Thai *Wh*-expressions at the Left Edge of the Clause: Contrastive and Identificational *Wh*-clefts*

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This paper is concerned with reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts and reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. I argue that cases of apparent *wh*-movement of bare *wh*-expressions are instances of reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts and reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. This paper first deals with the semantics and syntax of reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts which have the same properties as contrastive *wh*-clefts. The three major consequences of analyzing apparent cases of *wh*-movement are considered. First, only *wh*-subjects can occur as a cleftee. Second, *wh*-objects can occur as a cleftee only when passive markers are present. Last, only *who* can occur as a cleftee. These restrictions result naturally from the analysis. The remainder of the paper is devoted to reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. In particular, they involve clefting of D-linked *wh*-expressions. I argue that the semantics and syntax of reduced identificational *wh*-clefts share the same properties as identificational *wh*-clefts. Two predictions that result from the analysis are discussed.

Key words: (reduced) contrastive *wh*-clefts, (reduced) identificational *wh*-clefts, bare *wh*-expressions, D-linked *wh*-expressions

1. Introduction

In Thai, when *wh*-questions are formed, the *wh*-expression—be it subject (henceforth *wh*-subject), object (*wh*-object), indirect object (*wh*-indirect object) or possessor (*wh*-possessor)—occurs in the same position as the corresponding non-*wh*-expression in declarative sentences. This is illustrated in (1) for *wh*-subjects, in (2) for *wh*-objects, in (3) for *wh*-indirect objects, and in (4) for *wh*-possessors.

(1) **[kʰray]** sɨ́: nǎŋsɨ̌: mɨ̂:awa:nní:

    VARIABLE+HUMAN buy book yesterday

    'Who bought a book yesterday?'   *WH*-SUBJECT

(2) Nít sɨ́: **[ʔaray]** mɨ̂:awa:nní:

       buy VARIABLE–HUMAN yesterday

    'What did Nit buy yesterday?'   *WH*-OBJECT

(3) Nít hây nǎŋsɨ̌: **[kʰray]** mɨ̂:awa:nní:

       give book VARIABLE+HUMAN yesterday

    'To whom did Nit give a book yesterday?'   *WH*-INDIRECT OBJECT

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(4) Nít ʔà:n nǎŋsǐ: kʰɔ̌:ŋ **[kʰray]**   mɨ:awa:nní:
          read book   of   VARIABLE+HUMAN yesterday
     'Whose book did Nit read yesterday?'   *WH*-POSSESSOR

The examples in (1) through (4) establish that Thai *wh*-expressions occur in their base-generated position, i.e. Thai is a *wh* in-situ language.

In this paper, I am primarily concerned with an apparent case of *wh*-movement, as exemplified in (5) and (6), where a *wh*-expression is found in the sentence-initial position.

(5) **[kʰray]**   rák Nít   THAI *WH* IN-SITU
      VARIABLE+HUMAN love
     'Who loves Nit?'

(6) **[kʰray   tʰî:]** rák Nít   THAI APPARENT *WH*-MOVEMENT
      VARIABLE+HUMAN DET love
     '**Who** is the one that loves Nit?'

I also look at another case of apparent *wh*-movement, which involves discourse-linked *wh*-expressions such as *which man*, as in (7).

(7) **[pʰû:cʰa:y kʰon nǎy   tʰî:]** Nít   ʔæ̀:p cʰɔ̌:p
      man   CL   VARIABLE COMP   hide   like
     'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'

At first glance, taken together, the examples in (6-7) suggest that, in addition to *wh* in-situ, there is also *wh*-movement in Thai. This apparent two-way split might seem unsurprising, given that there is independent cross-linguistic evidence for the distinction between *wh* in-situ, partial *wh*-movement and long-distance *wh*-movement. See (8) for examples of these types from Mandarin, German and English.

(8) a. Huangrong xiangxin Guojing mai-le   **[shenme]**
                  believe   buy-ASP   what
       'What did Huangrong believe that Guojing bought?'
                                        (Cheng and Sybesma 1991:194)
    b. Was   meinst du   **[wen]** (daβ) sie wirklich liebt
       [+wh] think   you   who   that   she   really   loves
       'Who do you think that she really loves?' (Müller and Sternefeld 1993:486)
    c. **[What]** did you think (that) Joey bought?

Despite the surface parallels between the Thai examples in (6-7) and the examples of partial and long-distance *wh*-movement in (8b-c), I argue that all *wh*-expressions in Thai are in-situ. Crucially, apparent cases of *wh*-movement involve the obligatory presence of the determiner $t^h\hat{\imath}$: immediately following the *wh*-expression. I argue that $t^h\hat{\imath}$: clauses such as those in (6) and (7) involve different types of clefting as seen in Malay (Cole and Hermon 2000).

2. Contrastive *wh*-clefts

In this section, I show that apparent instances of *wh*-movement of bare *wh*-expressions equivalent to English *who* or *what* are in fact reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts. I discuss the semantics of contrastive clefts with the overt copula *pen* and the syntax of contrastive *pen* clefts and argue that the semantics and syntax of reduced *wh*-clefts have the same properties as contrastive *wh*-clefts.

2.1 The semantics of contrastive clefts with the overt copula *pen*

In Thai, contrastive clefts have the following semantic properties: the cleft clause is associated with an existential presupposition, and the cleftee is associated with a uniqueness presupposition and a contrastive focus. Consider how these properties are exemplified.

(9) [$_{DP}$ Ník **t^{h}î:**] **pen** [$_{nP}$ **k^{h}on** t^{h}am ca:n tǽ:k]

           DEF be   NOM cause plate break

'Nick was the one that broke a plate.'

Here the cleft clause corresponds to an nP, which is in fact a nominalized clause. This cleft clause has an existential presupposition in that it presupposes the existence of someone who broke the plate. In (9), the cleftee is a DP. This DP has a uniqueness presupposition: Nick is the unique individual that satisfies the existential presupposition introduced by the cleft clause. The source of the uniqueness presupposition is the definite marker $t^h\hat{\imath}$: The cleftee, in addition to satisfying a uniqueness presupposition, is also contrastively focused, so *Ník* is here contrasted with any other accessible discourse referent. Thus, (9) can be uttered in the situation where *Ník*, and no one else, broke a plate.

2.1.1 Contrastive clefts have an existential presupposition

Semantically, the cleft clause in contrastive clefts in Thai is associated with an existential presupposition, as shown in (10).

(10) [DP Ník tʰî:] pen [nP kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk]
         DEF be NOM cause plate break
  'Nick was the one that broke a plate.'
  → Existential presupposition: x broke a plate.

A context is created where the presence of an existential presupposition is explicitly denied. In such contexts, we expect that contrastive clefts will be infelicitous.

(11) mâymiːkʰray tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk
  nobody cause plate break
  'Since nobody broke a plate,…'
  a. nân mǎːykʰwaːmwâ: [Rɔːn mây dây tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk]
    that mean NEG PAST cause plate break
    '…it follows that Ron did not break a plate.'
  b. #[1]nân mǎːykʰwaːmwâ: mây cʰây [Rɔːn tʰî: pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk]
    that mean NEG yes DEF be NOM cause plate break
    '…it follows that it was not Ron that broke a plate.'

(11a) is felicitous as an existential presupposition is unexpected in a non-clefted clause. (11b), however, is infelicitous because the cleft induces an existential presupposition due to the open variable (x broke a plate and Ron is x such that Ron broke a plate) in the cleft clause. As such, the contradiction between the absence of the existential presupposition and a cleft clause results in infelicity.

2.1.2 Contrastive clefts have a uniqueness presupposition

Another semantic property of contrastive clefts in Thai is that the cleftee is associated with a uniqueness presupposition. In a cleft focus, only the unique value can be substituted for the focus position x.

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[1] # denotes infelicity.

(12) [$_{DP}$ Ník **t^{h}î:**]   pen   [$_{nP}$ k^{h}on   t^{h}am   ca:n   tæ̀:k]

          DEF   be   NOM   cause   plate   break

    'Nick was the one that broke a plate.'

    → Existential presupposition: x broke a plate.

    → Uniqueness presupposition: x = only Nick

In a situation containing a contextually given set of individuals, like (13), a unique individual has to be picked out from the set of individuals.

(13) Context: Nick broke a plate, but Nat and New didn't; i.e. only Nick broke a plate.

    Individuals in domain: {Nick, Nat, New}

    a. x   t^{h}am   ca:n   tæ̀:k

        cause   plate   break

     'X broke a plate.'

    b. alternative propositions

      {Nick broke a plate, Nat broke a plate, New broke a plate}

      focus value of the open proposition

    c. [$_{DP}$ Ník   **t^{h}î:**]   pen   [$_{XP}$ k^{h}on   t^{h}am   ca:n   tæ̀:k]

           DEF   be   NOM   cause   plate   break

     'Nick was the one that broke a plate.'

An additive particle test shows that Thai contrastive clefts are associated with a uniqueness presupposition. Contrastive clefts should not be compatible with additive particles due to their uniqueness presupposition. In the focus position of a cleft, there is a presupposition that the proposition holds true of no other individual(s) than the set referred to in the focus position. Shank (2004) claims that in a focus construction, when a speaker does not aim to contradict another speaker by asserting an alternative proposition, but merely wants to add more information, the speaker can do so by adding an additive particle such as *also* or *too* as long as the alternative set of individuals is taken as a true proposition in the given context.

(14), however, demonstrates that only a unique value is acceptable in a cleft focus construction. When an additive particle is inserted, the sentences become infelicitous as seen in (14a-b). This is what we predict in a cleft focus. There is a presupposition that the proposition holds true of no other individual(s) than the set referred to in the focus position. And in Thai, it is this morpheme *t^{h}î:* that imposes a uniqueness requirement on the cleftee.

(14) Individuals in domain: {Nick, Nat, New}

Context: Nick and Nat each broke a plate, but New didn't.

a. #**Ník** **tʰîː** pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

          DEF be NOM cause plate break

   Nát kɔ̂ː dûːay tʰîː pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

          also together DEF be NOM cause plate break

   '*Nick was the one that broke a plate. Nat was **also** the one that broke a plate.'

b. #**Ník** **tʰîː** pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

          DEF be NOM cause plate break

   lǽʔ Nát kɔ̂ː tʰam mɨ̌ːan kan

     and also do same each

   '*Nick was the one that broke a plate, and so did Nat.'

2.1.3 Contrastive clefts have a contrastive focus

Contrastive *pen* clefts encode a contrastive focus reading which comes from the definite marker *tʰîː* that introduces a definite reading on the NP that it marks in a nominal predicational construction. I introduce *tʰîː* as a definite marker.[2] *tʰîː* functions as a definite marker in characterizational copula sentences (Kuno and Wongkhomthong 1981). When *tʰîː* is acting as a definite marker, it is only restricted to characterizational *pen* copula sentences which take a nominalized clause.

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[2] This departs from the traditional view, which treats *tʰîː* as a comlementizer introducing complement and relative clauses (cf. Hoonchamlong 1991, Visonyanggoon 2000, and Wannapaiboon 2001). I also treat this morpheme as a complementizer in relative clauses in the next section. There are two complementizers in Thai that can be used to introduce complement clauses: *tʰîː* and *wâː*. While *tʰîː* introduces infinitive clauses, *wâː* introduces finite clauses.

(i) Nít tâŋcay tʰîː càŋ pen kʰruː

    intend COMP FUT be teacher

  'Nit intends to be a teacher.'

(ii) Nít tâŋcay wâː càʔ pen kʰruː

    intend COMP FUT be teacher

  Lit.: 'Nitᵢ intends that (sheᵢ) will be/become a teacher.'

As for relative clauses, they can be introduced by *tʰîː* but not by *wâː*.

(iii) a. nǎŋsɨ̌ː (lêm) tʰîː Nít yàːkdâːy pʰæ̀ːŋ mâːk

    book CL COMP want expensive very

   'The book that Nit wanted to buy was very expensive.'

  b. *nǎŋsɨ̌ː (lêm) wâː Nít yàːkdâːy pʰæ̀ːŋ mâːk

    book CL COMP want expensive very

   'The book that Nit wanted to buy was very expensive.'

(15) Context: B is talking to A about *Ník,* but there are two *Niks* in their high school who they both know: one is a professor, and the other is a high school dropout. A is not sure if they are talking about the same *Ník,* so he asks B to identify which *Ník* is under discussion.

A: kʰun pʰûːt tʰɨ̌ːŋ   **[Ník nǎy]**

you talk about   VARIABLE

Lit.: 'You are talking about which Nick?'

'Which Nick are you talking about?'

B1: Ník **tʰîː** pen   ʔacaːn

       DEF be   teacher

Lit.: 'The Nick who is a professor.'

(as opposed to the Nick who is a high school dropout)

B2: #Ník pen   ʔacaːn

       be   teacher

'Nick is a professor.'

In (15B1), a specific definite interpretation correlates with the presence of $t^h\hat{\imath}$:; this suggests that $t^h\hat{\imath}$: should be treated as a definite marker. If $t^h\hat{\imath}$: were acting as a complementizer in a relative clause, we would expect the sentence below to be infelicitous because it is a sentence fragment, illustrated in the context below.

(15') A: kʰun pʰûːt tʰɨ̌ːŋ   **[Ník nǎy]**

you talk about   VARIABLE

Lit.: 'You are talking about which Nick?'

'Which Nick are you talking about?'

B1: #Ník **tʰîː**   sɔ̌ːn   mahǎːwítʰayaːlay

              COMP teach   university

'The Nick that teaches at a university.'

B2: pʰûːt tʰɨ̌ːŋ Ník **tʰîː**   sɔ̌ːn   mahǎːwítʰayaːlay

talk about   DEF teach   university

'(I) am talking about the Nick that teaches at a university.'

In this context, the definite marker $t^h\hat{\imath}$: is obligatory. We saw in (15) the presence of the overt *pen* copula in nominal predicates. In Thai, predicational/characterizational contexts are distinct from equative/identificational contexts: the former requires the copula *pen*, and the latter requires the copula $k^h\dot{\imath}$: (Kuno and Wongkhomthong 1981). This is illustrated in (16).

(16) a. cʰán **pen** kʰru:
    I   be   teacher
    'I am a teacher.'
  b. *cʰán **kʰɨ:** kʰru:
    I   be teacher
    'I am a teacher.'

According to Kuno and Wongkhomthong (1981), the contrast between (16a) and (16b) is attributable to the nature of characterizational sentences such that 'being a teacher' is one of the characteristics that the subject possesses. (16b) is ungrammatical due to the mismatch between a characterizational sentence and the use of the identificational copula $k^h ɨ$: in the sentence. (17) shows the opposite of (16), namely, a context where $k^h ɨ$: can occur and *pen* cannot.

(17) a. Ník **kʰɨ:** kʰon tʰî: cʰán rák
      be CL COMP I   love
    'Nick is the one that I love.'
  b. *Ník **pen** kʰon tʰî: cʰán rák
      be CL COMP I   love
    'Nick is the one that I love.'

(17a) is an identificational sentence such that the speaker identifies the person whom she loves. This is compatible with the identificational nature of $k^h ɨ$:. (17b), on the other hand, produces a conflict by the use of the characterizational copula *pen* in an identificational context, and hence the sentence is ungrammatical. Contrastive clefts are only compatible with the characterizational copula *pen*, as shown in (18). When the identificational copula $k^h ɨ$: is used, the sentence is ill-formed and does not give a contrastive focus interpretation. We see that there is a correlation between the presence of the *pen* copula and the availability of a contrastive focus reading.

(18) Context: A mother is furious to know that her expensive china was broken into pieces. She looks fiercely at Nick, Nat and New. Nat suddenly shouts (18a) that Nick is the one who did it, NOT him.
  a. *pen* as a characterizational copula
    Ník **tʰî:** **pen** kʰon tʰam
      DEF be   NOM do
    'Nick was the one who did it.'

b. $k^h\dot{i}$: as an identificational copula

*Ník **t^{h}î:** **k^{h}ì:** k^{h}on t^{h}am

    DEF be NOM do

'Nick was the one who did it.'

2.2 The syntax of contrastive clefts with overt *pen*

Contrastive *pen* clefts have the following syntactic properties: the cleftee is in the subject position of the *pen* copula, the cleft is a nominalized clause with the nominalizer k^h*on*, and the morpheme k^h*on* is a subject-oriented nominalizer. The example in (19) illustrates a contrastive cleft where the cleftee is introduced by the definite marker $t^h\hat{i}$:. The cleft is a nominalized clause headed by the nominalizer k^h*on*. This nominalized clause is co-indexed with its cleftee linked by the characterizational copula *pen*.

(19) [Ník t^{h}î:] pen [$_{NomP}$ k^{h}on t^{h}am ca:n tæ̀:k]

      DEF be   NOM cause plate break

  'Nick was the one that broke a plate.'

The structure is shown in (20). Assuming the nP as a nominalized phrase, the referential argument in the Specifier of nP is co-indexed with a *pro* subject.

(20)

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                    IP
              _____|_____
             DP            I'
            / \        ____|____
        Ník t^hî:     I         nP
             |     ___|___
            pen   R_i      n'
            'be'       ___|___
                      n       VP
                      |     __|__
                    k^hon  pro_i  t^ham  ca:n  tæ̀:k
                          'cause' 'plate' 'break'
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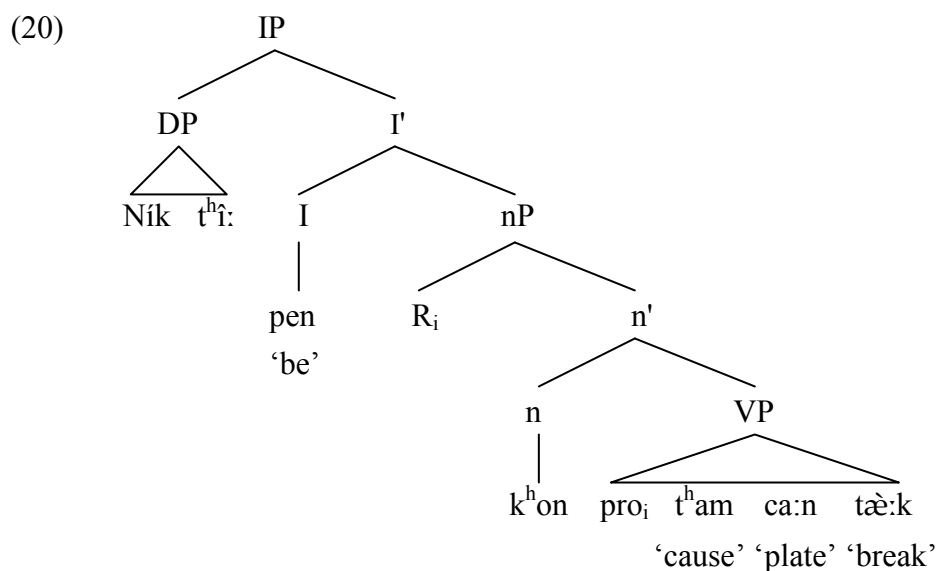
The morpheme k^h*on* acts as a subject-oriented nominalizer in contrastive *pen* clefts, and thus the nominalized clause behaves like a normal noun. To test whether k^h*on* is a real nominalizer, one can introduce the future marker *cà?* in the sentence.

Since the nominalizer and the verb cannot be separated, we expect that when the future marker is added, the sentence will be ill-formed. This is confirmed by the data in (21).

(21) a. **kʰon** câ:ŋ
       NOM   employ
       'an employer'
  b. *kʰon càʔ câ:ŋ
       NOM   FUT employ
       'a future employer'

In addition to occurring pre-verbally, *kʰon* also occurs post-verbally, as in (22a), in which case it functions as an indefinite pronoun rather than a nominalizer. The introduction of a future marker in such contexts is well-formed, as shown in (22b).

(22) a. *pro* câ:ŋ   **kʰon**
          employ one
  ≠ (i) 'an employee'
  = (ii) '(*pro*) employs someone.'
  b. *pro* **càʔ** câ:ŋ   **kʰon**
         FUT employ one
    '(*pro*) will employ someone.'

Like an ordinary noun phrase, a nominalized clause like [kʰon câ:ŋ] can be modified as in (23b), quantified as in (23c) or pluralized by adding a numeral and classifier as in (23d).

(23) a. cʰán pen [kʰon câ:ŋ]
     I   be   NOM employ
     'I am an employer.'
  b. [kʰon câ:ŋ] cay rá:y
     NOM employ heart cruel
     'The cruel employer'
  c. [kʰon câ:ŋ] ba:ŋ kʰon cay   rá:y
     NOM employ some CL   heart cruel
     'Some cruel employers'

d. ʔaːn níː miː [kʰon câːŋ] pràmaːn hâː kʰon

   job DEM exist NOM employ about   five CL

   'For this project, there are about 5 employers.'

As a nominalizer, the morpheme *kʰon* is subject-oriented.[3] When we try to nominalize the object with the nominalizer *kʰon*, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (24b). An object can only be nominalized if it is first promoted to a subject via passivization.

(24) a. kʰon câːŋ   kʰun

   NOM   employ you

   'an employer'

 b. *kʰon kʰun   câːŋ

    NOM   you   employ

    'an employee'

 c. kʰon **tʰùːk** câːŋ

    NOM   PASS employ

    'an employee'

In a contrastive cleft, the cleft clause is nominalized by *kʰon*. In so much as it appears that the cleft clause in contrastive *pen* clefts is nominalized, only the subject argument is available. Moreover, the nominalizer *kʰon* can only nominalize the subject of a transitive verb, as shown in (25-27). The (b) examples of (26-27) show that the nominalizer *nák* is used with intransitive verbs.

(25) **kʰon** kèp   ʔən

   NOM   collect money

   'a bill collector / a waiter'

(26) a. ***kʰon** wîŋ

    NOM   run

    'a runner'

 b. **nák** wîŋ

    NOM run

    'a runner'

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[3] However, we will see in Section 3 that it can also appear as a classifier, in which case it is not subject to a restriction interpretation. When there is no subject restriction, we have a relative clause.

(27) a. ***kʰon** dəːntʰaːŋ

   NOM travel

  'a traveler'

  b. **nák** dəːntʰaːŋ

   NOM travel

  'a traveler'

As a nominalized clause, we can expect that no future marking is allowed in the cleft clause. In (28), when the future tense marker is introduced before the contrastive *pen* copula, the copula is associated with the future tense meaning 'will be'. However, the example in (29), as expected, is ill-formed when the nominalizer and its verbs get separated by the future tense marker.

(28) kʰáw tʰîː **càʔ** pen kʰon hěn pʰîː

  he DET FUT be NOM see ghost

  'He **will be** the one who sees the ghost.'

(29) *kʰáw tʰîː pen kʰon **càʔ** hěn pʰîː

  he DET be NOM FUT ghost see

  'He is the one who **will** see the ghost.'

2.3 The semantics of reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts

This section shows that the semantics of reduced *wh*-clefts have the same properties as contrastive *wh*-clefts. There are semantic parallels between contrastive *wh*-clefts and the apparent cases of *wh*-movement, while *wh* in-situ lacks such properties. I propose that apparent cases of *wh*-movement involve no movement but are in fact reduced *wh*-clefts.

(30) [$_{DP}$ kʰray   tʰîː] **pen** [$_{NomP}$ **kʰon** tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk]

  VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF be   NOM cause plate break

 'Who was the one that broke a plate?'

The cleft clause, which is in fact a nominalized clause, has an existential presupposition in that it presupposes the existence of someone who broke the plate. In (30), the cleftee is a DP, here *kʰray tʰîː*. This DP has a uniqueness presupposition: in this example *who* seeks the unique individual that satisfies the existential presupposition introduced by the cleft clause. The cleftee, in addition to satisfying a uniqueness presupposition, is also contrastively focused (due to the *pen* copula), so

the *wh*-expression is here contrasted with any other accessible discourse referent. Thus, (30) can be uttered in a situation where there is a presupposition that the proposition holds true of no other individual(s) than the set referred to in the focus position.

2.3.1 Reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts have an existential presupposition

A question-answer pair diagnostic shows that apparent cases of *wh*-movement are associated with an existential presupposition, parallel to contrastive *wh*-clefts. *Wh* in-situ, on the other hand, is not associated with an existential presupposition. To illustrate this, consider a context where the answer to the *wh*-question is the empty set 'no one'. Such an answer is infelicitous with *wh*-clefts as in (31a-b), but felicitous with *wh* in-situ as in (31c).

(31) a. Q: **[kʰray]**   tʰîː pen kʰon tʰam   caːn   tæ̀ːk
         VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF be   NOM cause plate break
         'Who was the one that broke a plate?'   CONTRASTIVE *WH*-CLEFTS
      A: #mây   miː   nî
         NEG   have speech-level particle
         'No one.'
      b. Q: **[kʰray]**   **tʰîː**   tʰam   caːn   tæ̀ːk
         VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF cause plate break
         'Who was the one that broke a plate?'   REDUCED *WH*-CLEFTS
      A: #mây miː nî
      c. Q: **[kʰray]**   tʰam caːn   tæ̀ːk
         VARIABLE+HUMAN cause plate break
         'Who broke a plate?'   *WH* IN-SITU
      A: mây miː nî

2.3.2 Reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts have a uniqueness presupposition

Using the same question-answer test, one can show that reduced *wh*-clefts have the same semantic property as contrastive *wh*-clefts in that a speaker expects a unique entity to be singled out. While contrastive *wh*-clefts and their reduced counterpart do not permit more than one person to be singled out as in (32a-b), *wh* in-situ questions do as in (32c).

(32) a. Q: **[kʰray]** tʰîː pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF be NOM cause plate break

'Who was the one that broke a plate?' CONTRASTIVE *WH*-CLEFTS

A: #Níck Nát

'Nick and Nat.'

b. Q: **tʰîː** tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF cause plate break

'Who was it that broke a plate?' REDUCED *WH*-CLEFTS

A: #Níck Nát

c. Q: **[kʰray]** tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN cause plate break

'Who broke a plate?' *WH* IN-SITU

A: Níck Nát

2.3.3 Reduced *wh*-clefts have a contrastive focus

One of the clearest ways of showing the presence of a contrastive focus reading is to create a context where such a contrastive reading is explicitly accepted. In such contexts, we expect that answers that encode a contrastive focus reading are felicitous with contrastive *wh*-clefts and reduced *wh*-clefts, but are infelicitous with *wh* in-situ. The data in (33) show that this is indeed the case.

(33) a. Q: **[kʰray]** tʰîː pen kʰon tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN DET be NOM cause plate break

'Who was the one that broke a plate?' CONTRASTIVE *WH*-CLEFTS

A: Ník pen kʰon tʰam mây cʰây Nát

Nick be NOM cause NEG yes Nat

'Nick was the one who did it and Nat wasn't the one who did it.'

b. Q: **[kʰray]** tʰîː tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN DET cause plate break

'Who was the one that broke a plate?' REDUCED *WH*-CLEFTS

A: Ník pen kʰon tʰam mây cʰây Nát

c. Q: **[kʰray]** tʰam caːn tæ̀ːk

VARIABLE+HUMAN cause plate break

'Who broke a plate?' *WH* IN-SITU

A: #Ník pen kʰon tʰam mây cʰây Nát

2.4 The syntax of reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts

The syntactic structure of a contrastive *wh*-cleft is shown in (34). The cleftee is a *wh*-expression marked by the definite marker $t^h\hat{\imath}$:. The cleft is a nominalized clause headed by the nominalizer k^hon. This nominalized clause is co-indexed with its cleft, linked by the characterizational copula *pen*.

(34)

```
                    CP
                    |
                    C'
              _____|_____
             C            IP
             |        _____|_____
         Q[wh]       DP          I'
                   __|__      ___|____
                kʰray  D'    I        nP
                'who'  |     |      ___|___
                       D    pen   Rᵢ      n'
                       |    'be'       ___|___
                      tʰîː             n      υP
                                       |    ___|___
                                      kʰon Agentᵢ   υ'
                                                 ___|___
                                                υ       VP
                                                |      __|__
                                              tʰam  caːn  tæ̀ːk
                                            'cause' 'plate' 'break'
```
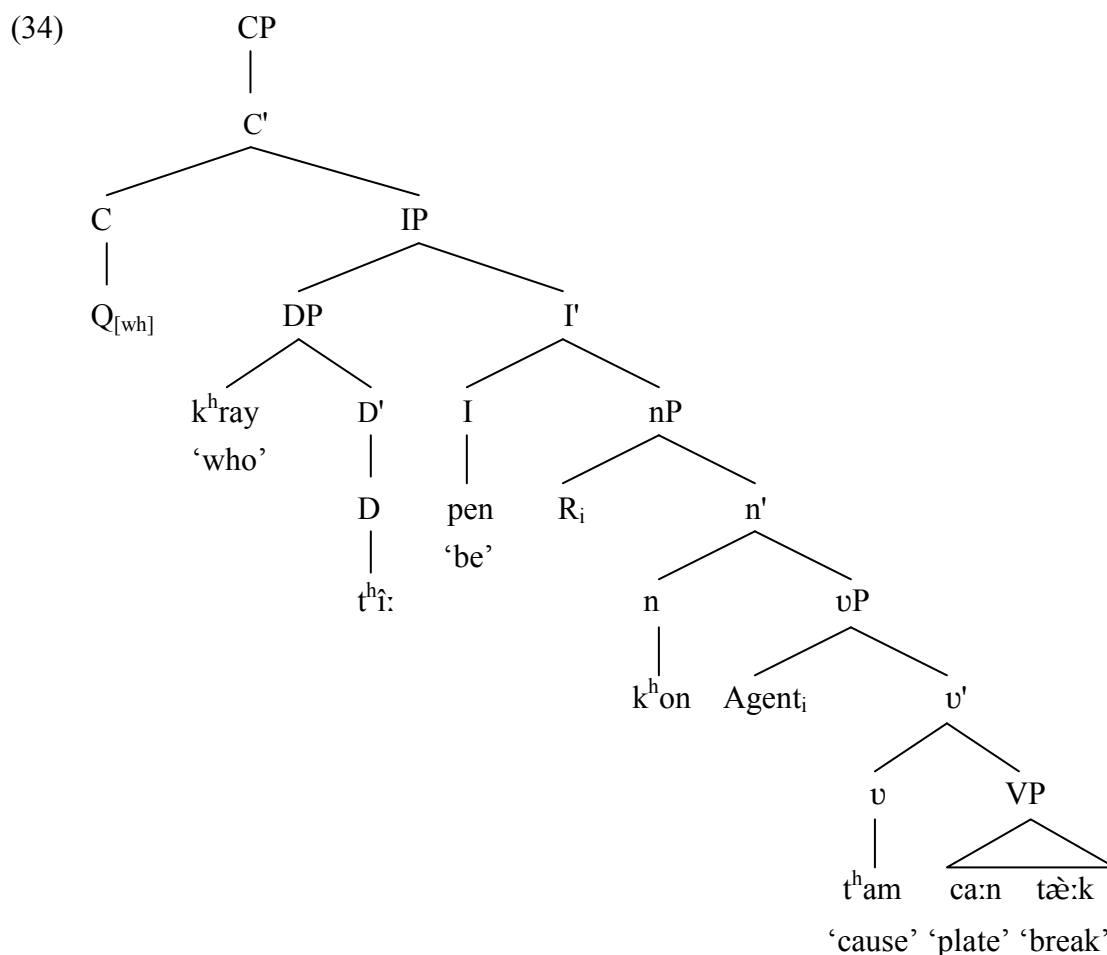
Reduced contrastive *wh*-clefts have syntactic properties that parallel those of contrastive clefts as follows: the *wh*-expression as the cleftee is in the subject position of an abstract predicational copula (the covert counterpart of *pen*), the cleft is a nominalized clause with an abstract nominalizer (the covert counterpart of k^hon), and the nominalizer is a subject-oriented nominalizer. The question that naturally arises is how reduced *wh*-clefts are associated with an existential presupposition and a contrastive focus reading when the nominalizer k^hon and the *pen* copula are absent. I repeat the examples in (32).

(35) a. **[kʰray]**   **tʰî̀:**   pen   kʰon   tʰam   caːn   tæ̀ːk
        VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF   be   NOM   cause   plate   break
        'Who was the one that broke a plate?'   CONTRASTIVE *WH*-CLEFTS

   b. **[kʰray]**   **tʰî̀:**   tʰam   caːn   tæ̀ːk
        VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF   cause   plate   break
        'Who was the one that broke a plate?'   REDUCED *WH*-CLEFTS

The definite marker *tʰî̀:* induces a uniqueness presupposition, which in turn implies an existential presupposition in that the existence of someone must be presupposed before a unique individual is picked out. We can say that the presence of *tʰî̀:* in reduced *wh*-clefts is the source for both existential and uniqueness presuppositions. For contrastive focus, reduced *wh*-clefts can only allow "bare" *wh*-expressions as opposed to "D-linked" *wh*-expressions. We will see later that D-linked *wh*-expressions involve reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. This suggests that there might be a correlation between contrastive focus and "bare" *wh*-expressions. The structure of the reduced *wh*-cleft is illustrated below.

(36)
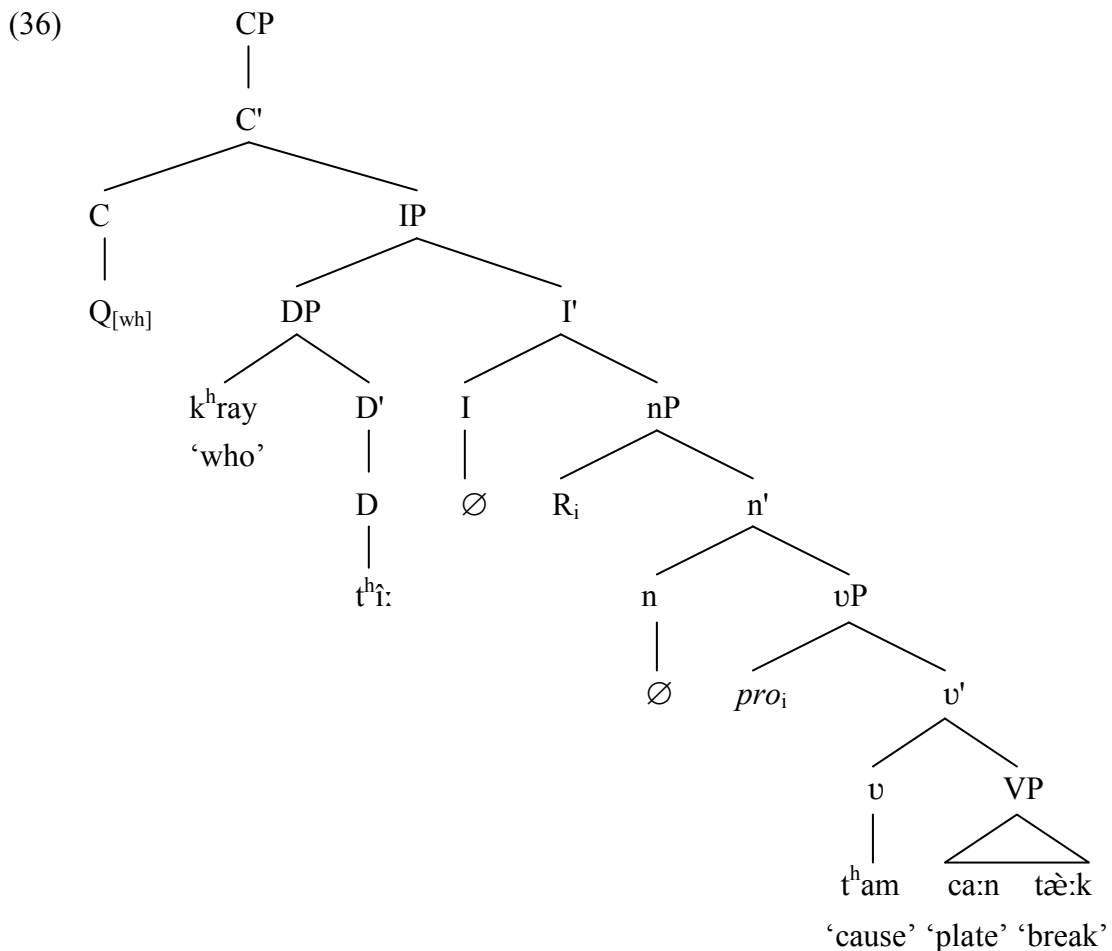
We thus conclude that Thai does not exhibit *wh*-movement, although superficially it looks as if it does. The apparent instances of *wh*-movement are attributable to contrastive *wh*-clefts.

2.5 Consequences of the contrastive wh-cleft analysis

Considered together, the semantic and syntactic evidence reviewed above suggests that the apparent cases of *wh*-movement are derived from contrastive *wh*-clefts. I now consider three consequences of analyzing them as reduced *wh*-clefts. First, there will be an asymmetry between the subject and the object. Second, *wh*-objects are only promoted to *wh*-subjects via passivization. Third, only [+human] subjects are allowed.

2.5.1 An asymmetry between *wh*-subjects and *wh*-objects

In contrastive *wh*-clefts, only *wh*-subjects can occur as a cleftee. As discussed, the nominalizer k^hon is subject-oriented, as shown in the contrast between (37a) and (37b).

(37) a. **[kʰray]**   tʰîː pen kʰon câːŋ   Britney
          VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF be   NOM   employ
        'Who was the one that hired Britney?'
      b. *[kʰray]   tʰîː pen kʰon Britney câːŋ
           VARIABLE+HUMAN DEF be   NOM   employ
        'Who was the one that Britney hired?'

If the apparent cases of *wh*-movement are derived from contrastive *wh*-clefts, we predict the presence of a subject/object asymmetry whereby only *wh*-subjects can occur as cleftees. This prediction is confirmed by the data in (38), where we can see that there is a subject/object asymmetry in reduced *wh*-clefts. The reduced counterpart is grammatical in (38a) when the copula and the nominalizer are absent, corresponding to the full form of the contrastive *wh*-cleft in (38a). In contrast to this, (38b) is ill-formed, the ungrammaticality arising due to the subject restriction on the nominalizer k^hon.

(38) a. **[kʰray   tʰîː]** câːŋ   Britney
          VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF employ
        'Who was the one that hired Britney?'

b. *[kʰray   tʰî:]   Britney câ:ŋ

    VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF   employ

'Who was the one that Britney hired?'

2.5.2 *Wh*-object can occur as a cleftee with the presence of passive markers

The contrastive *wh*-cleft analysis correctly predicts that in reduced *wh*-clefts, *wh*-objects can occur as a cleftee when the object in the cleft clause is passivized before being nominalized. The data below show that *wh*-objects can occur as the cleftee if they are promoted to a subject by one of the passive makers *do:n*, *dâ:y* or *tʰù:k*.

(39) a. **[kʰray]**   tʰî: **do:n** tʰamtʰô:t   mî̃:awa:nní:

    VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF PASS punish   yesterday

    'Who was the one that was punished yesterday?'

   b. **[kʰray]**   tʰî: **dâ:y** ráp   kʰát   ɬ̃:ak   pay kʰæ̀:ŋkʰăn

    VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF PASS receive select choose go   contest

    ʔo:limpìk

    Olympic

    'Who was the one that was chosen to go to the Olympic?'

   c. **[kʰray]**   tʰî: **tʰù:k** ɬ̃:ak hây ráp   tʰun   ka:n

    VARIABLE+HUMAN   DEF PASS choose give receive scholarship NOM

    sɨksă:

    study

    'Who was the one that was chosen for a scholarship?'

2.5.3 Only [+human] subjects are allowed

Another consequence of analyzing apparent cases of *wh*-movement as reduced *wh*-clefts is that [−human] *wh*-expressions are not expected to occur as cleftees. As we saw earlier, the nominalizer *kʰon* is subject-oriented and more specifically, is restricted to [+human] entities. Hence, *wh*-expressions with a [−human] feature, a feature equivalent to English *what*, are not compatible with the nominalizer *kʰon*. This explains why the full form on *wh*-clefts in (40a) is ungrammatical. Supposing that (40b) is a reduced *wh*-cleft of (40a), we would predict that the [+human] mentioned will hold, and it does.

(40) a. *[**ʔaray**]   tʰîː pen **kʰon** tʰam bâːn tʰalòm

         VARIABLE–HUMAN DEF be NOM cause house collapse

    'What was the thing that caused the house to collapse?'

                                                    CONTRASTIVE *WH*-CLEFTS

     b. *[**ʔaray**]   tʰîː tʰam bâːn tʰalòm

         VARIABLE–HUMAN DEF cause house collapse

    'What was the thing that caused the house to collapse?'

                                                    REDUCED *WH*-CLEFTS

We have seen the following three restrictions apply to reduced *wh*-clefts: only *wh*-subjects can occur as a cleftee (due to the inability of the nominalizer *kʰon* to nominalize the object), *wh*-objects can occur as a cleftee only when passive markers are present (the object can only nominalize through passivization), and only [+human] subjects can occur as cleftees (due to the incompatibility of the nominalizer *kʰon* with [−human] arguments). These restrictions result naturally from the contrastive *wh*-cleft analysis: the apparent cases of *wh*-movement are reduced *wh*-clefts, so they have the same structure as contrastive *wh*-clefts.

3. Identificational *wh*-clefts

There is another apparent case of *wh*-movement that crucially allows only discourse-linked *wh*-expressions (equivalent to English *which N*) to occur at the left edge. I call these "D-linked *wh*-expressions". Consider the ungrammatical example in (41a), in which the *wh*-expression appears to have undergone movement from its base-generated position. The ungrammaticality is attributable to the absence of the morpheme *tʰîː*, which is required to co-occur with the *wh*-expression. In contrast, (41b) is a grammatical example in which *tʰîː* is present following the *wh*-expression in the clause-initial position.

(41) a. *[**pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon năy**]   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp

         man   CL   VARIABLE   hide like

    'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'   THAI *WH* IN-SITU

     b. [**pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon năy**]   **tʰîː**   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp

         man   CL   VARIABLE COMP   hide like

    'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'

                                                    THAI APPARENT *WH*-MOVEMENT

Despite the surface appearance of *wh*-movement, I argue that *tʰîː* clauses with

D-linked *wh*-expressions such as those in (41b) are identificational *wh*-clefts, and as such are the reduced counterparts of identificational *kʰɨ:* clefts. Identificational *kʰɨ:* clefts have a head noun or a classifier, an overt copula (*kʰɨ:*), and an overt complementizer (*tʰî:*): the clefted element may be a nominal expression, as in (42a), or a *wh*-expression, as in (42b). The reduced counterparts of identificational clefts appear in (43). I adopt the same convention by referring to the reduced identificational clefts like (43a) as "reduced clefts", and the reduced identificational *wh*-clefts such as (43b) as "reduced *wh*-clefts".

(42) a. Ron **kʰɨ:** **kʰon** **tʰî:**   Nít   ʔæ̀:p   cʰɔ̂:p
              be   CL   COMP   hide   like
     'Ron is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on.'

<div align="right">IDENTIFICATIONAL CLEFT</div>

    b. [pʰû:cʰa:y kʰon nǎy]   **kʰɨ:** **kʰon** **tʰî:**   Nít ʔæ̀:p   cʰɔ̂:p
     man   CL   VARIABLE   be   CL   COMP   hide   like
     'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

<div align="right">IDENTIFICATIONAL WH-CLEFT</div>

(43) a. Ron **tʰî:**   Nít   ʔæ̀:p   cʰɔ̂:p
             COMP   hide   like
     Lit.: '(It is) Ron that Nit secretly has a crush on.'
     'Ron is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on.'

<div align="right">REDUCED (IDENTIFICATIONAL) CLEFT</div>

    b. **[pʰû:cʰa:y kʰon nǎy]**   **tʰî:**   Nít ʔæ̀:p   cʰɔ̂:p
     man   CL   VARIABLE COMP   hide   like
     'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

<div align="right">REDUCED (IDENTIFICATIONAL) WH-CLEFT</div>

3.1 The semantics of identificational clefts with the overt copula *kʰɨ:*

Like the contrastive clefts, identificational clefts are associated with an existential presupposition and a uniqueness presupposition. Identificational clefts, however, do not have a contrastive focus, as seen in (44). In (44b), there is no contrastive focus between Ron and someone else. This illustrates that a cleftee may be unique without being contrastive. This is attributable to the presence of the identificational *kʰɨ:* copula.

(44) a. [$_{NP}$ Ron] **k^{h}ɨː** [$_{XP}$ k^{h}on t^{h}îː   Nít   ʔæ̀ːp   c^{h}ɔ́ːp]

                    be   CL   COMP   hide   like

         'Ron is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on.'

          → Existential presupposition: there is an x such that Nit secretly has a crush on x.

          → Uniqueness presupposition: only x such that Nit secretly has a crush on x.

     b. *[Ron] **k^{h}ɨː** [$_{XP}$ k^{h}on t^{h}îː   Nít   ʔæ̀ːp   c^{h}ɔ́ːp] mây c^{h}ây Bill

                    be   CL   COMP   hide   like   NEG   yes

         'Ron is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on, not Bill.'

3.2 The syntax of identificational clefts with overt *k^{h}ɨː*

The syntax of identificational clefts contains an overt copula *k^{h}ɨː*. Identificational *k^{h}ɨː* clefts have the following syntactic properties: the cleftee is in the subject position of the identificational *k^{h}ɨː* copula, and the cleft clause is a relative clause with a head noun and/or a classifier followed by the complementizer *t^{h}îː*, as shown in (45-46). The cleftee is the subject of the *k^{h}ɨː* copula. The cleft is a relative clause that contains a head noun and/or a classifier *k^{h}on* followed by the complementizer *t^{h}îː*.

(45) **[Ron]** k^{h}ɨː [$_{DP}$ *pro* [$_{CP}$ k^{h}on t^{h}îː   Nít   ʔæ̀ːp   c^{h}ɔ́ːp]]

             be   CL   COMP   hide   like

     'Ron is the one that secretly has a crush on Nit.'

(46)
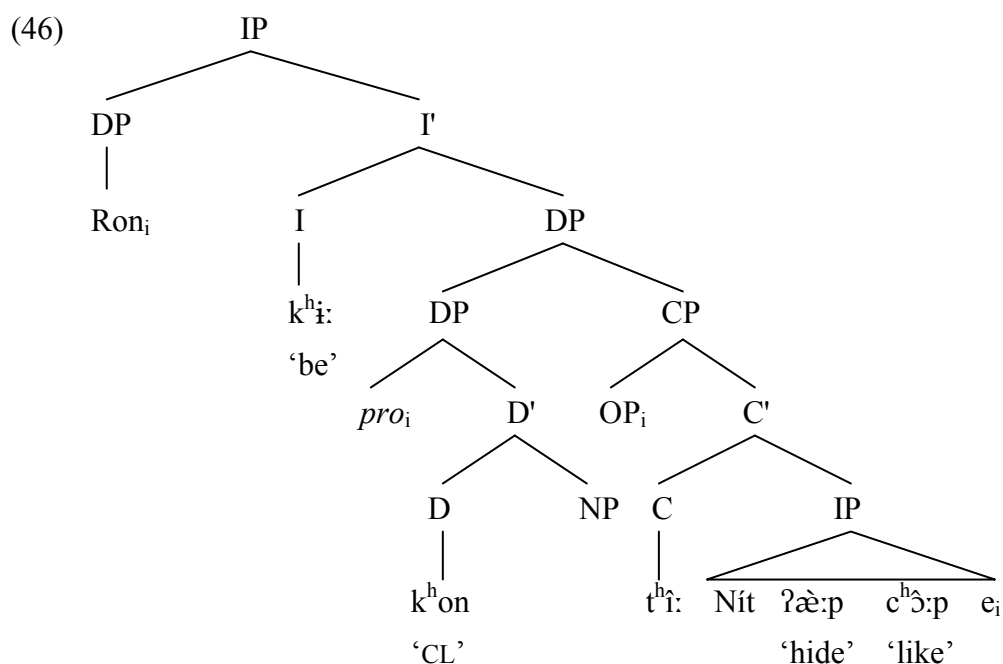
The head noun can be optional when the classifier is present. Assume that *pro* is a head noun in the cleft clause. The classifier agrees with the *pro* in terms of the feature [+human] that is co-indexed with the cleftee (Ron). And the cleftee is linked by the identificational *kʰɨ:* copula. The head noun is in turn related to a null operator in [Spec, CP]. The null operator does not involve A' movement. I follow Cheng and Sybesma's (1999) argument and assume that the *kʰon* classifier in Thai is functioning as a determiner.

3.2.1 Identificational *kʰɨ:* copula

In addition to the characterizational *pen* copula that is used in contrastive clefts, Thai also has an identificational *kʰɨ:* copula. Kuno and Wongkhomthong (1981) argue for this semantic distinction between these two copulas. One syntactic property that the *kʰɨ:* copula has is that the subject and the predicate can be switched. This is unsurprising, given that the subject and the predicate are identified as the same person, as in (47), where there is no semantic distinction between (47a) and (47b).

(47) a. tʰáksǐn kʰɨ: na:yók   kʰon   pàtcuban
          be   prime.minister CL   present
      'Thaksin is the present Prime Minister.'
     b. na:yók   kʰon pàtcuban kʰɨ: kʰun tʰáksǐn
        prime.minister CL   present   be   TITLE PREFIX
      'The present Prime Minister is Thaksin.'

This predicts that in an identificational cleft, the cleft clause should be able to precede the cleftee (due to the nature of identificational *kʰɨ:* copula). This prediction is borne out, as in (48), in which *Ron* and *the person that Nit secretly has a crush on* are interpreted as one and the same person. This shows that an identificational cleft sentence makes use of identificational *kʰɨ:* to assert that there is a particular entity that is identified by the definite description contained in the relative clause.

(48) a. [Ron] **kʰɨ:** [XP kʰon tʰî: Nít   ʔæ̀:p cʰɔ́:p]
              be   CL COMP   hide   like
      'Ron is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on.'
     b. [XP kʰon tʰî: Nít ʔæ̀:p cʰɔ́:p] **kʰɨ:** [Ron]
         CL   COMP   hide like   be
      'The one that Nit secretly has a crush on is Ron.'

3.2.2 Cleftee is a relative clause

In this section, I argue that in an identificational $k^h\dot{i}$: cleft, the cleft is a relative clause. This differs from the contrastive *pen* cleft, which I have shown to be a nominalized clause. The cleft is in the subject position of the identificational $k^h\dot{i}$: copula in a cleft clause, a head noun is dropped, the morpheme $k^h on$ is a classifier and a relative operator in a relative clause, and the morpheme $t^h\hat{i}$: is a complementizer in a relative clause.

3.2.2.1 *pro* as a head noun in relative clauses

In the present analysis, the cleftee is in a relation with a relative clause which takes a *pro* head. In Thai relative clauses, the head noun and the classifier usually co-occur; however, when the head noun is overt, the classifier is optional. On the other hand, the classifier is obligatory when the head noun is covert in order to allow recoverability of the head noun. The classifier must agree in feature with the noun that it occurs with. In (49a), $k^h on$ is a classifier for a [+human] noun and agrees with the head noun *man* in terms of the feature [+human]. On the other hand, *tua* in (49b) is a classifier for a [−human] noun, and it produces a conflict in feature agreement between the classifier and the head noun *man*, resulting in ungrammaticality.

(49) a. **pʰûːcʰaːy   kʰon**   tʰîː   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̂ːp
        man   CL   COMP   hide   like
        'The man that Nit secretly has a crush on…'
    b. ****pʰûːcʰaːy   tua**   tʰîː   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̂ːp
         man   CL   COMP   hide   like
        'The man that Nit secretly has a crush on…'

In the previous section, I analyzed the morpheme $k^h on$ as a nominalizer which was subject-oriented. This means that when there is no subject restriction, we have a relative clause, which gives us an identificational cleft; however, when there is a subject restriction, we have a nominalized clause, which is used to construct contrastive clefts.

3.2.2.2 The morpheme $t^h\hat{i}$: as a complementizer in a relative clause

In Thai, there is never an overt *wh*-operator in relative clauses; however, a head noun and/or a classifier are obligatorily followed by $t^h\hat{i}$:. Cross-linguistically, relative

clauses are embedded inside a nominal expression which the relative clause modifies. Examples of English relative clauses are given below.

(50) a. *[The man [**who that** I like]]
     b. [The man [**who** ø I like]]
     c. [The man [ø **that** I like]]
     d. [The man [ø ø I like]]

In (50a), the relative pronoun and the complementizer are both overt, which gives rise to the ungrammaticality of the sentence. In (51b), the relative pronoun *who* is overt, and the complementizer is covert, in (51c), the relative pronoun is covert, and the complementizer is overt, and in (51d), both the relative pronoun and the complementizer are absent. The restrictions on relative operator and complementizer patterning are illustrated in (51) for Thai relative clauses. Taken together, the examples in (51a-d) show that $t^h\hat{\imath}$: is an overt complementizer and must be obligatorily present in a relative clause.

(51) a. pʰûːcʰaːy **kʰon** **tʰîː** Nít cʰɔ̌ːp
        man CL COMP like
        'The man that Nit likes…'
     b. *pʰûːcʰaːy **kʰon** ø Nít cʰɔ̌ːp
     c. pʰûːcʰaːy ø **tʰîː** Nít cʰɔ̌ːp
     d. *pʰûːcʰaːy ø ø Nít cʰɔ̌ːp

3.3 The semantics of reduced identificational *wh*-clefts

In this section, I argue that there are semantic parallels between identificational *wh*-clefts and $t^h\hat{\imath}$: clauses with D-linked *wh*-expressions. *Wh* in-situ constructions, however, lack these properties. With this in mind, consider the example in (52).

(52) [**pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon năy**] kʰɨ̀ː kʰon tʰîː Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̌ːp
        man CL VARIABLE be CL COMP hide like
     'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

It is the definite description in the cleft relative clause that gives rise to a uniqueness presupposition. The cleftee *pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon năy* 'which man' and the cleft clause are connected by the identificational *kʰɨ̀ː* copula. The identificational *kʰɨ̀ː* copula, in turn, is the source of an existential presupposition. However,

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identificational *wh*-clefts do not have a contrastive focus reading. The cleftee is a unique individual but need not be contrasted with any other accessible discourse referent.

3.3.1 Reduced identificational *wh*-clefts have an existential presupposition

I use the same diagnostic to show that $t^h\hat{i}$: clauses with D-linked *wh*-expressions are associated with an existential presupposition parallel to identificational *wh*-clefts. Reduced *wh*-clefts require the existence of someone in the answer. In contrast, an answer to a *wh* in-situ question is not restricted to the presence of an existential presupposition. In identificational *wh*-clefts, the speaker presupposes the existence of the cleft that *Nit likes x* and asks the question to find out *who is x such that Nit has a crush on x*. When the answer is given as *Nit has a crush on no one*, the presupposition is explicitly denied. The fact that the answer of *no one* is infelicitous in (53b) entails that (53b) behaves in parallel with the identificational *wh*-cleft in (53a). This follows if (53b) is a reduced form of (53a). In contrast to *wh*-clefts in (53c), the *wh* in-situ is not associated with an existential presupposition. So the answer *no one* is acceptable.

(53) a. Q: **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   kʰɨ̀ː kʰon tʰîː   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp

　　　　　man　　　CL　　VARIABLE be CL COMP　　hide like

　　　　'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　IDENTIFICATIONAL *WH*-CLEFT

　　A: #mây miː   nî

　　　　NEG have   SPEECH-LEVEL PARTICLE

　　　　'No one.'

　　b. Q: **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   tʰîː   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp

　　　　　man　　　CL　　VARIABLE   COMP　 hide like

　　　　'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　REDUCED *WH*-CLEFT

　　A: #mây miː nî

　　c. Q: Nít ʔæ̀ːp   cʰɔ́ːp   **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**

　　　　　hide like   man　　CL　　which

　　　　'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'　　　　*WH* IN-SITU

　　A: mây miː nî

3.3.2 Reduced identificational *wh*-clefts have a uniqueness presupposition

The answer to (54a) is infelicitous because two members are picked out from the answer set and identificational clefts require an answer to be uniquely singled out. Reduced *wh*-clefts behave the same way, as in (54b). On the other hand, with *wh* in-situ questions, the answer is not required to be a unique individual. The question can be uttered in a situation in which the speaker does not expect Nit to like only one person.

(54) a. Q: **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]** kʰɨ̀ː kʰon tʰîː Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp
         man   CL   which   be   CL   COMP   hide   like
         'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

                                          IDENTIFICATIONAL *WH*-CLEFT
    A: #cʰɔ́ːp sɔ̌ːŋ kʰon Sǒmpɔːŋ læʔ Sǒmcʰaːy
      like   two   CL   and
      'She likes both: Sompong and Somchaay.'
   b. Q: **[(pʰûːcʰaːy) kʰon nǎy]** tʰîː Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp
         man   CL   VARIABLE   COMP   hide   like
         'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

                                           REDUCED *WH*-CLEFT
    A: #cʰɔ́ːp sɔ̌ːŋ kʰon Sǒmpɔːŋ læʔ Sǒmcʰaːy
   c. Q: Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**
         hide   like   man   CL   which
         'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'   *WH* IN-SITU
    A: cʰɔ́ːp sɔ̌ːŋ kʰon Sǒmpɔːŋ læʔ Sǒmcʰaːy

3.3.3 Reduced identificational *wh*-clefts lack a contrastive focus

This section shows that reduced identificational *wh*-clefts lack contrastive focus. The contrastive focus answer given to identificational *wh*-clefts, as in (55a-b), is infelicitous because the identificational *wh*-cleft is asking the hearer to pick out a single and unique member from the answer set, rather than asking for a person who is being contrasted with any other accessible discourse referent. Notice that the same answer is infelicitous with the *wh* in-situ construction as well.

The reduced *wh*-clefts have the same semantic properties as identificational *wh*-clefts: an existential presupposition (due to the infelicity of a negative answer to a *wh*-cleft), a uniqueness presupposition (due to the infelicity of the answer denoting

more than one member in the answer to a *wh*-cleft), and the lack of a contrastive focus (due to the infelicity of a contrastive focus answer).
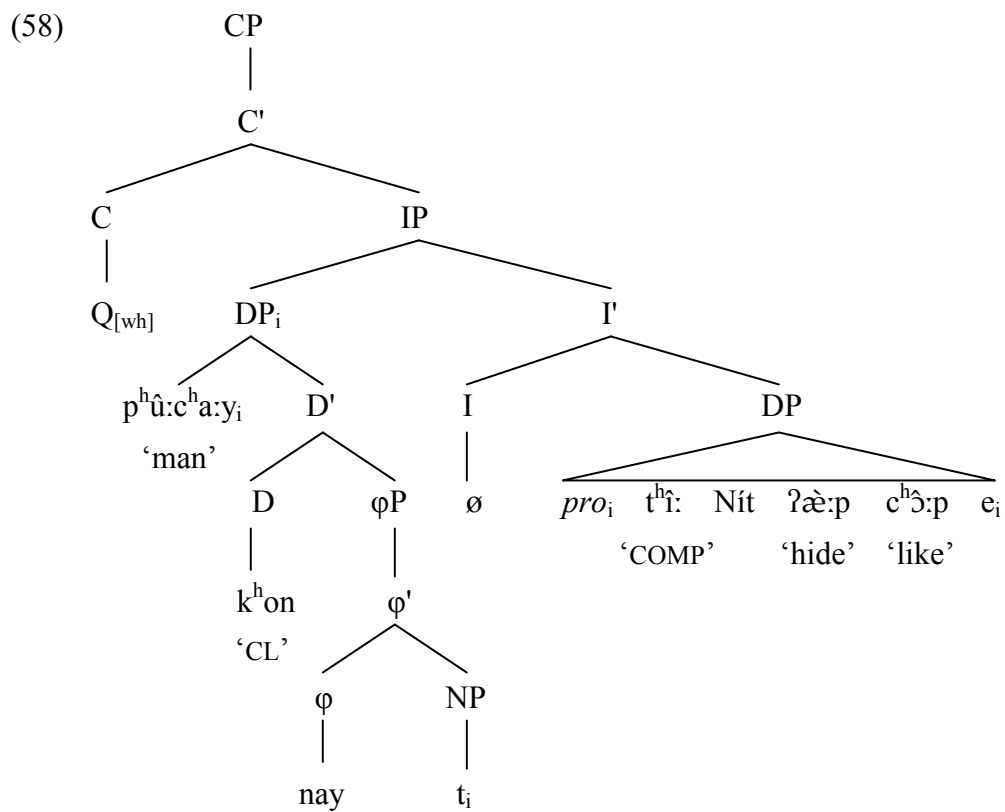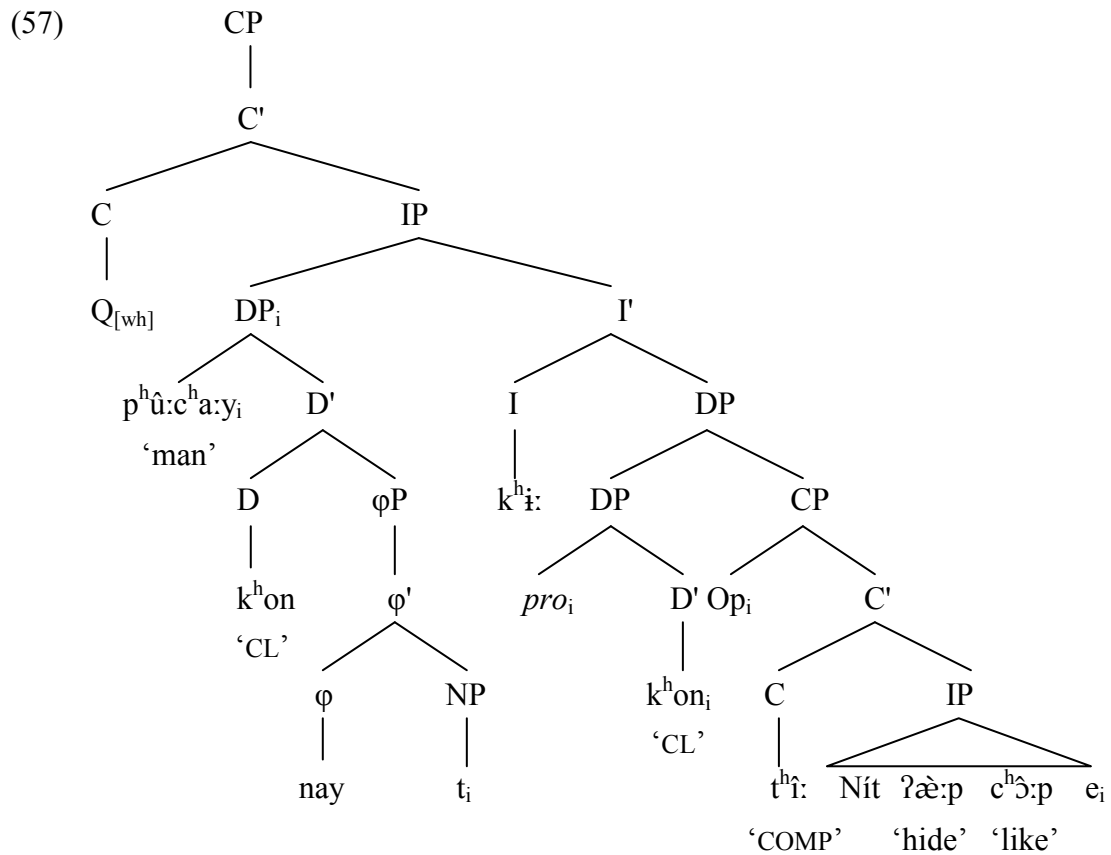
(55) a. Q: **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   kʰɨ̀ː kʰon tʰîː Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̌ːp

man   CL   VARIABLE be   CL   COMP   hide like

'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

IDENTIFICATIONAL *WH*-CLEFT

A: #Sǒmpɔːŋ mây cʰây   Sǒmcʰaːy

NEG   yes

'Sompong, not Somchaay.'

b. Q: **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy   tʰîː]** Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̌ːp

man   CL   VARIABLE COMP   hide like

'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

REDUCED *WH*-CLEFT

A: #Sǒmpɔːŋ mây cʰây Sǒmcʰaːy

c. Q: Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̌ːp **pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy**

hide like man   CL   VARIABLE

'Which man does Nit secretly have a crush on?'   *WH* IN-SITU

A: #Sǒmpɔːŋ mây cʰây Sǒmcʰaːy

3.4 The syntax of reduced identificational *wh*-clefts

I established above that identificational *wh*-clefts have the following syntactic properties: the cleftee as a D-linked *wh*-expression is in the subject position of the identificational *kʰɨ̀ː* copula, and the cleft clause is a relative clause with a head noun and/or a classifier followed by the complementizer *tʰîː*. The structure of (56) is illustrated in (57).

(56) **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   kʰɨ̀ː [*pro* [kʰon tʰîː Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ̌ːp]]

man   CL   VARIABLE be   CL   COMP   hide like

'Which one is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

The question that arises with respect to the cleft clause of (57) is why it is possible in reduced *wh*-clefts to drop both the *pro* subject and the classifier at the same time. We see that only the complementizer *tʰîː* is overt, as illustrated in (58).

(57)

CP
　C'
C　　IP
Q[wh]　DP_i　　I'
p^hû:c^ha:y_i 'man'　D'　I　DP
D　φP　k^hɨ:　DP　CP
k^hon 'CL'　φ'　pro_i　D' Op_i　C'
φ　NP　k^hon_i 'CL'　C　IP
nay　t_i　t^hî: 'COMP'　Nít ?æ̀:p c^hɔ̂:p e_i
'hide' 'like'

(58)

CP
C'
C　IP
Q[wh]　DP_i　I'
p^hû:c^ha:y_i 'man'　D'　I　DP
D　φP　ø　pro_i t^hî: Nít ?æ̀:p c^hɔ̂:p e_i
k^hon 'CL'　φ'　'COMP' 'hide' 'like'
φ　NP
nay　t_i

The answer is that the head noun and its classifier are spelled out, but only in the cleftee via the D-linked *wh*-expression. There is no need to spell it out twice. Recall that identificational *wh*-clefts can have the cleft and the cleftee reversed. In reduced *wh*-clefts, however, the cleft clause *that Nit secretly has a crush on* is not allowed to be in the subject position. The D-linked *wh*-expression must occur at the left edge. Why is this so? It may be because the left edge position is a structurally dedicated focus position in this language as in topicalization (Hoonchamlong 1991).

3.4 Consequences of the identificational *wh*-cleft analysis

This section considers two major consequences of analyzing *t^{h}î:* clauses with D-linked *wh*-expressions as reduced *wh*-clefts. First, there should be no asymmetry between *wh*-subjects and *wh*-objects. They are both predicted to occur in a cleftee position. Second, there should be no featural restrictions on D-linked *wh*-expressions. In particular, both [+human] and [−human] are predicted to occur in a cleftee position.

3.4.1 The lack of asymmetry between *wh*-subjects and *wh*-objects

Analyzing D-linked *wh*-expressions as reduced *wh*-clefts, we expect that the D-linked *wh*-expressions in the cleftee position can be associated with a gap in either the subject or the object position of a relative clause. In (59a), the D-linked *wh*-expression is construed as a *wh*-subject in a cleftee position, while in (59b), the D-linked *wh*-expression is construed as a *wh*-object. The cleftees are co-indexed with the relativized head nouns in both positions. The relativized head nouns, in turn, are co-indexed with the (optional) resumptive pronoun in subject and object positions inside the relative clause, as in (59a-b). The reduced identificational *wh*-clefts with D-linked *wh*-expressions show the lack of a subject-object asymmetry. In (59a), the reduced D-linked *wh*-expression is construed as a *wh*-subject, and in (59b) it is construed as a *wh*-object.

(59) a. **[p^{h}û:c^{h}a:y k^{h}on năy]**   k^{h}ɨ: k^{h}on t^{h}î: ʔæ̀:p c^{h}ɔ́:p Nít
       man   CL   VARIABLE be   CL   COMP   hide   like
       'Which man is the one that secretly has a crush on Nit?'
    b. **[p^{h}û:c^{h}a:y k^{h}on năy]**   k^{h}ɨ: k^{h}on t^{h}î: Nít ʔæ̀:p c^{h}ɔ́:p
       man   CL   VARIABLE be   CL   COMP   hide   like
       'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

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(60) a. [pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon tʰîː   ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp Nít]…

      man CL COMP hide like

      'The man that secretly has a crush on Nit…'

   b. pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon tʰîː   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp]…

      man CL COMP   hide like

      'The man that Nit secretly has a crush on…'

(61) a. **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   **tʰîː**   ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp Nít

      man CL VARIABLE±HUMAN COMP hide like

      'Which man is the one that secretly has a crush on Nit?'

   b. **[pʰûːcʰaːy kʰon nǎy]**   **tʰîː**   Nít ʔæ̀ːp cʰɔ́ːp

      man CL VARIABLE±HUMAN COMP   hide like

      'Which man is the one that Nit secretly has a crush on?'

These above examples in (59-61) suggest that reduced D-linked *wh*-expressions are indeed derived from identificational *wh*-clefts because *wh*-subjects and *wh*-objects are able to occur in a cleftee position, as expected, if relativization is involved.

3.4.2 Both [+human] and [−human] are allowed in a cleftee position

In reduced *wh*-clefts with D-linked *wh*-expressions, a [+human] feature (*which man*) is in a cleftee position. We expect that the cleftee should not be restricted to only [+human]. The cleft clause is formed by a relative clause, in which case any [±human] head noun feature can be relativized. Reduced *wh*-clefts are given a parallel analysis to identificational *wh*-clefts. Hence, we should expect to see [−human] occur in a cleftee position. This prediction is in fact borne out, as shown in (62).

(62) a. **mǎː tua nǎy**   tʰîː   kàt Nít

      dog CL VARIABLE COMP bite

      'Which dog was the one that bit Nit?'

   b. **mǎː tua nǎy**   tʰîː   Nít sɨ́ː maː

      dog CL VARIABLE COMP   buy come

      'Which dog was the one that Nit bought?'

3.5 Predictions of the identificational *wh*-cleft analysis

This section discusses the two predictions of treating *tʰîː* clauses with D-linked *wh*-expressions as identificational *wh*-clefts. These predictions help shed some light on the nature of *wh*-intervention effects and *wh*-argument locatives in Thai. Both

wh-intervention effects and *wh*-argument locatives are derived from reduced (identificational) *wh*-clefts.

3.5.1 Identificational *wh*-clefts rather than *wh*-intervention effects

Beck and Kim (1997) investigate *wh*-intervention effects cross-linguistically and argue that *wh*-expressions cannot move across certain interveners (i.e. negation quantifiers, focus phrases) to take scope over the clauses at LF. However, these interveners do not block overt *wh*-movement. The following data from Korean and Mandarin illustrate their generalization (Beck and Kim 1997). In (63a), *anyone* is an intervener when the *wh*-expression *who* covertly moves across the intervener at LF. This intervention effect results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence. In contrast, in (63b), it is grammatical when the *wh*-expression overtly moves across the intervener *anyone*.

(63) a. ***amuto   nuku-lûl**   po-cian-ass-ni
         anyone   who-ACC   see-NEG-PAST-Q
        'Whom did no one see?'   *WH*-INTERVENTION EFFECTS: KOREAN
     b. **nuku-lûl$_i$ amuto**   t$_i$ po-cian-ass-ni
        who-ACC   anyone   see-NEG-PAST-Q
        'Whom did no one see?'   *WH*-INTERVENTION EFFECTS: KOREAN

In (64a), *anyone* is an intervener and blocks the LF movement of the D-linked *wh*-expression *which book*. Hence, ungrammaticality of the sentence arises. In (64b), the intervener *anyone* does not block the overt *wh*-movement of the D-linked *wh*-expression, resulting in a grammatical sentence.

(64) a. ***[shei ye]**   kan   bu   dong   **[na-ben   shu]**
          who   also (=anyone) read   not   understand   which-CL   book
        'Which book could no one understand?'
                                               WH-INTERVENTION EFFECTS: CHINESE
     b. **[na-ben   shu]** **[shei ye]**   kan   bu   dong
        which-CL   book   who   also (=anyone) read not   understand
        'Which book could no one understand?'
                                               WH-INTERVENTION EFFECTS: CHINESE

At first glance, it seems that there are *wh*-intervention effects in Thai. This is illustrated in the examples below. The *wh*-word does not have a *wh*-construal when

the intervener *mâym:ik^{h}ray* 'no one' appears between the in-situ variable and the clause over which the variable takes scope. It can only have an NPI-construal, as in (65a). However, in (65b), where the *wh*-word is at the left edge, it only gets a *wh*-construal.

(65)   a. **mâymi:k^{h}ray**   c^{h}ɔ̀:p   **[k^{h}ray]**

      no-have-VARIABLE+HUMAN   like   VARIABLE+HUMAN

      ≠ (i) 'Who does nobody like?'

      = (ii) 'Nobody likes anyone.'

     b. **[k^{h}ray]**   t^{h}î: **mâymi:k^{h}ray**   c^{h}ɔ̀:p

      VARIABLE+HUMAN   COMP   no-have-VARIABLE+HUMAN   like

      = (i) 'Who is the one that no one likes?'

      ≠ (ii) 'Nobody likes anyone.'

In (66a), the D-linked *wh*-expression does not have an NPI construal, in contrast to the previous example given in (65a). The example (66a) is ungrammatical instead. But when the D-linked *wh*-expression is at the left edge, the sentence becomes grammatical. It can have a *wh*-construal.

(66)   a. *mâymi:k^{h}ray   k^{h}âwcay   [năŋsɨ̌: lêm năy]

       no-have-VARIABLE+HUMAN   understand   book   CL   VARIABLE–HUMAN

      'Which book did no one understand?'

     b. **[năŋsɨ̌: lêm năy]**   t^{h}î: **mâymi:k^{h}ray**

      book   CL   VARIABLE±HUMAN   COMP   no-have-VARIABLE+HUMAN

      k^{h}âwcay

      understand

      'Which book was the one that no one understood?'

Despite the surface parallels between the Thai examples in (65b) and (66b), and the corresponding examples of *wh*-intervention effects in Korean and Chinese in (63b) and (64b), I will argue that (65b) and (66b) are a kind of reduced (identificational) *wh*-clefts. Consider the example (65a), where a variable receives only an NPI construal. This can be straightforwardly accounted for by the operator-variable analysis. The closest [NEG] operator is the one that gives the variable the interpretation. We would expect the D-linked *wh*-expression in (66a) to be construed as an NPI. However, the sentence (66a) is ungrammatical. This raises an interesting question regarding why the negative quantifier blocks *wh*-construal for the D-linked *wh*-expression in (65a) and does not license NPI construal either, but forces the overt

movement. Intuitively, what is happening is that the NPI reading is ruled out for pragmatic reasons. The D-linked *wh*-expression is only chosen to have a *wh*-construal in this context. This results in ungrammaticality, as in (65a). The variable looks for the closest operator and cannot look past the closest c-commanded operator (due to a locality condition). In order for a *wh*-construal to be available for (65a) and (66a), the *wh*-expressions must be at the left edge via a reduced *wh*-cleft construction. In reduced *wh*-clefts, the Q[wh] operator is now the closest c-commanding operator. The negative quantifier is generated lower than the *wh*-expression, and hence is not qualified to be the operator for the *wh*-expression. Rather than treating (65b) as a *wh*-intervention effect, I argue that (65b) is a reduced *wh*-cleft. Recall that there are two notable properties about the clefted element in reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. First, the clefted element may only be a D-linked *wh*-expression. Secondly, it may have a *wh*-object construal that is linked to the gap inside the relative clause. (65b) contradicts the first property. It is the bare *wh*-expression that occupies the clefted element position. However, this bare *wh*-expression is equivalent to the D-linked *wh*-expression *which N*. This question requires an answer restricted to the set of individuals common to both the speaker and hearer. Crucially, there is a presupposed set of individuals from which the answer is selected. The *wh*-expression *who* in (65b) has a *wh*-object construal linked to the gap inside the relative clause *who/which one$_i$ is the one$_i$ that nobody likes e$_i$*. The *wh*-object construal in the clefted element is not possible for a reduced (contrastive) *wh*-cleft (due to the internal structure of a nominalized clause). I show that (65b) has the same semantic properties as identificational *wh*-clefts by using a question-answer pair test. As predicted, the answer (Ai) to the question (67), repeated from (65b), is pragmatically odd. Another semantic property discussed is that *wh*-clefts have a uniqueness presupposition. Only a single and unique individual can be identified in order to satisfy the uniqueness presupposition. The answer (Aii) to the question (67) turns out to be infelicitous, just as one would predict given that there are two individuals identified in the answer. These semantic and syntactic effects are attributable to a cleft structure.

(67) Q: **[kʰray   tʰîː]   mâymiːkʰray   cʰɔ̀ːp**

       VARIABLE+HUMAN   COMP   no-have-VARIABLE+HUMAN   like

       'Who/which one is the one that no one likes?'   REDUCED *WH*-CLEFT

   Ai: #mây mi: nî

      NEG have   SPEECH-LEVEL PARTICLE

     'No one.'

   Aii: #Paris, Nicole

3.5.2 *Wh*-argument locatives as D-linked *wh*-expressions

In this section, I first argue that *tʰîː* clauses with *wh*-argument locatives are instances of reduced *wh*-clefts. Then, I consider the consequence of analyzing *tʰîː* clauses with *wh*-argument locatives as reduced identificational *wh*-clefts. I claim that a *tʰîː* clause with a *wh*-argument locative in Thai is a D-linked *wh*-expression *which place*, rather than a bare *wh*-expression *where*, as shown in (68-69). In (68), the *wh*-argument locative occurs with a *tʰîː* clause. As a clefted element, it is linked to the gap in the relative clause in the subject position. The *wh*-argument locative in (69) is related to the gap in the object position. The *tʰîː* clauses with *wh*-argument locatives appear to have the same properties as identificational *wh*-clefts.

(68) Q: **[tʰîː   nǎy]   tʰîː**   tʰamhây kʰun pratʰápcay
        place   VARIABLE COMP   make   you   impress
       'Which place impressed you?'

<div align="right">REDUCED WH-CLEFT: LOCATIVE SUBJECT</div>

(69) Q: **[tʰîː   nǎy]   tʰîː**   Nít cʰɔ̀ːp pay nâŋ
        place   VARIABLE COMP   like   go   sit
       'Which place does Nit hang out?'

<div align="right">REDUCED WH-CLEFT: LOCATIVE OBJECT</div>

Recall that the clefted element may only be a D-linked *wh*-expression in identificational *wh*-clefts. By this claim, there is a possibility that Thai *wh*-argument locatives may have the status of D-linked *wh*-expressions. There is also independent evidence to treat *wh*-argument locatives as D-linked *wh*-expressions. The evidence comes from how *wh*-argument locatives are morphologically composed, as in (70b). Compare the examples of Thai D-linked *wh*-expressions in (70a) and (70b). In (70a), the NP *man* is optional and is accompanied by its counterpart classifier. Notice that in (70b), the noun and its classifier are homophonous. This is not accidental because some nouns can serve as a classifier on their own; in this case, *place* serves as its own classifier.[4]

(70) a. (pʰûːcʰaːy) kʰon **nǎy**
       man   CL   VARIABLE
      'Which man?'

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[4] *tʰîː* 'place', on the other hand, is accidentally homophonous with the complementizer *tʰîː*.

b. (tʰîː)   tʰîː **năy**

  place CL VARIABLE

  'Which place?'

(70b) illustrates that the locative *tʰîː* is in fact functioning as both a noun *place* and its counterpart classifier. In the Thai *how many* question construction, *how many* only takes classifiers as its noun. It is ungrammatical when *how many* is followed by the noun *book*. But when it is followed by its classifier (*lêm*), the sentence becomes grammatical. In order to show that *tʰîː* has a dual function—*place* and a classifier for *place*, we expect *tʰîː* to be grammatical when we introduce it in a *how many* type question. The example in (71b) turns out just as predicted.

(71) a. *kʰun sɨ̀ː maː kìː   ***năŋsɨ̌ː/lêm**

    you go come how many book/CL

    'How many books did you buy?'

  b. kʰun pay duː maː kìː   **tʰîː**

    you go look come how many CL

    'How many places did you take a look at?'

The fact that *tʰîː* can function as a classifier on its own suggests that *tʰîː năy* '(place) CL which' is a D-linked *wh*-expression.

4. Summary

I have argued, in this paper, that *tʰîː* clauses with bare *wh*-expressions and D-linked *wh*-expressions in Thai take the form of a contrastive and an identificational *wh*-cleft type structure[5] respectively. I have provided several arguments to show that these *tʰîː* clauses with D-linked *wh*-expressions have the same predictably semantic and syntactic properties as both contrastive and identificational *wh*-clefts.

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[5] I reject a focus phrase analysis because it cannot account for the full range of facts associated with the semantic and syntactic properties of the *tʰîː* clause in Thai.

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泰語子句左端的 *wh-*疑問詞：對比與識別分裂句

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　　本研究旨在探討泰語中簡化的對比分裂句與識別 (identificational) 分裂句。個人認為一個句子中的單純 (bare) *wh-*疑問詞若有明顯的 *wh-*移位現象，即是簡化的對比 *wh-*分裂句或識別 *wh-*分裂句。本文首先就語意與句法的層面來討論簡化的對比分裂句，主要的發現有三：其一，只有 *wh-*主語可以作為受分裂的對象 (cleftee)；其二，*wh-*賓語只有在句中出現被動標記時才可作為受分裂的對象；其三，*wh-*疑問詞中只有 *who* 可作為受分裂的對象。本文其餘部分則是探討簡化的識別分裂句的 *wh-*疑問語詞在涉及與篇章接連(D-linked)的用法。本研究認為簡化的識別分裂句與一般的識別分裂句具有相同的語意與句法特性。

關鍵詞：(簡化的)對比 *wh-*分裂句、(簡化的)識別 *wh-*分裂句、單純 *wh-*疑問詞、篇章接連的 *wh-*疑問詞

泰語子句左端的 *wh-*疑問詞：對比與識別分裂句