

Liisa Buelens - Ghent University

### Expressing possession with *have* and *be*: a view from Flemish

This paper concerns a cartographical account of Flemish event possessives (EvPs) (1-2), whose matrix subjects are interpreted as possessing and being affected by the event expressed in the embedded clause. Assuming Broekhuis & Cornips (1994), (1) is unexpected: it has a nominative matrix subject instead of the predicted dative.

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

I argue that the matrix subject in (1-2) occupies a similar (applicative) relation to the clausal domain as that observed in the possessor of the Flemish External Possessor pattern (FEP) (Haegeman and Danckaert 2011):

- (3) Het is jammer dat [**Pieter**] dan net [**zijn stoel**] omver gevallen was.  
*it is too.bad that Pieter then just his chair over fallen was*  
'It is too bad that Pieter's chair had fallen over just then.'

Instead of residing in a DP-internal position the FEP possessor occupies a higher position in the clause (see also: Deal 2011).

Broekhuis & Cornips (1994) argue, in line with the analysis of *have* as *be* + preposition/case (Benveniste 1966; Kayne 1993), that Heerlen Dutch *zijn* and *hebben* ('be' and 'have') assign dative (4) and accusative case (5) respectively.

- (4) **Hem** is de fietsband lek.  
*him.DAT is the bike tire punctured* [hem<sub>DAT.IO</sub> [is [<sub>SC</sub> de fietsband lek<sub>NOM</sub>]]]
- (5) **Hij** heeft de fietsband lek.  
*he.NOM has the bike tire punctured* [hij<sub>NOM.S</sub> [had [<sub>SC</sub> de fietsband lek<sub>ACC</sub>]]]  
'He has a punctured bike tire.' (B&C 1994: 180, my paraphrases)

As expected, the matrix subject with Flemish *hebben*-EvP (2) is nominative. The availability of a pronominal direct object *het* ('it') in *hebben*-EvPs, but not with *zijn*-EvPs, follows as well. However, the matrix subject of the Flemish *zijn*-EP does not surface with the expected dative case (1).

The matrix subject of event possessives is an affected possessor (as shown by a.o. the 'ban on the dead possessor' diagnostic). I argue that this forces it into a higher clausal applicative position (Pykkänen 2002; Rivero 2009) where it receives default nominative case.

I treat the EvPs as small clauses with full clause propositional subjects (Belvin & Den Dikken 1997) (F a functional head; Pe the empty preposition expressing possession):

- (6) *zijn*-EvP: [<sub>AppIP</sub> we<sub>j</sub> [<sub>AppI'</sub> Appl [<sub>FP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>F'</sub> F+Agr<sub>i</sub>] [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> dat... ] [<sub>Agrr'</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]]
- (7) *have*-EvP: [<sub>AppIP</sub> we<sub>j</sub> [<sub>AppI'</sub> Appl [<sub>FP</sub> t<sub>j</sub> [<sub>F'</sub> F+Agr<sub>i</sub>+Pe [<sub>het<sub>k</sub></sub>] [<sub>AgRP</sub> [<sub>CP</sub> dat...<sub>k</sub>] [<sub>Agrr'</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub>]]]]]]]

The availability of such a higher applicative position in Flemish is independently motivated on the basis of the FEP-pattern (3) in which the possessor (*Pieter*) does not occupy a DP-internal position adjacent to the possessee (*zijn stoel*), but is separated from it by an adjunct and which (crucially) also carries an affectedness reading.

### References

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