External Possession (FEP) (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014). (2b) has an external Possessor (*Pieter*) related to the Possessee DP (*zijn stoel* ‘his chair’). That the Possessor is external to the possessive DP can be seen by the adjunct with clausal scope, *dan net* ‘then just’, intervening between the Possessor and the Possessee. As the Possessee is a subject, this type of FEP is referred to as a subject-related FEP.<sup>6</sup>

- (2) a. Pieter zijn            stoel  
*Pieter his.M.SG. chair*  
 ‘Peter’s chair’

- b. Het is jammer dat [Pieter] dan net [zijn stoel] omver  
*it isunfortunate that Pieter then just his chair over*  
*gefallen was.*  
*fallen was*  
'It's unfortunate that Pieter's chair fell over at that precise  
moment.'

The goal of this paper is to discuss how HAVE and BE alternate in the FEVP. The description of the data will lead to the analysis of the FEVP as a pattern expressing what I call 'affected possession'. The matrix subject in the FEVP not only encodes a Possessor<sup>7</sup> but also an Affectee. Syntactically, I will follow Belvin and den Dikken (1997) in their analysis of the alternation between BE and HAVE being the result of the (lack of) incorporation of P into Agr. Furthermore, I will argue that the Affectee is introduced into the structure by a light verb *v* introduced into the structure as an applicative head. This *v*, as an applicative head, will be described as introducing an argument into the structure, in this case an Affectee<sup>8</sup> (I formalize this through the feature [+AFF] on the applicative *v*). This very high applicative head has been independently proposed to exist in Flemish for the subject-related FEP by Haegeman and Danckaert (2013) where it is also associated with nominative case. BE and HAVE will be proposed to be able to spell out this augmented 'affected possession' structure.

To come to the analysis for the FEVP, I first discuss a number of proposals about the structure of Latin and Heerlen Dutch HAVE and BE alternations (Belvin and den Dikken 1997; Broekhuis and Cornips 1994). In Latin, HAVE and BE spell out the possession of an entity, in Heerlen Dutch they spell out the possession of a state. The FEVP is then an extension of the domain of possession that HAVE and BE can spell out, namely into that of the possession of an event (which arguably can also be called an experience). Then I look at evidence for the fact that the Possessor in the FEVP is an Affectee and I discuss how Affectees can be introduced into the structure by applicative structures cf. Marantz 1993; Pylkkänen 2000, 2002, 2008; McFadden 2004; Hole 2004, 2006; Rivero 2009; Kim 2011, 2012; Rivero and Arregui 2010, 2012. I further turn to the subject-related FEP and discuss the similarities between the FEVP and the subject-related FEP. Both Flemish patterns have an Affectee and show sensitivities to the structures in which they can occur. I then explain the proposed analysis of the FEVP, coming to the conclusion that in Flemish, BE and HAVE can spell out the structure encoding affected possession, thus acting as dummy verbs.

For the *verbum substantivum* BE this paper shows how in Flemish it can function as a copula in the FEVP, alternating with HAVE to express the affected possession of an event. As HAVE and BE alternate quite freely in these structures, it is more appealing to resort to a functional analysis of BE (and HAVE). BE is taken to be the spell-out of certain functional structures encoding types of predication rather than a full lexical verb. Furthermore, the semantic domain of use of BE (originally thought to comprise of, among others, existential, presentational, locative and standard possessive structures) must then be extended to the encoding of (affected) event possession (and potentially also experiential structures).<sup>9</sup> I come back to these more general issues in the conclusion. I start by discussing Latin and Heerlen Dutch possessive HAVE-BE alternations.

## 2. Analyses of Possessive HAVE and BE

The nominative-dative alternation between possessive HAVE and BE has long been observed. Belvin and den Dikken (1997), in the line of Benveniste (1966) and others (e.g. Benveniste 1966; Freeze 1992; Kayne 1993; Hoekstra 1994, 1995; Belvin and den Dikken 1997; den Dikken 1997), observe that for Latin, among other languages, HAVE and BE alternate surfacing with different case patterns. HAVE appears with a nominative Possessor subject (*Marcus*) and an accusative Possessee complement (*librum* ‘book’) (3a). BE, on the other hand, appears with a dative Possessor (*Marco*) that has subject properties (Bauer 1996, 2000; Sigurðsson 2004; Barðdal et al. 2012)<sup>10</sup> and a nominative Possessee complement (*liber* ‘book’) (3b).

- (3) a. *Marcus librum habet.*  
*Marcus.NOM book.ACC has*  
 ‘Marcus has a book.’
- b. *Liber est Marco.*  
*book.NOM is Marcus.DAT*  
 Lit. ‘A book is to Marcus.’

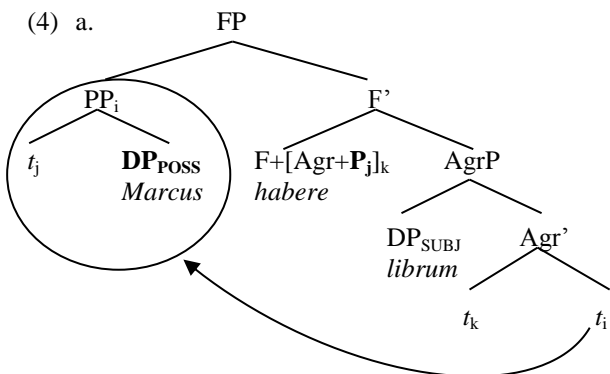
The analysis proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997) for the alternation between HAVE and BE in Latin relies on a small clause structure headed by the agreement head Agr. Agr connects the Possessee DP to the Possessor DP. The Possessee is merged<sup>11</sup> in the specifier of

AgrP, and the Possessor is dominated by a PP which is the complement of Agr. The preposition assigns dative case to its complement, the Possessor DP. Whether HAVE or BE is spelled out depends on whether P incorporates into Agr or not.

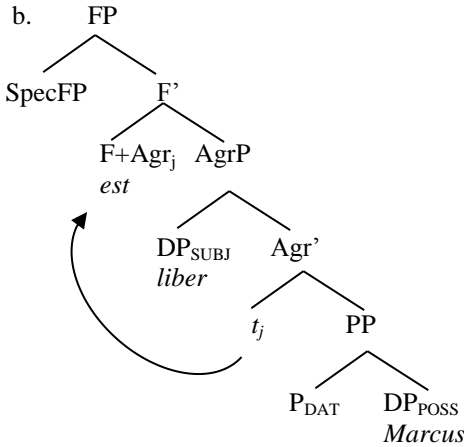
HAVE is spelled out when the preposition dominating the Possessor incorporates into Agr (3a-4a). Following the incorporation, the constituent formed by Agr and P moves to a higher functional head F. A preposition which standardly assigns dative case to its complement can no longer do so when it is incorporated into another head (cf. Řezáč 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2014). So, when P incorporates into Agr, it is no longer available to assign case to its complement. The Possessor DP thus has to receive case elsewhere in the structure. The functional head F has the property of nominative case assignment, and thus attracts the caseless Possessor DP to its specifier. The incorporation of Agr and P moved into F is capable of assigning accusative case to its complement, hence case-licensing the Possessee DP with accusative case.

HAVE

(4) a.



BE



(Based on Belvin and den Dikken 1997, 154 (6-7))

BE, on the other hand, is spelled out if the preposition in the Possessor PP remains adjacent to its complement. P does then not incorporate into Agr and the functional head F (3b-4b) and thus retains its case-assigning properties. No movement of the Possessor DP is necessary in this case. BE is claimed to be incapable of assigning accusative to its complement, leaving the Possessee caseless. The functional head F as a case-assigner, consequently, attracts the Possessee to its specifier. The Possessee moves, receiving nominative case in SpecFP. So, in possessive BE sentences, the Possessor receives dative case from P, and the Possessee receives nominative case in SpecFP.

While I will mostly follow Belvin and den Dikken (1997) in my analysis of the alternation between the Flemish possessive HAVE- and BE-patterns under discussion in this paper, I now turn to a second analysis of possessive HAVE and BE by Broekhuis and Cornips (1994, 180-183). They show how possessive HAVE and BE alternations take place in (Heerlen) Dutch, extending the interpretive domain of possessive HAVE and BE from possession of an object as in Latin, to the possession of a state (cf. example (5)).

Furthermore, Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) argue for a full clause (contrary to the small clause analysis as in Belvin and den Dikken (1997)) analysis of possession. This allows them to draw parallels between possessive HAVE- and BE-sentences and passivization of Dutch indirect



object structures. Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) then do not assume an agreement phrase but a full verbal predicate to connect the Possessor and Possessee. The Possessor in both the HAVE- and the BE-sentences is analyzed as a dative IO introduced by a verbal head; the Possessee is the complement of this verbal head.<sup>12</sup> I formalize the verbal head here as  $V_1$  (6).  $V_1$  introduces the IO in its specifier.  $V_2$  can be seen as a Voice head through whose specifier the subject of the clause moves. Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) further analyze BE as incapable of accusative case assignment, instead assigning structural dative case. HAVE is analyzed as incapable of dative case assignment (being a so-called ‘undative’ verb), retaining accusative case assignment. The structure of the Possessee state (*de fietsband lek* ‘the bike tire punctured’) is not discussed by Broekhuis and Cornips (1994), but can straightforwardly be analyzed as a small clause.

Under this analysis, the Possessor of the possessive BE-sentence is argued by Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) to be a structural dative indirect object (*hem* ‘him’), assigned by the verb BE in the specifier position of the verbal node introducing the IO (5a). The Possessee in the BE-sentence is a nominative subject<sup>13</sup> (*de fietsband lek* ‘the bike tire punctured’). As BE does not assign accusative to its complement, the Possessee must move to the subject position of the clause to receive nominative case (6a).

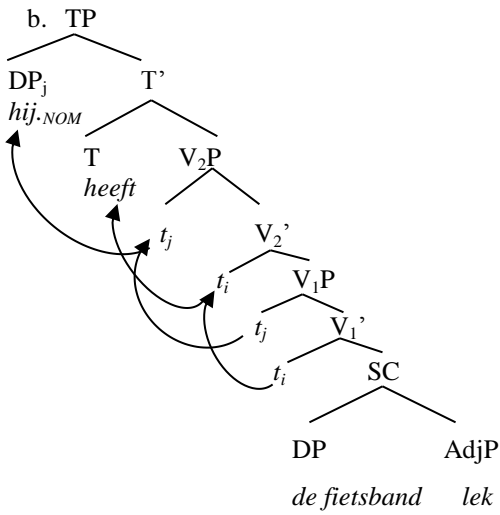
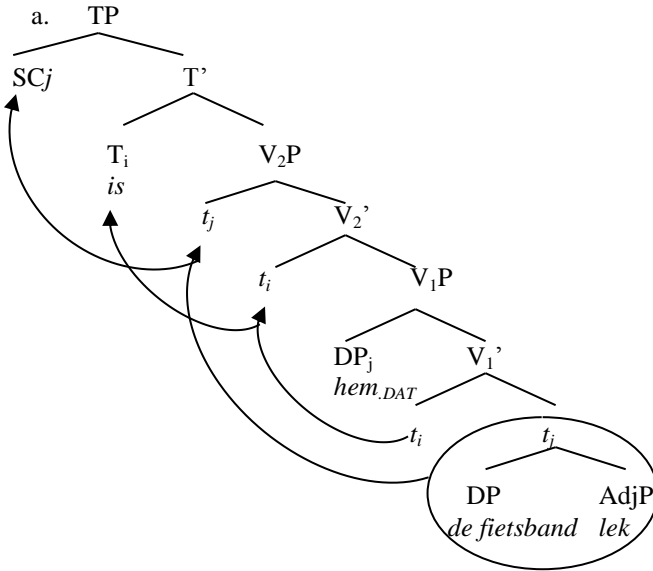
In the HAVE-sentence, the Possessor is a nominative subject (*hij* ‘he’), the Possessee (*de fietsband lek* ‘the bike tire punctured’) is an accusative object (5b). Whilst in the transformational analysis proposed by Broekhuis and Cornips (1994), HAVE has the same underlying structure as BE, HAVE cannot assign dative to the IO Possessor so the Possessor must raise to SpecTP receive nominative case (6b). HAVE is, however, capable of accusative case assignment to the Possessee small clause, which then does not raise.

(5) a. Hem is de fietsband lek.  
*him.DAT is the bike tire punctured*  
 Lit. ‘The bike tire is punctured to him.’

b. Hij heeft de fietsband lek.  
*he.NOM has the bike tire punctured*  
 Lit. ‘He has the bike tire punctured.’  
 ‘He has a punctured bike tire.’

(Broekhuis and Cornips 1994, 180, (22c) and (21c); my paraphrase)

(6) BE



(Based on Broekhuis and Cornips 1994, 180)

Broekhuis and Cornips' (1994) analysis thus relies on intrinsic case assignment properties of the full lexical verbs HAVE and BE, rather than on an incorporation account where HAVE and BE are merely the spell-out of different functional structures as is proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997). An account in which HAVE and BE can be taken to be the spell-out of functional structure, rather than full lexical verbs with a number of intrinsic qualities, will be pursued in this paper.

### 3. Flemish Event Possession (FEVP)

In this section I discuss whether the FEVP can be described as displaying a possessive HAVE-BE alternation such as those seen in Latin and Heerlen Dutch. I first describe the HAVE- and BE-FEVP, and then go over a number of arguments that imply that the FEVP does have a HAVE-BE alternation. I first show how the HAVE-BE alternation can explain the grammaticality of a DO pronoun coreferential with the embedded clause in the HAVE-FEVP, and its ungrammaticality in the BE-FEVP. I follow this by arguing that a fragile class of morphological dative case in pronouns still exists in Flemish but is unexpectedly ungrammatical in the subject position of the BE-FEVP. I end this section by showing how the matrix subject in the FEVP is an Affectee and giving a partial overview of how Affectees can be given a formal syntactic analyzed syntactically.is.

#### 3.1. FEVP: Data

The possessive dative structures found in Latin and in Heerlen Dutch are ungrammatical in Flemish (van Bree 1981). One could argue that even though cross-linguistically possessive HAVE and BE are associated with a nominative-dative alternation, this observation does not extend to Flemish. However, a number of varieties of Flemish<sup>14</sup> do have a pattern in which possessive HAVE and BE alternate freely (7a-b). These patterns connect a DP (*we* 'we'), usually animate, to an embedded CP (*dat ...* 'that...') which expresses an event that in some manner affects the DP. The meanings of the HAVE- and BE-variety are largely the same, with only minor differences in nuance being reported. Extending the domain of HAVE-BE alternations from entities (Latin) and states (Heerlen Dutch) to events, the patterns in Flemish, which have an interpretation close to that of experientials, can be described as event possession. To capture the relationship between these patterns and other possessive HAVE- and BE-

patterns, I refer to the Flemish data as Flemish Event Possessives (FEVP) (cf. also footnote 9).

- (7) a. We hebben (het) nog gehad dat onze valiezen plots  
*we.NOM have it PRT had that our suitcases suddenly*  
openscheurden.  
*open-ripped*
- b. We zijn (\* het) nog geweest dat onze valiezen  
*we.NOM are it PRT been that our suitcases*  
plots openscheurden.  
*suddenly open-ripped*  
'We've had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped  
open.'

The matrix in both (7a) and (7b) introduces the argument that 'possesses' the event expressed in the embedded clause. Important to note is that in both the HAVE- and the BE-variety, the Possessor/matrix subject is a nominative. Furthermore, in the HAVE-FEVP, the embedded CP expressing the event can be coreferential with the pronoun *het* ('it') in the matrix. No such pronoun is grammatical in the BE-FEVP.

A more detailed comparison of the FEVP and the Heerlen Dutch possessive HAVE-BE alternation and a discussion of Flemish dative case will show that the FEVP does indeed belong to the class of patterns that is characterized by a possessive HAVE-BE alternation. The fact that there is no dative in the matrix subject of the BE-FEVP will have to be related to other properties of the FEVP.

### 3.2. FEVP and Possessive HAVE-BE Alternations

When comparing the Heerlen Dutch possessive HAVE- and BE-sentences to the FEVPs, two interrelated differences are clear. (i) Heerlen Dutch possessive HAVE and BE sentences involve a small clause Possessee whilst the FEVP has a full clause Possessee. (ii) This results in the aforementioned difference of interpretation between the Heerlen Dutch HAVE and BE sentences and the FEVP: Heerlen Dutch expresses the possession of a state, and the FEVP indicates the possession of an event or an experience.

As there is no nominative-dative alternation in the FEVP, it is appealing to assume that Flemish does not exhibit HAVE-BE alternations

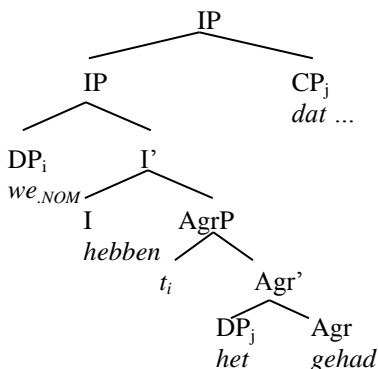
resulting in nominative-dative alternations. As the FEVP patterns also do not have the exact same interpretation as those in Latin or in Heerlen Dutch interpretatively, this idea would be supported. However, claiming that the FEVP is not part of the possessive HAVE-BE alternations displayed cross-linguistically, is not tenable either. The DO accusative pronoun *het* ('it'), coreferential with the embedded CP, is only available with the HAVE-FEVP ((7) repeated here as (8)). This observation can be easily explained assuming the nominative-dative alternation found in Broekhuis and Cornips' (1994), and Belvin and den Dikken's (1997) analyses.

(8) a. We hebben (het) nog gehad dat onze valiezen plots  
*we.NOM have it PRT had that our suitcases suddenly*  
 openscheurden.  
*open-ripped*

b. We zijn (\* het) nog geweest dat onze valiezen  
*we.NOM are it PRT been that our suitcases*  
 plots openscheurden.  
*suddenly open-ripped*  
 'We've had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped open.'

HAVE assigns accusative case to its complement, allowing the pronoun coreferential with the CP to surface as a DO accusative pronoun (8a-9). BE, on the other hand, is incapable of assigning accusative case, thus rendering this accusative DO pronoun, ungrammatical (8b).

(9)



This seems to point to the conclusion that the FEVP, too, belongs to the group of possessive HAVE-BE sentences that appear in cross-linguistic nominative-dative alternations.

Even if the FEVP belongs to the group of possessive HAVE-BE sentences that (should) exhibit a nominative-dative alternation, one could still argue that Flemish no longer has a dative case and that this is why the subject in the BE-FEVP sentences is a nominative. Flemish has no morphological reflexes of case on its DPs and only a limited amount of case morphology in its pronominal paradigm, viz. nominative and non-nominative (accusative). It would then be possible that the morphological system in Flemish is so eroded that dative case no longer exists as a syntactic category. However, there is a fragile class of verbs and adjectives that show a contrast between the 3rd sg. f. pronouns *eur* and *ze* ('her'). The pronouns *eur* and *ze* can both be used for accusative case marking. In some contexts which are standardly associated with dative case, however, *eur* seems to at least be strongly preferred over *ze* (10).

- (10) 't Staat *eur* /\*??ze.  
*it stands her.DAT /her.ACC*  
 'It suits her.'

So, it seems that *eur* can be both accusative and dative, whilst *ze* can only be accusative. Flemish, then, does have a pronoun that can be used in dative contexts and which can be used to test whether the matrix subject of the BE-FEVP is a dative: *eur*. This dative pronoun is ungrammatical as the matrix subject of the FEVP (11).

- (11)a. \* *Eur* heeft nog gehad dat *eur* valiezen plots  
*she.DAT* has PRT had that *her* suitcases suddenly  
 openscheurden.  
*open-ripped*
- b. \* *Eur* is nog geweest dat *eur* valiezen plots  
*she.DAT* is PRT been that *her* suitcases suddenly  
 openscheurden.  
*open-ripped*  
 'She has had it happen to her that her suitcases suddenly ripped open.'

As the pronoun *eur* only shows a difference in distribution with respect to *ze* in this one fragile class of verbs and adjectives and otherwise always is an accusative, one could assume that the FEVP merely does not constitute an environment where a dative is retained. The fragile class of verbs and adjectives may be the only environment in Flemish where dative case is still present. The question then is why one would not see a non-nominative pronoun in the BE-FEVP. The divide between nominative and non-nominative case marking cross-linguistically seems more robust than the divide between accusative and dative. One could then expect an accusative, the canonical non-nominative case marking (12a), to appear instead of the dative subject in the BE-FEVP. However, the accusative pronoun in the matrix subject of the BE-FEVP is ungrammatical (12b).

(12)a. ‘k Zie em.  
*I see he. ACC*  
 ‘I see him.’

b. \*Em is nog geweest dat-ij veur dat-ij ging werken  
*he.ACC isPRT been that-he before that-he went work*  
 zijn huis kuistegen.  
*his house cleaned*

The pronoun *em* (‘him’) is an accusative 3rd sg. m. pronoun (12a), which cannot appear as the subject of the BE-FEVP (12b).

One can arguably conclude that Flemish FEVPs should exhibit the regular nominative-dative alternation found in the subjects of possessive HAVE-BE sentences, but do not. So, while the analyses by Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) and Belvin and den Dikken (1997) explain the alternation found in the availability of the accusative DO pronoun coreferential with the embedded full clause in the FEVP, they fail to explain the nominative in the matrix subject of the BE-FEVP. Presumably, whatever analysis explains the BE-FEVP will also be relevant to the HAVE-FEVP, where the same syntactic operation that results in the nominative matrix subject could be present without overtly showing. To come to an analysis of the FEVPs, I will now discuss the affectedness interpretation of the Possessor DP in the FEVP. To follow, I will discuss proposed analyses of Affectees as arguments introduced by an applicative phrase.

### 3.3. Affectee

An Affectee is taken to be a semantic role expressing the argument which is in some manner affected by the content of the constituent it is associated with. As will be discussed in section 3.4., the Affectee is often described as an additional or extra argument, augmenting the basic argument structure of the verb in question (Gerds 1999, 148; Hole 2005, 220, 2006, 383; Schrock 2007, 9; Kim 2011, 494; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014, 56).

To identify Affectees, various diagnostics have been proposed in the literature. Hole (2006) observes that Possessor datives in German and subjects in certain Mandarin patterns must be sentient and conscious to be felicitous. The Affectee constituent is described as follows:

“[...] affectee being a thematic relation which combines at least one proto-agent property (sentience/consciousness), and one proto-patient property (causal affectedness) in the sense of Dowty (1991).”

These requirements are not present in patterns which do not rely on Affectees. The requirement of sentience and consciousness is a key component to the so-called ‘ban on dead arguments’ diagnostic for Affectees (as described by Hole 2006, 387-388). This self-explanatory requirement for Affectees seems also to be present in Flemish. Example (13), which because of the verb *overkomen* (‘have happen to oneself’) inherently requires an Affectee argument, is only felicitous when the (Affectee) subject, *mijn pé* (‘my grandfather’), is alive at the time of the event.

- (13) ’t Overkomt mijn pé                      da zijn uis    nu moe  
      *it happens.to my grandfather that his house now has.to*  
      verkocht worden.  
      *sold            PASS*  
      ‘It happens to my grandfather that his house now has to be sold.’

When applying the ‘ban on dead arguments’ test to the HAVE- and BE-FEVP, it is clear that the matrix subject must adhere to this felicity requirement. The matrix subject can thus be described as an Affectee in both varieties. Example (14) is only possible if the subject *mijn pé* (‘my grandfather’) is alive at the time of the event.



- (14) Mijn pé heeft/is nog gehad /geweestda Jada me  
*my grandfather has /is PRT had /been that Jada with*  
 zijnen fiets rondreed.  
*his bike around.rode*  
 ‘My grandfather has had it happen to him that Jada rode around on his  
 bike.’

Further Affectee diagnostics probing for sentience and consciousness, include the felicity of sentences where affection of the argument is semantically illogical (15a) and that of sentences with inanimate arguments (15b). Furthermore, the FEVP is also characterized by a requirement on matching pronouns in the subject of the matrix and the embedded clause (15c).

- (15)a. \* ‘tOverkomt me dat het lijk van Toetanchamon voor een  
*it befalls me that the body of Tutanchamon for a*  
 vijfde keer door wetenschappers onderzocht wordt.  
*fifth time by scientists examined PASS*  
 ‘It befalls me that Tutanchamon’s body is being examined by  
 scientists for a fifth time.’

- b. \* De kast heeft het nog gehad dat de muizen aan de  
*the closet has it PRT had that the mice on the*  
 planken knaagden.  
*shelves gnawed*  
 ‘The closet has had it happen that the mice gnawed on its  
 shelves.’

- c. ?? We zijn nog geweest dat mijn boekentas op school  
*we.NOM are PRT been that my backpack at school*  
 zomaar openbarstte en dat alles eruit viel.  
*just.like.that open.burst and that everything it.out fell*  
 ‘We’ve had it happen that my backpack burst open and that  
 everything fell out of it.’

In (15a) it is unlikely that the event in the embedded clause (i.e. the fact that Tutanchamon’s body is being examined for a fifth time) will affect the matrix subject (*me* ‘me’). In (15b) the matrix subject, *de kast* (‘the closet’), as an inanimate Possessor, cannot logically be affected by the event in the embedded clause (i.e. mice gnawing at its shelves). In (15c), the ‘matching pronoun test’ shows that there must be a strict matching in pronouns

between the (Affectee) subject of the matrix clause and the (understood) subject of the embedded clause. Even a superset-subset relationship does not suffice: while the matrix subject *we* ('we') in (15c) is the superset of the referent undergoing the event expressed in the embedded clause (*mijn* 'my'), it is still infelicitous. So while interpretively requiring a strong link between the event expressed in the embedded clause and the matrix subject, this test also points to a derivational link between the (possessive) pronoun in the embedded clause and the matrix subject.<sup>15</sup>

The term Affectee is useful in the discussion of FEVPs when defined as describing exactly those thematic arguments that must be semantically affected by the structure onto which they are attached. In contrast with the terms Recipient/Maleficiary/Beneficiary/Goal, I take Affectees to not necessarily being involved in the action expressed by the verb. Instead, the only requirement for this argument is that it is affected by the action expressed by the verb. Conversely, Recipient/Maleficiary/Beneficiary/Goal need not be affected by the event in which they are involved (Buelens and D'Hulster 2014, 56 (footnote 6)). This distinction is not always made in the literature (e.g. Deal (2010, 86) uses the term Affectee to cover both Maleficiary and Beneficiary arguments as does Lee-Schoenfeld (2006)), but seems valuable in any discussion of the differences between patterns involving an affectedness component and those that do not.

### 3.4. Applicatives

In the literature, a number of strategies to augment verbal structure with 'additional' or 'extra' arguments have been proposed. Affectees, such as those found in the FEVP, are one of the arguments that are argued to be introduced into the clausal structure by a mechanism augmenting verbal structure. Whilst there have been proposals for functional heads introducing core arguments into the structure, such as a voice head for external arguments and a cause head for causative arguments, for Affectees, it is an applicative head that is thought to augment the structure (Pylkkänen 2000, 2002, 2008; McFadden 2004, 118; Rivero and Arregui 2010, 2012; Kim 2011, 2012).<sup>16</sup>

Applicatives are described as functional heads which add arguments onto different levels of clausal structure, so as to augment the structure (Marantz 1993; Pylkkänen 2000, 2002, 2008; McFadden 2004; Hole 2004, 2006; Rivero 2009; Kim 2011, 2012; Rivero and Arregui 2010, 2012). In a

number of languages these applicatives have an overt morphological reflex (e.g. Chichewa (Baker 1988)). Applicatives differ from causatives in that they do not introduce a stand-alone event, but rather relate an argument to an event or other argument already present in the clause. They, thus, do not introduce a causing event (Pylkkänen 2002, 9, 2008, 7-9). So while these arguments can be thought of as core arguments (cf. IOs) they are additional in the sense of augmenting the basic argument structure of the verb.

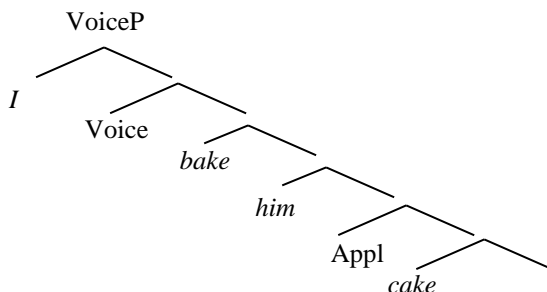
I will assume that applicatives can be added onto the structure at different points of the clausal spine which relate them to different constituents. Pylkkänen (2000, 197, 2002, 2008) identifies two applicative positions: a low applicative between VP and DO (16b, 17) and a high applicative between VoiceP and VP (18, 19). For Pylkkänen (2000, 2002, 2008), the low applicative attaches an individual onto a direct object (as in the English indirect object pattern (16b)); the high applicative, on the other hand, attaches an individual onto a verbal event (as in Chaga, where overt applicative morphology can be found on the verb (18)).

(16)a. I baked a cake.

b. I baked **him** a cake.

(Pylkkänen 2000, 197 (1a-b))

(17) Low Applicative<sup>17</sup> (English)



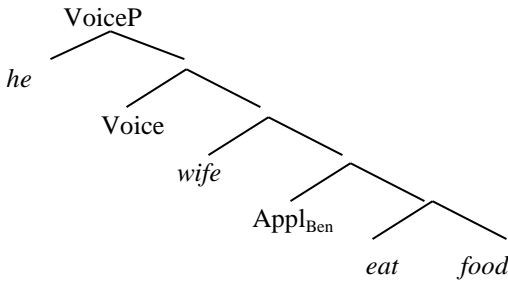
(18) n-“a-”1-lyì-í-à                      m-kà k-élyá

*FOC-Is-PR-eat-APPL-FV I-wife 7-food*

‘He is eating food for his wife.’

(Bresnan and Moshi 1993 in Pylkkänen 2000, 197 (2a))

(19) High Applicative (Chaga)



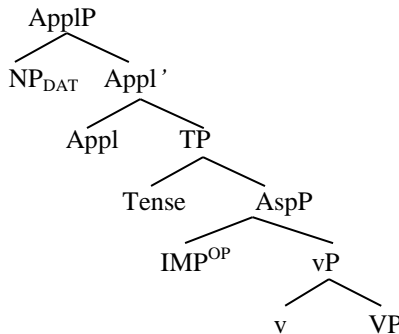
(Pykkänen 2000, 199 (6b-a))

An even higher applicative position is proposed by Rivero (2009) for Bulgarian Involuntary State Constructions (20). This applicative position is situated above the TP and semantically relates an individual to the event expressed by the whole TP (20-21).

- (20) **Na Ivan** mu se četjaxa knigi.  
*P Ivan 3SG.DAT REFL read.IMP.3PL book.PL*  
 ‘John [sic] was in the mood/desired to read books.’

(Rivero 2009, 147 (1b))

(21)



(Based on Rivero 2009, 147 (3))

This highest position is most compatible with a position above the matrix subject position, such as that required for the FEVP. It has scope over the entire TP, allowing for the aspectual sensitivities found in the FEVP (cf.

section 4.2.). This position has also been associated with the position which subject-related FEPs are taken to occupy (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014).<sup>18</sup> I discuss the subject-related FEP in the section below.

Whilst applicative heads have been proposed to be functional heads of the independent category ‘Appl’, one can also analyze them as light verb functional heads that are applicative in nature, rather than a stand-alone category of functional heads. Hole (2006), for instance, introduces Affectee arguments under a voice head, and Kim (2011, 494) associates a voice head with Affectee semantics to this position. I will follow this idea as it allows for a unified analysis of HAVE and BE. More specifically I will treat the Affectee role as assigned through a [+AFF] (Affectee) feature on the verbal light head. This proposal allows the syntactically favorable analysis of BE and HAVE in the FEVP as instantiations of functional categories and not as full verbs assigning semantic Affectee roles, without taking away from the applicative nature of the structure.

## 4. Flemish External Possession (FEP) and the FEVP

In this section, I discuss similarities between the FEVP and the subject-related Flemish External Possession pattern (FEP). Both patterns have a nominative Possessor which is also an Affectee. Both also show sensitivities to the structures with which they co-occur. Note that while this section focuses on the commonalities between the FEVP and the subject-related FEP, there are also a number of differences that must be kept in mind.<sup>19</sup>

### 4.1. FEP: Data

In Flemish, DP-internal possession can be expressed through an internal doubling pattern consisting of a Possessor DP (*Pieter*), a possessive pronoun agreeing in gender and number with the Possessor (*zijn* ‘his’), and a Possessee NP (*stoel* ‘chair’) (22). Next to this internal pattern, a pattern where the Possessor is no longer inside the possessive DP but is higher in the clausal spine, is also attested (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014), see example (23). The Possessor here is said to be external to the possessive DP (cf. Landau 1999; Payne and Barshi

1999;Hole 2004, 2006; Lee-Schoenfeld 2006; Deal 2010, 2013, forthc.). In (23) this can be seen by the possibility of an adjunct (*dan net* ‘then just’) intervening between the nominative Possessor (*Pieter*)<sup>20</sup> and the possessive DP (*zijn stoel* ‘his chair’).<sup>21</sup> This pattern is known as Flemish External Possession (FEP).

(22) *Pieter zijn stoel*  
*Pieter his.M.SG. chair*  
 ‘Peter’s chair’

(23) ‘t Is jammer dat [Pieter] dan net [zijn stoel] omver  
*it is unfortunate that Pieter then just his chair over*  
*gevallen was.*  
*fallen was*  
 ‘It’s unfortunate that Pieter’s chair fell over at that precise moment.’

The external Possessor (*Pieter* in (23)) is argued to have argumental properties (Haegeman 2011). One of these argument properties can be seen in the phenomenon of West Flemish complementizer agreement. In West-Flemish, some speakers require agreement of the complementizer with the subject of the clause. In (24) the complementizer (*omdan* ‘because’) agrees with the plural subject (*André en Valère*).

(24) ...omda-n/\*omdat [Andréen Valère] toen juste gebeld  
*because.pl/.sg André and Valère then just phoned*  
*oan/\*oat.*  
*had.pl/\*had.sg*  
 ‘... because André and Valère called just then.’  
 (Haegeman and Danckaert 2013, (24a))

In the subject-related FEP (where the Possessee is a subject), it is not the subject Possessee that controls Complementizer Agreement as would be expected, but instead the external Possessor. In (25) the complementizer agrees with the plural external Possessor (*André en Valère*) rather than with the singular subject (*underen computer* ‘their computer’). The inflected verb, however, still agrees with the singular Possessee subject. The external Possessor then takes on this subject argument property.

- (25) ...omda-n/\*omdat [Andréen Valère] toen juste [underen  
*because<sub>.pl/\*</sub>.sg André and Valère then just their*  
 computer] kapot was/\*woaren.  
*computer broken was<sub>.sg</sub>/\*were<sub>.pl</sub>*  
 ‘... because André and Valère’s computer broke down just then.’  
 (Haegeman and Danckaert 2013, (24b))

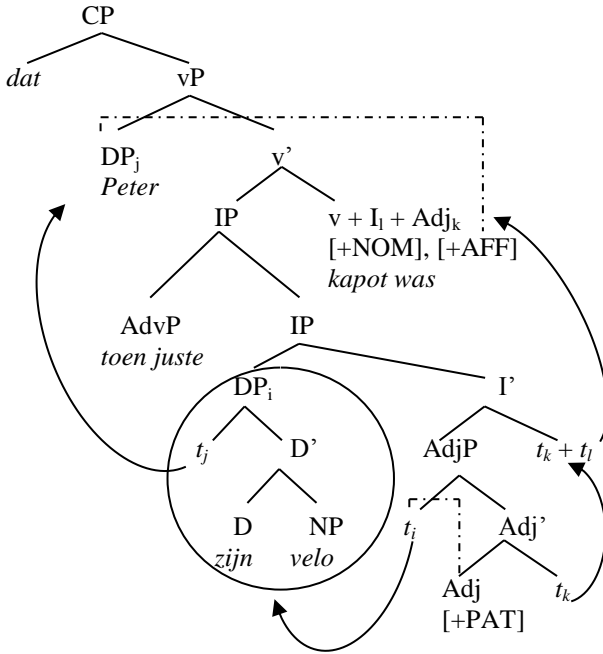
So, as the external Possessor in the subject-related FEP exhibits argument properties, the question is which clausal argument it is. One answer to this is that it can be an Affectee. It is namely the case that the external Possessor of the subject-related FEP behaves as an Affectee with respect to the ‘ban on dead arguments’ test (cf. section 3.3.) (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014). Example (26) is only possible if the external Possessor (*mijn opa* ‘my grandfather’) is alive at the time of the event expressed.

- (26) Ik vertelde dat [mijn opa] jammergenoeg [zijnen fiets]  
*I told that my grandfather unfortunately his bike*  
 gestolen was.  
*stolen was*  
 ‘I told that my grandfather’s bike unfortunately had been stolen.’

Based on, among others, this observation, the analysis proposed for the subject-related FEP by Haegeman and van Koppen (2012) is taken to be similar to the very high applicative phrase proposed by Rivero (2009) (cf. example (20)) (cf. also Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014). The subject-related FEP, exhibiting Affectee properties and scoping over VoiceP (Haegeman and van Koppen 2012) is taken to be located in this very high applicative phrase.

The analysis for the subject-related FEP proposed by Buelens and D’Hulster (2014) assumes a light verb with an Affectee feature (v [+AFF]) acting as the applicative head located between CP and TP. The subject-related external Possessor is situated in the specifier of the applicative head. Here it satisfies the Affectee role and receives nominative case. The external Possessor is related<sup>22</sup> to the specifier position of the possessive subject DP, where it is assigned its Possessor role.<sup>23</sup> See Buelens and D’Hulster (2014) for argumentation for this analysis.

(27)



(Based on Buelens and D'Hulster 2014, 89 (47))

Note that the subject-related FEP surfaces with nominative case making it plausible that the relevant applicative head is associated with (default) nominative case in (West) Flemish.

Whilst it is not clear why nominative should be the case associated with this high applicative position, it is instructive to note that in the Mandarin Affectee structures described by Hole (2006, 387-388), the Affectee is also not a dative, but what he analyzes as a subject. Thus, while often Affectees and applicatives are associated with oblique cases such as dative, this very high applicative position may be associated rather with nominative case. The relation between Affectee and the case realization hierarchy is not self-evident and must be investigated further.<sup>24</sup>



## 4.2. Argumental and Aspectual Sensitivities in the FEVP and FEP

Aside from the Affectee properties of the Possessor and its nominative case, a further similarity between the subject-related FEP and the FEVP is that both patterns show sensitivities to the structure which contains the Possessee (the possessive DP in the FEP and the full clause Possessee in the FEVP) related to the Affectee and to the structure onto which the Affectee is attached. The subject-related FEP shows sensitivities to certain verbal argument structures and inner aspect. The FEVP shows sensitivities to outer aspect.

The subject-related FEP is degraded in all transitive sentences (28), but it is even more degraded in agentive structures (Haegeman 2011).

(28)a. \*??... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een appel gegeten  
*that Karel then just his mother an apple eaten*  
had.  
*had*

‘... that Karel’s mother had just then eaten an apple.’

b. ?? ... dat [Karel] toen just [zijn moeder] een taart gekregen  
*that Karel then just his mother a pie received*  
had.  
*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 at that time.’

(Based on Haegeman 2011, 4 (14a,c))

The acceptability of the subject-related FEP is converse to the agentivity of the subject Possessee. (28a) has the external Possessor related to an agent subject and is the least acceptable, (28b) with a recipient subject is more acceptable, and (28c) with a patient subject is the most acceptable transitive structure for the subject-related FEP. As the FEVP is only possible with copular HAVE and BE such sensitivities to the argument structure of the verb do not arise.

However, aspect does influence both the subject-related FEP-and the FEVP-pattern. As seen above, subject-related FEPs prefer non-agentive two-argument verbs over agentive two argument verbs and thus prefer

resultative and stative contexts (Haegeman 2011). Compare (29) to (28) ((29b) is (23)). It is clear that inner aspect plays a role for the subject-related FEP.

(29)a. ... dat Peter toen juist zijn velo kapot was  
*that Peter then just his bike broken was*  
'... that Peter's bike was broken at that precise moment.'

b. ... dat Pieter dan net zijn stoel omver gevallen was.  
*that Pieter then just his chair over fallen was*  
'... that Pieter's chair fell over at that precise moment.'

In the FEVP it is outer aspect which plays a role. HAVE-FEVPs are only available with perfective (30a) or iterative/habitual aspects (31a). BE-FEVPs are acceptable with perfective aspects (230b), but not with iterative/habitual aspects (31b). Neither the HAVE-FEVP nor the BE-FEVP is acceptable in other imperfective aspects (32).<sup>25</sup>

(30)a. Ik heb 't nog gehad dat ik naar huis moest omdat de  
*I have it PRT had that I to home must because the*  
school dicht was.  
*school closed was*  
'I've had it happen to me that I had to go home because the school was closed.'

b. Ik heb nog geweest dat ik naar huis moest omdat de  
*I have PRT been that I to home must because the*  
school dicht was.  
*school closed was*  
'I've had it happen to me that I had to go home because the school was closed.'

(31)a. Ik heb 'tnu wel meer dat ik naar huis moet omdat de  
*I have it now PRT more that I to home must because the*  
school dicht is.  
*school closed is*  
'It happens to me quite often now, that I have to go home because the school is closed.'

b. \*Ik ben nu wel meer dat ik naar huis moet omdat de  
*I am now PRT more that I to home must because the*  
school dicht is.  
*school closed is*

(32)a. \*Ik had 't gisteren dat ik naar huis moest omdat de  
*I had it yesterday that I to home must because the*  
school dicht was.  
*school closed was*

b. \*Ik was gisteren dat ik naar huis moest omdat de  
*I was yesterday that I to home must because the*  
school dicht was.  
*school closed was*

The sensitivities displayed by the subject-related FEP and the FEVP are clearly not of the same nature, which could be explained by the difference in nature of the Possessee in both patterns. Namely, the Possessee in the subject-related FEP is a possessive DP expressing a state whilst the Possessee in the FEVP is an embedded full clause expressing an event. The types of aspect and argument structure involved in the structure to which the Affectees are related will then also be different.

The cause of these sensitivities is a matter of further research. However, the sensitivities to the structure to which the Affectees attach seem to suggest that Affectees can only attach to functional structures involving certain aspects. The differences in the HAVE-FEVP and the BE-FEVP with respect to this issue, then, show that whilst HAVE and BE alternate, this is not done entirely freely. This could be caused by the difference in functional structure they spell out (incorporation or lack of incorporation of the preposition). HAVE seems to be capable of spelling out more aspects than BE.

I have shown, in the previous two sections that the FEVP and the subject-related FEP display a number of significant similarities. The Possessor in both patterns is an Affectee and has nominative case. Both patterns also display sensitivities to the structure to which the Affectee is attached. The analysis proposed for Affectees by among others Pylkkänen (2000, 2002, 2008) and Rivero (2012) has already been proposed as a structure available in West Flemish for the subject-related FEP-pattern (Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D'Hulster 2014). The subject-related FEP-

pattern thus independently shows that a very high applicative position is available in Flemish. The properties that the subject-related FEP has in common with the FEVP, furthermore, make an analysis of the FEVP analogue to that of the subject-related FEP a viable option. The exact analysis of the FEVP is discussed in the next section.

## 5. Analysis: Affected Possession in the Clause

Recall that Belvin and den Dikken (1997) analyze Latin possessive HAVE and BE alternations as involving a small clause headed by an Agr head. The Possessee is in the Spec of AgrP; the Possessor is the complement of a prepositional phrase which in turn is the complement of AgrP. Belvin and den Dikken (1997) further assume that HAVE spells out the functional head (F), the small clause head Agr and the preposition P heading the small clause complement:  $F+[Agr+P] = HAVE$  (33a-34a). If the preposition remains next to its complement and does not incorporate into Agr, the functional head F (and Agr) spell out as BE (33b-34b).

(33)a. Marcus            librum            habet.  
*Marcus.NOM book.ACC has*  
 ‘Marcus has a book.’

b. Liber            est Marco.  
*book.NOM is Marcus.DAT*  
 Lit. ‘A book is to Marcus.’

(34)a. HAVE:  $[_{FP} [_{PP} t_j DP_{POSS}]_i [_{F'} F+[_{Agr+P}]_k [_{AgrP} DP_{SUBJ} [_{Agr'} t_k t_i]]]]$   
 b. BE:  $[_{FP} DP_{SUBJ}]_i [_{F'} F [_{AgrP} t_i [_{Agr'} Agr [_{PP} PDAT DP_{POSS}]]]]$   
 (Based on Belvin and den Dikken 1997, 154 (6)-(7))

Along these lines, I suggest for the Flemish Event Possessives (repeated here as (35-36)) that they are small clauses headed by Agr, but instead of a DP subject they have a full clause propositional subject. Following Belvin and Den Dikken (1997), the main difference between the BE- and the HAVE-FEVP is taken to lie in whether the prepositional element incorporates into Agr and moves to the functional head F or not. If it does move to the functional head, then the incorporation of Agr, F and P<sup>26</sup> spell out as HAVE (35); if it does not move, then BE is spelled out (36). I here reinterpret Belvin and den Dikken’s (1997) F as I, as in their account F seems to add tense and inflection to the clause. Note that

Flemish has OV word order except at the level of CP (Haegeman 1992); aside from the difference in word order and the CP in SpecAgrP, this derivation is the same as that proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997).

In the HAVE-FEVP, the Possessor needs to receive case higher in the structure since P has incorporated into Agr and I, leaving its complement caseless. The Possessor moves to the canonical subject position of HAVE (SpecIP) and receives nominative case here. HAVE can also assign accusative case to its complement. This explains why it is possible to have an accusative DO pronoun (*het* 'it'), coreferential with the extraposed Possessee CP, in the HAVE-FEVP.

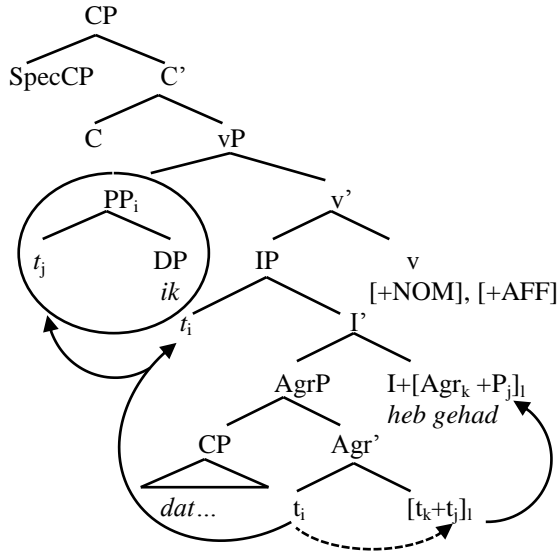
- (35) We hebben (het) nog gehad dat onze valiezen plots  
*we.NOM have it PRT had that our suitcases suddenly*  
*openscheurden.*  
*open-ripped*  
 'We've had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped open.'

In the BE-FEVP (36) the Possessor should receive dative case through the preposition which does not incorporate into Agr. It is then the Possessee which will be attracted by the features on I. As the Possessee full clause is situated in SpecIP, it is impossible for an accusative DO pronoun coreferential with an extraposed CP (*het* 'it') to be inserted into the structure.<sup>27</sup> Note that this spell-out of the Possessor with dative case is ungrammatical in the BE-FEVP.

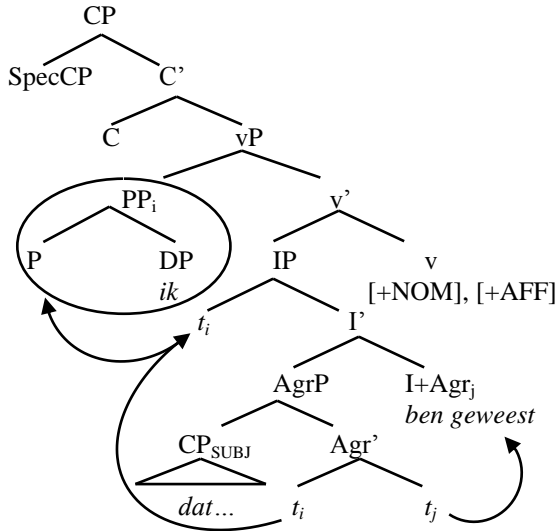
- (36) We zijn (\* het) nog geweest dat onze valiezen  
*we.NOM are it PRT been that our suitcases*  
*plots openscheurden.*  
*suddenly open-ripped*  
 'We've had it happen to us that our suitcases suddenly ripped open.'

To explain the deviation from the nominative-dative alternation and to account for the Affectee semantic properties of the FEVPs, I suggest that in Flemish Event Possessives, an applicative light verb intervenes between the CP and the FP. As mentioned in the previous section, this position is parallel to that proposed for the subject-related FEP by Haegeman and Danckaert (2013). It has both an Affectee feature to check ([+AFF]) and nominative case to assign to its specifier ([+NOM]).

(37) HAVE



(38) BE



The Possessor will be the most local element that can be interpreted as an Affectee and will be attracted to the specifier of vP where it receives an Affectee reading and a nominative case feature. In the the HAVE-FEVP this does not result in a change of case in the matrix subject from (37), for the BE-FEVP, however, the case of the matrix subject changes from dative (38). Even though there is no case evidence for the presence of this light verb head in the HAVE-FEVP, the symmetry with the BE-FEVP in interpretation and in case leads me to propose that the applicative vP is present in both the HAVE-FEVP (37) and the BE-FEVP (38).

## 6. Conclusion

The Flemish Event Possessives (FEVP) show that in Flemish BE can alternate with HAVE in affected possession patterns. This entails that the FEVP, even though it is not characterized by the crucial nominative-dative matrix subject alternation, does belong to the group of patterns which is cross-linguistically characterized by a HAVE-BE alternation such as those in Latin and Heerlen Dutch. I argue for this conclusion by establishing that a fragile morphological dative exists in Flemish, but not in the context of the FEVP and by showing how the HAVE-BE alternation explains the occurrence of the DO pronoun *het* ('it') coreferential with the embedded clause only in the HAVE-FEVP.

Furthermore, I have compared the FEVP with the subject-related Flemish External Possession pattern (FEP) showing that in the FEVP-and the subject-related FEP-pattern, the Possessor is a nominative Affectee. Both patterns are also characterized by sensitivities to the structures containing their Possessee. One must bear in mind that there are a number of unexplained differences between the FEVP and the FEP. However, both patterns have the interpretation of affected possession and can both be analyzed as involving an applicative structure.

The analysis proposed for the FEVP is in line with those of Belvin and den Dikken (1997) and Broekhuis and Cornips (1994), thus assuming the standard analysis of HAVE as the spell-out of BE + case/preposition. Additionally, I propose that in the FEVP the Possessor moves to the specifier of a higher applicative light verb where it receives (default) nominative case. Affected Possessors in Flemish then, in both the FEVP and the subject-related FEP are given nominative case.

Under the analysis that I have proposed here for the alternation between HAVE and BE in the FEVP, HAVE and BE are treated as

‘dummy’ verbs, merely spelling out certain specific functional structures. As such the instantiation of the *verbum substantivum* BE in the FEVP, is one more closely related to copulas rather than to auxiliaries: it relates a subject (the Affectee Possessor) to a predicate (the event Possessee). However, as is made clear in among others Broekhuis and Cornips (1994), it is possible to link formal analyses of HAVE and BE as copulas to their functions as auxiliaries.

Furthermore, while I have assumed a ‘dummy’ verb analysis of HAVE and BE, as instantiated by a light verb with Affectee features dominating an inflected possessive structure, it is not impossible to have an analysis with full verbs (cf. Broekhuis and Cornips 1994). I have chosen for this analysis, given its explanatory appeal when taking into account the wide range of structures being spelled out by HAVE and BE. The alternation between the two dummy verbs can be derived from the assumption that HAVE spells out BE with preposition/case. This allows a more economical approach than if one were to assign a number of different argument structures with specific thematic roles and syntactic properties to full lexical verbs HAVE and BE. The fact that HAVE and BE alternate does not, however, have to entail that they spell out exactly the same structures: recall that the BE-FEVP is not possible with all aspects that the HAVE-FEVP can spell out.

Cross-linguistic differences in what HAVE and BE spell out can, however, be taken to lie in the lexicon under my analysis. They would depend on cross-linguistic differences in structures and associated semantics that can be spelled out by both HAVE and BE.

This paper also shows that the semantic ground described as being covered by BE should be extended cross-linguistically to cover not only the possession of objects and states but also to that of events, nearing the domain of experiential patterns.

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## Notes

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(13.9.14) for their input. The conclusions I draw are fully my own. I would also like to thank my informants.

<sup>3</sup> The notation of capitalized HAVE and BE is used to refer to the abstract concept underlying language-specific instances of verbs like English *have* and *be*.

<sup>4</sup> A reviewer kindly pointed out to me that data similar to the HAVE-FEVP exist in Rhaeto-Romance and Swiss Romance dialects.

<sup>5</sup> Abbreviations: NOM = nominative, PRT = particle, DAT = dative, IO = indirect object, S = subject, SC = small clause, ACC = accusative, COP = copula and PASS = passive.

<sup>6</sup> Attested are also an object-related external possessor (i) and a predicate-related external possessor (ii) (Haegeman 2011):

(i) ‘tMoest lukken dat Hanne [Marie]toen just [eur velo] geleend  
*it had-to happen that Hanne Mary then just her.f.sg bike.DO borrowed*  
*had*  
‘It so happened that Hanne had borrowed Mary’s bike just then.’

(ii) ‘tMoest lukken dat het [Marie]toen just [eur verjaardag] was.  
*it had-to happen thatit Mary then just her.f.sg birthday.PRED was*  
‘It so happened that it was Mary’s birthday just then.’

<sup>7</sup> I use capitalisation of the first letter to indicate a thematic role.

<sup>8</sup> While I describe the Affectee role as involving feature checking, it can also be analyzed as a regular theta-role associated to an applicative verbal head.

<sup>9</sup> Hole (2006) describes a link between Affectees and Experiencers, something which will be of interest in this paper:

“[...] experiencers are simply affectees in eventualities without any other participants that are more prototypically agentive.” (Hole 2006, 406).

<sup>10</sup> Whether the dative is a structural subject or not is debatable. However, the dative in the patterns under discussion does display a number of subject-like properties that are described by among others Bauer (1996, 2000) and Barðdal et al. (2012). Following the analyses of Kayne (1993) and Belvin and den Dikken (1997) I will here assume that the possessive dative in Latin is a subject.

<sup>11</sup> I follow standard assumptions about Merge such as those proposed by Chomsky (1995).

<sup>12</sup> Note that Broekhuis and Cornips (1994) only discuss structural case assignment and do not assume a PP for dative case. Instead the IO position is associated with the dative case and the DO position with accusative.

<sup>13</sup> I treat the Possessee here as a subject, following Broekhuis and Cornips (1994). However, it is not straightforward whether the possessive dative is not more ‘subject-like’ than the possessee. As this paper does not go into detail about subjects and subject properties, I will not discuss this matter in detail. Note that a description of the Heerlen Dutch possessive dative as a ‘subject-like non-nominative’ as proposed for among others (possessive) dative in Latin by

Sigurðsson (2004, 144), may be informative. Sigurðsson (2004) makes a distinction between subject-like non-nominatives and non-nominative subjects.

<sup>14</sup> Note that the HAVE- FEVP is accepted throughout the Netherlands and Flanders; the BE-FEVP is accepted only by some speakers of Flemish in their *tussentaal* (lit. ‘in-between language’), regiolectal and/or dialectal registers. Some speakers accept both patterns and alternate between them reporting only minor differences in nuance. One such variety is found in the region of Zottegem, East-Flanders. The aspectual sensitivities of the FEVP are shared by all informants.

<sup>15</sup> I thank a reviewer for pointing this out to me.

<sup>16</sup> Note that not all applied arguments are necessarily Affectees.

<sup>17</sup> Appl = applicative, Appl<sub>Ben</sub> = benefactive applicative, ImpOP = imperfect(ive) operator (Rivero 2009: 148).

<sup>18</sup> Kim (2012) proposes a similar very high applicative phrase for English experiencer *have* patterns, calling it a peripheral applicative.

<sup>19</sup> For instance, the optionality of the external possessor for nominal possession resulting in the FEP, but also allowing the internal doubling pattern, differs from the FEVP where a matrix subject without an Affectee interpretation is impossible. There are also many other properties of the FEP (cf. Haegeman 2011; Haegeman and van Koppen 2012; Haegeman and Danckaert 2013; Buelens and D’Hulster 2014), which seem particular to the FEP.

<sup>20</sup> Pronominal forms are not easily accepted as external possessors in the FEP, making it difficult to establish the case of the external possessor. However, when looking at the speakers who accept strong pronouns as external possessors, they a prefer the nominative pronoun *zie ier* (‘she here’) over the non-nominative *eur ier* (‘her here’).

- (i) a.%? ... dat [zie ier] toen juste [eur scheerapparaat]kapot was.  
          that she.NOM here then just her razor broken was  
b.\* ... dat [eur ier] toen juste [eur scheerapparaat]kapot was.  
          that she.DAT here then just her razor broken was  
‘... that her razor was broken just then.’ (Haegeman 2011, (30a-31a))

<sup>21</sup> Note that (23) is impossible for speakers of Dutch from the Netherlands.

<sup>22</sup> The arrow in (27) indicates movement, however, the nature of the relationship between the external possessor and the possessive DP is as of yet undefined (Buelens and D’Hulster 2014).

<sup>23</sup> The dotted line in (27) indicates the assignment of thematic roles.

<sup>24</sup> If one takes the idea seriously that there are a number of applicative voice heads that have an Affectee feature at different heights in the structure, it could be the case that the different heads should be associated with a different case. Furthermore, the height of the position could also indicate convergence with other subject positions that are traditionally assigned nominative.

One other possible avenue to explain the nominative case on the very high applicative head is one where default case (cf. Schütze 2001) is operative in this

position (cf. for instance Marantz' (1991) case realization disjunctive hierarchy). Nominative is the default case in Flemish: it is used in out-of-the-blue contexts.

- (ii) 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.'

<sup>25</sup> A reviewer points out that it is interesting that the English experiential *have*-pattern, which in other ways is highly similar to the FEVP, is not characterized by any of these aspectual sensitivities.

<sup>26</sup> The incorporation in (37) is indicated by the dotted arrow.

<sup>27</sup> Why it is impossible for *het* to be a nominative pronoun coreferential with the extraposed embedded full clause expressing the event is not clear. As the function and category of the pronoun *het* are unclear too, the answer may be found there. Further research is necessary here.