A RE-EXAMINATION OF *(THE) SAME* USING DATA FROM SPOKEN ENGLISH

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Abstract

This paper reports on a qualitative discourse analysis of 290 tokens of *(the) same* occurring in spoken American English. Our study of these naturally occurring tokens extends and elaborates on the analysis of this expression that was proposed by Halliday and Hasan (l976). We also review other prior research on *(the) same* in our attempt to provide data-based answers to the following three questions: (1) under what conditions is the definite article *the* obligatory or optional with *same*? (2) what are the head nouns that typically follow *same* and why is there sometimes no head noun? (3) what type(s) of cohesive relationships can *(the) same* signal in spoken English discourse? Finally, we explore some typical pedagogical treatments of *(the) same* in current ESL/ EFL textbooks and reference grammars. Then we make our own suggestions regarding how teachers of English as a second or foreign language might go about presenting this useful expression to their learners.

Keywords: qualitatitive discourse analysis; *(the) same;* spoken American English.

Resumo

Este estudo apresenta uma análise qualitativa do discurso de 290 ocorrências de *(the) same* no Inglês Americano falado. Nosso estudo sobre essas ocorrências

naturais amplia e elabora a análise desta expressão que foi proposta por Halliday e Hassan (1976). Também revisamos investigações posteriores sobre *(the) same* com o intuito de fornecer respostas fundamentadas em um banco de dados para as três seguintes perguntas: (1) em quais condições o artigo definido *(the)* é obrigatório ou opcional juntamente a *same*? (2) quais são os principais substantivos que tipicamente seguem *same* e por que, às vezes, não há substantivo? (3) que tipo(s) de relações coesivas pode *(the) same* indicar no discurso do Inglês falado? Finalmente, exploramos alguns tratamentos pedagógicos típicos de *(the) same* nos atuais livros-texto e gramáticas de Inglês – L2/LE. Em seguida, sugerimos como os professores de Inglês, como segunda língua ou língua estrangeira, poderiam ensinar essa útil expressão para seus alunos.

Palavras-chaves: análise qualitativa do discurso; *(the) same*; Inglês Americano falado.

1. Introduction

How can a speaker say or refer to something that has already been said or referred to previously without going through the trouble of repeating it? In certain cases one efficient means of doing this in English is to use the item *same* or *the same* as in the following examples, made up for illustrative purposes:

>(1) A: I'll have a ham sandwich on rye with mustard.
>B: I'll have the same.

>(2) A: I'd rather be dancing!
>B: Same here. / Same goes for me.

Tokens of *same* or *the same* appear to have the power to restore or point to some other element of a text in an economical and efficient manner.[1] The aim of this study is to examine the forms *same* and *the same* with respect to their cohesive power. Work on this topic was initiated by Halliday and Hasan (1976). Our study extends and elaborates on their analysis of these forms. We rely on a corpus of spoken American English data whereas Halliday and Hasan did not explicitly

distinguish between the use of these forms in spoken and written genres. Halliday and Hasan's insights regarding *(the) same* are significant, forming the basis on which we pose three research questions: 1) Under what conditions is the definite article obligatory or optional with *same?* 2) What are the head nouns that typically follow *(the) same,* and why is there sometimes no head noun? 3) What type(s) of cohesive relationship(s) can *(the) same* signal in spoken American English discourse? We end our paper with a consideration of current ESL/EFL pedagogy for teaching *(the) same* as well as the pedagogical implications of our analysis for teachers and learners of English as a second or foreign language.

2. The Corpus

The database used in this study consists of naturally occurring spoken American English. We examined many transcripts, which amounted to a total of 601,820 words. There were 290 tokens of (*the*) *same,* which formed the basis of our analysis. (See Table 1).

Table 1: Token Analysis 1

Source	No. of words	No. of tokens
1. Terkel (1972)	280,000	134
2. Weinstein (1984)	40,940	18
3. Cheng (1979)	12,000	10
4. TG transcript (Schegloff, undated)	3,080	2
5. Nixon Watergate Tapes (1974)	200,000	95
6. Santa Barbara Corpus (2000)	65, 800	31
Totals	601,820	290

Before discussing the data, we provide some background on (*the*) *same* as it has been treated in reference grammars and usage dictionaries. Subsequent to that, we briefly outline Halliday and Hasan's

(1976) analysis of (*the*) *same* as a cohesive device. In all the instances of *(the)same* that we cite, we have italicized the target form for the reader (i.e., the form was not italicized in the original source).

3. Background

*3.1 Prior Research on (*the*) Same*
Scholars writing in reference grammars and usage dictionaries have offered differing accounts regarding the grammatical function of (*the*) *same*. One of the earliest accounts considered (*the) same* as an "ordinary pronoun of identity" (Jespersen, 1933), i.e., identity with something mentioned either immediately before or immediately after:

> (3) Shakespeare died in 1616. In *the same* year Cervantes, too, died.
>   [Jespersen, 1933, p. 171]

> (4) A happy New Year! *The same* to you. [Jespersen, 1933, p. 171]

> (5) I want *the same* wine as usual. [Jespersen, 1933, p. 171]

> Jespersen (1933) also states that *the same* may imply mutual identity, the underlying meaning being 'one and the same':

> (6)   Shakespeare and Cervantes died in *the same* year. [Jespersen, 1933, p. 172]

> (7)   Rich or poor, that was all *the same* to him. [Jespersen, 1933, p. 172]

Akin to Jespersen's interpretation of (*the) same*, Fowler (1965) refers to (*the) same* as a pronoun substitute, substituting for *it*, *him*, *her*, *them*, and *they*. This usage of (*the) same*, he maintains, is abundant in

the Bible but is now considered archaic except for occasional use in business and legal documents:

> (8) The charge was an error and we have struck same from our books. We enclose a revised account and trust you will now be able to pass *same*. [Fowler, 1965, p. 534]

Fowler also suggests that (*the) same* occurs predominantly in spoken as opposed to written discourse and that use of (*the) same* is "avoided by all who have any skill in writing" (Fowler, 1965, p. 534).

On the other hand, Follett (1966) argues that (*the) same* is "never a pronoun" and that instances in which (*the) same* is used as a pronoun are unacceptable in real discourse, "commercial English" and "facile humor" notwithstanding:

> (9) We have your order for three ornamental cast-iron frogs and are shipping *same* immediately. [Follett, 1986, p. 284]

> (10)   Ah Sin was his name
> And I shall not deny
> In regard to *the same*
> What the name might imply. [Follett, 1966, p. 285]

Evans and Evans (1957) paint a broader picture, however, claiming that the grammatical functions of *(the) same* are adjective, noun, and pronoun. They note that formerly the meaning of *(the)same* was "identical thing mentioned before:"

> (11) Our manifold sins and wickedness…that we may obtain forgiveness of *the same*. [Evans & Evans, 1957, p. 431]

But in present-day English the meaning of (*the) same* is "exactly similar":

(12) I paid him five dollars and I will pay you the same. [Evans & Evans, 1957, p. 431] Moreover, they claim that the definite article or a demonstrative such as *this* or *that* always precedes *same* in literary English.

This broader interpretation offered by Evans and Evans (1957) is in keeping with later descriptions, for example, those of Quirk et al. (1985), Master (1995), and Biber et al. (1999). Quirk et al. (1985) refer to *the same* as an adjective, conjunct, and pro-form. *The same* can be used as a restrictive adjective, the function being to restrict a noun "exclusively, particularly, or chiefly" as in the phrase:

(13) *the same* student [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 430]

Similarly, Master (1995) refers to *(the) same* as a ranking adjective, more specifically, a unique adjective while Biber et al. (1999) categorize this form as a classifier or attributive adjective. Biber et al. also cite word counts to indicate that as a classifier *(the) same* is more common in written academic texts than in conversation, as illustrated in this instance:

(14) *the same* physical units [Biber et al., 1999, p. 514]

As an adjective connoting uniqueness, Quirk et al. (1985), claim that *same* is always preceded by the definite article *the*. This usage of the article, they claim, is the 'logical' use of *the* because the meaning of uniqueness is based on the "logical interpretation of certain words" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 270).

As a conjunct used to semantically relate two clauses, Quirk et al. (1985) indicate that *the same* operates in an equative manner:

(15) in *the same* way [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 635]

(16) by *the same* token [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 635]

Biber et al. (1999) also cite similar phrases, for example:

(17) at *the same* time [Biber et al., 1999, p. 1019]

And refer to them as 'lexical bundles', which are idiomatic expressions used as linking adverbials. The phrase "at the same time" connects and contrasts two propositions or events that are considered compatible with one another (Biber et al., 1999, p. 1019).

As a pro-form, Quirk et al. (1985) indicate that *the same* functions as a substitute, replacing a noun phrase, nominal clause, adjective phrase, or predicate as shown in the examples below.

The same substitutes for a noun phrase:

(18) A: Can I have a cup of black coffee with sugar, please?
B: Give me *the same*, please. [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 873]

The same substitutes for a nominal clause:

(19) A: (I say) Oxford is likely to win the next boat race.
B: I say *the same*. [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 873]

The same substitutes for an adjective:

(20) The soup smells delicious, and the turkey smells *the same*. [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 873]

The same substitutes for a predicate:

(21) do *the same* [Quirk et al., 1985, p. 866]

Lastly, one other function of *(the) same* discussed in reference grammars is that of determiner and, more specifically, semi-determiner (Biber et al., 1999). Biber et al. (1999) indicate that semi-determiners

such as *(the) same* can be used as pronouns or as adjectives when combined with the lexical item *one* as in this example:

> (22) So it might not be *the same one* at the top and bottom. [Biber et al., 1999, p. 281]

Biber et al.'s (1999) corpus-based linguistic research also reveals that *the same* occurs quite frequently across varying registers. *(The) same* is found in academic texts at a rate of over 500 times per million words, and in conversation, fiction, and newspapers, at a rate of over 200 times per million words (Biber et al., 1999, p. 512). These findings indicate an overall frequency of usage that would validate the importance of further inquiry and reflection on *(the) same,* along with pedagogical implications for those involved in second or foreign language teaching and learning.

We next turn to a brief discussion of *(the) same* in cohesion analysis (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Halliday and Hasan (1976) have offered perhaps the most comprehensive treatment of *(the) same* that is available in this domain. Our ensuing data analysis was inspired by their work.

3.2 *(*The*) Same* in Cohesion Analysis

Cohesion is a part of the system of a language. A text, regardless of whether it is spoken or written, is viewed as a semantic unit, and the parts of a text are linked together by cohesive relations or 'ties' (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Cohesion lies in the relation that exists between two elements, an element in the text and some other element that is presupposed. As Halliday and Hasan comment:

> …cohesion as a process always involves one item pointing to another; whereas the significant property of the cohesive relation…is the fact that one item provides the source for the interpretation of another. (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 19)

In the taxonomy that Halliday and Hasan have developed to explain text cohesion, there are five basic types of relations that contribute to creating texture within a text. Texture is that quality which a text possesses that distinguishes it from a mere group of sentences that are not unified (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). The five types of cohesive ties are: reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion.[2] Thus, according to Halliday and Hasan, cohesion is expressed partly through the vocabulary and partly through the grammar.

The item (*the*) *same* can encode either a tie of comparative reference or of nominal substitution (Halliday & Hasan, 1976). In discussing cases of nominal substitution, Halliday and Hasan observe that:

a. *same* is typically accompanied by the definite article or another definite form;

b. the presupposed item is almost always non-human;

c. the presupposed item cannot be a proper noun;

d. the presupposed item can be an Attribute;

e. *same* may not be preceded by a modifying element but may be followed by a qualifier e.g., *the same but…*or *the same but without*;

f. three verbs often occur with (*the*) *same* in nominal substitution: *do, be,* and *say*.

g. the entity referred to by *(the) same* is not co-referential but co-classificational with the previously mentioned item used to interpret *(the) same.*

Illustrations of (*the*) *same* used in their discussion of nominal substitution include the following:

(23) We can trust Smith. I wish I could say *the same* of his partner. [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 107]

(24) Charles is now an actor. Given half a chance I would have been *the same*. [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 109]

(25) They all started shouting. So I did *the same*. [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 108]

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), in the above cases, *the same* substitutes for a nominal, and thus serves as head of a nominal group. In cases involving *say the same,* Halliday and Hasan explain that *the same* substitutes for a fact as in example (23). With *be the same*, *the same* substitutes for a noun as in example (24). And, with *do the same, the same* substitutes for a process as in example (25).

For cohesive ties that involve comparative reference, Halliday and Hasan state that *same* is used as a reference item when two things are the same thing, that is, identical. They also note that in such tokens *same* is often preceded by the definite article:

> When likeness takes on the value of sameness, comparison resembles other forms of reference in being specific: '*same*' implies '*the same*'. For this reason *same* and other comparatives of identity are typically accompanied by *the,* or some other specific determiner. (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, pp. 313-314)

In comparative reference, the referent of (*the*) *same* may be situational or textual, anaphoric or cataphoric, and structural or non-structural. In a case like the one below:

(26) It's *the same* cat as the one we saw yesterday. [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 78]

The referent is cataphoric with the item (*the*) *same* pointing forward structurally in the discourse to 'the one we saw yesterday.' But given that the listener or reader does not need to go outside of the sentence to access the meaning of *the same,* the relation in this case is considered structural and thus non-cohesive (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

The instance that Halliday and Hasan provide to support their claim that (*the*) *same* functions cohesively in comparative reference is one in which (*the*) *same* refers anaphorically to the whole of a previous discussion:

> (27) *the same* question arises… [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 79]

The foregoing forms the gist of what Halliday and Hasan state with respect to (*the) same* in cohesive relations involving nominal substitution and comparative reference.

Against this backdrop we now turn to the findings of our research based on 290 tokens of *(the) same* occurring naturally in spoken English.

4. Findings

4.1 "Bare" Same

How can we describe the contexts under which *same* occurs without the definite article? Are the forms *same* and *the same* interchangeable, in light of Halliday and Hasan's claims that *same* "typically is accompanied by *the,* or some other specific determiner" and that *same* implies *the same*?

One context in which *same* occurs with something other than the definite article is when it is preceded by a demonstrative (which is a related definite determiner form).[3]

> (28) D- He worked for Caulfield when Caulfield worked for John, and then when I came over here I inherited Caulfield

and this guy was still on *this same* thing. [Nixon Watergate Tapes, p. 101]

(29) H- … he may decide to go with as much as is necessary to get himself into *that same* position. [Nixon Watergate Tapes, p. 232]

Another context in which *same* occurs without the definite article—or any other form—is when *same* occupies initial position in a turn constructional unit (TCU)[4] (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). There were 18 such cases in the corpus as exemplified in the four instances below.

(30) P: …And once it did happen, not cutting it off right then- stepping forward and saying, "I (unintelligible) this. These kids shouldn't have done this and that's my (unintelligible) best judgment." Well, I think I know. They just thought that might hurt the election. R: *Same* thing is true in Vesco. That case he's involved in. [Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 716]

(31) It's a two-shift operation; *same* job. [Terkel, 1972, p. 262]

(32) Yeah. I didn't join until I have…yeah…say about 1950. *Same* as CACA. [Cheng, 1979, p. 36]

(33) You're just like a man who sits and watches computers all day. *Same* thing. Just like Big Brother's watching you. [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

When *same*—whether followed or not by a head noun—occupies initial position in a TCU, the definite article appears to be deletable, provided the context is informal. The definite article may be such a heavily presupposed item that under certain conditions, for example, when occurring in TCU initial position within a phrase, clause, or

sentence, that it may be omitted from the surface utterance but remain as an understood form. For instance, in (30) above the full underlying representation may be, "It's the same thing that," but through elliptical processes, other elements may drop out leaving us with the surface phrase, "Same thing." Thus the phrase "the same thing" may start out in TCU final position (i.e., be part of the predicate) but end up in TCU initial position as schematized in this manner:

(34) It's *the same* thing. (TCU final position; *the* is not deletable)
The same thing. (ellipsis of expletive *it* and verb *be*)
Same thing. (deletion of *the* in TCU initial position)

A more familiar example with which to reinforce the above point is one that we mentioned earlier when we cited Jespersen (1933), although his rendition of the example included the definite article:

(4) Happy New Year! *(The) same* to you. [Jespersen, 1933, p. 171]

The expression, "The same to you," is probably slightly more formal than, "Same to you." The latter expression is perhaps more permissible in informal spoken English than it is in formal speech or in written discourse. With respect to *the same,* it is likely that this full form can be reduced to *same* when it occurs in TCU initial position—especially when the register is informal as it is in everyday conversation. Also, in written discourse, when the purpose is to be as brief and concise as possible, *same* may be used instead of *the same.* For example, when filling out forms one sometimes writes "same" instead of repeating an address, telephone number, etc. which has already been noted elsewhere.

It is worth noting that when *the same* occupies a non-initial position in a TCU, the definite article is typically <u>not</u> omitted:

(35) Alina: Right next door is Ted Rich, who's one of the biggies at MTM, or Lorimar, or MGM. I forgot which one…
Lenore: One of them.
Alina: One of those places. It all means *the same* to me.
[Santa Barbara Corpus, 2000, file 15, line 1350ff]

(36) A: No, it's *the same*. We just go to the bank, like everybody else. [Cheng, 1979, p. 44]

Notice that when *(the) same* occurs in TCU initial position and with no surface verb, as in examples (31) – (33), the definite article is easily deletable, but not in examples (35) – (36) when *the* same is in non-initial position in a TCU and occurs after the verb. Halliday & Hasan (l976) stated that when *the same* occurs in final position, the form is phonologically salient and carries the information focus. These observations find resonance with our data, which indicate that when *the same* occupies non-initial position in a TCU, the definite article is unlikely to be deleted.

There is also another issue pertaining to deletable elements in our analysis of *the same*. One can argue that there is almost always some understood general noun following *same* that can be reconstructed if it does not appear on the surface. See the cases below in which the general nouns in parentheses represent our interpretations of the head nouns that might have been deleted or presupposed:

(37) At five I leave for school. It's always *the same* (thing/ schedule). [Terkel, 1972, p. 524]

(38) You know, uh, and it's funny, the kids you get very close to because you have to, you know there's no way that you're going to treat everybody *the same* (way) you know, your emotions don't do that. [Weinstein, 1984, p. 43].

It is possible that these utterances underlyingly contain the understood general nouns *thing (*or *schedule)* and *way*, but since these nouns are heavily presupposed, they do not show up in the surface representation (the general noun *thing* was, however, the overt head noun in 54 cases in our corpus of 290 tokens). Since this interpretation seems plausible, we would argue that *same* functions as an adjective and not a nominal because of the potential existence of elliptical and (heavily) presupposed general nouns following *same*. Accordingly, when the adjective *same* functions as head of a nominal group then *(the) same* appears to take on noun- or pronoun-like properties because of the understood head nouns. Like *(the) same,* many of the reference adjectives discussed by Bolinger (l967) and others such as *the first, the next, the last, the former, the latter* and so on can also be used elliptically without an overt head noun. This does not mean they are no longer adjectives, only that they can function as noun phrases at the syntactic level, given sufficient context.

4.2 *(*The*)* Same *in Comparative Reference*

Halliday and Hasan (1976) explain that *the same* occurs in ties of comparative reference when two items being compared are coreferential or identical to one another. Our data confirm that *the same* is used in cohesive ties of these kinds. Here are several tokens in which *the same* is used to signal mutual identity with a previously mentioned referent:

> (39) A: What is the name of the village?
> B: Eh…Sung Wah Lei.
> A: Were the workers in your father's family mostly…from *the same* village?
> [Cheng, 1979, p. 62]

> (40) I got out of the army in '64. I took the test for transit police, housing police, and city police. It's *the same* test.
> [Terkel, 1972, p. 749]

In these two examples, *the same* signals 'one-and-the-sameness,' that is, identity with the village of Sung Wah Lei in (39) and identity of all three tests with each other in (40).

In another dataset, however, we found a type of comparative reference that was not addressed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), one in which the referent of *the same* is not an overtly mentioned item in the immediately preceding discourse:

> (41) Today I can walk in the boiler room with clean trousers…Before air pollution we used to burn this [=garbage]. We burned it in *the same* boiler every morning. [Terkel, 1972, p. 172] (note: 'old cast iron boilers' were mentioned one page earlier but many topics had intervened before this talk.)

> (42) But he's in the business himself. His bread is in *the same* gravy. [Terkel,   1972, p. 113] (note: the established topic was 'the advertising business')

The nouns which follow *the same*, namely, *boiler*, and *gravy*, do not refer neatly to a previously identified noun. It was not the *boiler* but the *boiler room* that was mentioned recently in (41). And in (42), *gravy* was not mentioned previously in any form, although *gravy* may be taken as synonymous with *business.* Halliday and Hasan (1976) claim that in instances of *the same* involving comparative reference, the referent may be situational or textual, anaphoric or cataphoric, and structural or non-structural. In the examples immediately above, we would not suggest that the referent of *the same* is anaphoric and non-structural, but whether it is considered situational or textual is somewhat problematic, given that the referent of *the same* is not explicitly mentioned previously. If the referent of *the same* is considered to be textual, the tie is indirect—at least when compared with those tokens cited in (39) and (40). There is some sort of part to whole (or whole to

part) analogy or connection that is relied upon in order to access the meaning of *the same* in examples (41) and (42).

These two examples perhaps serve to indicate that cohesive ties are relative in strength, gradable from explicit to vague especially in conversation. There may be some cohesive ties that are vaguer or less explicit than others, ones that necessitate more work on the part of a recipient in terms of, say, activation of schemata (Rumelhart, 1980; Carrell & Eisterhold, l983) or prior background knowledge, or in terms of understanding what constitutes 'shared knowledge' between the participants that is relied upon in order to access the gist of the utterance. Thus tokens where the cohesive tie is less explicit, e.g., (41) and (42), might be regarded as more challenging for learners of English as a second or foreign language because it takes more presuppositional work on the part of a recipient to figure out the meaning of the utterance containing *the same*.

4.3 (The) Same *in Nominal Substitution*

Halliday and Hasan state that with instances of *the same* the presupposed item can be an Attribute:

> (43) John sounded rather regretful.
> Yes, Mary sounded *the same.* [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 107]

They claim that *the same* is a form of nominal substitution since "an adjective is a kind of noun" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 107). However, since the presuppositional element in the above instance is adjectival i.e., *rather regretful,* we propose that the cohesive relation is adjectival rather than nominal.

Support for an additional type of cohesive tie that we might refer to as adjectival substitution also comes from the fact that, as mentioned earlier, understood general nouns can be inserted after virtually all bare tokens of *the same*. See the parenthesized items in the examples below, which reflect our additions to the cited original examples:

(44) John sounded rather regretful.
Yes, Mary sounded *the same* (way). [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 107]

(45) They want everybody to be pretty much *the same* (type), kind of conservative, fitting into the norm. [Terkel, 1972, p. 439]

With the addition of the general nouns *way* and *type*, the function of *the same* is more clearly that of modifier in examples (44) and (45). As stated earlier, it is perhaps through an elliptical process that the understood general noun drops out. In this manner, *the same* appears to become head of the nominal group, adopting nominal-like qualities, as Halliday and Hasan have proposed. We also note that the noun *way* occurred in our data 19 times, ranking third in overt head noun frequency—frequencies for several nouns are displayed in Table 2 below.

In fact, based on our investigation of naturally occurring data, it was most typical for a head noun to follow the item *the same.* We found 242 cases of this kind (over 83% out of 290 tokens). Thus the function of *the same* is much more typically that of modifier than of head of a nominal group. *The same* + zero noun occurred in 48 of our examples, and this is a small number, relatively speaking (a bit less than 17%). This finding was somewhat surprising because, based on Halliday and Hasan's discussion concerning nominal substitution, we expected to find many more tokens of *(the) same* without head nouns in our data. In our corpus, the nouns which typically follow (*the*) *same* include those shown in Table 2 with *thing, time,* and *way* occurring more frequently than the others; the head noun *thing* far outnumbering *time* and *way*.

Table 2: Token Analysis 2

General nouns	Occurrences
thing	54
time	23

way	19
one	6
story	4
position	4
kind	3

The general noun *time* occurred on 14 occasions in the prepositional phrase *at the same time.* In fact, *the same* occurred in prepositional phrases in 37 instances in our corpus. In this type of grammatical unit, it is noteworthy that *the* cannot be deleted before *same;* moreover, *the same* <u>is</u> always followed by a head noun because in a prepositional phrase the object noun does not seem to be an optional element or an element that can be understood via an elliptical process.

The general noun *thing* also occurs regularly with verbs such as *do* and *say*, as pointed out by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and confirmed in these examples:

> (46) And then—I have them—take home this tape that has them *do the same* thing. Once a day, half an hour, once a day. [Weinstein, 1984, p. 12]

> (47) He got the dictionary out and looked up the words for me. I took it back and crossed out the words and squeezed the new ones in there. He started on the next sheet. I *did the same* thing all over again. [Terkel, 1972, p. 460]

> (48) P: Well Mitchell thought, well, gee, and I hired this fellow and I told him to gather intelligence. Maybe Magruder *says the same* thing. [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 119]

General nouns such as *thing*, *way*, and *time* may be heavily presupposed items and hence deletable as understood elements, suggesting that the grammatical function of *same* is consistently adjectival in origin rather than nominal.

Halliday and Hasan claim that the presupposed item is almost always non-human, and this seems true in those cases where there is no head noun. However, the head noun had human reference in many tokens in our data, one of which we cite here:

> (49) H-Did they get anything on the fingerprints?
> D-No, nothing at all…The FBI has unleashed a full
> Investigation over at the DNC…
> H-(laughter) Using *the same crew*?
> D- *The same crew* – the Washington Field Office.
> [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, l974, p. 58]

Halliday and Hasan also claim that *same* cannot be preceded by a modifier; in four instances in our corpus (*the*) *same* is preceded by a modifying element (for three cases the modifier was the word *exactly*) as exemplified here:

> (50) The president said we can't sit on information that's of this nature. Get any information that's of this nature. It's going to be *exactly the same procedure*. I think you ought to move on the Jeb thing, Bob. [The Nixon Watergate Tapes, 1974, p. 340]

In one token the modifier *exact* occurred between *the* and *same*:

> (51) Miles: Last Sunday, got there [=club with live band] at eight, left at ten, dropped this person off at home in Foster City and came back, and I was noticing, the song they were playing on the radio. They were *the exact same* songs they were singing at the live band there. [Santa Barbara Corpus, 2000, file 4, line 800 ff.]

Another issue that our data raises concerns the presupposed element in the 'tie' or linkage between *the same* and its referent as displayed in this example:

(52) The wealthy, the ruling crowds, they enjoy all the things that workers produce. They're greedy, they're just like animals. I've seen dogs that they have just filled themselves and they couldn't eat another bite, but they would not tolerate another animal comin' near the food. The human animals, too, some of 'em are *the same*. No matter how much they have, they wouldn't part with any of it and they wouldn't let nobody else get it if they could help it. [Terkel, 1972, p. 738]

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), in cases of *the same* in nominal substitution, *the same* presupposes an entire nominal group except whatever element is repudiated. By repudiation they mean the segment of an anaphoric text that is not carried over or presupposed. With respect to example (52) above, it is not entirely clear what is presupposed and what is repudiated. In order to access the meaning of *the same,* one has to compare, figuratively speaking, greedy wealthy people with hungry dogs. Viewed from this angle, it would appear that substitution, as a form of cohesion, is not merely a grammatical relation or one of wording, but may involve a semantic relation or one of meaning especially in cases such as (52), which involves a metaphor or an analogy.

The questions concerning precisely what is presupposed and what is substituted are also problematic with respect to an example provided by Halliday and Hasan (1976):

(53) Winter is always so damp.
The same is often true of summer. [Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 107]

They state that in the example above, the referent of *the same* or what is presupposed is "is always so damp." Yet surely the phrase:

*Is always so damp is often true of summer.

is not correct English; moreover, it is probably not what Halliday and Hasan intended. What gets substituted or replaced and with what? Given Halliday and Hasan's analysis of the presuppositional element, i.e., "is always so damp," if the intent is to end up with a syntactic interpretation such as, 'Summer is often so damp,' then the elements that are presupposed are "is…so damp" and the rest ("winter…always") is repudiated. Thus the only items that appear to be replaceable or interchangeable are "summer" versus "winter" and "always" versus "often." Accordingly, we ask whether this kind of substitution is considered a grammatical relation of wording or a semantic relation of meaning. It appears to be both simultaneously.

Finally, we wish to point out that deciding whether *(the) same* is used to signal reference versus substitution in any given instance depends on the context. Peter Master (personal communication) has provided us with a good example of this: The sentence "Jack and Bill are holding the same pencil" is ambiguous with respect to whether reference or substitution is being signaled. If the two men are holding one and the same pencil, this is reference. If they are holding different but identical-looking pencils, substitution is involved. According to Master, non-native speakers of English are often surprised to learn that when substitution is being signaled one cannot say "a same pencil"— on analogy with "a similar pencil".

5. Summary

We have proposed that the grammatical function of *same* is more likely adjectival and not, as Halliday and Hasan have suggested, nominal. When *same* is preceded by a definite article, which gives the item a nominal-like flavor (i.e. *the same*), *same* is still very likely functioning as an adjective that serves as head of a nominal group because the understood general head noun is not overtly expressed.

The observation that general nouns tend to follow (*the*) *same*, nouns which may have been deleted due to elliptical processes,

further supports the suggestion that *same* may be regarded as an adjective. Moreover, instances in which the presupposed element is clearly adjectival, i.e., when (*the*) *same* refers to an Attribute, represent strong evidence for the existence of an additional type of cohesive relation that should be referred to as adjectival substitution.

In functioning as both a modifier and a head, *the same* behaves very much like demonstratives or ordinals. But our data reveal that *the same* does not typically serve as head of a nominal group; its most frequent function is that of modifier. Hence we would argue that *the same* is akin to a determiner/adjective like ordinals, which can either modify a head noun or stand alone elliptically.

As far as whether or not *same* is preceded by a definite article, in our corpus its position within a TCU, including whether or not there is a verb or preposition overtly expressed, and the informality of the register appear to influence whether *the* precedes *same.* Another environment in which the definite article is not used is when *same* is preceded by a demonstrative instead of *the.* Demonstratives are stressed more heavily than *the* and they carry more information, making them unlikely candidates for ellipsis.

In addition, it appears that cases of substitution do indeed involve a relation in meaning and not only in wording. This point becomes apparent in a consideration of precisely what is presupposed, what is repudiated, and what is replaced in complex instances of substitution. Finally, whether a given instance of *(the) same* involves co-reference or substitution depends entirely on the context in which the token occurs. Given overall findings such as these, what are some of the implications in terms of second or foreign language teaching and learning?

6. Pedagogical Treatment of *(the) Same*

*6.1   (*The) same *in English as a Second/Foreign Language Textbooks*

Situated against the foregoing analysis of *(the) same* in real spoken English using the cohesion framework of Halliday and Hasan, we now consider implications for the teaching and learning of this form by first considering how *(the) same* has been treated in English as a second or foreign language textbooks. Generally, explanations of *(the) same* in textbooks are inadequate and incomplete; moreover, they lack (sufficient) exercises to help support a learner's mastery of this form, which, based on our preliminary analysis here, appears to be more complicated than first meets the eye. Thus we can imagine that this form would pose problems for the ESL/EFL learner particularly with respect to the deletability or not of the definite article (Azar, 1981; Danielson & Hayden, 1973; Rutherford, 1975; Murphy & Smalzer, 1989; Bland, 1996; Frank, 1993). Master (1995) concurs in pointing out the difficulty that some ESL students in the U.S. have using the definite article before the adjective *same*:

> Unique adjectives account for roughly a third of the [article]errors, with the adjective *same* predominating as the most frequent culprit, accounting for nearly a quarter of all ranking adjective errors. (Master, 1995, p. 190)

One factor that might contribute to the difficulty of this form is that ESL/EFL textbooks do not adequately address the question of when the definite article is deletable,(;) namely, that there are in fact *two* forms: *same* and *the same*. In the textbooks that we consulted, the authors overtly state or imply by way of example that *same* is always preceded by the definite article (e.g., Azar, 1981; Murphy with Smalzer, 1989), thereby giving the impression that *the same* is a single unit or lexical

bundle (Biber et al., 1999). Here is one instance from Murphy with Smalzer (1989, p. 140):

> (54) We use *the* before *same* (= *the same*):
> - Your sweater is *the same* color as mine. (*not* is same color)
> - These two pictures are *the same*. (*not* are same)

Based on our examination of ESL/EFL textbooks, there are no explanations of when the definite article is deletable, e.g., only in informal spoken English in TCU initial position, i.e., *same* without *the* does not follow a verb or preposition. In the examples in the textbooks that we consulted, *the same* always occurs in the predicate in uncontextualized sentences. As we stated in our analysis above, when *the same* occurs after the verb or a preposition, it is very unlikely that *the* will be omitted. In one sense, then, the textbook authors are correct in stating that *same* is always accompanied by the definite article, but their descriptions are incomplete in that they do not address those TCU-initial contexts where *same* can occur without the definite article.

ESL/EFL textbook treatments of (*the) same* also consider the meaning of *same* to be 'similar,' ignoring the meaning of 'one-and-the-same' (Murphy with Smalzer, 1989; Frank, 1993; Bland, 1996). In the textbooks just cited, the authors illustrate usage of *the same* in constructions involving *the same…as* within a single sentence. For instance, Frank (1993) describes *the same* as an adjective used in the comparison of nouns:

> (53) Mary's hat is *the same as* Jane's (hat). [Frank, 1993, p. 124]

Similarly, Bland (1996, p. 326) illustrates usage of *the same…as* in sentences such as the following:

> (54) This course has *the same students as* that one.

(55) Scott is *the same* height *as* Mary (is).

In examples such as those above, use of *the same* would not be regarded as cohesive because the relation is structural; the meaning is fully retrievable sentence internally without having to cross sentence boundaries. These instances, then, would not be exemplary of cohesive comparative reference (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

Since examples of (*the) same* found in other textbooks were in large part similar to those illustrated above, needless to say, there were no instances of *the same* used in nominal substitution. There was also no discussion of head nouns that occur with (*the) same.* In our data-based analysis, we mentioned that some head nouns e.g., *thing, time* and *way* may be such heavily presupposed items that they are readily deletable from a surface representation. ESL/EFL textbook grammars do not address the question of head nouns that co-occur with *(the) same* nor do they treat the deletability of many of these general head nouns. There was also no discussion of verbs typically used with *the same* (in nominal substitution): *do, be,* and *say* (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

Textbook treatments of (*the) same* also do not offer any explanation concerning cohesive ties characteristic of this form, regardless of whether they deal with spoken or written English. And there is no indication that there may be differences in spoken versus written genres. In ESL/EFL textbook grammars, learners are provided with decontextualized sentences that illustrate usage of the form (*the) same.* This is problematic given that cohesion occurs <u>across</u> sentential boundaries in the creation of text and meaning (Halliday & Hasan, 1976) and that the form *same* often functions in such a text-creating manner.

There is now an increasing connection with work done in conversation analysis (CA) and concerns in applied linguistics (Hall, l993; Markee, 2000; Wagner, 1996; Wong, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2002, in press, forthcoming; Wong & Olsher, 2000; Schegloff, 2000; Schegloff et al., in press). Wong (2000b) has indicated that those working in the field of applied linguistics and teaching English as a second or foreign language (TESL/TEFL) ought to pay more attention than they have in

the past to aspects of turn-taking structure and sequence organization in their work. The finding that ESL/EFL grammar textbooks only address *the same* in the context of contrived, isolated sentences would appear to bolster Wong's suggestion that applied linguists, including textbook writers, should take turn-taking into account. For example, they can construct more natural-like examples or conversation-like dialogues in which turns at talk are displayed between or among speakers. It is across turns and sentences that the form *the same* may be fully engaged as a cohesive device or as an interactional resource of the English language; in such instances presuppositions are made and display of shared knowledge is relevant. In authentic spoken English, interactants often do not speak in full, complete sentences, as is invariably the case in the textbook examples that we reviewed. In such examples, it is less likely that a textbook writer would utilize sentences in which *the same* occupies TCU initial position, a sequential position where we suggest the definite article is regularly deletable.

6.2 *The Teaching and Learning of* (the) Same

The questions of what is presupposed and what is repudiated, as in cases of substitution, are potentially more complex for the not-yet-competent, who are both talking and learning the language of interaction at one and the same time (Schegloff, 2000; Wong, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c; 2002, forthcoming; Wong & Olsher, 2000). Language learners may not (entirely) comprehend what the referent of a given instance of *the same* is all about, not to speak of (entirely) understanding what is to be presupposed, that is, the nature of a cohesive link. We wonder whether a native speaker's use of *the same* in instances in which presupposition or shared knowledge is relevant, is perhaps more difficult for the language learner, forms of talk like these being potentially problematic in terms of accessing meaning precisely because of 'ties' which may be less explicit or less direct. However, at some point along the interlanguage road, learners will need to acquire an ability to produce utterances which make use of cohesive ties like (*the) same*, moving from less to more challenging contexts. If our ESL/EFL textbook

grammars do not facilitate our learners' acquisition of this form by providing complete, adequate treatment with a variety of examples and exercises using *same, the same, the same as*, and *the same* + head noun (highlighting the more common head nouns), our learners will be ill informed and less prepared and may revert to haphazard guessing of when to omit or not to omit the definite article from *same*.

Master's (1995) research suggests various consciousness raising strategies by which ESL learners might gradually come to acquire the article system, and which article to select, if any. Similarly, consciousness raising activities may be utilized in the teaching of *the same* to ESL/EFL students after initially providing them with a clear explication of this form and how it is used in everyday spoken English. We would hope that the analysis provided here gives the language instructor the necessary descriptive information for understanding the complexities behind the use of *the same,* which is a necessary starting point when teaching this form to students whose native language is not English. If ESL/EFL textbook treatment of this form is inadequate, then teachers need to know where the gaps are and possibly how to fill them based on knowledge of this form that can be gleaned from examining authentic naturally occurring spoken English as was done in this study.

In terms of applications for instruction, given the current emphasis on the notion of consciousness raising in grammar instruction (see Master, 1995; Fotos, 1993; Schmidt, l990; among others), teachers might ask students to keep a log of when they hear or find *'the same'* in written and/or spoken contexts and to note whether *'same'* occurs with or without the definite article. Students might later be asked to reflect upon this form in the various contexts they encounter and attempt possible explanations e.g., usage with or without the definite article, usage in utterance-initial position, usage after a verb or preposition, usage with or without a head noun, the kinds of head nouns that tend to follow *same*, and the like. Following suggestions made by Riggenbach (l999) and McCarthy and Carter (1995), if students have access to oral corpora or transcripts of recorded, naturally occurring conversations,

they could also look for instances of *same* and *the same* and scrutinize the contexts under which, for example, *same* appears with or without (1) the definite article, (2) a head noun (and what specific head noun), and so on.

7. Conclusion

The article system has been deemed one of the more difficult aspects of the English language for second or foreign language learners (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman, 1999; Master, 1987; 1995), and *(the) same* is clearly implicated in this overall problem. Additionally, research by Cheng and Warren (l999) supports our view that non-native speakers often do not have adequate control of the range of reference, ellipsis, and substitution devices used in English conversation such as *(the) same* to be 'appropriately inexplicit'. The non-native speakers in Cheng and Warren's study overused lexical repetition instead of reference, ellipsis, and substitution, and thus were judged as being overly explicit when compared with their native-speaking interlocutors.

Overall, the findings of our data analysis, when juxtaposed with what we found in ESL/EFL textbooks and grammars, would support the proposal that grammar, discourse, and context are clearly not separable, discrete elements (Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000). Applied linguists and teachers in the field of ESL/EFL instruction need to continue to seek ways of integrating grammar instruction, which most certainly includes forms such as *(the) same,* into a communicative framework based on examination of language—or talk—in real social interaction (Celce-Murcia, 1991). It would appear that heightened attention, awareness, and focus on such forms may well facilitate their ultimate understanding and acquisition.

Notes

1   In fact, in examples (1) and (2) if speaker B were to repeat the just prior utterance verbatim, this would strike us as odd:
(3)
A: I'll have a ham sandwich on rye with mustard.
B: *I'll have a ham sandwich on rye with mustard.
(4)
A: I'd rather be dancing!
B: *I'd rather be dancing!
Exact duplications by a next speaker of a prior utterance by the prior speaker do not automatically signal sameness; they may indicate something else is going on in the talk, for example, speaker B may be teasing or mocking speaker A.

2   In subsequent writings (Halliday, 1994), substitution and ellipsis are merged into one type of cohesion.

3   As mentioned earlier, Evans and Evans (1957) pointed out that *same* could occur with demonstratives as well as *the*.

4   Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) have noted that a turn constructional unit (TCU) is composed of various units which may be lexical, phrasal, clausal, or sentential in nature. Interactants orient to these varying TCUs in the course of their production for points of possible turn completion, places in the talk in which turn transition may be effected.

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