

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Linking Binding and Focus:  
on intensifying *son propre* in French

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts  
in Linguistics

by

Isabelle Charnavel

2009

© Copyright by  
Isabelle Charnavel  
2009

The thesis of Isabelle Charnavel is approved.

---

Daniel Büring

---

Peter Hallman

---

Dominique Sportiche, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2009

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I am deeply indebted to my principal advisor Dominique Sportiche for his unwavering support, help and encouragement, as well as for all his very inspiring suggestions and comments. In fact, these few lines could never constitute a proper thank-you: in particular, this paper (and me doing a PhD in linguistics) would not exist without Dominique, who introduced me to theoretical and formal linguistics with a very communicative enthusiasm; moreover, the idea of exploring *son propre* with respect to binding is his. Mille mercis!

I am also very grateful to the other members of my committee. I would like to thank a lot Daniel Büring for his most valuable comments and insight during all the very helpful and fruitful discussions we had about this thesis: this is how this paper ends up having an important semantic part. Many thanks to Peter Hallman too for his very interesting comments and suggestions on both the syntactic and semantic aspects of this work.

I also want to thank Emmanuel Chemla for helping me so generously to construct the online questionnaire (see appendix), and all the participants who took the time to answer this questionnaire.

Lastly, I am grateful to the audience of the UCLA syntax-semantics seminar for their interesting suggestions and comments.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Linking Binding and Focus:  
on intensifying *son propre* in French

by

Isabelle Charnavel

Master of Arts in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 2009

Professor Dominique Sportiche, Chair

Even though some typological studies document a striking empirical link between binding and intensification, very few theoretical studies take into account this observation. The goal of this thesis is to explore the relation between intensification and binding in the light of French *son propre* ('his own') and to show that these two modules of the grammar interact with each other. To this end, I argue that *propre* ('own') exhibits intensifying properties that have consequences on the binding properties of *son propre* ('his own').

First, I propose that *propre* behaves like a flexible intensifier specialized in possessive DPs: its semantic effect consists in contrasting either the possessor (possessor

*propre*) or the possessum (*possessum propre*) with a set of contextually determined alternatives.

Then, I show that these double intensifying properties of *propre* correlate with the binding properties of *son propre*. In the first case (*possessor propre*), *son propre* exhibits anaphoric properties. More specifically, when *propre* intensifies the possessor, i.e. the referent of the antecedent of *son propre*, *son propre* behaves like an anaphor or a logophor: either it obeys the syntactic constraints of binding theory (principle A) or it follows the constraints of logophoricity. In the second case however (*possessum propre*), neither of these requirements holds: *son propre* obeys constraints different from binding.

This means that the binding properties of *son propre* depend on the intensification of the referent of its antecedent. Therefore, the case of *son propre* shows that intensification and binding are interdependent modules of the grammar.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction .....	1
1.1. The goal: interaction between binding and intensification .....	1
1.2. Object of the study: complex possessive <i>son propre</i> .....	2
1.2.1. The different uses of <i>propre</i> in French .....	2
1.2.2. Target of the study: possessive <i>propre</i> .....	4
1.3. The proposal.....	6
2. Chapter 1 <i>Propre</i> : a flexible intensifier counterpart of <i>-même</i> in possessive DPs ....	8
2.1. Intuitions about <i>propre</i> .....	8
2.1.1. First case: possessor <i>propre</i> .....	8
2.1.2. Second case: possessum <i>propre</i> .....	10
2.1.3. The alternatives: remarks on existential and scalar presuppositions .....	12
2.2. Formalization: <i>propre</i> as a flexible intensifier counterpart of <i>même</i> in possessive DPs .....	15
2.2.1. Analysis of German adnominal <i>selbst</i> (cf. Eckardt 2001; Hole 2002) ....	15
2.2.2. The meanings of <i>propre</i> .....	18
2.3. Conclusion of the chapter and some open issues .....	31
3. Chapter 2: How the intensifying properties of <i>propre</i> interact with the binding properties of <i>son propre</i> .....	39
3.1. Possessor <i>son propre</i> : anaphoric and logophoric properties.....	39
3.1.1. First case: anaphoric <i>son propre</i> .....	39
3.1.2. Second case: logophoric <i>son propre</i> .....	42
3.2. Possessum <i>son propre</i> : no binding properties .....	50
3.2.1. The case of possessum <i>son propre</i> : no anaphoric nor logophoric properties.....	50
3.2.2. The case of possessum <i>son propre</i> : constraints other than binding.....	56
3.3. Conclusion of the chapter: <i>son propre</i> as an evidence for an interaction between binding and intensification .....	62
3.3.1. Generalizations.....	62
3.3.2. Evidence against an independence between binding and intensification .....	63
3.3.3. Interaction between binding and intensification in the light of French <i>son propre</i> .....	69
4. Conclusion .....	77
4.1. Summary .....	77
4.2. The results of the study .....	78
4.3. Topics for further research.....	81
5. Appendix.....	83
6. References .....	92

## **Introduction**

### **1.1. The goal: interaction between binding and intensification**

Some typological studies (cf. König and Siemund: 2000) document a striking empirical fact about binding and intensification: in many languages, the elements that serve as reflexives are either identical to the elements serving as adnominal intensifiers (e.g. English *himself*, Chinese *ziji*, French *lui-même*) or partially overlap with adnominal intensifiers (e.g. German *sich selbst*, Dutch *zichzelf*, Danish *sig selv*).

Nevertheless, for a long time, most binding theoretical accounts of reflexives (cf. Chomsky: 1981; Pollard and Sag: 1992; Reinhart and Reuland: 1993...etc) have not taken into consideration this fact. Only in the mid-nineties, several researchers (cf. Baker: 1995, Zribi-Hertz: 1995...etc) began to examine the close link between intensifiers and reflexives. The essence of these studies<sup>1</sup> consists in separating intensification and binding into two independent modules of the grammar.

In this paper, I will show that the link between reflexives and intensifiers must be taken into account in theoretical analyses of binding, but in a different way: binding and intensification do not constitute separate modules in the grammar, but interact with each other. To this end, I will use the example of the French complex possessive *son propre*

---

<sup>1</sup> See Bergeton: 2004 for a detailed realization of this theoretical direction.



(e.g. (1)) because it has specific properties that reveal this phenomenon in a particular way: the correlations that the analysis of *son propre* brings to the fore cannot appear in the study of better analyzed expressions such as *himself*.

- 1) Cécile a invité **son propre** frère.  
Cécile has invited her own brother  
'Cécile invited her own brother.'

## **1.2. Object of the study: complex possessive *son propre***

Let's start with some background about *propre*, which is used in several ways in French. This study will concentrate on *propre* meaning 'own', more specifically on the expression *son propre* meaning 'his own'. The *propre* in question is identifiable by its DP-internal distribution.

### 1.2.1. The different uses of *propre* in French

The term *propre* presents various uses in French, which are all historically related to Latin *proprius* ('exclusively belonging to, peculiar to'). Here is a classification proposed by some dictionaries:

a- *propre* can mean 'clean':

- 2) Ce mouchoir n' est pas **propre**.  
this handkerchief NE is not PROPRE  
'This handkerchief is not clean.'

b- *propre à* can mean 'peculiar to':

- 3) C' est une coutume **propre** au Berry.  
it is a custom PROPRE to\_the Berry  
'It's a custom peculiar to the Berry region.'

c- *propre à* can mean 'liable to':

- 4) Voici des déclarations **propres** à rassurer les investisseurs.  
here\_are some statements PROPRE to reassure the investors  
'These are statements liable to reassure investors.'

d- *propre* can mean 'own':

- 5) Romain l' a fabriqué de ses propres mains.  
Romain it has made of his own hands  
'Romain made it with his own hands'.
- 6) La particularité de ce musée aménagé dans le propre appartement  
the particularity of this museum set\_up in the own apartment  
de Delacroix, est sa proximité avec l' artiste, sa vie et son œuvre. [attested on  
of Delacroix is its proximity with the artist his life and his work  
google]  
'The particularity of this museum situated in Delacroix's own apartment is its  
proximity to the artist, its life and its work.'

e- *propre* has some other particular uses:

- 7) Le rire est le propre de l' homme.  
the laugh is the PROPRE of the human\_being  
'Laughing is peculiar to human beings.'
- 8) au sens propre  
in\_the sense PROPRE  
'in the literal sense'
- 9) appartenir en propre  
belong in PROPRE  
'to belong exclusively to'
- 10) amour-propre  
love- PROPRE  
'self-esteem'

### 1.2.2. Target of the study: possessive *propre*

In this study, I will focus on the use listed in d,<sup>2</sup> that is *propre* meaning 'own'. More specifically, I will concentrate on *propre* combining with the possessive determiner *son*<sup>3</sup> ('his'; e.g. (4)) and I will call it possessive *propre*.

Possessive *propre* looks like an adjective. In particular, it presents agreement in number (singular *propre* vs. plural *propres*).<sup>4</sup> However, unlike the uses of *propre* listed in (a), (b) and (c), possessive *propre* has a unique distribution different from the distribution of French adjectives. It presents the following characteristics:

a- It can only occur in a possessive DP expressing both a possessor and a possessum:

- |  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| 11) son propre chien<br>his own dog                | 'his own dog'    |
| 12) votre propre chien<br>your own dog             | 'your own dog'   |
| 13) le propre chien de Jean<br>the own dog of John | 'John's own dog' |
| 14) *le propre chien<br>the own dog                |                  |
| 15) * propre Jean<br>own John                      |                  |

b- It is exclusively prenominal:

- |                                      |               |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|
| 16) sa propre voiture<br>his own car | 'his own car' |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|

---

<sup>2</sup> Even so, I do not assume that these uses roughly presented here are not synchronically related (I will come back to this problem at the end of the first chapter). I simply mean that the properties that will show an interaction between binding and intensification only arise when *propre* occupies a specific position in the DP and that's why I only deal with *propre* in this position.

<sup>3</sup> The possessive determiner *son* in French agrees in gender and number with the possessum (unlike English 'his') and in person with the possessor.

<sup>4</sup> The presence of a plural marker is made clear by the liaison phenomenon.

17) # sa voiture propre<sup>5</sup>  
his car own

18) la propre voiture de Jean 'John's own car'  
the own car of John

19) # la voiture propre de Jean<sup>5</sup>  
the own car of John

c- It cannot be used predicatively:

20) # son chien est propre<sup>5</sup>  
his dog is own

21) # il a un chien propre<sup>5</sup>  
he has a dog own

d- It cannot coordinate with any adjective:

22) son premier chien 'his first dog'  
his first dog

23) \* son propre et premier chien '\*his first and own dog'  
his own and first dog

24) \* son premier et propre chien '\*his own and first dog'  
his first and own dog

e- It is only compatible with the definite determiner: it cannot combine with indefinites and quantifiers.

25) le propre chien de Jean 'John's own dog'  
the own dog of John

26) \*un propre chien de Jean  
a own dog of John

27) \* quelques propres chiens de Jean  
some own dogs of John

28) \* deux propres chiens de Jean  
two own dogs of John

---

<sup>5</sup> But the example is fine if *propre* means 'clean'.

- 29) a. \*Ton anecdote me fait rire et me rappelle **quelques propres aventures**.  
 your anecdote me makes laugh and me reminds some own adventures  
 [score: 11]<sup>6</sup>
- b. Ton anecdote me fait rire et me rappelle quelques-unes de  
 your anecdote me makes laugh and me reminds some of  
 mes propres aventures. [score: 91]  
 my own adventures  
 'Your anecdote makes me laugh and reminds me of some of my own adventures.'
- 30) a. \*Roger stipule dans son testament qu' un bel-enfant hérite comme  
 Roger stipulates in his will that a stepchild inherits like  
**un propre enfant**. [score: 31]  
 a own child  
 'Roger stipulates in his will that a stepchild comes into money like an own child.'
- b. Roger stipule dans son testament que son bel-enfant héritera comme  
 Roger stipulates in his will that his stepchild will\_inherit like  
 son propre enfant. [score: 88]  
 his own child  
 'Roger stipulates in his will that his stepchild will come into money like his own child.'

So, even if it morphologically looks like an adjective, possessive *propre* has a very specific DP-internal distribution different from the adjectival distribution of the other uses of *propre*. Therefore, possessive *propre* is easily identifiable. It will be the target of this study since it is in the particular environment where it occurs that interesting properties arise with respect to binding and intensification.

### 1.3. The proposal

In the following chapters, I explore the intricate properties of *son propre* and I show that the complex behavior of this expression can only be understood if one

---

<sup>6</sup> The scores indicated here correspond to the grades provided by 63 native speakers of French in answer to a questionnaire constructed for these purposes (see appendix). The participants were asked to provide grammatical judgments on a continuous scale (1-100) for 82 sentences; the sentences were presented two by two (reported as a/b here) to encourage contrastive judgments.

pinpoints the specific intensifying properties of *propre* and correlate them with the binding properties of *son propre*.

First (chapter 1), I show that *propre* behaves like a flexible intensifier specialized in possessive DPs: its semantic effect consists in contrasting either the possessor (possessor *propre*) or the possessum (possessum *propre*) with a set of contextually determined alternatives.

Then (chapter 2), I argue that these double intensifying properties of *propre* correlate with the binding properties of *son propre*. In the first case (possessor *propre*), *son propre* exhibits anaphoric properties. More specifically, when *propre* intensifies the possessor, i.e. the referent of the antecedent of *son propre*, *son propre* behaves like an anaphor or a logophor (long distance anaphor): either it obeys the syntactic constraints of binding theory (principle A) or it follows the constraints of logophoricity. In the second case however (possessum *propre*), neither of these requirements holds: *son propre* obeys constraints different from binding. This means that the binding properties of *son propre* depend on the intensification of the referent of its antecedent.

Therefore, the case of *son propre* shows that intensification and binding interact with each other. Furthermore, the similarity between *propre* and other intensifiers like *même* that I will point out suggests that this generalization could be extended to all intensifiers and eventually reveal a more general principle of the grammar.

# Chapter 1

## *Propre*: a flexible intensifier counterpart of *-même* in possessive DPs

In this chapter, it will be shown that *propre* behaves like a flexible intensifier specialized in possessive DPs: its semantic effect consists in contrasting either the possessor (possessor *propre*) or the possessum (possessum *propre*) with a contextually set of alternatives. Based on the similarity between *propre* and *-même* ('-self'; cf. German *selbst*), I will provide an analysis of *propre* as counterpart of *-même* in possessive DPs.

### 2.1. Intuitions about *propre*

First, I describe the intuitions suggesting that *propre* can have two targets: it can contrast with alternatives either the possessor or the possessum of the possessive DP in which it occurs.

#### 2.1.1. First case: possessor *propre*

Let's compare the two following sentences:

- 31) a. Aujourd'hui, Claire<sub>i</sub> a pris sa<sub>i</sub> voiture pour aller au travail.  
today Claire has taken her car for go to\_the work  
'Today, Claire took her car to go to work.'
- b. Aujourd'hui, Claire<sub>i</sub> a pris sa<sub>i</sub> propre voiture pour aller au travail.  
today Claire has taken her own car for go to\_the work  
'Today, Claire took her own car to go to work.'

Both sentences are true in the same situation where Claire has a car and she took this car to go to work: the presence of *propre* does not change the truth-conditions of (31b) as compared to (31a).

However, the two sentences do not have the same felicity conditions: (31b) is felicitous only if there is some other referent in the discourse background whose car is or has been under discussion with respect to its use by Claire to go to work. For example, (31b) could be felicitous in the following context: Claire usually takes her husband's car because it works better than hers; but today, her husband exceptionally needs his car at the same time; that's why Claire takes her own car instead. Thus, *propre* requires some other contextually salient referent(s) that play(s) the role of alternative(s).

In other words, *propre* imposes a contrastiveness condition: an element can be associated with *propre* only if it is contrasted with other referents that are implicit or explicit in the context. This is further suggested by the fact that *propre* cannot be used in contexts where a contrast is unfelicitous:

32) \*Carole a perdu son propre sang-froid.  
Carole has lost her own blood cold  
'\*Carole lost her own cool.'

Since it is impossible that Carole loses someone else's cool, the referent of *son* ('her'), namely Carole, cannot be contrasted with other alternatives. This precludes the use of *propre* in (32): *propre* can only occur in contexts where the generation of contrast-sets of alternatives is possible.



Moreover, in this first case – that I call *possessor propre* –, the alternatives target the possessor.<sup>7</sup> Thus in (31b), the referent of *Claire* that is contrasted with other individuals corresponds to the car's possessor: the individual Claire belongs to the set of contextual possible possessors of the car; in particular, the other salient possessor in the context is Claire's husband.

This means that *propre* has an effect similar to focusing the possessor by stressing it:

- 33) Aujourd'hui, Claire<sub>i</sub> a pris SA<sub>i</sub> voiture pour aller au travail.  
 today Claire has taken HER car for go to\_the work  
 'Today, Claire took her car to go to work.'

#### 2.1.2. Second case: possessum propre

In the first case called *possessor propre*, the semantic effect of *propre* consists in contrasting the referent of the possessor with a contextually determined set of alternatives. But we observe a second case in which the alternatives target the possessum, as illustrated by the following example:

- 34) a. Arnaud<sub>i</sub> est devenu si insupportable que sa<sub>i</sub> fille a cessé de lui  
 Arnaud is become so unbearable that his daughter has stopped of him  
 rendre visite. [score: 95]  
 visit  
 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his daughter stopped visiting him.'
- b. Arnaud<sub>i</sub> est devenu si insupportable que sa<sub>i</sub> propre fille a cessé de  
 Arnaud is become so unbearable that his own daughter has stopped of

---

<sup>7</sup> Note that *propre* can also target the possessor if it is expressed by a prepositional phrase *de X*, although it is not judged as good as the other case by all native speakers of French.

Donc me voilà débarquant dans un appartement plus grand que le propre  
 so me here turning\_up in a apartment more big than the own  
 appartement de mes parents en France! [score: 31] [attested on google]  
 apartment of my parents in France  
 'And then, I was turning up at an apartment that was bigger than my parents' own apartment in France!'

lui rendre visite. [score: 90]

him visit

'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his own daughter stopped visiting him.'

As in the case of possessor *propre*, both sentences are true in the same situation, but have different felicity conditions: alternatives come into play in (34b). However, it is not the referent of the possessor that is targeted in this sentence. Arnaud (possessor of the daughter, given that the notion of possession is meant to be very broad here) is not contrasted with other fathers. Rather, it is Arnaud's daughter – thus the possessum – that is contrasted with other individuals. For example, (34b) would be felicitous in the following context: Arnaud's friend and Arnaud's cousin have already stopped visiting Arnaud because he is too bad-tempered. Thus, *propre* targets the possessum in this case since it is the referent of the whole possessive DP *sa fille* ('his daughter') that is contrasted with other individuals.

This means that *propre* has an effect comparable to focusing the possessum by stressing it:

35) Arnaud<sub>i</sub> est devenu si insupportable que sa<sub>i</sub> **FILLE** a cessé de lui  
Arnaud is become so unbearable that his DAUGHTer has stopped of him  
rendre visite.  
visit

'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his daughter stopped visiting him.'

Note that the example (34b) could suggest that it is not the possessum individual, but rather the relation ('daughter') that is contrasted with other relations ('friend' or 'cousin' in the context). But this turns out to be incorrect because it is not necessary that the alternatives be related to the possessor as shown by the following example:

36) Ce n' est pas la victime qui a dénoncé Jean<sub>i</sub>, ni un témoin, c'est sa<sub>i</sub> propre  
 it NE is not the victim who has denounced John nor a witness it is his own  
 mère qui l' a dénoncé!  
 mother who him has denounced  
 'It's not the victim who denounced John, nor a witness, it's his own mother who  
 denounced him!'

The hypothesis that *propre* targets the relation would predict that the relation of motherhood in (36) is contrasted with other relations. However, at least one of the two alternatives explicitly given in the sentence does not confirm this idea: the witness does not stand in a specific relationship to John that could be a salient alternative to the relation of motherhood. It is rather the individual referent of 'his mother' (the possessum, i.e. the possessed entity in the broad sense of possession) that is contrasted with the individual referred to as witness. That's why I call this second case possessum *propre*.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.1.3. The alternatives: remarks on existential and scalar presuppositions

Whether *propre* targets the possessum or the possessor, the alternative propositions may be either true (additive reading) or false (exclusive reading). This means that there is no existential presupposition involved by *propre*: for example, (36) is felicitous if

---

<sup>8</sup> As in the previous case, the possessum can also be targeted when the possessor is expressed by a prepositional phrase *de X*: here, the referent of the victim's son is contrasted with other individuals:

Le meurtrier présumé qui a été placé en hôpital psychiatrique n' est autre  
 the murderer presumed who has been placed in hospital psychiatric NE is other  
 que le propre fils de la victime. [score: 78] [attested on google]  
 than the own son of the victim  
 'The presumed murderer who has been placed in a psychiatric hospital is no other than the  
 victim's own son.'

Moreover, note that possessum *propre* does not have to appear in DPs subjects as (34b) could suggest: the following example presents a salient reading where Michel's children are contrasted with other individuals (and not with other people's children).

Dans un moment de folie, Michel<sub>i</sub> a tué ses<sub>i</sub> propres enfants.  
 in a moment of madness Michel has killed his own children  
 'In a moment of madness, Michel killed his own children.'

John's mother is the only individual that denounced John; *propre* does not presuppose that any other proposition is true. This is confirmed by the fact that *sa propre mère* occurs in a cleft; (36) is therefore an example of exclusive reading. But (34b) illustrates that additive readings of possessum *propre* are possible too: (34b) is felicitous if the alternatives involving Arnaud's friend and Arnaud's cousin are true. Similarly for possessor *propre*, (31b) does not presuppose that the alternative proposition *Aujourd'hui, Claire a pris la voiture de son mari pour aller au travail* ('Today Claire took her husband's car to go to work') is true, and it is actually false in the given context (exclusive reading). Nevertheless, the alternatives do not have to be false either in the case of possessor *propre*, but may be true (additive reading<sup>9</sup>):

37) Louis<sub>i</sub> oublie toujours les anniversaires des gens. En fait, il a récemment  
 Louis forgets always the birthdays of people. in fact he has recently  
 oublié son propre anniversaire!  
 forgotten his own birthday  
 'Louis always forgets people's birthdays. Actually, he recently forgot his own  
 birthday!'

So neither possessor *propre* nor possessum *propre* involves any existential presupposition. *Propre* is different from the focus particle *even* in this respect, since *even* presupposes that the proposition is true for at least one other element in the focus-generated set of alternatives.

However, just like *even*, possessum *propre* seems to involve a scalar presupposition, which orders the focus alternatives on a scale of expectedness. In every example involving possessum *propre*, the individual targeted by *propre* is an unlikely

---

<sup>9</sup> The terms *additive* and *exclusive* have been proposed in the literature about German *selbst* ('-self') to differentiate two kinds of readings. See Eckardt (2001, p. 392), for more details.

one<sup>10</sup> in the context. That's why the following sentence is comparable to (34b): the only difference is that there is an existential presupposition here but not in (34b):

38) Arnaud<sub>i</sub> est devenu si insupportable que même sa<sub>i</sub> fille a cessé de  
Arnaud is become so unbearable that even his daughter has stopped of  
lui rendre visite. [score: 95]  
him visit  
'Arnaud has become so unbearable that even his own daughter stopped visiting him.'

However, possessor *propre* does not yield such scalar presupposition: in (31b), Claire is not less expected than her husband to be the possessor of the car that she takes to go to work.

So unlike possessor *propre*, possessum *propre* presents the same scalar presupposition as *even*; but like possessor *propre*, it does not involve the existential presupposition that *even* involves.

To sum up the semantic intuitions about *propre*, it appears that *propre* does not change the truth-conditions of the sentence in which it appears, but its felicity conditions: the semantic contribution of *propre* consists in contrasting the possessor or

---

<sup>10</sup> In the case of scalar presupposition, it is usually assumed that the target proposition is the least likely of all the alternative propositions (concerning such a scalar presupposition for *even*, cf. for example Rullmann: 1997). But at least for *propre*, it does not seem to be correct to claim in (34b) that another individual such as Arnaud's mother cannot be as unlikely as Arnaud's daughter to stop visiting him, and the sentence would still be felicitous if Arnaud's mother is salient in the context too. That's why I propose that the individual targeted by *propre* is not the least likely one, but an unlikely one. In other words, the likelihood scale does not have a total order, but only a partial one. Concerning likelihood, it is not an objective notion here. The point of view that is adopted is probably the point of view of the hearer as perceived by the speaker; this is suggested by examples such as the following one:

N' oublie pas ceci même si c'est difficile à accepter: tes propres parents mourront un  
NE forget not this even if it is hard to accept: your own parents will\_die a  
jour.  
day  
'Don't forget this, even if it's hard to admit: your own parents will die some day.'

the possessum of the possessive DP in which it occurs with a contextually generated set of alternatives. These alternatives may be true or false and they are ordered on a scale of likelihood only in the case of possessum *propre*.

## **2.2. Formalization: *propre* as a flexible intensifier counterpart of *même* in possessive DPs**

The main semantic intuitions about *propre* are similar in several respects to the intuitions that have been reported for German *selbst* ('-self'; cf. French *-même*) referred to as an intensifier. So, based on the analysis that has been proposed for *selbst*, I will argue that *propre* is a counterpart of the intensifier *-même*<sup>11</sup> in possessive DPs and that *propre* therefore falls into the class of intensifiers.

### 2.2.1. Analysis of German adnominal *selbst* (cf. Eckardt 2001; Hole 2002)

Let's compare these two sentences to determine the semantic import of adnominal *selbst*:

- 39) a. Der König selbst wird teilnehmen.  
the king himself will attend  
'The king himself will attend.'
- b. Der König wird teilnehmen.  
the king will attend  
'The king will attend.'

Both sentences are true in a situation where the king will come to the meeting under discussion. So like *propre*, *selbst* does not change the truth-conditions of (39a) as compared to (39b).

---

<sup>11</sup> I assume here that the analysis provided for German *selbst* can be adapted to French *-même*.

But in (39a), at least one other person is under discussion as a possible attendee. For example, the sentence is felicitous in a context where the ministers usually attend the kind of meeting that is under discussion, but not the king; however, this time, the king will come in person. Therefore, *selbst* involves alternatives to the referent of the DP to which it adjoins, namely here, alternatives to the referent of the king.

To capture these intuitions, it has been proposed that *selbst* is an identity function under focus.

First, since *selbst* does not change the truth-conditions of the sentence, it is assumed to denote the identity function over individuals. (40) presents Eckardt's proposal for the lexical entry of *selbst*.<sup>12</sup>

$$\begin{aligned} 40) \text{ID: } D_e &\rightarrow D_e \\ \text{ID}(a) &= a \text{ for all } a \in D_e \quad (\text{cf. Eckardt 2001: p.380}) \end{aligned}$$

Adnominal *selbst* is thus a function of type  $\langle e, e \rangle$  which maps individuals to themselves.<sup>13</sup>

So far, this predicts that *selbst* is a purely vacuous element. But crucially, the focus accent that is typically observed on *selbst* leads to a Rooth<sup>14</sup>-style focus meaning of *selbst*: *selbst*, which does not make a difference in the ordinary denotation, will make a crucial difference in the focus meaning by introducing alternative functions on the

---

<sup>12</sup> This kind of denotation was already proposed in Moravcsik (1972) who argues that intensifying *selbst* denotes the identity function ID on the domain of objects.

<sup>13</sup> This correctly predicts that *selbst* adjoins to proper names and definite DPs. Moreover, Eckardt (2001: p.380) also provides a type-lifted version of (40), which can be used under analyses which assume a generalized-quantifier account for plural DPs and in the case of specific indefinites as well.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Rooth. 1985; 1992.

domain of individuals. The focus meaning of *selbst* is the set of all functions which map individuals to other individuals.

41) Ordinary meaning

$$\llbracket \text{selbst} \rrbracket^{\circ} = \lambda x_e. x$$

Focus meaning

$$\llbracket \text{selbst} \rrbracket^f = \{f_{\langle e, e \rangle}: f(x) \neq x\}^{15}$$

= { $\lambda x_e$ . the y such that y is x's minister,  $\lambda x_e$ . the y such that y is x's wife,  $\lambda x_e$ . the y such that y is x's proxy...}

Thus, *selbst* evokes alternative functions on the domain of individuals and therefore, it indirectly induces a set of alternative individuals. This presumably predicts the so-called centrality effects:<sup>16</sup> the set of functions alternative to the identity function will induce a set of alternative individuals structured into a center held by the referent of the DP to which *selbst* adjoins, and the alternative functions denote relationships between the central individual and the alternative individuals. Note that contextual information, the knowledge state of the interlocutors and other factors constrain the set of relevant alternatives.

Based on this analysis and the similar intuitions observed in the case of *selbst* and *propre*, I propose that *propre* also falls into the class of intensifiers, defined as elements that involve an identity function under focus.<sup>17</sup> This will capture the intuitions that

---

<sup>15</sup> This is the formulation proposed by Hole (2002), who purposely chooses not to include the identity function in the set of alternatives even if strictly speaking, a p-set à la Rooth has the focused element in it.

<sup>16</sup> The *centrality effects* on the alternatives to DP-*selbst* have received close attention in the literature (e.g. Baker 1995). In (39a) for instance, the king is perceived as the central figure in the government and is central in the contextually given alternatives.

<sup>17</sup> Even if both intensifiers such as *selbst* ('self') and focus particles such as *even* or *only* involve focus effects, Eckardt argues that intensifiers such as *selbst* represent a class distinct from the class of focus particles for several reasons (cf. Eckardt 2001: p.403): in particular, as opposed to *selbst* ('even'), *selbst*



*propre* does not change the truth-conditions, but only the felicity conditions of the sentence.

### 2.2.2. The meanings of *propre*

#### *Differences between *selbst* and *propre**

However, this cannot be the whole story: *propre* cannot simply denote the identity function under focus, since it exhibits specific properties due to its distribution restricted to possessive DPs.

First, *propre* does not present the same combinatorial possibilities as *selbst*. As already shown in the introduction, *propre* only occurs in definite possessive DPs that express both the possessor and the possessum:

- |                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| 42) [=11] son propre chien         | 'his own dog'    |
| his own dog                        |                  |
| 43) [=12] votre propre chien       | 'your own dog'   |
| your own dog                       |                  |
| 44) [=13] le propre chien de Jean  | 'John's own dog' |
| the own dog of John                |                  |
| 45) [=14] *le propre chien         |                  |
| the own dog                        |                  |
| 46) [=15] * propre Jean            |                  |
| own John                           |                  |
| 47) [=26] *un propre chien de Jean |                  |
| a own dog of John                  |                  |

---

('self') has adnominal sortal restrictions; it is stressed; there is no accent on the associated element; centrality effects arise; both additive and exclusive uses are possible; it syntactically follows the associated element. I would add that as opposed to focus particles, intensifiers such as *selbst* or *propre* do not involve any existential presupposition as shown above for *propre*. However, it may well be the case that these differences are not primitive; in other terms, I am not convinced that intensifiers and focus particles constitute separate classes: they may only form two subclasses of the same phenomenon.

48) [=27] \* quelques propres chiens de Jean  
          some     own     dogs   of John

49) [=28] \* deux propres chiens de Jean  
          two   own     dogs   of John

Therefore, *propre* cannot simply denote the identity function since this would incorrectly predict that *propre* can combine with proper names and definite descriptions, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (45)-(46).

Moreover, as opposed to *selbst*, *propre* is a flexible intensifier: even if it only appears in one specific syntactic position, namely in the prenominal position of possessive DPs, we have seen that it can have two targets for intensification, the possessor and the possessum. On the other hand, *selbst* can only intensify the DP that it adjoins to: this means that *selbst* is not a flexible intensifier, but it always has the same target for intensification when appearing in a certain syntactic position. Moreover, *selbst* does not occupy a fixed syntactic position: it can be adnominal or adverbial.<sup>18</sup> Thus, *propre* appears in a fixed syntactic position but is a flexible intensifier, whereas *selbst* occurs in a flexible syntactic position but is a fixed intensifier.

Therefore, to capture these differences between *selbst* and *propre* without obscuring their similarity as intensifiers, I argue that *propre* is a type-lifted variant of the

---

<sup>18</sup> *Selbst* occupies an adverbial position in cases such as:

Maria hat sich                    die Haare selbst gefärbt. (cf. Eckardt, 2001: p. 393)  
Maria has herself(reflexive) the hair    herself dyed  
'Maria dyed her hair herself.'

I will come back to the meaning of adverbial *selbst*, but the point here is that there is only one reading in this case; therefore, there is only one intensifying possibility per syntactic position in the case of *selbst* as opposed to *propre*.

identity function in focus, i.e. a type-lifted variant of *selbst* (or French *-même*) with two different targets for the identity function. This reflects the idea that *propre* is an intensifier similar to *-même*, except that it is specialized in possessive DPs, which accounts for its specificities.

*The ordinary meaning of propre*

I propose that the right analysis can be derived if we formulate the two following ordinary meanings for possessor *propre* and possessum *propre*:

$$50) \llbracket \textit{possessor propre} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda R. \lambda x. \lambda a. a ( R ( \text{ID} ( x ) ) )$$

$$51) \llbracket \textit{possessum propre} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda R. \lambda x. \lambda a. \text{ID} ( a ( R ( x ) ) )$$

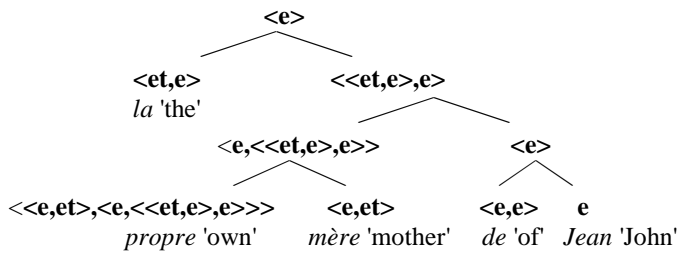
- i. ID is the identity function on the domain of individuals:  $\langle e, e \rangle$
- ii. R is a variable over possessive relations:  $\langle e, et \rangle$
- iii. x is a variable over individuals:  $\langle e \rangle$
- iv. a is a specific kind of choice function defined for singleton sets:  $\langle et, e \rangle$

These denotations capture three main aspects of *propre*: (a) its distribution in definite possessive DPs (b) its vacuous meaning with respect to truth-conditions and (c) its flexibility in intensification.

(a) First, these denotations predict the right distribution for *propre*: it has to combine with a possessive relation (R, which is commonly expressed by a relational noun), a possessor individual (x), and it is only compatible with definite articles, as opposed to indefinite articles or quantifiers, as predicted by a, which corresponds to the definite article (cf.  $\text{THE} = \lambda P. \iota x P(x)$ ).

(b) Moreover, this ordinary meaning is vacuous with respect to the truth-conditions since neither the identity function nor the simple combination of the possessive relation, the individual and the definite article can yield a semantic effect in the narrow sense. Thus, this correctly predicts that *la propre mère de Jean* ('John's own mother') has the same ordinary meaning as *la mère de Jean* ('John's mother'), as illustrated in (52). This is the case whether we deal with possessor *propre* or possessum *propre*, since the fact that the identity function takes different arguments in both cases does not make any difference in the ordinary meaning.

52) *la propre mère de Jean* 'John's own mother'



$\llbracket propre \rrbracket \circ = \lambda R_{e,et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda a_{et,e}.a (R(ID(x)))$

$\llbracket mère \rrbracket = \lambda x_e.\lambda y_e.y \text{ is mother of } x$

$\llbracket propre mère \rrbracket \circ = \lambda x_e.\lambda a_{et,e}.a ([\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e.y \text{ is mother of } x] (ID(x)))$

$\llbracket de \rrbracket = \lambda x_e.x$

$\llbracket Jean \rrbracket = \llbracket de Jean \rrbracket = \text{John}$

$\llbracket propre mère de Jean \rrbracket \circ = \lambda a_{et,e}.a ([\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e.y \text{ is mother of } x] (ID(\text{John})))$

$= \lambda a_{et,e}.a(\lambda y_e.y \text{ is mother of John})$

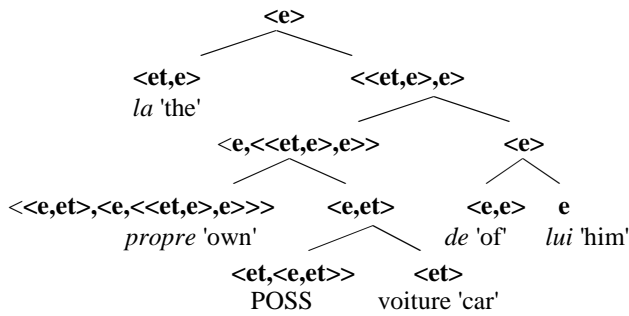
$\llbracket la \rrbracket = \lambda f_{et}; \text{ and there is exactly one } x \text{ such that } f(x)=1. \text{ the unique } y \text{ such that } f(y)=1$

$\llbracket la propre mère de Jean \rrbracket \circ = \text{the unique } y \text{ such that } [\lambda y_e.y \text{ is mother of John}](y)=1$

$= \text{the unique } y \text{ such that } y \text{ is mother of John}$

Note that in the case of non relational nouns, I suppose as is standard the presence of an abstract POSS ( $\lambda f_{et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e. f(y)=1$  and  $y$  is possessed by  $x$ ). Moreover, in the case of the possessive determiner *son* ('his'), I assume that *son* is decomposed into *le* 'the' and *de lui* ('of him'). These two points are exemplified in (53).

53) *sa propre voiture* 'his own car'



$\llbracket \textit{voiture} \rrbracket = \lambda x_e. x$  is a car

$\llbracket \textit{POSS} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e. f(y)=1$  and  $y$  is possessed by  $x$

$\llbracket \textit{POSS voiture} \rrbracket = \lambda x_e.\lambda y_e. y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by  $x$

$\llbracket \textit{propre} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda R_{e,et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda a_{et,e}. a (R(\text{ID}(x)))$

$\llbracket \textit{propre POSS voiture} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda x_e.\lambda a_{et,e}. a ([\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e. y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by  $x]$  ( $\text{ID}(x)$ ))

$\llbracket \textit{de} \rrbracket = \lambda x_e. x$

$\llbracket \textit{lui} \rrbracket = \llbracket \textit{de lui} \rrbracket = \text{John}$

$\llbracket \textit{propre POSS voiture de lui} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda a_{et,e}. a([\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e. y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by  $x]$  ( $\text{ID}(\text{John})$ ))

$= \lambda a_{et,e}. a([\lambda y_e. y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by John])

$\llbracket \textit{la} \rrbracket = \lambda f_{et}$ ; and there is exactly one  $x$  such that  $f(x)=1$ . the unique  $y$  such that  $f(y)=1$

$\llbracket \textit{la propre POSS voiture de lui} \rrbracket^\circ =$  the unique  $y$  such that  $[\lambda y_e. y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by John]( $y$ )=1

$=$  the unique  $y$  such that  $y$  is a car and  $y$  is possessed by John

(c) Thus, the denotation for the ordinary meaning of *propre* expresses the vacuity of *propre* with respect to the truth-conditions. However, it crucially predicts a difference in the focus meaning of possessor *propre* and possessum *propre*: since the identity function takes two different arguments (possessor (x) or possessum (a(R(x))))), two different contrast-sets of alternatives are involved. In other words, this scope difference of the identity function predicts the flexibility in intensification of *propre*. This will be made clearer by examining the focus meaning of *propre*.

#### *The focus meaning of propre*

Like *selbst*, *propre* is stressed and this is the case for both possessor and possessum *propre*.<sup>19</sup> This empirical observation suggests that *propre* is in focus, and this will predict the effect of *propre* on the felicity conditions of the sentence. While *propre* does not contribute anything to the meaning of the sentence, it will become meaningful if it is in focus: focused *propre* will, like any other focused item, evoke focus alternatives that will enter in the meaning of the respective focus construction.

Therefore, I propose that *propre* has a focus meaning à la Rooth (1985, 1992): the focus meaning of an item in focus is the set of all type-identical alternatives to it. However, the case of *propre* is a little more specific: since *propre* denotes a type-lifted variant of the identity function, I assume that the focus alternatives of *propre* are type-

---

<sup>19</sup> This is at least the case in my dialect of French. Note however that this seems to be different for German *eigen* or English *own* according to several German and English speakers: in these two cases, possessor *propre* is stressed whereas possessum *propre* is not, but the possessee is.

a) possessor *own*: his OWN daughter (cf. German: seine EIgene Tochter)

b) possessum *own*: his own DAUghter (cf. German: seine eigene TOCHter)

lifted variants of other functions from  $D_e$  to  $D_e^{20}$  as shown in (54): *propre* in focus relates to alternative functions on the domain of individuals.

54)  $\llbracket \text{propre} \rrbracket F = \{\text{Lift}_n(f) \mid f \text{ is a contextually salient alternative to ID}\}$  for appropriate lift  $\text{Lift}_1$ - $\text{Lift}_2$

To this end, two lifts are necessary depending on which argument the identity function takes (the possessor or the possessum) as illustrated in (55) and (56).

55) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{possessor } \textit{propre} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{LIFT}_1 \quad \text{ID} \\ \lambda f_{e,e}.\lambda R_{e,et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda a.a(R(f(x))) \quad \lambda x_e.x \end{array}$$

56) 
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{possessum } \textit{propre} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{LIFT}_2 \quad \text{ID} \\ \lambda f_{e,e}.\lambda R_{e,et}.\lambda x_e.\lambda a.f(a(R(x))) \quad \lambda x_e.x \end{array}$$

Thus, since focus on *propre* generates alternative functions on the domain of individuals, I predict that focused *propre* indirectly induces a set of alternative individuals in  $D_e$ , as shown in (57).

57) Let  $a$  be the referent of the element intensified by *propre*.

Let  $\{f_1, f_2, f_3, \dots, f_k\}$  be salient alternatives to ID in the given context  $C$ .

Here is the induced set of alternatives to  $a$  in  $D_e^{21}$  in context  $C$ :

$\text{Alt}(C)(a) = \{f_1(a), f_2(a), f_3(a) \dots f_k(a)\}$

Note that it is the context that restricts the potentially infinite set of individuals to the salient alternatives relevant in the discourse situation. Also, this analysis does not say anything about the truth of the alternatives, which correctly predicts that alternative

<sup>20</sup> I adopt here the same strategy as Eckardt, who proposes type-lifted variants of the identity function for adverbial *selbst* (2001, p. 381).

<sup>21</sup> I borrow this name from Eckardt (2001: p. 382).

propositions to the sentence including focused *propre* may be true (additive reading; cf. (34b), (37)) or false (exclusive reading; cf. (31b), (36)).

Let's apply this analysis to example (31b) repeated here:

58) [=31b] Aujourd'hui, Claire a pris sa propre voiture pour aller au travail.  
 today Claire has taken her own car for go to\_the work  
 'Today, Claire took her own car to go to work.'

As shown above, this is an example of possessor *propre* since Claire is contrasted with another possessor of the car, namely her husband in the context: instead of taking her husband's car, Claire takes her own car today. Thus, the ordinary meaning of *propre* is the following one, where the identity function takes the possessor individual as argument:

$$\llbracket propre \rrbracket^{\circ} = \lambda R. \lambda x. \lambda a. a(R(ID(x)))$$

Therefore, the focus meaning of *propre* in this sentence is the set of type-lifted variants (using  $Lift_1$ ) of contextually salient alternative functions to the identity function, i.e. the set of type-lifted<sub>1</sub> variants of salient functions from individuals to individuals except for the identity function. Since the relevant alternative possessor of the car in the context is Claire's husband, there is only one contextually salient alternative function to the identity function, namely the function that takes Claire as argument and returns her husband; for obvious reasons, I call this function HUSBAND-OF.

$$\llbracket propre \rrbracket^f = \{Lift_1(f) \mid f_{\langle e, e \rangle} \text{ is a contextually salient alternative to ID}\}$$

$$f_{\langle e, e \rangle} \in \{HUSBAND-OF\}$$



Therefore, the induced set of alternatives to Claire in the domain of individuals is as follows:

$$\text{Alt}(C)(\text{Claire}) = \{ \text{HUSBAND-OF}(\text{Claire}) \}$$

Thus, the focus semantic value of (58) is the following set of propositions:

$$\llbracket \text{Aujourd'hui, Claire a pris sa [propre]}_F \text{ voiture pour aller au travail} \rrbracket^f = \{ \text{today,} \\ \text{Claire took } x\text{'s car to go to work} / x \in \text{Alt}(C)(\text{Claire}) \}$$

Claire took x's car to go to work/  $x \in \text{Alt}(C)(\text{Claire})$

This correctly means that the focus semantic meaning of the sentence 'today, Claire took her own car to go to work' is the alternative proposition 'today, Claire took her husband's car to go to work.'

*Organization of the alternatives: remarks on centrality and  
scalarity*

So far, I have argued that the core meaning of *propre* consists in involving a set of alternative functions to ID, which indirectly derives a set of alternative individuals to the possessor or the possessum. Thus, the alternatives play a crucial role in the meaning of *propre*; that's why I want to clarify the structuration of these alternatives. I have already mentioned that the potentially infinite number of alternatives is restricted by the context and the alternatives may be true or false. Now, the question is how the alternatives are organized.

First, the question of the so-called centrality effect arises given that it has received close attention in the literature about *selbst*. There is however an empirical difference

between *selbst* and *propre* in this respect: in the case of *propre* (possessor *propre* or possessum *propre*), we observe that the alternative individuals need not be related to the individual intensified by *propre*, as illustrated by the following examples:

59) Michel déteste louer des voitures, il préfère conduire sa propre voiture.  
 Michel hates rent some cars he prefers drive his own car  
 'Michel hates renting cars, he prefers driving his own car.'

60) [=36] Ce n' est pas la victime qui a dénoncé Jean, ni un témoin, c' est  
 it NE is not the victim who has denounced John nor a witness it is  
 sa propre mère qui l' a dénoncé!  
 his own mother who him has denounced  
 'It's not the victim who denounced John, nor a witness, it's his own mother  
 who denounced him!'

In (59), Michel is implicitly contrasted with rental car companies as possessors of the car (possessor *propre*). But Michel does not have any privileged relation to this kind of company that could identify the alternative function taking Michel as argument and returning a rental car company: Michel is not central with respect to the possessors of rental car. Similarly in (60), which is a case of possessum *propre*, the alternatives (the witness in particular) are not specifically related to the possessum John's mother: the possessum is not central with respect to the victim or the witness.

The absence of centrality effects for *propre* is therefore an empirical difference between *selbst* and *propre*; but this does not affect the analysis proposed here. Indeed, it does not necessarily predict that the alternative possessors are related to the intensified one. The alternative functions do not logically have to express human relationships, but logically speaking, we can find for any set  $\{a, a_1, \dots, a_k\}$  on  $D_e$  a set of functions  $\{f_1, f_2, f_3 \dots f_k\}$  such that  $f_1(a)=a_1, f_2(a)=a_2 \dots, f_k(a)=a_k$ . Any alternative individual can be returned by any alternative function to the identity function.

Thus, the alternative individuals indirectly induced by *propre* –unlike *selbst*– are not structured into a center. However, they are ordered on a scale of likelihood in the case of possessum *propre*: as opposed to *selbst*<sup>22</sup> and possessor *propre*,<sup>23</sup> possessum *propre* induces a scalarity effect. As shown above, the proposition containing the intensified element is an unlikely one as compared to the alternative propositions. For example in (34b) (repeated below), Arnaud's daughter is an unlikely individual to stop visiting Arnaud among the contextual alternatives Arnaud's cousin and Arnaud's friend.

61) [=34b] Arnaud est devenu si insupportable que sa propre fille a cessé de  
 Arnaud is become so unbearable that his own daughter has stopped of  
 lui rendre visite. [score: 90]  
 him visit  
 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his own daughter stopped visiting  
 him.'

This is the same kind of scalarity effect as the one induced by the focus sensitive particle *même*.

62) [=38] Arnaud est devenu si insupportable que même sa fille a cessé de  
 Arnaud is become so unbearable that even his daughter has stopped of  
 lui rendre visite. [score: 95]  
 him visit  
 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his own daughter stopped visiting  
 him.'

---

<sup>22</sup> Eckardt (2001: p.376) specifies that "not all examples of stressed *selbst* evoke a scale of surprise", as exemplified by the following sentence:

Der Busfahrer selbst erlitt einen Schädelbruch.  
 the bus driver himself suffered a fracture of the skull  
 'The bus driver himself suffered a fracture of the skull.'

<sup>23</sup> The following example shows that possessor *propre* does not involve any scalarity effect: it is not surprising that Benjamin prefers sleeping in his own bed as opposed to other people's beds.

Benjamin préfère dormir dans son propre lit.  
 Benjamin prefers sleep in his own bed  
 'Benjamin prefers sleeping in his own bed.'

But as mentioned above, the difference consists in the absence of an existential presupposition in the case of *propre*.

To account for this scalarity effect, I propose that possessum *propre* is associated with a silent element *even* that triggers a scalar presupposition.<sup>24</sup> This is probably related to the possibly hidden *even* involved by minimizers (cf. Heim: 1984) that denote the low endpoint of the contextually relevant pragmatic scale as illustrated in (63):

63) He didn't < EVEN > lift a finger.

Hidden *even* introduces here a scalar presupposition: the proposition is the least likely proposition among the set of alternative propositions.

Let's apply this analysis to example (34b) repeated here:

64) [=34b] Arnaud est devenu si insupportable que <EVEN> sa [*propre*]<sub>F</sub> fille a cessé de lui rendre visite. [score: 90]  
 Arnaud is become so unbearable that his own daughter has stopped of him visit  
 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his own daughter stopped visiting him.'

<sup>24</sup> Note that this silent element has surface scope with respect to the negation whereas *même* ('even') always scopes over the negation whatever the surface structure is.

a. # Jean **n'** a **même pas** tué ses enfants.  
 John NE has even not killed his children  
 'John didn't even kill his children.'

→ even > not: the sentence is odd, since not kill one's children is not the least plausible possibility (on the contrary, it's high on the scale of likelihood).

b. Non, Jean **n'** a **pas** tué ses **propres** enfants!<sup>24</sup>  
 no, John NE has not killed his own children  
 'No, John did not kill his own children!'

→ not > even: the sentence is good since to kill one's children is the least plausible possibility.

c. # Ses propres enfants, Jean ne les a pas tués!  
 his own children John NE them has not killed  
 'His own children John did not kill!'

→ even > not: the sentence is odd since not kill one's children is not the least plausible possibility (on the contrary, it's high on the scale of likelihood).

As shown above, this is an example of possessum *propre* since Arnaud's daughter is contrasted with other individuals, namely Arnaud's cousin and Arnaud's friend in the context. Thus, the ordinary meaning of *propre* is the following one, where the identity function takes the possessum individual as argument:

$$\llbracket \textit{possessum propre} \rrbracket^\circ = \lambda R. \lambda x. \lambda a. \text{ID}(a(R(x)))$$

Therefore, the focus meaning of *propre* in this sentence is the set of type-lifted variants (using  $\text{Lift}_2$ ) of contextually salient alternative functions to the identity function, i.e. the set of type-lifted<sub>2</sub> variants of salient functions from individuals to individuals except for the identity function. Since the relevant alternative possessees in the context are Arnaud's cousin and Arnaud's friend, there are two contextually salient alternative functions to the identity function: the function  $g_1$  that takes Arnaud's daughter as argument and returns Arnaud's cousin and the function  $g_2$  that takes Arnaud's daughter as argument and returns Arnaud's friend.

$$\llbracket \textit{propre} \rrbracket^f = \{ \text{Lift}_2(f) \mid f_{\langle e, e \rangle} \text{ is a contextually salient alternative to ID} \}$$

$$f_{\langle e, e \rangle} \in \{ g_1; g_2 \}$$

Therefore, the induced set of alternatives to Arnaud's daughter in the domain of individuals is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Alt}(C)(\text{Arnaud's daughter}) &= \{ g_1(\text{Arnaud's daughter}); g_2(\text{Arnaud's daughter}) \} \\ &= \{ \text{Arnaud's cousin}; \text{Arnaud's friend} \} \end{aligned}$$

Thus, the focus semantic value of (58) is the following set of propositions, on which *even* operates:

[[Arnaud est devenu si insupportable que < EVEN > sa [propre] F fille a cessé de lui rendre visite]] f = {Arnaud has become so unbearable that x stopped visiting him/ x ∈ Alt(C)(Arnaud's daughter)}

This correctly means that the focus semantic meaning of the sentence p 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his daughter stopped visiting him' is the set of the alternative propositions p<sub>1</sub> 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his cousin stopped visiting him' and p<sub>2</sub> 'Arnaud has become so unbearable that his friend stopped visiting him'. Moreover, silent <EVEN> introduces the presupposition that p is least likely than p<sub>1</sub> and p<sub>2</sub>.

To sum up, the alternatives involved in the case of *propre* are not structured into a center, but silent *even* associated with possessum *propre* induces their ordering on a scale of likelihood.

### **2.3. Conclusion of the chapter and some open issues**

In this chapter, I have argued that *propre* is a counterpart of *-même* ('-self') in possessive DPs: like *-même*, *propre* is an intensifier involving an identity function under focus. But its specificity consists in appearing exclusively in possessive DPs: thus, *propre* can have two targets for intensification, i.e. the possessor and the possessum, namely the two arguments present in possessive DPs. For these reasons, I have proposed that *propre* corresponds to two specific type-lifted variants of *-même*, i.e. the identity function under focus.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to briefly address two issues raised by this analysis, the one in its favor and the other one showing some potential problems.

First, the spirit of this analysis that treats *selbst* and *propre* in a similar way is further justified by another empirical observation: *propre* seems to present the same variety of readings as *selbst*. In particular, *selbst* arguably exhibits two different readings depending on its syntactic position: adnominal *selbst* – that I have been referring to so far – differs from adverbial *selbst* that presents an agentive reading. The two following examples borrowed from Hole (2002) illustrate the difference. Moreover, the corresponding French examples show that the same difference holds for French *-même*:

65) Paul *selbst* wird teilnehmen, nicht nur seine Schwester. (adnominal use)  
Paul himself will attend, not only his sister.  
'Paul himself will attend, not just his sister.'  
cf. French: Paul lui-même va venir, et pas seulement sa sœur.

66) Paul will *selbst* aufräumen. (adverbial-agentive use)  
Paul wants himself clean\_up  
'Paul wants to clean up himself.' (= 'without any help')  
cf. French: Paul veut nettoyer lui-même.

In (65), adnominal *selbst* says that at least one other person is under discussion as a possible attendee; in (66), agentive *selbst* expresses the idea that Paul does not delegate the job of cleaning up. To formalize these intuitions, Hole argues that in the case of adnominal *selbst*, the focused identity function takes as argument the DP to which *selbst* adjoins; but in the case of agentive *selbst*, it takes the agentive Voice Head proposed by Kratzer (1996).<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> See Hole: 2002 for more details about his analysis of agentive *selbst*.

The important point for our purposes is that both readings are available with *propre* as well. Whereas possessor and possessum *propre* correspond to adnominal *même* (*-même* adjoined to the possessor or possessum),<sup>26</sup> the following examples illustrate two cases of agentive *propre*. This reading is particularly salient with deverbal nouns (67a) and objects of creation verbs (68a).

67) a. Ce site internet est de sa **propre** création.  
           this site internet is of his own creation

'This website is his own creation.'

b. Cyril a créé ce site internet **lui-même**.

          Cyril has created this site internet himself

'Cyril created this website himself.' [= without help]

68) a. Claire a fabriqué ses **propres** vêtements.

          Claire has made her own clothes

'Claire made her own clothes.'

b. Claire a fabriqué ses vêtements **elle-même**.

          Claire has made her clothes herself

'Claire made her clothes herself.' [= without help]

Indeed, (67a) can be paraphrased by (67b) that clearly involves agentive *-même*. So, both sentences express the idea that Cyril created the website without any help. They do not mean that Cyril as opposed to someone else created the website, but Cyril is in an agentive relation to the creation of the website (as opposed to other alternative relations). Similarly, both (68a) and its paraphrase (68b) say that Claire made her clothes without any help. Under this reading, (68a) does not mean that Claire made her clothes as opposed to someone else's clothes (as possessor *propre* would predict) or as opposed to

---

<sup>26</sup> Thus in (31b), *sa propre voiture* ('his own car') roughly corresponds to *la voiture de Jean lui-même* ('the car of John himself') and in (34b), *sa propre fille* ('his own daughter') roughly corresponds to *sa fille elle-même* ('his daughter herself').



something else (as possessum *propre* would predict), but that she made them by herself, without any help.

This observation would require further investigation, in particular to understand why such readings are particularly salient when *propre* is associated with deverbal nouns or creation verbs, and to provide an exact analysis of such readings.<sup>27</sup> But for our purposes here, it is enough to notice that *propre* presents the same range of readings as *même*. This argues in favor of the idea exposed here that *propre* and *-même* fall into the same class.<sup>28</sup>

However, the analysis proposed in this chapter raises a potential problem: certainly, it predicts the right distribution for *propre*, but it does not really explain why this specific form of intensifier (*propre*) is restricted to possessive DPs.

---

<sup>27</sup> Concerning deverbal nouns, it is possible to adopt an analysis similar to Hole's analysis for agentive *selbst* if we suppose the existence of a Voice Head attached to deverbal nouns. In this case, *propre* would simply target the Voice Head instead of intensifying the possessor or the possessum.

The analysis is trickier in the case of creation verbs. There are two main possibilities:

- Either we can suppose that *propre* moves at LF to take the Voice head of the verb as argument. This would be reminiscent of superlatives of the following type: 'I climbed the highest mountain', where *highest* has to scope over the verb.

- Another option that does not include any movement would be to suppose that creation verbs have events as arguments. This would be reminiscent of other verbs like *start* that can coerce the semantic type of their argument into event (cf. *Elle a commencé son propre livre* ('She started her own book') can mean 'She started to write a book herself'). Then, the possessive relation would have to be precisely the relation expressed by the creation verb. Thus, *Claire a fabriqué ses propres vêtements* ('Claire made her own clothes') would be equivalent to *Claire a fait sa propre fabrication de vêtements* ('Claire did her own production of clothes'). From then on, the analysis would be similar to the one with deverbal nouns.

<sup>28</sup> Importantly, this also suggests that adnominal and adverbial *-même* should not be analyzed as different phenomena as it has often been proposed: it is presumably not accidental that these two readings arise together with two different morphological roots (*-même* and *propre*). Therefore, this argues for an unification of *-même* and this supports Hole's hypothesis that unifies the two uses of *selbst*: according to his hypothesis, the only difference between adnominal and adverbial *selbst* is the argument that the identity function takes. Note that the similarity between *même* ('even') and possessum *propre* could even suggest that the unification of *même* could be extended to the focus particle *même* ('even') too. But these complex questions would require further investigation.

We could simply say that it is because *même* (identity function) and *propre* (type-lifted version of the identity function) have two different distributions that they are morphologically different even if they contribute the same kind of meaning to the sentence. This would justify the presence of two different lexical entries of intensifiers.

But we may want to push further the analysis and motivate why this particular item *propre* only appears in possessive DPs. In this perspective, it could be worth relating possessive *propre* with another use of *propre* mentioned in the introduction:

69) [=3] C' est une coutume **propre** au Berry.  
it is a custom PROPRES to\_the Berry  
'It's a custom peculiar to the Berry region.'

This use of *propre* (that I call *propre à*) is different from the one described in this paper (possessive *propre*): it has a different distribution and does not have the same semantic contribution. In particular, it is postnominal and requires a complement introduced by the preposition *à*. Also, it does change the truth-conditions of the sentence. But interestingly, its meaning ('peculiar to', 'characteristic of') is strikingly close to a possessive meaning:<sup>29</sup> for instance, *John's mother* could be described as *the mother characteristic of John*. Therefore, it would be natural to think that possessive *propre* does not differ from *propre à* and it is because of its possessive meaning that *propre* occurs in possessive DPs.

Certainly, it is possible – and this is the view implicitly adopted here – to argue that this motivation is only valid historically, but does not hold any more synchronically.

---

<sup>29</sup> This idea is further suggested by the fact that Italian possessive *proprio* may be used without the possessive determiner *suo*.

In other words, if *propre* is restricted to possessive DPs, it is because possessive *propre* is historically derived from *propre à*. But the possessive meaning has disappeared and that's why some intensifying properties have developed. So synchronically, the possessive meaning of possessive *propre* has left no traces except in its distribution; possessive *propre* is only an intensifier. This means that under the analysis presented here, the distribution of *propre* can be motivated if it is done at another level, namely from a historical point of view.

But if we want to unify the different uses of *propre* synchronically, this analysis needs to be enriched. In this chapter, I proposed two lexical entries for *propre* that predict the right distribution and meaning. But these lexical entries are probably not primitive. Thus, if we want to go further, we need to explain from which primitive properties they derive. This would also probably be a way to understand the mismatch between syntax and semantics that this analysis presents. In particular, this analysis raises a locality problem: since the possessor is contained in the prepositional complement of the noun, it means that *propre* imposes a selectional restriction on the noun that it selects itself, which usually does not happen.

One way to go would be to contemplate the idea of semantic reduplication: *propre* presents a possessive meaning in all instances (possessive *propre* or *propre à*) but when *propre* appears in possessive DPs, intensifying properties arise due to the vacuity of reduplicating the possessive meaning already expressed by the possessive determiner *son*.<sup>30</sup> In other terms, there is only one lexical entry *propre*, which denotes a possessive

---

<sup>30</sup> Schematically: *propre à* = POSS

meaning, and the differences between the apparently various uses of *propre* derive from something else in the sentence. In particular, the intensifying properties derive from the vacuity of semantic reduplication.

This view is appealing in that it would reduce the different lexical entries for *propre* to one. But it implies that all the differences between *propre à* and possessive *propre* can be derived independently, which would require further research.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, given the current analysis for *-même* in the literature, the cost of this analysis would be to lose the relation between *propre* and *même*. Of course, this loss does not logically follow from the idea of unifying *propre*; but in the current state of research, a simultaneous unification of *propre* and *même* without obscuring their similarity would also require a reanalysis of *-même* in the light of *propre*.<sup>32</sup> In particular, it would be worth investigating the idea that the morphological identity between the adnominal intensifier *-même*, the agentive intensifier *-même* and the focus particle *même* is actually due to the fact that all these uses derive from the same primitive lexical entry meaning precisely *même* ('same'). Put another way, this would mean that the primitive property of both *propre* and *même* consists in their primitive meaning ('characteristic of' for *propre*,

---

*son propre* = POSS + POSS → possessor or possessum focused.

<sup>31</sup> For example, why is the complement of *propre* obligatory only in the case of *propre à*? And why does *propre à* have to be postnominal as opposed to possessive *propre*?

<sup>32</sup> The idea would be to say that like *propre*, the use of *-même* as intensifier is motivated by its meaning in other uses ('same as'): in both cases, the original meaning of these elements ('same as' for *même que* and 'characteristic of' for *propre à*) would not be lost. But their intensifying properties would arise from the idea of semantic reduplication in both cases: the repetition of the possessive meaning for *propre* (*son propre* = POSS + POSS), the repetition of the individual by the pronoun for *x-même* (*Jean lui-même* ('John himself') = *Jean + x même que Jean* 'John + x same as John'). This idea would not fundamentally change the analysis proposed here: the crucial part of the meaning contributed by *propre* and *même* would still be to contrast elements with a contextually determined set of alternatives. But the difference would be that instead of positing an identity *function* to render the vacuity of intensifiers with respect to truth-conditions, we would assume an identity *process* (reduplication of two identical elements) yielding focus effects.

'same as' for *même*), and all the other uses of these elements (so-called intensifiers and focus particles) would derive from other independent properties. This is further suggested by the fact that crosslinguistically, the formal identity between these elements is quite common. But even if this potential line of analysis seems to be promising, I will not attempt to explore it here, since this would go far beyond the scope of this paper.

Anyway, the analysis provided in this chapter is sufficient with respect to the general goal of the paper: I argue for the interdependence between binding and intensification and this analysis efficiently accounts for two different cases of intensification induced by *propre*. Now, the challenge is to show that these two cases correlate with the binding properties of *son propre*. This is the goal of the next chapter.

## **Chapter 2:** **How the intensifying properties of *propre* interact with the binding properties of *son propre***

In the previous chapter, it has been shown that *propre* presents double intensifying properties: *propre* contrasts either the possessor or the possessum with a contextually determined set of alternatives. In this chapter, I argue that these intensifying properties interact with the binding properties of *son propre*: *son propre* exhibits anaphoric properties only when the referent of its antecedent is intensified. In other terms, when *son* is associated with possessor *propre*, *son propre* behaves like an anaphor or a logophor (long distance anaphor); however, when *son* is associated with possessum *propre*, *son propre* does not exhibit anaphoric properties. This correlation suggests that binding and intensification are two interdependent modules of the grammar.

### **3.1. Possessor *son propre*: anaphoric and logophoric properties**

First, I show that *son propre* exhibits anaphoric or/and logophoric properties when *son* is associated with possessor *propre* (possessor *son propre*): when it is the possessor that is intensified by *propre*, *son propre* behaves like an anaphor that can be long distance bound if the antecedent is a logophoric center.

#### **3.1.1. First case: anaphoric *son propre***

When the referent of the possessor, i.e. the antecedent, is inanimate, possessor *son propre* has anaphoric properties, unlike the pronoun *son*. As stated by the principle A of

Binding Theory, this means that *son propre* needs to be locally bound, i.e. it requires a locally c-commanding and coindexed antecedent.

70) Principle A of Binding Theory (cf. Chomsky 1981, 1986 and subsequent revisions of it): an anaphor must be bound in its domain.

The following sentences, which involve possessor *propre*, illustrate the c-command requirement.

71) a. [**Cet hôtel**]<sub>k</sub> protège **sa<sub>k</sub> (propre) plage** sans se préoccuper des plages  
this hotel protects its own beach without SE care of\_the beaches  
des hôtels voisins.  
of\_the hotels neighboring

'This hotel protects its (own) beach without caring about the beaches of the neighboring hotels.'

b. Les clients de [**cet hôtel**]<sub>k</sub> préfèrent **sa<sub>k</sub> (\*propre) plage** à celles des  
the guests of this hotel prefer its own beach to the\_ones of\_the  
hôtels voisins.  
hotels neighboring

'The guests of this hotel prefer its (\*own) beach to the ones of the neighboring hotels.'

In (71a), both *sa propre plage* ('its own beach') and *sa plage* ('its beach') license *cet hôtel* ('this hotel') as antecedent. However, in (71b), *cet hôtel* ('this hotel') is only a possible antecedent for *sa plage* ('its beach'), not for *sa propre plage* ('its own beach'). Since the crucial difference between the two sentences is that *cet hôtel* ('this hotel') does not c-command *sa (propre) plage* ('its (own) beach') in (71b), but does in (71a), this means that *sa propre plage* as opposed to *sa plage* needs to be c-commanded by its antecedent.

Furthermore, the following examples confirm that the relevant notion is actually c-command, and not subject orientation, which could remain unclear in the previous examples.

72) a. J'ai accordé à [cet hôtel]<sub>k</sub> la maintenance de sa<sub>k</sub> (**propre**) plage.  
 I have given to this hotel the maintenance of its own beach  
 'I have given to this hotel the maintenance of its (own) beach.'

b. J'ai accordé aux clients de [cet hôtel]<sub>k</sub> l' accès à sa<sub>k</sub> (**\*propre**) plage.  
 I have given to\_the guests of this hotel the access to its (\*own) beach  
 'I have given to the guests of this hotel access to its (\*own) beach.'

In (72a), *sa propre plage* ('its own beach') is c-commanded by *cet hôtel* ('this hotel'), which makes the latter a possible antecedent of the former and the sentence is therefore grammatical. However, in (72b), *sa propre plage* ('its own beach') does not have any possible binder, since *cet hôtel* ('this hotel') does not c-command *sa propre plage* ('its own beach') and *les clients* ('the guests') does not agree in number with *sa*. This confirms that *son propre* requires a binder: its antecedent must c-command it and be coindexed with it.

Moreover, the binder must be local, as exemplified by the following sentences.

73) a. [Ce pont]<sub>j</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné  
 this bridge has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have given  
 plus d' avantages à son<sub>j</sub> architecte qu' à celui du musée. [score: 84]  
 more of benefits to its architect than to the\_one of\_the museum

'This bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to its architect than to the architect of the museum.'

b.\* [Ce pont]<sub>j</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné  
 this bridge has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have given  
 plus d' avantages à son<sub>j</sub> propre architecte qu' à celui du musée. [score: 37]  
 more of benefits to its own architect than to the\_one of\_the museum

'\*This bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to its own architect than to the architect of the museum.'



In (73a), *son architecte* licenses the long-distance antecedent *ce pont* ('this bridge'), but *son propre architecte* in (73b) does not.

Similarly, the following sentence (74) exhibits a contrast in grammaticality depending on whether *cette compagnie* ('this company') is a local antecedent ((74a), well-formed) to *sa propre marque de café équitable* ('its own brand of fair-trade coffee') or a long-distance one ((74b), ill-formed).

74) a. [**Cette compagnie**]<sub>k</sub> a développé **sa<sub>k</sub> propre marque de café équitable**.  
this company has developed its own brand of coffee fair-trade  
[score: 95]

'This company developed its own brand of fair-trade coffee.'

b. \***[Cette compagnie]**<sub>k</sub> sera encore mieux connue lorsque les organisateurs  
this company will\_be even better known when the organizers  
auront étendu sur le marché **sa<sub>k</sub> propre marque de café équitable**. [score: 42]  
will\_have spread on the market its own brand of coffee fair-trade

'This company will be even more well-known when the organizers have developed in the market its own brand of fair-trade coffee.'

Therefore, the following generalization holds:

75) In the case of inanimate possessors, possessor *son propre* is a complex possessive anaphor obeying principle A of Binding Theory (as formulated by Chomsky 1981, 1986 and subsequent revisions of it).

### 3.1.2. Second case: logophoric *son propre*

However, the generalization (75) does not hold for animate possessors, as illustrated by the following contrast:

76) a. [**Le patron de cette entreprise**]<sub>j</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont  
the boss of this company has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have  
donné plus d' avantages à **ses<sub>j</sub> (propres) employés** qu' à ceux de son concurrent.  
given more of benefits to his own employees than to the\_one of his competitor

'The boss of this company benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to his (own) employees than to the employees of his competitor.'

b. [=73b] [**Ce pont**]<sub>j</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné  
 this bridge has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have given  
 plus d'avantages à **son<sub>j</sub> (\*propre) architecte** qu' à celui du musée.  
 more of benefits to its own architect than to the\_one of\_the museum

'This bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to its (\*own) architect than to the architect of the museum.'

(76a) shows that *ses propres employés* ('his own employees') licenses a long-distance antecedent *le patron de cette entreprise* ('the boss of this company') as opposed to *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') in (76b). Since the crucial difference is that the possessor is animate in (76a), this means that *son propre* does not require a local binder when the possessor antecedent is animate.

Similarly, it is not always true that *son propre* must be c-commanded by its antecedent in the case of animate possessors:

77) a. L' opinion de **Sébastien<sub>j</sub>** portait autant sur **sa<sub>j</sub> (propre) mère** que sur la  
 the opinion of Sébastien was\_about as\_much on his own mother than on the  
 mère de sa femme.  
 mother of his wife

'Sébastien's opinion was as much about his (own) mother than about his wife's mother.'

b. Le sujet de [**l' article**]<sub>j</sub> portait autant sur **son<sub>j</sub> (\*propre) titre** que sur le  
 the topic of the article was\_about as\_much on its own title than on the  
 titre du film en question.  
 title of\_the movie in question

'The topic of the article was as much about its (\*own) title than about the title of the movie in question.'

(77a) contrasts in this respect with (77b) since *sa propre mère* ('his own mother') licenses the animate non c-commanding antecedent *Sébastien* in (77a), while *son propre titre* ('its own title') cannot have the inanimate non c-commanding *l'article* ('the article') as antecedent in (77b). So, in the case of animate antecedents, *son propre* does not always require a locally c-commanding antecedent.

Therefore, *son propre* seems to fall into the class of long-distance anaphors such as Mandarin Chinese *ziji*,<sup>33</sup> which pose a challenge to the standard theory of anaphor binding. The hypothesis that has been proposed in such cases is the theory of logophoricity (cf. Huang and Liu 2001; Giorgi 2007...etc): long-distance anaphors are logophoric, i.e. they do not have to obey the syntactic constraints of binding, but the constraints of logophoricity requiring that the antecedent be a center of perspective of the clause containing them. This idea is based on the fact that some West African languages have specific pronouns used to express the perspective of the person they refer to. The term *logophor* has been originally coined for such cases (cf. Hagège 1974) and has then been extended to situations in other languages where the usual rules of binding do not apply, that is in the case of long distance anaphors, which have their antecedents outside their binding domains (e.g. Mandarin Chinese *ziji*).

I propose that possessor *son propre* supports this hypothesis: possessor *son propre* can be long distance bound if it is logophoric. This means that in such cases, *son propre* refers to a specific type of antecedent, namely a logophoric center: the antecedent refers to a person whose words, thoughts or point of view are being reported.<sup>34</sup> More

---

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Huang and Liu: 2001.

<sup>34</sup> Sells (1987) proposes three primitive roles for the antecedent of logophors and he suggests that these roles characterize certain cross-linguistic variations:

- a- Source: the one who is the intentional agent of the communication,
- b- Self: the one whose mental state or attitude the proposition describes,
- c- Pivot: the one with respect to whose (time-space) location the content of the proposition is evaluated.

specifically, I argue that *son propre* belongs to the class of logophors that require a *de se* reading.<sup>35</sup>

The distinction between *de re* and *de se* readings corresponds to the distinction between the report of the knowledge of the speaker and that of the knowledge of the referent of the antecedent (cf. Chierchia 1989). This means that the antecedent of *son propre* corresponds to a logophoric center if and only if its referent is aware of the reflexivity of the possession, i.e. if and only if its referent could knowingly say *mon propre* ('my own').

Thus, I propose that the *de se* reading is the primitive property defining *son propre* as a logophor. This property is therefore sufficient as a diagnostic for logophoricity. However, for methodological reasons, I will also use two other properties that derive from this one to identify logophoric *son propre*, because they are clearer diagnostics: animacy and consciousness of the referent of the antecedent. *De se* reading entails consciousness of the referent of the antecedent since it is necessary to be conscious to be able to knowingly say *mon propre*. Moreover, consciousness entails animacy, and therefore, by transitivity, animacy of the referent of the antecedent is also entailed by the *de se* reading. That's why following Huang and Liu (2001), I will use the following three criteria as diagnostics for the logophoricity of possessor *son propre*:

---

<sup>35</sup> Mandarin Chinese *ziji* in Huang and Liu's dialect (2001: p.19) or Italian *proprio* (cf. Giorgi 2007: p.333) also belong to this class of logophors.

Note however that *son propre* differs from Mandarin Chinese *ziji* in that it does not exhibit any intervention effect with respect to the first or second person: in the following sentence, *Marc* can be the antecedent of *son propre* even if the first person *je* occurs in between:

**Marc<sub>k</sub> a annoncé que j' allais épouser son<sub>k</sub> propre cousin.**

Marc has announced that I was going marry his own cousin

'Marc announced that I was going to marry his own cousin.'

- (a) animacy of the referent of the antecedent
- (b) consciousness of the referent of the antecedent
- (c) *de se* reading.

(a) Animacy of the referent of the antecedent

The animacy of the referent of the antecedent is the criterion that led me to assume the theory of logophoricity for possessor *son propre* (cf. pair (76) repeated here as (78)): the referent of the antecedent has to be animate to license logophoric *son propre*. Put another way, possessor *son propre* does not require a locally c-commanding antecedent if the referent of the antecedent is a center of perspective, and this is possible only if it is animate, as exemplified by the pair already mentioned:

78) [=76] a. [**Le patron de cette entreprise**]<sub>i</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les  
the boss of this company has benefited of\_the fact that the  
 autorités ont donné plus d'avantages à **ses<sub>i</sub> (propres) employés** qu' à ceux de  
authorities have given more of benefits to his own employees than to the\_one of  
 son concurrent.  
his competitor

'The boss of this company benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to his (own) employees than to the employees of his competitor.'

b. [=73b] [**Ce pont**]<sub>i</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné  
this bridge has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have given  
 plus d'avantages à **son<sub>i</sub> (\*propre) architecte** qu' à celui du musée.  
more of benefits to its own architect than to the\_one of\_the museum

'This bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to its (\*own) architect than to the architect of the museum.'

*Ses propres employés* ('his own employees') in (78a) licenses a long distance antecedent *le patron de l'entreprise* ('the boss of the company'), but the long distance antecedent *ce pont* ('this bridge') in (78b) for *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') is ungrammatical. This is so because 'the boss of the company' can be a perspective-holder

in (78a) as opposed to 'this bridge' in (78b), and this difference can be easily diagnosed by the animacy of the referent of *le patron de l'entreprise vs ce pont*.

(b) Consciousness of the referent of the antecedent

Similarly, the center of perspective of a sentence has to be conscious; therefore, if the referent of the antecedent is not conscious, logophoric *son propre* is not possible, as shown by the following contrast:

79) a. [**Le pharaon**]<sub>i</sub> a beaucoup aimé les embaumeurs qui à présent prennent  
the Pharaoh has a\_lot liked the embalmers who at present take  
soin de **son<sub>i</sub> (\*propre) corps**. [score: 50]  
care of his own body  
'The Pharaoh had liked a lot the embalmers who are now taking care of his  
(\*own) body.'

b. [**L' esprit du pharaon**]<sub>i</sub> devait penser que les embaumeurs prenaient bien  
the spirit of\_the Pharaoh must think that the embalmer took well  
soin de **son<sub>i</sub> (propre) corps**. [score: 48]<sup>36</sup>  
care of his own body  
'The Pharaoh's spirit was probably thinking that the embalmers were taking  
great care of his (own) body.'

In (79a), the Pharaoh is dead, therefore not conscious, and this diagnostic shows that the Pharaoh cannot be the center of perspective of the sentence. Thus, *son propre corps* ('his own body'), which is not locally c-commanded by *le pharaon* ('the Pharaoh'), is not possible, as predicted by the logophoricity hypothesis. However in (79b), *son propre corps* ('his own body') can be long distance bound by *l'esprit du pharaon* ('the Pharaoh's spirit') because the referent of this antecedent is conscious, thus a possible center of perspective.

---

<sup>36</sup> The grades provided by the participants of the questionnaire are unclear to me.

(c) *De se* reading

The *de se* reading is the strictest criterion to define the logophoric center in the case of possessor *son propre*. Let's examine the context of Beaumarchais's *Marriage of Figaro* to exemplify this property: in this setting, the maid Marceline knows that Suzanne will marry Figaro, but she does not know until the end of the play that Figaro is her own son. In this context, the following contrast holds:

80) a. [beginning of the play] **Marceline<sub>i</sub>** disait que Suzanne allait épouser **son<sub>i</sub>**  
Marceline said that Suzanne would marry her  
**(#propre) fils.**  
own son

'Marceline said that Suzanne would marry her (#own) son.'

b. [end of the play] **Marceline<sub>i</sub>** disait que Suzanne avait épousé **son<sub>i</sub> (propre) fils.**  
Marceline said that Suzanne had married her own son  
'Marceline said that Suzanne had married her (own) son.'

If (80a) is uttered at the beginning of the play, the *de se* reading is not available since Marceline does not know yet about her motherhood. Therefore, as predicted by the logophoricity hypothesis, she cannot be the center of perspective and *Marceline* cannot long-distance bind *son propre fils* ('her own son'): *son propre* cannot be logophoric in this case. However, if (80b) is uttered at the end of the play, the sentence is appropriate because Marceline knows at that time that Figaro is her son; thus, Marceline is the center of perspective according to the criterion that I propose, which licenses the long distance anaphor *son propre fils* ('her own son'). This contrast demonstrates that the *de se* diagnostic appears to be the most relevant one to define the notion of logophoric center in the case of possessor *son propre*. Conversely, this means that if the *de se* reading is

not available, possessor *son propre* cannot be logophoric and has therefore to be an anaphor requiring a locally c-commanding antecedent.

To sum up, the following generalization holds for possessor *son propre*:

- 81) Possessor *son propre* is either an anaphor obeying the syntactic constraints of anaphoricity (local c-commanding antecedent) or a logophor obeying the discourse-related constraints of logophoricity (antecedent as perspective holder).<sup>37</sup>

Note that the set of anaphoric and logophoric uses of *son propre* are not in complementary distribution, but overlap since their properties are not exclusive of each other. Thus, possessor *son propre* can be both anaphoric and logophoric if its antecedent both locally c-commands it and is the center of perspective (*de se* reading). However, it is possible to distinguish the two uses of possessor *son propre* in the absence of some of these properties:

- 82) - no local antecedent → logophor
- no c-commanding antecedent → logophor
- no *de se* reading → anaphor
- no conscious antecedent → anaphor
- inanimate antecedent → anaphor

Interestingly, this means that even if French is generally assumed to have a specific binding system due to the presence of clitics, French actually has an element behaving like English anaphors. Furthermore, the case of possessor *son propre* supports the theory

---

<sup>37</sup> These two conditions can be reduced to one if we assume the existence of a logophoricity operator and LF-movement of the logophor. For example, Huang and Liu (2001: p.41) suggest that Mandarin Chinese *ziji* moves to the specifier of SourceP and the so-called long distance binding is therefore in fact local: "...we treat a logophoric *ziji* not as a normal 'pronoun in coreference' but as a variable A'-bound by an operator which is itself anaphoric...".



of logophoricity. Moreover, from a methodological point of view, the case of French *son propre* suggests that the distinction between animate and inanimate antecedents can be used as a very reliable criterion to identify logophors.<sup>38</sup>

### **3.2. Possessum *son propre*: no binding properties**

Recall that the main point of this chapter is to argue for the existence of an interaction between binding and intensification. The previous section has shown that when the possessor is intensified, *son propre* presents anaphoric or/and logophoric properties. This is the first way in which binding and intensification interact: the intensifier *propre* seems to turn *son* into an anaphor or a logophor.

The goal of this section is to show that the situation is different when it is the possessum that is intensified: possessum *son propre* does not exhibit any anaphoric or logophoric properties as opposed to possessor *son propre*. Given that only the possessor –unlike the possessum– corresponds to the antecedent of *son propre*, this makes even clearer the correlation between intensification and binding.

#### **3.2.1. The case of possessum *son propre*: no anaphoric nor logophoric properties**

Let's compare these two sentences:

83) Notre perspective tridimensionnelle nous dévoile des aspects de  
 our perspective three-dimensional us reveals some aspects of  
**[cet univers microscopique]<sub>i</sub>** que ne connaîtront jamais **ses<sub>i</sub> (propres) habitants**.  
 this universe microscopic that NE will\_know never its own inhabitants  
 [score: 76] [attested on google]

'Our three-dimensional perspective reveals to us some aspects of this  
 microscopic universe that its (own) inhabitants will never know.'

---

<sup>38</sup> For instance, in English, it would be worth investigating *itself* in more details.

84) [=71b] Les clients de [**cet hôtel**]<sub>k</sub> préfèrent **sa**<sub>k</sub> (**\*propre**) **plage** à celles  
the guests of this hotel prefer its own beach to the\_ones  
des hôtels voisins.  
of\_the hotels neighboring  
'The guests of this hotel prefer its (\*own) beach to the ones of the  
neighboring hotels.'

In neither of these sentences is *ses propres* c-commanded by its antecedent. Nevertheless, (84) is a deviant sentence if it contains *propre* (as already mentioned) whereas (83) is grammatical. The generalization (75) accounts for the ungrammaticality of (84): since the possessor antecedent is inanimate, it should locally c-command possessor *ses propres*, but it does not. Then, why is (83) grammatical? The crucial difference is that in (83), *propres* does not intensify the possessor –as in (84) where 'this hotel' is contrasted with 'the neighboring hotels' as possessors of beaches– but the possessum: the inhabitants of this microscopic universe as opposed to us will never know some aspects of it. Crucially, it is not the microscopic universe that is contrasted with other alternative possessors, but it is the inhabitants of this microscopic universe that are contrasted with other entities, namely us. This means that as opposed to possessor *propre*, possessum *propre* does not require a c-commanding antecedent.

Furthermore, possessum *son propre* licenses an inanimate long distance antecedent unlike possessor *son propre*, as illustrated by the following contrasts:

85) a. [**Ce pont**]<sub>i</sub> a l' air très fragile. **Son**<sub>i</sub> (**propre**) **architecte** a demandé un  
this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has asked a  
contrôle de sécurité.  
control of security  
'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (own) architect asked for a security  
control.'

b. [**Ce pont**]<sub>i</sub> a l' air très fragile. **Son**<sub>i</sub> (**\*propre**) **architecte** a reçu moins  
this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has received less

de moyens que tous les autres architectes des ponts de la région.  
of means than all the other architects of\_the bridges of the area

'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (\*own) architect got less means than all the other architects of the bridges of the area.'

86) a. [Cet enfant]<sub>i</sub> a l' air très perturbé. Sa<sub>i</sub> (**propre**) mère a demandé  
this child has the air very disturbed his own mother has asked  
un suivi psychologique.

a follow-up psychological

'This child looks very disturbed. His (own) mother asked for psychological care.'

b. [Cet enfant]<sub>i</sub> a l' air très perturbé. Sa<sub>i</sub> (**propre**) mère passe moins de temps  
this child has the air very disturbed his own mother spends less of time  
à la maison que toutes les autres mères des enfants de la classe. (C'est  
at the house than all the other mothers of\_the children of the class (that's  
ce que l' enfant m' a confié.)  
what the child me has confided

'This child looks very disturbed. His (own) mother spends less time at home than all the other mothers of the children in the class. (That's what the child confided to me)'

In (85b), *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') is a case of possessor *propre*: this bridge is contrasted with other bridges as 'possessors' of an architect. In (85a) however, *propre* intensifies the possessum: the bridge's architect is opposed to other individuals who would ask for a security control too, and he is an unlikely individual among the alternatives to express such a request since he designed the bridge himself. Crucially, this difference in intensification correlates with a difference in binding: (85b) is ungrammatical if it includes *propre* because *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') is an anaphor requiring a local antecedent, but (85a) is grammatical because *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') does not exhibit binding properties. In other terms, this contrast shows that possessum *propre* does not require a local antecedent and therefore argues for the non anaphoric status of possessum *son propre*.

Moreover, the same example shows that possessum *son propre* also lacks logophoric properties. Recall that possessor *son propre* may be long distance bound if the antecedent is a logophoric center and we established that a logophoric center has to be animate. That's why (85b), which presents the inanimate *ce pont* ('this bridge') as antecedent of possessor *son propre*, is ungrammatical, while (86b), in which possessor *son propre* has the animate *cet enfant* ('this child') as antecedent, is grammatical: it is because a child, unlike a bridge, can be a center of perspective that (86b), unlike (85b), is well-formed; this is further suggested by the fact that the parenthesis in (86b), which explicitly makes the child the source of the sentence, improves the grammaticality of the sentence. However, both (85b) and (85d), in which *propre* does not intensify the possessor, but the possessum, are grammatical, whether the antecedent is animate or not. Crucially, (85b) is a well-formed sentence even if *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') has the inanimate *ce pont* ('this bridge') as long distance antecedent. This demonstrates that possessum *son propre*, unlike possessor *son propre*, lacks anaphoric and logophoric properties altogether.

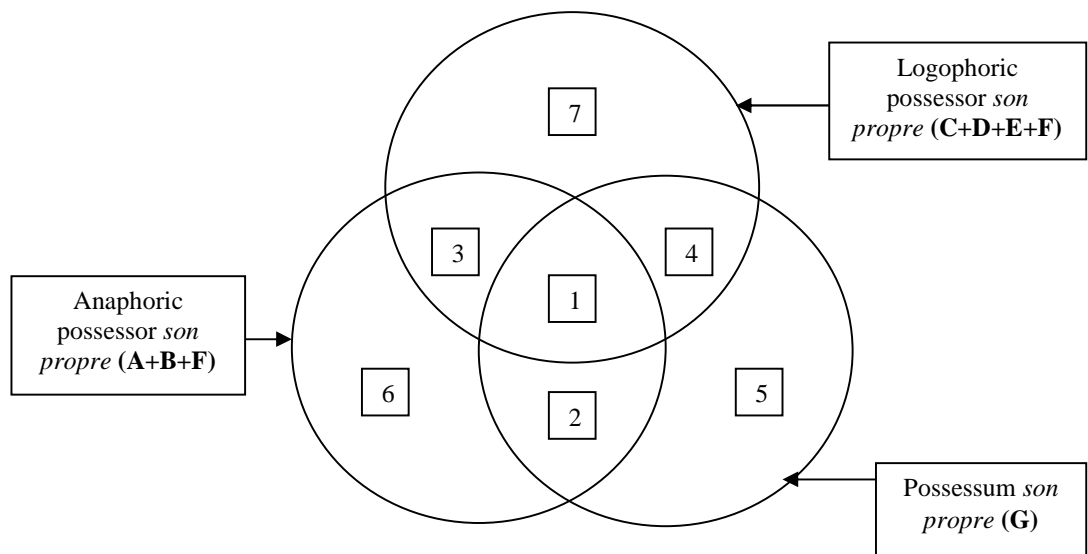
Therefore, the implications (82) could be reformulated as follows:

- 87) - no local antecedent → logophoric possessor *son propre* or possessum *son propre*
- no c-commanding antecedent → logophoric possessor *son propre* or possessum *son propre*
- no *de se* reading → anaphoric possessor *son propre* or possessum *son propre*
- no conscious antecedent → anaphoric possessor *son propre* or possessum *son propre*
- inanimate antecedent → anaphoric possessor *son propre* or possessum *son propre*

Note that since the anaphoric and logophoric constraints are not exclusive of the interpretation required by possessum *son propre*, the antecedent of possessum *son propre* may be locally c-commanded or/and center of perspective.

The following table summarizes the status of the relevant properties (named A, B, C, D, E) for each use of *son propre* (F and G indicate the intensifying properties): when the property is said to be obligatory, it means that it is a defining property; otherwise, it is said to be possible. Since none of these properties is ever excluded, there is overlap between the different uses of *propre*: this is illustrated by the following diagram.

	Possessor <i>son propre</i> (F. possessor intensified)		Possessum <i>son propre</i> (G. possessum intensified)
	Anaphor	Logophor	
A. c-commanding antecedent	Obligatory	Possible	Possible
B. local antecedent	Obligatory	Possible	Possible
C. animate antecedent	Possible	Obligatory	Possible
D. conscious antecedent	Possible	Obligatory	Possible
E. <i>de se</i> reading	Possible	Obligatory	Possible



Overlap between the uses of anaphoric possessor *son propre*, the uses of logophoric possessor *son propre* and the uses of possessum *son propre*. The intersections of the sets represent ambiguous readings, as illustrated by the following examples (the letters in parentheses, which correspond to the properties mentioned in the table, indicate the properties that are necessarily present; the ambiguity can correspond to an interpretative ambiguity (F or G, E or not E, e.g. (1)) or can result from the fact that the constraints of logophoricity are compatible with the constraints of anaphoricity (e.g. (3))

- 1) Fabrice a grondé ses propres enfants. (A+B+C+D+E; F or G)  
 Fabrice has scolded his own children  
 'Fabrice scolded his own children.'
- 2) Ce pont déplaît à son propre architecte. (A+B; F or G)  
 this bridge upset to its own architect  
 'This bridge upsets its own architect.'
- 3) Claire a sélectionné son propre article plutôt que celui de son collègue. (A+B+C+D+E; F)  
 Claire has selected her own article rather than the\_one of her colleague  
 'Claire selected her own article rather than her colleague's.'
- 4) Michel est persuadé que les juges sélectionneront ses propres enfants. (C+D+E; F or G)  
 Michel is persuaded that the judges will\_select his own children  
 'Michel is persuaded that the judges will select his own children.'
- 5) Ce pont a l' air très fragile. Son propre architecte ne le traverserait pas. (G) [score: 73]  
 this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect NE it would\_cross not  
 'This bridge looks very fragile. Its own architect would not cross it.'
- 6) Cette compagnie a développé sa propre marque de café équitable. (A+B; F) [score: 95]  
 this company has developed its own brand of coffee fair-trade  
 'This company developed its own brand of fair-trade coffee.'
- 7) L' opinion de Jean portait sur sa propre mère, pas sur la mère de Paul. (C+D+E; F)  
 the opinion of John concerned on his own mother, not on the mother of Paul  
 'John's opinion was about his own mother, not about Paul's mother.'

Note that the interpretation G (intensified possessum) is therefore possible with any combination of A, B, C, D, E, while the interpretation F (intensified possessor) is only possible with the three following sets of properties: {A,B}, {C, D, E}, and {A, B, C, D, E}.

### 3.2.2. The case of possessum *son propre*: constraints other than binding

Possessum *son propre* obeys neither the constraints of anaphoricity nor the constraints of logophoricity. But this does not mean that possessum *son propre* is not constrained at all: possessum *son propre* seems to exhibit other types of requirements.

#### (a) Animacy of the possessum

First, possessum *son propre*, unlike logophoric possessor *son propre*, does not impose any animacy restriction on the possessor, but it does require that the possessum be animate. This constraint is particularly clear when the antecedent is not in the same clause as *son propre*, as shown by the following contrast:

88) a. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l' air très fragile. **Son<sub>i</sub> (propre) architecte** n' a pas  
 this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect NE has not  
 refusé un contrôle de sécurité supplémentaire.  
 refused a control of security additional

'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (own) architect did not refuse an additional security control.'

b. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l' air très fragile. **Ses<sub>i</sub> (\*propres) fondations** n'ont pas passé  
 this bridge has the air very fragile its own foundations NE have not passed  
 les contrôles de sécurité.  
 the controls of security

'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (\*own) foundations did not pass the security control.'

In both sentences, possessum *son propre* has a long distance inanimate antecedent *ce pont* ('this bridge'), but only (88a) is grammatical. Since the crucial difference between both examples consists in the animacy of the possessum, this contrast shows that possessum *son propre* requires an animate possessum. This constraint is specific to

possessum *son propre*: anaphoric possessor *son propre* does not have any animacy requirement at all (cf. (89a) where both the possessor antecedent and the possessum are inanimate) and logophoric possessor *son propre* requires an animate antecedent, but does not impose any restriction on the animacy of the possessum. Thus, in (89b), *son propre appartement* ('her own apartment') is long distance bound by *Mélanie* that corresponds to the logophoric center, and the sentence is well-formed even if the possessum 'her own apartment' is inanimate.

89) a. [=71a] [**Cet hôtel**]<sub>k</sub> protège **sa**<sub>k</sub> **propre** **plage** sans se préoccuper des  
 this hotel protects its own beach without SE care of\_the  
 plages des hôtels voisins.  
 beaches of\_the hotels neighboring

'This hotel protects its own beach without caring about the beaches of the neighboring hotels.'

b. **Mélanie**<sub>k</sub> est soulagée de l' issue de la réunion. **Son**<sub>k</sub> **propre** **appartement**  
 Melanie is relieved of the outcome of the meeting her own apartment  
 n' est pas concerné par les futurs travaux ; seul l' appartement de son  
 NE is not concerned by the future building\_work; only the apartment of her  
 voisin l' est.  
 neighbour it is.

'Melanie is relieved by the outcome of the meeting. Her own apartment will not be concerned by the future building work; only her neighbour's apartment will.'

So, the contrast between possessum and possessor *son propre* with respect to the animacy of the possessum is clear in the case of long distance antecedents. The same contrast seems to arise with local antecedents. It is however harder to judge since in this case, there is an ambiguity between a reading involving possessum *son propre* and a reading involving possessor *son propre* (since there is no animacy requirement on the antecedent of anaphoric possessor *son propre* as opposed to logophoric possessor *son propre*): only the interpretation can distinguish the two readings.



90) a. ?Dans sa colère, **Aurélie<sub>k</sub>** a tout brûlé: elle a brûlé **son<sub>k</sub> propre journal intime**, qui lui était pourtant si précieux.  
 in her anger Aurélie has all burned she has burned her own diary which to\_her was though so unvaluable  
 'In her anger, Aurélie burned everything: she burned her own diary, which was invaluable for her.'

b. **Aurélie<sub>k</sub>** n' a pas montré **son<sub>k</sub> propre journal intime** à sa mère, mais seulement celui de sa sœur.  
 Aurélie NE has not shown her own diary to her mother, but only the\_one of her sister.  
 'Aurélie did not show her own diary to her mother, but only that of her sister.'

Thus, if (90a) means that Aurélie was so angry that she burned everything, even her diary (possessum *propre* reading), the sentence does not appear to be very natural as opposed to (90b). However, (90a) is not as deviant as (88b) either.

(b) Preference for relational noun as possessum

Possessum *son propre* does not only impose an animacy restriction on the possessum: also, when associated with possessum *son propre*, relational nouns seem to make sentences more natural than non relational nouns. Indeed, (91a), which contains a non relational noun *prêtre* ('priest'), appears to be less natural than (91b), which presents the relational noun *constructeur* ('builder').

91) a. ? [**La nouvelle église**]<sub>k</sub> déplaît à tous les habitants du village. **Son<sub>k</sub> propre prêtre** n' a pas l' air très satisfait du résultat. [score: 48]  
 the new church upsets to all the inhabitants of\_the village its own priest NE has not the air very satisfied of\_the result  
 'The new church upsets all the inhabitants of the village; its own priest does not look very satisfied of the result.'

b. [**La nouvelle église**]<sub>k</sub> déplaît à tous les habitants du village. **Son<sub>k</sub> propre constructeur** n' a pas l' air très satisfait du résultat.  
 the new church upsets to all the inhabitants of\_the village its own builder ne has not the air very satisfied of\_the result  
 'The new church upsets all the inhabitants of the village; its own builder does not look very satisfied of the result.'

These two observations suggest that possessum *son propre* imposes restrictions on the possessum that are not related to binding. It may be the case that these constraints are due to the presence of silent *even* in the case of possessum *son propre* since this element requires the construction of a likelihood scale. We may hypothesize that unlike overt *even*, which would have two properties, i.e. constructing a scale of likelihood and picking up the lowest or at least a low element on the scale, covert *even* would only have the second property. This would mean that covert *even* associated with possessum *propre* is only possible if a likelihood scale is already given. This would account for the fact that relational nouns are preferred since they inherently establish a relation between the possessor and the possessum. Concerning animacy, it could be that for reasons that go beyond grammar, scales of likelihood are only given with animates.

This speculative hypothesis would of course require independent evidence. But it is sufficient for our purposes to notice that possessum *son propre* does not obey binding-type constraints but other kinds of constraints.

(c) Closest c-commanding possessor as antecedent if available

Possessum *son propre* seems to follow another rule, which makes the situation more intricate: even if possessum *son propre* does not require a local c-commanding antecedent in general, it appears to require a c-commanding antecedent when there is one available.

- 92) a. \***[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes sur sa construction. **Je**  
           this bridge has given rise to a multitude of legends about its construction I  
 me méfie de **son<sub>i</sub> propre architecte** à ce propos. [score: 27]  
 distrust its own architect on this topic  
 'This bridge gave rise to a lot of legends concerning its construction. I distrust  
 its own architect on this topic.'

b. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes sur sa construction.  
 this bridge has given rise to a multitude of legends about its construction  
**Son<sub>i</sub> propre architecte** a répandu plus d' un mensonge à ce sujet. [score: 78]  
 its own architect has spread more than one lie to this topic  
 'This bridge gave rise to a lot of legends concerning its construction. Its own architect spread more than a lie about this topic.'

In neither (92a) and (92b) does the inanimate *ce pont* ('this bridge') c-command *son propre architecte* ('its own architect') and it is not in the same clause either; so anaphoric and logophoric constraints are not at stake here. However, (92a) presents an intervener between *ce pont* ('this bridge') and *son propre architecte* ('its own architect'), and this precisely seems to make the sentence deviant as compared to (92b): *je* ('I'), which could be a possible possessor of the architect<sup>39</sup> and c-commands *son propre*, seems to intervene between *ce pont* and *son propre architecte*. This suggests that even if possessum *son propre* can have a non c-commanding antecedent in the absence of any c-commanding DP, when there is a c-commanding DP, possessum *son propre* seems to require it as antecedent.

Moreover, when there are several DPs c-commanding *son propre*, only the closest one can be its antecedent, as shown in (93).

93) **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a donné lieu à la rumeur que **[le maire]<sub>j</sub>** se méfie de **son<sub>j/\*i</sub>**  
 this bridge has given rise to the rumor that the mayor SE distrusts of its/his  
**propre architecte.**  
 own architect  
 'This bridge has given rise to the rumor that the mayor distrusts his/\*its own architect.'

---

<sup>39</sup> The possessive relation between the architect and me would be of course different from the possessive relation between the bridge and the architect. Moreover, note that *je* ('I') intervenes even if its person marking is different from that of *son propre* (the first person possessive is *mon propre*).

In (93), the sentence can only be grammatical if the antecedent of *son propre architecte* ('his/its own architect') is *le maire* ('the mayor'). So, even if both *ce pont* ('this bridge') and *le maire* ('the mayor') c-command *son propre architecte* ('his/its own architect'), *son propre* only licenses the closest DP as antecedent, i.e. *le maire* ('the mayor').<sup>40</sup>

But surprisingly, this linear precedence does not hold when there are several possible antecedents that do not c-command *son propre*, as illustrated in (94).

- 94) [**Le nouveau musée**]<sub>i</sub> a été construit près [**du pont**]<sub>j</sub>. **Son**<sub>i/\*j</sub> **propre architecte** avait pourtant déconseillé cet emplacement.  
 the new museum has been constructed near of\_the bridge its own architect had yet advised\_against this site  
 'The new museum has been constructed near the bridge. Its own architect had yet advised against this site.'

From a pragmatic point of view, both *le nouveau musée* ('the new museum') and *le pont* ('the bridge') are potential antecedents for *son propre architecte* ('its own architect'). But as opposed to (93), neither of these DPs c-commands *son propre* and we observe that in this case, only *le nouveau musée* ('the new museum') can be interpreted as the antecedent: the closest DP *le pont* ('the bridge') is not the obligatory antecedent of *son propre* and is even impossible as antecedent of *son propre*. So, when no c-commanding DP is available, the only possible antecedent of *son propre* is not the closest one, but seems to correspond to the topic (i.e. *le nouveau musée* ('the new museum') in (94)).

---

<sup>40</sup> Recall that this is not the case for logophoric possessor *propre*, which does not necessarily have the closest possible antecedent as its antecedent.

Thus, possessum *son propre* follows other types of rules than possessor *son propre*. This means that *son propre* does or does not exhibit binding properties depending on the element *propre* intensifies: this argues for the existence of an interaction between binding and intensification.

### **3.3. Conclusion of the chapter: *son propre* as an evidence for an interaction between binding and intensification**

#### **3.3.1. Generalizations**

To sum up the results of the previous sections, here are the generalizations describing the distribution of *son propre*:

- when *propre* intensifies the possessor, *son propre* must have an antecedent that locally<sup>41</sup> c-commands it (anaphoric *son propre*) unless the antecedent is a logophoric center (logophoric *son propre*).

---

<sup>41</sup> I am aware that the notion of locality has not been precisely defined yet, but for my purposes here, I simply assume that the local domain of *son propre* is the clause, as shown by the following contrast:

\*[**Les chambres du premier étage**]<sub>i</sub> ont bénéficié du fait que **leurs, propres**  
the rooms of\_the first floor have benefited from\_the fact that their own  
**salles de bain** plaisent aux touristes.  
bathrooms please to\_the tourists  
'\*The first floor rooms benefited from the fact that their own bathrooms are popular with the tourists.'

**Les étudiants, de ce lycée** ont bénéficié du fait que **leurs, propres**  
the students of this high\_school have benefited from\_the fact that their own  
**professeurs** connaissaient les examinateurs.  
teachers knew the examiners  
'The students of this high school benefited from the fact that their own teachers knew the examiners.'

Note that it is anyway hard to define more precisely the local domain of *son propre*: an inanimate antecedent is necessary for that, but an inanimate subject is hardly compatible with a ECM verb or a verb that introduces a small clause containing its possessee (e.g. *considérer* ('consider'), causative *faire* ('make')...etc); moreover, when we can find one, the judgment is hard to establish:

? [**Le boulet**]<sub>i</sub> a fait exploser **son, propre canon**.  
the ball has made explode its own cannon  
'The cannonball made its own cannon explode.'

- when *propre* intensifies the possessum, *son propre* must combine with an animate and have the closest possible possessor as antecedent.

This means that possessor *son propre* obeys constraints related to binding (syntactic constraints of anaphoricity and discourse-related constraints of logophoricity) while possessum *son propre* obeys other types of constraints that do not fall into classical binding constraints. Crucially, this shows a link between binding and intensification since the possessor corresponds to the antecedent: when the possessor is intensified by *propre*, the antecedent, which always refers to the possessor, anaphorically or logophorically binds *son propre*; but when it is the possessum that is intensified, there is no such constraint.

### 3.3.2. Evidence against an independence between binding and intensification

In other terms, the generalizations governing the distribution of *son propre* argue against the hypothesis that binding and intensification constitute two separate modules of the grammar: it can be shown that a theory à la Bergeton (2004) does not make the right predictions here.

Bergeton argues against the idea that complex reflexives (e.g. Danish *sig selv*) correspond to a special kind of anaphoric expressions that exhibit binding properties different from the binding properties of simple reflexives (e.g. Danish *sig*). It has been claimed that complex reflexives have a tendency to be locally bound while simple reflexives allow for long distance binding. But Bergeton proposes that the so-called complex reflexives are better analyzed as adnominally intensified counterparts of the

simple reflexive (e.g. Danish reflexive *sig* + intensifier *selv*) with mutual independence of binding and intensification:<sup>42</sup> syntactic binding principles account for the distribution of reflexives (e.g. Danish *sig*) and pronouns (e.g. Danish *han* ('he'), *ham* ('him')) while the distribution of intensifiers (e.g. Danish *selv*) is subject to the semantic and pragmatic principles of intensification, namely the contrastiveness condition: the referent of the intensified expression is contrasted with a contextually determined set of alternatives. Then, it is the interaction between predicate meaning (antireflexive predicates vs. inherently reflexive predicates) and adnominal intensification of reflexives that yields some indirect locality effects of intensification.<sup>43</sup>

Interestingly for our purposes here, Bergeton moreover claims that his analysis can be straightforwardly extended to intensified possessive reflexives (e.g. Danish *sin egen*)

<sup>42</sup> Bergeton chooses Danish to test his proposal because Danish presents a morphologically transparent articulation of binding and intensification, as opposed to English in which, according to him, the mutual independence of binding and intensification is obscured by what appears to be a morphological overlap between the elements used as intensifier and reflexive. Nevertheless, Bergeton extends his analysis to English by assuming the existence of a null reflexive in English and a phonological deletion rule for pronoun *him* before *himself*: (2004: p.6 for Danish forms and p.32 for English forms):

	Simple/unintensified		Complex/intensified	
	Danish	English	Danish	English
Reflexive	<i>sig</i>	Ø	<i>sig selv</i>	Ø himself
Subject pronoun	<i>han</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>han selv</i>	<i>he himself</i>
Object pronoun	<i>ham</i>	<i>him</i>	<i>ham selv</i>	[ <i>him</i> ] himself
DP	<i>kongen</i>	<i>the king</i>	<i>kongen selv</i>	<i>the king himself</i>

<sup>43</sup> The following examples show the influence of predicate meaning on intensification (Bergeton, 2004: p.17):

- Neutral predicates:

Peter vasker sig/sig selv/bilen  
'Peter washes himself/the car.'

- Antireflexive predicates:

Peter misunde \*sig/sig selv/Marie.  
'Peter envies himself/Marie.'

- Inherently reflexive predicates:

Peter dukkede sig/\*sig selv/\*Marie  
'Peter ducked (\*himself)/Marie.'

and pronouns (e.g. Danish *hand egen*).<sup>44</sup> Similarly, the distribution of simple forms is constrained by the principles A and B of the binding theory and adnominal intensification does not directly affect locality constraints. Rather, the mandatory use of intensified forms in certain contexts is due to the anti-reflexivity of the predicate, which presupposes the representational non identity of the referents of the possessive reflexive and its antecedent: semantic or pragmatic factors prevent local binding of unintensified reflexives in the case of anti-reflexive predicates.<sup>45</sup> Concerning English, Bergeton simply says that English possessive *his* can be locally bound as opposed to Danish *hans*, but he claims that this difference between the binding domain of *hans* in Danish and *his* in English is not a problem for his analysis.

Under Bergeton's analysis, *son propre* would correspond to the intensified version of possessive *son*.<sup>46</sup> Thus, *son* would only follow the syntactic principles of binding

<sup>44</sup> Danish and English nominal expressions in possessor position: (2004: p.23)

	Simple/unintensified		Complex/intensified	
	Danish	English	Danish	English
Reflexive	<i>sin</i>	<i>his/her/one's</i>	<i>sin egen</i>	<i>his/her/one's own</i>
Pronoun	<i>hans</i>	<i>his</i>	<i>hans egen</i>	<i>his own</i>
DP	<i>kongens</i>	<i>the king's</i>	<i>kongens egen</i>	<i>the king's own</i>

<sup>45</sup> Examples (Bergeton, 2004: p.24) :

- Neutral predicates:

Peter vasker sin/sin egen/John's tegnebog  
'Peter washes his/his own/John's wallet.'

- Antireflexive predicates:

Peter stjal\*??sin/sin egen/John's tegnebog.  
'Peter envies his/his own/John's wallet.'

- Inherently reflexive predicates:

Han hyttede sit/??sit eget/\*Peter's skin.  
'He saved his own life.'

<sup>46</sup> Bergeton only deals with intensification of the possessor. He does not talk at all about intensification of the possessum.



while *propre* would be subject to the conditions of intensification. But given that French, unlike Danish, does not have a specific form for reflexive possessives, *son* can be both locally and long distance bound and this makes incorrect predictions with respect to *son propre*. In particular, this would predict that *son propre* like *son* can be long distance bound if the conditions for intensification are fulfilled.<sup>47</sup> But this is not the case as shown by the following examples:

95) [*Context*: The mayor organized a competition in order to recruit the architect who will design the future museum of the city. Two main architects are in contention for it: the first one recently designed the modern church of the neighbouring village, and the second one designed the new bridge of the area.]

La plupart des habitants ont accueilli avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme [le nouveau pont]<sub>i</sub>, qu'ils trouvent à la fois esthétique et solide ; c'est pourquoi son<sub>i</sub> (\*propre) architecte a davantage de chance d'être choisi que celui de l'église, à mon avis. [score: 40]

'Most inhabitants are enthusiastic about the new bridge that they think is both aesthetic and solid; that's why I would think its (\*own) architect has more chance to get selected than the architect of the church.'

The context establishes a clear contrast between two architects so that the conditions for intensification of the possessor are fulfilled. Moreover, the sentence with *son* is well-formed. Therefore, if binding and intensification were independent as Bergeton proposes, the sentence with *son propre* should be grammatical, but it is not.

Similarly, we would expect the following sentence to be grammatical with *son propre* just like with *son*:

---

<sup>47</sup> Thus, Bergeton (2004: p.9) claims that the so-called logophors are actually adnominally intensified pronouns.

96) [Michel's brother is a primary school teacher. The parents of the children in the class complain that Michel's children are treated differently.]

Par solidarité fraternelle, le frère de Michel<sub>k</sub> ne gronde jamais ses<sub>k</sub> (\*propres)  
by solidarity brotherly the brother of Michel NE scolds never his own  
enfants.  
children

'In brotherly solidarity, Michel's brother never scolds his (\*own) children.'

The context establishes a contrast between Michel's children and the other children in Michel's brother's class, so that the pragmatic conditions for intensification are met. Furthermore, *ses* is grammatical in the absence of *propre*. Therefore, Bergeton's hypothesis predicts that the sentence should be well-formed in the presence of *propre* too, but it is not.

So under the common view that French *son* behaves like a pronoun, Bergeton's hypothesis makes the wrong predictions since *son propre* does not behave like *son* with respect to binding even if the pragmatic conditions for intensification are fulfilled.

We could try to save Bergeton's analysis – whose strict compositionality is appealing – by making the following hypothesis: French *son* may actually be ambiguous between a reflexive form *son* and a pronominal form *son*. This would mean that French has the same possessive system as Danish even if it is morphologically opaque. Then, if (96) is deviant with *propre*, it is because *son* is a reflexive form in this case, while *son* is a pronoun in the versions of the sentence without *propre*. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of the sentences would not be due to the presence of *propre*. However, it would be necessary under such an hypothesis to explain why *son* has to be a reflexive when *propre* is present. A possible analysis would be to say that possessor *propre* associates with reflexive *son* while possessum *propre* combines with pronominal *son*,

which would make the right predictions in probably all the cases<sup>48</sup> and in particular in the crucial case:

97) [=85] a. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l'air très fragile. **Son<sub>i</sub> (propre) architecte** a demandé un  
this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has asked a  
contrôle de sécurité.  
control of security  
'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (own) architect asked for a security control.'

b. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l'air très fragile. **Son<sub>i</sub> (\*propre) architecte** a reçu moins  
this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has received less  
de moyens que tous les autres architectes des ponts de la région.  
of means than all the other architects of\_the bridges of the area  
'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (\*own) architect got less means than all the other architects of the bridges of the area.'

This would mean that in (97b), possessor *propre* combines with reflexive *son*; since *son* is not locally bound, the sentence is ill-formed. On the other hand in (97a), possessum *propre* associates with pronominal *son*; that's why the sentence is well-formed.

But this hypothesis precisely establishes an interaction between intensification and binding: if these two modules were completely separated, there would be no reason why the association of *son* (reflexive/pronoun) and *propre* (possessor/possessum) would not be freely available if the conditions for binding and intensification are independently met. But this is not the case: every time pronominal *son* and reflexive *son* are not compatible, possessor *propre* cannot combine with pronominal *son* as illustrated above in (95) and (96).

---

<sup>48</sup> It is probable that even the cases of ungrammaticality for possessum *son propre* that have been reported above (cf. inanimacy of the possessum) could be accounted for too if we relegate them to the module of intensification.

Therefore, Bergeton's analysis, which makes binding and intensification two independent modules of the grammar, does not seem to make the right predictions for French *son propre*: it is necessary to suppose an interaction between binding and intensification to account for the distribution of *son propre*. Thus, I agree with Bergeton's idea of compositionality in the sense that *son propre* is not a lexical entry distinct from *son*,<sup>49</sup> but can be decomposed into two elements. However, I disagree with the idea – which would follow from his theory – that *propre* does not have any influence on the binding properties of *son*.

### 3.3.3. Interaction between binding and intensification in the light of French *son propre*

To sum up, *son propre* shows an interaction between binding and intensification in two respects: (a) first, *son propre* confirms and makes clearer some generalizations about intensifiers and reflexives that have been suggested for other languages; (b) due to its specificity, *son propre* reveals a new principle linking binding and intensification.

(a) Here are prototypical examples showing an interaction between binding and intensification: in all these cases, *son propre* as opposed to *son* is ungrammatical even if the conditions for intensification are independently fulfilled.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> This idea – rejected by both Bergeton and the present study – is actually the standard view about reflexives: in most theoretical approaches of binding, it is tacitly assumed that reflexive *himself* is a lexical entry distinct from intensifying *himself*.

<sup>50</sup> Thus, in cases of grammatical discrepancy between *son* and *son propre*, *son* is grammatical while *son propre* is not. But there are also some cases where the opposite contrast is found: *son propre* is grammatical whereas *son* is not:

a. Jérôme<sub>k</sub> est son<sub>k</sub> propre ennemi.  
'Jérôme is his own enemy.'

- while *son* can have a non-commanding antecedent or even an exophoric antecedent, possessor *son propre* must have a c-commanding antecedent:

98) a. [L' hôtel [du millionnaire]<sub>k</sub>]<sub>j</sub> protège sa<sub>j/k/i</sub> plage sans se  
 the hotel of\_the millionaire protects its/his beach without SE  
 préoccuper des plages voisines.  
 care of\_the beaches neighboring  
 'The hotel of the millionaire protects its/his beach without caring about the neighboring beaches.'

b. [L' hôtel [du millionnaire]<sub>k</sub>]<sub>j</sub> protège sa<sub>j/\*k/\*i</sub> propre plage sans se  
 the hotel of\_the millionaire protects its own beach without SE  
 préoccuper des plages voisines.  
 care of\_the beaches neighboring  
 'The hotel of the millionaire protects its/his own beach without caring about the neighboring beaches.'

- while *son* can have a long distance antecedent under any condition, possessor *son propre* cannot be long distance bound unless the antecedent is a logophoric center:

99) [=73b] [Ce pont]<sub>j</sub> a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné  
 this bridge has benefited of\_the fact that the authorities have given  
 plus d' avantages à son<sub>j</sub> (\*propre) architecte qu' à celui du musée.  
 more of benefits to its own architect than to the\_one\_of\_the museum  
 'This bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities provided more benefits to its own architect than to the architect of the museum.'

Thus, the following generalization shows the first aspect of the interaction between binding and intensification:

100) When the possessor antecedent is intensified, *son propre* must obey anaphoric or logophoric constraints while *son* does not have to.

---

b. \*Jérôme<sub>k</sub> est son<sub>k</sub> ennemi.  
 '\*Jérôme is his enemy.'

However, such examples do not necessarily argue for an interaction between binding and intensification because the contrast could be independently accounted for by principles of intensification: as Bergeton would suggest, *être l'ennemi de* ('to be enemy with') is an anti-reflexive predicate; therefore, the reflexive possession is only possible if the reflexive possessive is intensified.

This generalization makes clearer what has been proposed for reflexives in other languages. For instance, it has been argued that similarly, English *himself* behaves either like an anaphor or a logophor while *him* behaves like a pronoun. However, the case of *son propre* is interesting in that it clearly shows the role of intensification: because of their possessive status, *son* and *son propre* are compatible in the same position as opposed to *him* and *himself* (at least in the local domain). This makes clearer that (i) *son propre* is not a separate lexical entry, but an intensified form of *son* (while it is not obvious that the so-called reflexive *himself* is an intensified form of the pronoun *him*) and (ii) intensification restricts the binding possibilities of the intensified element.

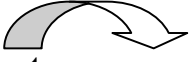
(b) The specificity of *son propre* is even more interesting in the following case:

101) [=85] a. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l' air très fragile. **Son<sub>i</sub> (propre) architecte** a demandé  
 this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has asked  
 un contrôle de sécurité.  
 a control of security  
 'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (own) architect asked for a security control.'

b. **[Ce pont]<sub>i</sub>** a l' air très fragile. **Son<sub>i</sub> (\*propre) architecte** a reçu moins  
 this bridge has the air very fragile its own architect has received less  
 de moyens que tous les autres architectes des ponts de la région.  
 of means than all the other architects of\_the bridges of the area  
 'This bridge looks very fragile. Its (\*own) architect got less means than all the other architects of the bridges of the area.'

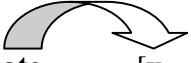
Here, *son propre* reveals a phenomenon that cannot appear in other cases of reflexives since only *propre* exhibits a flexible target in intensification (possessor or possessum). Thus, this makes clear that it is not only intensification per se that restricts the binding possibilities, but intensification of the referent of the antecedent. Indeed, it is only when the possessor – which crucially corresponds to the antecedent – is intensified that *son*

*propre* exhibits anaphoric or logophoric properties; it is not the case when the possessum is intensified. This cannot be seen in sentences involving *-self* or any equivalent in other languages, since *-self* and its equivalents only intensify the DP to which they adjoin, namely the referent of the antecedent. Thus, here is the generalization specifically revealed by *son propre*:

- 102) a. **Antecedent**  *x propre* noun....  
 b. Antecedent *x propre* **noun**....

Key: - underlined elements in bold correspond to elements whose referents are intensified.  
 - the arrow represents obligatory binding (anaphoric or logophoric).  
 - the elements in italic are intensifiers.

(102) therefore predicts the contrast found in (101): (102a) is ungrammatical since anaphoric binding cannot occur outside the binding domain and an inanimate cannot be a logophoric center.

- 103) a. \***Inanimate**  [*x propre* noun....]  
 b. Inanimate [*x propre* **noun**....]

Key: - underlined elements in bold correspond to elements whose referents are intensified.  
 - the arrow represents obligatory binding (anaphoric or logophoric).  
 - the elements in italic are intensifiers.  
 - the brackets [ ] indicate the binding domain.

Even if the specificity of *son propre* is more liable to reveal this generalization, it is possible to test it with other intensifiers to see if this principle can be generalized to all intensifiers. In particular, this principle can be tested with *-même* (which has been shown

to be similar to *propre* in several respects in the previous chapter) and it predicts the following patterns:

- 104) a. **Antecedent**          noun *x*-*même* ....  
 b. Antecedent          **x noun** *même* ....

Key: - underlined elements in bold correspond to elements whose referents are intensified.  
 - the arrow represents obligatory binding (anaphoric or logophoric).  
 - the elements in italic are intensifiers.

- 105) a. \***Inanimate**          [noun *x*-*même* ....]  
 b. Inanimate          [**x noun** *même* ....]

Key: - underlined elements in bold correspond to elements whose referents are intensified.  
 - the arrow represents obligatory binding (anaphoric or logophoric).  
 - the elements in italic are intensifiers.  
 - the brackets [ ] indicate the binding domain.

Interestingly, this prediction seems to be correct, as suggested by the following contrast:

106) \*Ce tremblement de terre a fait beaucoup de dégâts. Durant les premières  
 this earthquake has made a\_lot of damage. During the first  
 secondes, **la solide tour de la ville** a résisté. Puis après quelques secondes,  
 seconds the solid tower of the city has resisted. Then after some seconds  
**elle-même** est tombée.  
 her -self is fallen

'\*This earthquake caused a lot of damage; during the first seconds, the solid tower of the city resisted, but after some seconds, itself collapsed.'

107) Cette tour était trop fragile pour résister au tremblement de terre.  
 this tower was too fragile to resist to\_the earthquake

**Ses fondations** même n' ont pas résisté au choc.<sup>51</sup>  
 its foundations self NE has not resisted to\_the impact

'This tower was too fragile to resist to the earthquake. Its foundations themselves did not resist to the impact.'

<sup>51</sup> Note that the restriction concerning animate intensified possessum does not hold for *-même*.



In (106), the pronoun *elle* ('her/it'<sup>52</sup>) is intensified and its referent corresponds to the referent of the antecedent *la solide tour de la ville* ('the solid tower of the city'). Therefore, since the antecedent is not in the binding domain of the pronoun and it is inanimate (and thus not a possible logophoric center), the sentence is ungrammatical. However in (107), it is the DP *ses fondations* ('its foundations') that is intensified and its referent does not correspond to the referent of the antecedent *cette tour* ('this tower'). Therefore, the sentence is grammatical.

So, here is the new generalization relating intensification to binding. It concerns intensification of pronominal elements:

- 108) A pronominal element can be intensified only if it is bound by its antecedent according to the principles of anaphoricity or logophoricity. However, if a pronominal element is included in an intensified expression, it does not need to be syntactically bound.

The question is now why this principle holds. This correlation between binding and intensification can be surprising since different kinds of constraints seem to be at stake: while binding is about syntactic principles related to the structure of the sentence, intensification applies at the semantic and pragmatic levels, generating alternatives to the intensified element. Then, why can alternatives be generated only if the intensified variable has a locally c-commanding element or a center of perspective as antecedent? Unfortunately, I do not have any full answer to this question yet. But an idea would be to relate the binding domain to the domain where alternatives are generated: intensification would be permitted only if the domain in which alternatives are generated (probably the

---

<sup>52</sup> *La tour* ('the tower') is feminine in French. French lacks neutral pronouns; that's why it is the feminine pronoun 'her' which is used in the gloss, but the neutral pronoun 'it' in the translation.

clause) is included in the binding domain. Here is an illustration showing the alternative propositions for examples (101a) and (101b); x indicates the alternatives to the intensified element.

101a) Antecedent: this bridge  
[x asked for a security control.]

101b) Antecedent: this bridge  
[x's architect got less means than all the other architects of the bridges in the area.]

In (101b), x corresponds to alternatives to an element that is not identified in the domain of the alternatives, since it refers to the bridge and the antecedent *ce pont* ('this bridge') does not appear in the domain. However in (101a), x corresponds to alternatives to an element that is identified in the domain of the alternatives, since it corresponds to y's architect: even if y is not identified in the domain since the antecedent of y *ce pont* ('this bridge') is outside the domain, y's architect can still be identified as an architect. This difference suggests why a pronominal element cannot be intensified as opposed to an element including it.

Nevertheless, this is only an intuition and a lot of questions remain unanswered. In particular, why does it matter to identify the element so that alternatives can be generated? And even if the idea about the correlation between the domain for alternatives and the binding domain is right, why would c-command play a role (given that a local but non c-commanding antecedent still makes the sentence agrammatical in the case of anaphoric possessor *son propre*)?

The deep principle underlying the link between binding and intensification is therefore not clear yet. However, I believe it would be worth further investigating the question since this could lead to a better understanding of both binding and intensification. In this sense, the study of this specific element *son propre* has turned out to be important since it sheds light on a new principle of the grammar which could have crucial consequences on the understanding of two of its modules.

## Conclusion

### 4.1. Summary

In this paper, I have shown that French *propre* behaves like an intensifier that has consequences on the binding possibilities of French *son propre*.

First, I have proposed that French *propre* is a flexible intensifier counterpart of *même* in possessive DPs: just as *-même* contrasts the referent of the DP to which it adjoins with other alternatives, *propre* generates alternatives to the possessor or the possessum of the possessive DP in which it occurs.

Moreover, I have argued that these intensifying properties of *propre* interact with the binding properties of *son propre*: when the possessor – which crucially corresponds to the antecedent – is intensified by *propre*, *son propre* meets anaphoric or logophoric requirements; however when it is the possessum that is intensified, *son propre* does not obey such rules.

I have concluded that this correlation shows that intensification and binding constitute interdependent modules of the grammar.

## 4.2. The results of the study

Various results come out of this study.

(1) From a syntactic point of view, I have shown that French presents an element that behaves like an anaphor or a logophor. This is important in two respects.

(a) First, from both a descriptive and an analytic angle, the discovery that *son propre* behaves like a local anaphor is interesting for the following reasons. Descriptively, it documents the existence of a type of element that French is generally considered to lack. Indeed, anaphoric relations are typically coded by the reflexive clitic *se* in French, so that English *himself* does not have any counterpart in French. Analytically, it is important because *son propre* adds an empirical support – coming from a well-studied language – to the binding principles of linguistic theory, which strengthens their general validity. Furthermore, from a methodological point of view, given the absence of equivalents of English *himself*, *son propre* could turn out to be a useful tool in French syntax to test c-command relationships.

(b) Moreover, the observation that *son propre* behaves like a logophor has important consequences. It documents the existence of logophors in French and thus, the case of *son propre* provides an empirical support to the theory of logophoricity claiming that long distance anaphors are logophoric. Indeed, though it appears in a language unrelated to Mandarin, *son propre* exhibits a striking similarity to Mandarin *ziji*: like *ziji*, *son propre* can be long distance bound if the antecedent corresponds to the center of perspective, namely if it is

animate and conscious and if the *de se* reading is available. This suggests that the fact that the same element can be a logophor and an anaphor in various languages is not random: while anaphoricity and logophoricity are usually described as juxtaposed properties, the discovery of a further element exhibiting both of these characteristics leads to the idea that some general principles are probably at stake here to correlate these two properties.

(2) From a semantic point of view, I have shown that *propre* behaves like a flexible intensifier specialized in possessive DPs: it induces generation of alternatives to the possessor or the possessum of the DP in which it occurs, which is interesting in several respects.

(a) First, due to its similarity with *-même*, *propre* reveals the existence of a definable, though small, class of intensifiers: *propre* appears to be the counterpart of *-même* in possessive DPs.

(b) Moreover, the similarity between *propre* and *même* suggests that some presumed different uses of *même* should actually been analyzed as the same phenomenon: since *propre* exhibits the same range of readings as *même*, it suggests the unification of *même*.

(c) Also, *propre* reveals a new phenomenon: some intensifiers can have a double target for intensification within the same syntactic position.

(3) From a syntax-semantics point of view, I have argued that the syntactic module of binding and the semantic module of intensification are intrinsically related.

(a) As suggested by some studies in other languages, *son propre* makes clearer the fact that intensification restricts binding possibilities: in this sense, intensified pronouns behave like reflexives while unintensified pronouns behave like pronouns.

(b) *Son propre* reveals a more subtle principle about the interaction between binding and intensification: a pronominal element can only be intensified if it obeys the anaphoric or logophoric requirements; however, if it does not correspond to the intensified element itself but is only included in it, such constraints do not hold.

This last point is probably the main result of this study because it shows that the modules of binding and intensification do not constitute separate modules but interact with each other. This is crucial in that it could lead to a better understanding of the architecture of the grammar.

### **4.3. Topics for further research**

Of course, a lot of questions remain unanswered at the conclusion of this paper, which opens new research horizons.

(1) Concerning binding, the study of *son propre* suggests new methods to explore the phenomenon. In particular, it has been shown in this paper that the animacy criterion is crucial; moreover, it is a very reliable criterion. Therefore, it would probably be worth paying more attention to this criterion to reexamine some well-known phenomena. For instance, the anaphor *itself* in English should be more seriously taken into consideration.

(2) This study also leaves some open problems related to intensification.

(a) First, the issue left at the end of the first chapter would be worth investigating since it could lead to a better understanding of intensification. Namely, I propose here an analysis that makes the correct predictions if we postulate two different lexical entries for *propre* (possessor *propre* and possessum *propre*). However, this analysis would be complete only if we could understand the primitive properties from which these two different lexical entries derive. In particular, this is related to the question why *propre* is specialized in possessive DPs and what is its relationship with the other uses of *propre* in French. The goal would be to better motivate all the aspects of the analysis and unify as much as possible the analysis of apparently homophonous items. Ultimately, the idea would be to provide an analysis that would suppose only one primitive lexical entry for *propre* and derive its different uses by identifying and isolating other



independently intervening properties. This study represents a step in this direction, but I believe we could go further.

(b) In the same line, this study indirectly (due to the allusions made to *même*) raises the question of the relationship between intensifiers and focus particles. In the literature, intensifiers and focus particles are assumed to be two different classes. But several aspects of this study question their complete separation. In particular, while possessor *propre* perfectly conforms with so-called intensifiers, possessum *propre* exhibits some similarities with so-called focus particle (cf. hidden 'even'). Moreover, it is striking that the so-called intensifier *même* and the so-called focus particle *même* have the same form; since this morphological identity also occurs in other languages (cf. German *selbst*), it is probably not an accident. Thus, it would be interesting to examine the hypothesis that *même* has actually a single lexical entry. This would mean that intensifiers and focus particles are not two separate categories but rather two subclasses of a same phenomenon.

(3) Finally – and this is the most obvious question raised by this thesis – it would be really worth pursuing the idea concerning the link between binding and intensification. I have shown in the light of *son propre* that the modules of binding and intensification interact with each other. Now, I would like to investigate how to precisely account for this link between two modules that apparently apply at different levels: what is the deep principle of the grammar that is reflected in this interaction?

## Appendix

### *Questionnaire about the grammaticality of propre in various examples*

This questionnaire (secured by a password) was posted online on the lscp website.<sup>53</sup> It was answered by 63 native speakers of French. They were asked to evaluate the grammaticality of each sentence on a scale from 0 to 100.<sup>54</sup> The sentences were presented by pair.

The first column indicates the analytic question addressed by the pair of examples appearing in the second column. The last column indicates the mean of the grammaticality score provided by the participants.

Analytical question	Item	Mean of the scores
Is <i>propre</i> compatible with quantifiers?	Ton anecdote me fait rire et me rappelle <b>quelques propres aventures</b> .	11
	Ton anecdote me fait rire et me rappelle <b>quelques-unes de mes propres aventures</b> .  'Your anecdote makes me laugh and reminds me of some (of my) own adventures.'	91
Is <i>propre</i> compatible with relational adjectives?	Pour maints philosophes encore aujourd'hui, ce sont des arguments auxquels, à moins d'accepter <b>la propre solution de Descartes</b> , on ne peut apporter de parade vraiment efficace.	47
	Pour maints philosophes encore aujourd'hui, ce sont des arguments auxquels, à moins d'accepter <b>la propre solution cartésienne</b> , on ne peut apporter de parade vraiment efficace. [attested on google]  'For many philosophers still today, these are arguments that it is impossible to efficiently refute, unless one accepts Descartes's own solution.'	35
Does the animacy of the possessum matter in the case of possessum <i>son propre</i> ?	Ce pont a été examiné dans tous ses détails pour raisons de sécurité. <b>Sa propre peinture</b> a subi une inspection approfondie.  'This bridge has been inspected in all details for security reasons. Its own paint has undergone a thorough inspection.'	37
	Ce pont a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes sur sa construction. <b>Son propre architecte</b> a répandu plus d'un mensonge à ce sujet.	73

<sup>53</sup> *lscp* is the Laboratoire Sciences Cognitives et Psycholinguistiques in Paris. The system used to set up the questionnaire has been created and is managed by Emmanuel Chemla.

<sup>54</sup> Participants were asked to click on a point between the two extreme points of a continuous scale marked as *mauvais* ('bad') and *naturel* ('natural'); then, the program calculated the corresponding number (*mauvais* corresponds to 0 and *naturel* to 100).

	"This bridge gave rise to a multitude of legends concerning its construction. Its own architect spread more than one lie about this topic.'	
Does the consciousness of the referent of the antecedent have consequences in the case of possessor <i>son propre</i> ? (cf. logophoric <i>son propre</i> )	Le pharaon avait beaucoup aimé les embaumeurs qui, à présent, prennent soin de <b>son propre corps</b> .  'The Pharaoh had liked a lot the embalmers who are now taking care of his own body.'	50
	L'esprit du pharaon devait penser que les embaumeurs prenaient bien soin de <b>son propre corps</b> .  'The Pharaoh's spirit was probably thinking that the embalmers were taking great care of his own body.'	48
Does the awareness of the referent of the antecedent with respect to the possession have consequences in the case of possessor <i>son propre</i> ? (cf. logophoric <i>son propre</i> )	Patrice écoute les deux versions d'un opéra. Il est l'auteur de l'une d'elle, mais ne s'en rend pas compte, tant le temps a passé depuis l'enregistrement. Après avoir écouté les deux versions, il se dit qu'on devrait choisir <b>sa propre version</b> pour le générique du film de Paul.  'Patrice is listening to the two versions of an opera. He is the author of one of them, but does not realize it, because time has flown since the recording. After listening to the two versions, he thinks that his own version should be chosen for the credits of Paul's movie.'	68
	Patrice écoute les deux versions d'un opéra. Il est l'auteur de l'une d'elle, et il se reconnaît bien. Après avoir écouté les deux versions, il se dit qu'on devrait choisir <b>sa propre version</b> pour le générique du film de Paul.  'Patrice is listening to the two versions of an opera. He is the author of one of them, and he recognizes himself well. After listening to the two versions, he thinks that his own version should be chosen for the credits of Paul's movie.'	74
Does the animacy of the possessor matter in the case of possessor <i>son propre</i> when the antecedent is local?	Les gens originaires de Tahiti préfèrent généralement <b>ses propres plages</b> à celles des Caraïbes.	23
	Les gens originaires de Tahiti préfèrent généralement <b>ses plages</b> à celles des Caraïbes.  'People coming from Tahiti generally prefer its (own) beaches to those of the Caribbeans.'	75
Does the animacy of the possessor matter in the case of possessor <i>son propre</i> when the antecedent is not local?	Par rapport au musée, ce pont a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné plus de moyens à <b>son propre architecte</b> qu'à celui du musée.	37
	Par rapport au musée, ce pont a bénéficié du fait que les autorités ont donné plus de moyens à <b>son architecte</b> qu'à celui du musée.  'As compared to the museum, this bridge benefited from the fact that the authorities gave more means to its (own) architect than to the architect of the museum.'	84

Can possessum <i>son propre</i> be long distance bound?	Ce pont s'est récemment écroulé, causant de nombreuses victimes. <b>Son propre architecte</b> est mort dans l'accident.	62
	Ce pont s'est récemment écroulé, causant de nombreuses victimes. <b>Son propre architecte</b> est mort dans l'accident.  "This bridge recently collapsed, which caused the death of many people. Its (own) architect died in the accident.'	93
Is there a contrast between possessor <i>son propre</i> and possessum <i>son propre</i> when the antecedent is not local?	Ce pont a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes sur sa construction. <b>Son propre architecte</b> a répandu plus d'un mensonge à ce sujet.  "This bridge gave rise to a multitude of legends concerning its construction. Its own architect spread more than one lie about this topic.'	64
	La plupart des habitants ont accueilli avec beaucoup d'enthousiasme le nouveau pont, qu'ils trouvent à la fois esthétique et solide ; c'est pourquoi <b>son propre architecte</b> a davantage de chance d'être choisi que celui de l'église, à mon avis.  "Most inhabitants are enthusiastic about the new bridge that they think is both aesthetic and solid; that's why I would think that its own architect has more chance to get selected than the architect of the church.'	40
Does the animacy of the possessor matter in the case of anaphoric possessor <i>son propre</i> ?	Ce pont a enrichi <b>son propre architecte</b> au détriment des autres architectes de la région.  "This bridge enriched its own architect to the detriment of the other architects of the area.'	46
	Ce professeur a avangagé <b>son propre étudiant</b> au détriment des autres étudiants de l'université.  "This professor favored his own student to the detriment of the other students of the university.'	78
Does the animacy of the possessor matter in the case of anaphoric possessor <i>son propre</i> ?	Apparemment, ce roman plaît davantage à <b>son propre auteur</b> qu'à l'auteur de sa préface.	63
	Apparemment, ce roman plaît davantage à <b>son auteur</b> qu'à l'auteur de sa préface.  "Apparently, this novel pleases more its (own) author that the author of its preface.'	91
Does the first person intervene in the case of logophoric <i>son propre</i> ?	Sylvain veut visiter la région avec sa famille mais sa voiture est petite. Il se demande donc s'il ne devrait pas louer une voiture plus grande. Moi, je pense que <b>sa propre voiture</b> ferait l'affaire.  "Sylvain wants to visit the area with his family but his car is small. Therefore, he wonders if he shouldn't rent a bigger car. As for me, I think that his own car would do.'	68

	<p>Sylvain veut visiter la région avec sa famille mais sa voiture est petite. Il se demande donc s'il ne devrait pas louer une voiture plus grande. Finalement, il pense que <b>sa propre voiture</b> fera l'affaire.</p> <p>'Sylvain wants to visit the area with his family but his car is small. Therefore, he wonders if he shouldn't rent a bigger car. Finally, he thinks that his own car will do.'</p>	87
Does the first person intervene in the case of logophoric <i>son propre</i> ?	<p>Hervé a raconté à tout le monde que j'allais épouser <b>sa propre cousine</b>.</p> <p>'Hervé told everybody that I would marry his own cousin.'</p>	38
	<p>Hervé a raconté à tout le monde qu'il allait épouser <b>sa propre cousine</b>.</p> <p>'Hervé told everybody that he would marry his own cousin.'</p>	86
Does the first person intervene in the case of possessum <i>son propre</i> ?	<p>Ce pont a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes sur sa construction. <b>Son propre architecte</b> a répandu plus d'un mensonge à ce sujet.</p> <p>'This bridge gave rise to a multitude of legends concerning its construction. Its own architect spread more than one lie about this topic.'</p>	78
	<p>Ce pont a donné lieu à une multitude de légendes à propos de sa construction. Je me méfie de <b>son propre architecte</b> à ce sujet.</p> <p>'This bridge gave rise to a multitude of legends concerning its construction. I distrust its own architect on this topic.'</p>	27
Is <i>propre</i> compatible with a relative clause?	<p>Je vous rapporte <b>les propres paroles dont il s'est servi</b>.</p> <p>'I report to you the own words that he used.'</p>	27
	<p>Je vous rapporte <b>les paroles mêmes dont il s'est servi</b>.</p> <p>'I report to you the words themselves that he used.'</p>	78
Can possessum <i>propre</i> appear in object position?	<p>On va enquêter sur <b>le propre père de Marie</b>.</p>	38
	<p>On va enquêter sur <b>le père de Marie</b>.</p> <p>One will investigate Marie's (own) father.'</p>	96
Is possessor <i>propre</i> possible when the possessor is expressed by a prepositional <i>de</i> -phrase?	<p>J'ai emménagé dans un appartement plus grand que <b>le propre appartement de mes parents</b> !</p> <p>'I moved into an apartment bigger than my parents' own apartment!'</p>	31
	<p>J'ai emménagé dans un appartement plus grand que <b>l'appartement de mes parents eux-mêmes</b> !</p> <p>'I moved into an apartment bigger than the apartment of my parents themselves!'</p>	72

Is possessum <i>propre</i> possible when the possessor is expressed by a prepositional <i>de</i> -phrase?	Le meurtrier présumé qui a été placé en hôpital psychiatrique n'est autre que <b>le propre fils de la victime</b> .	77
	Le meurtrier présumé qui a été placé en hôpital psychiatrique n'est autre que <b>le fils de la victime</b> .  'The presumed murderer who has been placed in a psychiatric hospital is no other than the victim's (own) son.'	95
Is <i>propre</i> compatible with the possessive pronoun <i>le sien</i> ?	Jean-François se promet d'aimer l'enfant qu'il vient d'adopter comme <b>le sien propre</b> .	48
	Jean-François se promet d'aimer l'enfant qu'il vient d'adopter comme <b>le sien</b> .  'Jean-François resolved to love the child that he has just adopted like his (own).'	91
Is c-command by the antecedent necessary in the case of logophoric <i>son propre</i> ?	L'opinion de Jean portait sur <b>sa propre mère</b> .  'John's opinion was about his own mother.'	65
	Jean jugeait <b>sa propre mère</b> .  'John was judging his own mother.'	82
Is possessum <i>propre</i> possible when the antecedent is not local?	Jean est devenu si insupportable que <b>sa propre fille</b> a cessé de lui rendre visite.	90
	Jean est devenu si insupportable que <b>sa fille</b> a cessé de lui rendre visite.  'John became so unbearable that his (own) daughter stopped visiting him.'	95
Does the locality of the antecedent matter in the case of possessor <i>son propre</i> when the possessor is inanimate?	Cette compagnie sera encore mieux connue lorsque ses responsables auront étendu sur le marché <b>sa propre marque de café équitable</b> .  'This company will be even more well-known when the people in charge have developed in the market its own brand of fair-trade coffee.'	42
	Cette compagnie a développé <b>sa propre marque de café équitable</b> .  'This company developed its own brand of fair-trade coffee.'	95
Can the antecedent of <i>son propre</i> be the speaker?	Quand <b>son propre jugement</b> est en cause, rien ne va plus.	81
	Quand <b>son jugement à soi</b> est en cause, rien ne va plus.  'When one's (own) judgment is in question, nothing is fine any more.'	36
Does logophoric <i>son propre</i> require c-command?	J'aimerais connaître l'opinion de ce champion sur <b>ses propres faiblesses</b> plutôt que de l'entendre critiquer les points faibles de ses concurrents.	91

	<p>J'aimerais connaître l'opinion de ce champion sur <b>ses faiblesses</b> plutôt que de l'entendre critiquer les points faibles de ses concurrents.</p> <p>'I would like to know the opinion of this champion about his (own) weaknesses rather than hear him criticizing the weak spots of his competitors.'</p>	83
Does the fact that the possessum is a relational/non-relational noun matter in the case of possessum <i>propre</i> ?	<p>La nouvelle église déplaît à tous les habitants du village ; <b>son propre prêtre</b> n'a pas l'air très satisfait du résultat.</p> <p>'The new church upsets all the inhabitants of the village; its own priest does not look very satisfied of the result.'</p>	48
	<p>Ce pont a l'air très fragile. <b>Son propre architecte</b> ne le traverserait pas.</p> <p>'This bridge looks very fragile. Its own architect would not cross it.'</p>	75
Can the antecedent be a non-subject in the case of anaphoric possessor <i>son propre</i> ?	<p>J'ai assigné au nouveau comité <b>sa propre salle de réunion</b>.</p> <p>'I assigned to the new committee its own meeting room.'</p>	66
	<p>Le nouveau comité a obtenu <b>sa propre salle de réunion</b>.</p> <p>'The new committee obtained its own meeting room.'</p>	90
Can anaphoric <i>son propre</i> be a test for c-command relation in the case of indirect object constructions?	<p>Sans se rendre compte de leur maladresse, les hôtes ont présenté <b>sa propre sœur</b> à Stéphane.</p> <p>'Without realizing their blunder, the hosts introduced his own sister to Stéphane.'</p>	55
	<p>Sans se rendre compte de leur maladresse, les hôtes ont présenté Stéphane à <b>sa propre soeur</b>.</p> <p>'Without realizing their blunder, the hosts introduced Stéphane to his own sister.'</p>	89
Does <i>son propre</i> license a split antecedent?	<p>Bruno avait prévenu Sophie que <b>leurs propres enfants</b> viendraient aussi.</p> <p>'Bruno had informed Sophie that their own children would come too.'</p>	55
	<p>Bruno et Sophie espéraient que <b>leurs propres enfants</b> viendraient aussi.</p> <p>'Bruno and Sophie hoped that their own children would come too.'</p>	65
Does <i>son propre</i> license partial binding? (plural antecedent vs. singular <i>son propre</i> )	<p>Damien et Laëtitia viennent d'inviter les cousins de Damien. Damien préfère ses propres cousins à ceux de Laëtitia. A vrai dire, tous deux préfèrent <b>ses propres cousins</b>.</p> <p>'Damien and Laëtitia have just invited Damien's cousins. Damien prefers his own cousins to Laëtitia's cousins. Actually, both of them prefer his own cousins.'</p>	21

	<p>Damien et Laëtitia viennent d'inviter les cousins de Damien. Damien préfère ses propres cousins à ceux de Laëtitia. A vrai dire, Laëtitia aussi préfère <b>ses propres cousins</b>.</p> <p>'Damien and Laëtitia have just invited Damien's cousins. Damien prefers his own cousins to Laëtitia's cousins. Actually, Laëtitia too prefers her own cousins.'</p>	71
Can the hearer be an antecedent to <i>son propre</i> if another person intervenes? (can <i>ton propre</i> have no overt antecedent?)	<p>Demain, Jean prendra <b>sa propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, John will take his own car to go to work.'</p>	86
	<p>Demain, je prendrai <b>ta propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, I will take your own car to go to work.'</p>	21
Can the speaker correspond to the antecedent of <i>son propre</i> if another person intervenes? (can <i>mon propre</i> have no overt antecedent?)	<p>Demain, Jean prendra <b>sa propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, John will take his own car to go to work.'</p>	86
	<p>Demain, tu prendras <b>ma propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, you will take my own car to go to work.'</p>	31
Can <i>notre propre</i> have no overt antecedent?	<p>Demain, Jean prendra <b>sa propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, John will take his own car to go to work.'</p>	83
	<p>Demain, Jean prendra <b>notre propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.</p> <p>'Tomorrow, John will take our own car to go to work.'</p>	33
Can a pivot be the antecedent of logophoric <i>son propre</i> ?	<p>Benjamin, récemment embauché comme journaliste, est entré dans la pièce au moment précis où ses responsables étaient en train de comparer <b>son propre article</b> avec l'article de son collègue.</p>	59
	<p>Benjamin, récemment embauché comme journaliste, est entré dans la pièce au moment précis où ses responsables étaient en train de comparer <b>son article</b> avec l'article de son collègue.</p> <p>'Benjamin recently hired as a journalist came in just when his bosses were comparing his (own) article with his colleague's article.'</p>	94
Does <i>son propre</i> have consequences on the scope properties of quantifiers?	<p>J'ai appris qu'au département d'astronomie, un professeur invite chaque étudiant inscrit à <b>son propre cours</b> au moins une fois dans l'année. En effet, tous les professeurs ont de bons rapports avec leurs étudiants.</p> <p>'I have heard that in the astronomy department a professor invites each student registered in his own class at least once a year. Indeed, all the professors are in good terms with their students.'</p>	55



	J'ai appris qu'au département d'astronomie, un professeur a invité chaque étudiant inscrit à <b>son propre cours</b> . En effet, ce professeur possède une grande maison.  'I have heard that in the astronomy department, a professor invites each student registered in his own class at least once a year. Indeed, this professor has a big house.'	41
Does possessum <i>propre</i> exhibit centrality effects?	Ce fou n'a pas seulement tué trois commerçants du quartier, il a également tué <b>ses propres enfants</b> .	95
	Ce fou n'a pas seulement tué trois commerçants du quartier, il a également tué <b>ses enfants</b> .  'This crazy man killed not only three shopkeepers of the neighborhood, he also killed his (own) children.'	88
Is there a preference between possessum <i>propre</i> and <i>même</i> ?	Cyril se sent très seul. Il m'a confié que <b>sa propre fille</b> ne vient plus le voir le dimanche.	77
	Cyril se sent très seul. Il m'a confié que <b>même sa fille</b> ne vient plus le voir le dimanche.  'Cyril feels very lonely. He confided to me that (even) his (own) daughter does not visit him any more on Sunday.'	96
Does possessum <i>son propre</i> impose semantic restrictions on the possessum when the antecedent is not local?	Claire déteste tout dans cette ville : elle déteste ses rues, elle déteste ses moyens de transport, elle déteste ses magasins ; en fait, <b>ses propres habitants</b> l'agacent !  'Claire hates everything in this city: she hates its streets, she hates its public transportation; she hates its stores; in fact, its own inhabitants annoy her!'	44
	Ce pont a l'air très fragile. <b>Son propre architecte</b> ne le traverserait pas.  'This bridge looks very fragile. Its own architect would not cross it.'	73
Is <i>propre</i> compatible with an indefinite article when associated with the reflexive clitic <i>se</i> ?	Tout le monde peut facilement <b>se créer un propre site internet</b> .	18
	Tout le monde peut facilement créer <b>son propre site internet</b> .  'Everybody can easily create his own website.'	92
Does possessum <i>son propre</i> require c-command of the antecedent?	Notre perspective tridimensionnelle nous dévoile des aspects de cet univers microscopique que ne connaîtront jamais <b>ses propres habitants</b> .	76
	Notre perspective tridimensionnelle nous dévoile des aspects de cet univers microscopique que ne connaîtront jamais <b>ses habitants</b> .  'Our three-dimensional perspective reveals to us some aspects of this microscopic universe that its (own) inhabitants will never know.'	83

Is <i>propre</i> compatible with an indefinite article?	Roger stipule dans son testament qu'un bel-enfant hérite comme <b>un propre enfant</b> .	31
	Roger stipule dans son testament que son bel-enfant héritera comme <b>son propre enfant</b> .  'Roger stipulates in his will that his/a stepchild will come into money like his/a own child.'	88
Is doubling of the possessive pronoun possible when <i>propre</i> is present?	Demain, Jean prendra <b>sa propre voiture</b> pour aller au travail.	82
	Demain, Jean prendra <b>sa propre voiture</b> à lui pour aller au travail.  'Tomorrow, John will take his own car (to himself) to go to work.'	10

## References

BAKER, Carl Lee, 1995: "Contrast, discourse prominence, and intensification, with special reference to locally-free reflexives in British English", *Language*, 71.1, 63-101.

BERGETON, Uffe, 2004: *The Independence of Binding and Intensification*, PhD dissertation, University of Southern California.

CHIERCHIA, Gennaro, 1989: "Anaphora and Attitudes *De Se*", R. Bartsch, J. van Benthem & P. van Emde Boas (eds.), *Semantics and Contextual Expression*, 1-31, Dordrecht, Foris.

CHOMSKY, Noam, 1981: *Lectures on Government and Binding*, Dordrecht, Foris.

CHOMSKY, Noam, 1986: *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use*, New York, Praeger.

ECKARDT, Regine, 2001: "Reanalyzing *selbst*", *Natural Language Semantics*, Volume 9, Number 4, 2001, 371-412(42).

GIORGI, Alessandra, 2007: "On the Nature of Long-Distance Anaphors", *Linguistic Inquiry* 38, 2, 321-342.

HAGEGE, Claude, 1974: "Les Pronoms Logophoriques", *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 69, 287-310.

HEIM, Irene, 1984: "A note on negative polarity and downward entailingness", in C. Jones & P. Sells (eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 14*, Department of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

HOLE, Daniel, 2002: "Agentive *selbst* in German", in Graham Katz, Sabine Reinhard, & Philip Reuter (eds.), *Sinn & Bedeutung VI, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Gesellschaft für Semantik*, University of Osnabrück.

HUANG, C.-T. James, and C.-S. Luther LIU, 2001: "Logophoricity, Attitudes and *ziji* at the Interface", in Peter Cole et al. (eds.), *Long Distance Reflexives*, *Syntax and Semantics* 33, 141-195, Academic Press, New York, 2001.

KÖNIG, Ekkehard and Peter SIEMUND, 2005: "Intensifiers and reflexives", in M. Haspelmath, M. Dryer, D. Gil & B. Comrie (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, 194–197, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

KRATZER, Angelika, 1996: "Severing the external argument from its verb", in J. Rooryck & L. Zaring (eds.), *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, 109–137, Kluwer, Dordrecht.

MORAVCSIK, Edith, 1972: "Some Cross-linguistic Generalizations about Intensifier Constructions", *CLS* 8, 271-277.

POLLARD, Carl and Ivan A. SAG, 1992: "Anaphors and the Scope of Binding Theory", *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: 261–303.

REINHART, Tanya and Eric REULAND, 1993: "Reflexivity", *Linguistic Inquiry* 24, 4, 657-720.

ROOTH, Mats, 1985: *Association with focus*, PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

ROOTH, Mats, 1992: "A Theory of Focus Interpretation", *Natural Language Semantics*, 1, 75–116.

RULLMANN, Hotze, 1997: "Even, Polarity, and Scope", Martha Gibson, Grace Wiebe, & Gary Libben (eds.), *Papers in Experimental and Theoretical Linguistics*, 4, 40-64. Department of Linguistics, University of Alberta.

SELLS, Peter, 1987: "Aspects of Logophoricity", *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 445-479.

ZRIBI-HERTZ, Anne, 1995: "Emphatic or Reflexive? On the Endophoric Character of French *lui-même* and Similar Complex Pronouns", *Journal of Linguistics* 31, 331-374.