# Anaphoric definites as anchored definites

Peter Jenks (invited speaker)
*University of California, Berkeley*

jenks@berkeley.edu

Existing analyses of the distinction between anaphoric and unique definite articles rely on the idea that anaphoric definites are semantically more complex than unique definites (Schwarz 2009). While unique definites are intransitive, taking only their nominal complement as an argument, anaphoric definite articles are transitive, taking as arguments both their nominal complement and a domain restriction, a discourse-bound variable or index. Because the index is a semantic argument of anaphoric definites, it must be projected syntactically. This paper offers novel evidence for each of these two components of anaphoric definites, and further argues that anaphoric definites are just one instance of a general class of transitive definites I call *anchored definites*.

New evidence for the transitivity of anaphoric definites comes from Marka-Dafing, a Mande language of Burkina Faso. Dafing has a general definite article =*ú*, which appears as an enclitic at the right edge of DP, and which is required in all definite noun phrases. In anaphoric environments, =*ú* co-occurs with a prenominal particle *wó*, which I analyze as an index. Notably, *wó* cannot be used for exophoric reference, which requires a distinct exophoric demonstrative article *mí*. Additionally, *wó* is in complementary distribution with possessive noun phrases, which semantically function as arguments of the definite article in competition with *wó*.

Together, then, complex demonstratives, anaphoric definite descriptions, and possessive definite descriptions in Dafing stand in opposition to plain unique definites. I propose that the first group of definites together comprise a class of definites I call *anchored definites*, all of which involve an explicit domain restriction (cp. Simonenko 2014, Hannink 2018). While the Dafing (and English) articles appear regardless of whether such a domain restriction is present, I observe langauges where the presence of these modifiers conditions the appearance of a (strong) definite article, which contrasts with a bare definite form used for unique definites. I describe three such cases: Moro (Kordofanian), Basaá (Bantu), and Mandarin (Sino-Tibetan). The picture that emerges is one where languages vary along a number of dimensions, but the general split between unique and anchored definites, of which anaphoric definites are one variety, is universal.

**References:** • Hannink, E. 2018. *Structural sources of anaphora and sameness.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago. • Schwarz, F. 2009. *Two types of definites in natural language.* Doctoral dissertation, UMass Amherst. • Simonenko, A. 2014. *Grammatical ingredients of definiteness.* Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.