Subject- and object-oriented transitive resultatives in Thai
SEALS 32

Woraprat Manowang & Wenkai Tay

Department of Linguistics, UCL

17 May 2023

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.' OOR
(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) *tʰána:* **kʰì:** *má:* **nɨ̀aj**
    Thana **ride** horse **tired**
    (i) 'The horse became tired as a result of Thana riding it.'   OOR
    (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
OOR	✓	✓	✓
SOR	✗	✓	✓

Subject- vs object-oriented resultatives

	English	Thai	Mandarin
OOR	✓	✓	✓
SOR	✗	✗	✓
...	✗	✗	✓

Claim: OORs and SORs are distinct

(5) *tʰána: kin kʰâːw mòt*
     Thana eat rice empty
     'The rice became empty as a result of Thana eating it.'   OOR

(6) *tʰána: kin kʰâːw ʔìm*
     Thana eat rice full
     'Thana became full as a result of eating rice.'   SOR

(7) *tʰána: kin kʰâːw lɛ́ wâːjnám*
     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 $k^hâ:w$ mòt $t^háŋwan$
     Thana eat rice   empty all.day

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

(9) $t^hána:$ kin $k^hâ:w$ ʔìm $t^háŋwan$
     Thana   eat rice   full all.day

     'Thana ate rice and as a result he was full all day.' SOR

(10) $t^hána:$ kin $k^hâ:w$ (lέ) wâ:jnám $t^háŋwan$
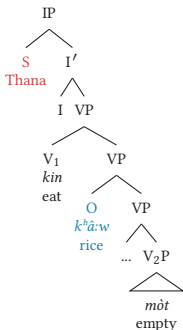   Thana   eat rice   and swim   all.day
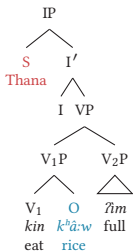
     'Thana ate rice and swam all day.' COORDINATION
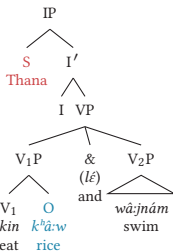
Claim: OORs and SORs have distinct structures

(11) **OOR**

```
            IP
          /    \
         S      I'
      Thana    /  \
              I    VP
                  /  \
                V₁    VP
               kin   /  \
               eat  O    VP
                  kʰâːw  / \
                  rice  ... V₂P
                            |
                           mòt
                          empty
```

(12) **SOR**

```
            IP
          /    \
         S      I'
      Thana    /  \
              I    VP
                  /    \
                V₁P     V₂P
               /  \      |
             V₁    O    ʔìm
            kin  kʰâːw  full
            eat  rice
```

(13) **COORDINATION**

```
            IP
          /    \
         S      I'
      Thana    /  \
              I    VP
                  / | \
               V₁P  &  V₂P
              /  \ (lɛ́)  |
            V₁    O  and wâːjnám
           kin  kʰâːw   swim
           eat  rice
```

Diagnostics

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

I. Coordination of O and V2

O and V2 can be coordinated in two OORs.

(14) *kʰwa:j*   *kʰwìt* *tɕʰá:ŋ*   *bà:ttɕèp*
     buffalo butt   elephant injured

'The elephant became injured from the buffalo butting (it).'   [OOR]

(15) *kʰwa:j*   *kʰwìt* *ʔua:* *ta:j*
     buffalo butt   cow   dead

'The cow died from the buffalo butting (it).'   [OOR]

(16) *?kʰwa:j* *kʰwìt* *[tɕʰá: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) *tʰána:*   *kin*   **kʰâːw**   **ʔìm**
      Thana   eat   rice   full

      'Thana became full from eating rice.'   [SOR]

(18) *tʰána:*   *kin*   **lâw**   **maw**
      Thana   eat   whiskey   drunk

      'Thana became drunk from drinking whiskey.'   [SOR]

(19) **tʰána:*   *kin*   **[kʰâːw   ʔìm]**   *(lɛ́)*   **[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
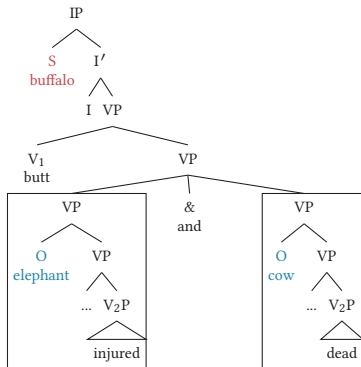
II. O and V2 in topic position

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

(21) *[tɕʰáːŋ bàːttɕèp]ᵢ ná, kʰwaːj kʰwìt eᵢ*
     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

(22) **[kʰâːw ʔìm]ᵢ ná, tʰánaː kin eᵢ*
     rice   full   PRT Thana eat

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

(23) **[kʰâːw (lɛ́) wâːjnám]ᵢ ná, tʰánaː kin eᵢ*
     rice   and swim   PRT Thana eat

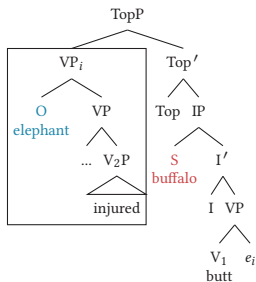Intended: 'Thana ate rice and swam.'   COORDINATION

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) *nîː kɨ̀ː **kʰâːwᵢ** tʰîː tʰánaː kin **tᵢ** mòt*
     this is   rice   that Thana eat   empty

'This is the rice that Thana ate empty.'   OOR

(26) *??nîː kɨ̀ː **kʰâːwᵢ** tʰîː tʰánaː kin **tᵢ** ʔìm*
      this is   rice   that Thana eat   full

Intended: 'This is the rice that Thana ate and became full.'   SOR

(27) **nîː kɨ̀ː **kʰâːwᵢ** tʰîː tʰánaː kin **tᵢ** (lɛ́) wâːjnám*
      this is   rice   that Thana eat   and swim

Intended: 'This is the rice that Thana ate and swam.'   COORDINATION
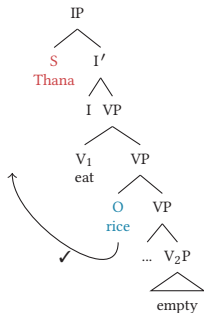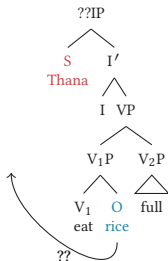
III. Movement of O

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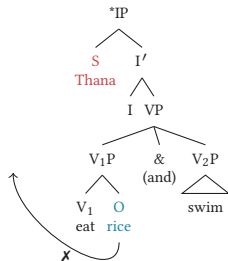

(28) OOR

(29) SOR

(30) COORDINATION

Interim conclusion

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

IV. Discontinous O and Num+Cl

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

(31) *Tát hâj* **nǎŋsɨ̌ thúk lêm** *Bill*
Tat give book every CL Bill
'Tat gave all of the books to Bill.' (Jenks 2011:266)

(32) *Tát hâj* **nǎŋsɨ̌** *Bill* **thúk lêm**
Tat give book Bill every CL
'Tat gave all of the books to Bill.' (Jenks 2011:266)

IV. Discontinous O and Num+Cl

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

(33) *tʰána:* *kin* *kʰâ:w* **săːm** **tɕaːn** *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*   **săːm** **tɕaːn**
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. Discontinous O and Num+Cl

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

(35) *tʰána: kin kʰâːw săːm tɕaːn ʔìm*
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 kʰâːw ʔìm săːm tɕaːn*
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. Discontinous O and Num+Cl

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

(37) *tʰána: kin kʰâ:w sǎ:m tɕa:n (lɛ́) wâ:jnám*
    Thana eat rice   three plate and swim

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

(38) **tʰána: kin kʰâ:w (lɛ́) wâ:jnám sǎ: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
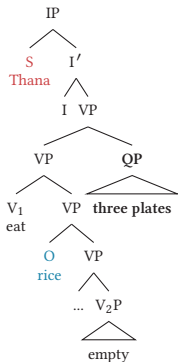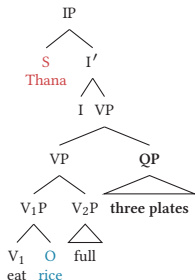
IV. Discontinous O and Num+Cl

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.
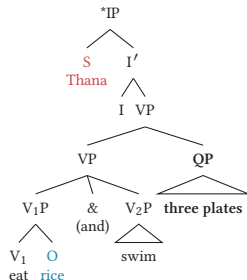
(39) OOR

(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) *tʰána: kin kʰâːw {mòt/ ʔìm/ (lɛ́) wâːjnám} rɨ̌ɨ*
thana eat rice empty full and swim or
'Did Thana {eat the rice empty/ eat and become full/ eat and swim}?'

(43) *{tɕʰâj/ mòt}*
right empty

'Yes, (Thana ate the rice empty).'   OOR

(44) *{tɕʰâj/ ʔìm}*
right full

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

(45) *{tɕʰâj/ *wâːjnám}*
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. Discontinous 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	✗	✗	✓
...	✗	✗	✓

References I

Holmberg, Anders. 2016. *The syntax of yes and no.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, first edition edition.

Hoonchamlong, Yuphaphann. 1991. Some issues in Thai anaphora: A government and binding approach. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Huang, James. 2006. Resultatives and unaccusatives: A parametric view. *Bulletin of the Chinese Linguistic Society of Japan* 2006:1–43.

Jenks, Peter. 2011. The hidden structure of Thai noun phrases. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University.

Li, Yafei. 1990. On V-V compounds in Chinese. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 8:177–207.

References II

Muansuwan, Nuttanart. 2002. Verb complexes in Thai. Doctoral Dissertation, University at Buffalo, The State University of New York.

Neeleman, Ad, Joy Philip, Misako Tanaka, and Hans van de Koot. 2023. Subordination and binary branching. *Syntax* 26:41–84.

Sudmuk, Cholthicha. 2005. The syntax and semantics of serial verb constructions in Thai. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Williams, Alexander. 2005. Complex causatives and verbal valence. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Yaisomanang, Somphob. 2012. The syntax of yes-no questions and answers in Thai. Doctoral Dissertation, Newcastle University.