

## Anchor: A DF in DP

Helen Charters, The University of Auckland , New Zealand . [H.charters@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:H.charters@auckland.ac.nz)

I propose that ‘possessors’ are not necessarily direct realizations of a GF, POSS, as generally assumed in LFG (see Bresnan 2001; Chisarik and Payne 2001, Laczko 2007), but may either fill an argument position of a predicate noun, or an adjunct function of a non-predicate noun, or a discourse function within DP. These DFs include the familiar DF Focus, when the possessor is contrastive, and a grammaticalized discourse function that has so far been pushed, literally and metaphorically, into the background: i.e. a DF ANCHOR.

While Sadler (2000) identifies POSS as a sub-type of the GF SUBJ on the basis that it is typically definite and ‘discourse-relevant’, the key discourse function of SUBJ is to refer to a readily retrievable entity *about which information is being asserted* and possessors do not serve this function, but rather help to *identify* some entity other than their own referent, so *it* can function as topic. This meets Prince’s (1981:236) definition of an anchor: an NP that is properly contained in another and links the containing NP to some other discourse entity. The idea that a phrase in Spec DP should serve a DF also accords with the Endocentric Mapping Principles (Bresnan, 2001), which predict that specifiers of functional heads will serve DFs. Not all possessors can be anchors however: while the head of the NP containing an anchor is typically ‘Brand New’, the anchor itself is either evoked or readily inferable (Prince 1981, Fox and Thompson 1990).

A DF analysis can also readily accommodate a number of diverse facts about possessors in various languages. Many languages have two ways to express possession, one more prominent than the other, with different pragmatic inferences and sometimes agreement patterns or case-marking associated with each position.

For example, in Hungarian, two pronominal possessors are distinguished by case, as in (1) (Chisarik and Payne 2001’s e.g. (2)):

- (1) a. [a király-nak] a lány-a [dative]  
ART king-DAT ART daughter-SUBJ  
‘the king’s daughter’  
b. [a király] lány-a [genitive]  
ART king daughter-NCOMP  
‘the king’s daughter’

Pronominal possessors are excluded from the Dative structure (1a) and have focal stress in the Genitive structure (1b) (Chisarik and Payne, 2001).

Finnish possessives can combine a lexical possessor and an agreeing suffix, analysable as an incorporated pronominal argument (Toivonen 2004) and Low Saxon possessives can combine a lexical possessor with a pronominal one in one constituent (Strunk 2005). In both cases the initial possessor (Pronominal in Finnish and Lexical in Low Saxon) can be optionally omitted, but the closer possessor (the suffix in Finnish and the pronominal in Low Saxon) cannot. This makes sense if the latter fills an adjunct or argument GF and the former a DF linked to it. Toivonen refers to the Finnish cases as ‘doubling’ and suggests the suffix optionally introduces a ‘PRED = Pro’ feature to fill the POSS GF she assumes, but she stops short of proposing that the lexical ‘double’ occupies a DF position.

In Norwegian, nouns with pronominal possessors have indefinite morphology, while postnominal possessors follow definite nouns (Lødrup 2011), as in (2)

- (2) hans bil / bilen **hans**  
*his car/ car.DEF his*  
‘his car.’

The postnominal is more frequent in spoken discourse and while the pronominal must be definite, it cannot be bound by a Topic, while the postnominal can be.

- (3) John var rasende. — Noen hadde stjålet bilen **hans** / ??**hans** bil.

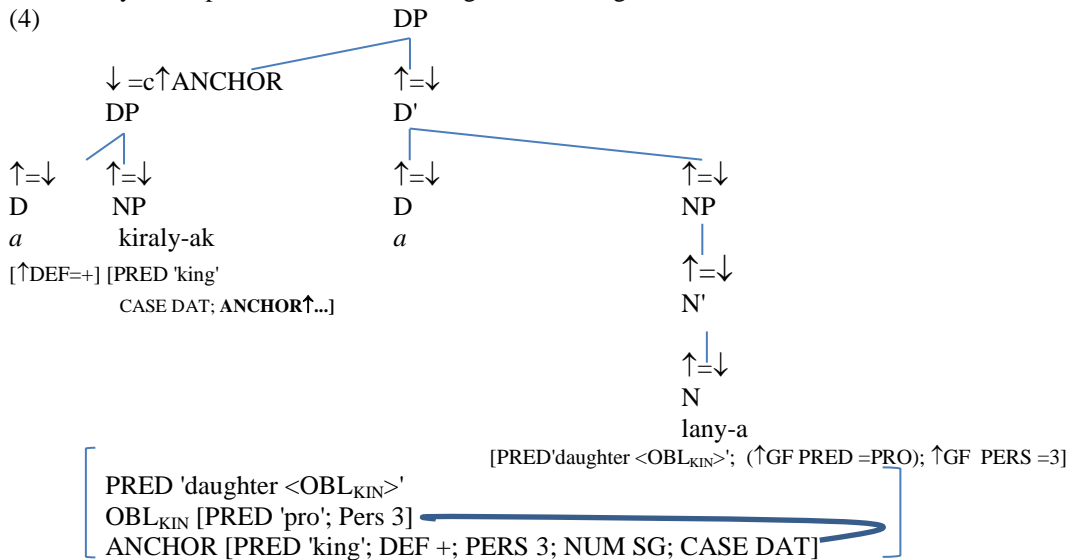
*John was furious — somebody had stolen car.DEF his / his car (unmarked)*  
‘John was furious. Somebody had stolen his car.’

Lødrup says the pronominal cannot be ‘topical’ and sees this as marked, but as mentioned above, possessors inside NP are never actually *topics*; the post-posed possessor is no more a topic than the preposed one. What seems relevant here is that we can reasonably *infer* from John’s emotion that the car involved was a specific car important to him, an explicit ANCHOR is not needed here; his possession of the car is background information.

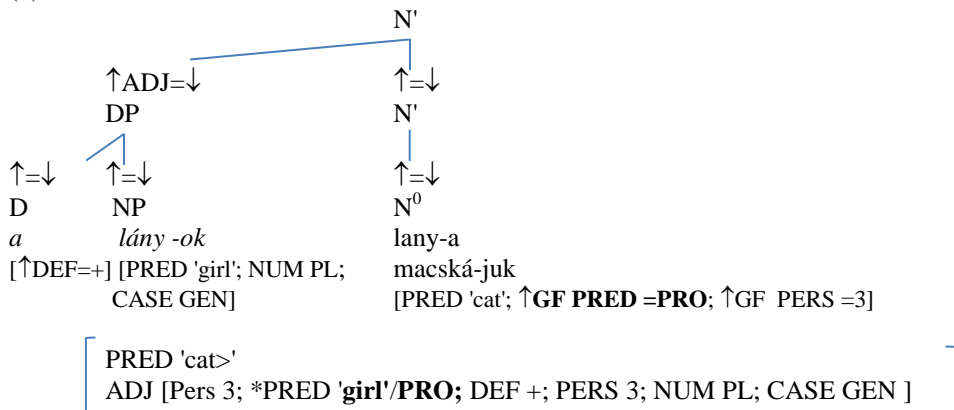
Though descriptions of these structures often refer to semantic and pragmatic differences between possessive constructions, none explicitly involve a DF. By way of illustration, the following demonstrates how a DF analysis can account for the Hungarian data. In (4) a predicate noun selects a thematic argument realized by an incorporated pronoun; it is linked in f-structure to an ANCHOR DF realized in Spec DP, which, in this case, is constrained to accept only an anchor. That DP carries a case marker which identifies it as an anchor (a kind of constructive case, cf Nordlinger, ). In (5), an *obligatory*  $\uparrow$ GF PRED = PRO feature of an incorporated plural pronoun blocks the occurrence of an overt possessor as an adjunct of a non-predicate noun. The corresponding singular agreement form would not block the

overt possessor, as its  $\uparrow$ GF PRED = PRO feature would be optional. Other variations can account for a range of data. A DF analysis for possessor NPs, and recognition of the grammaticalized DF ANCHOR are both long overdue.

(4)



(5)



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