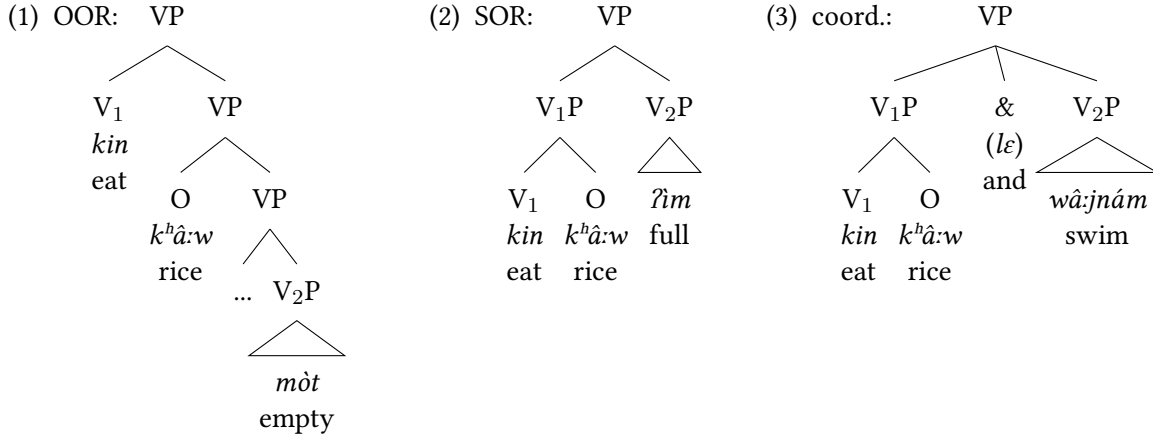# Subject- and object-oriented transitive resultatives in Thai
Woraprat MANOWANG & Wenkai TAY (UCL)

Claim: *Contra* Muansuwan (2002) and Sudmuk (2005), subject- and object-oriented transitive resultatives do not have the same structure. Object-oriented resultatives (OORs) have a right-branching structure (1) whereas subject-oriented resultatives (SORs) have a left-branching structure (2). Both OORs and SORs are distinct from coordinate structures (3).

(1) OOR, (2) SOR, (3) coord. — syntactic trees:

(1) OOR: VP → V$_1$ *kin* 'eat', VP → O *kʰâːw* 'rice', VP → ... V$_2$P → *mòt* 'empty'

(2) SOR: VP → V$_1$P [V$_1$ *kin* 'eat', O *kʰâːw* 'rice'], V$_2$P *ʔìm* 'full'

(3) coord.: VP → V$_1$P [V$_1$ *kin* 'eat', O *kʰâːw* 'rice'], & (*lɛ*) 'and', V$_2$P *wâːjnám* 'swim'

Data: I. O and V2 can be coordinated in two OORs, but not in two SORs.

(4) *ʔkʰwaːj   kʰwìt [T. bàːtɕèp] (lɛ́) [S. taːj]*
   buffalo butt   T. injured   and S. dead
   'The buffalo butted T. injured and S. dead.'
                                    (✓OOR+OOR)

(5) **T. kin [kʰâːw ʔìm] (lɛ́) [lâw   maw]*
   T. eat rice   full   and whiskey drunk
   Intended: 'T. became full from eating rice and drunk from drinking whiskey.'   (✗SOR+SOR)

II. O and V2 can be topicalised in OORs but not SORs or coordinate structures.

(6) *[kʰâːw {mòt/   *ʔìm/   *lɛ́   wâːjnám}]$_i$ ná, tʰanaː kin e$_i$*
   rice   empty full   and swim   PRT Thana eat
   'Thana ate *the rice {empty/ and became full/ and swam}*.'   (✓OOR, ✗SOR, ✗coord.)

III. V2 can be independently modified in SORs or coordinate structures but not OORs.

(7) *tʰanaː kin kʰâːw {*mòt/   ʔìm/   lɛ́)   wâːjnám} tʰáŋwan*
   Thana eat rice   empty full   and swim   all.day
   'Thana ate the rice {empty/ and became full/ and swam} all day.'   (✗OOR, ✓SOR, ✓coord.)

IV. A topic can be related to an empty category in O in OORs and SORs, but not coordinate structures (Sudmuk 2005).

(8) *[kʰâːw]$_i$ ná, tʰanaː kin e$_i$ {mòt/   ʔìm/   *lɛ́   wâːjnám}*
   rice   PRT Thana eat   empty full   and swim
   'Thana ate the *rice* {empty/ and became full/ and swam}.'   (✓OOR, ✓SOR, ✗coord.)

V. Quantifiers and their classifiers can float rightward in OORs and SORs but not coordinate structures.

(9) *tʰanaː kin kʰâːw e$_i$ {mòt/   ʔìm/   *lɛ́   wâːjnám} [sǎːm ɕaːn]$_i$*
   Thana eat rice   empty full   and swim   three plate
   'Thana ate three plates of rice {empty/ and became full/ and swam}.'   (✓OOR, ✓SOR, ✗coord.)

VI. V2 can be used to answer polar questions with OORs and SORs but not coordinate structures.

(10) *Q: tʰanaː kin kʰâːw {mòt/   ʔìm/   lɛ́   wâːjnám} rɯ̌ɯ A: {mòt/   ʔìm/   *wâːjnám}*
    thana eat rice   empty full   and swim   or   empty full   swim
    Q: 'Did T. eat the rice {empty/ and become full/ and swim}?' A: 'Yes.'   (✓OOR, ✓SOR, ✗coord.)

Conclusion: Our proposal naturally predicts that OORs and SORs have different structural and interpretive properties, unlike Muansuwan (2002) and Sudmuk (2005) who propose that OORs and SORs have the same structure.

References: Muansuwan 2002. Verb complexes in Thai. SUNY Buffalo dissertation. ● Sudmuk 2005. The syntax and semantics of SVCs in Thai. UT Austin dissertation.