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THE SAME TALK (ABSTRACT)

Whereas the semantics and cross-linguistic equivalents of *different* have been studied a lot (Dowty (1985), Carlson (1987), Moltmann (1992), Beck (2000), Tovená and Van Peteghem (2002), Laca and Tasmowski (2003)), the general assumption is that *same* behaves exactly the same. We first show that the four-way ambiguity of *different* (discourse-anaphoric, universal NP dependent, reciprocal and plural NP dependent, see Moltmann (1992), Beck (2000)) holds for *same* as well. Then we show that the lexicalization of these different readings in Russian (*tot že* vs. *takoj že* and *odinakovyj*) does not support Beck's unification of discourse-anaphoric and the universal NP dependent readings on the one hand (lexicalized as *ander* in Dutch and German) as opposed to the reciprocal and the plural NP dependent readings (lexicalized as *verschillende* in Dutch), nor her suggestion that the former is a comparison operator while the latter is a relational adjective with a hidden reciprocal.

Conversely, we demonstrate on the basis of data from Dutch (*dezelfde/hetzelfde*) and Russian (*že/odinakov-*) that *same* is ambiguous between two types of identity: the individual identity (the compared entities are asserted to be one entity) and the property identity (the (contextually relevant) properties of the compared entities are asserted to be identical) – an ambiguity that corresponds to different lexical items in Russian (cf. Alrenga (2006)). We show that the individual identity *same* and the property identity *same* have different syntactic distributions as well, and propose that the predicative *the same* in the eponymous construction contains an anaphoric null nominal head. We will discuss the importance of this finding with respect to the philosophical discussion of relative identity (Geach (1967, 1973), Gupta (1980), etc.; see Moltmann (2006) for discussion) and to the recent proposals for the semantics of *same* (Alrenga (2006), Barker (to appear)), and discuss the comparable adjective *identical*.

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