

Subject- and object-oriented transitive resultatives in Thai

Resultatives: new approaches and renewed perspectives

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Motivation

Why do some languages have resultatives with very flexible argument realisation patterns?

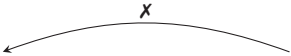
Argument structure in resultatives

The interpretation of arguments in a resultative is subject to constraints:

(1) Tracey wiped the table clean.



(2) Tracey wiped the table happy.



Direct Object Restriction

Direct Object Restriction (DOR)

A result phrase can only be predicated of the internal argument of the resultative.

(Simpson 1983; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995)

Subject-oriented resultatives (SORs)

English:

(3) *The baby_i cried[θ] awake *t_i*.

Mandarin:

(4) *Xiǎo bǎobao_i kū-xǐng-le t_i*.

little baby cry-awake-PFV

‘The little baby cried [herself] awake.’

(Huang 2006:7)

See Williams (2005) and Huang (2006).

Flexibility in Mandarin V-V resultatives

In Mandarin V-V resultatives, in an out-of-the-blue context, V1 may fail to project its agent...

- (5) *Yīfú xǐ-gānjìng-le.*
clothes wash-clean-PFV

‘The clothes got clean from washing [i.e. being washed].’ (Williams 2005:161)

...its theme...

- (6) *Ākiū tī-pò-le qiúxié.*
Akiu kick-break-PFV sneakers

‘The sneakers broke from Akiu kicking [something].’ (Zhang 2001:195)

...or both.

- (7) *%Qiúxié tī-pò-le.*
sneakers kick-break-PFV

‘The sneakers broke from [someone] kicking [something].’

Recap

- In English resultatives, V1 **must project** its arguments.
→ English only has (deep) object-oriented resultatives (OORs).
- In Mandarin V-V resultatives, V1 **never projects** any of its arguments.
→ Mandarin has OORs, (apparent) SORs, etc.
- (More on Wednesday...)

Puzzle: Much less flexibility in Thai resultatives...

In Thai resultatives, in an out-of-the-blue context, V1 seems not to be able to omit its agent...

- (8) **sâ* *sák* *sàʔàat*
 shirt wash clean

Intended: 'The shirt was washed clean.'

...its theme...

- (9) *tʰána:* *tè* *rɔːŋtʰá:w* *kʰà:t*
 Thana kick shoes torn

'The shoes became torn from Thana kicking [the shoes].'

Not: 'The shoes became torn from Thana kicking [something else, e.g. a football].'

...or both.

- (10) **rɔːŋtʰá:w* *tè* *kʰà:t*
 sneakers kick torn

Intended: 'The shoes became torn from [someone] kicking [something].'

Puzzle: ...but Thai has SORs

(11) *tɕʰán wîŋ nɪaj*

I run tired

'I ran until I was tired.'

(Muansuwan 2002:216)

(12) *tʰána: kʰi: má: nɪaj*

Thana ride horse tired

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

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

(adapted from Sudmuk 2005:65)

Claim: OORs and SORs have distinct structures

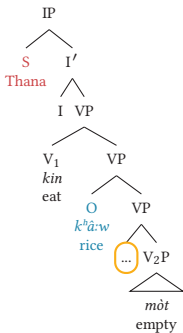
- (13) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* mòt
 Thana eat rice empty
 ‘The rice became empty as a result of Thana eating it.’ (OOR)
- (14) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* ?im
 Thana eat rice full
 ‘Thana became full as a result of eating rice.’ (SOR)
- (15) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* lé wâ:jnám
 Thana eat rice and swim
 ‘Thana ate rice and swam.’ (coordination)

Claim: OORs and SORs have distinct structures

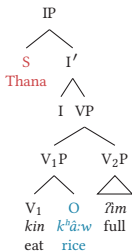
Thai has:

- satellite-framed resultative secondary predicates (=OORs)
- verb-framed “means constructions” (=SORs) (cf. Hopperdietzel 2020)

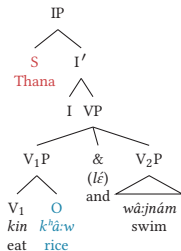
(16) OOR:



(17) SOR:



(18) coordination:



Independent modification of V2

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

- (19) **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.’ (OOR)

- (20) *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)

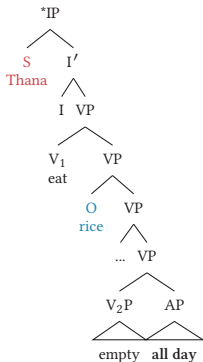
- (21) *t^hána*: kin k^hâ:w (lé) wâ:jnám t^háŋwan
 Thana eat rice and swim all.day

‘Thana ate rice and swam all day.’ (coordination)

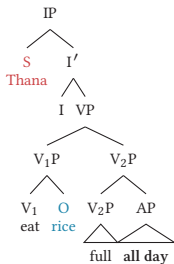
Independent modification of V2

This pattern is explained if a *for*-adverbial cannot modify a ‘become’ event in an OOR, but can modify a state in an SOR or an activity in a coordinate structure.

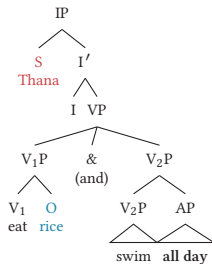
(22) OOR:



(23) SOR:



(24) coordination:



Diagnostics

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

I. Coordination of O and V2

O and V2 can be coordinated in two OORs.

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

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

(26) *k^hwa:j* *k^hwìt* *?ua:* *ta:j*
 buffalo butt cow dead

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

(27) *?k^hwa:j* *k^hwìt* [*tɕ^há:ŋ* *bà:ttɕèp*] (*lé*) [*?ua:* *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.

(28) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* *ʔim*

Thana eat rice full

‘Thana became full from eating rice.’

(SOR)

(29) *t^hána:* kin *lâw* *maw*

Thana eat whiskey drunk

‘Thana became drunk from drinking whiskey.’

(SOR)

(30) **t^hána:* kin [*k^hâ:w* *ʔim*] (lé) [*lâw* *maw*]

Thana eat rice full and whiskey drunk

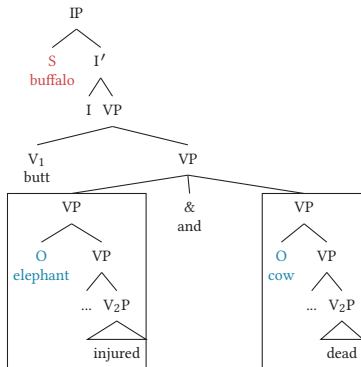
Intended: ‘Thana became full from eating rice and drunk from drinking whiskey.’

(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.

(31) 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.

- (32) [*tɕʰá:ŋ* *bà:ttɕèp*]_i *ná*, *kʰwa: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.)’ (OOR)

- (33) **[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)

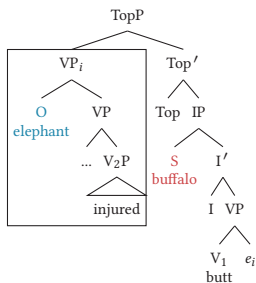
- (34) **[kʰâ:w* (*lé*) *wâ:jnám]*_i *ná*, *tʰána:* *kin* *e_i*
 rice and swim PRT Thana eat

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.

(35) 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.

- (36) *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)

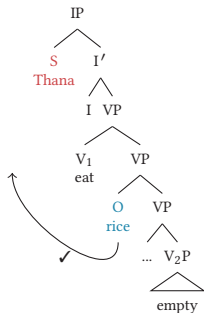
- (37) *??nî: kî: k^hâ:w_i t^hî: t^hána: kin t_i ðim*
 this is rice that Thana eat full
 Intended: ‘This is the rice that Thana ate and became full.’ (SOR)

- (38) **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)

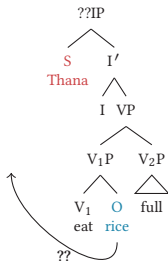
III. Movement of O

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

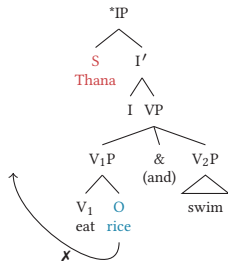
(39) OOR:



(40) SOR:



(41) coordination:



Interim conclusion

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

IV. O in topic position

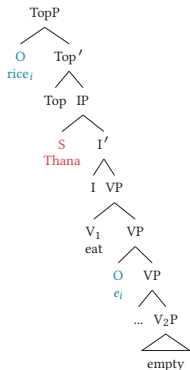
O can appear in topic position in OORs and SORs but not coordinate structures (Sudmuk 2005).

- (42) *k^hâ:w_i ná, t^hána: kin e_i mòt*
 rice PRT Thana eat empty
 ‘As for rice, Thana ate empty.’ (OOR)
- (43) *k^hâ:w_i ná, t^hána: kin e_i ?im*
 rice PRT Thana eat full
 ‘As for rice, Thana ate and became full.’ (SOR)
- (44) **k^hâ:w_i ná, t^hána: kin e_i (lé) wâ:jnám*
 rice PRT Thana eat and swim
 Intended: ‘As for rice, Thana ate and swam.’ (coordination)

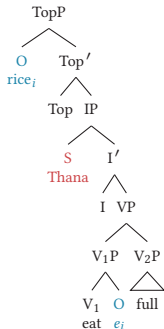
IV. O in topic position

This pattern is explained if a topic can be associated with an empty category in an OOR or an SOR but not in one conjunct of a coordinate structure.

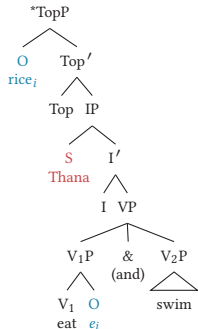
(45) OOR:



(46) SOR:



(47) coordination:



V. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

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

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

(Jenks 2011:266)

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

(Jenks 2011:266)

V. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

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

(50) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ: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.’

(51) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ: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.’

V. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

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

- (52) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n* *ʔim*
 Thanā eat rice three plate full

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

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

- (53) *tʰána:* kin *kʰâ:w* *ʔim* *sǎ:m* *tɕa:n*
 Thanā eat rice full three plate

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

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

V. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

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

(54) *t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* *să:m* *tɕa:n* (lé) *wâ:jnám*

Thana eat rice three plate and swim

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

(55) **t^hána:* kin *k^hâ:w* (lé) *wâ:jnám* *să:m* *tɕa:n*

Thana eat rice and swim three plate

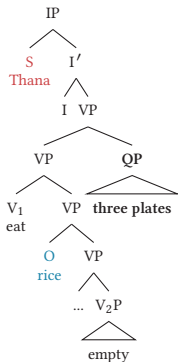
Intended: ‘There were **three events** in which Thana ate one plate of rice and swam.’

V. Discontinuous O and Num+Cl

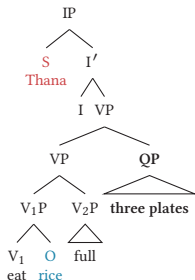
We assume that the Num+Cl phrase is an adverbial modifier.

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.

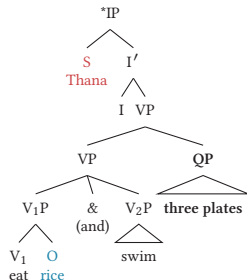
(56) OOR:



(57) SOR:



(58) coordination:



VI. Verb-echo answers

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

(59) *t^hána: kin k^hâ:w {mòt/ ?im/ (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}?’

(60) *{tç^hâj/ mòt}*
 right empty

‘Yes, (Thana ate the rice empty).’ (OOR)

(61) *{tç^hâj/ ?im}*
 right full

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

(62) *{tç^hâj/ *wâ:jnëm}*
 right swim

‘Yes, (Thana ate rice and swam).’ (coordination)

VI. Verb-echo answers

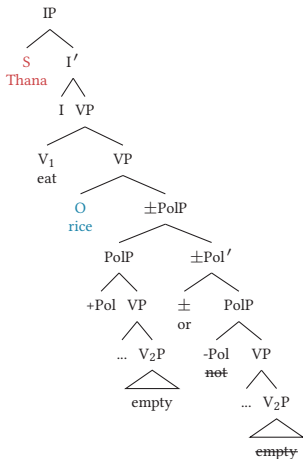
We follow Yaisomanang (2012) and Holmberg (2016) in analysing these polar questions and their responses.

- A polar question with *rǐi* ‘or’ has the underlying structure of an alternative question but with the second conjunct deleted.
- A verb-echo answer to a polar question with *rǐi* ‘or’ has a similar basic structure as the question, but the verb appears in a higher position (e.g. a focus position) and the rest of the structure is deleted.

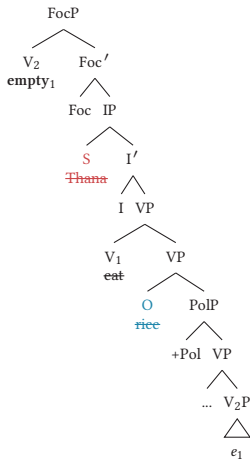
VI. Verb-echo answers

OOR:

(63)



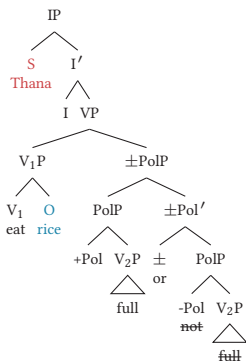
(64)



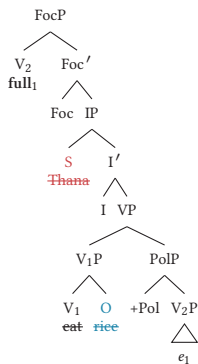
VI. Verb-echo answers

SOR:

(65)



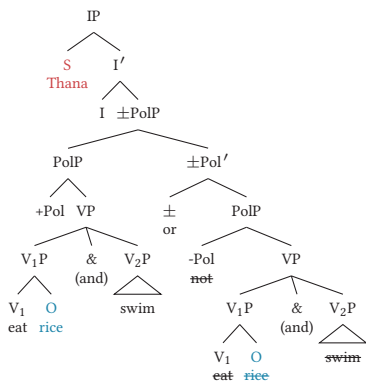
(66)



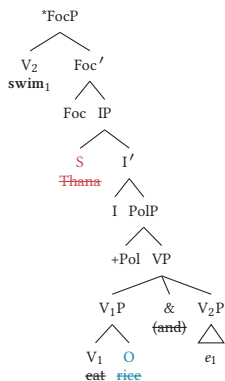
VI. Verb-echo answers

Coordination:

(67)



(68)



Conclusion

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

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

Motivation

- Why do some languages have resultatives with very flexible argument realisation patterns?

Conclusion

- In English and Thai resultatives, V1 must project its arguments.
→ English and Thai only have (deep) object-oriented resultatives (OORs).
- In Mandarin V-V resultatives, V1 never projects any of its arguments.
→ Mandarin has OORs, (apparent) SORs, etc.
- (More on Mandarin V-V resultatives on Wednesday...)

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