

Subject- and object-oriented
transitive resultatives in Thai
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Woraprat Manowang & Wenkai Tay

Department of Linguistics, UCL

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Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives in English

Object-oriented resultative (OOR):

- (1) Tracey wiped the table clean.
- 

OOR

Subject-oriented resultative (SOR):

- (2) Tracey wiped the table happy.
- 

SOR

Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives in Mandarin

(3) *Zhāngsān qí- lèi- le mǎ.*
 Zhangsan ride- tired- PFV horse

(i) 'The horse became tired as a result of Zhangsan riding it.'

OOB

(ii) %'Zhangsan became tired as a result of riding the horse.'

SOR

(adapted from Li 1990:187)

Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives in Thai

- (4) *t^hána: k^hì: má: nìaj*
 Thana ride horse tired
-

(i) 'The horse became tired as a result of Thana riding it.'

OOOR

(ii) 'Thana became tired as a result of riding the horse.'

SOR

(adapted from Sudmuk 2005:65)

Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives

	English	Thai	Mandarin
OOO	✓	✓	✓
SOR	✗	✓	✓

Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives

	English	Thai	Mandarin
OOR	✓	✓	✓
SOR	X	X	✓
...	X	X	✓

Claim: OORs and SORs are distinct

(5) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* mòt

Thana eat rice empty

‘The rice became empty as a result of Thana eating it.’

OOOR

(6) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* ?im

Thana eat rice full

‘Thana became full as a result of eating rice.’

SOR

(7) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* lé wâ:jnëm

Thana eat rice and swim

‘Thana ate rice and swam.’

COORDINATION

Claim: OORs and SORs have distinct interpretations

V2 can be independently modified by a *for*-adverbial in SORs and coordinate structures but not OORs.

- (8) **t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* môt *t^háŋwan*
 Thana eat rice empty all.day

Intended: ‘Thana ate rice and as a result the rice has been empty all day.’

OOOR

- (9) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* ʔim *t^háŋwan*
 Thana eat rice full all.day

‘Thana ate rice and as a result he was full all day.’

SOR

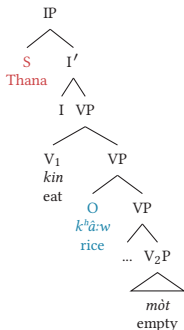
- (10) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* (lé) *wâ:jnám* *t^háŋwan*
 Thana eat rice and swim all.day

‘Thana ate rice and swam all day.’

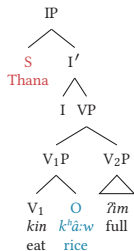
COORDINATION

Claim: OORs and SORs have distinct structures

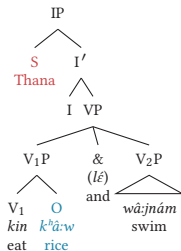
(11) **OOR**



(12) **SOR**



(13) **COORDINATION**



Diagnostics

	OOR	SOR	COORDINATION
I. Coordination of O and V2			
II. O and V2 in topic position			
III. Movement of O			
IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl			
V. Verb-echo answers			

I. Coordination of O and V2

O and V2 can be coordinated in two OORs.

- (14) *k^hwa:j* *k^hwìt* *tɕ^há:ŋ* *bà:ttɕèp*
 buffalo butt elephant injured

‘The elephant became injured from the buffalo butting (it).’

OOR

- (15) *k^hwa:j* *k^hwìt* *ʔua:* *ta:j*
 buffalo butt cow dead

‘The cow died from the buffalo butting (it).’

OOR

- (16) *?k^hwa:j* *k^hwìt* [*tɕ^há:ŋ* *bà:ttɕèp*] (*lé*) [*ʔua:* *ta:j*]
 buffalo butt elephant injured and cow dead

‘The elephant became injured and the cow died from the buffalo butting (them).’

OOR

+

OOR

I. Coordination of O and V2

O and V2 cannot be coordinated in two SORs.

(17) *t^hána:* *kin* *k^hâ:w* *?im*

Thana eat rice full

‘Thana became full from eating rice.’

SOR

(18) *t^hána:* *kin* *lâw* *maw*

Thana eat whiskey drunk

‘Thana became drunk from drinking whiskey.’

SOR

(19) **t^hána:* *kin* [*k^hâ:w* *?im*] (*lé*) [*lâw* *maw*]

Thana eat rice full and whiskey drunk

Intended: ‘Thana became full from eating rice and drunk from drinking whiskey.’

SOR

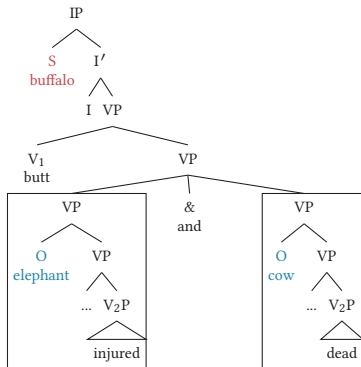
+

SOR

I. Coordination of O and V2

This pattern is explained if O and V2 form a constituent in an OOR but not in an SOR.

(20) OOR + OOR



II. O and V2 in topic position

O and V2 can appear in topic position in OORs but not SORs or coordinate structures.

- (21) [*tɕʰá:ŋ* *bà:ttɕèp*]_i *ná*, *kʰwá:j* *kʰwìt* *e_i*
 elephant injured PRT buffalo butt

‘The elephant became injured as a result of the buffalo butting (it).
 (It wasn’t that the cow died.)’

OOO

- (22) **[kʰâ:w* *ʔim]*_i *ná*, *tʰána:* *kin* *e_i*
 rice full PRT Thana eat

Intended: ‘Thana became full from eating rice.
 (It’s not that he’s drunk from drinking whiskey.)’

SOR

- (23) **[kʰâ:w* (*lɛ́*) *wâ:jnám]*_i *ná*, *tʰána:* *kin* *e_i*
 rice and swim PRT Thana eat

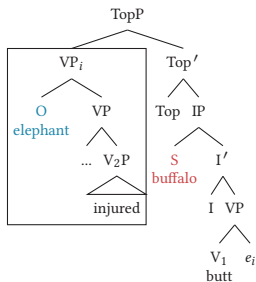
Intended: ‘Thana ate rice and swam.’

COORDINATION

II. O and V2 in topic position

This pattern is explained if O and V2 form a constituent in OORs but not SORs or coordinate structures.

(24) OOR



III. Movement of O

O can be extracted out of V1 via relative clause formation in OORs but not in SORs or coordinate structures.

- (25) *nî: kî: k^hâ:w_i t^hî: t^hána: kin t_i mòt*
 this is rice that Thana eat empty

‘This is the rice that Thana ate empty.’

OOR

- (26) *??nî: kî: k^hâ:w_i t^hî: t^hána: kin t_i ðim*
 this is rice that Thana eat full

Intended: ‘This is the rice that Thana ate and became full.’

SOR

- (27) **nî: kî: k^hâ:w_i t^hî: t^hána: kin t_i (lé) wâ:jnám*
 this is rice that Thana eat and swim

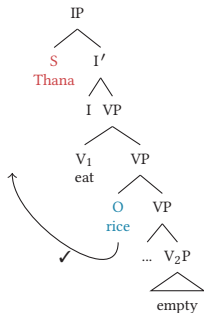
Intended: ‘This is the rice that Thana ate and swam.’

COORDINATION

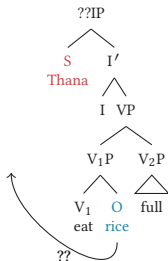
III. Movement of O

This pattern is explained if O can move out of a complement but not an adjunct or one conjunct of a coordinate structure.

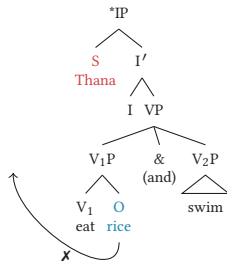
(28) **OOOR**



(29) **SOR**



(30) **COORDINATION**



Interim conclusion

	OOO	SOR	COORDINATION
I. Coordination of O and V2	?	X	-
II. O and V2 in topic position	✓	X	X
III. Movement of O	✓	??	X
IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl			
V. Verb-echo answers			

IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

In Thai, a numeral and classifier phrase can be discontinuous from the noun it is associated with.

- (31) *Tát hâj năŋsǐ thúk lêm Bill*
 Tat give book every CL Bill
 ‘Tat gave all of the books to Bill.’

(Jenks 2011:266)

- (32) *Tát hâj năŋsǐ Bill thúk lêm*
 Tat give book Bill every CL
 ‘Tat gave all of the books to Bill.’

(Jenks 2011:266)

IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

A numeral and classifier phrase can be discontinuous from O in OORs.

(33) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n* *mòt*

Thana eat rice three plate empty

‘There was one event in which Thana ate three plates of rice and as a result the rice became empty.’

OOR

(34) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *mòt* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n*

Thana eat rice empty three plate

‘There were three events in which Thana ate one plate of rice and as a result the rice became empty.’

OOR

IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

A numeral and classifier phrase can be discontinuous from O in SORs.

(35) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n* *ʔim*

Thana eat rice three plate full

‘There was **one event** in which Thana ate three plates of rice and as a result he became full.’

*‘There were **three events** in which Thana ate one plate of rice and as a result he became full.’

SOR

(36) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *ʔim* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n*

Thana eat rice full three plate

*‘There was **one event** in which Thana ate three plates of rice and as a result he became full.’

‘There were **three events** in which Thana ate one plate of rice and as a result he became full.’

SOR

IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

A numeral and classifier phrase cannot be discontinuous from O in coordinate structures.

- (37) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* *să:m* *tɕa:n* (lé) *wâ:jnëm*
 Thana eat rice three plate and swim

‘There was **one event** in which Thana ate three plates of rice and swam.’

COORDINATION

- (38) **t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* (lé) *wâ:jnëm* *să:m* *tɕa:n*
 Thana eat rice and swim three plate

Intended: ‘There were **three events** in which Thana ate one plate of rice and swam.’

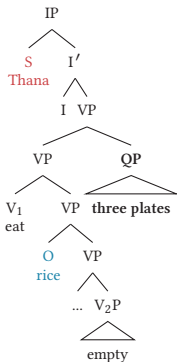
COORDINATION

IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

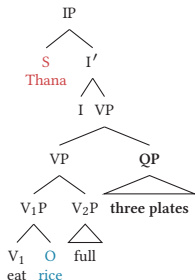
We assume that the Num+Cl phrase is an adverbial modifier.

This adverbial modifier can be associated with O in an OOR or an SOR, but not with O in one conjunct of a coordinate structure.

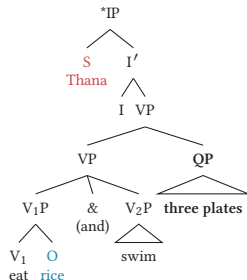
(39) OOR



(40) SOR



(41) COORDINATION



V. Verb-echo answers

V2 in OORs and SORs can be used as an answer to a polar question while V2 in coordinate structures cannot.

(42) *t^hána: kin k^hâ:w {mòt/ ʔim/ (lé) wâ:jnëm} rǎi*
 thana eat rice empty full and swim or

‘Did Thana {eat the rice empty/ eat and become full/ eat and swim}?’

(43) *{tɕ^hâj/ mòt}*
 right empty

‘Yes, (Thana ate the rice empty).’

OOR

(44) *{tɕ^hâj/ ʔim}*
 right full

‘Yes, (Thana ate rice and became full).’

SOR

(45) *{tɕ^hâj/ *wâ:jnëm}*
 right swim

‘Yes, (Thana ate rice and swam).’

COORDINATION

Conclusion

	OOR	SOR	COORDINATION
I. Coordination of O and V2	?	✗	–
II. O and V2 in topic position	✓	✗	✗
III. Movement of O	✓	??	✗
IV. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl	✓	✓	✗
V. Verb-echo answers	✓	✓	✗

Our proposal naturally predicts that OORs and SORs exhibit different structural properties, *contra* Muansuwan (2002) and Sudmuk (2005) who propose that OORs and SORs have the same structure.

Conclusion

	English	Thai	Mandarin
OOR	✓	✓	✓
SOR	X	X	✓
...	X	X	✓

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