

ON THE SYNTAX OF THE se-CONSTRUCTION IN AFRIKAANS *

Johan Oosthuizen and Hester Waher
 Department of Afrikaans & Nederlands
 University of Cape Town

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the syntax of so-called possessive constructions in Afrikaans. More specifically, an attempt will be made to describe the grammatical structure of the general construction (1) within the framework of the Chomskyan principles-and-parameters approach to the study of language.¹ The construction (1) -- henceforth, the se-construction -- is illustrated by the phrases in (2).

- (1) [XP se NP]
- (2)(a) die kind se trui
 "the child's jersey"
- (b) dosente se salarisse
 "lecturers' salaries"
- (c) Kotie se nuwe motor
 "Kotie's new car"

The discussion will focus on two related issues. The first concerns the categorial status of se in the construction (1). The second issue concerns the structural positions of the constituents XP and NP in (1), and the grammatical relation between these two phrases. Tied in with both issues is the question of the category membership of XP, and also of the se-construction as a whole.

In the course of the discussion, we will also briefly consider the syntax of so-called possessive pronouns in the construction (3), exemplified by the phrases in (4). It will be argued that the construction (3) has essentially the same structure as the se-construction (1).

(3) [Pron - NP]

(4)(a) haar trui
"her jersey"

(b) sy nuwe motor
"his new car"

The literature on Chomskyan generative syntax contains various proposals for the analysis of possessive phrases, especially in English.² However, given the restricted scope of this working paper, we will not examine the merits or shortcomings of these proposals in any detail. Instead, in section 2, we will proceed directly to present a proposal for the description of the Afrikaans se-construction, referring to other relevant proposals only where they have a bearing on the Afrikaans facts. There are also several issues of Afrikaans grammar which are, or appear to be, closely related to those outlined above, but which can unfortunately not be dealt with within the confines of this paper. These include, for example, the question of a possible formal grammatical relationship between the constructions (1) and (3) on the one hand, and the so-called possessive partitive construction (5) on the other. The construction (5) is illustrated by the phrases in (6).

(5) [NP₁ van NP₂]

(6)(a) die trui van die kind
"the jersey of the child"

(b) die nuwe motor van Kotie
"the new car of Kotie's"

Also not considered here is the syntax of what may be called independent possessive nominals, that is, possessive pronouns/NPs that are used substantively. Examples of such nominals are given in (7).

- (7)(a) *Joune/die meisie s'n is beter as myne/die man s'n*
 "Yours/the girl's is better than mine/the man's"
 (b) *Die voorstel is ons s'n/die student s'n/Kotie s'n*
 "The proposal is ours/the student's/Kotie's"

Two further issues that fall outside the scope of this paper concern the pragmatic interpretation of possessive expressions like those in (2), (4), (6), (7), and the historical development of the structures underlying such expressions. These and other related issues should, of course, be dealt with in a comprehensive account of the structure and interpretation of Afrikaans possessive constructions.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. In section 2 we present and illustrate the basic hypotheses of our proposed analysis of the Afrikaans *se*-construction. Subsequently, in section 3, we explore some of the consequences of this analysis. The findings of sections 2 and 3 are summarised in section 4, the concluding section.

2. Proposed analysis

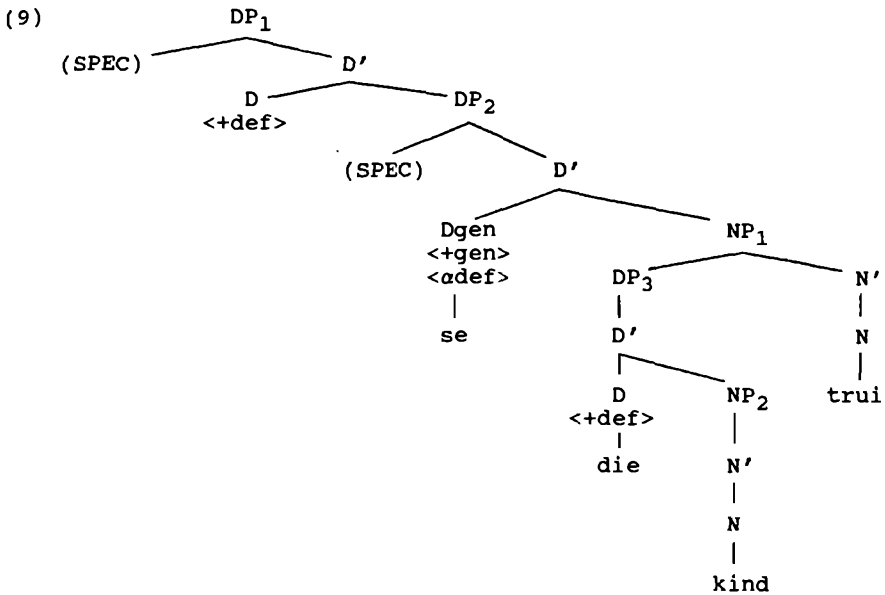
In this section we present and illustrate an analysis of the *se*-construction in Afrikaans which is based on, among others, the following general linguistic assumptions:

- (8)(a) Functional categories like DP ("determiner phrase"), IP ("inflection phrase"), etc. and lexical categories like NP, VP, etc. both conform to X-bar theory. That

is to say, the head X (functional or lexical) takes a complement to form the projection X', which, in turn, can combine with a specifier to form the maximal projection X" (or XP).³

- (b) Determiners are fundamentally referential and nouns are fundamentally predicative; hence a CNP ("common noun phrase") that functions referentially constitutes a DP, the head of which takes an NP as its X-bar complement.⁴
- (c) The abstract morphological features of X heads -- e.g. operator (wh-), Tense, Case, definiteness, and person/number/gender features -- must be "manifested" at some stage of the derivation; that is, they have to be made "visible" through spell-out, checking, agreement, lexical insertion, or some such mechanism.⁵
- (d) Lexical X categories participate in s-selection, i.e. they assign θ -roles to their complements/specifiers. We assume that functional X categories, by contrast, do not assign any θ -roles, but that they select their complements through c-selection (subcategorization). Since c-selection only involves X-bar complements, it follows that a functional X cannot select any phrase in Spec-XP position; such a position could however be filled by a moved phrase, where movement is forced by Case or other morphological considerations.⁶
- (e) Every argument must receive one and only one θ -role and, at least in the case of NP/DP arguments, one and only one Case specification.⁷ Lexical X categories do not assign Case; some functional X categories do. Case assignment is effected via Spec-head agreement.⁸

Against this general background, we propose an analysis of the Afrikaans se-construction on which the construction as a whole constitutes a DP.⁹ To illustrate, consider the example in (2)(a). We propose that the underlying structure of this phrase has the form (9).



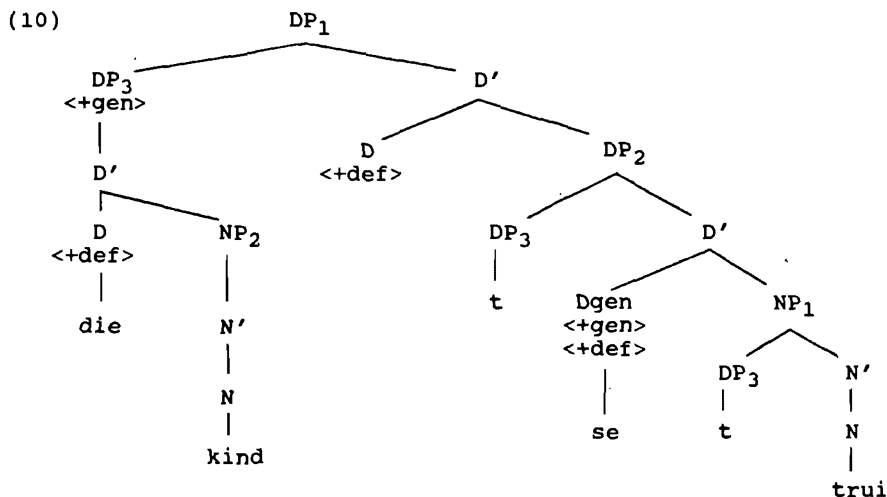
The head of DP_1 is taken to be a phonologically null D which contains at least a feature specification for definiteness. This feature must be related in the course of the derivation with a morpheme that manifests the relevant feature value, i.e. $\langle \pm \text{def} \rangle$; the relationship is effected through Spec-head agreement.¹⁰ Since D, being a functional category and hence unable to assign a θ -role, cannot select a specifier phrase, the Spec- DP_1 position must be filled through movement. On the proposed analysis, DP_3 ends up in this position.

DP_2 in (9) has the morpheme se in its D head position. This D contains the Case feature $\langle \text{genitive} \rangle$, which is assigned under Spec-head agreement to an argument in Spec- DP_2 . However, such an argument would have to be moved into the Spec- DP_2 position, since the head of DP_2 -- which we refer to as "Dgen" for the sake of convenience -- is a functional category, and so unable

to s-select a specifier. Dgen, and hence DP₂, is furthermore variable with regard to the feature <def>: this feature gets its value under Spec-head agreement from a <± def> phrase that is moved to Spec-DP₂ position. On our analysis, this phrase is DP₃, raised to Spec-DP₂ prior to being moved to Spec-DP₁.

Turning next to NP₁ in (9), we take it to be the c-selected complement of Dgen, having the N trui as its lexical head. This N has one θ-role -- specifically, the Possessor θ-role -- to assign.¹¹ We propose that DP₃ receives this role in Spec-NP₁ position. In other words, the N trui s-selects DP₃ as its external argument. Note that N does not assign any Case to DP₃; see the assumption (8)(e). Finally, we take DP₃ in (9) to be headed by the definite article die, with kind forming the c-selected NP complement of this D head.

In terms of the above proposals, the derived structure of (2) (a) can be represented as in (10).



The two movement operations reflected in (10) are both forced by morphological considerations: the first -- of DP_3 to Spec- DP_2 -- so that genitive Case can be assigned, and the second -- from Spec- DP_2 to Spec- DP_1 -- to manifest the <+def> feature specification of the head of DP_1 .

In short, then, the se-construction (1) is analysed as a DP in terms of the above proposals [= DP_1 in (10)]. DP_1 contains (at least) two other DPs: one that is raised to Spec- DP_1 position [= DP_3 in (10) = XP in (1)], and one that forms the complement of the DP_1 head [= DP_2 in (10)]. se in the construction (1) is analysed as a genitive Case morpheme in the Dgen head position of DP_2 ; this head c-selects NP in (1) as its complement.

3. Consequences

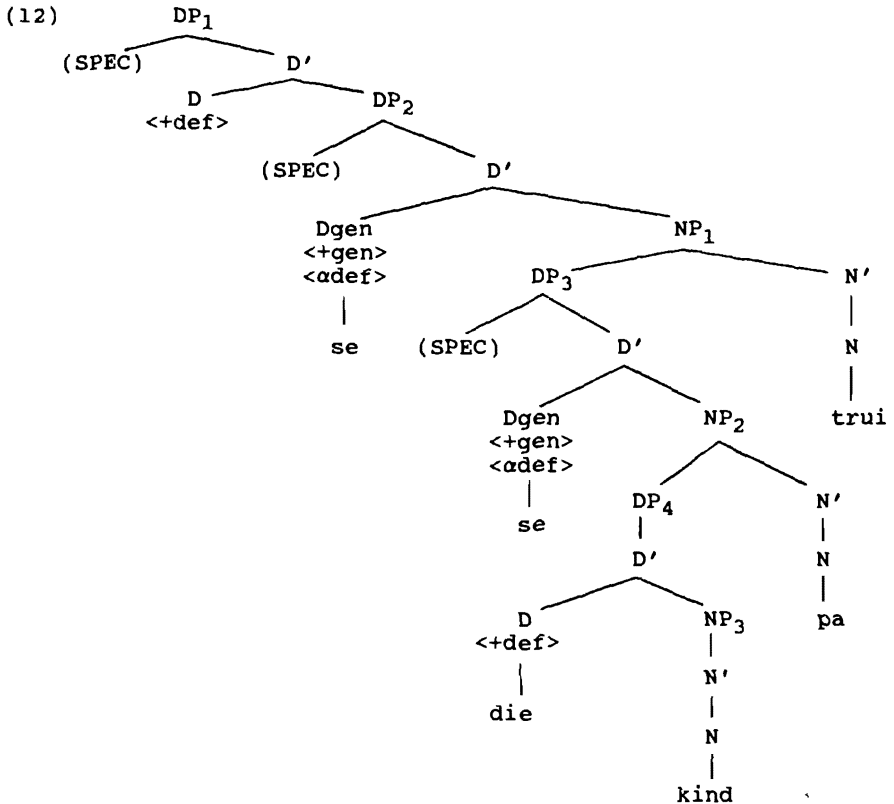
In this section we examine a number of potentially problematic phenomena in connection with the Afrikaans se-construction. It will be argued that the analysis presented above can provide a straightforward account of these phenomena.

3.1 Recursiveness

The Afrikaans se-construction has the property of (potentially infinite) recursion of the string XP + se in (1). This can be illustrated with the examples in (11).

- (11)(a) die kind se trui
 (b) die kind se pa se trui
 (c) die kind se pa se vriend se trui
 (d) die kind se pa se vriend se oom se trui
 (e) die kind se pa se vriend se oom se seun se ... trui
 "the child's dad's friend's uncle's son's ... jersey"

Let us consider the derivation of the phrase in (11)(b). This phrase exhibits the underlying structure (12) in terms of the analysis proposed above.



As in the case of (9), the N trui in (12) s-selects a DP, DP₃, in the SPEC-NP₁ position, with this DP receiving the Possessor θ -role. However, in contrast to (9), DP₃ in (12) is headed by Dgen and not by a < \pm def> D. Dgen, in turn, c-selects NP₂ as its X-bar complement, with the N pa representing the head of NP₂. Like the N trui, the N pa also has a Possessor θ -role to

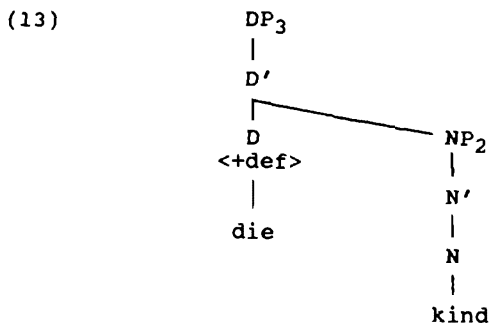
assign, in this case to DP_4 in the Spec-NP₂ position. DP_4 has the same internal structure as DP_3 in (9).

The derived structure of (11)(b) is created as follows. First, DP_4 is moved to Spec-DP₃ where it is assigned (or checked for) Case under Spec-head agreement; the head of DP₃ -- hence DP₃ as well -- furthermore gets the feature value <+def> from DP_4 . DP_3 is subsequently moved to Spec-DP₂ position, also for Case reasons; and the DP₂ head -- hence DP₂ itself -- picks up the feature value <+def> from DP_3 through Spec-head agreement. Finally, either DP_3 or DP_4 is raised to Spec-DP₁, in order for the D head feature <+def> under DP₁ to be manifested.

Comparing (12) with (9), it is clear that the possibility of recursion is determined by the type of DP specifier that is selected by the head of NP₁ (or more generally, by the head of any NP that is generated as the X-bar complement of Dgen). On the one hand, if the Spec-NP position is occupied by a DP with a ncn-Dgen head, no recursion will be possible, as in the case of (9). On the other hand, if Spec-NP contains a DP with Dgen as head, recursion can take place, as is indicated in (12). In short, every maximal Dgen projection in Spec-NP provides (a) a landing site for a moved argument phrase [i.e. XP in (1)], and (b) a genitive Case feature to be assigned to such an argument [associated with se in (1)]. Suppose, for example, that DP_4 in (12) also takes a Dgen head, then this would create the possibility of further recursion, as in (11)(c). The selection of a DP argument with a non-Dgen head, by contrast, effectively blocks all recursions of the type in question.

3.2 Postnominal modification

Consider again the underlying structure (9), specifically the internal structure of DP_3 , repeated here as (13). Notice that the NP in (13) lacks any modifying phrase.



In Afrikaans, NPs can contain both prenominal and postnominal modifying phrases. For example, (14)(a) contains a prenominal AP, (14)(b) a postnominal PP, (14)(c) a relative clause, and (14)(d) both a postnominal PP and a relative clause. We assume that these phrases are all generated as daughters of N', with the latter potentially recursive. ¹²

- (14)(a) die slim kind
"the clever child"
- (b) die kind op die foto
"the child in the photograph"
- (c) die kind wat so slim is
"the child who is so clever"
- (d) die kind op die foto wat so slim is

Suppose that NP₂ in (13)/(9) contains one or more postnominal modifying phrase. Given the analysis proposed in section 2, it is predicted that raising of DP₃ (which contains NP₂) into the Spec-DP₁ position in (9) will result in se following all the modifying phrase(s) in question, irrespective of the category that is left-adjacent to se in string terms. The prediction is correct, as is illustrated by the examples in (15).

- (15)(a) die kind op die foto se trui
- (b) die kind wat so slim is se trui
- (c) die kind op die foto wat so slim is se trui.

3.3 Coordination

It is generally accepted that only constituents participate in coordination [= X, X', XP in the X-bar framework].¹³ In terms of the analysis presented in section 2, the string *se* + NP in the construction (1) forms a single constituent -- a DP with a Dgen head. This is illustrated in the structure (10). It is therefore predicted that this DP can be conjoined with another similar DP. The prediction is borne out by the facts in (16). This indicates that *se* -- unlike its functional counterpart '*s* in English -- does not represent a clitic that is attached to the immediately preceding word or category.

- (16)(a) Ek het nie die kind *se* trui of *se* skoene gesien nie.
 "I didn't see the child's jersey or shoes"
- (b) Jan *se* ma, *se* pa en *se* oom kom vandag kuier.
 "John's mum, dad and uncle will be visiting today"

3.4 Definiteness

The *se*-phrases in (17) receive different semantic readings: "definite" in the case of (a), and "indefinite" in the case of (b). This difference relates to the choice of determiner: in (a) the N *kind* combines with the definite article *die* ("the"), and in (b) with the indefinite article '*n* ("a").

- (17)(a) die kind *se* trui
 (b) '*n* kind *se* trui

In terms of the analysis set out in section 2, the determiners in these phrases each head a DP [i.e. DP₃ in (9)], with the D c-selecting as its complement an NP headed by the N *kind*. DP₃ is definite or indefinite, depending on the feature specification of D. As illustrated in the derived structure (10), this DP is raised to the topmost Spec-DP position [i.e. Spec-DP₁ in

(10)]. The head of DP_1 is assigned (or checked for) the same definiteness value as DP_3 under Spec-head agreement.

In short, it is predicted on this analysis that DP_3 ultimately determines the definiteness of the whole se-phrase. If DP_3 is definite, then the se-phrase will have a definite reading; and if DP_3 is indefinite, the se-phrase will also be. This prediction is borne out by the facts in (17).

Consider, next, the se-phrases in (18). Each phrase contains the mass noun goud, that is, a noun with the feature <-count>. Such nouns cannot combine with an indefinite article, as shown by the difference in unacceptability between (b) and (c). The the noun koning, by contrast, can combine with an indefinite article, hence the acceptability of (18)(a).

- (18)(a) 'n koning se goud
 "a king's gold"
 (b) goud se prys
 (c) *'n goud se prys

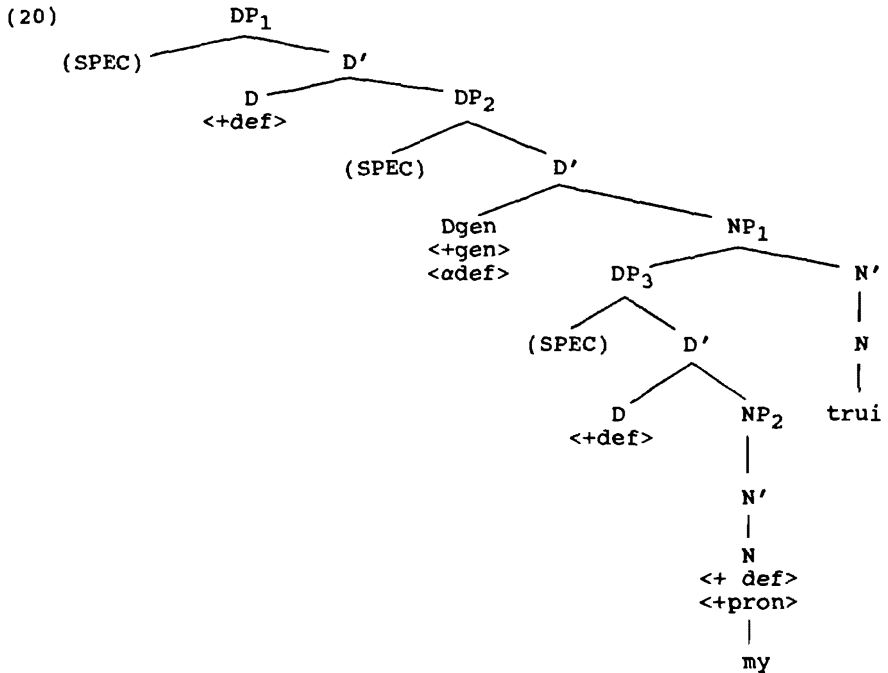
The problem now is why the se-phrase in (18)(a) is acceptable, even though it contains both an article and a mass noun. This can be accounted for as follows in terms of the proposals set out above. The NP koning is c-selected by a D that contains the indefinite article 'n. ¹⁴ Note that there is no selection relation at all between the D 'n and the N goud in (18): the relevant relation is between 'n and koning, which explains why (18)(a) is acceptable, even though it contains both the article 'n and the mass noun goud. ¹⁵

3.5 Possessive pronouns

The examples in (19) both consist of a so-called possessive pronoun that is followed by an NP.

- (19)(a) my trui
 "my jersey"
 (b) hulle nuwe motor
 "their new car"

We claim that these [Pron - NP] type phrases have essentially the same syntactic structure as those of the type [XP se NP], hence that both can be described in terms of the analysis that was set out in section 2. To illustrate, consider the example in (19)(a). On our analysis, this phrase has the underlying structure (20). Notice that (20) is virtually identical to the structure (9) that was proposed for the example in (2)(a).



The possessive pronoun my in (20) forms the head of NP₂, which is in turn the complement of the head of DP₃; we assume that possessive pronouns are inherently definite, hence the feature <+def> on the head of NP₂. As in the case of (9), DP₃ gets the Possessor θ -role from the lexical N trui. In contrast to (9), however, the head of DP₃ in (20) is phonologically empty: pronouns cannot combine with overt determiners in Afrikaans, as is illustrated by the examples in (21).

- (21)(a) *die my trui
 the my jersey
 (b) *daardie sy boeke
 those his books
 (c) *twee ons kinders
 two our children

Three movement operations are required to derive the structure immediately underlying (19)(a). First, NP₂ in (20) is moved to Spec-DP₃ position, in order for the <+def> feature on the head of DP₃ to be manifested via Spec-head agreement. Next, DP₃ is raised to Spec-DP₂ position, where it is assigned (or checked for) genitive Case; in the process the head of DP₂ (hence DP₂ as well) acquires the feature value <+def>. Finally, DP₃ must raise to Spec-DP₁, so that the <+def> feature on the DP₁ head can be manifested, again under Spec-head agreement.

In short, then, the derived structure of (19)(a) is created in basically the same way as that of a se-phrase like (2)(a), the major difference being that the derivation involves raising of NP₂ into Spec-DP₃ in the case of (20), but not in the case of (9). In (20) this raising operation is required to manifest a <+def> feature; no such requirement is imposed in (9).

There is one other difference between (9) and (20) that should be noted here. This concerns the head of DP₂, which is filled by se in (9), but left empty in (20). Possessive pronouns do not combine with se in standard Afrikaans. Such combinations

are acceptable, however, in some non-standard varieties. For example, phrases like my se ma ("my mother"), hulle se kinders ("their children"), haar se rok ("her dress") are quite common in the Afrikaans dialects spoken in the north-western regions of the Cape Province. It seems reasonable to assume that this dialectal difference in the use of se can be accounted for by means of some sort of spell-out condition. The salient point, however, is that the Pron + se combination does occur in Afrikaans. This fact can be accounted for in terms of the analysis proposed above, since the structure (20) contains distinct positions for the possessive pronoun and the morpheme se. The data from non-standard Afrikaans thus provide evidence against the idea that the possessive pronoun occupies a D head position, as has been proposed for English. ¹⁶

4. Summary and conclusion

In this paper we presented an analysis of the Afrikaans se-construction (1) [XP se NP] which incorporates the following basic grammatical hypotheses.

- (22)(a) The se-construction as a whole constitutes a DP, DP₁. The head of DP₁ c-selects a further DP, DP₂, as its X-bar complement.
- (b) The head of DP₂ has the Case feature <genitive>, and represents the structural position of the morpheme se. This D head, D_{gen}, c-selects an NP, NP₁, as its X-bar complement [= NP in (1)].
- (c) The head of NP₁ s-selects a DP, DP₃, in the Spec-NP₁ position; DP₃ receives a θ -role such as Possessor in this position.
- (d) DP₃ [= XP in (1)] is moved to Spec-DP₂ and from there to Spec-DP₁; these movement operations are forced by morphological considerations.

It was argued in section 3 that an analysis which incorporates these hypotheses, as well as the general linguistic hypotheses in (8), can account for several potentially problematic phenomena in connection with the se-construction [XP se NP]. These concern recursion of the string XP - se; coordination of the string se - NP; postnominal modification; and the (in)definite reading of the se-construction as a whole. It was also argued that the proposals in section 2 provide an adequate framework for describing the syntax of possessive pronouns in the construction [Pron NP].

To conclude the discussion, we would like to draw attention to an empirical consequence of the proposed analysis which seems to be only partially borne out by the facts. Consider again the structure (10), with DP₃ -- XP in (1) -- raised into Spec-DP₁ position. Given this structure, it is predicted that DP₃ should be able to raise, under the appropriate conditions, out of DP₁, leaving behind whatever else is dominated by DP₁. For example, suppose that DP₃ contains the operator feature <+wh>. It should then be possible for this phrase to be wh-moved into the specifier position of a CP with a <+wh> C head. This prediction is correct, at least in those cases where DP₃ is moved out of a subordinate clause. This is illustrated by the acceptability of the examples in (23). (The bracketing gives a rough indication of the extraction site of the wh-phrase).

(23)(a) **Wie** het jy gesê [t se ouers gaan skei]?
 who have you said POSS parents go divorce
 "Whose parents did you say are filing for divorce?"

(b) **Watter man** blyk dit [t se motor is gesteel]?
 which man seems it POSS car was stolen
 "Which man's car seems to be stolen?"

By contrast, as illustrated in (24), DP₃ in the structure (10) can apparently not be wh-moved out of DP₁ to a position within the boundaries of the minimal clause containing DP₁.

- (24)(a) ??Watter huis het t se dak afgewaaï?
 which house has POSS roof off-blown
- (b) ??Wie wil jy t se raad vra?
 who want-to you POSS advice ask
- (c) ??Ek wonder [watter motor moet ek t se bande omruil]
 I wonder which car must I POSS tyres change

It should be noted, however, that the acceptability judgements of native speakers vary considerably with regard to sentences such as those in (24) -- some speakers find these sentences at least marginally acceptable, while others find them unacceptable. It is not clear whether the difference in acceptability between (23) and (24) points to a fatal flaw in the proposed analysis, or whether it should be ascribed to some other independent principle or constraint. We leave this question, along with other grammatical issues like those mentioned in section 1, as a topic for further investigation.

NOTES

* We wish to thank Beaula Bethanie for her assistance in preparing this paper, and the Desmond Tutu Education Trust for making this assistance financially possible.

1. See Chomsky 1991: 417, 448 n. 1 for the term "principles-and-parameters approach".
2. See for example Abney 1986; Anderson 1983; Chomsky 1985: 194-195, 199; Chung 1991; Drijkoningen 1993; Ernst 1992; Hawkins 1981; Lyons 1986; Stowell 1989.

As far as could be ascertained, the only non-superficial synchronic analysis of Afrikaans genitive constructions within the Chomskyan generative framework, is the one presented by Den Besten (1978: 28-34); he (1978: 34-38) also explores the origin of the Afrikaans genitive morpheme se. For non-generative descriptions of Afrikaans possessive phrases, see e.g. Le Roux 1923: 83-98; Ponelis 1979: 126-9, 151-152, 229-230; Van Schoor 1983: 27, 294-297, 226-227.

3. See Chomsky 1986: 3-4, 87; Pollock 1989; Stowell 1989 for the extension of X-bar theory to functional categories.
4. See Stowell 1989: 232, 248-255 for this difference between determiners and nouns, and for the term "CNP". A basic hypothesis of the analysis proposed below is that a D head can select another functional phrase, specifically another DP, as its X-bar complement.
5. See for example Chomsky 1992:10, 38-45; Chomsky and Lasnik 1991: 5, 31.

6. The distinction between these two types of selection is discussed in Chomsky 1985: 86-91; see also Lasnik and Uriagereka 1988: 4; Stowell 1989: 249-250. Chomsky and Lasnik (1991: 30) offer some remarks on the nature of specifiers in functional categories which imply that functional heads typically do not s-select; however, they do not wholly exclude such a possibility.

7. Or, more accurately, "argument chain"; see for example Chomsky 1985: 97 in this regard.

8. In our assumptions about Case assignment we follow the approach sketched in Chomsky 1992: 9-13, 25-26, 41.

9. A possible exception may be genitive phrases in CNPs which function as the predicate of nominal small clauses, as in:

(i) Ons beskou [hom (as) ons/die kind se beste vriend]
 We consider [him our/the child's best friend]

We will not go into possible analyses for these phrases.

See for example Stowell 1989: 254-256 for discussion of such phrases in English.

10. Alternatively, it could be argued that the head of DP_1 in (9) is variable with regard to the feature <def>, picking up the relevant feature value under Spec-head agreement.

Chomsky (1986) takes a somewhat similar approach with regard to <wh> features on the head of CP. According to him (1986: 27), the C head is not marked in D-structure for these features; rather, they are assigned, under Spec-head agreement, by the phrase which is moved into the CP specifier position. If, for instance, a wh-phrase fills the specifier position of an embedded CP, the head can satisfy the requirements of a matrix verb which selects an interrogative clause.

11. According to Stowell (1989: 240) "nouns like shoe have no true θ -roles other than this [= the Possessor role -- J.O.-H.W.] to assign." Anderson (1983: 2-9) holds the same view with regard to the type of θ -role involved, though on her analysis this role is not assigned by the relevant nouns -- which she (1983: 5) terms "concrete nouns" -- but rather by the possessive morpheme ('s in English). Different roles are available, however, if the head noun is "abstract" -- i.e. if it forms a related pair with a verb, like destroy & destruction. In such cases, the θ -roles are generally the same as those assigned by the verb, e.g. Agent and Theme.

Our analysis differs from that of Anderson as regards the actual θ -assigner in the case of concrete nouns. As noted, she (1983: 5) claims that the Possessor θ -role is assigned by the base-generated possessive morpheme 's (in English), which forms the head of a PossPhrase. We do not find it convincing that this category Poss should be considered lexical, as Anderson claims; rather, we take the concrete noun itself to be the θ -assigner. This assumption makes it possible to use the same underlying structure for both types of nouns (= concrete and abstract), whereas Anderson proposes different structures, depending on the nature of the noun.

12. On the recursiveness of N' and the constituent status of nominal modifiers, see for example Haegeman 1991: 88-92 and Radford 1988: 175-196.
13. See for example Radford 1988: 75-78.
14. The selection presumably involves the mechanism of Head-head agreement, which determines whether a particular combination of [article + N] is allowed. In the case of (18) (a) this combination is possible, but not in the case of (18)(c). See for example Chomsky 1986: 27.

15. It should be noted that an analysis such as the one proposed here also makes the correct predictions for languages such as Dutch and German in which there is overt morphological agreement between determiners and nouns.
16. See for example Stowell 1989: 252 in this regard.

REFERENCES

- Abney, S. 1986. The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect. PhD dissertation. Cambridge Mass.: MIT.
- Anderson, M. 1983. Prenominal genitive NP's. *Linguistic Review* 3 (1), 1-24.
- Chomsky, N. 1985. *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*. New York: Praeger.
- Chomsky, N. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1991. Some Notes on Economy of Derivation and Representation. In R. Freidin (ed.) *Principles and Parameters in Comparative Grammar*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1992. A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics*, no. 1. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Chomsky, N. & H. Lasnik. 1991. Principles and Parameters Theory. To appear in J.J. Jacobs, A. van Stechow, W. Sternefeld & T. Vennemann (eds). *Syntax: An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

- Chung, S. 1991. Functional Heads and Proper Government in Chamorro. *Lingua* 85, 85-134.
- Den Besten, H. 1978. Cases of Possible Syntactic Interference in the Development of Afrikaans. *Amsterdam Creole Studies II*. Universiteit van Amsterdam. Publicaties van Het Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap no. 20, 5-56.
- Drijkoningen, F. 1993. Movement Theory and the DP-hypothesis. *Linguistics* 31, 813-853.
- Ernst, T. 1992. Phrase Structure and Directionality in Irish. *Journal of Linguistics* 28, 418-443.
- Giorgi, A. & G. Longobardi. 1991. *The Syntax of Noun Phrases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haegeman, L. 1991. *Introduction to Government & Binding Theory*. Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell.
- Hawkins, R. 1981. Towards an Account of the Possessive Constructions: *NP's N* and *the N of NP*. *Journal of Linguistics* 17, 247-269.
- Lasnik, H. & J. Uriagereka. 1988. *A Course in GB Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Le Roux, J. 1923. *Oor die Afrikaanse Sintaksis*. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.
- Lyons, C. 1986. The Syntax of English Genitive Constructions. *Journal of Linguistics* 22, 123-143.
- Pollock, J-Y. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20(3), 365-424.

Ponelis, F. 1979. **Afrikaanse Sintaksis**. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Radford, A. 1988. **Transformational Grammar. A First Course**.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stowell, T. 1989. Subjects, Specifiers, and X-bar Theory.
In M.R. Baltin & A.S. Kroch (eds.). **Alternative
Conceptions of Phrase Structure**. Chicago: University
of Chicago Press.

Van Schoor, J. 1983. **Die Grammatika van Standaard-Afrikaans**.
Cape Town & Johannesburg: Lex Patria.