

Only exclusive doubling in Thai

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1. Introduction

➤ Thai exclusive focus

- Two types of particles
 - Adfocal: Immediately precedes the focus, e.g., *khêe* ‘only’
 - Sentence-final: Occurs at clause-final positions, e.g., *thâw-nán* ‘only, lit.: equal-that’

(1) thim kin **khêe** núa_F (Adfocal particle)

Tim eat only beef
‘Tim eats only *beef*.’

(2) thim kin núa_F **thâwnán** (Sentence-final particle)

Tim eat beef only
‘Tim eats *beef* only.’

- Very understudied: only Rusawang & Ruangjaroon (henceforth R&R, 2017) provides a systematic study for *khêe* ‘only’, but *thâwnán* is only mentioned in passing
 - Also other reference grammars (e.g., Noss 1964:93, Higbie & Thinsan 2002:209)

➤ Exclusive doubling (*focus particle concord*/ “only” concord)

- Unnoticed before: the two particles may co-occur with the same focus association, without change in meaning (in terms of *truth conditions*)
 - **A syntax-semantics mismatch:** not multiple ‘only’ readings (vs. *It is only that Tim eats only beef* in English)
 - Attested cross-linguistically (e.g., *Vietnamese*: Erlewine 2017, Hole 2017, Quek & Hirsch 2017, Yip 2025, among others; *Cantonese*: Yip 2024, 2025; see also Yip 2026 and references therein)

(3) thim kin **khêe** núa_F **thâwnán** (Doubling)

Tim eat only beef only
Lit.: ‘Tim eats only *beef* only.’, i.e., ‘Tim eats only *beef*.’ (= (1)/(2))

➤ Today’s goals

- We describe the **syntactic and semantic properties** of *khêe* and *thâwnán* in detail
- We show that there is a **syntactic dependency** between *khêe* and *thâwnán*
- We advocate for a **quantifier-particle approach** (Yip & Adedeji 2024) to exclusive doubling in Thai, to account for the apparent syntax-semantic mismatch
 - *khêe* is an exclusive quantifier; *thâwnán* is a scope particle at the periphery level
 - *thâwnán* Agrees with *khêe*

(4) [CP [FP **thâwnán** [TP Subj ... [**khêe** XP] ...]]] (simplified)



2. Syntactic distribution

2.1. Adfocal particle: **khê** ‘only’

- Relatively well-documented in R&R (2017); we illustrate the patterns with our data and provide more properties they have not mentioned
 - Other adfocal particles: *tê*: ‘only, but’, *phieŋ* ‘only, simply’, *chàphó?* ‘only, just’ (see also Noss 1964:153,157,162; Iwasaki & Horie 2005: 63,199,168,202,205,247; Higbie & Thinsan 2002:208ff)
- Appears to the **immediate left** to the focus (R&R 2017)¹

(5) [Storyboard ‘Christmas Party’, created by Yip (2026)]

- a. [Tim invited three girls to a Christmas party by giving them different gifts. Nit is the only one agreed.]
khê nit_F tò:p tòkloŋ (Subject focus)
only Nit answer ‘yes’
‘Only *Nit* said yes.’
- b. [Nit agreed because she is the only one receiving flowers from Tim.]
thim hâj dò:kmá:j **khê** (kàp) khăw_F (Indirect object focus)
Tim give flower only to 3
‘Tim only gave flowers to *her*.’
- c. [(Nam said no because) Tim only gave HANDBAGS to her. (without flowers)]
thim hâj **khê** krapaaw_F (kap) khaw_F (Direct object focus)
Tim give only handbag to 3
‘Tim only gave *handbags* to her.’

- A note on **subject focus**: Existential constructions with *mi*: ‘have’ is usually preferred
 - → enforcing a biclausal structure with a relative clause
 - Sometimes even required (see (12) below), as claimed
 - But it is also not impossible to have a monoclausal structure for subject focus, under sufficient context (i.e., in the storyboard (5)a above)

- (6) [Tim invited three girls to a Christmas party by giving them different gifts. Nit is the only one agreed.]
mi: **khê** nit_F thî: tò:p tòkloŋ (Subject focus)
have only Nit REL answer ‘yes’
‘Only *Nit* said yes.’

- No categorial restriction: **DP**, **VP**, or the whole clause **TP** (see also R&R 2017)

- (7) [Tim thinks that he should only give flowers to Nit, rather than inviting the other girls.]
khăw khuan **khê** [hâj dò:kmá:j (kàp) nit]_F (VP focus)
3 should only give flower to Nit
‘He should only give flowers to *Nit*.’

- (8) Tim **khê** yuum_F nangsuu khaw maj suu nangsuu. (V focus)
Tim kee borrow book 3 NEG buy book
‘Tim only *borrowed* the book. He didn’t *buy* the book.’

¹ There is a particle *diaw* ‘only one, single’ mentioned by Iwasaki & Horie (2005:62), which occupies the numeral slot and always follow the classifier.

(9) [Q: What happened yesterday in class? A: Nothing special, ...]

khê [thim maj song kaanbaan]_F.
only Tim NEG only homework
'It is only that *Tim didn't submit his homework.*'

(10) [Both Tim and Nit did bad things. The teacher doesn't know that Nit smoked in the school, ...]

Khu ruu **khê** [waa thim khamoj iPhone]_F.
teacher know only COMP Tim steal iPhone
'The teacher only knows that *Tim stole an iPhone.*'

- We note that **association with *wh*-words** is also possible
(same as Mandarin Chinese, cf. Li & Law 2016, Erlewine 2025 and references therein)

(11) [To lose weight, ...]

Chan khuan kin **khê** ?araj_F. (wh-object focus)
I should eat only what
Lit.: 'I should eat only what?' (i.e., what x is such that I should eat only x?)

(12) [Yesterday only one person went to the party, but I don't know who that is. I ask you:]

- a. (?)Mii **khê** khraj_F thii ma (ngaangleung) (wh-subject focus)
have only who REL come party
Lit.: 'Only who went to the party?' (i.e., What person x is such that only x went to the party?)
- b. ***khê** khraj_F ma (ngaangleung) (wh-subject focus)
only who come party

➤ **Cannot** associate with focus at a distance (i.e., the "adjacency requirement" by R&R 2017)

- Preverbal *khee* cannot associate with the object inside: not felicitous below

(13) a. [Nit agreed because SHE is the only one receiving flowers from Tim.]

#thim **khê** haj dò:kmá:j (kàp) khăw_F (Indirect object focus)
Tim only give flower to 3
Int.: 'Tim only gave flowers to *her.*'

b. [(Nam said no because) Tim only gave HANDBAGS to her. (without flowers)]

#thim **khê** haj krapaaw_F (kap) khaw_F (Direct object focus)
Tim only give handbag to 3
Int.: 'Tim only gave *handbags* to her.'

➤ DP-internal focus

- Only possible with a numeral phrase (cf. R&R 2017)²

(14) Thim kin [khaaw **khê** [neung caan]_F] (NumP focus)

Tim eat rice only one CL
'Tim ate only one bowl of rice.'

² It is possible that *neung caan* 'one CL' here is a floating quantifier that is no longer part of the DP. We leave this possibility to future research. See Simpson (2011), Jenks (2011, 2013), Chaiphret (2023), Tay & Manowang (2026 this conference) for floating quantifiers in Thai.

- We observe that other DP-internal materials resist attachment by *khee*, e.g., possessors

- (15)a. Chan hen **khee** kru-khong-thim.
1SG see only teacher-POSS-Tim
i. ‘I saw no one else.’
ii. ‘I saw only Tim’s teacher, but not other people’s teacher.’
iii. ‘I saw only Tim’s teacher, but not Tim’s students.’
- b. *Chan hen kru-**khee**-khong-thim.
1SG see teacher-only-POSS-Tim
Int.: ‘I saw only Tim’s teacher, but not other people’s teacher.’
- c. *Chan hen kru-khong-**khee**-thim.
1SG see teacher-POSS-only-Tim
Int.: ‘I saw only Tim’s teacher, but not other people’s teacher.’

2.2. *Sentence-final particle (SFP): thâw-nán* ‘only, lit.: equal-that’

- Mentioned in passing by R&R 2017 without detailed discussion
 - Another SFP: *ʔe:ŋ* ‘’ (cf. Noss 1964:93; Iwasaki & Horie 2005: 63,167; Higbie & Thinsan 2002:208ff)
- Appears at the **clause-final** positions
 - May associate with focus **at a distance**

(16)[Storyboard ‘Christmas Party’]

- a. [Tim invited three girls to a Christmas party by giving them different gifts. Nit is the only one agreed.]
nit_F tò:p tòkloŋ **thâwnán.** (Subject focus)
Nit answer ‘yes’ only
‘Only *Nit* said yes.’
- b. [Nit agreed because she is the only one receiving flowers from Tim.]
thim hâj dò:kmá:j (kàp) khăw_F **thâwnán.** (Indirect object focus)
Tim give flower to 3 only
‘Tim only gave flowers to *her*.’
- c. [(Nam said no because) Tim only gave HANDBAGS to her. (without flowers)]
thim haj krapaaw_F (kap) khaw **thâwnán.** (Direct object focus)
Tim give handbag to 3 only
‘Tim only gave *handbags* to her.’
- d. [Tim thinks that he should only give flowers to Nit, rather than inviting the other girls.]
khăw khuan [hâj dò:kmá:j (kàp) nit]_F **thâwnán.** (VP focus)
3 should give flower to Nit only
‘He should only *give flowers to Nit*.’

- **Exclusive doubling**: Maybe doubled with **khêe**, without change in truth conditions

- (17)a. **khêe** nit_F tò:p tòkloŋ **thâwnán.** (Subject focus)
only Nit answer ‘yes’ only
‘Only *Nit* said yes.’

- b. thim hâj dò:kmá:j **khêe** (kàp) khǎw_F **thâwnán.** (Indirect object focus)
Tim give flower only to 3 only
'Tim only gave flowers to *her*.'
- c. thim haj **khêe** krapaaw_F (kap) khaw **thâwnán.** (Direct object focus)
Tim give only handbag to 3 only
'Tim only gave *handbags* to her.'
- d. khǎw khuan **khêe** [hâj dò:kmá:j (kàp) nit]_F **thâwnán.** (VP focus)
3 should only give flower to Nit only
'He should only *give flowers* to *Nit*.'

➤ Existential construction is also possible for **subject focus**

- But crucially there is **no preference/requirement** to use the existential construction

- (18) mi: nit_F thî: tò:p tòkloŋ **thâwnán.** (Subject focus)
have Nit REL answer 'yes' only
'Only *Nit* said yes.'

➤ Also **no categorial restriction** on the focus

- **DP** focus and **VP** focus above in (16); **TP** focus below

- (19)[Q: What happened yesterday in class? A: Nothing special, ...]
[thim maj song kaanbaan]_F **thâwnán.**
Tim NEG only homework only
'It is only that *Tim didn't submit his homework*.'

- (20)[Both Tim and Nit did bad things. The teacher doesn't know that Nit smoked in the school, ...]
Khu ruu [waa thim khamoj iPhone]_F **thâwnán.**
teacher know COMP Tim steal iPhone only
'The teacher only knows that *Tim stole an iPhone*.'

- **Association with *wh* is degraded** unless with *khêe*³

- (21)[To lose weight, ...]
Chan khuan kin **?(khêe)** ?araj_F **thâwnán.** (*wh*-object focus)
I should eat only what only
Lit.: 'I should eat only what?' (i.e., what x is such that I should eat only x?)

³ Association with *wh* is degraded with exclusive SFPs in other (South)east Asian languages too, including Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese. An exclusive adverb must be used for association with *wh*.

- (i) Aaming **?(zinghai)** sik-zo [bin joeng]_F **zaa3?** [Cantonese]
Ming only eat-PFV which CL SFP.only
'Which one is the x such that Ming only ate x?'
- (ii) Zhangsan **?(zhi)** du-le [na yi-bun shu]_F **eryi?** [Mandarin]
Zhangsan only read-PFV which one-CL book SFP.only
'Which book is the book x such that Zhangsan only read x?'
- (iii) Minh **?(chĩ)** ăn [cái gì]_F **thôi?** [Vietnamese]
Minh only eat what SFP.only
'What is the thing x such that Minh eats only x?'

(22) [Yesterday only one person went to the party, but I don't know who that is. I ask you:]
 Mii ?(khê) khraj_F thii ma (ngaangleung) thâwnán. (wh-subject focus)
 have only who REL come party only
 Lit.: 'Only who went to the party?' (i.e., What person x is such that only x went to the party?)

- Can be embedded in CPs
 - Relative clauses

(23) [There is an annoying foreign student who only reads English and cannot read Thai. Other local students read Thai and English. You say to other local students:]
 [nákrian thî: [ʔà:n (khê) nãŋsû:-ʔaŋkrit_F thâwnán]] nâ:ramkha:n
 student REL read only book-English only annoying
 'The student who only reads English books is annoying.'

- Adjunct clauses
 - Doubling with *khê* is preferred for *thâwnán* to be embedded
 (also found in Vietnamese *chỉ ... thôi* Adv-SFP doubling, Yip 2026)

(24) [Thaa khun kin ??(khê) nia thâwnán] mee ca tii khun
 If 2 eat only beef only mom will hit 2
 'If you eat only beef (without vegetables), Mom will beat you up.'

2.3. Interim summary

	<i>khê</i>	<i>thâwnán</i>
Particle type	Adfocal particle (adjoins leftward to the focus)	Sentence-final particle
Focus association	Adjacent	At a distance
Category of focus associates	Cross-categorical (NumP, DP, VP, TP)	
Association with <i>wh</i>	YES	Degraded
Subject-object asymmetry	Existential construction preferred for subject focus	NO
Embeddability	Can be embedded in CP	

Table 1: The syntactic properties of exclusive particles in Thai

3. Scopal behavior

3.1. Scopal ambiguity

➤ Rusawang & Ruangjaroon (2017): *Khêe* does not have scopal ambiguity

- We show that *khêe* indeed has scopal ambiguity
- But *thâwnán* does not
- We only focus on object focus for simplicity

➤ **Modal:** The deontic modal *daj* ‘can’

- *Khêe* allows for scopal ambiguity

- (25) a. [Context A: Tim is going to a wine tasting event where everyone is allowed to bring wine but not other alcohols.] b. [Context B: This is Tim’s graduation and everyone should bring two kinds of alcohols to celebrate. Tim, as the one who graduates, is not subject to this requirement. He may bring whatever he wants, such as just wine.]

thim **dâj** ?aw **khêe** wine_F ma:
Tim can take only wine come

- a. ‘Tim can bring only wine.’ (No beer, whiskey etc. allowed.) (only > can)
b. ‘Tim is allowed to only bring wine.’ (He can of course also bring beer etc.) (can > only)

- *thâwnán* ‘only’ does not allow such a scopal ambiguity
→ only wide scope readings

(26) thim **dâj** ?aw wine_F ma: **thâwnán**.

Tim can take wine come only

ONLY: Context A: ‘Tim can bring only wine.’ (only > can)

NOT: Context B: *‘Tim is allowed to only bring wine.’ (*can > only)

➤ **Negation:**

- *Khêe* allows for scopal ambiguity
- Vs. R&R 2017, who claim that no scopal ambiguity with negation is found⁴

(27) Nit **maj** rien **khêe** German.

Nit NEG study only German

Lit.: ‘Nit does not take only German.’

- a. ‘Nit doesn’t only take German.’ (She also took French.) (NEG > only)
b. ‘Nit only doesn’t take German.’ (She took all other languages.) (only > NEG)

⁴ R&R (2017) focus on preverbal *khêe* with a *mâjdâ:j*, which consists of a negation *mâj* and *dâ:j*, which can be an ability modal or a past tense marker. Their examples are repeated below. We agree with their judgment, and leave the comparison of preverbal and prenominal *khêe* to future work.

(i) a. Nát **mâjdâ:j** **khêe** dù:m ka:fe: (NEG > only)

Nat NEG only drink coffee

‘Nat does not only drink [coffee]_F but also ...y...’

b. Nát **khêe** **mâjdâ:j** dù :m ka:fe: (only > NEG)

Nat only NEG drink coffee

‘There is such an X that Nat does not do X = [_{VP} drink coffee] (Rusawang & Ruangjaroon 2017:14)

- Again, *thâwnán* only has wide scope

(28) Nit maj rien German **thâwnán**.

Nit NEG study German only

Lit.: ‘Nit does not take only German.’

- a. *‘Nit doesn’t only take German.’ (She also took French.) (*NEG > only)
b. ‘Nit only doesn’t take German.’ (She took all other languages.) (only > NEG)

➤ *Khêe*’s scopal ambiguity disappears in **doubling with thâwnán**

→ Intuitively, the scopes of both particles must “match”

- While *khêe* allows for a narrow scope reading under modals, the reading disappears when it doubles with *thâwnán*

(29) thim dâj ʔaw **khêe** wine_F ma: **thâwnán**

Tim can take only wine come only

ONLY: Context A: ‘Tim can bring only wine.’

(only > can)

NOT: Context B: *‘Tim is allowed to only bring wine.’

(*can > only)

- Same for negative quantifier subject like ‘no one’
 - No doubling allowed under the intended narrow scope⁵

(30) mâj-mi:-khraj sòŋ **khêe** nùŋ-bòtkhátjô:_F (***thâwnán**)

NEG-have-who submit only one-abstract only

‘No one only submits one abstract. (Everyone submits two.)’ (NEG quantifier > only)

- Similar to **intervention effects**, represented by the scopal configurations below:

(31) a. ***thâwnán** > can > **khêe**

b. ***thâwnán** > NEG quantifier > **khêe**

3.2. More on *khêe*’s wide scope

➤ **(Non-)interaction with ellipsis**

- *Khêe*’s scopal ambiguity is retained after ellipsis
 - Crucially, **wide scope survives ellipsis**

(32) [Context A: Tim and Nit are going to a wine tasting event where everyone is allowed to bring wine but not other alcohols.]

a. thim dâj ʔaw **khêe** wain_F ma:

Tim can take only wine come

‘Tim can bring only wine.’ (no beer, whisky, ...) (only > can)

b. nít dâj <ʔaw—khêe:—wain ma:> dâaj

Nit can too

Lit.: ‘... Nit can too.’, i.e., ‘Tim can bring only wine too.’ (only > can)

c. daŋnán nít mâj dâj ʔaw beer ma:

So Nit NEG can take beer come

‘Therefore, Nit is not allowed to bring beer.’

⁵ For reasons unknown to us, *khêe* cannot take wide scope over the negative quantifier subject either.

(33)[Context B: This is Tim and Nit’s graduation and everyone should bring two kinds of alcohols to celebrate. Tim and Nit, as the ones who graduate, are not subject to this requirement. They may bring whatever they wants, such as just wine.]

- a. thim dâj ʔaw **khêε** wain_F ma:
Tim can take only wine come
‘Tim is allowed to only bring wine.’ (can > only)
- b. nít dâj <ʔaw—khê:—wain ma:> dûaj
Nit can too
Lit.: ‘... Nit can too.’, i.e., ‘Tim is allowed to only bring wine.’ (can > only)

- Like **Quantifier Raising (QR)**, where the wide scope survives ellipsis (Sag 1976; Fox 2000; Bassi et al. 2022)

- (34)a. A boy is standing on **every** building. (...) (every>a)
b. A girl is, too. (every>a) (Bassi et al. 2022:820)

- **Unlike** English adfocal *only* (Bassi et al. 2022), argued to be **concord particles**
- **But patterns with** adfocal particles in Akan (Yip & Ahenkorah 2026) and Yoruba (Yip & Adedeji 2024, Yip 2026), which are argued to be **quantifiers**

- (35)a. Jill may bring **only** WINE.
b. ... Bill may, too. (may>only, *only>may)
i. ... # Therefore, Bill cannot bring beer.
ii. ... Of course Bill can also bring beer if he likes. (adapted from Bassi et al. 2022:816,818)

- Note that *thâwnán*’s focus associate cannot be elided

- (36)a. thim dâj ʔaw wain_F ma: **thâwnán**.
Tim can take wine come only
‘Tim is only allowed to bring wine.’ (can > only)
- b. *nít dâj <ʔaw—wain ma:> dûaj **thâwnán**
Nit can too only
‘Lit.: ... Nit can too only.’
- c. nít dâj ʔaw wain_F ma: dûaj **thâwnán**
Nit can take wine come too only
‘Lit.: ... Nit can too only.’

➤ **Island effects**

- *Khêε* may acquire wide scope **across a clause boundary**

(37)[We’re discussing whether Tim’s teacher knows what language course(s) Tim took.]

Khruu ruu waa thim rien [**khêε** German_F]
teacher know that Tim study only German

- a. ‘The teacher knows that Tim only took *German*.’ (know > only)
(Confirmed by possible continuation: The teacher knows that Tim didn’t take French.)
- b. ‘The teacher only knows that Tim took *German*.’ (only > know)
(Confirmed by possible continuation: Tim also took French, but the teacher doesn’t know.)

- But **NOT an island boundary**
→ island sensitivity is a signature feature of movement (Ross 1967)

(38) [We're discussing whether Tim took French, German, or both.]

Khruu ruu khaw thii thim rien [**khêê** German_F]
teacher know news REL Tim study only German

- a. 'The teacher knows the news that Tim only took *German*.' (know > only)
(Confirmed by possible continuation: the teacher knows that Tim didn't take French.)
- b. *'The teacher only knows the news that Tim took *German*.' (*only > know)
(Confirmed by infelicitous continuation: #Tim took French, but the teacher doesn't know.)

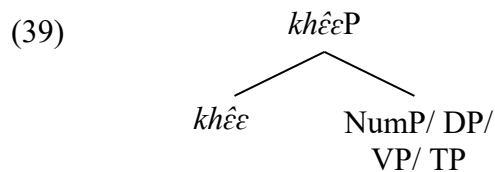
3.3. Interim summary

	<i>khêê</i>	<i>thâwnán</i>
Scopal ambiguity (negation & modal)	Narrow / Wide	Wide
Wide scope under ellipsis	YES	NO (focus associate cannot be elided)
... across clauses	YES	N/A ⁶
... across islands	NO	

Table 2: The scopal properties of exclusive particles in Thai

4. Proposal: a quantifier-particle approach

- In a nutshell, ...
 - We propose that semantically, *khêê* is an **exclusive quantifier**
 - *thâw-nán* is a focus-related **particle** without exclusive semantics on the clausal periphery
 - There is a syntactic **Agree** dependency between *khêê* and *thâw-nán*.
- Basic syntax
 - We remain neutral to *khêê*'s syntactic category, following R&R (2017)
 - Semantically, we assume that *khêê* is a **cross-categorical** quantifier: NumP, DP, VP, TP⁷

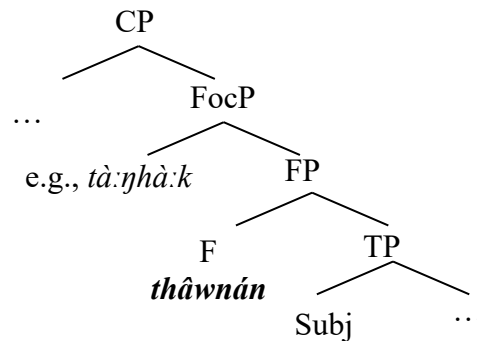


⁶ The clause-final positions of *thâwnán* raise complications on structural ambiguity. We leave it to future research.

⁷ Syntactically, D-quantifiers (i.e., quantifying determiners) in Thai are post-nominal with classifiers, e.g., *thuk-CL* (see Simpson 2005, Jenks 2011). *khêê* is different in two syntactic aspects: (i) it is prenominal (when the focus is a nominal); (ii) it may attach to non-nominals.

- *thâwnán* projects a focus-related phrase (**FP**) higher than TP, and yet lower than CP
 → **Higher than TP**: can associate with subjects (SpecTP) and the whole clause
 → **Lower than CP**: can be embedded
 - (i) *thâwnán* associates with exclusive focus → focus-related
 - (ii) Intuitively: it limits the **scope** of *khêê* in doubling
- We suggest that *thâwnán* does not have exclusive semantics, but marks *khêê*'s scope
 - It might have scalar contribution (e.g., Yip 2024, 2026 for a scalar focus approach to exclusive doubling), which we leave for future work
- Notice that Thai has focus SFPs (e.g., *tà:nhà:k* for contrastive focus, Manowang 2026)
 - *thâwnán* is lower: ^{OK}*thâwnán tà:nhà:k*, **tà:nhà:k thâwnán*

(40)



➤ *khêê* as an exclusive quantifier (semantically)

- We argue that *khêê* is not a concord particle, but an exclusive quantifier
 - ≠ English adfocal *only* (Quek & Hirsch 2017, Bassi et al. 2022)
 - = adfocal ‘only’ in Akan (Yip & Ahenkorah 2026) and Yoruba (Yip & Adedeji 2024, Yip 2026)
- We propose that *khêê*P undergoes covert movement, similar to QR
 - The movement is evidenced by **island effects**
 - We assume that the movement occurs in syntax with the lower copy pronounced (cf. Pronounce Lower Copy in Bošković & Nunes 2007)

(41) a. [... <[*khêê* DP]> ... [_{VP} V <[*khêê* DP]>]]] (only > can)

- The movement can be overt:

(42) [*Khêê* German_F] khruu ruu waa thim rien _ .
 only German teacher know that Tim study
 ‘It is only German that the teacher knows that Tim took.’

- We suggest that *khêê*'s scopal ambiguity is by **covert movement** to different positions
 → QR: flexible landing site

(43) a. [TP Subj <[*khêê* DP]> [_{ModP} *dâj* ‘can’ [_{VP} V <[*khêê* DP]>]]] (only > can)

b. [TP Subj [_{ModP} *dâj* ‘can’ <[*khêê* DP]> [_{VP} V <[*khêê* DP]>]]] (can > only)

- Ellipsis applies in the PF after movement in the syntax
 - The LF still has access to the higher copy → **wide scope is possible after ellipsis**
(The higher copy must be interpreted because the lower copy is in an object position that would create a type mismatch when composed with the verb)

(44) a. Syntax: movement

[TP Subj <[*khêê* DP]> [ModP *dâj* ‘can’ [vP V <[*khêê* DP]>]]]

bi. PF: Copy Deletion

[Subj <[~~*khêê*~~ DP]> [*dâj* [vP V <[*khêê* DP]>]]]

c. LF: interpret the higher copy

[Subj <[*khêê* DP]> [*dâj* [vP V <[~~*khêê*~~ DP]>]]]

bii. PF: Ellipsis

[Subj <[~~*khêê*~~ DP]> [*dâj* [V <[~~*khêê*~~ DP]>]]]

➤ Agree dependency between *khêê* and *thâwnán*

- We assume that *thâwnán* is not an exclusive operator
→ No syntax-semantic mismatch in doubling: only *khêê* is exclusive
- *Thâwnán* agrees with *khêê* in exclusive feature [EXCL]
 - Notice that it agrees with the moved *khêê* (closer), not the (pronounced) lower copy

(45) [CP [FP F-*thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] ... <[*khêê* DP]_[Qu:EXCL]> ... [vP V <[*khêê* DP]>]]]]

- Evidenced by **intervention effects** by modals and negative quantifiers
 - Quantificational elements cannot intervene between *khêê* and *thâwnán*
(cf. intervention effects induced by quantificational elements to dependencies like *wh*-movement, e.g., in Italian and French, Rizzi 1990, 2004)
 - Explains why *khêê*'s narrow scope disappears in doubling

(46) a. Narrow scope: intervention

*[CP [FP *thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] [TP ... ZP_[Qu] ... [*khêê* DP]_[Qu:EXCL] ... [vP V *t*]]]]]

b. Wide scope: no intervention

[CP [FP *thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] [TP ... [*khêê* DP]_[Qu:EXCL] ... ZP_[Qu] ... [vP V *t*]]]]]

- We also assume that there is a null counterpart of *khêê*, QU_{EXCL}, which *thâwnán* may Agree with (cf. Yip & Adedeji 2024, Yip & Ahenkorah 2026 for the use of QU_{EXCL})
 - Explains sentences with only *thâwnán* still has exclusive meaning
 - Explains sentences with only *thâwnán* also only has wide scope
→ narrow scope is blocked by intervention effects

(47) a. Narrow scope: intervention

*[CP [FP *thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] [TP ... ZP_[Qu] ... [QU_{EXCL} DP]_[Qu:EXCL] ... [vP V *t*]]]]]

b. Wide scope: no intervention

[CP [FP *thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] [TP ... [QU_{EXCL} DP]_[Qu:EXCL] ... ZP_[Qu] ... [vP V *t*]]]]]

5. Conclusion

- Summary of the talk
 - We described the **syntactic and semantic properties** of *khêe* and *thâwnán* in detail
 - Adfocal vs. sentence-final
 - Scopal (non-)ambiguity
 - We showed that there is a **syntactic dependency** between *khêe* and *thâwnán*
 - As evidenced by intervention effects
 - We advocated for a **quantifier-particle approach** (Yip & Adedeji 2024) to exclusive doubling in Thai, to account for the apparent syntax-semantic mismatch
 - *khêe* is an exclusive quantifier; *thâwnán* is a scope particle at the periphery level
 - *thâwnán* Agrees with *khêe*

(48) [CP [FP *thâwnán*_[Qu:EXCL] ... <[*khêe* DP]_[Qu:EXCL]> ... [VP V <[*khêe* DP]>]]]]]

- Broader implications
 - On variation in exclusives: Afpocal particles in **some** languages are (semantically) exclusives quantifiers, not concord particles (contra. Quek & Hirsch 2017, Aremu 2026, etc.)
 - See Yip (2025, 2026) for a parametric view
 - On quantification and semantic types: Quantifiers may operate **cross-categorically**
 - See Coppock & Beaver (2014) and Yip & Ahenkorah (2026) for a type flexible analysis of exclusives

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