

THE SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF FOCUS PARTICLES IN THAI

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides the first analysis of *focus particles* in Thai. Two types of focus particles are introduced: *exclusives* and *additives* (*scalar* and *non-scalar additives*). The interpretation of these particles invokes a set of alternatives that is relevant to a given context. All of the focus particles obey the adjacency requirement whereby these particles are always adjacent to the focus elements and no scope ambiguity is observed. However, Thai shows subject/object asymmetry with respect to focus marking in which the subject DP focus is only available through the existential construction. There is also asymmetry between *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts in focus intervention effects in Thai as proposed by Kim (2002, 2006). In *wh*-arguments, the constructions involve *wh*-clefts as proposed by Ruangjaroon (2005) while *wh*-adjuncts do not.

Keywords: focus particles, subject/object asymmetry in focus marking, *wh* arguments/*wh* adjuncts asymmetry in Thai, focus intervention effects

1. INTRODUCTION

Focus is a phenomenon that has been widely discussed in the literature. One area of focus, the semantics of focus has received a lot of attention. ‘Association with focus’, the relation of focus particles such as *only*, *even* and *also* and the focus in a sentence as discussed in Jackendoff’s (1972) groundbreaking work, has been studied cross-linguistically. The definition of focus which has been widely adopted is that it indicates the presence of alternatives relevant to a given context, as stated explicitly in Krifka (2007). Alternatives thus play an important role in the interpretation of the focus particles in a sentence. This paper provides the first semantic and syntactic analysis of focus particles in Thai. The paper is organized as follows: section 2 presents two types of focus particles (exclusives, additives) and their semantic contribution to the sentence. Section 3 provides a syntactic analysis concentrating on the relation between focus particles and their focus associates, noting that all focus particles in Thai obey the adjacency requirement. We also look at the interaction between focus particles and negation to support our contention that no scope ambiguity has been observed. In section 4, we discuss focus intervention effects as proposed by Kim (2002, 2006). Our study reveals that focus intervention effects do not only manifest in *wh*-arguments but also in *wh*-adjuncts in Thai, which suggests that our findings are significantly different from Kim’s proposal. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. FOCUS PARTICLES IN THAI

Thai has a rich inventory of adverbial morphemes that have focus meaning. As a result, they have been treated as adverbs. In this paper, we analyze them as focus particles¹. Evidence comes from their semantic properties denoting the existence of a set of alternatives relevant to a

¹ The inventory of focus particles is given below:

exclusives: *kʰê:*, *tè:*, *pʰieŋ*, *cʰàpʰɔ̀ɔ̀*, *ʔe:ŋ*, *tʰáwnán*

scalar additives: *mé:tè:...*(*kɔ̀:*)*jaŋ*, *mé:kràtʰáŋ...*(*kɔ̀:*)*jaŋ*, *kʰê:...*(*kɔ̀:*)*jaŋ*, *tʰúŋ*

non-scalar additives: *kɔ̀:*, *dúŋ*

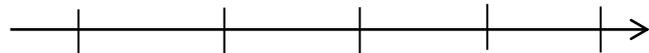
d. *subject DP focus*

mi: k^hɛː [DP Nat]_F t^hi: dù:m ka:fɛ:
 HAVE only Nat COMP drink coffee
 ‘Only [Nat]_F drinks coffee.’
 A set of alternatives: {Nat, ~~Nai~~, ~~Nui~~,...}

The reading of (1a) is that Nat drinks coffee and does not do anything else (e.g., read a book, surf the Net). When the object DP is the focus, there are two options: the focused DP stays in the canonical position, as in (1b) or appears at the front, as in (1c) whereby, in both cases, *k^hɛː* is still adjacent to the focused object DP. The reading in (1b-c) is the same, that is, Nat does not drink anything else (e.g. cola, brandy) except coffee. *k^hɛː* in (1d) is in the pre-subject position and receives the reading that among the persons within the given context, Nat is the only one who drinks coffee.

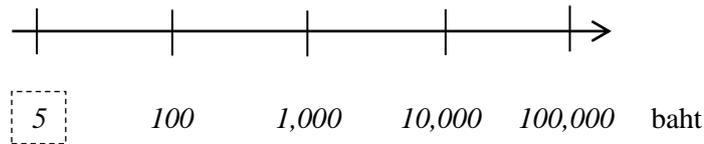
k^hɛː can be interpreted as providing a scalar meaning depending on the context. As noted by König (1991), exclusives can operate on a scale of alternatives in relation to the focused elements. *k^hɛː* can both be non-scalar, such as data in (1), and scalar-exclusive as in (2)-(3). The scale in the context of (2) is of military ranks, and *k^hɛː* is used to denote the lowest ranking, while the scale in (3) is in the context of hierarchical ranking, and *k^hɛː* is used to denote a low ranking.

- (2) sǒm^ha:j pen k^hɛː [p^hont^háhă:n]_F
 Somchai COP only private
 ‘Somchai is only [a private]_F.’



p^hont^háhă:n cǎ: na:jrǒ:j na:jp^han na:jp^hon
 ‘private’ ‘sergeant’ ‘lieutenant’ ‘major’ ‘general’

- (3) sǒmc^ha:j mɪ: ɲɯŋ k^hɛ̂: [hâ: bà:t]_F
 Somchai have money only five baht
 ‘Somchai only has [five baht]_F.’



Note that *k^hɛ̂:* is restricted to operate with reference to a low scale as shown in (2)-(3). If Somchai is poor, we can infer that five baht is a small amount of money. Suppose that Somchai wins one hundred million baht in a lottery, *k^hɛ̂:* in this context will be infelicitous because one hundred million baht is a considerable amount.

k^hɛ̂: also has a pejorative meaning similar to that which Renans, Zimmermann and Greif (2010) observe in the case of English *merely*. However, it can also associate with a focus denoting high university ranking to which suggests irony, as shown in (4) and this contrasts to (2)-(3) above.

- (4) sǒmjɨŋ pen k^hɛ̂: [k^hánáɔ:dr:]_F
 Somying COP only dean
 ‘Somying is only [a dean]_F.’

The literal meaning of this sentence is that the person named is a dean, but the speaker uses *k^hɛ̂:* because he/she intends that the statement shall allow for a negative connotation in regard to Somying. The use of *k^hɛ̂:* in association with the high ranking of the university profession position makes the sentence ironic.

Thai also has two distinct scalar exclusives that represent ‘*necessary and sufficient conditions*’ as noted by König (1991), that is *k^hɛ̂:* for sufficient conditions and *t^háwnán* for necessary conditions. The example in (5) illustrates the two different conditions used in relation to the criteria for passing an exam.

(5) a. *Necessary condition*

nákrian t̂:ŋ d̂:j [gr̂:t bɪ:]_F t̂^háwnán juŋ cà? p̂^h:n
students must get grade B only so will pass
Intended: ‘Students must only get [(at least) B grade]_F in order to
pass the test.’

b. *Sufficient condition*

nákrian d̂:j k̂^hê [gr̂:t bɪ:]_F k̂: p̂^h:n lé:w
students get only grade B LINK pass ASP
Intended: ‘If students only get [B grade]_F, they will pass the test.’

The condition for the students to pass the exam is that they get a B grade, however, the condition in (5a) is presented as a maximum or necessary one, as the B grade as denoted by *t̂^háwnán* is a maximum or necessary grade, which the students are required to get to pass the test, and its use represents that the speaker thinks that it is not within the capacity of all of a certain group of students to get a B grade, whereas the condition in (5b) is presented as a minimum or sufficient one, as the B grade as denoted by *k̂^hê* is a minimum or sufficient one, and its use represents that the speaker thinks that it is within the capacity of all of a certain group of students to get an A grade, and that if any of them fail to do so, they will still be able to get a B grade, and thus still pass the test.

2.2 Additives

This section provides a description of the additive particles in Thai, which can be classified into scalar (section 2.2.1) and non-scalar additives (section 2.2.2).

2.2.1 Scalar additives

Thai has various scalar additive particles in the form of single morphemes and discontinuous words. The two types of form still manifest an adjacency requirement in that they are required to be adjacent to their focused constituents. However, they differ in the position in a sentence depending on the focused elements: the single morphemes (*mé:krà^hâŋ*, *mé:tê:*, *t̂^hũŋ*) precede focus constituents and

they are restricted by the focused object arguments. While, in the case of discontinuous words, the first discontinuous morphemes (*mé:kràt^hâη*, *mé:tè:*, *k^hàrà:t*, *k^hé:*) can be associated with either focused subjects or objects at the sentence-initial and the second morpheme (*(kô:) jaη*) is required to precede predicate.

Consider (6), the focused object is associated with the single morpheme *mé:kràt^hâη* to denote the scalar meaning, and it is interpreted as providing the meaning of ‘the likelihood’ as proposed by Karttunen & Peters (1979). Forbes magazine is the least likely magazine among some salient magazines in this context for Nat to read. It is also assumed that *mé:kràt^hâη* states the matter of the unexpectedness or that it is something surprising to the speaker of this utterance that Nat reads Forbes magazine (supposing that Nat is a high school student).

(6) *object focus*

Nát	ʔà:n	<i>mé:kràt^hâη</i>	[níttàjásǎ:n	fó:p] _F
Nat	read	even	magazine	Forbes

‘Nat reads even [Forbes magazine]_F.’

The example in (7) is the case of a focused subject associated with the first discontinuous word *mé:tè:* and *(kô:)jaη*⁴ precedes the predicate. *Nat* is focused and the interpretation is that Nat is the least likely person to be expected to read Forbes magazine among a group of people who read that magazine (again, supposing that Nat is a high school student).

(7) *subject focus*

<i>mé:kràt^hâη</i>	[Nát] _F	<i>(kô:)</i>	<i>jaη</i>	ʔà:n	níttàjásǎ:n	fó:p
even	Nat	also	still	read	magazine	Forbes

‘Even [Nat]_F reads Forbes magazine.’

⁴ As noted above, the discontinuous morphemes consist of the first morpheme associating directly with the focus constituent and the second morpheme *(kô:) jaη* preceding the predicate. These two morphemes *kô:* and *jaη* mean *also* and *still*, respectively, in which each of them is optional in the sentence. (We use only one () for *kô:* to avoid confusion.)

One point worth mentioning in the study of *even* items is their occurrence in a negative context.⁵ There is general agreement that *even* in a negative sentence is ‘scale reversal’ as first observed in Fauconnier (1975), i.e., ‘the least likely’ denoted by *even* in a positive sentence becomes ‘the most likely’ in a negative sentence. All of the scalar additive particles in Thai also conform to this pattern. Consider the example in (8):

- (8) a. Nát mâj ʔà:n mé:kràt^hâŋ [níttàjásǎ:n fǒ:p]_F
 Nat NEG read even magazine Forbes
 ‘Nat doesn’t read even [Forbes magazine]_F.’
 b. mé:kràt^hâŋ [níttàjásǎ:n fǒ:p]_F Nát (kǎ:) jaŋ mâj ʔà:n
 even magazine Forbes Nat also still NEG read
 ‘Nat doesn’t read even [Forbes magazine]_F.’

Suppose that Nat is the CEO of ten multinational corporations, the focused element *níttàjásǎ:n fǒ:p* ‘Forbes magazine’ in (8) denotes that it is the magazine which Nat is most likely to read.

The discussion of scalar additives so far can be explained in terms of ‘the likelihood’ as proposed by Karttunen & Peters (1979). Thai, however, has one special scalar additive particle ‘*t^hũŋ*’. What is special about the scalar meaning of this particle is that it cannot be explained in terms of ‘the likelihood’. Rather, it can be described as ‘the more informative’ as argued by Kay (1990). To illustrate this point, the well-known example that Kay provided to argue against Karttunen and Peters’ view is shown in (9):

- (9) A: Can John jump 6 feet?
 B: Yes, he can *even* jump [7 feet]_F.

⁵ The two theories which are still a matter of debate, namely ‘the scope theory’ as proposed by Karttunen and Peters (1979) and the ‘lexical ambiguity theory or NPI-EVEN’ by Rooth (1985) in relation to the negative contexts are not discussed here. Since Thai exhibits the surface structures in which negation *mâj* scopes above *mé:kràt^hâŋ* as in (8a) and, conversely, *mé:kràt^hâŋ* scopes over negation *mâj* in (8b) and no restriction to the polarity has been observed, hence, polarity might not be a plausible parameter for scalar additive particles in Thai. We leave to future work to investigate whether the two theories are applicable to Thai or not.

The occurrence of *even* in B's reply cannot be interpreted to mean that it is less likely for John to jump 6 feet than to jump 7 feet. Rather, *even* in this context denotes the proposition that it is more informative to refer to 7 feet than to 6 feet in the response. The scalar model is illustrated in figure 1 below.

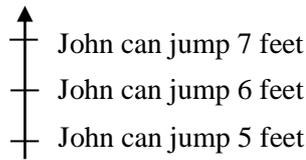


Figure 1. The ‘more informative’ model

Consider the Thai data in (10), the morpheme $t^h\acute{u}\eta$ illustrates Kay’s informative model.

- (10) A: Nát kràdò:t dâ:j hòk fút rǒ:?
 Nat jump can six feet Q
 ‘Can Nat jump 6 feet?’
 B: plà:w Nát kràdò:t dâ:j $t^h\acute{u}\eta$ [cèt fút]_F
 no Nat jump can even seven feet
 ‘No, Nat can even jump [7 feet]_F.’

The data in (11) also supports the view that $t^h\acute{u}\eta$ corresponds with Kay’s model as supported by Rullmann (1997). The scale in this context is that of the level of the professional rankings in a university and we cannot get the reading that it is less likely for a person to be an associate professor than to be an assistant professor.

- (11) A: Nát pen p^hú:c^húajsà:ttra:ca:n rǒ:?
 Nat COP assistant professor Q
 ‘Is Nat an assistant professor?’
 B: plà:w Nát pen $t^h\acute{u}\eta$ [rǒ:ŋsà:ttra:ca:n]_F
 no Nat COP even associate professor
 ‘No, Nat is even an [associate]_F professor.’

From the data represented so far, we propose that *t^hũŋ* is one of the scalar additive particles the presence of which does not induce ‘the likelihood’ scalar meaning, rather it represents the scale of ‘more informative’ and it also states that the expectedness of the fact is ‘beyond the expectation of the listener’ in the context.

2.2.2 Non-scalar additives

This section provides a description of the non-scalar additive particles in Thai. The additives consist of two components: the core meaning (the meaning without additive particles) and the additive meaning (adding information to the sentence). Thai has two main morphemes which are counterparts to ‘also’ or ‘too’ in English: *kô:* and *dûəj*. Both have the same semantic property in that they are additive and they follow the focused elements. However, *kô:* and *dûəj* differ in the grammatical function of the added constituent. *kô:* only associates with the subject in which its distribution is immediately follow the focused subject, whereas *dûəj* is usually clause-final. The structural difference between *kô:* and *dûəj* is illustrated in (12)-(13).

(12) *subject DP focus*

[_{DP} Nát]_F kô: dù:m ka:fɛ:
Nat also drink coffee
‘[Nat]_F also drinks coffee.’

(13) *object DP focus*

Nát dù:m [_{DP} ka:fɛ:]_F dûəj
Nat drink coffee too
‘Nat drinks [coffee]_F,too.’

From the data above, *kô:* is unproblematic since it always associates with the focused subjects. The ambiguity, however, arises in the case of *dûəj*. The position of *dûəj* is restricted to the clause-final and it can take scope over either the verb phrase or the object of a sentence. To illustrate this, *dûəj* can associate with the verb phrase (14a), and also with the object (14b).

(14) a. *VP focus*

Nát [v_P dù:m ka:fɛ:]_F dùɔj
Nat drink coffee too
'Nat [drinks coffee]_F, too.'

A set of alternatives: {Nat *drinks coffee*, Nat *reads a book*, Nat *surfs the Net*,...}

b. *object DP focus*

Nát dù:m [d_P ka:fɛ:]_F dùɔj
Nat drink coffee too
'Nat drinks [coffee]_F, too.'

A set of alternatives: {Nat drinks *coffee*, Nat drinks *cola*, Nat drinks *brandy*,...}

3. THE SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS: SCOPE AND ADJACENCY REQUIREMENT OF FOCUS PARTICLES

We have provided a description of focus particles and their semantic contribution to sentences in the previous section. In this section, we present a syntactic analysis of Thai focus particles. Section 3.1 concentrates on the relation between focus particles and focus constituents and shows that no scope ambiguity has been observed. Section 3.2 reveals that there is a structural difference between the DP subject focus and object focus.

3.1 Scope and Adjacency Requirement of Focus Particles

In Thai, the relation between focus particles and their focus constituents is generally straightforward as all of the focus particles obey the adjacency requirement, as illustrated in (15):

(15) The adjacency requirement:

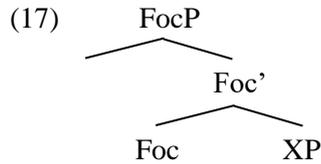
Focus particles must be adjacent to focus constituents in which they take scope over.

Because Thai obeys the adjacency requirement, no scope ambiguity occurs in Thai. The examples in (16) support this generalization:

- (16) a. *object DP focus*
Nát dù:m kʰê: [DP ka:fɛ:]_F
Nat drink only coffee
= Nat drinks *only* [coffee]_F.
≠ Nat *only* [drinks coffee]_F.
≠ *Only* [Nat drinks coffee]_F.
- b. *VP focus*
Nát kʰê: [VP dù:m ka:fɛ:]_F
Nat only drink coffee
≠ Nat drinks *only* [coffee]_F.
= Nat *only* [drinks coffee]_F.
≠ *Only* [Nat drinks coffee]_F.
- c. *TP focus*
kʰê: [TP Nát dù:m ka:fɛ:]_F
only Nat drink coffee
≠ Nat drinks *only* [coffee]_F.
≠ Nat *only* [drinks coffee]_F.
≠ *Only* [Nat]_F drinks coffee.
= *Only* [Nat drinks coffee]_F.

The focus particle directly adjoins to the maximal projection (XP) and can form its own projection labeled as FocP, as shown in (17)⁶.

⁶ This raises the question of the syntactic category of focus particles. In traditional reference grammars for Thai, these lexical words are categorized as an adverb in the sense that they modify the target. König (1991) pointed out that the categorization of focus particles for each individual language may be the adverb or co-constituent adjacent to the maximal projections. For Thai data, we argue that the focus particles are co-constituents of the focus elements and we use ‘FocP’ as a neutral term to apply to any type of focus particles.

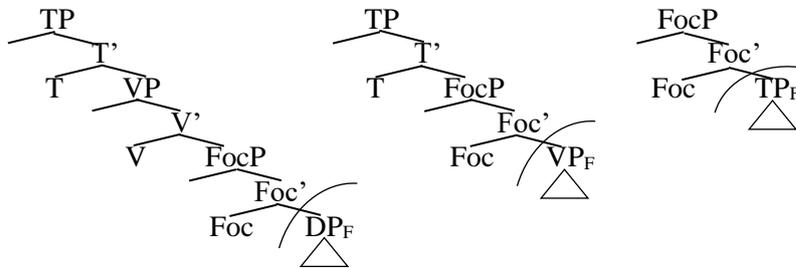


The schemas of object DP, VP, and TP focus are shown below.

(18) a. *object DP focus*

b. *VP focus*

c. *TP focus*



The lack of scope ambiguity has been supported by evidence from the interaction between focus particles and negation. Canonically, the negative marker *mâjdâ:j* ‘not’ surfaces in the pre-verbal position. Hence, (20) is the negative sentence of (19).

(19) Nát dù:m ka:fe:
 Nat drink coffee
 ‘Nat drinks coffee.’

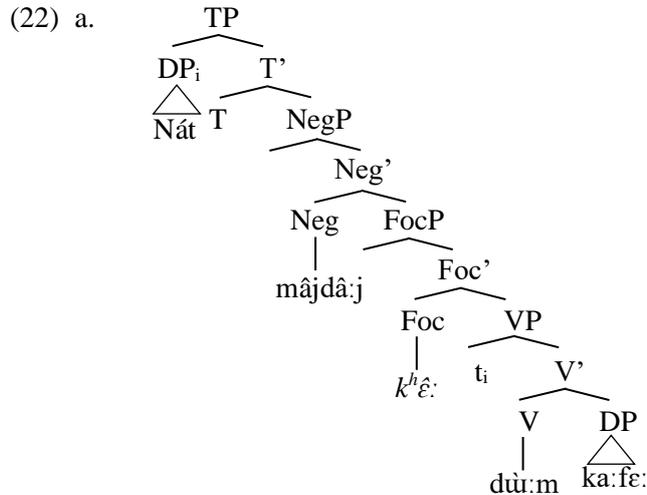
(20) Nát mâjdâ:j dù:m ka:fe:
 Nat NEG drink coffee
 ‘Nat does not drink coffee.’

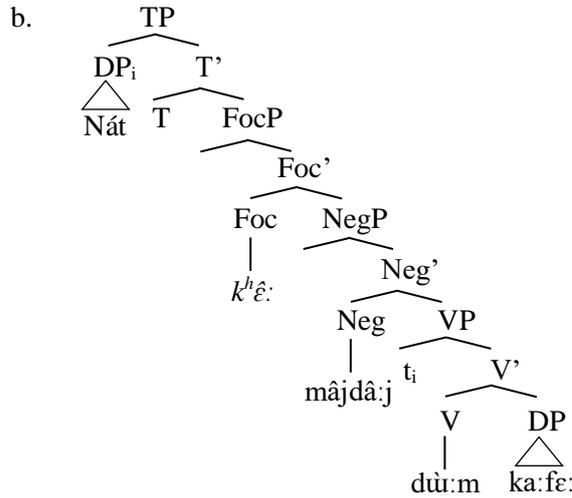
Consider the exclusive *k^hê:* and the negative marker *mâjdâ:j* in (21), when *k^hê:* is in the scope of negation (21a), the only available reading is the additive interpretation “not only ...but also”. Thus (21a) implies that Nat drinks coffee and something else, too. In contrast, in order to derive

the exclusive meaning, the focus constituent together with the exclusive particle must be higher than the negative marker, as shown in (21b).

- (21) a. Nát *mâjdâ:j* *kʰɛ:* dù:m ka:fɛ: NEG>ONLY
 Nat NEG only drink coffee
 ‘Nat does not only drink [coffee]_F but also ...y...’
 b. Nát *kʰɛ:* *mâjdâ:j* dù:m ka:fɛ: ONLY>NEG
 Nat only NEG drink coffee
 ‘There is such an X that Nat does not do X = [_{VP} drink coffee]

The interpretation of the negative meaning attributable to the sentence results from the scopal behavior of *kʰɛ:* and the use of the negation *mâjdâ:j*. When the exclusive particle is under the scope of negation, it provides an additive component to the sentence. And if the exclusive particle is outside the scope of negation, it gives rise to its usual exclusive meaning. The structures of (21) are given in (22).





3.2 The DP Subject/Object Asymmetry in Focus Marking

In this section, we show that there is DP subject/object asymmetry with respect to the subject and object DP focus marking. The DP object is typically focused through the unmarked order, as shown in (23a) below whereby the focus particle is adjacent to its focus constituent. However, Thai also allows another construction called the existential construction⁷, as in (23b).

⁷ The existential construction consists of the existential verb *mu:* ‘have’ at the beginning of a sentence followed by the predicate. To illustrate, consider (1a) which has the main verb *mu:*, while in (1b), *mu:* behaves as an existential verb in an existential construction and requires the clausal complement to make the sentence complete. For this reason, we propose that the existential construction can be analyzed as a bi-clausal structure.

- (1) a. c^hǎn mu: mā:
 I have dog
 ‘I have a dog.’
 b. mu: mā: nɔ:n jù: naj bâ:n k^hǒ:ŋ c^hǎn
 HAVE dog sleep ASP in house POSS I
 ‘There is a dog sleeping in my house.’

(23) a. *object DP focus*

Nát dù:m kʰɛː [DP ka:fɛː]F
 Nat drink only coffee
 ‘Nat drinks *only* [coffee]F.’

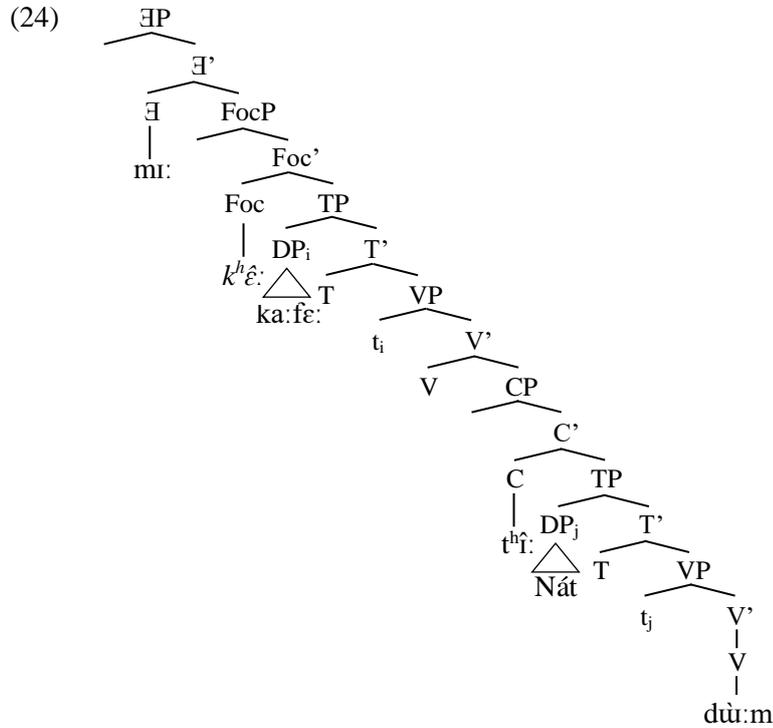
b. *fronted object DP focus*

mɪ: kʰɛː [DP ka:fɛː]F tʰɪː Nát dù:m
 HAVE only coffee COMP Nat drink
 ‘Nat only drinks [coffee]F.’

Despite the structural differences in (23a-b), the two sentences are semantically equivalent because the focus constituent is still adjacent to $kʰɛː$. In (23b), it seems that the focused object has been moved to the front following the existential verb $mɪ:$ at the surface structure. There is no evidence suggesting that overt movement occurs in such a construction. Note that when the focused element is in the initial position, the existential verb $mɪ:$ obligatorily precedes the focus particle and the focus constituent is followed by the morpheme $tʰɪː$. This construction can be analyzed as a bi-clausal structure in which the existential verb $mɪ:$ is a matrix verb and the following verb ($dù:m$) is an embedded verb in the relative clause headed by the complementizer $tʰɪː$.⁸ Thus $tʰɪː$ modifies the DP that it follows. The existential verb $mɪ:$ is the head of the existential phrase (\exists P), which is the highest projection. For the morpheme $tʰɪː$, we treat it as a complementizer following the previous literature (Ekniyom 1982; Hoonchamlong 1991; Ruangjaroon 2005). The structure in (23b) would look like (24).

⁸ The relative clause in Thai is introduced by the complementizer $tʰɪː$ embedded inside a DP which it modifies.

(1) [DP kʰănǎm_i [RC $tʰɪː$ Nát sú: _i ma:]] ?àròj mâ:k
snack COMP Nat buy ASP delicious very
 ‘The snack that Nat bought is very delicious.’



Since the structure in (23b) requires the complementizer $t^{h\hat{t}}$ following the focus constituent, it bears a resemblance to *wh*-clefts as proposed in Ruangjaroon (2005), in which $t^{h\hat{t}}$ also obligatorily precedes the predicate. Compare the examples in (25a-c):

- (25) a. *wh*-in situ
 máj ʔà:p cʰɔ:p kʰraj?
 Mike hide like who
 ‘Who does Mike secretly have a crush on?’
- b. *wh*-cleft
 kʰraj pen kʰon tʰi: máj ʔà:p cʰɔ:p?
 who COP NOM COMP Mike hide like
 ‘Who is the one that Mike secretly has a crush on?’

c. reduced *wh*-cleft

k^hraj *t^hî:* *máj* *ʔà:p* *c^hô:p?*
 who COMP Mike hide like
 ‘Who is the one that Mike secretly has a crush on?’

(25a) is the in situ *wh*-question with *wh*-object *k^hraj* ‘who’. In contrast, *k^hraj* appears at the front together with the complementizer *t^hî:* in (25b). The presence of *t^hî:* in (25b) affects the reading of the sentence, and stands in comparison with the way in which the lack of *t^hî:* in (25a) leads to a contrastive reading. In (25b), there is a set of persons of amongst whom Mike has a crush on one, resulting in this sentence as a *wh*-cleft, which was proposed by Ruangjaroon that (25c) is a reduced cleft of (25b), in which the copular *pen* and the nominalizer *k^hon* (literally means person) are omitted. What is crucial in such a sentence is that *t^hî:* is retained. Returning to the exclusives, we argue that a focus phrase associated with the exclusive *k^hê:* and *t^hî:* have a contrastive reading. As shown in (23b) above, the co-occurrence of *k^hê:* and *t^hî:* excludes the other drinks in the context as it is coffee that Nat chose to drink.

Given the analysis of the object focus marking, however, Thai allows subject focus marking only in the existential construction, as shown in (26). Thus, the existential verb *mi:* together with the complementizer *t^hî:* is obligatory for focused subjects.

(26) *subject DP focus*

mi: *k^hê:* [DP *Nát*]_F *t^hî:* *dù:m* *ka:fe:*
 HAVE only Nat COMP drink coffee
 ‘Only [Nat]_F drinks coffee.’

To support our analysis for *t^hî:* as a complementizer in a relative clause, Kratzer’s data (1998) in English (27a) as compared with Thai in (27b) are exemplified. *t^hî:* can occur in two positions: first, following the DP subject and second as the DP object. Thus the DP subject *c^hăn* and the object *k^hamt^hă:m* are the relativized subject and object, respectively.

- (27) a. *Only* I got a question that I understood.
 b. mi: k^hê: [c^hǎn]_F t^hî: dâ:j [DP k^hamt^hǎ:m_i
 HAVE only I COMP get question
 [RC t^hî: c^hǎn k^hâwcaj _{-i}]
 COMP I understand
 ‘Only I got a question that I understood.’

4. FOCUS INTERVENTION EFFECTS IN THAI

Intervention effects are one of the phenomena that have been widely discussed in *wh*-in situ languages as proposed by Beck (1996), Beck & Kim (1997). Intervention effects occur when certain elements intervene between the in-situ *wh*-word and its licensing complementizer renders the *wh*-question degraded or ungrammatical. In the literature, there are two types of phrases that can be interveners cross-linguistically: the quantifier phrases (Beck 1996; Beck & Kim 1997) and the focus phrases (Kim 2002; Kim 2006; Beck 2006). The German and Korean data in (28)-(31) are examples to show quantifier phrases and (32)-(33) focus phrases operating as interveners. The sentences, however, become grammatical or more acceptable when the in situ *wh*-words move to a position higher than the interveners.

Negative polarity items:

- (28) a. *Wer hat *niemanden* wo angetroffen? *German*
 who has nobody where met
 ‘Who didn’t meet anybody where?’
 b. Wer hat wo *niemanden* angetroffen?
 who has where nobody met
 ‘Who didn’t meet anybody where?’

(Beck and Kim 1997:340)

- (29) a. ?/**amuto* muôs-ûl sa-chi anh-ass-ni? *Korean*
 anyone what-ACC buy-CHI not.do-PAST-Q
 ‘What did no one buy?’

- b. muô̂s-ûl *amuto* sa-chi anh-ass-ni?
 what-ACC anyone buy-CHI not.do-PAST-Q
 ‘What did no one buy?’

(Beck and Kim 1997:339)

Universal quantifiers:

- (30) a. ?Wen hat *fast* *jeder* wo getroffen? *German*
 whom has almost everyone where met
 ‘Who did almost everyone meet where?’
 b. Wen hat wo *fast* *jeder* getroffen?
 whom has where almost everyone met
 ‘Who did almost everyone meet where?’

- (31) a. ?*nukuna-ka* ônû kyosu-lûl chonkyôngha-ni? *Korean*
 everyone-NOM which professor-ACC respect-Q
 ‘Which professor does everyone respect?’
 b. ônû kyosu-lûl *nukuna-ka* chonkyôngha-ni?
 which professor-ACC everyone-Nom respect-Q
 ‘Which professor does everyone respect?’

(Beck 2006:4)

Focus phrases:

- (32) a. *Wen hat *nur* *Karl* wo getroffen? *German*
 whom has only Karl where met
 ‘Who did only Karl meet where?’
 b. Wen hat wo *nur* *Karl* getroffen?
 whom has where only Karl met
 ‘Who did only Karl meet where?’

- (33) a. ?/**Minsu-man* nuku-lûl manna-ss-ni? *Korean*
 Minsu-only who-ACC meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did only Minsu meet?’
 b. nuku-lûl *Minsu-man* manna-ss-ni?
 who-ACC Minsu-only meet-PAST-Q
 ‘Who did only Minsu meet?’

(Kim 2002:11)

Kim (2002, 2006), based on cross-linguistic observation, argues that the focus phrases are more stable offending interveners than other quantifiers. Mandarin Chinese is an example of a language to show that the universal quantifiers are not an offending intervener (34), in contrast, only focus phrases result in intervention effects (35).

- (34) *meigeren dou mai-le shenme?* Mandarin Chinese
 everyone all buy-ASP what
 ‘What did everyone buy?’
 (Kim 2006:522)

- (35) a. *?/*zhiyou Lili kan-le na-ben shu?*
 only Lili read-ASP which-CL book
 ‘Which book did only Lili read?’
 b. *na-ben shu zhiyou Lili kan-le?*
 which-CL book only Lili read-ASP
 ‘Which book did only Lili read?’
 (Kim 2006:523)

For this reason, Kim argues that intervention effects as previously discussed seem over-generalized, since not every quantifier behaves as an intervener. She concentrates on focus phrases and distinguishes them as ‘focus intervention effects’ as illustrated in (36) below.

- (36) A focus phrase may not intervene between a *wh*-phrase and its licensing complementizer:
 a. $*[_{CP} Q_i \dots [FocP [\dots wh_i \dots]]]$
 b. $[_{CP} Q_i \dots wh_i [FocP [\dots t \dots]]]$
 (Kim 2002:4)

And it is the focus features [+FOC] which arise from focus particles that give rise to the ungrammaticality of *wh*-in situ questions.

Turning back to Thai, Ruangjaroon (2005) also observed the same phenomena in relation to *wh*-questions. Consider (37), when the *wh*-object *k^hraj* ‘who’ stays in-situ, it is not interpreted as *wh*-word. Rather, it acts as a negative polarity item *anyone* c-commanded by the negative

quantifier *mâjmi:k^hraj*⁹. Hence, this expression does not require an answer since the word *k^hraj* does not function as the *wh*-word. To derive the interrogative reading, the *wh*-word *k^hraj* must move across *mâjmi:k^hraj* (37b).

- wh*-argument:
- (37) a. *mâjmi:k^hraj* c^hô:p *k^hraj* NPI > WH
 no.HAVE.who (= no one) like who
 ≠ i. ‘Who does no one like?’
 = ii. ‘No one likes anyone.’
- b. *k^hraj* t^{hî}: *mâjmi:k^hraj* c^hô:p? WH > NPI
 Who COMP no.HAVE.who (= no one) like
 = i. ‘Who does no one like?’
 ≠ ii. ‘No one likes anyone.’
- (Ruangjaroon 2005:148)

D(iscourse)-linked *wh*-phrases also show intervention effects. (38a) is unacceptable when the D-linked *wh*-phrase *năjsu:lêmnăj* ‘which book’ is under the scope of *mâjmi:k^hraj*. The grammatical sentence in (38b) is derived if *năjsu:lêmnăj* is fronted.

- (38) a. **mâjmi:k^hraj* k^hâwcaj *năjsu:lêmnăj*? *NPI>WH
 no.HAVE.who understand book CL which
 ‘Which book did no one understand?’
- b. *năjsu:lêmnăj* t^{hî}: *mâjmi:k^hraj* k^hâwcaj? WH>NPI
 book CL which COMP no.HAVE.who understand
 ‘Which book did no one understand?’
- (Ruangjaroon 2005:149)

A crucial difference between Ruangjaroon’s observation for Thai and Kim’s data in Korean is that not only *wh*-arguments, but also *wh*-adjuncts show focus intervention effects. An example of *wh*-adjuncts is shown in (39), *mâjmi:k^hraj* is an intervener in in-situ *wh*-adjuncts (39a)

⁹ The negative quantifier *mâjmi:k^hraj* ‘no one’ in Thai is a combination of three lexical morphemes: the negative marker *mâj*, the existential verb *mi*: and the *wh*-word *k^hraj*.

- (42) a. * $[\text{S}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{a}:\text{j}]_{\text{F}}$ $k\ddot{\text{o}}:$ kin $\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{aj}$? *FOC>WH
 Somchai also eat what
 ‘What did Somchai also eat?’
 b. $\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{aj}$ $t^{\text{h}}\text{i}:$ $[\text{S}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{a}:\text{j}]_{\text{F}}$ $k\ddot{\text{o}}:$ kin ? WH>FOC
 what COMP Somchai also eat
 ‘What did Somchai also eat?’
- (43) a. * $m\acute{e}:\text{t}\acute{e}:$ $[\text{S}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{a}:\text{j}]_{\text{F}}$ $\text{j}\text{a}\eta$ kin $\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{aj}$? *FOC>WH
 even Somchai still eat what
 ‘What did even Somchai eat?’
 b. $\text{ʔ}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{r}\text{aj}$ $t^{\text{h}}\text{i}:$ $m\acute{e}:\text{t}\acute{e}:$ $[\text{S}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{m}^{\text{h}}\text{a}:\text{j}]_{\text{F}}$ $\text{j}\text{a}\eta$ kin ? WH>FOC
 what COMP even Somchai still eat
 ‘What did even Somchai eat?’

The same also holds for *wh*-adjuncts in the example below.

- wh*-adjunct:
- (44) a. * $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{w}$ $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{p}$ $k^{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}:$ $[\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{on}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{on}$ $\text{diaw}]_{\text{F}}$ $t^{\text{h}}\text{ammaj}$? *FOC>WH
 he see only person CL one why
 ‘Why is he seeing only her?’
 b. $t^{\text{h}}\text{ammaj}$ $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{w}$ $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{o}}\text{p}$ $k^{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}:$ $[\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{on}$ $\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{on}$ $\text{diaw}]_{\text{F}}$? WH>FOC
 why he see only person CL one
 ‘Why is he seeing only her?’
- (45) a. * $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{w}$ kin $k^{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}:$ $[\text{c}\acute{\text{o}}:\text{k}]_{\text{F}}$ $t^{\text{h}}\text{ammaj}$? *FOC>WH
 he eat only rice porridge why
 ‘Why did he eat only rice porridge?’
 b. $t^{\text{h}}\text{ammaj}$ $k^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{a}}\text{w}$ kin $k^{\text{h}}\acute{\text{e}}:$ $[\text{c}\acute{\text{o}}:\text{k}]_{\text{F}}$? WH>FOC
 why he eat only rice porridge
 ‘Why did he eat only rice porridge?’
- (46) a. * $\text{N}\acute{\text{i}}\text{t}$ $t^{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{u}}\eta$ $[\text{j}\acute{\text{a}}:]_{\text{F}}$ $t^{\text{h}}\text{ammaj}$? *FOC>WH
 Nit even divorce why
 ‘Why was it exactly that Nit got divorced?’

- b. t^hammaj Nit t^hũŋ [jâ:]_F? WH>FOC
why Nit even divorce
'Why was it exactly that Nit got divorced?'

From the data discussed so far in Thai, focus intervention effects manifest in *wh*-questions both in *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts. However, it has been observed that there is a difference between the two types of *wh*-questions. In the case of *wh*-arguments, the complementizer *t^hi:* is obligatory in well-formed sentences, whereas in *wh*-adjuncts, *t^hi:* is not present. As one of the reviewers points out, that interveners in Thai induce focus intervention effects does not entail that they are focus particles. This is because the presence of *t^hi:* seems to rescue the grammaticality. We, however, cannot find evidence to argue that *t^hi:* behaves like other focus particles (be they exclusives or additives). We instead argue that *t^hi:*, in that it always obligatorily co-occurs with fronted *wh*-words, involves cleft construction.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper we present the semantic and syntactic analysis of focus particles in Thai. The interpretation of focus particles invokes a set of alternatives within the specific context. We explore the use of exclusives, scalar additives and non-scalar additives and their relation with the focus constituents. All of the focus particles in Thai obey the adjacency requirement whereby they attach to the focused element, hence, no scope ambiguity has been observed in focus constructions. In addition, Thai shows focus intervention effects in both *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts in which the *wh*-word must be higher than the focus phrase in order to derive the grammatical sentence. However, there is asymmetry between *wh*-arguments and *wh*-adjuncts: the former bears resemblance to *wh*-clefts due to the occurrence of *t^hi:* while the latter does not.

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Tiyanuch Rusawang and Sugunya Ruangjaroon

關注泰語助詞的語義與句法分析

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本文首次就泰語助詞的語義與句法進行分析，重點關注兩類助詞的介紹，是獨家發表且無任何其外添加（無誇大或貶低之添加）。此諸多助詞的解釋援引於一套特定上下文的語境。所有關注的助詞都要符合相應的要求，助詞所用之處總要與相鄰的詞彙因素有關，尚無觀察到有模稜兩可之用法。然而，泰語所表達的主語和賓語與想要遵循的 DP 主題是通過句子構造上的不對稱才有可能顯現的。Kim 於 2002 和 2007 年提出，泰語裡關注其介入的作用在視為形近詞還是連詞之間也存在不同的爭論。由 Ruangjaroon 在 2005 年提出形近詞句子的構造是分開的，而連詞則不是。

關鍵詞：關注助詞、標注主語/賓語的不對稱，泰語裡形近詞和連詞的不對稱，及運用時的作用。