# 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**: a reflexivizer that operates on a derived predicate
  1. Zelda painted her own room.
  2. Zelda’s own room is bigger than Lucie’s.
- **own**: a marker of strong possession

## 2 own*: a reflexivizer

- **Semantics of own**: identical to that of Local Reflexivizers (LRs)
  3. \( [[own, herself]] = λR.λx.R(x)(x(e)) \)

## 3 Restrictions on Subject Alternatives

### (10) Zelda’s brother didn’t paint her own room.
  * Oscar painted Zelda’s room.
  * SA

### (11) Q: Who asked Oscar to paint Zelda’s room?
  A: He asked her 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

### (13) Zelda did not paint the door of her own room.
  * Oscar painted the door of her own 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 to bleed strict identity

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

### (16) only sensitive to the CQ (Roberts 1996, Beaver & Clark 2008)

### (17) ExClo of the CQ entails the ExFClo of (a part of) U.

## 4 own R and strong reflexivization

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

### (18) own: \[ ∀[y\in y](\text{Case}(x|x)(x|e)(w))∧ \forall[y\in y]\text{Case}(x|x')(x|e')(w')=1 → y=x \]

- **own** 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

### (21) 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.

## 5 own SP: strong possession

### Distribution of own wider than the distribution of own.

### own can have a restrictive reading, whereby it helps identify the referent of the DP. (cf. Charnavel 2012 for French prepro)

### (22) [Zelda owns a car and also uses a professional one.]

### (23) [Zelda’s 2012] intuition for French prepro: it is paraphrasable with adjectives like personal, individual, specific, characteristic, intrinsic.

### My own proposal: own restricts the type of possession relation introduced by the determiner; it turns it into a strong relation R.

### (24) t’s own = λR.λx.R(x)(x(e)) ∀e’

### (25) [my own proposal] = λx.proposal(x) \& R(x)(x)(e\& e’)

### Prediction in opaque contexts own 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 can also be used to signal Possessor Alternatives (where SA is not licensed).

### (28) Zelda’s brother painted her OWN room.

### (29) Zelda, painted the door of her OWN room (not HELEN’s room).

### (30) Zelda, only painted her OWN room. She didn’t paint HELEN’s room.

### Narrow focus on own 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 derive Subject Alternatives?
  30. Oscar makes his own clothes. (Safir 1996)

### Issue: what justifies characterizing the clothes as intrinsically Oscar’s?

### Since the discussion is about the creation of the clothes, own is licensed if only Oscar creates the clothes. (cf. Charnavel 2012 for French prepro)

### 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.

### (32) Drive your OWN car own: “Drive the car you own not the professional one.”

### own: “Do not let other people drive your unique car.”

### “Do not let other people drive the car that is your own.”