

Sentence-internal readings of *same/different* as quantifier-internal anaphora

Adrian Brasoveanu

University of California, Santa Cruz

The talk will motivate and outline a unified account of deictic and sentence-internal readings of *same/different*, exemplified in (1) and (2) below (a cross-linguistic survey provides motivation for such an account).

- (1) a. Mary recited *The Raven*.
b. Then, Linus recited a different poem.
(deictic/sentence-external: different from *The Raven*)
- (2) Every boy recited a different poem.
(sentence-internal: for any two boys *a* and *b*, as poem is different from *bs* poem)

The main proposal is that distributive quantification temporarily makes available two discourse referents within its nuclear scope, the values of which are required by sentence-internal uses of *same/different* to be identical/distinct—much as their deictic uses require the values of two discourse referents to be identical/distinct. The formal account is independently motivated by quantificational subordination, the availability of both dependent and independent readings for anaphora in the scope of *each* and, finally, dependent indefinites in various languages. All these phenomena provide support for the idea that natural language quantification is a composite notion, to be decomposed/analyzed in terms of discourse reference to dependencies that is multiply constrained by the various components that make up a quantifier.