Mesmo (same) and the structure of determiner phrases

In Brazilian Portuguese prenominal adjective *mesmo* (same) we can distinguish at least three different readings, which will be called in this work *anaphoric* (or *implicitly comparative*) reading, *distributive* reading (CARLSON, 1987) and *explicitly comparative* reading. Below I present one example of each of them.

- (1) a. Eu vi um homem no seu bairro ontem. Hoje eu vi o mesmo homem no cinema (anaphoric reading: *mesmo* points to a man previously mentioned in discourse).
 - "Yesterday I saw a man in your neighborhood. Today I saw the same man in the cinema".
 - b. Pedro e Maria tomaram o mesmo suco na festa (distributive reading: *mesmo* distributes the juice between two events of drinking it).
 - "Pedro and Maria had the same juice at the party".
 - c. O mesmo homem que eu vi no seu bairro estava no cinema (explicitly comparative reading: there is a "comparison clause" for the word *mesmo*)
 - "The same man I saw in your neighborhood was in the cinema".

In this work, I will focus on the adjective *mesmo* with the anaphoric reading. In comparing the three readings of this adjective we can show that *mesmo* with the anaphoric reading is higher in the DP structure than the same prenominal adjective with the other two readings presented above; moreover, prenominal possessives and anaphoric *mesmo* are in complementary distribution inside the DP. In order to explain such empirical facts, I propose there is a very high position in the syntactic structure of the NP/DP (CINQUE, 2010; BRITO; LOPES, 2016; among others), above the indefinite determiners and numerals, but below definite determiners like definite articles and demonstratives, which hosts both (prenominal) possessives and anaphoric *mesmo*, at least in the end of the derivation, and that position is in fact a host for adjectives with pronominal properties. The idea is that there is a "pronominal" component shared by the extensions of both categories (the adjective *mesmo* and possessives) which makes them occupy the same final position inside the DP.

I also propose a semantic definition for anaphoric *mesmo*, arguing that it is a sort of implicit comparative item (CARLSON, 1987), with a comparison function inside its very definition, as well as an assignment function, which is its pronominal component. The comparison function says that two entities (or kinds), one referred to in the context, and the other referred to by the DP which contains *mesmo*, are contextually equivalent, which means they share a minimum set of contextually relevant properties which makes them count as one and the same. Such a solution avoids problems discussed in the pertinent literature, taking advantage of various different and even divergent analysis, such as Alrenga (2010)'s, Heim (1985)'s and Lasersohn (2001)'s.

In the end I speculate on the semantics of what I call explicit comparative *mesmo*, which, as I believe to show, is hierarchically lower (in the syntax of DPs) than anaphoric *mesmo*, and preserves the comparison function of the anaphoric reading mentioned above.

References

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