

SAME, OTHER, and DIFFERENT: A FIRST LOOK AT THE MICROSNTAX OF IDENTITY ADJECTIVES*

Will Oxford
University of Toronto

This paper concerns a group of nominal dependents that I will refer to as FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES, such as *same*, *other*, *first*, *last*, *mere*, and *utter*. The paper has two goals: first, to argue that functional adjectives are a distinct grammatical category from prototypical adjectives like *large* or *beautiful*, and second, to formulate a syntactic analysis of one subset of functional adjectives: the English IDENTITY ADJECTIVES *same*, *other*, and *different*. The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 makes the case for recognizing functional adjectives as a distinct class, drawing on evidence from the Algonquian language Innu-aimun. Section 2 provides a description of the English identity adjectives, which turn out to have much in common with comparative adjective forms. In light of this similarity, Section 3 presents an analysis of comparative forms based on the existing literature. Section 4 builds upon this analysis in order to account for the syntax of identity adjectives. The main proposal is that identity adjectives have been reanalyzed from the lexical category Adjective to the functional category Degree. This reanalysis straightforwardly accounts for their particular range of properties.

1. Recognizing functional adjectives

The central claim of this paper is that functional adjectives should be recognized as a distinct category from prototypical lexical adjectives. To support this point, I present a case study from Innu-aimun, an Algonquian language which appears to lack adjectives altogether, but which does, in fact, possess a small class of nominal modifiers (§1.1). Although the English correlates of these nominal modifiers (*same*, *other*, *first*, *last*) are normally labelled as adjectives, their grammatical properties differ from those of prototypical adjectives (§1.2). At the same time, they are grammatically similar to their Innu-aimun counterparts (§1.3). Taken together, these facts suggest that we are looking at the same category in both languages, but that this category is distinct from that of prototypical adjectives.

1.1 Adjectives in a language without any

The following case study involves Innu-aimun (Montagnais), an Algonquian language with over 10,000 speakers in Quebec and Labrador (Thorburn 2005). Algonquian languages are generally regarded as having only three major word classes: nouns, verbs, and particles (Bloomfield 1946), the latter class being a cover term

* I am grateful for helpful feedback received from audiences at the University of Toronto, the Banff Workshop on Nominal Dependents, and the CLA annual conference. In particular, I thank Elizabeth Cowper, Diane Massam, Leslie Saxon, Lisa Travis, and Youri Zabbal. The Innu-aimun component of this paper stems from research that I conducted under the guidance of Phil Branigan and Marguerite MacKenzie at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

for all uninflected function words. “Adjectival” notions are expressed using intransitive verbs rather than a lexical category of adjectives.¹ Alongside “verb-like” verbs such as *pimûteu* ‘s/he walks,’ there are also grammatically indistinguishable “adjective-like” verbs such as *mîkushû* ‘s/he is red.’

In general, then, Innu-aimun lacks adjectives and uses verbs instead. However, in a detailed study of the particles of the dialect spoken in Sheshatshiu, Labrador (Oxford 2007, 2008), I found that there is nevertheless a small class of dedicated nominal modifiers, which fall into two main semantic groups:

- (1) a. IDENTITY ADJECTIVES: *peikûtâu* ‘same,’ *kutak* ‘other’
 b. ORDINAL ADJECTIVES: *ushkat* ‘first,’ *mâshten* ‘last’

The following examples illustrate the adjectival behaviour of these words. They tend to occur within the DP preceding the noun, as their English counterparts do.

- (2) a. *Utâkushît* [DP *peikûtâu nîsh^u auenitshenat*] *nuâpamâtîht*.
 yesterday [DP **same** two person.3P] 1.see.PAST.1>3P
 ‘I saw the same two people yesterday.’ (Oxford 2008: 90)
- b. *Ekue âshûpaniht* [DP *nenû kutakanû ûtshînû*].
 then cross.to.CONJ.3P [DP that.3’S **other**.3’S mountain.3’S]
 ‘And so they crossed to the other mountain.’ (Oxford 2008: 59)
- c. [DP *Ushkat mîtshuâp*] *tshe uâpâtamin, pîtutshe anite*.
 [DP **first** house] IC.FUT see.CONJ.2 enter.IMP.2 the.LOC
 ‘The first house you will see, go in there.’ (Oxford 2008: 90)
- d. *Eukuannua nenua* [DP *mâshten nish^u tshîmana*].
 that.is.3’P that.3’P [DP **last** three match.3’P]
 ‘Those are the last three matches.’ (Oxford 2008: 90)

1.2 Lexical versus functional adjectives

Given the existence of the nominal modifiers in (2), should we conclude that Innu-aimun actually does have adjectives, and is therefore typologically the same as English in this respect? Clearly, this conclusion would fail to capture an important generalization: although the English counterparts of the Innu-aimun words in (2)—*same*, *other*, *first*, *last*—are normally labelled as adjectives, they are all quite different from prototypical English lexical adjectives such as *large*, *happy*, or *beautiful*. Some of the major differences between the two classes of English adjectives are summarized in (3).

¹ As Eric Mathieu and Bethany Lochbihler have pointed out (p.c.), Algonquian languages do have a small class of clitic-like elements (“prenouns”) that seem adjectival in nature (e.g. *mishta-* ‘big,’ *tshishe-* ‘great, old,’ *matshi-* ‘bad,’ *miku-* ‘red’). It is possible that this small, closed class of bound morphemes constitutes the “true” lexical adjectives of Innu-aimun. This does not detract from the typological point being made in this section, as the functional adjectives discussed below are a distinct class from pre-nouns both morphosyntactically (they are independent words) and semantically (their meanings are more functional than encyclopedic), so they still require a classification of their own.

(3) LEXICAL VS. FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH

LEXICAL ADJECTIVES (<i>large, happy, beautiful</i>)	FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES (<i>same, other, next, last</i>)
Adverbial degree modifiers <i>the really large house</i>	No adverbial degree modifiers <i>*the really same/other/next house</i>
Comparative and superlative <i>the larger / more palatial house</i> <i>the largest / most palatial house</i>	No comparative or superlative <i>*the samer / more same house</i> <i>*the samest / most same house</i>
Strongly marked before numeral <i>#the large <u>three</u> houses</i> (cf. <i>the <u>three</u> large houses</i>)	Unmarked before numeral <i>the same/other/next <u>three</u> houses</i>
Rich lexical content	Simple lexical content
Open class	Closed class(es)

The term “functional adjectives” has antecedents in the work of Kayne (2005: 13) and Cinque (2005: 327), who use it in passing to refer to *same* and *other*. The differences noted in (3) provide ample grounds for recognizing functional adjectives as a distinct group of nominal function words, more akin to demonstratives or quantifiers than to lexical adjectives. This move allows for an elegant statement of the cross-linguistic facts described above: while English has both lexical and functional adjectives, Innu-aimun has only functional adjectives.

1.3 Similarities between English and Innu-aimun functional adjectives

Despite the vast typological distance between English and Innu-aimun, there are notable grammatical parallels between functional adjectives in the two languages. Syntactically, the order of elements within the DP is comparable in both languages. The default word order in the Innu-aimun DP seems to be as in (4).

- (4) Dem > Adj_F > Num > N (Oxford 2008: 93)

This order matches the unmarked order of the corresponding elements in English:

- (5) Dem > Adj_F > Num > (Adj_L) > N
those same three (happy) people

This correspondence suggests that functional adjectives might tie into the work of Greenberg (1963) and Cinque (2005) on crosslinguistic DP word order universals.

Morphologically, there are distinctions within the group of functional adjectives in both languages. In Innu-aimun, the functional adjective *kutak* ‘other’ is an exception: like a demonstrative, it carries noun inflection, while the other functional adjectives are all uninflected particles. Similarly, English *other* also

exhibits exceptional behaviour: it fuses with the indefinite article to form *another*. It seems, then, that in both languages, the word meaning ‘other’ is more D-like than the other functional adjectives. I return to this observation in Section 4.4.

1.4 Summary: Recognizing functional adjectives

Starting from a typological comparison of Innu-aimun and English, I have proposed that it is worthwhile to regard functional adjectives as a distinct category. I have identified two classes of functional adjectives (though other classes no doubt exist): IDENTITY ADJECTIVES and ORDINAL ADJECTIVES. In the remainder of this paper, I restrict my attention to English and develop an analysis of the syntax of the first of these classes: the identity adjectives *same*, *other*, and *different*.

There has been previous research on these adjectives. Carlson (1987), Moltmann (1992), Beck (2000), and Alrenga (2005, 2006, 2009) have examined the semantics of *same*, *other*, and/or *different*, while Breban and colleagues have studied *same* and *other* from the perspective of functional grammar, using a statistical approach to examine grammaticalization (Breban 2003; Breban and Davidse 2003; Breban 2006; Davidse, Breban, and van Linden 2008). However, none of these studies have focused on syntactic structure, the concern of the current paper. Is this because the syntax of identity adjectives is simply uninteresting? I hope to show that this is not the case—rather, as the remainder of this paper illustrates, a closer look at the syntax of identity adjectives touches on various interesting issues, including the internal structure of the DP, the relationship between lexical and functional categories, and the analysis of syntactic microvariation.

2. Properties of English identity adjectives

A necessary prelude to the analysis of identity adjectives is a description of their grammatical properties. In this section I offer six descriptive generalizations regarding identity adjectives, informed by material from Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985 and Huddleston and Pullum 2002 together with my own observations. The general trend which emerges is that *same*, *other*, and *different* have extensive similarities with comparative adjective constructions.

2.1 Generalization 1: Identity adjectives have the same word order as comparative adjective forms

As shown in (6), *same*, *other*, and *different* can either follow or precede a numeral.

- (6) a. (i) We saw those three **same** men yesterday.
 (ii) We saw those **same** three men yesterday.
- b. (i) The three **other** vehicles were damaged.
 (ii) The **other** three vehicles were damaged.
- c. (i) Choose three **different** cards.
 (ii) Choose a **different** three cards.

Absolute (i.e. non-comparative) adjectives do not share this ordering flexibility. In pre-numeral position, an absolute adjective is possible, but strongly marked:

- (7) a. The three **large** vehicles were damaged.
 b. #The **large** three vehicles were damaged.

However, if the adjective is inflected in the comparative form, it gains the same flexibility of order that the identity adjectives have:

- (8) a. The three **larger** vehicles were damaged.
 b. The **larger** three vehicles were damaged.

In this respect, then, identity adjectives are more like comparative adjectives than absolute adjectives, despite not being morphologically marked as comparative.

2.2 Generalization 2: *Same* and *different* occur with comparative clauses; *other* does not

Same can occur with a comparative *as*-clause, just like an equative *as*-comparative:

- (9) a. Sue gave the **same** answer [**as I expected** ____].
 b. Sue gave **as good** an answer [**as I expected** ____].

Different can occur with a *than*-clause, just like a non-equative comparative:²

- (10) a. Sue gave a **different** answer [**than I expected** ____].
 b. (i) Sue gave a **better** answer [**than I expected** ____].
 (ii) Sue gave a **more/less thorough** answer [**than I expected** ____].

In contrast, *other* does not take a comparative clause:³

- (11) *Sue gave **another** answer [**than I expected** ____].

2.3 Generalization 3: *Same* is obligatorily definite

As shown in (12), *same* must be accompanied by the definite article.

- (12) a. Both cars are produced in **the same** kind of facility.
 b. *Both cars are produced in **a same** facility / in **same** facilities.

This property is similar to superlative forms, which are normally required to be definite, though an indefinite reading can be coerced (Herdan and Sharvit 2006):

- (13) a. Mary is **the best** student.
 b. #Mary is **a best** student.

² (10a) illustrates the *different than* construction. *Different from* is discussed in Section 2.6.

³ It may seem surprising that *other* cannot take a *than*-clause, since the string *other than* occurs in certain syntactic contexts (e.g. *Let's ask someone [other than Mary]*). Such examples lead Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 1145) to suggest that *other than* has been reanalyzed as a compound preposition similar in meaning to *besides*, fossilizing a property of *other* that has otherwise been lost.

2.4 Generalization 4: *Same* and *different* take different degree modifiers; *other* takes none

As shown in (14), *same* takes the same degree modifiers as equative comparatives:

- (14) a. Mary's answers were **just/exactly** the same as I expected.
 b. Mary's answers were **just/exactly** as good as I expected.

Same can also take the same degree modifiers as superlatives:

- (15) a. John had the **absolute** same problem as I did.
 b. Yesterday was the **absolute** most beautiful day of the year.

Different takes the same degree modifiers as non-equative comparatives:

- (16) a. Sue gave a **far/much/way** different answer than I expected.
 b. Sue gave a **far/much/way** more thorough answer than I expected.

In contrast, *other* cannot take these degree modifiers, even though its meaning is similar to that of *different*:

- (17) *John came up with a **far/much/way** other solution.

However, this was not the case in the past, as in the following example from 1808, in which *other* is modified by *far* (OED Vol. 7: 229, cited in Breban 2003):

- (18) **Far** other scene her thoughts recall.

In summary, the modifiers of *same* pattern with both equative comparatives and superlatives while those of *different* pattern with non-equative comparatives. *Other* once behaved like *different*, but no longer takes any degree modifiers at all.

2.5 Generalization 5: *Same* and *different* can be predicative; *other* cannot

The ability to function predicatively is shared with lexical adjectives.

- (19) a. These two keys are **different**.
 b. These two keys are **the same**.
 c. *These two keys are **other**.

2.6 Generalization 6: There is a distinct class of "lexical comparatives"

In addition to *same*, *other*, and *different*, there is another class of adjectives, exemplified in (20), whose meanings also have a comparative component.

- (20) *similar, comparable, identical, akin, distinct, separate, superior, inferior*

However, unlike *same/different*, the *similar/distinct* set does not share the hallmark grammatical property of a comparative construction—the ability to take a comparative clause:

- (21) a. *Sue's answers were **distinct** [_{CP} than I expected ___].
 (cf. **different/better** [_{CP} than I expected ___])
 b. *Sue's answers were **similar** [_{CP} as I expected ___].
 (cf. **the same/as good** [_{CP} as I expected ___])

Rather, the *similar/distinct* set must express the standard of comparison with a PP:

- (22) a. Sue's answers were **distinct** [_{PP} from John's / from what I expected].
 b. Sue's answers were **similar** [_{PP} to John's / to what I expected].

Based on this difference, I conclude that unlike comparative adjective forms and identity adjectives, the *similar/distinct* adjectives are not grammatically comparative. Instead, comparison is simply a component of their lexical meaning—they lexically select a certain type of PP, just as many other adjectives do:

- (23) a. Lexical comparatives: *distinct/separate* (+*from*), *similar/identical* (+*to*)
 b. Other adjectives: *curious* (+*about*), *afraid* (+*of*), *smitten* (+*with*)

Note that although *different* patterns with *same* in that it can take a comparative clause, it also patterns with *distinct/separate* in that it can take a *from*-PP:

- (24) a. Sue's answers were **different** [_{CP} than I expected ___].
 b. Sue's answers were **different** [_{PP} from John's / from what I expected].

It seems, then, that there are actually two “flavours” of *different*: it can act as either a functional adjective or a lexical adjective.⁴

2.7 Summary of generalizations

Same, *other*, and *different* share a striking syntactic property: their word order is like that of comparative adjective forms rather than absolute forms. A closer look at their co-occurrence properties reveals extensive similarities between *same* and equative comparatives and between *different* and non-equative comparatives. *Other*, in contrast, lacks many of the properties in question altogether.

3. Analytical background: The syntax of attributive adjectives

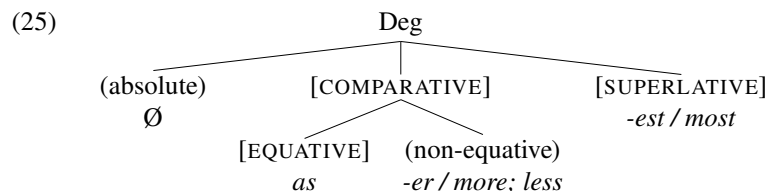
In this section, I sketch an analysis of prototypical attributive adjectives in their absolute, comparative, and superlative forms, following Kennedy 1999. This serves as a starting point for the analysis of identity adjectives proposed in Section 4.

3.1 Feature set for adjectival constructions

Following Kennedy (1999), I assume that all adjectival constructions are headed by a morpheme of the category Degree (Deg). I will adopt the set of features in

⁴ This statement may be too strong—*different* may actually have an intermediate status, with a mixture of the features of both categories. For simplicity's sake, I will ignore this possibility for now.

(25), which is sufficient to capture the properties of each adjectival construction. The Deg heads that bear each combination of features are given in italics.



The grammatical correlates of these features are as follows. A null, unmarked Deg head (\emptyset) occurs in absolute forms. The [COMPARATIVE] feature identifies all Deg heads that can take a comparative clause. By default, this is a *than*-clause, along with an optional modifier from the *far/much/way* set, as in (26a). The Deg head *as* is further marked as [EQUATIVE] to indicate that it takes an *as*-clause and a modifier from the *just/exactly* set, as in (26b). The [SUPERLATIVE] feature identifies the Deg heads *-est/most*, which can take a comparative PP headed by *of/among* and can be modified by *absolute*, as in (26c).

- (26)
- a. Deg_[+COMP] a **far** [Deg **more**] beautiful day [CP **than** I expected]
 - b. Deg_[+COMP, +EQ] **just** [Deg **as**] beautiful a day [CP **as** I expected]
 - c. Deg_[+SUP] the **absolute** [Deg **most**] beautiful day [PP **of** them all]

3.2 Semantics of degree heads

Following Kennedy (1999), I assume that all Deg heads have a denotation that fits the schema in (27). Informally, (27) states that Deg takes three arguments—an adjective *A*, a standard value *s* (the comparative clause), and a noun *x*—and that the *A*-ness of *x* bears a certain relation **R** to the standard.

$$(27) \quad \llbracket \text{Deg} \rrbracket = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x \llbracket \mathbf{R}(A(x))(s) \rrbracket$$

The nature of **R** is determined by the lexical entry of each Deg head:

- (28)
- a. $\llbracket \text{as} \rrbracket = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x \llbracket A(x) = s \rrbracket$
 - b. $\llbracket \text{more/-er} \rrbracket = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x \llbracket A(x) > s \rrbracket$
 - c. $\llbracket \text{less} \rrbracket = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x \llbracket A(x) < s \rrbracket$

For example, in a *less nice day than I expected*, the niceness (*A*) of the day (*x*) is **less (R)** than what I expected (*s*).

3.3 Syntax of attributive adjectival constructions

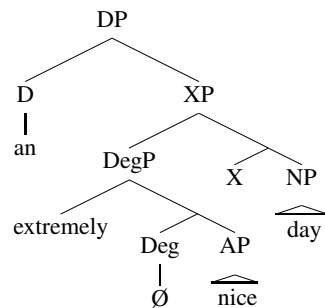
The syntactic analysis presented here is based on that of Kennedy (1999), which comes with a fully worked-out semantics.⁵ Following Abney (1987), Kennedy

⁵ Kennedy (1999) is concerned only with adjectives in predicative position; I have extended his syntactic analysis to accommodate attributive adjectives. I follow Cinque (2005, 2010) and others in taking an attributive AP (in my terms, a DegP) to be introduced by some functional head X.

takes all APs to have a functional DegP layer. I will sketch an analysis for each of the following attributive adjectival constructions: (1) absolutes, (2) non-equative comparatives, (3) equative comparatives, and (4) superlatives.

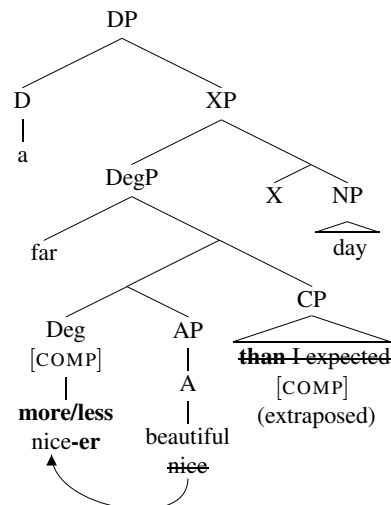
Absolute adjectives. Kennedy (1999: 44) proposes that an absolute adjective *A* is accompanied by a null Deg morpheme that means something like ‘at least as *A* as a contextually-determined standard of *A*-ness.’ As shown in (29), Deg takes an AP as its complement and may take a degree modifier as its specifier.

(29) It was [_{DP} an extremely nice day] today.



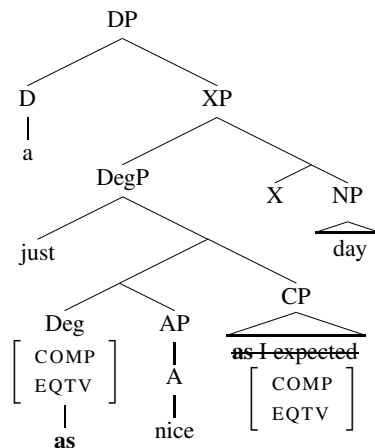
Comparative adjectives (non-equative). As in absolute forms, comparative Deg selects an AP complement and can take a degree modifier as its specifier. Comparatives have one additional element: the comparative clause, which Kennedy takes to be an adjunct selected for by Deg. The clause undergoes right-extraposition, as discussed by Matushansky (2002) and, for simplicity, represented using a strikeout in all tree diagrams in this paper.

(30) It was [_{DP} a far **more/less beautiful / nicer** day] today [~~than I expected~~].



Comparative adjectives (equative). In attributive equatives, DegP fronts to the beginning of DP (*as nice a day* instead of **an as nice day*). This fronting is discussed by Matushansky (2002), who takes it to be an idiosyncratic property of certain Deg heads. In all other respects, the structure in (31) is the same as (30).

(31) It was [DP just **as nice** a day] today [as I expected]. (DegP-fronting not shown)



Superlative adjectives may be analyzed in the same way, with Deg bearing a [SUPERLATIVE] feature and selecting an AP complement, a comparative PP adjunct, and a degree modifier. To save space, I will not include a tree diagram.

3.4 Summary: Syntax of attributive adjectives

All attributive adjectival constructions can be accommodated within the same structural configuration: an AP with a DegP functional layer. Each Deg head makes the same type of contribution to a shared semantic formula (a relation), and a small set of grammatical features on Deg is sufficient to capture the adjunct and specifier selection properties of comparative and superlative adjectives.

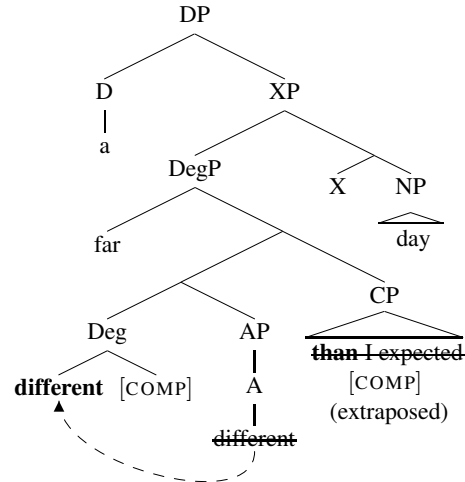
4. The syntax of identity adjectives

With the background in place, I now turn to the identity adjectives *same*, *other*, and *different*. My main proposal is that the identity adjectives have been reanalyzed from the lexical category Adjective to the functional category Degree. As members of the Deg category, they can access the same set of features as other Deg morphemes, thus explaining the properties they share with comparatives. Below I show how the details of this analysis apply to *different*, *same*, and *other* in turn.

4.1 Syntactic structure for *different*

The structure in (32) illustrates the proposed analysis of functional *different*.

(32) I had [DP a far **different** day] today [**than** I expected].



Let us assume that at some point in the past, *different* was solely lexical, like the semantically similar adjective *distinct* still is. I speculate that the functional version of *different* arose through a reanalysis of the category of *different* from the lexical category A to the functional category Deg.⁶ As a consequence of this reanalysis, its lexical selectional property (taking a comparative PP) was re-cast as a grammatical feature ([COMPARATIVE]), giving it the ability to take a *than*-clause. Semantically, its lexical meaning was transferred to the “relation” element of the Deg denotation, supplying the relation “not equal,” as shown in (33c). This denotation is equivalent to that adopted for *different* by Alrenga (2009).⁷

- (33) a. $[[\mathbf{Deg}]] = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x [\mathbf{R}(A(x))(s)]$
 b. $[[\mathbf{A} + \mathbf{Deg}]] = \lambda s. \lambda x [\mathbf{R}(x)(s)]$
 c. $[[\mathbf{different} + \mathbf{Deg}]] = \lambda s. \lambda x [\mathbf{x} \neq s]$

It seems likely that the simplicity of the lexical meaning of *different*, and the compatibility of this meaning with the “relation” element of the Deg denotation, explains why the lexical adjective *different* was susceptible to reanalysis as Deg.

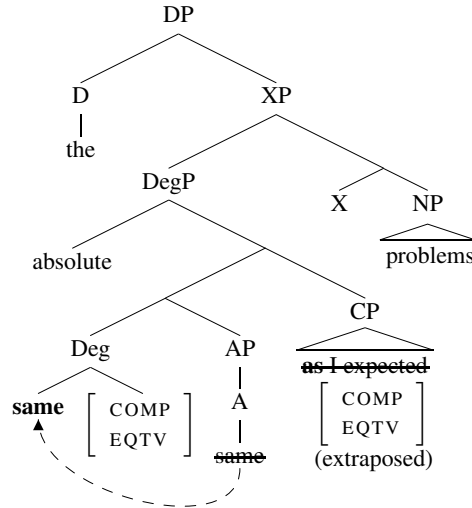
4.2 Syntactic structure for *same*

As with *different*, the properties of *same* follow from an analysis in which it occupies the functional head Deg, this time bearing the feature [EQUATIVE] in addition to [COMPARATIVE], giving it the same selectional properties as the Deg head *as*.

⁶ The dashed arrow in the tree in (32) is intended to represent this reanalysis, which we might refer to as “diachronic head-movement,” as pointed out by Elizabeth Cowper (p.c.). The synchronic status of this movement is an important issue, but I must leave it to future research.

⁷ In the intermediate stage posited in (33b), I assume that when A was reanalyzed as Deg (or, alternatively, when A fused with Deg), the A argument was simply deleted from the Deg denotation.

(34) I had [DP the absolute **same** problems] today [as I expected].⁸



Like it was for *different*, the lexical meaning of *same* is well-suited to occupy the “relation” element of the Deg denotation, supplying the relation “equal”:

- (35) a. $\llbracket \text{Deg} \rrbracket = \lambda A. \lambda s. \lambda x [\mathbf{R}(A(x))(s)]$
 b. $\llbracket \mathbf{A} + \text{Deg} \rrbracket = \lambda s. \lambda x [\mathbf{R}(x)(s)]$
 c. $\llbracket \text{same} + \text{Deg} \rrbracket = \lambda s. \lambda x [x = s]$

The analysis in (34) accounts for the close kinship between *same* and *as*-comparatives, but recall that *same* also shares certain properties with superlatives: obligatory definiteness and modification by *absolute*. It is unlikely that *same* bears the feature [SUPERLATIVE], however, as it cannot select an *of*-PP, unlike superlative forms: *the best [of the bunch]* but not **the same [of the bunch]*. Instead, we seem to need an additional feature such as [DEFINITE] in order to account for the properties shared by comparative *same* and superlative *most/-est*. This is admittedly not a particularly explanatory solution, and a semantic explanation may turn out to be more appropriate. I will set this issue aside for the time being.

4.3 Interim summary: The syntax of *same* and *different*

In essence, I have proposed that *same* and *different* are “intransitive” Deg heads—that is, Deg heads that do not take an (overt) AP as their complement. *Same* is like the intransitive version of *as*, while *different* is like the intransitive version of *more/-er/less*. This situation appears to have arisen when *same* and *different*

⁸ While functional *different* seems to have gained its properties through reanalysis, it is not clear whether this also holds for *same*. I have used a dashed arrow in the tree in (34) to indicate reanalysis, but it is equally possible that the relevant properties have always been a stable part of the makeup of *same*. For expository convenience, I will continue to speak in terms of reanalysis, but it is actually only the proposed syntactic structures that are crucial to my account, not their diachronic origins.

were reanalyzed from the lexical category A to the functional category Deg, with concomitant “translation” of their selectional properties and denotations.⁹

This analysis straightforwardly explains why the comparative clauses and degree modifiers selected by *same* and *different* align with those selected by *as* and *more/-er/less*, respectively. Furthermore, placing *same* and *different* in the functional category Deg captures the intuition expressed in Section 1 of this paper—namely that these items, though adjectival in nature, are more functional than prototypical lexical adjectives.

4.4 The exceptional *other*

In the description in Section 2, we saw that *other* differs from *same* and *different* in several ways: it cannot take degree modifiers, it does not select a comparative clause, and it cannot serve a predicative function. In addition, recall from Section 1.3 that *other* is exceptional in other ways: it can fuse with the indefinite article to form *another*, and its Innu-aimun equivalent *kutak* inflects like a demonstrative, unlike the other Innu-aimun functional adjectives. In both languages, then, *other* seems less like an adjective and more like a determiner, at least in certain respects.

To account for these observations, I suggest that the grammaticalization of *other* may have progressed a stage beyond that of the other identity adjectives, following a trajectory along the lines shown in (36).

(36) **Stage 1:** *Other* is a lexical adjective (like *distinct*).¹⁰

D > Deg > Adj_{other} > N

Stage 2: *Other* is reanalyzed as the functional head Deg (like *different*).

D > Deg_{other} > Adj > N

Stage 3: *Other* is reanalyzed as a functional head higher than Deg.

D > Ident_{other} > Deg > Adj > N

In (36c), I have posited a new functional head Ident (“Identity”). Unlike Deg, Ident is not grammatically comparative. Rather, it is more determiner-like, involving referentiality—perhaps serving to identify a “new” instance of the type denoted by N, as proposed for *other* by Breban and Davidse (2003), who use the term “deictification” to refer to the grammaticalization process involved.

Under this analysis, *other* no longer belongs to the Deg category, so it cannot carry the [COMPARATIVE] feature; this explains why *other* cannot select for a comparative clause. Furthermore, since *other* can no longer form a DegP—the extended projection of an AP—it follows that it cannot serve as an adjectival predicate. Finally, the structural closeness of Ident to D may be responsible for the fusion of *another* in English and the D-like inflection carried by *kutak* in Innu-aimun. I leave the elaboration of an analysis along these lines to future work.

⁹ As mentioned earlier, I am speaking in terms of reanalysis for expository convenience, although it may actually be the case that *same* has always had the relevant properties.

¹⁰ From examples such as (18) above, we know that *other* was once a gradable adjective.

4.5 Grammaticalization in the DP

The general picture that emerges from the proposed analysis is that nominal modifiers in the ‘same/different’ semantic field are in various stages of grammaticalization, always to the next-highest functional head.¹¹ The lexical items at each stage are summarized in (37).

- (37) **Adj:** *distinct, similar*
Adj/Deg: *different* (Adj *different from*; Deg *different than*)
Deg: *same*
Ident: *other*

As I hope this paper has illustrated, the syntactic microvariation within the heterogeneous group of functional adjectives provides a useful means of teasing apart the various features and configurations that are involved in the fine-grained structure of the DP.

5. Conclusion

This paper began by noting an apparent typological paradox in Innu-aimun, which called our attention to an often-neglected class of nominal dependents: the identity adjectives *same*, *different*, and *other*, one subgroup of a broader assortment of “functional adjectives.” Identity adjectives have much in common with comparative constructions, a fact which I have accounted for by proposing that they have been reanalyzed as function words of the category Deg (or Ident).

Despite the preliminary nature of the proposed analysis, I hope to have shown that examining the syntax of this overlooked set of words has the potential to yield a range of valuable results—shedding light on the fine-grained structure of the DP, clarifying the relationship between lexical and functional categories, and providing a rich data set for a microparametric study of grammaticalization.

References

- Abney, Steven. 1987. The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Alrenga, Peter. 2005. Comparisons of similarity and difference. Presented at the Workshop on the Formal Analysis of Adjectives (JET Adjectifs), Université Paris 7, September 28.
- Alrenga, Peter. 2006. Scalar (non-)identity and similarity. In *Proceedings of the 25th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics (WCCFL 25)*, eds. Donald Baumer, David Montero, and Michael Scanlon, 49–57. Somerville, Massachusetts: Cascadilla.
- Alrenga, Peter. 2009. Tokens, types, and identity. In *Proceedings of NELS 38*, eds. Anisa Schardl, Martin Walkow, and Muhammad Abdurrahman, 53–64. Amherst, Massachusetts: GLSA.

¹¹ This echoes the proposal of Breban and Davidse (2003), but is expressed from a generative perspective rather than a functionalist one.

- Beck, Sigrid. 2000. The semantics of *different*: Comparison operator and relational adjective. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 23:101–139.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1946. Algonquian. In *Linguistic Structures of Native America*, ed. Harry Hoijer, 85–129. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology.
- Breban, Tine. 2003. The grammaticalization of adjectives of identity and difference in English and Dutch. *Languages in Contrast* 4:165–199.
- Breban, Tine. 2006. English adjectives of general comparison: Lexical versus grammaticalized uses. PhD dissertation, University of Leuven.
- Breban, Tine, and Kristin Davidse. 2003. Adjectives of comparison: The grammaticalization of their attribute uses into postdeterminer and classifier uses. *Folia Linguistica* 37:269–317.
- Carlson, Greg N. 1987. *Same and different*: Some consequences for syntax and semantics. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 10:531–565.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2005. Deriving Greenberg's Universal 20 and its exceptions. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:315–332.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2010. *The Syntax of Adjectives: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Davidse, Kristin, Tine Breban, and An van Linden. 2008. Deictification: The development of secondary deictic meanings by adjectives in the English NP. *English Language and Linguistics* 12:475–503.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1963. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In *Universals of Language*, ed. Joseph Greenberg, 73–113. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Herdan, Simona, and Yael Sharvit. 2006. Definite and nondefinite superlatives and NPI licensing. *Syntax* 9:1–31.
- Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kayne, Richard S. 2005. Some notes on comparative syntax, with special reference to English and French. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, eds. Guglielmo Cinque, and Richard S. Kayne, 3–69. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kennedy, Christopher. 1999. *Projecting the Adjective: The Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison*. New York/London: Garland.
- Matushansky, Ora. 2002. Movement of degree/degree of movement. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- Moltmann, Friederike. 1992. Reciprocals and *same/different*: Towards a semantic analysis. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 15:411–462.
- Oxford, Will. 2007. Towards a grammar of Innu-aimun particles. Master's thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Oxford, Will. 2008. *A Grammatical Study of Innu-aimun Particles*. Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics Memoir 20.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Thorburn, Jennifer. 2005. Language attitudes and use of the Sheshatshiu Innu: Preliminary findings. *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 25:76–84.