Determiner Phrase or Genitive Phrase? An examination of possessive structures in Danish and English

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Abstract

This paper seeks to analyze the possessive construction in English and Danish through the lens of two competing analytical frameworks. First, the two frameworks – the Genitive Phrase model and the Determiner Phrase model - are presented and strengths and weaknesses are accounted for. Then, the frameworks are applied to standard possessive constructions from Danish and English. Finally, a unique construction from a dialect of Danish is introduced and tested against the two models. This paper finds that the Determiner Phrase model has a more complete explanation for the different examples.

1. Introduction

How should the possessive phrase in general and the genitive ending -s in particular be analyzed in linguistics? The syntactic role of the genitive 's is quite contentious and has received very different explanations in the literature. Some argue that it "does not behave as a 'normal' case ending" while simultaneously implying that it is in fact a case ending (Herslund 2001, 7). Others have argued that it is an independent syntactic element that can work as a case assigner (Delsing 1993, 160). The issue of classification has also led to possessive phrases being characterized as adjectives in some traditional grammars, since the possessive phrases precede and describe the possessed Noun Phrase NP. However, this classification comes with the issue of possessive phrases being full phrases instead of heads and different syntactic functions (Lobeck 2000, 92). This paper explores how to analyze the element that Carnie (2013, 209) suggested was a "small word indicating possession".

This paper will compare differences and similarities between two theoretical frameworks for analyzing possessives. First, I will briefly account for the two options of possessive constructions. Then, I will examine the Determiner Phrase analysis and compare it to the Genitive Phrase analysis to comment on strengths and weaknesses of each framework. Finally, I will comment on a variant of Danish found in Jutland and how it presents a challenge for the frameworks. Therefore, this paper will argue that the DP analysis overall presents a more complete theoretical model for analyzing possessive constructions in Danish, English, and West Jutlandic.

It is important to note that this paper is written from the point of view of *generative grammar*. In generative grammar, we seek to understand the structures and interpretations of sentences that native speakers of a given language find acceptable or grammatical. Thus, generative linguists are

not interested in prescriptive rules of what you cannot do, or proscriptive rules of what you should not do. Generative linguists are mostly concerned with what real speakers actually do with language and how these sentences and utterances can be understood and accounted for.

2. Possessive constructions

In the following, I will briefly account for the two options when it comes to possessive constructions in English. As Haegeman and Guéron (1999, 412) note, there is no hard and fast rule for when to use one construction instead of the other, so the following is purely to establish an overview of the options.

The first option is the so-called *free genitive*, which has the possessor expressed in a preposition phrase, PP, following the possessed element. Often in Germanic languages, this *free genitive* is constructed with a standard preposition. In English, this preposition is almost always *of*, which is why this possessive construction is also referred to as the *of-genitive*.

- 1. The top of the mountain
- 2. *The mountain's top

Both the GP and the DP theoretical models would have the possessive element of the mountain expressed in the form of a PP, so the free genitive does not seem to present any big differences between the two theories.

The second option is the *construct genitive* which is also referred to as the *Saxon genitive*. This is the more interesting possessive construction for the theoretical models that will be compared in this paper, since they essentially disagree on how to treat the defining feature of the construct genitive: the ending 's. Thus, this paper will address how the two theoretical frameworks deal with the *construct genitive*.

3. Two Competing Models: The GP analysis and the DP analysis

In the following, strengths and weaknesses will be examined for two of the models for explaining the *construct genitive*: The Genitive Phrase analysis, and the Determiner Phrase analysis. In doing so, substitution of the genitive element, c-command and similarities with clause structure for the analyses, and the theoretical issues of both frameworks will be commented on. It is important to note that these differences are differences in theoretical perspectives, not differences that are necessarily observable in the empirical data of standard Danish and English.

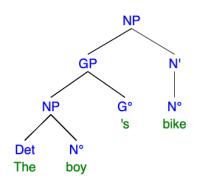
3.1 The Genitive Phrase

First, we turn our attention to the model suggested by among others Per Anker Jensen (2012, 105): The Genitive Phrase analysis (henceforth GP analysis). In the GP analysis, the possessive construction constitutes a phrase headed by a lexical category genitive element, G°. The only member of this lexical category is the genitive ending 's. In the GP analysis, we thus have the possessor NP and the genitive 's as one constituent on the left side of the structure with the

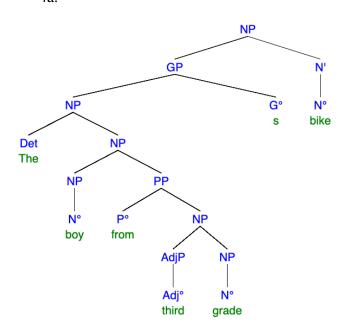
possessed NP as an N-bar (N') element on the right side (Jensen 2012, 106). This makes these kinds of constructions unique since their syntactic properties are different from other NPs, due to them being able to function as determiners themselves (Payne 2011, 192). Another unique property of the GP analysis is that it has a head (X°) that occurs to the right of its complement which is otherwise quite rare in English and Danish (Vikner 2021, 11). However, this model does capture the property of the genitive ending that it always occurs at the very end of the phrase it modifies. This observation supports the hypothesis that the genitive ending is not a case ending, since if it was the genitive case ending it would occur at the end of the head noun of the phrase it modifies (Herslund 2001, 10). This is supported by the observation that sentences (3) and (4) are grammatical while sentence (5) is ungrammatical:

- 3. The boy's bike.
- 4. The boy from third grade's bike
- 5. *The boy's from third grade bike

3a.



4a.



To Jensen, a clear advantage of the GP analysis is that the GPs are considered one constituent that combine with the N-bar element *bike* to form the complete NP (i.e. *The boy from third grade's bike*). This assumed theoretical advantage is most clearly reflected in the case of substitution of the GP. In this case, the entire genitive phrase will be substituted. This is possible because the GP is an independent constituent in the GP analysis. Jensen thus argues that the entire phrase serves as the possessive element. This line of argumentation can become problematic for the syntactic analysis of West Jutlandic which will be covered later. In the GP terminology, the GP from (3) *the boy's* could be replaced with the GP *his* or with the ART *that* (Jensen 2012, 106). At the same time, this model thus makes the prediction that possessives and determiners cannot co-occur in the same construction since the GP is in complementary distribution with the article, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (8).

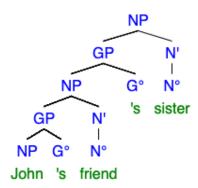
- 6. His bike
- 7. That bike
- 8. *The boy's the bike

As far as I understand the terminology of the GP analysis, this would mean that articles and GP cannot co-occur since they would occupy the same position. However, at this point it is unclear why Jensen has two different categories that both include the same members, e.g. the categories GP_{pron} and ART_{poss} that both include e.g. *min*, *vores*, *deres* (Jensen 2012, 113). One explanation could be that GP_{pron} includes the pronouns *mine*, *yours*, *theirs*, while the ART_{poss} category includes *my*, *your*, *her*. However, this distinction is not clear in Danish. Jensen argues that the many specific categories of the GP analysis is an advantage over the "heavily generalizing classification" of the DP analysis where the above elements of GP_{pron} and ART are taken to be of the same category (D°/DP) (Jensen 2012, 106). However, when two separate categories contain the same members, this might not be overly convincing.

Furthermore, the GP analysis can easily account for why the genitive ending 's needs an element to precede it, since the preceding element is the complement of the G°, and if a head takes a complement, then that element is obligatory. Here Payne's (2011, 192) point about the GP being a determiner element is clearer, i.e., the GP helps determine which specific bike we are talking about in (3)-(4) above.

It is also possible to do *possessor stacking* which in the GP analysis is solved by having one GP which contains another GP.

9. John's friend's sister.

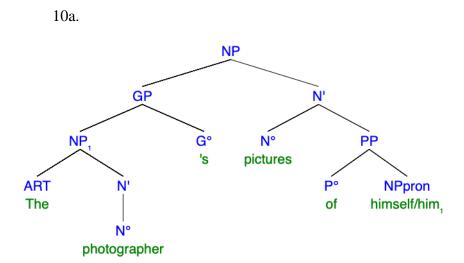


If we turn our attention to the concept of c-command in the possessive constructions, we find that the GP analysis may have some issues with regards to binding.

In generative theory, *constituent command*, which will henceforth be referred to as *c-command*, is a theory of relation between the different constituents in a structure and it is central to other concepts like movement or binding theory. Three criteria must be met for c-command to be achieved. First, node Y is only c-commanded by node X if they are both dominated by the same branching in the tree structure. Second, node X cannot immediately dominate node Y. Third, node Y cannot immediately dominate node X. In other words, they have to be part of the same tree structure and more specifically the lower position have to be part of the sister of the antecedent. Simplified this means that if you can reach node Y by taking one step upwards in the tree from node X and then descend to the position of node Y, then we have c-command.

In binding theory, a reflexive pronoun must be bound within its local domain and for it to be bound the reflexive must be c-commanded by its antecedent (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 365). On the other hand, a pronoun like *him* must be locally free, and thus not be bound in its local domain. Since binding requires c-command, the pronoun *him* cannot be co-referential with *photographer* in (10) (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 371). This means that an element can c-command another element without binding it. However, an element (X) cannot bind another element (Y) if X does not c-command Y. In the GP analysis, the antecedent will end up in a position where it does not c-command the reflexive pronoun. This can be seen in (10) because we need take two steps up to get from the position of the NP *The photographer* before we can reach the position of the reflexive *himself* or the anaphor *him*. The indices in (10) are supposed to show who the pronoun refers to: The subscript 1 on both *The photographer* and *himself* show co-reference. They are referring to the same person. The subscript 2 is supposed to illustrate that the pronoun is not co-referent with the antecedent *The photographer*. The indices are thus there to tell us if we are talking about the same person in both instances or if we are talking about someone else. If a sentence or an index is marked with an asterisk (*) it means that the example is unacceptable to native speakers.

10. The photographer₁'s pictures of himself_{1/*2}/him_{2/*1}

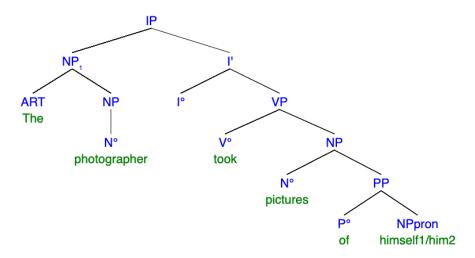


Here, the NP the photographer is in a position where it does not c-command the reflexive pronoun himself or the anaphor him since neither is a part of the sister of the antecedent photographer. This suggests that the GP model would predict that him in (10) could be co-referential with the antecedent, since it is not locally bound according to this theoretical model. Simultaneously, it also suggests that himself cannot possibly be co-referential with photographer in (10) since the reflexive pronoun is not bound by its antecedent. Both predictions would be incorrect for the analysis of the NP. For the above paragraph, I am assuming that the binding principles work similarly inside GPs and DPs as they do in clauses. Thus, it would be preferential if the structure of GPs, NPs and DPs would mirror those of the clause – at least in this case.

The example below in (11a) includes a sentence instead of a GP or DP. Notice that in most cases the *inflectional phrase* (IP) is equal to the clause (Haegeman and Guéron 1999, 97-101). If we need more positions to the left of the subject position, e.g. among many others questions or complementisers we use the *complementiser phrase* (CP). Here it should be noted that main clauses in English are for the most part IPs while main clauses in Danish are CPs.

11. The photographer 1/2* took pictures of himself $1/him_2*$.

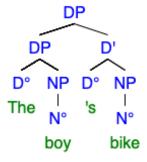
11a.



3.2 Determiner Phrase Analysis

A different theoretical approach is offered by the Determiner Phrase analysis (henceforth DP analysis). The DP analysis was initially suggested by Steven Abney in 1987, and at its core, it theorizes that the NP is in fact a DP headed by a nominal functional head, D°, which Abney termed "the noun phrase equivalent of I°" (Abney 1987, 169). Central to the analysis specifically of possessive constructions in the DP framework is the notion that the genitive 's ending should be classified as a member of the category determiners. In the DP analysis, we thus find 's in a D° position with the possessed NP as its complement and the possessor in the specifier position. Thus, the DP analysis has the head of the phrase occurring to the left of its complement which is what we would usually expect in Danish and English. The phrase from (3) is analysed as follows in (12) in this approach.

12. The boy's bike.



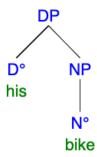
Here, we can observe that the genitive 's is in D° where we also find articles and pronouns. Thus, the DP analysis predicts that articles and pronouns are in complementary distribution with the genitive 's. A possessed element cannot be preceded by both the genitive 's and an article in a phrase. This can be observed by the ungrammaticality of (13) and (14).

- 13. *The boy's the bike
- 14. *The boy's his bike

Similarly to the GP analysis, the DP analysis predicts that the genitive 's occurs at the very end of the phrase it modifies (Delsing 1993, 150). Since the possessor occurs in DP-spec the genitive 's occurs to the immediate right of the element in the specifier position. In the DP analysis, the 's is taken to be a postposed clitic that needs something in its specifier position to cliticize onto (Morley 2000, 57). A key difference from the GP analysis is seen when it comes to pronominal substitution of the 's element. In the GP analysis, the pronoun would substitute with the entire possessor GP. However, in the DP analysis, only the genitive 's is replaced by a possessive pronoun. Compare (12) with (15) below.

15. His bike

15a.



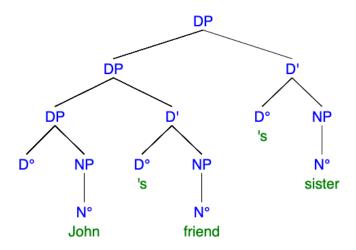
Thus, a difference between a possessive pronoun and the genitive 's is that only the genitive 's needs its specifier position to be filled by another element (Vikner 2021, 9). However, the specifier position is a challenge for the DP analysis since it would then predict a structure like (16) was possible despite it obviously being ungrammatical.

I am currently unable to find an explanation that excludes such a construction within the DP framework, and it must thus be counted as a problem for the DP analysis.

Like its counterpart, the DP analysis can also account for *possessor stacking*. In those cases, the first possessive DP is in the specifier position for the genitive 's that is highest in the structure as shown in (17) if you are just stacking one possessive phrase on top of another.

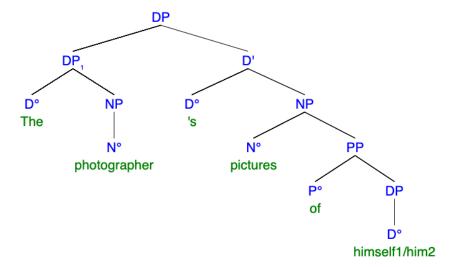
17. John's friend's sister

17a.



A problem for the GP analysis was that it made a potentially wrong prediction for c-command within the noun phrase. If we consider the same phrase in the DP analysis, we see that it has different predictions for the possibility of reflexives and anaphors.

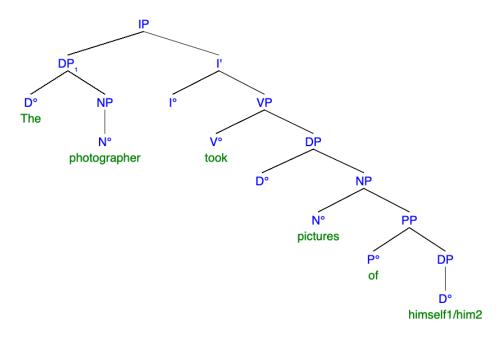
18. The photographer₁ 's pictures of himself_{1/*2} / him*_{1/2}. 18a.



In this structure, the DP *the photographer* can c-command the reflexive *himself* or the pronoun *him*. Thus, it makes the prediction that co-reference is possible between the reflexive and its antecedent. At the same time, it also predicts that the DP cannot have co-reference between the antecedent and the pronoun *him*. Both predictions made by the DP analysis would be correct. Furthermore, we also see the similarity between DP structure and clause structure when comparing (18) to (19).

19. The photographer took pictures of himself.

19a.



The first similarity is the functional head on top of a lexical core. The second is that the 'subject' in both structures is in a specifier position. Finally, there is also a similarity when it comes to adjunction (Vikner 2021, 13), but this cannot be seen in my examples above. These similarities mean that the DP analysis would make similar predictions in DPs as it does for the clause. This fits nicely Abney's (1987) consideration of D° as the noun-phrase equivalent of I°. This sentiment is also mentioned by Delsing (1993, 181) when he frames the *construct genitive* as an "auxiliary pronominal possessive construction". In both cases the similarity in functional roles between I° and D° is highlighted.

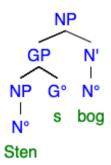
Possessives in standard Danish

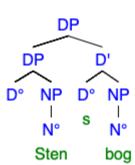
We now turn our attention to Danish possessive constructions. Here, a small difference is that Danish does not have a standard possessive preposition similarly, to how English has *of* or Norwegian has *til* (Delsing 1993, 153). Thus, we would not expect to find the same number of possessive constructions including a PP in Danish.

However, the Danish *s-genitive* looks a lot like its English counterpart in both the GP and the DP framework. An interesting point about the substitution of possessive phrases in both English and Danish is that the substituted element is always realized as a prenominal pronoun (Julien 2005, 197). When substituting the *construct genitive*, it is always replaced with a pronoun in front of the possessed phrase like (21) as opposed to a language like Norwegian where (22) would be acceptable. For reference and repetition the structure of (21) in the two frameworks can be seen in (21a)-(21b) below.

- 20. Stens bog Sten POSS-s book
- 21. Din bog *Your book*
- 22. *Bogen din. book-the your

21a.

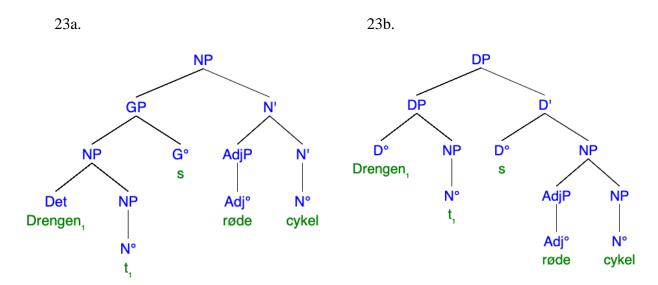




21b.

Furthermore, it becomes clear in the Danish construct possessives compared to the English that the genitive ending 's must carry a [+definite] feature. In Germanic languages, the possessed DPs are semantically and syntactically definite since they delimit the frame of reference to something specific (Julien 2005, 146; Delsing 1993, 180). This is observable in Danish phrases, but not necessarily in English phrases since the adjective does not change. Notice the difference between the below examples from Danish (23)-(24) when compared to examples from English in (25) and (26):

- 23. Drengens røde cykel boy-the POSS's red bike
- 24. *Drengens rød cykel boy-the POSS's red bike
- 25. The boy's red bike
- 26. A red bike



From these two structures, it is clearly suggested that both theoretical models are also capable of accounting for standard Danish possessive constructions as well.

In the account for the DP analysis, it was mentioned in (16) that a structure like *my's bike was ungrammatical in English. However, Julien (2005, 225) argues that in Danish the genitive 's should be able to occur together with possessive pronouns or determiners in the first and second person. This would result in constructions like:

- 27. ?Mins skjorte *my POSS-s shirt*
- 28. ?Dins cykel your POSS-s bike

It might be that such a construction was once acceptable in Danish, but I am highly skeptical of this being possible in standard Danish. For instance, a search on KorpusDK came up with zero results for *mins* and came up with examples for *Din's* only because it used to be a comedy club. The two pronoun versions *mins* and *dins* both gave zero results on KorpusDK which supports the argument that this construction is probably not that common in Danish.

5. Challenges of West Jutlandic possessives.

We have seen that both the GP and the DP model can account for the *construct genitive* constructions of standard Danish and English. However, if we turn our attention to the possessive constructions of West Jutlandic, they provide a new challenge for the two frameworks. The examples from West Jutlandic are based on fieldwork that I conducted during December 2021. During this fieldwork, I interviewed two native speakers of West Jutlandic who were older than 55 since I assumed these speakers were more likely to speak the dialect. It should be noted that my fieldwork was influenced negatively by the ongoing COVID-19 epidemic since informants were hesitant to participate. This also resulted in my informants being from a limited geographic area

namely the area close to Ringkøbing, so it would be interesting to reexamine the results with a broader range of respondents. I acknowledge that the number of informants is too low to make sweeping conclusions about West Jutlandic in its entirety, but since the informants had some similarities in their responses, the data still show that the dialect presents some unique challenges. With more time, it would be very interesting to do a deeper dive into the dialect of West Jutlandic and interview more informants from different areas.

The interviews were done as a face-to-face interview and a telephone interview respectively and consisted of a series of questions about how they would say certain phrases as well as questions about acceptability of premade statements. These acceptability judgements were made on a scale from 1-7 with 1 being completely unacceptable and 7 being perfectly acceptable. If I were to interview more informants at a later point in time, the face-to-face interview would definitely be preferred.

My fieldwork showed that in West Jutlandic it is possible to have a possessive construction that consists of a prenominal possessive marker that agrees with the possessee in number, gender, and case (Julien 2005, 197). This type of possessive construction is referred to as *possessor doubling* (Alexiadou, Haegeman, and Stavrou 2007, 596). Another instance where the variant of West Jutlandic is different from standard Danish is noted since it has the definite article realized in front of the noun in the structure. In standard Danish the definite article is enclitic i.e. *bil* 'car' and *bil-en* 'the car'.

- 29. Sten si bil Sten POSS-his car
- 30. Æ mand si bil

 The man POSS-his car

This *si* marks possession in West Jutlandic similarly to the genitive marker 's in standard Danish and English. Here we thus have a reflexive following the possessor element (Julien 2005, 214). The *n* in *sin* was not phonetically realized by my informants which is why the word is represented as *si* instead of the reflexive form known from standard Danish, *sin*. However, in the context of this paper, the two forms are assumed to be identical. Furthermore, it is expected that the pronoun could also be realized as a non-reflexive pronoun like the example from Julien (2005, 198), which is repeated here as (31). The informants I interviewed seemed to prefer the construction with *si* though.

31. Jens hans støvler *Jens his boots*

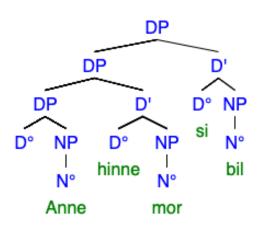
A similar construction could be used in the cases where the informants stacked possessors with the construction in (32) being preferred by both informants when compared to other options like "Det er Anne hinne mors bil" or "Det er Annes mor si bil".

32. Det er Anne hinne mor si bil

It is Anne POSS-her mom REFL-her car

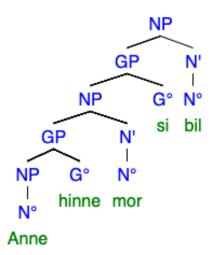
If these structures are put into the theoretical frameworks from earlier in the paper, the following is visible: First, the DP analysis seems to have no problem accommodating the challenges presented by West Jutlandic. All the possessive constructions can be accounted for in the DP structure without making any changes to the model. However, the GP analysis could potentially have some issues.

32a.



In the DP analysis in (32a) above, the DP *Anne hinne mor* is in a position where it can c-command the position of *si*. Thus, it predicts that the reflexive can be co-referential with its antecedent and thus that the reflexive can occur in this position.

32b.



In (32b), a consequence of the GP analysis is that it cannot account for the *si* in West Jutlandic unless it assumes that *si* and *hinne* are different realizations of the construct genitive 's, since the GP analysis specifies that only the construct genitive 's can occupy the G° position in the structure (Jensen 2012, 113). If the model was altered in a way that allowed for *sin* or *hinne* to also occupy

 G° , we would need to make ad hoc adjustments to the GP analysis before it could explain why *sin* could occur as a pronoun in some cases but as a genitive element in others.

The DP analysis would not have to be adjusted since it can already have pronouns, determiners, and possessive elements occupy the same position, D° . However, a bigger issue for the GP analysis is substitution. In the GP analysis, the entire phrase would be substituted. This would lead to a prediction like (33) which would come with some reservations, since the two pronouns would have to refer to two different people:

33. ?Hinne₁ si₂ bil Her₁ REFL-her₂ car

These examples from West Jutlandic thus support the claim from the DP analysis that possessive pronouns only replace the genitive ending 's and pose a problem for the claim from the GP analysis that a pronoun should substitute the entire phrase. At present, I do not see an option for the GP framework to accommodate the phrase *Anne hinne mor si bil* without changing the model.

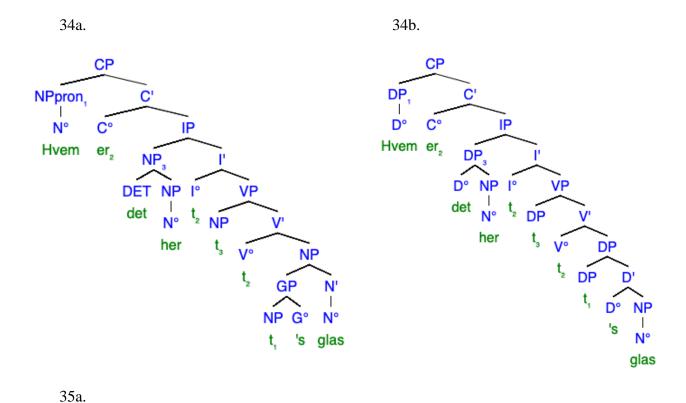
Finally, as a side observation, it seems that in West Jutlandic it is possible to do what Davis calls *possessor extraction* (Davis 2021, 293). The possessor should be extractable since it is a phrase on its own. However, it was the expectation that it should not be possible to separate the possessor from the possessive ending (Davis 2021, 293). In (34) the clause is not what you would expect in standard Danish. The tree structure for (34) can be found below in (34a) for the GP framework and (34b) for the DP framework. The tree structure for (35) can be seen in (35a).

34. Hvem er det her 's glas?

Who is this here POSS-s glass?

In a standard Danish variant, it would be:

35. Hvis glas er det her? Whose glass is this here?



CP DP C' C° D° IΡ NP Hvis er2 DP N٥ glas NP D° $t_{_{2}}$ det DP N° her t,

It is not quite like the construction Davis (2021, 294) found in colloquial English. In the West Jutlandic construction only the possessor moves from its base generated position to the CP-spec position. Furthermore, the constructions where the genitive ending was realized as the reflexive *si* received the highest grade of acceptability from my informants, whereas the standard genitive ending received scores that ranged from completely unacceptable to having a questionable

acceptability. Questionable acceptability means that one informant scored those statements as a 1 while the other gave it 4.

Lastly, it is interesting that you can only do this if the moved constituent is a wh-element.

- 36. Hvem kan det være -s bil? → Hvem kan det være si bil?

 Who can that be 's car? → who can that be REFL-s car?
- 37. Hvem ligner det -s bil? → Hvem ligner det si bil?

 Who resembles that -s car? → who resembles that REFL-s car?

The possibility of just extracting the possessor from West Jutlandic is fascinating since it cannot be done in standard Danish, and it is an example of the genitive 's occurring without the possessor in its specifier. Therefore, it would be interesting to examine it further.

6. Final observations

In summary, both theoretical models come with benefits and issues. A benefit of the DP analysis is the generalization. Many different members that share similar features and similar places in the syntactic structure, can more readily explain why the *construct genitive* and determiners like pronouns or articles cannot co-occur in front of the possessed NP (Carnie 2013, 210). This prediction is not as easily observable in the GP analysis in general, and the GP analysis cannot accommodate a language variant like West Jutlandic that uses a pronoun instead of the genitive 's without changing the model.

Another benefit is the similarity with the clause with the D° functioning as a functional element similarly to what the I° does in the IP. This similarity is not reflected to the same extent in the GP analysis.

An issue for the DP analysis is that it has no explanation for why a pronoun cannot occur in the specifier position of a construction that has the genitive 's as a head. This is something the GP analysis could more easily account for. Furthermore, the GP analysis also has a more straightforward explanation for why the genitive 's needs a possessor.

Delsing (1993, 152) notes that in West Jutlandic the reflexive pronoun *sin* cannot be used based on former field work. However, the informants from my field work used *sin* more than they used the gendered *hans* or *hinnes*. Furthermore, on the topic of reflexives, it must be considered an issue for the GP analysis that it makes the wrong prediction for reflexives and pronouns inside the NP, whereas the DP analysis makes the correct predictions and can account for those predictions in the tree structure.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has argued that the DP analysis offers a more complete theoretical framework of possessive structures in standard Danish and English as well as the Danish dialect of West Jutlandic. This was because the DP analysis could account for the variant of West Jutlandic

without modifying the original theoretical model. It was argued that both models could account for why the genitive 's occurred at the end of the entire phrase it modified. Both theories also had an explanation for why the possessed noun could not have an article or a pronoun co-occur with the genitive 's. However, it was also argued that since the GP analysis considered the possessor as a complement of G° it could more readily explain why the 's needed a possessor to precede it. Furthermore, it was argued that the concept of c-command was only correctly predicted by the DP analysis. Finally, similarities between the possessive constructions and the clause structure were better accounted for in the DP analysis.

Therefore, I conclude that the DP analysis has the better framework for analyzing possessives in different variants of Danish and English.

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