Disentangling *own*: evidence from association with focus

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1 Main claim

Argue on the basis of **association with focus** that there exist **two distinct lexical items**

- ***own*$_R$** : a ***reflexivizer*** that operates on a **derived predicate**

(1) Zelda painted her ***own*$_R$** room.

- ***own*$_{SP}$** : a marker of ***strong possession***

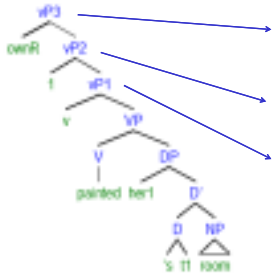
(2) Zelda's ***own*$_{SP}$** room is bigger than Lucie's.

2 *own*$_R$: a reflexivizer

- **Semantics of *own*$_R$** identical to that of **Local Reflexivizers (LRs)**

(3) $[\![\text{own}_R \text{ / herself}]\!] = \lambda R_{e,est}\lambda x\lambda e.\ R(x)(x)(e)$

- ***own*$_R$** moves to Voice for **type reasons**. It reflexivizes a **derived predicate**. (cf. Lechner's 2012 Anaphor Raising for LRs)



$[\![\text{vP3}]\!] = \lambda x\lambda e.$ painted-x's room(e) & agent(x)(e)

$[\![\text{vP2}]\!] = \lambda y\lambda x\lambda e.$ painted-y's room(e) & agent(x)(e)

$[\![\text{vP1}]\!] = \lambda x\lambda e.$ painted-y's room(e) & agent(x)(e)

[**Obligatory binding**: derivation only goes through if *own* and *her* are co-indexed]

- **Focused *own*$_R$** in the scope of Focus Association Operators (FAOs)
  - **Subject Alternatives (SA)** {x painted Zelda's room}
  - **Possessor Alternatives (PA)** {Zelda praised x's room}

(4) Q: Who painted Zelda's room? A: She painted her OWN room.

(5) Q: Whose room did Zelda paint? A: She painted her OWN room.

- **Existential F-Closure (ExFClo)** for narrowly focused *own*$_R$.

(6) $\exists Q_{eest,est}.\ [Q(\lambda y\lambda x\lambda e.$ painted-y's room(e) & agent(x)(e))](Zelda)

- **Subject and Possessor Alternatives** can be generated if the **alternatives** to focused *own*$_R$ are **other arity reducing operations**. (Spathas 2010 for LRs)

(7) a. $[\![\text{Passive}]\!] = \lambda R_{e,est}\lambda x\lambda e\exists y.\ R(x)(y)(e)$
b. $[\![\text{Anti-Passive}]\!] = \lambda R_{e,est}\lambda x\lambda e\exists y.\ R(y)(x)(e)$

- Felicity of QA-pairs **dependent on focus**.

(8) *Focus Principle* (Beaver and Clark 2008, revised)
The ExClo of the CQ entails the ExFClo of (a part of) U.

- **SA is licensed**, since the Focus Principle is satisfied (for Q=Passive).

(9) $\exists$x.x painted Zelda's room$\rightarrow\exists Q_{eet,et}.[Q(\lambda x\lambda y.$ y painted x's room)](Zelda)

3 Restrictions on Subject Alternatives

- **Movement** of *own*$_R$ predicts
  - *own*$_R$ to be **subject oriented**.

(10) Zelda$_1$'s brother didn't paint her$_1$ OWN room.
#OSCAR painted Zelda's room. #*SA*

  - *own*$_R$ to be **strictly local**.

(11) Q: Who asked Oscar to paint Zelda's room?
A: #She asked him to paint her OWN room. #*SA*

(12) Q: Who did Oscar ask to paint Zelda's room?
A: He asked her to paint her OWN room. *SA*

  - *own*$_R$ to be **disallowed inside islands for movement.**

(13) Zelda did not paint the door of her OWN room.
#OSCAR painted the door of her room. #*SA*

(14) Zelda did not paint her OWN room and her OWN kitchen.
#OSCAR painted her room and her kitchen. #*SA*

- **Obligatory binding** predicts *own*$_R$ to **bleed strict identity**

(15) Only ZELDA painted her own room. #*STRICT*
'#Zelda painted her room and no one else painted Zelda's room.'

  - *only* **sensitive to the CQ** (Roberts 1996, Beaver&Clark 2008)

(16) $[\![\text{only}]\!] = \lambda p.$ MIN(p). MAX(p) (Coppock and Beaver 2011)
a. MIN(p) = $\exists q \in$ CQ [true(q) $\wedge$ q $\geq$ p]
b. MAX(p) = $\forall q \in$ CQ [true(q) $\rightarrow$ p $\geq$ q]

- Strict reading requires **accommodation** of **CQ 'Who painted Zelda's room?'** - impossible due to **violation of Focus Principle.**

(17) $\exists$x.x painted Zelda's room $\not\rightarrow$ $\exists$x.x painted x's room

4 *own*$_R$ and strong reflexivization

- *own*$_R$ turns a relation into a **necessarily reflexive property**. (Based on Moulton's 2005 *Strong Reflexivity*)

(18) $[\![\text{own}_R]\!] = \lambda R\lambda x\lambda e\lambda w.R(x)(x)(e)(w)$ **& $\forall y\forall z\forall e'\forall w'$. R(y)(z)(e')(w')=1 $\rightarrow$ y=z**

  - *own*$_R$ is **redundant with inherently strongly reflexive predicates**.

(19) a. #?Zelda lost her own job/ mind.
b. Zelda opened her own eyes. *necessarily self-as-other*

- **Strong reflexivization** explains why **SA is out with *only***.

(20) Zelda only painted her OWN room.
#Oscar did not paint Zelda's room. #*SA*

- SA requires **accomodation of CQ 'Who painted Zelda's room?'** Possible, but leads to **presupposition failure**; no answer in the CQ entails the prejacent, because of strong reflexivization.

(21) a. Pres. of *only*: MIN(p) = $\exists q \in$ CQ [true(q) $\wedge$ q $\geq$ p]
b. Zelda painted Zelda's room $\not\rightarrow$ Zelda own-painted Zelda's room

5 *own*$_{SP}$: strong possession

- Distribution of *own* wider than the distribution of *own*$_R$.
- *own*$_{SP}$ can have a restrictive reading, whereby it helps identify the referent of the DP. (cf. Charnavel 2012 for French *propre*)

(22) (Zelda owns a car and also uses a professional one.)
Zelda's husband cleaned her own car this morning.

  - Charnavel's (2012) intuition for French *propre*: it is paraphrasable with adjectives like *personal*, *individual*, *specific*, *characteristic*, *intrinsic*.
  - **My own proposal**: *own*$_{SP}$ restricts the type of possession relation introduced by the determiner; it turns it into a **strong relation R**.

(23) $[\![\text{'s}]\!] = \lambda P\lambda y\iota x.$ P(x) & R(x)(y) (Baker 1995, a.o.)
(24) $[\![\text{'s own}]\!] = \lambda P\lambda y\lambda e\lambda w\iota x.$ P(x)(w) & R(x)(y)(e)(w) **& $\forall$e'$\forall$w'. R(x)(y)(e')(w')=1**
(25) $[\![\text{my own proposal}]\!] = \iota x.$ proposal(x)(w) & R(x)(s)(e)(w) **& $\forall$e'$\forall$w'. R(x)(s)(e')(w')=1**

  - Prediction: in **opaque contexts** *own*$_{SP}$ should give rise to **obligatory *de se*** readings.

(26) The amnesiac wants his father to receive a medal. *de se/ de re*
(27) The amnesiac wants his own father to receive a medal. **de se/ de re*

- *own*$_{SP}$ can also be used to signal **Possessor Alternatives** (even where SA is not licensed).

(28) Zelda$_1$'s brother painted her$_1$ OWN room (not HELEN's room).
(28) Zelda$_1$ painted the door of her$_1$ OWN room (not HELEN's room).
(29) Zelda$_1$ only painted her$_1$ OWN room. She didn't paint HELEN's room.

  - Narrow **focus on *own*$_{SP}$ signals alternatives to** possessive determiners that introduce **different relations R that are not strong**; e.g. the DP contrasts with DPs introducing other rooms that Zelda is not in a strong relation to. These include rooms with possessors other than Zelda.

6 Against unification

- **Could *own*$_{SP}$ derive Subject Alternatives?**
- **'agentive *own*'**: no other agent involved in making the clothes. (Safir 1996)

(30) Oscar makes his own clothes. (Safir 1996, (42a))

- **Issue:** what justifies characterizing the clothes as intrinsically Oscar's)? Since the discussion is about the creation of the clothes, *own*$_{SP}$ is licensed if only Oscar creates the clothes. (cf. Charnavel 2012 for French *propre*)
- SA shows **no restriction to creation verbs**, unlike 'agentive *own*'.
- Agentive *own* requires **no focus on *own***, unlike SA.
- Agentive *own* is **not sensitive to islands**, unlike SA.

(31) Oscar makes his own clothes and his own beer.

- **No interaction** of SA and restrictve reading.

(32) Drive your OWN car!
***own*$_{SP}$**: "Drive the car you own not the professional one."
***own*$_R$**: "Do not let other people drive your unique car."
"#Do not let other people drive the car that is your own."