
Anaphoric *same* and the syntax of implicit proforms

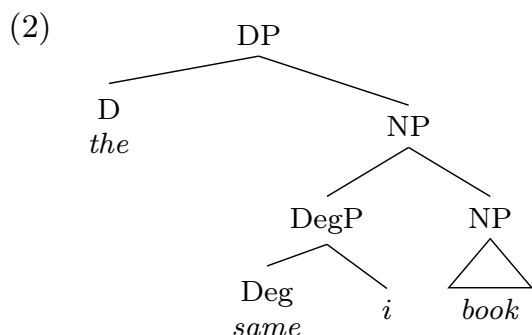
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Recent work has investigated the anaphoric nature of certain adjectives. Consider the following example, in which *same* participates in anaphora:

(1) *Mary recently finished a book. Now Sarah is reading **the same book**.*

Considerably little work addresses the *syntactic* properties of such modifiers that give rise to anaphora. I investigate *same* on its anaphoric reading, and propose that it selects for an implicit proform in the same way as more familiar degree expressions that likewise host anaphora. In a nutshell, I argue that anaphora involving *same* have the following structure, as in (2):



In (2), *same* heads a degree phrase that modifies NP. The anaphoric relationship is encoded through the presence of the null proform selected for by the degree head; I show that the same position may also host an *as-relative* (Carlson 1977) which removes the need for an antecedent:

(3) *Sarah is reading the **the same book** as Mary.*

I support the idea that anaphora with and without *same* are different with morphological evidence from German, which displays a sensitivity in the form of the definite article to whether the referent picked out by the DP is anaphoric (Schwarz 2009). I argue that anaphoric DPs in German likewise host null proforms, but in a different position than shown in (2). Crucially, the form of the definite article used in anaphora is affected by the presence of *same*, a puzzle which I explain with the proposed difference in structure. I go on to corroborate this account with data from Washo, an endangered Amerindian language spoken around Lake Tahoe in the USA, which lacks *same* along with any other degree morphology but which nevertheless provides evidence that indices are structurally encoded in anaphoric definites.

References: • Schwarz, F (2009): Two types of definites in natural language *Penn Dissertation*. • Carlson, G. (1977): Reference to kinds in English. *UMass Dissertation*.