

Different* in conjunctives, comitatives, and comparatives

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An, Duk-Ho. 2017. *Different* in conjunctives, comitatives, and comparatives. *Linguistic Research* 34(3), 215-238. This paper examines aspects of the relational adjective *talū* ‘different’, which has not been investigated systematically in the generative literature on Korean. One of the most interesting properties of *talū* is the occurrence of a *wa*-phrase, which has the potential to be used in three different ways, i.e., as a conjunctive, a comitative, or a comparative phrase. An important observation is made to the effect that the three different uses of the *wa*-phrase correlate with different interpretations of *talū*. Based on this, a novel analysis of sentences involving *talū* is proposed, accounting for their interpretative patterns. The gist of the analysis is that in sentences involving *talū*, a *wa*-phrase, which denotes the standard of comparison, is located in the Spec position of a functional projection, call it, FP, which mediates the relation between the *wa*-phrase and *talū*. It is proposed that SpecFP can undergo deletion, where different amounts of deletion of SpecFP, i.e., full deletion and partial deletion *à la* Charnavel 2015, lead to different surface forms and interpretations of the constructions involving *talū*. Crucially, the internal-external distinction of the interpretation of *talū* is argued to correlate with the presence or absence of an overtly realized *wa*-phrase denoting the standard of comparison, which is determined by deletion. (Konkuk University)

Keywords relational adjective, different, conjunctive, comitative, comparative, deletion

1. Introduction

Different is a relational adjective that involves a comparison between two individuals.¹ For instance, in (1), *John* and *Mary* are compared with each other with respect to a salient property in the discourse.

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1 Adjectives like *same* and *similar* also behave similarly to *different* in relevant respects, though I will not be concerned with them in this paper.

- (1) John is different from Mary.

Interestingly, several researchers have noted that *different* allows an ambiguity in contexts like (2). (Beck 2000, Brasoveanu 2010, Carlson 1987, Charnavel 2015, Hardt and Mikkelsen 2015, Moltmann 1992, among others).

- (2) Bob and Alice attend different classes. (Carlson 1987:532)

Under one interpretation, (2) means that Bob and Alice take some other classes than a salient set of classes in the discourse. Under the other interpretation, it means that the class that Bob takes is different from the class that Alice takes. In Carlson's (1987) terminology, the former kind of interpretation of *different* is referred to as a sentence external reading and the latter a sentence internal reading.² (For convenience, I will simply call them "external (E)" and "internal (I)" readings, respectively.) It should be noted that while the external reading is relatively freely available, the internal reading is more constrained. One of the environments that has been argued to license the internal reading is coordinated DPs, which receive a distributive interpretation, as in (2).

The Korean counterpart of *different*, namely, *talu* 'different' behaves in the same way in relevant respects.³ For instance, (3) receives the same kind of interpretation as (1), to the effect that John and Mary are different from each other with respect to a salient property in the discourse.

- (3) John-un Mary-wa talu-ta.
J.-top M.-from different-dec
'John is different from Mary.'

Similarly to (2), the sentence in (4), which involves coordinated DPs, also allows an ambiguity. Thus, it can mean that Mary and John are taking a class that is different from

2 In addition to the external and internal readings, there can be other kinds of interpretation. However, such fine distinctions are not important for the purpose of this paper.

3 There are also aspects in which *talu* behaves somewhat differently from *different*, though I will not be concerned with them in this paper. In this paper, I focus more on the interaction between *talu* and the three uses of *wa* to be discussed shortly below.

a salient class in the discourse, i.e., an external reading, or that the class that Mary takes is different from the class that John takes, i.e., an internal reading.

- (4) Mary-wa John-un talu-n swuep-ul tut-nun-ta.
 M.-and J.-top different-adn class-acc take-pres-dec
 'Mary and John take different classes.'

At this point, the reader may have noticed that in (3) and (4), the morpheme *wa* is attached to one of the DPs that are compared with respect to *talu*, though the two instances of it are glossed differently, i.e., as 'from' in (3) and as 'and' in (4).⁴ In other words, *wa* functions as a comparative marker in the former and as a conjunctive marker in the latter.⁵ Furthermore, there is a third use of *wa*. That is, it can also be used as a comitative marker, equivalent to *with* in English. Thus, *wa* is three-ways ambiguous on the surface.

- (5) a. Mary-wa John-un chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta. (Conjunctive)
 M.-and J.-top book-acc read-past-dec
 'Mary and John read a book.'
 b. John-un Mary-wa chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta. (Comitative)
 J.-top M.-with book-acc read-past-dec
 'John read a book with Mary.'
 c. John-un Mary-wa talu-ta. (Comparative)
 J.-top M.-from different-dec
 'John is different from Mary.'

What is significant for us is that *talu* behaves differently in the three types of constructions. For instance, in (6), where the *wa*-phrase follows its associate DP, the word order makes the sentence ambiguous between comitative and comparative constructions. To disambiguate them, a pause should be placed after the *wa*-phrase, which makes the

4 *Wa* is an affix (or a clitic), so that it is attached to the preceding word. The *wa* form is used if the preceding word ends in a vowel. It is realized as *kwa* if the preceding word ends in a consonant.

5 Unlike English, Korean uses different conjunctive elements for coordination of DPs, i.e., *wa*, and coordination of predicates or clauses, i.e., *ko* and *kuliko*. It is the latter elements that have received most attention in the literature on coordination in Korean.

sentence a comitative construction, while without a pause, it is a comparative construction. Crucially, these two possibilities correlate with two different interpretations of *talū*. That is, under the comitative parse, the sentence only allows an external reading, while it only allows an internal reading under the comparative parse.

- (6) John-un Mary-wa talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-with/from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read a different book with Mary.’ (E)
 ‘John read a different book from the book that Mary read.’ (I)

In this paper, I examine the interaction between different interpretations of *talū* and the three kinds of constructions involving the *wa*-phrase, focusing especially on the comparative construction. I propose a novel analysis of sentences involving *talū*, the gist of which is that in such sentences, a *wa*-phrase, which denotes the standard of comparison, is located in the Spec position of a functional projection, call it, FP, which mediates the relation between the *wa*-phrase and *talū*. Crucially, I suggest that SpecFP can undergo deletion, where different amounts of deletion of SpecFP, i.e., full deletion and partial deletion, lead to different surface forms and interpretations of the constructions involving *talū*. This analysis is in line with and thus provides support for Charnavel’s (2015) deletion-based analysis of *different*.

This paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, I discuss some basic properties of the three different uses of the *wa*-phrase, i.e., it can be used in conjunctive, comitative, and comparative constructions; in Section 3, as the main issue of the paper, I illustrate the interpretative properties of *talū* in the three constructions mentioned above; in Section 4, I discuss some structural properties of sentences involving *talū* that provide additional background for the analysis proposed in subsequent sections; in Section 5, I propose an analysis of comparative constructions involving *talū*; in Section 6, I extend the analysis to conjunctive and comitative constructions involving *talū*; I provide some concluding remarks in Section 7.

2. Conjunctive, Comitative, and Comparative Constructions

Before going into properties of *talū*, I briefly discuss some basic properties of

the three different types of construction involving a *wa*-phrase in this section. (For further discussion, see Hong 1979, I 2006, Kim 2001, Lee and Chae 1999, Nam and Ko 1993)

First, although the conjunctive and comitative constructions are similar in that they usually express the idea that the referents of the DPs joined by *wa* are in the same situation or are doing something together, there is a difference in their interpretation. In particular, as Yoon and Lee (2005) note, the conjunctive construction allows distributive readings as well as collective readings, while the comitative construction allows only collective readings. For instance, (7) can mean that there was a single event involving John and Mary talking a walk together, i.e., a collective reading. It can also mean that there were two separate events of John's taking a walk and Mary's taking a walk, which could have taken place at different points of time, i.e., a distributive reading.

- (7) John-kwa Mary-ka sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Conjunctive)
 J.-and M.-nom walk-acc do-past-dec
 'John and Mary took a walk together.' (Collective)
 'John took a walk and Mary took a walk.' (Distributive)

On the other hand, the comitative construction in (8), which is only minimally different from (7) on the surface, is not ambiguous and allows only a collective reading, where John and Mary are together taking a walk. The sentence is infelicitous under a distributive reading.

- (8) John-i Mary-wa sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Comitative)
 J.-nom M.-with walk-acc do-past-dec
 'John took a walk with Mary.' (Collective)

Second, the comparative construction is only possible with relational adjectives like *talu* 'different', *kat* 'same', and *pisusha* 'similar'.⁶

⁶ In regular comparative constructions, the comparative marker is *pota* 'than/from', not *wa*. For ease of exposition, I refer to the comparative constructions involving a *wa*-phrase simply as comparative constructions.

- (9) John-un Mary-wa talu/kat/pisusha-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different/same/similar-dec
 'John is different from/same as/similar to Mary.'

Of course, it is not the case that relational adjectives are confined to the comparative construction. They are also possible in the conjunctive construction as well.

- (10) John-kwa Mary-nun talu/kat/pisusha-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different/same/similar-dec
 'John and Mary are different/same/similar.'

On the other hand, we cannot construct a comitative construction, if the relational adjective is the main predicate, because the word order will be indistinguishable from that of (9). However, as shown in (6), repeated below as (11) with some modification, *tal* is possible in comitative constructions if it is attributive. Notably, (11) is analyzed as a comitative construction only when there is a pause after the *wa*-phrase, which leads to an external reading of *tal*.⁷

- (11) John-un Mary-wa \$ talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-with/from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 'John read a different book with Mary.' (E) (\$ - pause)

Third, it is noteworthy that there is a difference in the status of the *wa*-phrase in the three constructions in question. Here, the conjunctive and comitative constructions pattern alike, while the comparative construction behaves differently. That is, in the former constructions, the *wa*-phrase and its associate should be of the same type and refer to entities that are involved in the event or situation in some way. This is illustrated by (12), where both John and Mary are participants in the event of taking a walk. Thus, in both cases, if the sentence is true, it should be true that John took a walk and that Mary took a walk.⁸

7 This implies that comitative constructions do not allow an internal reading of *tal*. See below for further discussion.

8 As pointed out in (7) and (8), there is a slight difference in the interpretation of (12a) and (12b).

- (12) a. John-kwa Mary-nun sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Conjunctive)
 J.-and M.-top walk-acc do-past-dec
 ‘John and Mary took a walk.’
 b. John-un Mary-wa sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Comitative)
 J.-top M.-with walk-acc do-past-dec
 ‘John took a walk with Mary.’

The comparative construction is clearly different in this regard. For instance, in (13), the *wa*-phrase does not denote an entity that participates in the event. In fact, it is not even the element that is being considered for the comparison induced by *talū*.

- (13) John-un ecey-wa talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top yesterday-from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 (lit.) John read a book different from yesterday.’

The conjunctive and comitative counterparts are totally unacceptable if *John* is associated with *ecey* ‘yesterday’.

- (14) a. *John-kwa ecey-nun sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Conjunctive)
 J.-and yesterday-top walk-acc do-past-dec
 ‘John and yesterday took a walk.’
 b. *John-un ecey-wa sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta. (Comitative)
 J.-top yesterday-with walk-acc do-past-dec
 ‘John took a walk with yesterday.’

Given the discussion on (11), it is also noteworthy that placing a pause after the *wa*-phrase in (13) leads to an unacceptable sentence, which provides clear evidence that the comparative construction should be treated differently from the comitative construction

That is, (12a) is compatible with the situation where John and Mary took a walk together as well as the situation where they did so separately, while in (12b), only the former interpretation is available. See below for further discussion.

- (15) #John-un ecey-wa \$ talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top yesterday-from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘(lit.) # John read with yesterday a different book.’

3. The Interpretation of *Talu* ‘Different’

Let us now turn to the interpretative properties of *talū* in these constructions.

First, recall that the conjunctive construction allows an ambiguity between collective and distributive readings.

- (16) John-kwa Mary-ka sanchayk-ul ha-ess-ta.
 J.-and M.-nom walk-acc do-past-dec
 ‘John and Mary took a walk together.’ (Collective)
 ‘John took a walk and Mary took a walk.’ (Distributive)

Interestingly, when the predicate is *talū*, the sentence allows an ambiguity between internal and external readings.

- (17) John-kwa Mary-nun talu-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-dec
 ‘John and Mary are different from some salient person(s).’ (E)
 ‘John and Mary are different from each other.’ (I)

The same pattern is observed with *talū* in attributive position. Thus, (18) allows an ambiguity.

- (18) John-kwa Mary-nun talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John and Mary read a book that is different from some salient book.’ (E)
 ‘The book that John read is different from the book that Mary read.’ (I)

Recall that the internal reading of *different* requires a distributive licenser. Thus, the

fact that the conjunctive construction, which allows a distributive reading, allows an internal reading of *talū* is expected. Given this, I suggest that the collective and distributive readings of the conjunctive construction correlate with the external and internal readings of *talū*, respectively.

In the comparative construction, the *wa*-phrase functions as the standard of comparison, meaning that its associate is compared with it.⁹ This yields an internal reading of *talū*.

- (19) John-un Mary-wa talu-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different-dec
 ‘John is different from Mary.’ (I)

A more interesting case involves *talū* in attributive position, as in (6), repeated below.

- (20) John-un Mary-wa talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-with/from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read a book with Mary that was different from some salient
 book.’ (E)
 ‘John read a book that was different from the book that Mary
 read.’ (I)

Recall that what disambiguates a sentence like (20) is the presence or absence of a pause between the *wa*-phrase and *talū*, which I assume correlates with a structural break between the two elements. Crucially, if there is such a pause, the sentence is interpreted as a comitative construction, where *talū* receives an external reading. Without a pause, *talū* receives an internal reading. In this case, the comparison induced by *talū* involves the book that John read and the book that Mary read.

- (21) a. John-un Mary-wa \$ talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-with different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read a book with Mary that was different from some salient book.’ (E)

⁹ But, of course, we saw cases like (13), to which I turn below.

- b. John-un Mary-wa talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 'John read a book that was different from the book that Mary read.' (I)

Placing a pause between the *wa*-phrase and *tal**u* is not the only way to disambiguate the attributive *tal**u* in contexts like (20). An intervening matrix clause material can do the same, so that if the *wa*-phrase is separated from *tal**u* by it, the internal reading, which is indicative of the comparative construction, disappears. Only an external reading is available, which means that only a comitative parse is available.

- (22) John-un Mary-wa ku secem-eyse talu-n chayk-ul
 J.-top M.-with that bookstore-at different-adn book-acc
 ilk-ess-ta.
 read-past-dec
 'John read with Mary at that bookstore a book that was different
 from some salient book.' (E)

The fact that the *wa*-phrase is separate from *tal**u* in the comitative construction is also revealed by the fact that their order can be reversed, as shown in (23). It is crucial that in such contexts, the sentence only allows an external reading of *tal**u*. This in turn means that for a comparative parse to be available, the *wa*-phrase must precede *tal**u*.

- (23) John-un talu-n nal Mary-wa chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top different-adn day M.-with book-acc read-past-dec
 'John read a book with Mary on a day that is different from some salient
 day.' (E)

To summarize, below is the important observations made in this section concerning the interpretation of *tal**u* in the three types of constructions in question.

- (24) a. The conjunctive construction allows external and internal readings of *tal**u*.

- b. The comitative construction only allows an external reading of *talū*.
- c. The comparative construction only allows an internal reading of *talū*.
- d. In the comitative construction, the *wa*-phrase is structurally separate from *talū*, while it belongs to the same constituent with *talū* in the comparative construction.

4. Additional Structural Properties of *Talū*

Before moving on to propose an analysis of the sentences involving *talū*, there are a few other properties worth pointing out, especially, in relation to the *talū* comparative construction. More specifically, I consider in this section the structural status of the *wa*-phrase in *talū* comparative constructions and show that this element is not a direct complement of *talū*, though its occurrence is indeed determined by the latter. I also show that an additional element may co-occur with *talū* (as well as the *wa*-phrase) specifying the nature of comparison. I argue that this also has implications for the proper structural analysis of *talū* comparatives. I also show that *talū* comparatives are quite similar to regular comparatives, which I believe makes it reasonable (at least to try) to extend existing analyses of regular comparatives to the former. This little diversion is necessary because the properties examined here provide an important background for the analysis proposed in subsequent sections.

4.1 The Status of the *Wa*-phrase

It is reasonable that in the comparative construction, the occurrence of the *wa*-phrase, which denotes the standard of comparison, is dependent on *talū*. First, the comparative construction is only possible with the relational adjectives *talū* ‘different’, *kat* ‘same’, and *pisusha* ‘similar’, which provides the main motivation to assume that these adjectives determine the occurrence of the *wa*-phrase. Second, we saw that separating the *wa*-phrase from *talū* leads to a different type of construction, indicating that these elements have a close relationship in the comparative construction. Third, although the word order does not tell us much in the case of Korean, because arguments and adjuncts all precede their hosts, the *than-/from*-phrase in English consistently follows the comparative adjective, reflecting its complementhood. This state of affairs makes it plausible that the *wa*-phrase is the complement of *talū*.

However, there is reason to believe that the *wa*-phrase is not directly in the complement position of *talū*. For instance, modifiers of *talū* can be placed between the *wa*-phrase and *talū*.

- (25) John-un Mary-wa yakkan talu-ta.
 J.-top M.-from a.bit different-dec
 ‘John is a bit different from Mary.’

Other adverbial expressions like *cokum* ‘a little’, *manhi* ‘a lot’, *acwu* ‘very’, *emchengnakey* ‘hugely’, *wancenhi* ‘completely’, etc. can also be placed between the *wa*-phrase and *talū* in (25). If the *wa*-phrase were the complement of *talū*, it would be difficult to explain how these elements can be placed in-between it and *talū*.

Furthermore, recall that separating the *wa*-phrase and *talū* by a matrix clause element leads to a structural change so that the sentence is parsed as a comitative construction with an external reading. However, that is not the case with the modifiers of *talū*. Even though the *wa*-phrase is separated from *talū* by an intervening modifier, *talū* can still receive an internal reading, which indicates that a comparative parse is available here.

- (26) John-un Mary-wa yakkan talu-n chayk-ul
 J.-top M.-with/from a.bit different-adn book-acc
 ilk-ess-ta.
 read-past-dec
 ‘John read with Mary a book that is a bit different from some salient book.’ (E)
 ‘John read a book that is a bit different from the book that Mary read.’ (I)

Two important points from this discussion: first, the *wa*-phrase is not directly in the complement position of *talū*, although it is reasonable to assume that its occurrence is dependent on *talū* in some way; second, the nature of the intervening element between *talū* and the *wa*-phrase matters for the disambiguation of *talū* sentences.

4.2 The RC-Phrase

In sentences like (27a), the two DPs are compared with respect to a salient property in the discourse. The property in question can be realized overtly and describe the aspect in which the coordinated DPs are compared, as in (27b). (For ease of exposition, I will refer to the element in question as an “RC-phrase”, where RC stands for the “restrictor of comparison”).

- (27) a. Salt and sugar are different.
b. Salt and sugar are different in texture.

In equivalent contexts in Korean, the RC-phrase is realized as an optional nominative DP. Notably, the interpretative pattern of *talū* remains the same as in sentences without the RC-phrase. For instance, the conjunctive construction in (28) involving an RC-phrase yields both external and internal readings.

- (28) John-kwa Mary-nun seng-i talu-ta. (Conjunctive)
J.-and M.-top family.name-nom different-dec
‘John and Mary have a different family name than some salient family name.’(E)
‘John’s family name is different from Mary’s family name.’ (I)

Similarly, an RC-phrase is also possible in the comparative construction, and *talū* receives an internal reading.

- (29) John-un Mary-wa seng-i talu-ta. (Comparative)
J.-top M.-from family.name-nom different-dec
‘John’s family name is different from Mary’s family name.’ (I)

When *talū* is in attributive position along with an RC-phrase, the sentence is ambiguous and can be disambiguated by a pause after the *wa*-phrase, just as in sentences without the RC-phrase. As before, with a pause after the *wa*-phrase, the sentence is comitative and allows an external reading, while without a pause, it is comparative and allows an internal reading.

- (30) John-un Mary-wa ceymok-i talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top M.-from title-nom different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read with Mary a book whose title was different from that
 of some salient book.’ (E)
 ‘John read a book whose title was different from the book that
 Mary read.’ (I)

Note incidentally that in all these cases, the RC-phrase comes between the *wa*-phrase and *tal**u*, similarly to the modifiers of *tal**u* discussed in Section 4.1, again confirming that the *wa*-phrase is not in the complement position of *tal**u* in comparatives.

4.3 Similarities between *Talu* Sentences and Regular Comparatives

As mentioned several times by now, the standard assumption about *different* sentences is that they are comparatives. In Korean, there are indeed several similarities between *tal**u* sentences and regular comparatives. For instance, a special morpheme, namely, *pota*, is used to mark the standard of comparison.

- (31) John-i Mary-pota khu-ta.
 J.-nom M.-than big-dec
 ‘John is bigger than Mary.’

The *pota*-phrase can be omitted when the standard of comparison can be retrieved from the context, and so can the *wa*-phrase in *tal**u* sentences.

- (32) a. John-i khu-ta.
 J.-nom big-dec
 ‘John is bigger (than some salient person/thing in the discourse).’
 b. John-un talu-ta.
 J.-top different-dec
 ‘John is different (from some salient person/thing in the discourse).’

Regular comparatives also allow an adverbial or an RC-phrase to occur between the *pota*-phrase and the comparative adjective. Note that the RC-phrase is realized as an optional nominative DP, just like in *tal**u* sentences.

- (33) a. John-i Mary-pota yakkan khu-ta.
 J.-nom M.-than a.bit big-dec
 ‘John is a bit bigger than Mary.’
 b. John-i Mary-pota khi-ka khu-ta.
 J.-nom M.-than height-nom big-dec
 ‘John is bigger than Mary in height.’

As is well-known, comparative sentences can involve ellipsis (Bresnan 1975, Hazout 1995, Kennedy 2002, Kennedy and Merchant 2000, Lechner 2001, Lee 2002, Napoli 1983). For instance, the *pota*-phrase in (34) is not the element that is directly in comparison. Rather, what the *pota*-phrase denotes is the number of books John read yesterday, which is indicative of ellipsis.

- (34) John-i ecey-pota mahn-un chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-nom yesterday-than many-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read more books than yesterday.’

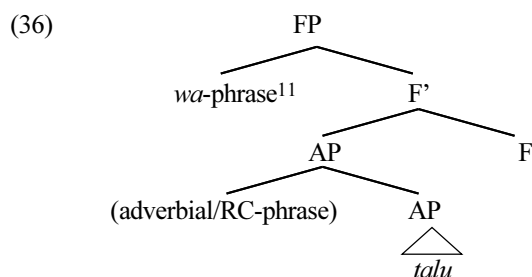
The same pattern is observed in *tal* sentences. Thus, in (35), the element that is marked with *wa* is not the element that is in comparison. Rather, what it denotes is the book that John read yesterday. (I will return to the derivation of sentences like (35) in the next section.)

- (35) John-un ecey-wa talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-top yesterday-from different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John read a book that is different from the book he read yesterday.’

5. Analysis: *Talu* in Comparatives

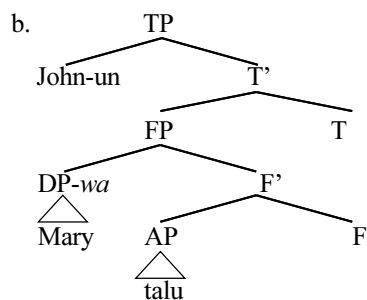
Now, we have enough background to propose an analysis of *tal* sentences. First, recall that *tal* can be modified by an adverbial or an RC-phrase, which can separate it from the *wa*-phrase. Given this, I propose that the *wa*-phrase is not directly located in the complement position of *tal*, although its occurrence depends on it. More specifically, I suggest that the relationship between *tal* and the *wa*-phrase is mediated by a functional

category FP, to the effect that the *wa*-phrase occurs in SpecFP, while the AP headed by *tal**u* occurs in the complement position of FP.¹⁰ This allows us to capture the fact that the *wa*-phrase and *tal**u* behave as a single constituent, so that they cannot be separated by a matrix clause element. Concerning the modifiers of *tal**u* and the RC-phrase, I assume that they are adjoined to AP. This correctly captures the fact that these elements can occur between *tal**u* and the *wa*-phrase. Putting these together, the basic structural configuration involving *tal**u* will be as in (36).



Given this, comparative constructions involving *tal**u* as the main predicate are analyzed as in (37). (In the tree diagrams below, irrelevant details are ignored.)

- (37) a. John-un Mary-wa talu-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different-dec
 ‘John is different from Mary.’ (I)

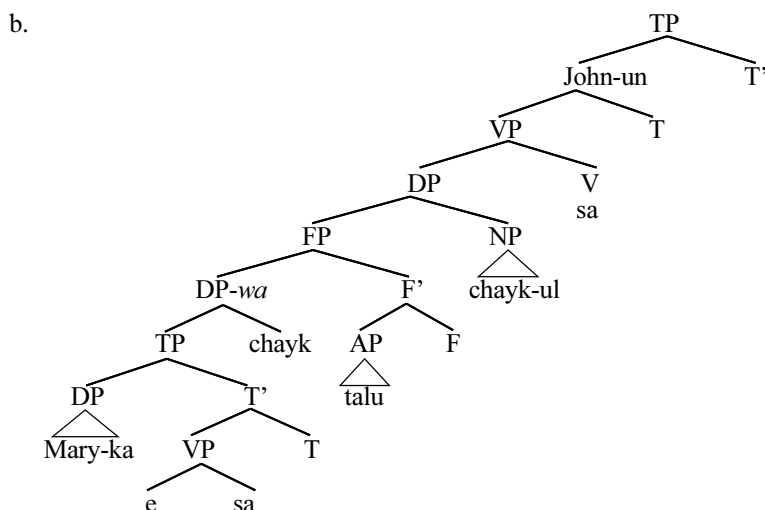


10 One possibility is that the *wa*-phrase is generated in the complement position of *tal**u* and is obligatorily moved to SpecFP. However, what is important for us is that the *wa*-phrase is located in SpecFP eventually, whether it involves base-generation or movement. Thus, I will not be concerned with this issue any further.

11 I assume that *wa* is attached to elements that occupy SpecFP.

Comparative constructions involving *talū* in attributive position are analyzed as in (38).¹²

- (38) a. John-un Mary-wa talu-n chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 J.-top M.-from different-adn book-acc buy-past-dec
 ‘John bought a book that is different from the book that Mary bought.’ (I)



Note crucially that the structure in (38b) does not directly generate the string in (38a). Note also that the *Mary* in (38a) does not denote the standard of comparison, i.e., it is not in comparison with the book that John read. Rather, it is the book that Mary read that is in comparison. This indicates that the sentence involves ellipsis. I propose that an important property of relational adjectives like *talū* is that they trigger ellipsis—in particular, material in SpecFP can undergo ellipsis. Furthermore, essentially following Charnavel (2015), I suggest that the ellipsis in question can target the whole *wa*-phrase or just a part of it. Thus, (38a) is derived from (38b) by partial ellipsis of SpecFP, as illustrated in (39).^{13,14}

12 The analysis in (38b) is reminiscent of Sudo’s (2015) analysis of regular comparative sentences in Japanese, where the relation between the comparative adjective and the standard of comparison is mediated by DegP, which occurs in the same position as FP. Note that although *different* sentences are assumed to be comparatives, it remains to be seen if degree is involved in the comparison here. The usual assumption is that *different* compares individuals. I use FP to remain neutral about this issue.

- (39) John-un [DP [FP [DP Mary-~~kae~~ sa-n — ~~chayk~~]-wa talu-n]
 J.-top M.-nom buy-adn book-from different-adn
 chayk-ul] sa-ss-ta.
 book-acc buy-past-dec

This analysis also extends to sentences like (35), repeated below as (40a). Here, too, the DP hosting *wa* does not denote the standard of comparison. The derivation of (40a) is given in (40b).

- (40) a. John-un ecey-wa talu-n chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 J.-top yesterday-from different-adn book-acc buy-past-dec
 ‘John bought a book that is different from the book that he bought
 yesterday.’ (I)
 b. John-un [DP [FP [DP ecey ku-ka — e sa-n — ~~chayk~~]-wa
 J.-top yesterday he-nom buy-adn book-from
 talu-n chayk-ul sa-ss-ta
 different-adn book-acc buy-past-dec

It is also significant that unlike in (38a), the *wa*-phrase in (40a) does not allow a comitative parse, because the DP hosting *wa* is not of the same type as its associate *John*. Therefore, it is correctly predicted that (40a) allows only an internal reading.

In *tal* sentences where the standard of comparison, i.e., the *wa*-phrase, is not overtly realized, ellipsis applies to the whole SpecFP. That was the case in (32b), repeated below as (41a). Its derivation is given in (41b).

- (41) a. John-un talu-ta.
 J.-top different-dec
 ‘John is different (from some salient person/thing in the discourse).’

13 Note that (38a) also allows an external reading of *tal*. I will come back to this in the next section.

14 An anonymous reviewer points out that in (39), the deleted elements do not form a constituent. Though this is a legitimate question to ask, discussing the nature of deletion is beyond the scope of this paper. Nonetheless, it is worth pointing out that several researchers have argued recently that non-constituent deletion is possible in various languages including Korean. See Abe 2015, 2016, An 2007, 2016, Ott and Struckmeier 2016, to appear for relevant discussion.

- b. [[_{TP} John-un[_{FP} [_{waP} ÐP-wa] [_{F'} [_{AP} talu]]]]-ta]¹⁵
J.-top different-dec

Finally, in *talu* sentences where an overtly realized *wa*-phrase directly denotes the standard of comparison, no ellipsis takes place. This is the basic type of the comparative construction, which allows an internal reading of *talu* only.

- (42) John-un Mary-wa talu-ta.
J.-top M.-from different-dec
'John is different from Mary.' (I)

An important consequence of this analysis is that an external reading of *talū* is obtained when the *wa*-phrase denoting the standard of comparison is not overtly expressed due to deletion, while an internal reading of *talū* is obtained whenever a *wa*-phrase is overtly realized. This means that there is actually no structural difference between cases receiving an internal reading of *talū* and those receiving an external reading of *talū*. In a sense, there is no genuine “external” reading of *talū*. The element denoting the standard of comparison is always “internal” to the sentence, though its surface realization can vary. Given this, however, it should be pointed out that due to the ambiguity of the *wa*-phrase, i.e., that it can also be used as a conjunctive or a comitative phrase, an overtly realized *wa*-phrase does not always denote the standard of comparison and guarantee the availability of an internal reading. I turn to cases like this in the next section.

6. Conjunctive and Comitative Constructions with *Talu*

Let us now turn to conjunctive and comitative constructions involving *talū*. First, recall that a sentence like (38a), repeated below as (43), also allows an external reading of *talū*. I assume that in this case, a comitative parse applies, which is signaled by a pause after the *wa*-phrase. Furthermore, I assume that under the comitative parse of (43), the *wa*-phrase is a constituent of the matrix clause and does

15 Following Charnavel (2015), I assume that the DP that is associated with *wa* in the underlying structure is anaphoric, which captures the external reading of (41a).

not have any direct relation with *talū* (or FP for that matter), which is corroborated by the fact that it can be separated from *talū* by an intervening matrix clause element, as shown in (44). (See also Kim 2001 for some general discussion on the status of the *wa*-phrase in comitative constructions.)

- (43) John-un Mary-wa talu-n chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 J.-top M.-with different-adn book-acc buy-past-dec
 ‘John bought with Mary a book that is different from a salient book in the discourse.’ (E)
- (44) John-un Mary-wa i secem-eyse talu-n chayk-ul
 J.-top M.-with this bookstore-at different-adn book-acc
 sa-ss-ta.
 buy-past-dec
 ‘John bought with Mary at this bookstore a book that is different from a salient book in the discourse.’ (E)

This means that in cases like (43) and (44), the DP that is marked with *wa* actually has nothing to do with the standard of comparison, i.e., it is not a “real” *wa*-phrase, so to speak.¹⁶ Rather, the standard of comparison in SpecFP undergoes total deletion in these cases. This is corroborated by the availability of a sentence like (45), where an additional *wa*-phrase occurs. Crucially, the new *wa*-phrase in (45) does denote the standard of comparison, and the sentence yields an internal reading, as correctly predicted.

- (45) John-un Mary-wa ecey-wa talu-n chayk-ul
 J.-top M.-with yesterday-from different-adn book-acc
 sa-ss-ta.
 buy-past-dec
 ‘John bought with Mary a book that is different from the book they bought yesterday.’ (I)

Furthermore, as the current analysis predicts, (45) becomes totally ungrammatical if the “real” *wa*-phrase, i.e., *ecey-wa* ‘from yesterday’, is separated from *talū* by an intervening matrix clause element, as shown in (46).

¹⁶ Note that the *wa* in (43) and (44) is glossed as *with*.

- (46) *John-un Mary-wa ecey-wa i secem-eyse talu-n
 J.-top M.-with yesterday-from this bookstore-at different-adn
 chayk-ul sa-ss-ta.
 book-acc buy-past-dec

Let us now turn to conjunctive constructions. I repeat the relevant examples below.

- (47) a. John-kwa Mary-nun talu-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-dec
 ‘John and Mary are different from some salient person(s).’ (E)
 ‘John and Mary are different from each other.’ (I)
 b. John-kwa Mary-nun talu-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-adn book-acc read-past-dec
 ‘John and Mary read a book that is different from some salient book.’ (E)
 ‘The book that John read is different from the book that Mary read.’ (I)

First, things are straightforward for cases where *tal**u* receives an external reading. That is, the *wa*-phrase in SpecFP, which denotes the standard of comparison, undergoes deletion. As before, the deleted *wa*-marked DP anaphorically refers to a salient entity in the discourse, which captures the external reading.

- (48) a. John-kwa Mary-nun [_{FP} ~~DP-wa~~ talu]-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-dec
 b. John-kwa Mary-nun [_{FP} ~~DP-wa~~ talu]-n chayk-ul ilk-ess-ta.
 J.-and M.-top different-adn book-acc read-past-dec

However, things are less clear for cases where *tal**u* receives an internal reading. Intuitively, the coordinated DPs should somehow correspond to the two arguments that *tal**u* compares. I speculate that an elaborate semantics of coordinated DPs in combination with that of *tal**u* would be able to achieve that. Additionally, it also seems worth exploring the possibility that the deleted DP in cases like (48) is structurally more complex in a way that makes the two conjoined DPs to be

compared with respect to each other, though I put aside the details for future research for now.

7. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have examined properties of the relational adjective *talu* ‘different’, which has not been investigated systematically in the generative literature on Korean. What makes *talu* interesting and unique, unlike its equivalents in other languages, is that it is accompanied by a *wa*-phrase, which is realized in three different ways interacting with different interpretations of *talu*. I have argued that through a proper syntactic analysis of *talu* in combination with deletion *à la* Charnavel (2015), we can capture the interpretative patterns of *talu* correctly.

The gist of the current analysis is that the internal-external distinction of the interpretation of *talu* correlates with the presence or absence of an overtly realized *wa*-phrase denoting the standard of comparison, which is determined by deletion. More specifically, if a *wa*-phrase is overtly realized, *talu* receives an internal reading, while a covert *wa*-phrase leads to an external reading. If this is correct, then there is actually no structural difference between cases receiving an internal reading and those that receive an external reading. In a sense, there is no real “external” reading, as the *wa*-phrase, denoting the standard of comparison, is always “internal” to the sentence, though its surface realization can vary. What makes the state of affairs more interesting is the fact that the *wa*-phrase is ambiguous in that it can also be used as a conjunctive or a comitative phrase as well as a comparative phrase denoting the standard of comparison. Crucially, I have shown that the current analysis makes correct predictions as to where an internal or an external reading is obtained.

I should mention however that uncovering thoroughly the nature of *talu* (or more generally, that of the three constructions involving *wa*-phrases) takes more space and time than I could afford in this paper, because that requires exploring the many elements in question from both syntactic and semantic (and possibly other) perspectives. For instance, it would be instructive to see closely how the compositional semantics of *talu* can be handled on the basis of the syntactic analysis proposed in this paper. What I presented in this paper is just the initial results from

this endeavor, while I had to leave aside several issues for future research. I refer the interested reader to my work in progress (An, in progress) and references therein for further discussion.

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