

PROPERTIES OF IDENTITY ADJECTIVES IN ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN

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Abstract: This paper discusses a group of nominal modifiers referred to as Functional Adjectives. The paper concentrates on one subset of functional adjectives, i.e. the English identity adjectives *same*, *different* and *other*, based on the literature. Thus, *same* and *different* belong to a functional category degree rather than the lexical category adjective while the unique properties of *other* are attributed to a more determiner-like functional category in the DP. The paper finds further evidence to support this approach in the syntax and semantics of Romanian constructions with *diferit*, *același*, and *alt*.

Keywords: functional adjectives, identity adjectives, similarity predicates, comparative adjective constructions, degree functional category, determiner functional category

1. THE EMPIRICAL FACTS

The empirical domain of this paper is a group of nominal modifiers referred to as FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES, such as *same*, *other*, *first*, *last*, *mere*, *utter*, *main*, and *entire*. These adjectives are grammatically distinct from prototypical adjectives like *large* or *beautiful*. We make a description of one subset of functional adjectives: the English/Romanian IDENTITY ADJECTIVES *same*, *different*, and *other/același*, *diferit* and *alt*. We try to account for the need for a syntax of identity adjectives. The empirical facts described point to a central proposal stating that *same* and *different* belong to the functional category Degree rather than the lexical category Adjective, while *other* has properties attributed to a more determiner-like functional category in the DP.

Applying a contrastive descriptive approach to the Romanian counterparts of this group of identity adjectives we found facts which provide support for the idea that identity adjectives are functional as they behave in a similar way to demonstratives. Romanian has a demonstrative adjective indicating identity *același*. *Diferit* and *alt* behave syntactically in a similar way to *different* and *other*, i.e. *diferit* can be described as belonging to a functional category Degree while *alt* has properties attributed to a more determiner like functional category in DP.

2. SOME SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Considering the literature referring to the meanings of the English *different* and *the same*, we can interpret them as expressing relations of non-

identity and identity between individuals (cf. Heim, 1985, Carlson, 1987, Moltmann, 1992, Beck 2000).

- (1) a. Every student read a different book.
b. The same salesman sold me these two magazine subscriptions.

In examples (1a.-b.), *different* and *same* occur NP-internally, and their interpretation depends upon a plural or distributive NP occurring elsewhere in the sentence. Thus (1a.) can be paraphrased as “Every student read a book that is different from the book that every other student read”. It is simply assumed that *different* expresses non-identity, while *same* expresses identity, and that these are relations that hold amongst individuals. Such a view is nevertheless open to problems. The adjectives *same* and *different* can have scalar uses alongside with similarity uses as shown by the facts we will present below, referring to scalarity and similarity denotations.

The first problem is that the relations of (non-) identity between individuals cannot hold to varying degrees, but those expressed by *different* and *the same* can (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). (2a) and (3) show that both *different* and *the same* readily occur with degree modifiers; (2b) shows that *different* also appears in comparative constructions.

- (2) a. My new car is {a bit, quite, very, really} different from my previous one.
b. Jack and Diane turned out to be more different than I had expected.
- (3) Frozen fish is {almost, nearly, just about, not quite, roughly} the same as fresh fish.

Such examples require that *different* and *the same* be given scalar denotations. The second problem is that *different* and *the same* have logical relations with similarity predicates. If we consider *different* and *alike*, for example, it is generally true that a sentence of the form *a and b are more different than c and d* is logically equivalent to the sentence *c and d are more alike than a and b*. In Romanian also, both *diferit* and *același* can be interpreted either as non-identity or similarity behaving like their English counterparts. To express similarity, Romanian uses *asemănător/la fel*. *Diferit* and *asemănător/la fel* can occur with degree modifiers and they establish logical relations with similarity predicates as shown in the examples:

- (4) Mașina mea e un pic/ foarte/destul de diferită de a ta.
 [My car is a little/very/rather different from yours]
 Mașina mea este diferită de a ta.
 [My car is different from yours]
 Mașina mea este asemănătoare cu a ta.
 [My car is similar to yours]

Acelasi usually does not appear with degree modifiers but there may appear situations when it does, like in (5) which can be paraphrased as “Dacia Logan and Renault Logan are both cars, and they share almost all relevant properties.”:

- (5) Dacia Logan și Renault Logan sunt aproape aceeași mașina.
 [Dacia Logan and Renault Logan are almost the same car]

As their associated paraphrases make clear, these examples are concerned with the amount of similarity or difference that exists between the relevant individuals, and thus involve the similarity predicate uses of *diferit* and *același* studied here.

3. FUNCTIONAL ADJECTIVES

Following Oxford (2010) we claim that functional adjectives should be recognized as grammatically distinct from prototypical adjectives. Although the English modifiers (*same, other, first, last*) are normally labeled as adjectives, their grammatical properties differ from those of prototypical adjectives. As we shall see hereafter they are grammatically similar to their Romanian counterparts. 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.

The table below summarizes some of the major differences between the two classes of English adjectives, referred to as “lexical” and “functional” adjectives.

Table 1. Lexical vs Functional adjectives (*apud* Oxford, 2010:5)

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

The term “functional adjectives” has antecedents in the work of Kayne (2005:13), who includes “functional adjectives like *other, same, good*” in his list of functional elements that are plausibly related to syntax, and Cinque (2005:327), who mentions *same* and *other* as “functional adjectives” in passing, observing that they should be added to his DP hierarchy. The differences noted in the table above provide the necessary grounds for recognizing functional adjectives as a distinct group of nominal function words, with properties similar to demonstratives or quantifiers. As we shall see further in this paper this claim holds true cross-linguistically as we document that these adjectives form a distinct class, i.e. the class of functional adjectives in Romanian, too.

The literature on adjectives observes that not all adjectives have the full range of prototypical adjectival behavior: certain adjectives can function attributively but not predicatively (e.g. Bolinger, 1967; Quirk *et al.*, 1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002). Oxford (2010) proposes a list of “defective adjectives” in (6) combining such “attributive-only” adjectives with the functional adjectives discussed above. The rough classification suggested here is for descriptive convenience only—the development of a grammatically and

semantically adequate classification requiring further work.

- (6) a. Identity adjectives: *same, other*
 b. Ordinal adjectives: *next, last, previous, subsequent, preceding, further*
 c. Degree adjectives: *utter, sheer, outright*
 d. Significance adjectives: *main, chief, principal, mere*
 e. Extent adjectives: *entire, whole*
 f. Temporal adjectives: *future, then*

Some of the classes in (6) may qualify as functional categories, like the identity adjectives, others may instead be lexical adjectives whose grammatical limitations follow from semantic factors, as Bolinger (1967) proposes. For the moment it is clear that the term functional adjective is a cover term rather than a coherent grammatical category. Further research is needed to indicate, in a documented way, which adjectives fully classify as functional adjectives, as most of the classes in (6) behave in their own unique way. Consequently, each of the classes in (6) merits its own investigation to be thoroughly conducted elsewhere

4. IDENTITY ADJECTIVES – A CASE STUDY

The present paper aims at describing the properties of the English/Romanian identity adjectives. Identity adjectives have been researched by various authors who have approached the issue from the point of view of formal semantics on the one hand or functional grammar on the other hand. Carlson (1987), Moltmann (1992), Beck (2000), Alrenga (2005, 2006, 2009), and Brasoveanu (2008) have examined the semantics of *same, different, and/or other* from various angles. Their research concerned with matters such as the distinction between identity and similarity, the nature of identity, and the orientation of the comparison—whether it is sentence-internal, as in *Mary and John met different men [from each other]*, or sentence-external, as in *Mary and John met different men [from Sue]*. Alrenga (2009) emphasizes in his study that *same* and *different* encode both similarity and identity (their identity function being primarily recognized). Turning from formal semantics to functional grammar, identity adjectives have been studied extensively by Breban (Breban, 2003; Breban and Davidse, 2003; Davidse *et al.*, 2008). These studies are built on the idea that all adjectives in the semantic field

of similarity and difference occupy a continuum of grammaticalization, with fully lexical adjectives at the starting point and referential “postdeterminers” at the endpoint. Based on a statistical corpus study, Breban and Davidse (2003) quoted by Oxford (2010:9) establish the grammaticalization rates summarized in (7), which reflect the proportion of referential, i.e. functional, versus lexical uses of each adjective.

- (7) Grammaticalization of adjectives of similarity and difference
 a. Fully grammaticalized: *other, same*
 b. Largely grammaticalized: *comparable*
 c. Majority of occurrences are grammaticalized: *equal, similar, further, different*
 d. Minority of occurrences are grammaticalized: *additional, identical, related*

Even if statistics is the source for these varying stages of grammaticality, they play a role in the syntax of identity adjectives, as we are going to see that some identity adjectives resemble more degree phrases while others present the features of determiner phrases.

5. PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN IDENTITY ADJECTIVES – A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

We present some of the general properties of identity adjectives in English and Romanian starting from Oxford’s (2010) six descriptive generalizations regarding identity adjectives. These generalizations are based on material from Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002). Based on the analysis of these properties we strengthen the conclusion that *same, different, and other* along with their Romanian counterparts *același, diferit* and *alt* have extensive similarities with comparative and superlative adjective constructions.

5.1 Generalization 1: *identity adjectives have the same word order as comparative and superlative adjective forms*

English. As shown in (8), *same, different, and other* can either follow or precede a numeral. The different orderings appear to correlate with differences in semantic scope, as discussed by Breban and Davidse (2003:245).

- (8) a. (i) We saw those three **same** men yesterday.
 (ii) We saw those **same** three men yesterday.
 b. (i) Choose three **different** cards.
 (ii) Choose a **different** three cards.

- c. (i) The three **other** vehicles were damaged.
 (ii) The **other** three vehicles were damaged.

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

- (9) 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:

- (10) a. The three **larger/largest** vehicles were damaged.
 b. The **larger/largest** 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.

Romanian. In Romanian we have the following:

- (11) a. I-am văzut pe **aceiași** trei oameni ieri
 [I saw the same three people yesterday]
 b. *I-am văzut pe trei **aceiași** oameni
 [I saw the three same people]
 c. Allege trei cărți **diferite**
 [Choose three books different]
 d. *Alege trei **diferite** cărți
 [Choose three different books]
 e. ?Trei **alte** mașini au fost avariate
 [Three other cars were damaged]
 f. **Alte** trei mașini au fost avariate
 [Other three cars were damaged]

We notice that unlike English, Romanian does not have great flexibility in the way it orders these adjectives. In Romanian position is more strict and we notice that *același* can only appear in prenominal position whereas *diferit* can only appear postnominally. *Alt* is flexible as it can either precede or follow the cardinal, though the order cardinal *alt* noun is ruled by different scope readings. The same word order can apply in the case of prototypical adjectives realized as simple prototypical adjectives, comparatives and superlatives as shown in (12 a-g):

- (12) a. Cele trei vehicule **mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles big were damaged]
 b. *Cele trei **mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three big vehicles were damaged]
 c. Cele trei vehicule **mai mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles more_{COMPARATIVE} big were damaged]

- d. *Cele trei **mai mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three more_{COMPARATIVE} big vehicles were damaged]
 e. Cele trei vehicule **cele mai mari** au fost avariate.
 [Those three vehicles the most_{SUPERLATIVE} big were damaged]
 f. **Cele mai mari** trei vehicule au fost avariate.
 [The most_{SUPERLATIVE} big three vehicles were damaged]
 g. Cele trei **cele mai mari** vehicule au fost avariate.
 [Those three the most_{SUPERLATIVE} big vehicles were damaged]

Examples (12 a-b) show that simple prototypical adjectives cannot move in prenominal position in the context of cardinals. The same holds for examples (12 c-d) involving the comparative, the only possible movement can appear when using superlatives as shown by examples (12 e-g) where the superlative can appear prenominally either before the cardinal or between the cardinal and the noun.

Conclusion. Comparing the ordering patterns that appear in English and Romanian we notice that identity adjectives pattern like comparatives and superlatives in both languages even though not consistently. This fact can be discussed in detail if the syntax of identity adjectives is to be contrasted with the syntax of comparatives and superlatives, but this is to be discussed elsewhere in detail.

5.2 Generalization 2: *Same and different can occur with comparative clauses; other does not occur with comparative clauses.* *Same* can occur with a comparative *as*-clause, just like an equative *as*-comparative:

- (13) 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:

- (14) a. Sue gave a **different** answer [**than I expected**].
 b. Sue gave a **better/more thorough** answer [**than I expected**].

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

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

In spite of the fact that *other* cannot take a *than*-clause, the string *other than* can appear in syntactic contexts like the ones in (16):

- (16) a. I need to speak with someone [**other than** John].
 b. [**Other than** these two chips], the finish is flawless.

Taking into account such examples Huddleston and Pullum (2002:1145) suggest that *other than* is actually a compound preposition similar in meaning to *besides*, and that it fossilizes an earlier state of affairs in which *other*, like *different*, could indeed select a *than*-clause. As evidence of this earlier stage, they provide an example from 1656:

- (17) Neyther is the church reformed in our dayes, **another** church **than** that...deformed in the dayes of our fore-fathers.

Based on the example in (17) they conclude that most probably in the past, the grammatical properties of *other* were closer to those of present-day *different*.

Romanian. In Romanian *același*, *diferit* and *alt* can all co-occur with comparative phrases. This fact makes Romanian identity adjectives grammaticalize to a lesser degree than in English.

- (18) a. Mi-a dat **același** răspuns **ca** al tău.
[He gave the same answer as yours]
b. Mi-a dat un răspuns **diferit de** al tău.
[He gave me an answer different from yours]
c. Are un **alt** răspuns **decât** al tău/față de al tău.
[He has another answer than yours]

Conclusion. English examples prove the functionality of the *same*, *different* and *other* adjectives, while the Romanian data point to a lexical rather than functional explanation.

5.3 Generalization 3: *Same* is obligatorily definite

English. Herdan and Sharvit (2006) state that *same* must be accompanied by the definite article as shown in (19).

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

In this respect, *same* is similar to superlative forms, which are usually accompanied by *the*, as indicated in (20).

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

However, they note that given an appropriate context, an indefinite superlative can become acceptable. For example, (20b) improves if we imagine a convention attended by the best student from each school. In contrast, this does not appear to be possible for *same*, regardless of the context. For example, the intended meaning of (19a) above

is clear, and can be paraphrased with *identical*, but (19b) remains fully unacceptable.

Romanian. In Romanian *același* cannot take any article. Its position is always prenominal but unlike adjectives that can only appear prenominally, it can get neither the definite nor the indefinite article. Moreover, it appears in the higher position in DP which points to a more determiner like nature of *același*.

- (21) **Același** aspect este avut în vedere.
[The same aspect is taken into consideration]
***Un același** aspect este avut în vedere.
[A same aspect is taken into consideration]

Alt is also always prenominal as shown in (22 a-b) and it can get the indefinite article as in (22 c)

- (22) a. **Alt** aspect este avut în vedere.
[Other aspect is taken into consideration]
b. ***Aspect alt** este avut în vedere.
[Aspect other is taken into consideration]
c. **Un alt** aspect trebuie avut în vedere
[Another aspect should be taken into consideration]

The problem appears when we discuss the definite article. Prenominal adjectives get the definite article like in (23 a). *Alt* becomes a pronoun when it gets the definite article like (23 b) shows.

- (23) a. frumoasa fată
[girl|THE beautiful]
b. ***Altul** aspect trebuie avut în vedere.
[The other aspect must be taken into consideration]

Conclusion. This fact points to a more determiner like nature of *alt* which is thus similar in behavior with *același*. They thus prove to be members of the same class of functional adjectives, i.e. identity adjectives, which must be syntactically positioned higher in the DP as they have determiner like features.

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

English. As shown in (24 a-b) *same* takes the same degree modifiers as equative comparatives:

- (24) 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 as shown in (25 a-b):

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

It is evident from the examples above that the grammatical categories associated with the modifiers of *same* are in opposition: an adjective can be comparative or superlative, but not both (**as biggest as*). Unless we make the curious proposal that *same* is grammatically both comparative and superlative, the overlap in its modification options suggests that the availability of degree modifiers is based on semantic properties of the lexical item rather than its grammatical features. In contrast to *same*, *different* takes the same degree modifiers as *non-equative comparatives*, as shown in (26 a-b).

- (26) 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.

Unlike other functional adjectives, *different* can also take adverbial degree modifiers such as *extremely* or *remarkably*. However, such cases involve the interpretation of *different* as a true lexical adjective, not a functional adjective. Although the meaning of *other* is similar to that of *different*, it cannot take the same degree modifiers, as shown in (27). In fact, it appears that *other* does not take degree modifiers at all, having only the functional interpretation and determiner like features.

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

Moreover, Oxford (2010) brings additional diachronic evidence, as found in OED, to prove that in the past *other* could be modified by *quite* and *far* as shown by the examples in (28 a-c).

- (28) a. I thought it was fine to be a Gentlewoman indeed, for I had **quite other** Notions of a Gentlewoman now. (published 1722)
 b. **Far other** scene her thoughts recall. (published 1808)
 c. This Italian poetry is in a world **far other** from ours of to-day. (published 1879)

This is further evidence that the properties of *other* were once similar to those of present day *different* and it also shows the consistency of the class of identity adjectives.

Romanian. In Romanian, *același* can take degree modifiers like *chiar/cam/exact/precis* and

similar to the English cases these degree modifiers appear also in equative comparatives:

- (29) Nu mi-a dat **chiar același** răspuns cum m-am așteptat.
 [He did not give me quite the same answer as I expected]
 Mi-a dat **exact același** răspuns cum m-am așteptat.
 [He gave me exactly the same answer as I expected]

Diferit can appear in comparative and superlative constructions and also with degree phrases that are common for non-equative comparatives as well.

- (30) a. Are un mers **mai diferit** decât al tău.
 [He has a walk more different than yours]
 b. **Cel mai diferit** răspuns a venit de la el.
 [The most different answer came from him]
 c. Are un mers **mult mai diferit** decât al tău.
 [He has a much more different walk than yours]
 d. O analiză **extrem de diferită** a constituit surpriza conferinței.
 [An extremely different analysis surprised the conference]

Even *alt* can appear with degree expressions, but it seems to be accidental and whenever the article is involved *chiar* is outside the DP as shown in (31 a)

- (31) a. Mi-a dat **chiar un alt** răspuns.
 [He gave even another answer]
 b. Mi-a dat **chiar alt** răspuns.
 [He gave even other answer]

Conclusion. So far we can conclude that the modifiers of *same* pattern with both equative comparatives and superlatives while those of *different* pattern with non-equative comparatives. *Other* apparently, diachronically behaved like *different*, but no longer takes any degree modifiers at all. *Același* and *diferit* appear with degree modifiers while generally speaking *alt* does not take degree modifiers thus being similar in behavior with *other*, both having features that define them as determiner like elements.

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

English. The ability to function predicatively is shared with lexical adjectives.

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

When appearing in predicative position *same* is obligatorily accompanied by *the* in a pattern

similar with the pattern for predicative superlatives:

(33) These two keys are **the best**.

Romanian. In Romanian *același, diferit* can both be predicative. *Alt* cannot be predicative; if *alt* gets the definite article it can be predicative but in this case it has the features of a pronoun rather than an adjective. Further discussion should differentiate between the pronouns and the adjectives *același* and *alt* when used predicatively, as such predicative uses are in fact occupied by the respective pronouns not adjectives, marked by the presence of co-referentiality, which in the case of *alt* is marked by the presence of the definite article *altul*. Again, this is a discussion to be detailed elsewhere.

(34) Răspunsul este **același**.
 [The answer is the same]
 Răspunsul este **diferit**.
 [The answer is different]
 *Răspunsul este **alt**.
 [The answer is other]
 Răspunsul este **altul**.
 [The answer is the other]

Conclusion. The predicative use of this group of adjectives points clearly both in English and Romanian to the different properties of *alt* and *other* which indicates that their syntax is different from *same*, *different* and *același, diferit*. The pronominal properties indicate that they belong to the category of determiners rather than lexical adjectives.

5.6 Generalization 6: “*Lexical comparatives*” and *grammatical comparatives*; *superlative forms are impossible for functional adjectives*

English. In addition to *same, different, and other*, there is another class of adjectives, exemplified in (35), whose meanings also have a comparative component.

(35) *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:

(36) a. *Sue’s answers were **distinct** [CP than I expected].
 Sue’s answers were **different/better** [CP than I expected]
 b. *Sue’s answers were **similar** [CP as I expected].

Sue’s answers were **the same/as good** [CP as I expected]

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

(37) 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, the conclusion is 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:

(38) a. Lexical comparatives: *distinct/separate (from), similar/identical (to), superior/inferior (to)*
 b. Other adjectives: *curious (about), fond (of), smitten (with), responsible (for), angry (at), rich (in), keen (on)*

From the above data we can notice that although *different* patterns with functional *same* in that it can take a comparative clause, it also patterns with lexical *distinct* in that it can take a *from*-PP:

(39) a. Sue gave a **different** answer [CP **than** I expected].
 b. Sue gave a **different** answer [PP **from** what I expected].

This behavior suggests that *different* could be considered a “split category”: we have the lexical *different*, which selects a *from*-PP, and the functional *different*, which selects a *than*-clause. As evidence for such a split, recall that functional adjectives, unlike lexical adjectives, do not have comparative forms:

(40) **samer*/**more same*, **otherer*/**more other*

If there are indeed two versions of *different*, we would expect the comparative form *more different* to be possible with lexical *different from*, but not with functional *different than*. An example of lexical *more different from* is given in (41) below.

(41) Lexical “*different*”: comparative is possible
 Sue is **more different** [PP **from** what I expected]
 [CP **than** I was prepared for].

This is an unwieldy but grammatical sentence which states that Sue is different from what I expected, and that the extent of the difference is

greater than I was prepared for. In (42), the same example is recast using functional *more different than*. Although the intended meaning is the same, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (42) Functional “*different*”: comparative is not possible
 *Sue is **more different** [CP **than** I expected] [CP **than** I was prepared for].

It seems, then, that while lexical *different* has a comparative form, functional *different* does not—exactly what the proposed analysis predicts. Similar evidence comes from superlative forms, which are also impossible for functional adjectives (**samest/*most same, *otherest/*most other*) defined as such by the presence of the *from* PP. As shown in (43 a-b), lexical *most different from* is possible, while functional *most different than* is not.

- (43) a. John gave the **most different** answer [PP **from** what I expected].
 b. *John gave the **most different** answer [CP **than** I expected].

The evidence from comparatives and superlatives therefore supports the proposal that English has both lexical and functional versions of *different*.

Romanian. In Romanian *diferit* behaves more vaguely. It is lexical as it has comparative and superlative forms which appear in the context of prepositional comparative phrases. Only the comparative forms of *diferit* can be both lexical and functional as shown by the examples in (44).

- (44) Un răspuns **mai diferit** [CP **decât** am așteptat]./
 FUNCTIONAL
 [An answer more different than I expected]
 Un răspuns **mai diferit** [PP **de** al tău nu se
 poate]./ LEXICAL
 [An answer different from yours is not possible]

In superlatives we only have the lexical *diferit* not the functional one as shown in (45 a-c). the superlative *cel mai diferit* can appear only in the context of prepositional comparative phrases.

- (45) a. **Cel mai diferit** răspuns [PP **din** câte am primit]./
 LEXICAL
 [The most different answer from the ones I
 received]
 b. Mi-a dat **cel mai diferit** răspuns [PP **față de**
 toate celelalte]./LEXICAL
 [He gave me the most different answer with
 respect to all the others]
 c. *Am primit **cel mai diferit** răspuns [CP **decât**
 m-am așteptat].
 [I received the most different answer than I
 expected]

6. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING THE PROPERTIES OF ENGLISH AND ROMANIAN IDENTITY ADJECTIVES

Same, different, and other 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 (as well as superlatives) and between *different* and non-equative comparatives. *Other*, in contrast, lacks many of the properties in question altogether. The grammatical distinctness of the identity adjectives is made especially clear by the existence of a set of “lexical comparatives”—lexical adjectives which have comparative meanings, but which cannot engage in the same grammatical patterns as comparative forms and identity adjectives. Closer examination reveals that *different* has both lexical and functional versions.

In Romanian *același* can behave like demonstratives while *alt* pronominalizes when getting the definite article and *diferit* has mainly lexical versions.

In both languages *same, different* and *other / același, diferit* and *alt* have extensive similarities with comparative adjective constructions.

The class of identity adjectives is best understood in the framework of functional grammar as they occupy a continuum of grammaticalization between fully lexical adjectives and functional adjectives. Thus some identity adjectives resemble more degree phrases while others have the features of determiner phrases. This could explain the properties they share with comparatives and the fact that despite being adnominal modifiers, these items are more functional than prototypical lexical adjectives. Some of the adjectives discussed i.e. *other* for English and *același* and *alt* for Romanian, have properties that make them seem less like an adjective and more like a determiner.

Examining the syntax of this set of words could lead to some interesting results regarding functional adjectives as a possible well defined class of adjectives.

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