

Own

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Abstract

- ▶ *Own* in *one's own NP* is a modifier of a possessive morpheme.
- ▶ *Own* restricts a free relation variable R introduced by the possessive.
- ▶ *Own* is licensed by a focus marked possessive, and intensifies a unique possessive relation.
- ▶ *John's own NP* is a quantifier and *his own NP* is a bound variable.

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Introduction

Syntax of "Own"

"Own" Needs to be Bound by a Possessive and Should Bind a Pronoun

Condition C or Strong Crossover

"One's Own NP" is a Quantifier and a Bound Variable with

Sloppy Identity

Sloppy identity

Paycheck Pronouns (Karttunen & Peters 1969) Further Show That

"His Own NP" is not a Referential Expression

"Own" is a Modifier of "s"

"Own" is Bound by "'s"

Semantics of "Own"

Truth-Conditional Meaning of "Own"

Hamblin Alternatives and Plurality

"One's Own NP" is an Indefinite Description

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Introduction

- ▶ *Own* appears to be semantically redundant.
The lexical meaning of *own*, the ownership or possession, is already expressed by the possessive morpheme that *own* necessarily follows. The addition of *own* to (1a) and (2a) is somewhat arbitrary.
- (1) a. Mary used her pen.
b. Mary used her **own** pen.
- (2) a. I want you to use your pen.
b. I want you to use your **own** pen.
- ▶ *Own* is added to intensify the unique possession of a pen by 'Mary' and 'you.'

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I will argue that:

- ▶ *Own* contributes to the truth conditional meaning of a proposition in a unique way, by restricting the free relation variable introduced by the possessive.
- ▶ *Own* is a modifier of a focus marked possessive morpheme.

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Syntax of *Own*

Own Needs to be Bound by a Possessive and Should Bind a Pronoun

Own has unique syntactic properties:

- ▶ *Own* cannot stand alone without a preceding possessive:
- (3) a. Use *(your) own pen.
b. Mary_i used *(her_i) own pen.
c. [_{TP} Mary_i said [_{CP} Jim_j used *(his_j/her_i) own pen.]]
d. [_{TP} I want you_i [_{CP} to PRO_i use *(your_i) own_i pen.]]
- ▶ A pronominal possessive + *own* (e.g., *her own*) needs to be bound: c-commanding relation is not necessary:
- (4) a. {Mary_i/Everyone_j} used {her_{i/j}/*Sue's} own pen.
b. I came with his (*own) car.
c. Her_i (own) cat scratched Jill_j.

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- ▶ A proper noun possessive + *own* (*Mary's own*) needs to bind a pronoun (5) which is not necessarily in its c-commanding position (6).
- (5) a. *Mary_i's (*own) cat disappeared.*
 b. *Mary_i's (*own) cat scratched Jill.*
 c. *Mary_i's own cat scratched {her_i/*Jill}.*
- (6) a. **Mary used Jill's own pen.*
 b. [_{TP} *Mary* [_{VP} <*Mary*> [_{VP} *used Jill_i's own_i pen* [_{PP} *against her_i*]]]].
- ▶ Safir (1996) points out that contrastive stress on *own* eliminates the need for its antecedent as in (7). Nevertheless, this paper will focus on *own* with neutral focus.
- (7) His OWN key is less important than Mary's.

Interim Summary:

- ▶ *Own* needs to be bound by an immediate possessive *John's/his*.
- ▶ *His own NP* is a reflexive pronoun (Saxon 1990, others) and needs to be bound by *John/everyone/noone*.
- ▶ *John's own NP* needs to license a pronoun.

Condition B

- ▶ Condition B: Possessive pronouns, either with or without *own*, escape Condition B effect at times. Even though *her* is c-commanded by *Mary*, (b) is grammatical.
- (8) a. *Mary_i scratched {*her_i/herself_i}.*
 b. *Mary_i used her_i (own) pen.*

Condition C or Strong Crossover

- ▶ Anti-c-commanding relation is not acceptable (9a)
- ▶ A pronominal possessive not in direct c-command relation is allowed (9b-e)
- ▶ (9a) may be either strong crossover effect assuming that *Mary's (own) pen* is a quantifier which undergoes quantifier raising, or the Condition C effect.
- (9) a. **She_i used Mary_i's (own) pen.*
 b. *Her_i friend used Mary_i's (own) pen.*
 c. ?*The book of John_i describes his_i (own) errors.*
 d. *Her_i (own) cat scratched Mary_i.*
 e. *Her_i mother's (own) cat scratched Mary_i.*

One's Own NP is a Quantifier and a Bound Variable with Sloppy Identity

John's own NP is a **quantifier**.

- ▶ *John's* is ambiguous between a quantifier which binds a pronoun *him* and a referential expression
- ▶ *John's own* in (10b) is unambiguously a quantificational determiner and cannot be a referential pronominal.

VP ellipsis:

- (10) a. *John_i's dog bit him_i and Mary's did, too.* [_√sloppy, _√strict]
- b. *John_i's own dog bit him_i and Mary's did, too.* [_√sloppy, *strict]

- ▶ Sloppy reading *Mary's dog bit her, too: him* is a bound variable of *John's* (10a) and *John's own* (10b).
 - ▶ Strict reading *Mary's dog bit him, too: him* is a referential pronoun which corefers with John.
 - ▶ *John's dog* may or may not bind *him* but *John's own dog* necessarily binds *him* so that the elided VP in (10b) can only contain a bound variable.
 - ▶ *John's own dog* parallels with *everyone*:
- (11) a. *Everyone_i called her_i mother and so did Sally.* [_√sloppy, *strict]
- b. *Everyone_i called her_i own mother and so did Sally.* [_√sloppy, *strict]

Her own NP is always a **bound variable** (12b)

- ▶ A possessive pronoun *her* can be ambiguous between a bound variable and an ordinary pronoun. (12a) is two-way ambiguous:

1. Sloppy reading *Sally called Sally's mother*.
 When *her* is a bound variable of *Mary*, the copied *her* in the elided VP (*Sally called her mother, too*) is also a bound variable bound by *Sally*
2. Strict reading *Sally called Mary's mother*.
 If *her* is an ordinary pronoun coreferential with *Mary*, *her* in the elided VP also refers to *Mary*

- (12) a. $Mary_i$ called her_i mother and so did Sally. [\checkmark sloppy, \checkmark strict]
 b. $Mary_i$ called her_i own mother and so did Sally. [\checkmark sloppy, *strict]

Paycheck Pronouns

- (13) a. John spent his paycheck on books but Bill spent it on vacation. [\checkmark sloppy, \checkmark strict]
 b. John spent his own paycheck on books but Bill spent it on vacation. [\checkmark sloppy, *strict]

- ▶ Strict reading (Bill spent John's own paycheck) is not available for *one's own NP*. Strict reading is obtained when *his* in *his own paycheck* is an ordinary pronoun that refers to *John* but it is not the case.
- ▶ Only sloppy reading (Bill spent Bill's own paycheck) is available in which *his* is a bound variable and *it* is interpreted to be a bound variable.¹

¹Culicover and Jackendoff (1996) discusses *something else* as paycheck pronouns.

Interim Summary:

- ▶ *John's own NP* is a quantifier that needs to bind a pronoun
- ▶ *His own NP* is a bound variable.
- ▶ *Own* is dependent on 's

Own is a modifier of 's

- ▶ We assume that *own* is a modifier of a possessive morpheme 's (14) based on the constituency test (15).

(14) [DP Mary [D' [D 's own] [NP pen]]

Deletion:

- (15) a. Jim used his own pen and Mary used her own \emptyset .
 b. *Jim used his own pen and Mary used her \emptyset .

- (16) a. *John's the book
 b. The King's Three Faces
 c. Three faces
 d. *Own faces

Why is *Own* dependent on the preceding 's?: Argument Structure of *Own*

2 ways to go:

1. A possessive licenses the coindexed *own*. A possessive itself is licensed by the coindexed referential expression. Such dependencies are captured by the following binding relations.

2. 's *own* is like one lexical item: *his own* \equiv "hissel²"

- (17) a. [TP $Mary_i$ [VP used her_i own; pen.]]
 b. [TP $Everyone_i$ [VP used his_i own; pen.]]

- (18) a. [TP $Mary$ λx . [VP used x 's x -own pen.]]
 b. [TP $Everyone$ λx . [VP used x 's x -own pen.]]

- ▶ *Own* is *indirectly* bound by the antecedent, *Mary* or *everyone*.

²Thanks to Masao Ochi for pointing this out.

- ▶ Safir (1996): *own* is two-place relational. The adjective *own* inherits its argument structure from the verb *own*. The verb *own* is transitive. *Own* takes the agent (possessor) and the theme (possessee) arguments.

- (19) a. $\checkmark own$; $(DP \setminus S) / DP$; $\lambda x. \lambda y. y$ owns x
 b. $\checkmark own$; $DP \setminus (DP / N)$; $\lambda x. \lambda P. \lambda y. x$ owns $y \wedge P(y)$
 (application of Partee (1997)'s transitive common noun *favorite*)

- ▶ The possessor argument is saturated by the possessor of the preceding possessive so that *own* is anaphoric to the possessive.

- (20) John's own; DP / N ;
 John's $\lambda x. x$ -own

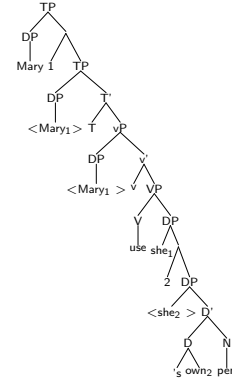
- ▶ The fact that *own* is dependent on the possessive suggests that *own* binding undergoes two steps.

(21) John used his own pen;
 John λx . used $x \lambda y$. 's y -own pen

- ▶ Even though the denotation of John, x and y are all the same, the ungrammaticality of the possessive-less *own* suggests that *own* is bound by the possessive and the possessive is bound by a referential expression or a quantifier.

(22) $Mary_i$ used her_j own_i pen.

(23) Heim and Kratzer(1998)'s style tree:



Problem

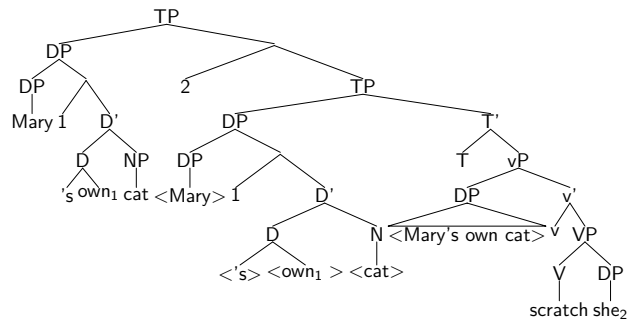
John's own obligatory licenses *him*:

(24) $Mary_i$ used {**John's/her_j*} own pen.

(25) $Mary_i$'s own; cat scratched her_j .

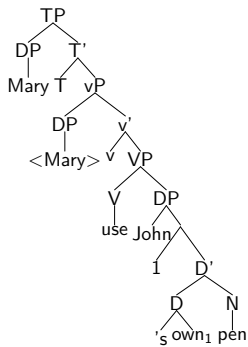
- ▶ *Mary/Mary's own* cannot bind *her*.

(26) $Mary_i$'s own cat scratched her_j .



- ▶ Ungrammaticality is not predicted:

(27) **Mary used John's own pen*



Kayne (2002): "Antecedent-pronoun relations require movement out of a constituent of the form [John-he]."³

(28) scratched [[*Mary's own her*] cat]

Problems:

1. *Mary's own* and *cat* form constituency
2. Theta role assignment:
 scratch (*Mary's own cat*, *her*)

³Thanks to Yoichi Miyamoto for suggesting the application of Kayne's theory.

Semantics of *Own*

Truth-Conditional Meaning of *Own*

- ▶ The addition of *own* changes the truth condition of the proposition
- ▶ (29a) is false when Mary uses someone else's pen
- ▶ (29b) is true when Mary borrows a pen from someone

- (29) a. Mary used her own pen.
b. Mary used her pen.
c. Mary used Mary's pen.
d. Mary used Sue's pen.

w	$\llbracket(29c)\rrbracket^w$	$\llbracket(29d)\rrbracket^w$	$\llbracket(29a)\rrbracket^w$	$\llbracket(29b)\rrbracket^w$
w ₁	T	F	T	T
w ₂	F	T	F	T

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Under **deontic modal**, *own* restricts the accessible worlds

- ▶ From (30a) worlds, the world where the hearer uses someone else's pen is not deontically accessible, or not allowed
- ▶ From (30b) worlds, the worlds in which the hearer uses someone else's pen are accessible

- (30) a. You must use your own pen.
b. You must use your pen.

w	$\llbracket(30a)\rrbracket^{w_1} = 1$	$\llbracket(30b)\rrbracket^{w_2} = 1$
w ₁ : Hearer uses hearer's pen	w ₁ Rw ₃	w ₂ Rw ₃
w ₂ : Hearer uses Mary's pen	$\neg w_2Rw_4$	w ₂ Rw ₄

- ▶ The addition of *own* excludes other owner's pen.
- ▶ Intolerance of other people's possessions is part of the truth conditional meaning of *own*.

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- (31) a. $\llbracket\text{Mary_uses_her_pen}\rrbracket = 1$ iff
 $\llbracket\text{use}\rrbracket(\llbracket\text{Mary}\rrbracket, \llbracket\text{her_pen}\rrbracket) = 1$ iff
 $\forall x[\text{pen}'(x) \wedge R(x)(\text{mary}) \rightarrow \text{use}'(x)(\text{mary})]$
 iff for all pens that mary holds some relations with (e.g., happens to be in her hand, owns, etc.), mary uses it
- b. $\llbracket\text{Mary_uses_her_own_pen}\rrbracket = 1$ iff
 $\forall x[\text{pen}'(x) \wedge \text{own}'(x)(\text{mary}) \rightarrow \text{use}'(x)(\text{mary})] \wedge$
 $\forall y[\text{pen}'(y) \wedge \neg \text{own}'(y)(\text{mary}) \rightarrow \neg \text{use}'(y)(\text{mary})]$

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- ▶ (31a): R relationship between Mary and the pen is not limited to the ownership relation but can be contextually supplied (Partee 1997, Barker 1995). If the pen is borrowed from someone else, R is the temporary possession relation and the pen may have a true owner.
- ▶ (31b): R relation is confined to the ownership relation alone. The use of other people's pen is not allowed. If there is any pen that Mary does not own, Mary does not use it.

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- ▶ *Own* disambiguates the R relation in (31) but it is not always the case in (32).
- (32) a. John is carrying his own book.
b. John is carrying his book.
- ▶ John can be either the author or the possessor of the book in both (32a) and (32b).
 - ▶ Therefore, while the exclusion of other people's possession is the truth conditional meaning of *own*, the possessive relation that *one's own* expresses varies.
 - ▶ Since *own* contrasts *Mary's own pen* with other people's pen, we need to compute the contrast between *Mary's own pen* with other people's pens. Since other people's pens are not directly referred to, we need to go to Hamblin Alternatives (Hamblin 1973, Rooth 1985, Rooth 1996) in order to refer to them.

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Hamblin Alternatives and Plurality

- ▶ Since *John's own pen* contrasts with other people's pens, we want to derive the alternative set of *John's pen, Mary's pen, Sue's pen, ...*
- (33) $\llbracket[\text{John's_own_pen}]\rrbracket^f = \{\text{John's pen}_1, \text{Mary's pen}_2, \text{Sue's pen}_3, \dots\}$
- ▶ We do not want the set of other stationeries such as:
- (34) $\llbracket[\text{John's_own_pen}]\rrbracket^f \neq \{\text{John's pen, Mary's pencil, Sue's eraser, Jim's scale, ...}\}$
- ▶ Nor do we want the set of different owners with identical pen:
- (35) $\llbracket[\text{John's_own_pen}]\rrbracket^f \neq \{\text{John's pen}_i, \text{Mary's pen}_i, \text{Sue's pen}_i, \dots\}$

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- ▶ This suggests that *John's* is focused and gives the alternative set of possessors {John's, Mary's, Sue's, ...} and the *pen* is pluralized into $pen_1, pen_2, pen_3, \dots$
- ▶ If only the possessive *John's* is focused, different pens for each owner are not derived (36).

- (36) a. $[[John's]_F]_F^f = \{John's, Mary's, Sue's, \dots\}$
 b. $[[John's]_F]_F^o_{\langle et, \langle et, t \rangle \rangle} = \lambda P. \lambda Q. John'(\exists x[\forall y[[Q(y) \wedge R(y)(j)] \leftrightarrow y = x] \wedge P(x)])$ (Partee 1997)
 c. $[[John's]_F]_F^f_{\langle \langle et, \langle et, t \rangle \rangle, t \rangle} = \lambda \Pi \langle et, \langle et, t \rangle \rangle. \Pi(\lambda P. \lambda Q. own'(x)(y) \wedge P(x) \wedge Q(x) \wedge y \in D)$
 d. $[[John's]_F-own-pen]_F^f_{\langle \langle et, t \rangle, t \rangle} = \lambda \wp \langle et, t \rangle. \wp(\lambda y \in D. \exists y[pen'(y) \wedge own'(x)(y)])$

- ▶ If *own* associates with *John's pen*:
 (37) $[[[John's]_F-own-]_F]_F^f = \{John's pen, Mary's pencil, Sue's eraser, Jim's scale, \dots\}$
- ▶ Focus semantic value on *John's pen* overgenerates the set of stationaries. Rather, *own* gives focused set of possessors and pluralized pen: John's pen \oplus Mary's pen \oplus Sue's pen \oplus, \dots à la Link (1983)
- ▶ *Own* 'sorts' the entities (à la Löbner 1985)

One's Own NP is an Indefinite Description

Saxon (1990): the use of *his own key* in (38b) does not commit one to the existence of a key

- (38) a. John will never have his key.
 b. John will never have his own key.
- ▶ (38a) is unambiguous:
The existence of John's key is presupposed (his key > never)
 - ▶ (38b) is ambiguous:
i) John has never had his own key (never > his own key)
ii) John's own key has been lost and he has been using someone else's key lately (his own key > never)

Such ambiguity is comparable to indefinite DP such as *a book*.

- ▶ *John did not read a book* is ambiguous:
 i) John did not read any book (not > a book)
 ii) there is a particular book that John did not read (a book > not)

Conclusion

- ▶ This paper examined the syntactic behavior and the meaning of *own*.
- ▶ *Own* is a determiner modifier.
- ▶ *One's own NP* is an indefinite quantifier.
- ▶ *Own* intensifies possessive relation and excludes other owner's object as part of the truth conditional meaning. *Own* sorts the possessum entities.

Appendix: One's Own is a Conservative Determiner

The exhaustivity of *own* resembles that of *only*. But contrary to *only*, *one's own* and *own* are conservative (40).

(39) Q is a conservative function on D iff for all A, B \subseteq D,
 $Q(A)(B) = Q(A)(A \cap B)$

- (40) a. Mary's own cat scratched her.
 b. **Mary's own** cat is a cat that scratched her.
 c. Mary's **own** cat is Mary's cat that scratched her.

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