The talk will motivate and outline a unified account of deictic and sentence-internal readings of *same/different*, exemplified in (1) and (2) below (a cross-linguistic survey provides motivation for such an account).

(1)  
  a. Mary recited *The Raven*.
  b. Then, Linus recited a different poem.
      (deictic/sentence-external: different from *The Raven*)

(2)  
  Every boy recited a different poem.
      (sentence-internal: for any two boys a and b, as poem is different from bs poem)

The main proposal is that distributive quantification temporarily makes available two discourse referents within its nuclear scope, the values of which are required by sentence-internal uses of *same/different* to be identical/distinct—much as their deictic uses require the values of two discourse referents to be identical/distinct. The formal account is independently motivated by quantificational subordination, the availability of both dependent and independent readings for anaphora in the scope of *each* and, finally, dependent indefinites in various languages. All these phenomena provide support for the idea that natural language quantification is a composite notion, to be decomposed/analyzed in terms of discourse reference to dependencies that is multiply constrained by the various components that make up a quantifier.