

Russell N. Campbell
Noun Substitutes
in Modern Thai

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Languages universally have forms and devices which permit, or sometimes demand, the avoidance of repeating sentence constituents if those constituents have been previously established by the participants in a speaker-hearer monolog or dialog. These devices are commonly called PRO forms (*e.g.*, pronouns, proverbs). The Thai language is no exception to the rule. This monograph presents, through examples and generalizations, information on one kind of PRO form in Thai: namely, substitutes for nouns and noun phrases. It considers personal, relative, demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns as well as the use of classifiers and 'zero' as noun substitutes.

Rather than elicit information on noun substitutes directly from informants, the author based his study on a corpus of spoken Thai he collected in Bangkok in 1960 and 1961. The corpus is made up of a number of hours of unrehearsed discussions and debates presented on television and radio programs.

Although it is information on the Thai language that is presented here, of equal interest are the general considerations of writing a structural description of connected discourse.

NOUN SUBSTITUTES IN MODERN THAI:
A STUDY IN PRONOMINALITY

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NOUN SUBSTITUTES IN MODERN THAI

A STUDY IN PRONOMINALITY

by

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1969

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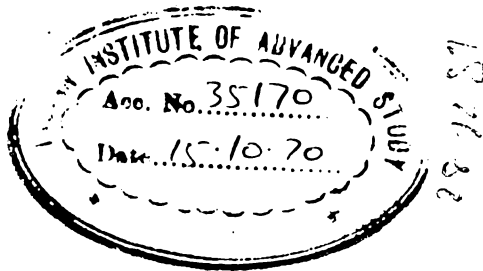
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FOREWORD

This study deals with the grammar of connected discourse. It presents factual information about the various forms and devices employed by Thai speakers to demonstrate anaphoric relationships among a series of sentences in a monologue or a dialogue. A further explanation of the goals and limitations of the study are presented in the introductory chapter. The primary purpose of this Foreword, therefore, is to provide me with an opportunity to express my gratitude to Professors William J. Gedney and Edward M. Anthony for their helpful suggestions and criticism of an earlier version of this study and to thank the many Thai people who have reacted so graciously to my probing and questioning in efforts to gain some understanding of their language. I am also deeply indebted to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare which awarded me a grant to carry on part of the work reflected in this monograph.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE TAI LANGUAGES

Approximately ten centuries ago members of an ethnic group living in the southwestern provinces of China, for certain unsubstantiated reasons, began a series of migrations to the south and west into southeast Asia. These migrants eventually settled in the areas known today as India (Assam), Laos, China (including the island of Hainan), North Vietnam, Burma and Thailand (Siam). Nowadays we find the decedents of that early society speaking a host of closely related languages and dialects such as Shan, Lao, White Tai, Black Tai, Red Tai, Khün, Tho, Lü, Dioi, Sui, Thai (Siamese) and a number of others which are collectively called the Tai languages.

Interest in these languages became evident in the writings of missionaries and diplomatic personnel over a half century ago. For example we have early attempts to describe Ahom and Khamti and other languages found in India and Burma by Grierson (1902, 1904); Dioi by Esquirol and Williatte (1896); and Tho by Diguët (1910). However, it has been only in the past two or three decades that scholars with specific education and training in descriptive and comparative linguistics have applied their skills and attention to the description of the Tai languages. The work of Li Fang-Kuei (1940, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1954, 1956a, 1956b, 1957, 1959), Haudricourt (1948, 1950, 1952, 1956, 1960, 1961), Egerod (1957, 1958, 1959, 1961), Brown (1962), Haas (1942, 1946, 1958), Gedney (1965) and others¹ has, primarily on the basis of comparative phonological and lexical evidence, provided sufficient information to identify and classify a substantial number of the characteristics of individual Tai languages and of the more closely related sub-groups of Tai languages. With the abundance of phonological information made available by these and other scholars, the task of reconstructing a Proto-Tai phonology has progressed rapidly. In spite of this rash of recent interest in this family of languages, the knowledge we have of their grammars is in no way comparable to that which we have of their sound

¹ The selected bibliography on pages 68 to 70, includes, along with references especially pertinent to this study, all of the material on the Tai languages that the author, along with Thomas Gething, was privileged to study under the direction of Professor William Gedney of the University of Michigan in 1963 and 1964.

systems. The earliest comments written on word and sentence construction were, although interesting and often insightful, of little use since most such descriptions were attempts to analyze the grammar of the particular language in terms of the grammar of the amateur investigator. The one important exception to this generality is the knowledge that has come forth in the past few years on the grammar of Thai,² the official language of the twenty-five or so million people of the Kingdom of Thailand, and the primary language of the people of Bangkok and the central plains area of that country.

In the United States alone there have been three recent attempts to describe the grammar of Thai. The first to appear was that of Noss (1954) followed some ten years later by dissertations written by two Thai students, Chaiyaratana (1961) and Warotamasikkhadit (1963). These three major studies plus the information provided by a number of shorter works (Anthony, 1964; Haas, 1942, 1946) have furnished us with a sizable body of information on Thai morphology and syntax. The present book shall attempt to add to this growing body of knowledge of Thai grammar by presenting a discussion of the study and findings of an investigation of the noun substitutes used by Thai speakers in connected discourse.

1.2 SUBSTITUTES

A moment's consideration of the following possible dialog between two speakers of English will help to explain the nature of this study of noun substitutes in Thai.

- (1) Did Mary call John?
- (2) No, she didn't.
- (3) Did you ask her to?
- (4) Yes, I did.
- (5) Well, ask her again.
- (6) When will he be at home?
- (7) He should be there after nine.

As would be expected by speakers of English, after the first mention of Mary and John in the opening question the names (proper nouns) are not repeated throughout the remainder of the conversation. A grammar of this English dialog would, among other things, include rules which would tell us precisely which forms must be used to substitute for Mary and John in subsequent utterances; and, would indicate whether the forms were optional or obligatory. They would also state if there were more than one position the forms could occupy in the utterances. There would also be rules which would explain the inclusion of 'you' in (3) but not in (5). In addition to rules that concerned what we know as pronouns, other rules would explicate the

² The name of the language, as well as that of the people, is equally well known as Siamese.

use of 'did' in (2) and (4) as possible responses to (1) and (3); that is, it would explain the use of part of the predicate of (1) 'did call John' as a response in (2) 'did'. Also it would cite the possibility of deleting part of the sentence ('call John') after 'to' in (3). Finally, for this sample of English, the grammar would explain the use of 'there' in (7) as a possible substitute for 'home' in (6). In this short English dialog we find that once a noun construction, a verb construction or an adverbial construction has been introduced into the conversation, subsequent references to these constructions are regularly made by forms or devices which form a part of the grammar of the language and rules for their form and distribution would be included in any serious attempt to write a grammar of English. Forms and devices which are similar to those exemplified appear to be language-universal.

The following quotations will further demonstrate the sense in which the term substitute is used in this study.

All languages that have been scientifically analyzed have been found to contain a functional class of morphological terms that substitute for other classes of forms. Such words may be called "substitutes". The most common type of substitutes are the pronouns. These words substitute, not for objects, but for a class of words, and, as the term implies, for a particular class of words, namely, nouns. Many languages, however, have substitutes for other classes of linguistic items, e.g., adjective, verbs, adverbs, predicate expressions, and clause. (Nida 1946, p. 138).

A substitute is a linguistic form or grammatical feature which, under certain conventional circumstances, replaces any one of a class of linguistic forms. Thus, in English, the substitute *I* replaces any singular-number substantive expression, provided that this substantive expression denotes the speaker of the utterance in which the substitute is used. (Bloomfield 1933, p. 247).

Every human language has a stock of elements that shift denotations depending on elementary features of the speech situation. That is, every language has deictic elements ("substitutes" in Bloomfield's terminology); the personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and so on. (Hockett 1963, p. 16).

Certainly speakers of Thai make use of substitutes for a variety of sentence constructions, but as suggested by the title, here I shall attempt to discuss only those forms and devices which are available to them as substitutes for nouns and noun phrases. Furthermore, this study will not provide a grammar which will set out the rules of a dialog or discourse, but rather will describe the form and distribution of noun substitutes in a taxonomic fashion with the express hope that it will provide useful factual information that will facilitate the eventual writing of such a grammar.

1.3 THE STUDY

A corpus, which I describe below, was used in the initial stages of this study. It was instrumental primarily as a source which was considered sufficiently large to permit the reasonable hope that examples of all common types of Thai noun substitutes would be found within it. It was from this body of material that the original inven-

tory of substitute forms and devices was collected. The analysis and description of the items in this inventory in turn provides the subject of this report. The corpus itself consists of eight hours and forty-five minutes of tape-recorded television and radio panel discussions and interviews which I recorded in Bangkok in 1960 and 1961. Most of the recorded material (a total of five hours and fifteen minutes) is that of a program entitled /raajkaan ʔaphípraaj panháa tóʔ klom/,³ that is, 'Program of Round Table Discussion'. On this program a moderator reads a variety of questions sent in by listeners and viewers, then, members of a panel of four, without previous knowledge or consideration of the questions, respond with spontaneous, unrehearsed opinions and observations. The remaining programs which make up the corpus are interviews or panel discussions. These programs were devoted to specific problems, personages, activities or events of general public interest. Excluding the questions (which were deleted from the corpus as were any obvious literary quotations or sayings), all of the recorded material was spoken without notes or scripts. Each of the speakers whose voice is included is an adult, native

³ The alphabet used here and throughout this book to represent Thai is the phonemic alphabet used by Haas (1964). A complete inventory of the consonants, vowels and tones are as follows:

CONSONANTS

| | <i>Labial</i> | <i>Apical</i> | <i>Palatal</i> | <i>Velar</i> | <i>Glottal</i> |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| <i>Stops</i> | | | | | |
| Voiceless unaspirated | p | t | c | k | ʔ |
| Voiceless aspirated | ph | th | ch | kh | |
| Voiced | b | d | | g | |
| <i>Spirants</i> | | | | | |
| Voiceless | f | s | | | h |
| <i>Liquids</i> | | | | | |
| Voiced | | l r | | | |
| <i>Nasals</i> | | | | | |
| Voiced | m | n | | ŋ | |
| <i>Semivowels</i> | | | | | |
| Voiced | w | | j | | |

VOWELS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| i | y | u |
| e | ə | o |
| ɛ | a | ɔ |

TONES

| | |
|---------|-----------|
| Mid | (no mark) |
| Low | ˊ |
| Falling | ˋ |
| High | ˌ |
| Rising | ˍ |

For an excellent description of the vowels and tones, see Abramson (1962) and for an overall statement of Thai phonology see Kruatrachue (1960).

speaker of Bangkok Thai. For this reason I feel that the corpus is an adequate sampling of current, educated, spoken Thai.

Each of the ten recorded programs was transcribed in standard Thai orthography and each of these transcribed programs was given a letter designation (A, B, C, etc.), paginated (1, 2, 3, etc.), and numbered by line (1, 2, 3, etc.), thus providing me with a means of easily identifying the location of each example of a noun substitute in the entire corpus.

A brief tabulation of the programs is as follows:

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------|------------|----------|
| PROGRAM A | Round Table | Television | 73 min. |
| PROGRAM B | Interview | Television | 57 min. |
| PROGRAM C | Panel Discussion | Radio | 43 min. |
| PROGRAM D | Panel Discussion | Radio | 43 min. |
| PROGRAM E | Round Table | Radio | 63 min. |
| PROGRAM F | Panel Discussion | Radio | 32 min. |
| PROGRAM G | Round Table | Television | 86 min. |
| PROGRAM H | Round Table | Television | 76 min. |
| PROGRAM I | Interview | Radio | 34 min. |
| PROGRAM J | Interview | Radio | 18 min. |
| | | Total | 525 min. |

Working with knowledge of pronominal forms from previous studies as well with the assistance of a number of native Thai speaker informants,⁴ I was able to abstract from programs A, B, C, D and E the forms and devices which I tentatively labeled noun substitutes. These features corresponded roughly, in function and distribution to those described by Nida (1946, pp. 138-48), Bloomfield (1933, pp. 247-63), Hockett (1958, pp. 253-60) and Jakobson (1957, p. 1) in their general treatments of substitutes or 'shifters'.

For each of the forms which were thus abstracted, I recorded and filed the following information:

- (a) the form itself, e.g., /khǎw/;
- (b) the apparent grammatical function of the form in the clause within which it was found, e.g., 'subject of clause';
- (c) whether the form was independent (i.e., there was no overt antecedent or referent in the linguistic context) or dependent (i.e., there was an expressed antecedent in the linguistic context);
- (d) if the form were dependent, the referent was noted along with information

⁴ Throughout this study I relied heavily on the native speaker intuition of several Thai students to help me understand the function and distribution of the various forms under study here. Especially helpful were Manas Chitakasem, Sen Keoyote, Samut Senchaowanich, Maneerat Snitvong and Soimat Yooyen.

concerning number, gender and whether the referent was human or non-human animate or inanimate;

(e) and, the entire clause in which the form or device was contained.

It was not considered that this list of data was exhaustive nor that every point was pertinent to the description of noun substitution in Thai, but, rather, that it provided a framework on which the initial analysis could be based. A preliminary sorting and classification of these data could be made using the above information. Hypotheses and generalizations were formulated and then checked in two distinct ways. The first was to go through the remaining five programs (F, G, H, I, J) to determine whether all new occurrences of the noun substitutes found in these programs conformed to the classifications or subclassifications of the same forms encountered in the first five programs. Second, each hypothesis was tested by the construction of original utterances in accordance with the assumptions or generalizations I had formulated. These original sentences were submitted to native speakers for their reactions. Those generalizations which permitted the construction of grammatically acceptable sentences are in general the findings of this study. Needless to say, not all tests of grammaticality resulted in clear yes or no responses. Not infrequently the informants would disagree with each other or would change their minds after an initial judgment. Later in the discussion of several substitute forms, I shall mention those areas which are still doubtful since I was unable to pose certain questions of grammaticality in such a way that yielded a definitive answer.

I would like to emphasize that quite frequently the examples found in the corpus served as stimuli which, as the work progressed, led to interesting information contributed by or elicited from the informants which prompted investigation into areas other than those that appear in the corpus. This secondarily derived material has, of course, been taken into consideration in formulating the conclusions of this study.

PRONOUNS IN CONTRAST TO NOUNS

2.1 SEPARATION CRITERIA

As stated in the introduction (p. 13), the initial steps of this research yielded a collection of forms which were tentatively labeled noun substitutes. It will be recalled that the second point (b., p. 13) of information recorded for each form identified the apparent grammatical function of the form within the clause in which it appeared. Examination of this point for each entry indicated that certain substitutes functioned in each of the following ways:

- (1) as the subject of the clause, e.g. /raw/ in
 /raw câ? mii ?ookàad/
 we (F) have opportunity
 'We shall have the opportunity...'¹
- (2) in apposition to a noun, e.g. /man/ in
 /sàd man kô? mâj rúu/
 animal it also (Ng) know
 'Animals, they do not know either.'
- (3) as object of a verb, e.g. /khăw/ in
 /khruu tii khăw/
 teacher beat he
 'The teacher beat him.'

¹ For each example given in Thai there will be a word for word translation as well as a free translation. This is done with the realization that it is only a convenience and it is not to be supposed that the translations match up as closely as the examples might indicate. In the word for word translations, used throughout this book, Thai function words which do not need to be described here will be abbreviated as follows:

| | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|------|--|
| (F) | Future | (P) | Plural/Reciprocal Particle |
| (Ng) | Negative | (ØI) | Zero substitute with no overt antecedent |
| (prt) | Particle | (ØD) | Zero substitute with an expressed antecedent |
| (D) | Demonstrative Adjective | | |
| (QM) | Question Marker | | |
| (#) | Number Word | | |
| (C) | Classifier | | |
| (E) | Emphatic | | |

- (4) as object of a preposition, e.g. /raw/ in
 /thii càp maa khèŋ khǎn kàb raw dâaj/
 which (F) come compete with we can
 ‘...which will be able to come and compete with us.’
- (5) in genitival² relationship to nouns as /raw/ in
 /rûub rāaŋ raw mág càp tâa/
 form body we likely (F) squat
 ‘Our bodies are generally squat.’

Forms found serving these functions were tentatively labeled noun substitutes since structurally these are the clause functions similarly performed by nouns in Thai (Warotamasikkhadit, 1963; Chaiyaratana, 1961).

The first consideration was that these forms which had been labeled substitutes were in fact only semantic substitutes in the sense suggested by Nida (1961) in the following:

As one deals with words (or phrases) which may substitute for other words (or phrases), it soon becomes evident that some expressions may substitute for numerous other expressions, and others for very few. For example words such as *thing*, *object*, *matter* and *it* may occur as semantic substitutes for literally thousands of other items within a discourse (p. 319).

The following from Gedney (1961) also indicates a strong doubt as to the possibility of structurally separating nouns and pronouns in Thai:

Virtually all students of Thai speak of ‘pronouns’. It is by no means clear, however, that Thai has a syntactic class of pronouns that can be identified on more objective grounds than the fact that they translate the pronouns of western languages; certainly the published studies that speak of pronouns have not demonstrated such a class (p. 113).

The following pairs of clauses further demonstrate the similarity of function of those forms suspected of being noun substitutes (the italicized forms in items 7, 9, 11, 13) and those considered to be nouns (the italicized forms in items 6, 8, 10, 12):

- (6) /*khruu* sǔaj/
 teacher pretty
 ‘The teacher is pretty.’
- (7) /*khǎw* sǔaj/
 she pretty
 ‘She is pretty.’
- (8) /*khruu* tii *nágrian*/
 teacher beat student
 ‘The teacher beat the student.’
- (9) /*khruu* tii *khǎw*/
 teacher beat he
 ‘The teacher beat him.’

² Genitival here does not imply a special inflectional case as in some Indo-European languages. Its class meaning is approximately ‘owned by’, ‘originated by’ or ‘believed in by’.

- (10) /nǎŋsǎy nǐ khǎŋ khruu/
 book this of teacher
 'This book belongs to the teacher.'
- (11) /nǎŋsǎy nǐ khǎŋ khǎw/
 book this of he
 'This book belongs to him.'
- (12) /khruu hāj dǐnsǎŋ nǎgrǐan/
 teacher give pencil student
 'The teacher gave the pencil to the student.'
- (13) /khruu hāj dǐnsǎŋ khǎw/
 teacher give pencil he
 'The teacher gave the pencil to him.'

As stated above, in these clauses there is no overt structural evidence that would allow for separate classification of nouns and what I shall now call PRONOUNS. However, it soon became apparent that there were certain distributional restrictions on the forms considered to be pronouns that did not apply to those considered to be nouns. One of these restrictions will be discussed here to establish a structural criterion for the separation of nouns and pronouns into two classes; other restrictions will be discussed in later chapters.

Some forms with nominal functions cannot take such attributes as /sǎaj/ 'pretty', /jàj/ 'big', or /dii/ 'good'. Note the following examples:

- (14) *acceptable*
 /mǎa jàj nǐ kin nǎya/
 dog big this eat meat
 'This big dog eats meat.'
- (15) *unacceptable**
 /man jàj nǐ kin nǎya/
 it big this eat meat
 'This big it eats meat.'
- (16) *acceptable*
 /khruu sǎaj nán sǎŋ nǎŋsǎy/
 teacher pretty that teach book
 'That pretty teacher teaches...'
- (17) *unacceptable**
 /khǎw sǎaj nán sǎŋ nǎŋsǎy/
 she pretty that teach book
 'That pretty she teaches...'
- (18) *acceptable*
 /khon dii nán pen khruu/
 person good that be teacher
 'That good person is a teacher.'

- (19) *unacceptable**
khǎw dii nán pen khruu/
 he good that be teacher
 ‘That good he is a teacher.’

Those forms which can be modified with words such as /sǔaj/ /jàj/ and /dii/ (the italicized forms in 14, 16 and 18) are here defined as nouns. Those that cannot be so modified (the italicized forms of 15, 17 and 19) are defined as pronouns.

The apparent contradiction between items (7) and (17), in both of which /khǎw sǔaj/ ‘she pretty’ occurs, one occurrence marked as unacceptable and the other as acceptable, is explained by the diverse function of /sǔaj/ in the two utterances. In (7) /sǔaj/ is the full predicate of the clause and like all predicates can be expanded by verb modifiers such as /càʔ/ ‘future’, /kôʔ/ ‘sequence signal’ and made negative by /mâj/ as in the following examples:

- (20) /khǎw càʔ sǔaj/
 she (F) pretty
 ‘She will be pretty.’
 (21) /khǎw kôʔ sǔaj/
 she too pretty
 ‘She is pretty too.’
 (22) /khǎw mâj sǔaj/
 she (Ng) pretty
 ‘She is not pretty.’

Or a combination of the three:

- (23) /khǎw kôʔ càʔ mâj sǔaj/
 she too (F) (Ng) pretty
 ‘She will not be pretty either.’

If (17) were a possible sentence, /sǔaj/ would be a noun modifier as it is in the grammatically acceptable (16). In (16) the primary immediate constituent cut, that is, the cut between the subject and the predicate, is between /khruu sǔaj nán/ ‘that pretty teacher’ and /sǔən nǎŋsǔy/ ‘teach’. The function of /sǔaj/ in that utterance is attributive, modifying /khruu/ ‘teacher’, the head of the noun phrase.

If there is no demonstrative, as /nán/ in (16), or if none of the verb modifiers is present in an utterance, the cut between the subject and predicate is not always clearly evident, and structural ambiguity may result. Consider the following:

- (24) /khruu kèε jùu thīnii/
 teacher old be here

Example (24) represents two Thai sentences, one of which translated into English means roughly ‘The old teacher is here’. The second would mean ‘The teacher is

getting old here'. The word /khruu/ 'teacher' in the first of these two possible sentences cannot be replaced by a pronoun, i.e., /khǎw kɛɛ jùu thiiinii/ 'old he is here'. /khǎw/ could, however, replace the entire noun phrase /khruu kɛɛ/ 'old teacher', with the resultant meaning, 'he is here'. In the second sentence /khǎw/ may replace /khruu/ since /kɛɛ/ 'old' is part of the predicate and would mean 'he is getting old here'. This restriction of the co-occurrence of some nominals with attributive forms provides the basis for a structural contrast between nouns and pronouns in Thai. All of the forms which were suspected of being personal pronouns conform to this distinction. In addition to these forms, it was ascertained that proper nouns, titles and kinship terms, in certain contexts, also fell into the personal pronoun subclass of nominals. The description of personal pronouns will be the topic of the following chapter. Other pronominal forms, including interrogatives, indefinites, relatives and demonstratives, will be defined and described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 7 will deal with other forms and devices which substitute for nouns.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3.1 DEFINITION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns differ from relative, interrogative and demonstrative pronouns in distribution and function. This chapter describes that patterning of personal pronouns which sets them off from the other types. The statements of patterning are, in effect, a definition of personal pronouns in Thai.

Definitions of personal pronouns usually found in handbooks and language texts, for example Nida's (1964)

Personal substitutes are the most common type. They distinguish the so-called persons; the speaker, the hearer, and the one spoken of (p. 99-101).

are of little help in defining Thai personal pronouns. Out of context the 'person' is not explicit in the form for the vast majority of Thai personal pronouns. For example, the pronoun /raw/ may be used by the speaker to refer to himself, to himself and one or more other people, or to the hearer alone. The pronoun /khăw/ may be used by the speaker to refer to himself or one or more people spoken of.

3.2 SEMANTIC FEATURES OF THAI PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Even though the primary intent of this study is to describe the structural aspects of noun substitutes, it may be of some interest to discuss briefly some of the semantic characteristics of Thai personal pronouns. In Thai, as in a large number of other languages around the world, the speaker has a variety of forms from which to choose to refer to himself, to his listeners or to those spoken of. The choice will depend largely upon the real or imagined relative social status of the speaker and his audience. The situation in Thai is similar to that of some European languages which maintain a distinction between a 'formal you' and an 'informal or intimate you' (cf. Spanish *usted* and *tú*; French *vous* and *tu*; German *Sie* and *du*). A study made by Brown and Gilman (1963) offers interesting insight into this question by stating that the choice of one of the two possible forms in the languages that they studied can be explained in terms of 'power semantics' and 'solidarity semantics':

Power semantics. There are many bases of power — physical strength, wealth, age, sex, institutional role in the church, the state, the army, or with the family — the relations called

older than and nobler than are all asymmetrical. If A is older than B, B is not older than A.... The pronoun usage expressing the power relation is also asymmetrical or nonreciprocal.

Solidarity semantics. Now we are concerned with a set of relations which are symmetrical: for example: attended the same school or have the same parents or practice the same profession. If A has the same parents as B, B has the same parents as A. Solidarity is the name we give the general relationship and solidarity is symmetrical or reciprocal (pp. 257-58).

The notion of 'power' and 'solidarity' as determining factors in the choice of pronouns is useful in understanding the choice of particular pronouns made by Thai speakers in a given context.

Gedney (1961), referring specifically to this question in Thai, said:

It has often been pointed out that the large range of choices indicating relative status of the speaker and the person spoken to reflects the stratification of social classes in the traditional social scheme (p. 114).

A more direct way of looking at the semantic features of Thai personal pronouns is to describe the characteristics of their attested referents, i.e., examine the antecedents of each form and note the identifiable semantic features of those antecedents. This is exactly what was done with the collection of pronouns found in the corpus described above (p. 12). It was found, for example, that the pronoun /khǎw/, in different contexts, had antecedents which were single-male-human; single-female-human; and plural-male and/or female-human. In some instances /khǎw/ was used by the speaker to refer to one or more other people. This multiple semantic function of /khǎw/ is characteristic of all but two of the pronoun forms studied. These two forms are /phǒm/ and /dichǎn/. /phǒm/ always refers to the speaker and always to a male speaker (or an impersonator of a male speaker) and /dichǎn/ always refers to the speaker and always to a female speaker (or an impersonator of a female speaker).

The chart on the following page demonstrates the semantic range of each of the pronouns studied in the course of this investigation. The features taken into consideration and their abbreviations as found in the chart are these: Speaker (S), Spoken To (ST), Spoken Of (SO); Male (M), Female (F), Sexless (N); Animate (A), Inanimate (I); Human (H), Non-Human (NH); Singular (Sg), Plural (P).

Proper names, titles and kinship terms, as mentioned above (p. 19), have pronominal characteristics of distribution. In Thai it is especially noteworthy, since the frequency is so great, that the speaker in certain social situations will use a given name, a kinship term, or a professional or political title instead of one of the pronoun forms listed in the chart. One example will illustrate this point. All of the following utterances may be equivalent to the English sentence 'I would like to go.' with /phǎo/ 'father', /maanád/ 'Manas (a proper name)'¹ /khruu/ 'teacher' or /phǒm/ 'I' used by the speaker to refer to himself:

¹ Jakobson (1957), in regard to the pronominal characteristics of proper names, said: "The general meaning of a proper name cannot be defined without reference to the code. In the code of

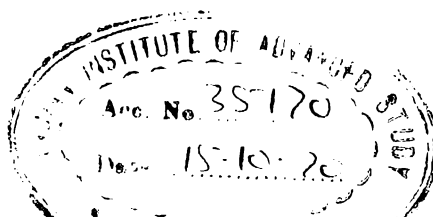


CHART OF SOME SEMANTIC FEATURES OF THAI PERSONAL PRONOUNS

| Pronouns | Semantic Features | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|----------------|----|---|---|----------------|---|---|---|-----------------|----|---|
| | S | ST | SO | M | F | N | A | I | H | NH ^d | Sg | P |
| phǒm | × ^a | ○ ^b | ○ | × | ○ | — ^c | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| dichǎn | × | ○ | ○ | ○ | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| chǎn | × | ○ | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| kuu | × | ○ | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| khāa | × | ○ | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| raw | × | × | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| khǎw | × | ○ | × | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| nǔu | × | × | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| kan | × | ○ | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | ○ |
| khun | ○ | × | × | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| thǎn | ○ | × | × | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| keε | ○ | × | × | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| myŋ | ○ | × | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| thəə | ○ | × | × | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| ʔeŋ | ○ | × | ○ | × | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| lǝn | ○ | × | × | ○ | × | — | × | ○ | × | ○ | × | × |
| man | ○ | ○ | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × | × |

^a '×' indicates that the referent of the pronoun may have the semantic characteristic indicated at the head of that column.

^b '○' indicates that the referent of the pronoun may not have the semantic characteristic heading that column.

^c '—' indicates that this cell is inapplicable to the pronoun.

^d Any of the pronouns with an '○' in this column may be used to refer to non-human antecedents in fables, stories, proverbs.

/phǒu jàag càʔ paj/
 /maanád jàag càʔ paj/
 /khruu jàag càʔ paj/
 /phǒm jàag càʔ paj/
 'I would like to go.'

3.3 GRAMMATICAL DISTRIBUTION AND FUNCTION OF THAI PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Of the great number of Thai personal pronouns, the following, in varying degrees of frequency, occurred in the corpus; /phǒm, dichǎn, raw, keε, thǎn, khun, man, khǎw, thəə/. These nine forms will be used in examples to demonstrate the function and distribution of Thai personal pronouns.

English, Jerry means a person named Jerry. The circularity is obvious, the name means anyone to whom this name is assigned. There is pup and puppyhood, mongrel and mongrelness, but Fido — there are many dogs called Fido but they do not share any property of 'Fidoness'".

3.3.1 *Personal Pronouns as Subject-of-Clause*

All of the pronouns were found functioning as subjects of clauses. Examples are:

- (1) /phõm ʔaad càʔ chíiceɛŋ/
 I may (F) explain
 'I might explain...'
 (2) /man pen panhãa/
 it be problem
 'It is a problem...'

3.3.2 *Personal Pronouns as Object-of-Verb*

All personal pronouns may occur as objects of verbs as in these examples:

- (3) /phõm rúucàg khãw/
 I know he
 'I know him.'
 (4) /khãw tii man thúg wan/
 he beat it all day
 'He beats it every day.'

It must be pointed out that even though all informants agree that utterances of the type given here as examples are possible, their occurrence as responses to questions in a dialog would be unnatural. The more likely response to a question such as:

- (5) /khun rúucàg khun maanád mǎj/
 you know (title) Manas (QM)
 'Do you know Mr. Manas?'

would be:

- (6) /rúucàg khráb/
 know (polite particle)
 'Yes, I know him.'

or possibly:

- (7) /máj rúucàg khráb/
 (Ng) know (polite particle)
 'No, I don't know him.'

It may be concluded that as long as both speaker and listener are cognizant of the 'actors' and 'goals' involved in the discourse, the personal pronouns are omissible, i.e., the noun substitutes are manifested by 'zero'.²

² More will be said about 'zero' in Chapter Seven. Another way of talking about 'zero' substitution, of course, would be to say that certain forms are 'understood' or that certain forms are 'deleted' from a string of forms which previously included the noun or pronoun.

It is noteworthy that there are sentences in which nouns function as objects of verbs but pronouns do not. Two examples will be given to demonstrate this point:

- (8) /khruu hāj dinsǎǎ nágrian/
 teacher give pencil student
 'The teacher gave the pencil to the student.'

It is possible to substitute for /khruu/ in this pattern (/khǎw/) and it would also be possible to substitute for /nágrian/ (/khǎw/). However, a personal pronoun substitute for /dinsǎǎ/, or any inanimate noun, is not acceptable in this pattern. Note the following:

- (9)* /khruu hāj man nágrian/
 teacher give it student
 'The teacher gave it to the student.'

Instead, the response to the Thai question meaning roughly 'What did the teacher do with the pencil?' would be:

- (10) /hāj nágrian/
 give student
 'Gave it to the student.'

A second example in which inanimate nouns occur as objects of verbs, but pronouns do not, is in a sentence of the type represented by:

- (11) /phǎm khǎaj khǎaw hāj phūujǐn khon nán/
 I sell rice to girl person that
 'I sold the rice to that girl.'

The answer to the Thai question meaning 'Who did you sell the rice to?' would not include a substitute for /khǎaw/ 'rice'. Thus the following is unacceptable:³

- (12)* /phǎm khǎaj man phūujǐn khon nán/
 I sell it girl person that
 'I sold it to that girl.'

The response to that question could be:

- (13) /phǎm khǎaj phūujǐn khon nán/
 I sell girl person that
 'I sold it to that girl.'

It remains uncertain whether any personal pronoun may fill the slot occupied by /khǎaw/ in (11). It is even more doubtful if /man/, as a personal pronoun, with an

³ That is, if /khǎaw/ 'rice' is the intended referent. If the referent were a person or, say, a dog, /man/ is acceptable, though not frequent.

inanimate referent, ever occurs as object of a verb in Thai. It never occurs as such in the corpus. In testing original sentences of the type subject-verb-object, as in items (3) and (4) above, with native speakers of Thai, /man/ was only hesitatingly accepted. If accepted in that function at all, it was usually with a comment that (a) it sounded like English (b) the referent could only be a person or an animal,⁴ (c) perhaps /man/ referred to an inanimate object to which the speaker was sentimentally attached, or (d) that the utterance was /plɛɛg mâag/ i.e., 'very strange'. From these comments, I have concluded that /man/ with an inanimate referent has an extremely limited potential as object of a verb in Thai.

3.3.3 *Personal Pronouns in Apposition to Nouns*

It is not a rarity to hear certain speakers of English produce such sentences as 'My brother, he lives in New York' or 'The boss, he ain't too bright.' Whereas in English the use of a noun immediately followed by a pronoun with the same referent might be considered substandard or inelegant, in Thai such a sequence is extremely common and is found to be used with great frequency by highly educated speakers. I have tentatively labeled this function of the personal pronoun appositional. Two examples are:

- (14) /plaa man kin/
 fish it eat
 'The fish, it eats...'
- (15) /nágrian khǎw mâj rian nǎŋsǎy/
 student he (Ng) study book/
 'The students, they do not study.'

3.3.4 *Personal Pronouns in Apposition to Other Personal Pronouns*

The personal pronoun /man/ may occur in apposition to any other personal pronoun except itself. /man/ in this function implies debasement or deprecation as in:

- (16) /phǒm man khíd wâa/
 I it think thus
 'I (humbly) think...'
- (17) /khǎw man mâj dii/
 he it (Ng) good
 'He (pejoratively) is not good.'

Proper names, titles and kinship terms functioning as pronouns may also be modified appositionally by the personal pronouns being considered here. Note these examples:

⁴ Cf. example (4) p. 23. An informant's first reaction. When asked what the referent of /man/ could be was 'a dog'; his second was that it could be 'a person'; and finally that it could not be an inanimate object.

- (18) /phráphúthácâw thân kô? mâj son tồb/
 Lord Buddha he also (Ng) (prt) answer
 'The Lord Buddha did not answer (it) either.'
- (19) /dichăn rág phô khăw
 I love father he
 'I love father.'
- (20) /phô khăw mâj sàbaaj/
 father he (Ng) well
 'Father is not well.'

3.3.5 *Personal Pronouns as Object-of-Preposition*

Nearly all Thai scholars identify some Thai forms as prepositions. The inventory of forms so designated by each author rarely corresponds to the inventory made by any other author. However, since the purpose of this study is neither to determine whether such a separate class can be defined in Thai; nor to describe or define it if it does, I have selected those forms which I have previously defined as prepositions and which have been corroborated by Haas (1964). For the purposes of this investigation, therefore, I include the following: /thii/ 'at', /lăŋ/ 'behind', /nâa/ 'in front of', /phÿa/ 'for the sake of', /sămràb/ 'for', /khǎŋ/ 'of, owned by, belonging to', /kàb/ 'with (in the sense of accompanying)', /kèe/ 'to, for'.

All of the pronouns under consideration here may function as objects of these prepositions. Two examples from the corpus are:

- (21) /thii mâj sāmāad cà? tồ sūu kàb raw dāaj/
 which (Ng) able (F) fight with we can
 '...which are incapable of fighting with us.'
- (22) /hāj sŋwêekhłóom thii dii kèe man/
 give environment that good to it
 '...put him in a good environment.'

As stated, all of the pronoun forms can occur as objects of prepositions. However, /man/ again must be singled out as having special distributional characteristics. /man/ with an inanimate referent has been found to function as object of a preposition with only one of these listed above, namely, /khǎŋ/ as in the example below in which the antecedent of /man/ is /kâw ?ii/ 'chair':

- (23) /khăa khǎŋ man hâg/
 leg of it break
 'Its leg is broken.'

Two additional forms which are considered by Noss (1954, p. 64) and Warotamasikhadit (1963, p. 26) to be prepositions but not so identified by Haas are /bon/ 'on' and /naj/ 'in'. Neither of these forms may take any of the pronouns under consideration as objects. They may be followed by nouns however:

- (24) /naj lôog/
in world
'On the earth.'
- (25) /naj hiib/
in box
'In the box.'
- (26) /bon tóʔ/
on table
'On the table'
- (27) /bon hũa khăw/
on head he
'On his head.'

This suggests that if /bon/ and /naj/ are to be classified as prepositions they certainly must belong to a special subclass. Perhaps additional study of these forms would show that they are in fact better classified as simple nouns and phrases such as /bon tóʔ/ would be roughly equivalent to English 'the table's top.'

3.3.6 *Personal Pronouns in Genitival Relation to Nouns*

All of the pronouns function in genitival relation to nouns as do /raw/, /kɛɛ/ and /khăw/ in the following examples:

- (28) /naj thaɔŋ sàadsànăa raw/
in way religion we
'According to our religion...'
- (29) /phũa thũi càʔ hâj khrôɔbkhrua kɛɛ/
for that (F) cause family she
'So that she will make her family...'
- (30) /phôɔ khăw mâj sàbaaj/
father he (Ng) well
'His father is not well.'

It will be noted that the last example (30) has the same shape as example (20) in 3.3.3 above. That is, out of context, /phôɔ khăw mâj sàbaaj/ may mean 'Father, he isn't well', in which 'father' and 'he' are the same person; or, it may mean 'His father isn't well.' This ambiguity may be resolved by using the preposition /khôɔŋ/ 'of, owned by, belonging to'. /phôɔ khôɔŋ khăw/ can only mean 'his father'.

An additional and more convincing indication of the contrast between the two examples may be seen by considering the range of possible substitutes for /khăw/ in the two underlying sentences. In the sentence in which /khăw/ and /phôɔ/ are the same person there are only three or four other forms which could fill the slot of /khăw/; namely, /kɛɛ/, /thân/ and /khun/. None of the other forms listed as personal pronouns in the chart on page 22 could fill that slot. However, in the sen-

tence in which /khǎw/ is functioning in genitival relation to /phôð/ any one of the pronouns could fill the slot occupied by /khǎw/.

Noun derivatives formed with /khwaam/ and /kaan/ (cf. Noss 1954, pp. 72-3) are not modified by personal pronouns alone. With these derivatives possession is signaled by a prepositional phrase consisting of /khǎðŋ/ plus any noun or pronoun. Examples with pronouns are the following:

- (31) /khwaam khíd hěn khǎðŋ phǎm/
 (part.) think see of I
 'My opinion...'
 (32) /kaan nǎn khǎðŋ phǎm/
 (part.) sleep of I
 'My sleeping...'

3.4 MODIFICATION OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns may be modified by forms from the following categories: number words (#), classifiers (C),⁵ demonstrative adjectives (D), an emphatic particle (E), and a particle which denotes plurality and/or reciprocal action (P). The modification patterns for personal pronouns vary according to the function of the pronoun in a clause.

3.4.1 *Modification of Personal Pronouns in Subject Position*

An example of an utterance containing all of the modifiers cited above is:

- (33) /khǎw sǎam khon níi ʔeeŋ càʔ paj kan/
 they (#) (C) (D) (E) (F) go (P)
 'They, these three themselves, will go.'

There are a number of rules of order and co-occurrence for these modifiers which will be discussed now.

(a) As noted in the chart on page 22, many of the personal pronouns may have either singular or plural referents. The presence of /kan/,⁶ which always occurs in post verb position, resolves any possible ambiguity. Thus /khǎw/ in (33) above would only have a plural referent. /kan/ may be the only modifier:

- (34) /khǎw càʔ paj kan/
 they (F) go (P)
 'They will go together.'

⁵ Classifiers are discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁶ One meaning of /kan/ is similar to English 'one another' or 'each other'. Cf. Lees and Klima (1963), p. 26.

(b) The emphatic particle /*ʔeeŋ*/ (E) may occur in pre- or post-verb position. The difference in meaning in the two positions is much the same as the difference between English 'I myself will go' and 'I will go myself'.

(35) /*phǒm ʔeeŋ càʔ paj*/
I (E) (F) go
'I myself will go.'

(36) /*phǒm càʔ paj ʔeeŋ*/
I (F) go (E)
'I will go myself.'

If /*ʔeeŋ*/ occurs in post verb position and /*kan*/ is also present, then /*kan*/ precedes /*ʔeeŋ*/:

(37) /*khǎw càʔ paj kan ʔeeŋ*/
they (F) go (P) (E)
'They will go together themselves.'

(c) The demonstrative adjectives (D) are /*nii*/ 'this, these', /*nán*/ 'that, those' and /*nóon*/ 'that or those yonder'.⁷ These forms may occur alone as modifiers of personal pronouns:

(38) /*phǒm nii khíd wâa*/
I (D) think thus
'This one thinks that...'

They may occur with (E) in pre-verb position:

(39) /*khǎw nii ʔeeŋ khíd wâa*/
he (D) (E) think thus
'This one, he himself thinks that...'

If a (D) modifies a personal pronoun and there is no number word (#) other than /*diaw*/ 'alone, only' in the modification pattern, then /*kan*/ (P) cannot co-occur. Thus /*khǎw*/ would have a singular referent.

(d) The classifiers (C) will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven. Briefly, they are used in conjunction with expressed or implied number words (cf. (e) below) to express quantity or number of units of the noun or pronoun they modify. When the referent of a personal pronoun is singular, a classifier may modify it without an expressed number but must be followed by a (D):

(40) /*khǎw khon nán càʔ paj*/
he (C) (D) (F) go
'That one will go.'

⁷ /*nii*/, /*nân*/ and /*nôon*/ (with falling tone) were also found functioning as demonstrative adjectives. The choice of forms with high tone or those with falling tone varied with different speakers and even with the same speaker on different occasions (cf. Chapter Five).

Singularity may also be expressed by the number words /nỳn/ ‘one’ or /diaw/ ‘alone, only’.

- (41) /khǎw khon diaw cà? paj/
 he (C) (#) (F) go
 ‘He alone will go.’

Classifiers and number words may also be in post-verb position:

- (42) /khǎw cà? paj khon diaw/
 he (F) go (C) (#)
 ‘He will go by himself.’

When the number word is /diaw/ or /nỳn/, as a modifier of a personal pronoun, it follows the classifier as in (41) and (42) above. (41) can be expanded by (E) and (D):

- (43) /khǎw khon diaw nù ʔeɛj cà? paj/
 he (C) (#) (D) (E) (F) go
 ‘this one, he himself will go alone.’

(e) The number words are: numerals /nỳn sǎɔŋ sǎam sli/ etc. ‘one, two, three, four,’ etc., as well as /diaw/ ‘alone, only’, /baaŋ/ ‘some’, /thùg/ ‘all, every’, /lǎaj/ ‘several, many’ and /ʔlig/ ‘some more’. As stated above, /nỳn/ and /diaw/ follow an accompanying classifier in a pronoun modification structure but all other number words precede the classifier (cf. (33) above),

Number words can be further modified by the form /thán/ ‘all’:

- (44) /khǎw thán sǎɔŋ khon nù ʔeɛj cà? paj kan/
 they all (#) (C) (D) (E) (F) go (P)
 ‘Both of them themselves will go.’

3.4.2 *Modification of Personal Pronouns Functioning as Objects of Verbs*

Personal pronouns in the object-of-verb position may be modified by number-words (#), classifiers (C), and demonstrative adjectives (D). All of the number words except /nỳn/ ‘one’, /diaw/ ‘alone, only’, /thùg/ ‘all’, /baaŋ/ ‘some’ and /ʔlig/ ‘some more’ may be modified by /thán/ ‘all’ if they occur as modifiers of pronouns in this position. The order of these elements is the same as described in 3.4.1 above.

Examples are:

- (45) /khǎw rág díchǎn khon diaw/
 he love I (C) (#)
 ‘He loves only me.’
- (46) /khǎw rúcàg khun thán hâa khon nù/
 he know you all (#) (C) (D)
 ‘He knows all five of you here.’

3.4.3 *Modification of Personal Pronouns in Apposition to Nouns and Pronouns*

There is no evidence that pronouns are modified when they function in apposition to other nominals (cf. 3.3.3).

3.4.4 *Modification of Personal Pronouns Functioning as Object-of-Preposition*

The emphatic particle /ʔeeŋ/ may be included in the modification structure of pronouns functioning as objects of prepositions. The number-word modifier /tháŋ/ is also optional; otherwise the modification pattern is the same as that described for personal pronouns in object-of-verb position. Examples are:

- (47) /phýa khǎw ʔeeŋ/
 for he (E)
 ‘...for him himself.’
- (48) /phýa khǎw níi ʔeeŋ/
 for he (D) (E)
 ‘...for this one himself.’
- (49) /phýa khǎw tháŋ sǎam khon/
 for they all (#) (C)
 ‘...for all three of them.’
- (50) /phýa phǒm khon diaw/
 for I (C) (#)
 ‘...for me alone.’

3.4.5 *Modification of Personal Pronouns Functioning in Genitival Relation to Nouns*

Example of modification patterns of pronouns in this position are the following:

- (51) /dinsǎə phǒm ʔeeŋ/
 pencil I (E)
 ‘My own pencil...’
- (52) /dinsǎə phǒm níi ʔeeŋ/
 pencil I (D) (E)
 ‘The pencil of me myself...’
- (53) /dinsǎə khǎw sǎam khon níi ʔeeŋ/
 pencil they (#) (C) (D) (E)
 ‘The pencil of these three themselves...’

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

4.1 DEFINITION OF RELATIVE PRONOUNS

A Thai relative pronoun is here defined as a noun substitute which functions as an integral part of a dependent clause and, simultaneously, as a connective between the clause and a nominal not included in the same clause. Integral here means that the pronoun, to be a relative, functions either as the subject or as the object of the predicate of the clause in which it occurs.¹ /thii/ in the following example conforms to this definition:

- (1) /thâa bâan tàaŋ tàaŋ thii jùu naj mùu bâan nán mii khwaam sãamághii
 if house different that be in group house have (prt) unite
 kan dii/
 (P) good
 'If the different houses that are in the village are well united...'

Other forms besides /thii/ which function as relative pronouns in Thai are /sŷŋ/ and /ʔan/.² All three of these forms, in isolation, may represent homophonous Thai forms which are not relative pronouns.

4.2 FORMS OF THE SHAPE /thii/, /sŷŋ/ AND /ʔan/ WHICH ARE NOT RELATIVE PRONOUNS

In a study of this type one has to separate out those forms which have the same phonological shapes as the specific form under study. It may be of some interest to identify and describe briefly some of the various functions of the forms which are homophonous to the relative pronouns.³

(a) /thii/: a bound form that combines with certain verbs to form noun derivatives as in:

¹ This definition of a relative pronoun will be expanded later in 4.4.

² There is some evidence that /phûu/ may also be included as a relative pronoun. For example: /dèg phûu pen bùd/ 'child person be son', that is, 'The child who is the son...'.
³ For much of the information in this section I am indebted to Chaiyaratana (1961), p. 30 and Haas (1964), pp. 241-44.

- (2) /kamləŋ pen thii wǎŋ khǒŋ mùu bāan/
 (prt) be (prt) hope of group house
 'It is the hope of the village...'

(b) /thii/: a noun, as in:

- (3) /khǎw sýy thii/
 he buy piece of land
 'He bought a piece of land.'

(c) /thii/: a bound form which combines with numerals to form ordinals and certain other forms to indicate the position in a numbered series as in:

- (4) /jaŋ mii phûag thii sǎam/
 yet there is group (prt) (#)
 'There is yet a third group...'

(d) /thii/ and /ʔan/: classifiers, as in:

- (5) /sûam sǎam thii/
 toilet bowls (#) (C)
 'Three toilet bowls.'

and:

- (6) /khwaam chûa líaŋ khwaam dii maa nýg khýn dâaj ʔiig ʔan nỳŋ/
 (prt) bad support (prt) good come think rise can more (C) (#)
 'One more example of wickedness supporting goodness occurs to me.'

(e) /thii/: a preposition, as in:

- (7) /khǎw jùu thii bāan/
 he be at home
 'He is at home.'

(f) /thii/ and /sýŋ/: relative conjunctions, as in:

- (8) /dichǎn khòbphráʔkhun thii thân kàrúnaa maa/
 I thankful that you kind come
 'I am thankful that you were so kind to come.'

and:

- (9) /phǒm jindii sýŋ khun maa hǎa/
 I happy that you come search
 'I am happy that you came to visit.'

The /thii/ in (8) and the /sýŋ/ in (9) are not noun substitutes. To call them relative pronouns would be a misnomer. They are properly called relative conjunctions by Noss (1954, p. 64). Similarly, /thii/ may also introduce an utterance with the meaning 'as' or 'in regard to what' as in:

- (10) /thii paacaan pŭj phũud léew/
 as professor (Name) speak already
 ‘As Professor Pui has already said...’

/sŷŋ/ also begins a clause with the meaning ‘in regard to which’ as in:

- (11) /thaa ruam myy lá? kô? mii pràjòod jaanán hâj kêe pràthêed nán/
 if join hand (prt) then there be benefit like (D) give to country (D)
 /sŷŋ pràjòod pàad cà? mâj thâw thiam kan samăə paj/
 in regard to which benefit may (F) (Ng) equal equal (P) always go
 ‘If they co-operate, then there will be benefits for those countries. In regard to which, the benefits are not always equal.’

(g) /thii/ (but not /sŷŋ/ or /pan/): a form which occurs in several conjunctive phrases; for example: /dooj thii/ ‘whereas’, /kaan thii/ ‘the fact that’, /phŷa thii/ ‘in order that’, /thanj thii/ ‘although, even though’ and /taam thii/ ‘as, in accordance with the fact that’.

The constituents of these phrases can be identified (much as the individual forms in English ‘in order that’, ‘nevertheless’, ‘however’ and ‘moreover’ can be); however for our present purposes it is sufficient to list these phrases as compounds which function as adverbial conjunctives.

4.3 FORM AND DISTRIBUTION OF THAI RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Thai relative pronouns always come first in the clause in which they occur. They differ in function and distribution from personal pronouns (Chapter 3). Relative pronouns are not modified by any of the forms given in 3.4, nor do they occur in simple sentences, i.e., independent clauses, but function only in attributive dependent clauses. Thai relative pronouns have but a single invariable form regardless of their functions within the clause or the nature of the referents. /thii/ in the following examples demonstrates these points:

- (12) /khon Pŷyn Pŷyn thii jùu naan naan pàad cà? pràsòb panhăa níi dâaj/
 people other that be long-time may (F) encounter problem (D) can
 ‘Other people who have stayed (there) for a long time may have encountered this problem.’

/thii/ in this example has as its antecedent /khon/ ‘people’ and functions as subject of the dependent clause /thii jùu naan naan/.

- (13) /râanġkaaj thii pen nŷa pen năŋ níi mòd kamlaŋ/
 body that be flesh be skin (D) lose strength
 ‘The body which is flesh and skin loses strength.’

/thii/ in (13) is subject of the dependent clause /thii pen nya pen nan/ and its antecedent is /raanakaaj/ 'body'.

- (14) /pen ryan thii raw ca? khawcaj daaj/
 be story that we (F) understand can
 '... is a matter which we shall be able to understand.'

/thii/ in (14) functions as object of the verb /khawcaj/ and has as its referent /ryan/ 'matter'.

- (15) /maj mii khraj thii ca? teeg khong ?ong paj daaj/
 (Ng) there is anyone that (F) break pen leave go can
 'There is no one who will be able to break out.'

/thii/ in (15) functions as subject of the dependent clause and /khraj/ 'anyone' is its antecedent.

The various functions of the referents of the relative pronouns are: subject of a clause; object of a verb; and object of a preposition. The relative clause follows the noun or noun phrase which it modifies. That is, if the noun referent is unadorned as in /nagian/ in the following example:

- (16) /nagian thii nan juu pen phi phom/
 student who sit be be older sibling I
 'The student who is sitting is my brother.'

the relative clause follows immediately. If the noun has one or more non-dependent clause modifiers, then the relative clause comes after the last modifier as in this example:

- (17) /nagian suu sam khon nan thii nan juu pen khon ciin/
 student tall (#) (C) (D) who sit be be person Chinese
 'Those three tall students who are sitting are Chinese.'

Two or more dependent clauses may modify the same noun:

- (18) /raanakaaj khong phu thii taaj paj leew thii jan maj paj kaed pen ryan/
 body of person that die go already that yet (Ng) go born be body
 '... the body of a person who has died who hasn't been reincarnated...'

All instances of relative pronouns functioning as subject or as object of a verb which were found in the corpus itself were considered to be obligatory by the informants. That is, when they were asked if the relative pronouns could be omitted (as e.g., English 'That's the book I want' and 'That's the book that I want'), the answer was no. However, they agreed that the following contrived utterances were normal colloquial Thai, with or without a relative pronoun:

- (19) /nii pen baan (thii) pho san ?en/
 this be house (that) father build (E)
 'This is the house (that) father built himself.'

- (20) /nūi pen mùag (thīi) khun sýy rýy plàaw/
 this be hat (that) you buy (QM) not
 ‘This is the hat (that) you bought, right?’

Within dependent clauses the three Thai relative pronouns /thīi/, /sýŋ/ and /ʔan/ have the same potential functions, i.e., all may function as clause subjects and all may function as objects of verbs. It should be pointed out, however, that the favorite relative pronoun, in terms of frequency, is /thīi/. The informants consider /sýŋ/ to be literary and pedantic or very formal, and /ʔan/, except in a few frozen phrases, to be archaic and relatively rare in the spoken language.

There is one situation, if the referents of relative pronouns are considered, in which /sýŋ/ is the preferred form. Note the following example:

- (21) /thāa khwaam pen klaaŋ chēn nán láʔ kôʔ ʔaad càʔ nam phǒn
 if (prt) be middle like (D) (prt) then may (F) lead consequences
 ráaj maa sùu pràthēed thaj dāaj sýŋ raw kôʔ khǒaj rámadráwaj/
 evil come to country Thai can which we also await be cautious
 ‘If neutrality is like that it can lead Thailand to evil consequences which we must be cautious of.’

In this utterance /sýŋ/ has as its referent the entire verbal idea of “neutrality bringing evil consequences to Thailand.”⁴

4.4 REVISED DEFINITION OF RELATIVE PRONOUNS

The definition given at the beginning of this chapter does not permit the inclusion of relatives which have nouns that might, considering their semantic features, be called ‘locative nouns’, ‘temporal nouns’, and ‘manner nouns’ as their antecedents. Consider the following:

- (22) /weelaa thīi phǒm càʔ tham ʔàraj phǒm càʔ nýg thýŋ thān/
 time that I (F) do something I (F) think reach he
 ‘At times when I do something, I think of him.’

In this example /weelaa/ ‘time’ is a noun modified by the dependent clause /thīi phǒm càʔ tham ʔàraj/ with the form /thīi/ functioning as a connective. When we consider that /weelaa/, as well as other temporal nouns, may function as in (23) below, we assume that /thīi/ is a noun substitute functioning as an integral part of the dependent clause.

⁴ Informants would sometimes accept /thīi/ in place of /sýŋ/ in (21) but would then state that the proper form would be /sýŋ/. It may be that /thīi/ and /sýŋ/, since they share so many functions, are differentiated by some speakers of Thai for stylistic reasons only.

- (23) /phǒm cà? tham Pàraj weelaa nán/
 I (F) do something time (D)
 'I will do something at that time...'

Thus /thii/ in (22) is a noun substitute for the 'temporal noun' /weelaa/ in the dependent clause. It also functions as the connective between that clause and /weelaa/. Since /thii/ is neither the subject nor the object of the verb in the dependent clause, the definition given in 4.1 must be expanded to include nouns functioning as does /weelaa/ in (22) above.⁵ Examples of relative pronouns with locative or directional and manner nouns as their referents are:

- (24) /khǎw paj thaaj thii phǒm dǎn paj roonriian/
 he go direction that I walk go school
 'He takes the route that I take to school.'

and:

- (25) /phǎo sǎn nǎnsǎy hǎj phǒm mǎn wíthii thii khruu sǎn nǎnsǎy hǎj
 father teach book to I like manner that teacher teach book to
 nágriian/
 student
 'Father teaches the lesson to me just as the teacher teaches the students.'

/thii/ in (24) is the noun substitute for /thaaj/ as it would be in the independent clause /phǒm dǎn paj roonriian thaajni/ 'I go to school this way'. /thii/ in (25) is the noun substitute for /wíthii/ as it would be in the independent clause /phǒm khǎn chǎy wíthii ní/, 'I write my name this way'. In examples (23), (24) and (25) /thii/ may be omitted, i.e., the presence of a relative pronoun is optional in dependent clauses which modify 'temporal', 'locative' and 'manner' nouns.

⁵ This function appears to be adverbial; however, until a precise description of Thai verb phrases, adverbs and prepositions (assuming that there are such distinctive classes in Thai) has been made, it is best to present this point by example only.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

5.1 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVE ADJECTIVES

The forms /níi, nîi, nán, nân, nóon, nôon/ function, in diverse environments, as demonstrative adjectives and demonstrative pronouns in Thai. As demonstrative adjectives they modify nouns and noun phrases with the class meaning of indicating spatial or temporal location of the nouns they modify in relation to the speaker. /níi/ and /nîi/ indicate that the entity (physical or abstract) or the event is relatively close to the speaker; /nán/ and /nân/ relatively farther away than something modified by /níi/ and /nîi/ but closer than an object or event modified by /nóon/ or /nôon/. The relative distances vary greatly. In general, as demonstrative adjectives the members of each pair are in free variation, e.g., the following utterances, (1) and (2), are the 'same' as far as Thai speakers are concerned:

- (1) /dinsǎo níi mâj dii/
pencil this (Ng) good
'This pencil is no good.'
- (2) /dinsǎo nîi mâj dii/
pencil this (Ng) good
'This pencil is no good.'

Utterances (3) and (4) are also the same:

- (3) /bâan nán sǎaj/
house that pretty
'That house is pretty.'
- (4) /bâan nân sǎaj/
house that pretty
'That house is pretty.'

However, the member of each pair of demonstrative adjectives with high tone does contrast with the member with falling tone in the following examples:

- (5) /khon níi mâj dii/
person this (Ng) good
'This person is no good.'

- (6) /khon nîi mâj dii/
 person this (Ng) good
 'People (mankind) are no good.'

Of many environments tested, only here was this contrast noted. It must be pointed out that the forms with high tone are vastly more frequent as demonstrative adjectives than those with falling tone. There is a tendency, varying with different speakers, for the forms with high tone to function as demonstrative adjectives and those with falling tone to be nominal.

Demonstrative pronouns, as mentioned above, have the same forms as do demonstrative adjectives; however, there are distributional restrictions as will be discussed below.

5.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS FUNCTIONING AS SUBJECT OF A CLAUSE

Of the six forms given above only /nîi/, /nân/ and /nôn/ function as clause subjects. Examples are:

- (7) /nîi pen panhăa sŷŋ phôm dâj khəj phàchəən maa mâag/
 this be problem that I get ever meet come much
 'This is a question which I have frequently encountered.'

In (7) /nîi/ is the subject of the verb /pen/ and refers to a question just presented by the moderator of a television program.

- (8) /thâa hàag wâa dâaj khwaam chûajlŷa maa càag phaajnôg nân kô? pen
 if thus get (prt) help come from abroad that then be
 phônphləəjdâaj/
 by-product
 'If (we) get help from the outside then that is a by-product.'

In (8) /nân/ is the subject of the verb /pen/ and has as its referent that part of the preceding clause which means 'get help from abroad'.

- (9) /nôn kô? sàdɛɛŋ wâa ʔàraj/
 that then show thus what
 'What then does that indicate?'

In (9) /nôn/ is the subject of the verb /sàdɛɛŋ/ and has as its referent the action of the King of Thailand praising the Prime Minister of Thailand.

These three forms may also function as subjects of equational clauses in which there is no expressed verbs:

- (10) /nîi bâan phôm/
 this house I
 'This is my house.'

- (11) /nīi khon thaj nān khon ciin/
 this person Thai that person Chinese
 'This is a Thai and that is a Chinese.'
- (12) /nōon hōŋ sàmùd/
 that (yonder) room book
 'That is the library over there.'

5.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AS OBJECTS OF VERBS

All six forms given in 5.1 may function as object of verbs. However, if the demonstrative pronoun is in pre-verb position, for purposes of emphasis, only /nīi/, /nān/ and /nōon/ are possible. Note the following examples:

- (13) /nīi phōm kōp dāj jám jùu/
 this I also get emphasize be
 'I have been emphasizing this...'

and:

- (14) /Pāj nīi kōp khon càp phísùud kan dāaj/
 (prt) this also may (F) prove (P) can
 '(They) can probably prove this...'

Any of the six forms under discussion here may function as objects of verbs in post-verb position; however, the forms with falling tone are more common. An example is:

- (15) /chūaj khīan nīi hāj phōm nōaj/
 help write this for I please
 'Help me write this, please.'

In the new Thai-English dictionary prepared by Haas (1964, p. 274) the following description defines a particle which has the shape /nīi/:

A particle marking an utterance as an explanation or as an answer to a question, implying that the explanation is simply such and such, or that this is as much of an answer as one can give.

Examples of this particle were numerous in the corpus. One is:

- (16) /phróchánán kōp pen klāa māj dāaj nīi/
 therefore then be sport (Ng) can (prt)
 'Therefore (it) can not be a sport.'

In certain environments the particle /nīi/ and the demonstrative pronoun /nīi/ were indistinguishable to this investigator. However, it was eventually discovered that

the pronoun /nii/ could always be expanded by the particle /Pâj/¹ but that the particle /nii/ could not (nor could the demonstrative adjective /nii/).

The six demonstrative pronouns occur as objects of the prepositions listed in 3.3.5 (/thii/ 'at', /lǎŋ/ 'behind', /nâa/ 'in front of', /phÿa/ 'for, for the sake of', /sǎmràb/ 'for', /khòŋ/ 'of, belonging to', /kàb/ 'with', /kèɛ/ 'to'). In addition, the forms /càag/ 'from', /nòŋcàag/ 'besides', /bon/ 'on' and /naj/ 'in' (forms which are sometimes included in a class called prepositions in Thai) are followed by demonstrative pronouns and may be considered to be objects of these forms. Examples are:

- (17) /phǒm cà? Pòŋ càag nán/
 I (F) leave from that
 'I shall leave there...'

5.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AS OBJECTS OF PREPOSITIONS

In (17) /nán/ is the object of the form /càag/ (whether it be part of the verb phrase or preposition). /nán/ occupies the position that, say, /bâan/ 'house' would occupy in a situational utterance such as /phǒm cà? Pòŋ càag bâan/ 'I shall leave home'.

- (18) /nòŋcàag nán kâ? jaŋ mii phûag thii sǎam/
 besides that also still there is group (prt) (#)
 'Besides that there is also still a third group.'

/nán/ in (18) is the object of the form /nòŋcàag/. Its referent is the two groups of countries that the speaker has already described. In both (17) and (18) the preferred forms of the demonstrative pronouns are those with the high tone. Three of four informants stated that both sets (those with the high tone or those with the falling tone) were acceptable, while the fourth said that only those with the high tone were. Those who accepted /nii, nân/ and /nôn/ as objects of /càag/ and /nòŋcàag/ also

¹ The Haas dictionary (1964, p. 619) defines /Pâj/ in the following manner: "/Pâj/ a term freely used with reference to objects or persons (regardless of sex), esp. in conjunction with a demonstrative word, and without special connotation." Above I have called /Pâj/ a particle, which along with 'term' avoids the issue. It is felt by this writer that /Pâj/ is not a noun or a noun classifier, simply because it has none of the distributional characteristics of a noun or classifier. For example it can not be followed by the most common demonstrative adjectives /nii/ and /nán/, nor does it occur with number words. The author believes that the function of /Pâj/ in connection with demonstratives is to mark the demonstrative as a nominal rather than a particle (as in (16) above) or as a demonstrative adjective. The following contrastive pair of sentences seems to substantiate this hypothesis:

- (a) /bâan nii/
 house this
 'This house.'
 (b) /bâan Pâj nii/
 house (prt) this
 'This individual's house.'

In the first example, /nii/ can only be a demonstrative adjective. In the second, /nii/, preceded by the particle /Pâj/, is a noun substitute for a person, that is, 'this one's'.

stated that the particle /ʔâj/ could precede the demonstrative pronouns but could not precede /níi, nán/ and /nónon/.

- (19) /jùu bon níi/
 be on this
 'It is on this.'

Any of the six forms may occupy the slot filled by /níi/ in (19) with no change in meaning except as described at the beginning of this chapter. /níi/ in this example might be replacing /tóp/ 'table' as in /jùu bon tót/ 'It is one the table'.

- (20) /jùu naj níi/
 be in this
 'It is in this.'

Again any of the six forms may function in the slot occupied by /níi/ in (20). In this example /níi/ might be replacing the noun /hiib/ 'box' as in /jùu naj hiib/ 'It is in the box'.

5.5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AFTER /kwàa/

One function of the Thai form /kwàa/ is roughly that of English 'than' in 'more than' or 'fewer than'. The Thai expressions /mâag kwàa/ 'more than' and /nój kwàa/ 'fewer than' when followed by a demonstrative pronoun (with no intervening noun or noun phrase) signal a comparison between a number, quantity or amount greater or smaller (determined by /mâag/ or /nój/) than one mentioned or demonstrated in previous discourse. Note the following:

- (21) /phǒm wâa càʔ phim mâag kwàa nán thâa hàag wâa mii Pookàad
 I thus (F) print more than that if thus there is opportunity
 thîi dii/
 that good
 'I would print more than that if there were a good opportunity.'

In (21) /nán/ refers to 'ten books' which the speaker had mentioned in the previous sentence.

- (22) /dichăn kôʔ mâj mii khwaam hěn ʔàraj mâag kwàa níi/
 I then (Ng) have (prt) see any more than these
 'I then do not have any opinions more than these.'

The antecedent of /níi/ in (22) is the series of opinions and observations made by the speaker in a lengthy discourse. All of the Thai informants agreed that any of the six demonstrative forms being discussed here may be used in this pattern; however, all instances found in the corpus had only those forms with high tone.

An interesting contrastive pair of sentences demonstrates the quantitative nature

of demonstrative pronouns occurring alone after /kwàa/ as opposed to a noun phrase plus a demonstrative adjective. Note the following:

- (23) /mǎa tua níi kin mâag kwàa nán mýawaannii/
 dog (C) (D) eat more than that yesterday
 'This dog ate more than that (amount of food stated or demonstrated previously) yesterday.'

and:

- (24) /mǎa tua níi kin mâag kwàa tua nán mýawaannii/
 dog (C) (D) eat more than (C) (D) yesterday
 'This dog ate more than that one (another dog) yesterday.'

5.6 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS IN IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

There are three expressions which were found frequently in the corpus which can best be discussed as separate irreducible items rather than by considering their constituents. They are /têe nân lê?/, /nân si?/ and /thii níi/.

The first of these is roughly equivalent to English 'nevertheless' or 'however'. Note the following:

- (25) /raw kin khànõmpaŋ thúg wan têe nân lê? kô? jaŋ sũu khâaw mâj
 we eat bread every day nevertheless then still replace rice (Ng)
 dâaj/
 can
 'We eat bread every day; nevertheless, it still cannot replace rice.'

The second idiomatic expression /nân si?/ is frequently used by Thai speakers to indicate that they are following what is being said by another speaker (cf. English 'That's right' or 'That's it'). Or it might, with the proper facial expression, mean something like English 'I wonder too', i.e., about what the speaker is questioning or doubting. In these two expressions, only /nân/ is used.

/thii níi/, as well as the companion forms /thii nân/ and /thii nõn/ are similar in meaning to English 'here', 'there' and 'over there'. It is most likely that the expressions were originally made up of a noun /thii/ 'place; point' and a demonstrative adjective /níi/, etc. In any event, in modern Thai the constituents are inseparable and the phrase or compound contrasts with /thii/ plus /níi/ 'this' (demonstrative adjective).

- (26) /thiini sũaj/
 here pretty
 '(It is) pretty here.'
- (27) /thii níi sũaj/
 piece of land (D) pretty
 'This piece of land is pretty.'

INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

6.1 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES IN THAI

A question, in contrast to a statement or a request, is signaled in Thai by question markers (QM) or by question words. Among the question markers or particles are /rŷy/ and /mǎj/. These forms are employed by speakers of Thai to elicit responses of affirmation, negation or concurrence. They contrast with 'zero' in this function. Note the following:

- (1) /khǎw cà? paj/
 he (F) go
 'He will go.'
- (2) /khǎw cà? paj mǎj/
 he (F) go (QM)
 'Will he go?'

The choice of one or the other of these forms depends largely upon the anticipated response; however, there are distributional restrictions as well. For example, the question marker /mǎj/ does not co-occur with the negative particle /mâj/ in the same clause. These forms, the question markers, are peripheral to the clause and in no way can be considered to be noun substitutes. The function and distribution of Thai question markers is worthy of an independent study.¹

Question words differ from question markers in at least the following ways:

- (a) The response expected from question words is information other than confirmation, negation or concurrence.
- (b) The question words are an integral part of the clause in which they occur; question markers are peripheral.

A list of the Thai question words and a general indication of the type of information they tend to elicit is as follows:

¹ Cf. especially Warotamasikkadit pp. 40 and 60-61 who says that /mǎj/ is not a question particle (QM) functioning like /rŷy/, rather /mǎj/ is derived by a transformational rule from a sentence which contains /rŷy/ and the negative /mâj/. Thus: /khun cà? paj rŷy mâj/ → /khun cà? paj mǎj/

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| /khraj/ ² | 'who, whom'. Response identifies one or more humans. |
| /ʔàraj/ | 'what, which'. Response identifies one or more non-human physical or abstract entities. |
| /mýaraj/ | 'when'. Response specifies some definite or indefinite period of time in the past or in the future. |
| /nǎj/ | 'where, which'. Response specifies location or destination; in some cases it specifies the hearer's choice of two or more possibilities. |
| /thâwraj/ | 'how much, how many'. Response specifies value, amount, or quantity. |
| /jàaŋraj/ | 'how, in what manner'. Response specifies manner by which a given action was or will be accomplished. |
| /thammaj/ ³ | 'why'. Response specifies reason or justification for a realized or contemplated action. |

Of the question words listed here /khraj/, /ʔàraj/, /mýaraj/, /nǎj/, /thâwraj/ and /jàaŋraj/, in certain environments, function as noun or noun phrase substitutes. The distribution of these six forms will be described in the succeeding sections of this chapter.

6.2 /khraj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The form of /khraj/ is invariable, i.e., regardless of its function within a clause it has but the one form.⁴ The functions of /khraj/ as a question word within a clause include the following:

(a) Subject of a clause, as in:

- (3) /khraj càʔ nŋ hǎj kɛɛ/
 who (F) dress for she
 'Who will dress her?'

and:

² The question words are given here in their citation form. Variations of some of these forms are: /khraj/ ~ /khaj/; /ʔàraj/ ~ /ʔàlaj/; /mýaraj/ ~ /mýaràj/ ~ /mýalàj/; /thâwraj/ ~ /thâwràj/ ~ /thawlǎj/; /jàaŋraj/ ~ /jaaŋŋaj/ ~ /jaŋŋaj/.

³ As stated by Noss (1954, p. 74), "The class of interrogative nouns is made up entirely of analyzable lexemes which have as their second element a bound morpheme of which the principal allomorph is /raj/." Warotamasikkhadit (1963, p. 52) in his rules for forming Thai information questions employs the formant /raj/ as a common element in all of these question words. In a generative grammar this seems exactly appropriate as one can readily recognize most of the forms that make up the first constituents of the question words, e.g., /tham/ 'do' of /thammaj/ and /mýa/ 'when, time' of /mýaraj/; however, the posited /khon/ 'person' of /khraj/ and /ʔan/ 'unit' of /ʔàraj/ are a little more obscure. As a matter of fact, the average speaker of Thai would see no more relation between the /kh-/ of /khraj/ and /khon/ than a speaker of English would between the *go-* of euphemistic 'gosh' and 'God'. For the purposes of this study each of the question words listed will be treated as a single irreducible form.

⁴ This will also be true of the remaining interrogative-indefinite forms discussed in this chapter.

- (4) /khraj bòəg wâa cà? mâj paj/
 who say thus (F) (Ng) go
 'Who said they were not going?'

(b) Object of a verb:

- (5) /khun maa haă khraj/
 you come search who
 'Whom did you come to visit?'

and:

- (6) /khăw jɪŋ khraj/
 he shoot who
 'Whom did he shoot?'

This category (e.g., 'object of verb') also includes subjective complements or objects of equational verbs, e.g.:

- (7) /maanád pen khraj/
 (name) be who
 'Who is Manas?'

and:

- (8) /khăw pen khraj/
 he be who
 'Who is he?'

(c) Object of a preposition:

- (9) /năŋsŷy nîi khǝŋ khraj/
 book (D) of who
 'Whose book is this?'

and:

- (10) /khăw thamŋaan phŷa khraj/
 he work for who
 'Whom does he work for?'

(f) In genitival relation to a noun:

- (11) /năŋsŷy khraj jùu bon tó?/
 book who be on table
 'Whose book is on the table?'

and:

- (12) /khăw cà? sŷy ród khraj/
 he (F) buy car who
 'Whose car will he buy?'

6.2.1 /khraj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

In each example, (3) through (12), /khraj/ clearly signals that the sentence is a question. In certain environments /khraj/ does NOT signal a question but rather functions as an indefinite pronoun which may be translated into English variously as 'anyone, someone, nobody, no one, somebody, whoever' and 'a person' or 'a couple of people'. A list of these environments with examples of each follows:

(a) /khraj/ modified by a classifier (cf. Chapter 7, p, 58) and number word does not signal a question.

- (13) /khǎw phób khraj ság khon nỳŋ/
 he meet who (prt) (C) (#)
 'He met somebody.'

and:

- (14) /khraj ság khon nỳŋ maa chûaj phǒm thii/
 who (prt) (C) (#) come help I please
 'Somebody come help me please.'

(b) /khraj/ as object of a negated verb does not signal a question. This negation may be signaled by /mâj/ as in (15); by the phrase /mâj dâaj/ as in (16) or by /jàa/ as in (17):

- (15) /khǎw mâj phób khraj/
 he (Ng) meet who
 'He did not meet anyone.'

- (16) /khǎw mâj dâaj tii khraj/
 he (Ng) past hit who
 'He didn't hit anyone.'

- (17) /jàa bǒəg khraj/
 do not tell who
 'Don't tell anyone.'

(c) /khraj/ modified by a dependent clause does not signal a question.

- (18) /khǎw jàag cà? phób khraj thii maa càag myaŋ thaj/
 he want (F) meet who that come from country Thai
 'He wants to meet someone who comes from Thailand.'

and:

- (19) /khraj thii pen khrídsàtian mâj paj bòod/
 who that be Christian (Ng) go temple
 'Anyone who is a Christian does not go to the temple.'

Example (19) can be converted into a question by inserting the particle /ná?/ between

/khraj/ and the dependent clause with the resultant question:

- (20) /khraj ná? thii pen khriðsàtian mâj paj bòod/
 who (prt) that be Christian (Ng) go temple
 'Who is it, that is a Christian, that doesn't go to the temple?'

(d) /khraj/ preceded, in the same clause, by any one of the several forms which mean 'if', 'even though', 'although' e.g., /thâa/ 'if', /thâa hàag/ 'if', /phÿa/ 'if', /méc thÿŋ/ 'although, even though', /mÿa/ 'when (if)', does not signal a question.

- (21) /thâa phÿa khraj maa thãam dichăn/
 if if who come ask I
 'If anyone comes and asks me...'

and:

- (22) /thÿŋ khraj dâaj tâŋ kàtikaa waaj kòd/
 even though who can set rule place law
 'Even though someone is able to set up a law or a rule...'

(e) /khraj/ followed by the phrase /kô? dâaj/ '(It is) also all right' is not an interrogative but rather an indefinite.

- (23) /chəən khraj maa kô? dâaj/
 invite who come then can
 'Invite whomever you like.'

and:

- (24) /phǒm paj kàb khraj kô? dâaj/
 I go with who then can
 'I can go with anyone.'

(f) /khraj/ in a clause which is marked as a question by one of the question markers /măj/ or /rÿy/ is itself not a question word. This can best be shown by a contrastive pair of utterances:

- (25) /khraj cà? paj/
 who (F) go
 'Who will go?'

as contrasted with:

- (26) /khraj cà? paj măj/
 who (F) go (QM)
 'Is anybody going?'

(g) /khraj/ following the phrase /mâj wâa/ 'no matter' does not signal a question.

- (27) /khăw kliad thúg khon mâj wâa khraj/
 he hate (#) (C) (Ng) thus who
 'He hates everyone, no matter who.'

(h) /khraj/ as object of a verb in a clause marked by the particle /siʔ/ 'imperative or request marker' is not an interrogative.

- (28) /bòəg khraj siʔ/
 tell who (prt)
 'Tell someone.'

Some of the environments listed above (a. to h.) in which /khraj/ functions as an indefinite pronoun rather than an interrogative also pertain to some of the other forms to be discussed in the remainder of this chapter. To avoid repetition in later sections these environments will be listed again and identified by A, B, C, etc. so that they may be referred to when other forms function as indefinites in the same environment. They are:

- A. /khraj/ modified by classifiers and number words.
- B. /khraj/ as an object of a negated predicate.
- C. /khraj/ modified by a dependent clause.
- D. /khraj/ preceded by one of the various forms or phrases which introduce what might, for convenience, be called 'if clauses'.
- E. /khraj/ followed by /kôʔ dâaj/ '(It is) also all right'.
- F. /khraj/ in a clause marked by one of the question markers.
- G. /khraj/ following the phrase /mâj wâa/ 'no matter'.
- H. /khraj/ in a clause which is marked by /siʔ/ 'imperative or request particle'.

6.3 /ʔàraj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

As an interrogative pronoun /ʔàraj/ may have the function of subject of a clause or the object of a verb or preposition:

- (a) /ʔàraj/ as subject, as in:

- (29) /ʔàraj jùu bon tóʔ/
 what be on table
 'What is on the table?'

and:

- (30) /ʔàraj tòg/
 what fall
 'What fell?'

- (b) /ʔàraj/ as object of verbs, as in:

- (31) /khun jàag càʔ kin ʔàraj/
 you want (F) eat what
 'What do you want to eat?'

and:

- (32) /khǎw bòg wâa ʔàraj/
 he say thus what
 ‘What did he say?’

(c) /ʔàraj/ as object of prepositions, as in:

- (33) /nii sǎmràb ʔàraj/
 this for what
 ‘What is this for?’

and:

- (34) /ʔaj nii tham càag ʔàraj/
 (prt) this make from what
 ‘What do they make this out of?’

No examples of /ʔàraj/ as object of the prepositions /khǎŋ/ ‘of’, /thii/ ‘at’ or /kèε/ ‘to’ were found in the corpus or elicited from the informants; however, in addition to the two given in (33) and (34) /ʔàraj/ does occur as object of /nògçàag/ ‘besides’, /phya/ ‘for’, /nâa/ ‘in front of’, /lǎŋ/ ‘behind’, /tâaj/ ‘under’, /nyá/ ‘over’, /bon/ ‘on’ and /naj/ ‘in’.

Before turning to /ʔàraj/ functioning as an indefinite pronoun it should be pointed out that certain utterances which contain /ʔàraj/, when seen or heard out of context, may or may not be questions. Note the following:

- (35) /mii ʔaraj jùu naj tûu/
 there is what be in icebox

The two sentences represented by (35), translated into English, are:

- (1) What is in the icebox?
- (2) There is something in the icebox.

The indefinite /ʔàraj/ (as translated in number 2) could be expanded by a number word and a classifier (e.g., /ʔàraj jaaŋ nỳŋ/) but the question word /ʔàraj/ could not. Also the indefinite could follow a negated verb (e.g., /mâj mii/ in (35)) but the interrogative could not. The sentence as given in (35) is ambiguous.

6.3.1 /ʔàraj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

/ʔàraj/ functions as an indefinite pronoun rather than a question word in all of the environments listed on page 49. In these environments it corresponds roughly to English ‘something, anything, whatever’ and ‘nothing’. One example of the indefinite /ʔàraj/ in each of these environments follows:

- (36) /phǒm tǎŋ sýy ʔàraj ság jaaŋ nỳŋ/
 I need buy what (prt) (C) (#)
 ‘I need to buy something.’

- (37) /mâj mii Pàraj nâa kin/
 (Ng) there is what merit eat
 'There is nothing which looks good to eat.'
- (38) /man cà? mii Pàraj thii tham hâj tōŋ phũud kham nii Pòəg maa/
 it (F) have what that do for need speak word (D) leave come
 'There must be something that causes me to say this word.'
- (39) /thâa hàag wâa mii Pàraj Pòəg wíthhájú? thooráthád/
 if if thus there is what leave radio television
 'If there is anything from the radio or the television.'
- (40) /Paw Pàraj paj kô? dâaj/
 take what go also all right
 'Take whatever you like.'
- (41) /khun jâag cà? kin Pàraj mǎj/
 you want (F) eat what (QM)
 'Do you want something to eat?'
- (42) /khǎw kin mòd mâj wâa Pàraj/
 he eat all (Ng) thus what
 'He eats anything, no matter what.'
- (43) /Paw Pàraj paj si?/
 take go something (prt)
 'Take something.'

/Pàraj/ as an indefinite also occurs in the phrases /Pàraj níi/, /Pàraj jàaŋ níi/ and /Pàraj làw níi/ (the other demonstrative adjectives also function in these phrases in place of /níi/). Each of these phrases is used to indicate that a previous number, quantity or description is an approximation or estimation. If two or more alternatives are given in the approximation then /Pàraj làw níi/ as well as the other two phrases are used. Note the following:

- (44) /phim phiaŋ sǎam rój sǒŋ rój lêm Pàraj làw níi/
 print only (#) (#) (#) (#) (C) what those (D)
 'Sometimes (we) only print 300 or 200 copies, around that number.'

If only one alternative is given either of the two phrases /Pàraj níi/ or /Pàraj jàaŋ níi/ is used:

- (45) /phəəsǒ sǒŋ phan sli rój Pàraj níi/
 Buddhist era (#) (#) (#) (#) what (D)
 'Around the year 2400 of the Buddhist era.'
- (46) /jàaŋ kàb bon sǎwǎn mii thêedsàbaan Pàraj jàaŋ níi/
 as with on heaven there is municipality what like (D)
 'As if there were municipalities in heaven or something like that.'

As will be seen in examples (47) and (48) /cà? pen/ followed by two or more nouns

or noun phrases introduces an if clause with the meaning 'whether it be'. /Pàraj/ in clauses introduced by /cà? pen/ are indefinite pronouns with the meaning 'whatever':

(47) /cà? pen tó? kâw ?ii Pàraj phǒm mâj jàag sýy/

(F) be table chair what I (Ng) want buy

'Whether it be a table or a chair or whatever, I don't want to buy it.'

and:

(48) /cà? pen ládthi? tàwantòg ládthi? tàwan?òog Pàraj phǒm mâj khôj

(F) be doctrine west doctrine east what I (Ng) scarcely

khamnyṅ thâwraj/

care to a great extent

'Whether it be western doctrine or eastern doctrine or whatever, I hardly care much.'

The form /Pàraj/ also has non-nominal functions as a verb attribute and as a noun attribute. It modifies negated intransitive verbs and in this function means roughly 'at all' or 'in any way':

(49) /khăw mâj sǎaj Pàraj/

she (Ng) pretty what

'She is not pretty at all.'

and:

(50) /dichăn wâa man kô? mâj nâa cà? sĩa hǎaj Pàraj/

I say it then (Ng) merit (F) disgrace what

'Then I say it shouldn't be disgraceful in any way.'

In noun modification function /Pàraj/ means 'any'. Again, as an attribute, it only functions after negated verbs:

(51) /mâj mii panhăa Pàraj/

(Ng) there is problem what

'There is not any problem.'

and:

(52) /man kô? Pàad cà? kòəd pràjòod Pàraj/

it then may (F) give rise benefit what

'... then it may not give rise to any benefit.'

6.4 /mýaraj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

/mýaraj/, as a question word, does not function as subject of a verb, object of a verb or of a preposition. It fills the slot occupied by a time expression in a non-question sentence. Compare the following:

- (53) /khǎw cà? paj pii ní/
 he (F) go year (D)
 'He will go this year.'
- (54) /khǎw cà? paj m̄araj/
 he (F) go when
 'When will he go?'

As a question word, /m̄araj/ usually occurs in post-verb position; however, it may, for emphasis, occur in pre-verb position, e.g., /m̄araj khǎw cà? paj/.

6.4.1 /m̄araj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

/m̄araj/ as an indefinite has the meaning 'anytime, whenever'. Of the environments listed on page 49 only E and G pertain to this form. /m̄araj/ simply does not occur in environments A, B, C, D, F and H. Examples in E and G are:

- (55) /raw cà? paj m̄araj kô? dâaj/
 we (F) go when then all right
 'We can go anytime.'
- (56) /khǎw paj dâaj mâj wâa m̄araj/
 he go can (Ng) thus what
 'He can go no matter when.'

In response to the question /khun cà? paj m̄araj/ 'When are you going?', one could get the response:

- (57) /phôm cà? paj m̄araj mâj châj r̄an khǒn khun/
 I (F) go when (Ng) be affair of you
 'When I go is none of your business.'

The form /m̄araj/ is also used in what appears to be a question but is used in situations where no question is intended nor any response expected. This particular pattern in which /m̄araj/ occurs may imply scorn or may simply be an emphatic statement contradicting a previous statement or question as can be noted in the following examples:

- (58) /ŋaan khǒn khǎw dii sá? m̄araj/
 work of he good (prt) when
 'His work is no good at all' or 'His work is never good.'
- (59) /phôm h̄w sá? m̄araj/
 I hungry (prt) when
 'I am not hungry at all.'

The particle /sá?/ (the citation form of this particle is /sia/) occurred in every example of this pattern elicited from the informants; however, one informant stated that it was optional, but that when it was present in the pattern the sentences were definitely

not questions and when it was absent it depended upon the situation whether it was a question or a statement.

6.5 /nǎj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

/nǎj/ as an interrogative noun substitute occurs as subject of a clause as in:

(60) /nǎj dɪnsǎɔ khǎɔŋ khun/
 where pencil of you
 'Where is your pencil?'

(61) /nǎj lɛm khǎɔŋ khun/
 which book of you
 'Which book is yours?'

Both 'where' and 'which' are conveniences of the translation that illustrate a difference in English which is not specified by the form /nǎj/ in Thai. Example (60) may be asked if there is no pencil in sight or if there are two or more pencils in front of the speaker and he is asking for the hearer to identify one of the pencils.

/nǎj/ also occurs as a noun substitute after a limited number of verbs such as /paj/ 'go', /jùu/ 'be located' and /nǎɔn/ 'sleep'. It replaces nouns which name locations in non-question sentences. Compare the following:

(62) /phǎɔ càʔ paj wád/
 father (F) go monastery
 'Father is going to the monastery.'

and:

(63) /phǎɔ càʔ paj nǎj/
 father (F) go where
 'Where is father going?'

As an interrogative, but NOT as a noun substitute, /nǎj/ also modifies nouns or noun phrases. In this function /nǎj/ might well be called an 'interrogative demonstrative adjective'. Its meaning in this function is 'which' or 'which one', or after certain nouns 'to what' (e.g., 'to what degree'), examples are:

(64) /nǎŋsýy lɛm nǎj khǎɔŋ khun/
 book (C) which of you
 'Which book is yours?'

(65) /khun jàag càʔ sýy baj nǎj/
 you want (F) buy (C) which
 'Which one do you want to buy?'

- (66) /raw càp maw khànàad nǎj/
 we (F) drunk degree which
 'How drunk shall we get?'

Except for the fact that /nǎj/ functions independently as a question word (cf. (54) above) the phrase /thii nǎj/ might be considered a single frozen phrase meaning 'where'. However, here it is considered to correspond to the pattern just described, e.g., a noun, meaning 'place' plus the interrogative demonstrative /nǎj/.

6.5.1 /nǎj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

Of the environments listed on page 49 only A, C, E and G are pertinent to the indefinite function of /nǎj/. Examples of /nǎj/ in these environments are:

- (67) /phǒm jàag paj nǎj ság hèn nỳn/
 I want go where (prt) (C) (#)
 'I would like to go some place.'
- (68) /phǒm jàag paj nǎj thii māj mii khon/
 I want go where that (Ng) there is person
 'I want to go some place where there are no people.'
- (69) /khun paj nǎj kǎp dāaj/
 you go where also all right
 'You can go any place.'
- (70) /māj wāa nǎj khǎw càp paj/
 (Ng) thus where he (F) go
 'No matter where, he will go.'

6.6 /thāwraj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

/thāwraj/ occupies the slot in an interrogative sentence that measured quantities or amounts occupy in non-question sentences. Compare the following:

- (71) /khǒŋ ní hòg bàad/
 object (D) (#) (C)
 'This thing (costs or is worth) six baht (Thai currency).'
- (72) /khǒŋ ní thāwraj/
 object (D) how much
 'How much does this thing cost?'

also:

- (73) /khǎw sýy khāaw hòg kàsòob/
 he buy rice (#) (C)
 'He bought six bags of rice.'
- (74) /khǎw sýy khāaw thāwraj/
 he buy rice how much
 'How much rice did he buy?' or 'At what price did he buy rice?'

6.6.1 /thâwraj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

/thâwraj/ does not signal a question in environments E and G (none of the other environments listed on page 49 is pertinent). In these two environment /thâwraj/ corresponds roughly to English 'any number' or 'any amount' or even 'any price'. Examples are:

- (75) /thâwraj kô? dâaj/
 how many also all right
 'Any number (amount or price) is all right.'
- (76) /khăw câ? sýy mâj wâa thâwraj/
 he (F) buy (Ng) thus how many
 'He will buy no matter how many (much, the price).'

/thâwraj/ does not occur after negated verbs with the indefinite meaning 'any amount' or 'any number' (cf. /pàraj/ and /khraj/ in this environment where they have the indefinite meaning 'anything' and 'anyone' respectively). Rather, after a limited set of verbs including /jàag/ 'want', /chôb/ 'like', /hîw/ 'to be hungry', /thâwraj/ is a verb attribute with the meaning 'to a great degree' or simply 'much'. For example:

- (77) /phôm mâj jàag kin thâwraj/
 I (Ng) want eat how much
 'I don't much want to eat.'

This last example (77) contrasts with /mâag/ in:

- (78) /phôm mâj jàag kin mâag/
 I (Ng) want eat much
 'I don't want to eat much (food).'

6.7 /jàaŋraj/ AS AN INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

/jàaŋraj/ occupies the slot in a question that is most frequently occupied by an adverbial phrase in a non-question sentence. At least after the verb /paj/ 'go' and /maa/ 'come' /jàaŋraj/ occupies the slot filled by nouns representing certain vehicles such as /ródfaj/ 'train', /thégsii/ 'taxi' and /rýabin/ 'airplane'. Compare the following:

- (79) /khăw câ? paj ródfaj/
 he (F) go train
 'He will go by train.'

and:

- (80) /khăw câ? paj jàaŋraj/
 je (F) go how
 'How will he go?'

6.7.1 /jàaŋraj/ as an Indefinite Pronoun

/jàaŋraj/ is used as an indefinite in environments E and G with the meaning ‘any way’ or ‘by any means’ as in:

- (81) /paj jàaŋraj kô? dâaj/
 go how also all right
 ‘Anyway is all right.’
- (82) /khăw cà? paj mâj wâa jàaŋraj/
 he (F) go (Ng) this how
 ‘He will go no matter by what means.’

NOUN SUBSTITUTES WHICH ARE NOT PRONOUNS AND SUMMARY

7.1 NOUN SUBSTITUTES WHICH ARE NOT PRONOUNS

The preceding chapters have been concerned with the function and distribution of the various types of Thai pronouns in regard to their role as noun substitutes. There are, in addition, certain other grammatical forms and devices which function as noun substitutes that are structurally or distributionally distinct from nouns and pronouns.

7.1.1 Numeral Classifiers

Perhaps the most thoroughly discussed aspect of Thai grammar centers around the form and function of 'classifiers' of which the most useful descriptions are those by Noss (1964, pp. 104-09) and Haas (1946, pp. 201-05). Since the research done for this thesis has not yielded any significant contradiction or addition to those descriptions only a brief comment on the function of these classifiers is needed here. Haas (1942) said:

The classifiers of Thai are used in a great many types of nounphrases, and under certain circumstances are also employed as noun substitutes.... Classifiers are employed when nouns are accompanied by quantifiers, indicators, or adjectives. The term 'quantifier' is used for all numerals (except *sǎ-j* 'zero', used only in arithmetical or mathematical calculations) and for such words as *lǎ-j* 'many', *ki-* 'how many' and *ba-j* 'some' (used only with countables, never with continuals such as water). The term 'indicator' is used for demonstrative and interrogative adjectives and a special function of the word *nǎ-j* 'one' while all other types of adjectives are referred to as 'adjectives'.... The classifiers of Thai are also freely used as noun substitutes and in this event they may often be translated by means of the English pronoun 'one' (pp. 203-04).

One example of the use of classifiers is:

- (1) /phǒm mii nǎj-sǎ-j sǎam lêm/
 I have book (#) (C)
 'I have three books.'

Further reference to the books mentioned in (1) could be made by use of the classifier (C) /lêm/, e.g.:

- (2) /lêm nii dii kwàa sǝŋ lêm nán/
 (C) (D) good (prt) (#) (C) (D)
 'This one is better than those two.'

In this example (2), the classifier /lêm/ is functioning as a noun substitute.

Although number words, when indicating the quantity of a previously mentioned noun, typically occur with an appropriate classifier, several examples of number words used alone as noun substitutes appear in the corpus. For example:

- (3) /nǎŋsǝy phim jùu raaw phan hâa rǝj thǝŋ sǝŋ phan thâa pen rǝŋ thii
 book print be around (#) (#) (#) reach (#) (#) if be story that
 mii sǎarâ? dii nǝj rǝy phǝ cà? kèb dâaj phǝm kâ? cà? phim ság
 have serious good little or enough (F) store can I then (F) print (prt)
 sǎam phan/
 (#) (#)

'Books, (I) print about one thousand five hundred to two thousand. If it is a story which has a little substance or if it can be stored, I then will print around three thousand.'

In informal conversations the response to the Thai question meaning 'How many?' is frequently given by a number word without an accompanying classifier.

In certain constructions the form /bâaŋ/ fills the slots occupied by the number word /bâaŋ/ plus a classifier:

- (4) /léew kâ? khon khâaŋ khiaŋ bâaŋ/
 then also people neighbor some
 'Then too, some of our neighbors...'

/bâaŋ/ in (4) could, without any significant grammatical difference, be expressed by /bâaŋ khon/, i.e., 'some people'.

7.1.2 'Zero' as a Noun Substitute

Bloomfield (1933, p. 252) and Hockett (1958, p. 259) discuss the use of 'zero anaphora' as one of the grammatical devices used as a substitute in languages. That is, a grammatical slot is filled by 'zero' replacing a member of one or the other form classes. Hockett said in regard to English:

This leads us to a phenomenon often called *zero anaphora*: the use, not of a special grammatical form, but of a special construction of ordinary grammatical forms, as an anaphoric substitute. The first part of *She couldn't have been thinking of me, could she?* contains the long verb phrase *could have been thinking*. In the second part of the sentence, the speaker does not use a special substitute form (like *do* or *did*), nor does he repeat the entire verb phrase; instead, he uses the first word of the verb phrase as a substitute for the whole. The rest of the verb phrase is 'replaced by zero'. Similarly, though we say *I like the big book*

better than the small one, with the pronoun *one* (antecedent *book*), we say *I like fresh candy better than stale*, where an adjective, *stale*, followed by no noun at all, occurs substitutively for the phrase *stale candy*.

It is assumed that 'zero' may replace, in certain environments, members of other form classes of Thai, here however, 'zero' will be discussed only as a noun substitute.

'Zero' frequently substitutes for one of two or more nouns in a comparative sentence. For example, the response to a question in Thai requesting a comparison of /maw lâw/ 'drunkenness from liquor' and /maw rág/ 'drunkenness from love' was:

- (5) /thâa hàag wâa ca? tŋ maw kan là? kŋ? maw rág hèn cà? dii
 if thus (F) need to get drunk (P) then drunk love see (F) good
 kwàa/
 (prt)
 'If (we) must get drunk, then, lovesickness seems to be better than (liquor
 drunkenness).'

From the point of view of a speaker of English, the most notable function of 'zero' as a noun substitute is in the subject slot. Just as in English there are certain phrases, such as /khə̀ə̀bkhun/ 'to thank', which rarely have an expressed subject (except in utterances which are roughly equivalent to English 'I thanked him yesterday'). Furthermore requests are usually, but not always, expressed with 'zero' subjects, e.g., /paj si?/¹ 'go', that is, 'leave!'

However, as noted earlier (p. 00), the common way to respond to a question requiring an affirmative or a negative answer is to repeat only the verb (or in some cases an accompanying auxiliary verb) of the question. Thus the response to:

- (6) /khăw sýy khâaw mǎj/
 he buy rice (QM)
 'Did he buy rice?'

may be:

- (7) /sýy khráb/
 buy (polite particle)
 'Yes, (he) bought (some).'

As can be seen by this example (7), both the subject and the object slot may be filled by 'zero'.

The following segment of the corpus (A.5.23 to A.17.1) has been reproduced to demonstrate the frequency and some of the environments in which 'zero' fills the clause subject slot. It also affords an opportunity to present in a much larger context than has been possible before many of the substitute forms described earlier. This particular segment of the corpus contains the complete response of one man

¹ /si?/ following the verb in a request indicates that the speaker is excluded whereas /thə̀?/ following the verb in a request usually, but not always, indicates that the speaker is included and the request is roughly equivalent to English 'let's' as in 'Let's go' or 'Let's begin'.

to the question /kiilaa pen Pàraj/, that is, 'What is sport?' To this long response have been added five additional clauses, spoken immediately after by the moderator and a second panel member, to give a convenient one hundred clauses. The subject of each clause is identified by one of the following symbols to indicate the type of nominal that is fulfilling that function:

- (N) to indicate that the subject is a noun, a noun phrase or a nominalization;
- (PP) to indicate that the subject is a personal pronoun (cf. Chapter III);
- (NPP) to indicate that the subject is a noun plus an appositive personal pronoun (cf. Chapter III, p. 25);
- (DP) to indicate that the subject is a demonstrative pronoun (cf. Chapter IV);
- (DP) to indicate that the subject is a relative pronoun (cf. Chapter V);
- (ØI) (Independent 'zero') to indicate that the subject is 'zero'. Furthermore if a pronoun were to be supplied to fill the subject slot in these clauses it would not have a referent, i.e. such a pronoun might be called an indefinite or impersonal pronoun with much the same meaning as English 'they' in 'They say it rains a lot in the spring' with no particular person or persons in mind as the referent of 'they';
- (ØD) (Dependent 'zero') to indicate that the subject is 'zero' but that if a pronoun were supplied to fill the subject slot in the clauses so marked, it would have an antecedent in the linguistic material.

Each clause is numbered and a free English translation will be given (with the same number) for each clause. Some of the clauses are discontinuous or interrupted by attributive dependent clauses or by parenthetical remarks. So that the order of the text material will not be distorted, instances of these interrupted clauses will be pointed out by notes. Notes will also be inserted to discuss any point that might need clarification.

- (1) phôm (PP) mii khwaam hěn dâaj kàb 'I am in agreement with Prof. Cintana and Mr. Pui',
?aacaan cintànaa kàb khun pûj/
(2) /thii (RP) dâaj phûud maa léew/ 'who have spoken already.'

NOTE: /thii/ in 2 may have as its antecedent either /aacaan cintànaa kàb khun pûj/ 'Prof. Cintana and Mr. Pui' in which case /thii/ is the subject of the clause; or it may have /khwaam hěn/ 'opinion' as its referent. In this case the subject of the dependent clause is 'zero'.

- (3) /(ØI) khyy/² 'That is',
- (4) /kham wâa kiilaa nii raw (PP) plêe 'this word sport we define it thus'
kan jùu wâa/
- (5) /kaan lên (N) pen rÿaŋ kaan lên/ 'playing is playing.'

² /khyy/ is a verb meaning 'to be', however it has restrictions of distribution which are not common to other verbs. (Cf. Warotamasikkhadit, 1963, p. 6).

- (6) /naj kaan lèn nii man (PP) kôp tɔŋ kòəd càag khwaam sàmàg caj/ 'as for play, it must be born from willingness',
- (7) /Paj lèn (N) dooj màj sàmàg caj nán màj dâaj/ 'playing without willingness is impossible',
- (8) /léew kôp (ØI) tɔŋ mii khòəb khèed/ 'then there must be limits'
- (9) /thii (ØI) riag wâa kàtikaa/ 'which are called rules';

NOTE: /thii/ in 9 has as its referent /khòəb khèed/ of 8. Since it is possible to supply a subject other than 'zero' between /thii/ and the verb /riag/ e.g. /khăw/ or /raw/, /thii/ is here analyzed as the object of the dependent clause. However, /thii/ may also be analyzed as the subject-as-goal of the dedependent clause.

- (10) /phróchánán phóm (PP) nýg Paw dǎaw nii khráb wâa/ 'therefore, I now consider that'
- (11) /(ØI) khuan mii khòə khuan khíd naj rýaŋ kòd keen wâa/ 'there should be thoughtful consideration of these rules.'
- (12) /(ØI) tɔŋ pen kaan lèn léew khwaam sàmàg caj/ 'There must be playing and willingness'
- (13) /léew (ØI) mii kàtikaa/ 'and there are rules.'
- (14) /thii nii thii (N) khon raw (NPP) maw Paw wâa/ 'Now, that which we assume'
- (15) /pen kiilaa weelaa nii/ 'is a sport these days',

NOTE: The subject of /pen/ 'be' of 15 is /thii/ of 14. It is not considered to be a relative pronoun but rather an unanalyzed nominal which is roughly equivalent to English 'that which' or 'in regard to what'.

- (16) /man (PP) kôp mii jùu ság sǎam pràphèed/ 'there are at least three types.'
- (17) /(ØI) khyy nýŋ khon kàb khon/ 'That is, one, man with man',
- (18) /khon (N) kàb khon sùu kan/ 'man fights with man.'
- (19) /sǎəŋ khon (N) kàb sàd sùu kan/ 'Two, man fights with animal.'
- (20) /sǎam sàd (N) kàb sàd sùu kan/ 'Three, animal fights with animal.'
- (21) /tèe wâa khon (N) thýy wâa/ 'But people believe thus',
- (22) /(ØD) pen kiilaa/ 'they are sports.'

NOTE: (Ø) in 22 has as its referent the three types of /sùu/ 'fight' mentioned in 17, 18, 19 and 20.

- (23) /man (PP) kôp jùu sǎam pràphèed nii/ 'There exist then, these three types.'
- (24) /kôp (ØI) ləəŋ duu wâa/ 'Then, let's see whether'
- (25) /man (PP) mii Pəŋ tháj sǎam pràkaan/ 'it has the three essential characteristics.'
- (26) /(ØD) khyy/ 'They are';
- (27) /(ØD) mii kaan lèn/ 'it has playing.'
- (28) /(ØD) mii kaan sàmàg caj/ 'it has willingness',

- (29) /léew kô? (ØD) mii kàtikaa kan ryy māj/ 'and then it has rules, or not?'
- (30) /sāmraḅ khon kàḅ khon nán thāa jàaᅇ náᅇ muaj thii (RP) tàaᅇ khon tàaᅇ sàmàᅇ chóg kan nii/ 'As for people with people, for example boxers who mutually agree to hit each other',
- (31) /((ØI) māj mii panhāa/ 'there is no problem.'
- (32) /((ØD) pen kiilaa/ 'It is a sport.'

NOTE: The antecedent of the dependent 'zero' subject of 32 is the entire verbal idea expressed in 30.

- (33) /tèe thāa khon (N) nỳᅇ māj jàaᅇ chóg/ 'But if one person does not want to hit',
- (34) /tèe ʔiig khon (N) nỳᅇ chóg/ 'but another person hits',
- (35) /((ØI) riag wāa sóm/ 'we call that bullying.'
- (36) /((ØD) māj chāj kiilaa/ 'It is not a sport.'

NOTE: The (Ø) subject of 36 has as its antecedent the entire verbal idea expressed by 33 and 34.

- (37) /jàaᅇ (N) nán māj chāj kiilaa/ 'That way is not a sport.'
- (38) /((ØI) wāa ʔaw ʔeeᅇ/ 'People only say it is.'
- (39) /thii nii thāa khon kàḅ sàḅ nii phóm (PP) jaᅇ māj hěn thaaᅇ/ 'Now as for man with animal, I still can not see a way'
- (40) /thii (ØD) cà? tòᅇᅇᅇ kan dāaj wāa/ 'that they can agree that'

NOTE: (Ø) in 40 has its referent /khon kàḅ sàḅ/ 'man and animal' in 39.

- (41) /((ØD) dāj mii kaan sàmàᅇ caj ryy māj/ 'they are willing, or not.'
- (42) /māy māj léew kô? (ØI) mii kàtikaa kan jàaᅇraᅇ lá? khráb/ 'If not, then, how can there be rules?'
- (43) /jàaᅇ khon (N) sūu kàḅ wua kràthiᅇ nii/ 'For example, man fights the wild ox',
- (44) /ʔaacaan cintānaa (PP) bòᅇᅇ wāa/ 'Prof. Cintana said, thus',
- (45) /khon (N) mii ʔookàad tòᅇ sūu thāw thāw kan/ 'people have an equal fighting chance.'
- (46) /thii phóm (PP) duu naj nǎᅇ nán/ 'What I have seen in the movies',
- (47) /phóm (PP) wāa/ 'I say',
- (48) /man (PP) māj thāw/ 'it is not equal.'
- (49) /phóm (PP) wāa/ 'I say',
- (50) /ʔookàad (N) māj thāw/ 'the chances are not equal.'
- (51) /phóm (PP) dāaj hěn lǎaj jàaᅇ/ 'I have seen many things.'
- (52) /khon (N) thyy miid ná? há? baan thii ná? há?/ 'People carry knives, sometimes',
- (53) /tèe wua (N) māj thyy miid/ 'but the oxen do not carry knives.'

- (54) /thâa (ØD) kèn ciŋ/ 'If they were really good',
 (55) /(ØD) tòn myy plàaw dâaj kan/ 'they must both be empty-handed.'

NOTE: The last nouns mentioned which could serve as the referents of the (Ø) subjects of 54 and 55 are /wua/ in 53 and/or /khon/ in 52; however, the subject of /kèn/ in 54 is clearly, according to the informants, /khon/ of 52, whereas the referent of the 'zero' subject of 55 is collectively /wua/ and /khon/.

- (56) /thÿŋ mée (ØI) càp hâj/ 'Even though they allow'
 (57) /khon (N) jìŋ sÿa/ 'people to shoot tigers',
 (58) /(ØD) thÿy pyyn/ 'carry guns';
 (59) /(ØD) jìŋ sÿa/ 'shoot tigers',
 (60) /(ØD) jaŋ mâj thée khráb/ 'it is still not a legitimate sport.'
 (61) /thâa jàaŋ chánið thée (ØD) kôp tòn myy plàaw/ 'If a true kind, then they must be empty-handed.'
 (62) /sÿa (N) kôp myy plàaw/ 'The tigers are empty-handed',
 (63) /khon (N) kôp myy plàaw/ 'the people are also empty-handed.'
 (64) /man (PP) thÿŋ càp nân thée/ 'In that way it would be legitimate.'
 (65) /Pookàad (N) thii (ØI) càp paj tògloŋ kan kàb sàd/ 'The chance that they will agree with the animals'
 (66) /hěn càp pen paj mâj dâaj/ 'is hardly possible.'

NOTE: The subject of 66 is /Pookàad/ 'chance' in 65.

- (67) /(ØI) paj tòg bèd/ 'We fish.'
 (68) /(ØI) tòg Pàraj/ 'We fish for anything.'
 (69) /(ØI) wâa Pèeŋ thán nán láp khráb/ 'People only say all of these are sports.'
 (70) /(ØI) nÿg Paw/ 'They imagine it.'
 (71) /thii sàd (N) tõe sàd sũu kan nán/ 'The case of animals fighting each other'
 (72) /(N) pen thaaj/ 'is an example'

NOTE: The subject of /pen/ is the entire clause 71.

- (73) /thii (RP) pen kiilaa/ 'that is a sport,'
 (74) /nôog càag raw (PP) càp nÿg Paw Pèeŋ/ 'but we claim it to be.'
 (75) /phróp wâa sàd (N) mâj dâaj léew/ 'Because animals are unable, (to do all the above)'
 (76) /raw (PP) paj wâa Pèeŋ/ 'we only say it is a sport.'
 (77) /thii níi thâa hàag wâa sàd kàb sàd man (NPP) lèn kan Pèeŋ/ 'Now if it is a matter of animals playing with each other',
 (78) /jàaŋ mii naj khăw din jàaŋ (N) níi plâm kan/ 'for example bears in the zoo, these kind wrestle together',
 (79) /(ØI) mii mÿan kan khráb/ 'there is also that.'

- (80) /mii (N) naj khǎw din wánaa níi thii sǎan sàd dùsid níi man (PP) lén kan Pùdtàlùd/ 'Bears in the Wana zoo at the Dusit zoological gardens they play helter-skelter.'

NOTE: The noun /mii/ 'bear' is separated from the pronoun /man/ by two prepositional phrases but the result is that the subject is filled by (NPP), i.e. a noun and a pronoun.

- (81) /man (PP) kô? pen kiilaa khǒŋ man/ 'It is their sport'

NOTE: Notice two occurrences of /man/ in 81. The referent of the first is /mii/ 'bear', the referent of the second is the wrestling and playing mentioned in 78 and 80.

- (82) /phró? wâa tàaŋ fàaj tàaŋ (N) mii khwaam sàmàg caj dūaj kan/ 'because each side is willing.'
- (83) /phró? chànan panháa rýaŋ kiilaa níi (N) phǒm (PP) khíd wâa/ 'Therefore this question of sports, I think',
- (84) /(N) cà? tŏŋ mii làg thán sǎam jàaŋ níi/ 'must have all of these three things.'

NOTE: The subject of 84 is /panháa rýaŋ kiilaa níi/ 'question affair sports this' given in 83. The remainder of 83 is a parenthetical comment.

- (85) /(ØI) khyy/ 'That is',
- (86) /(ØD) pen kaan lén ná? há?/ 'it is playing.'
- (87) /(ØI) mâj dâaj ?aw ciŋ há?/ 'It is not for real.'
- (88) /têe thii níi wâa (ØD) mâj dâaj ?aw ciŋ/ 'But now if it is not for real.'
- (89) /jàaŋ paj jiŋ nóg tòg plaá níi (ØI) ?aw ciŋ ciŋ/ 'like shooting birds and fishing, we take them seriously',
- (90) /(ØI) mâj châj lén/ 'we are not playing',
- (91) /(ØD) pen kaan dǎmphan dūaj chiiwíd khǒŋ fàaj nỳŋ ciŋ ciŋ/ 'it is really gambling with the life of one of the antagonists',
- (92) /léew kô? (ØI) mâj mii kàtikaa kan/ 'and then, there are no rules',
- (93) /léew (ØI) mâj châj pen khwaam sàmàg caj khǒŋ thán sǒŋ fàaj/ 'and there is not willingness on either side.'
- (94) /phró? chànan (ØD) kô? pen kiilaa mâj dâaj níi naj khwaam hén khǒŋ phǒm/ 'Therefore, in my opinion it cannot be a sport.'
- (95) /phǒm (PP) khíd wâa jàaŋ nán/ 'That is the way I think.'
- (96) /(ØI) khòb khun há?/ 'I thank you.'
- (97) /(ØI) khǒ chǎn khun sùphǎn/ 'I invite Mrs. Suphorn.'
- (98) /dichǎn (PP) mii khwaam hén troŋ kàb khun pin thúg khò thúg kràthoŋ thúg raaj lá?iad lǎj rýaŋ níi/ 'In this affair I agree with Mr. Pin in every point, in every facet and in every detail.'
- (99) /(ØI) khyy/ 'That is',
- (100) /thâa (ØI) mii kaan tòg loŋ rúu tua dâaj kan thán sǒŋ fàaj/ 'If there is agreement and understanding on both sides...'

A tabulation of the types of fillers found in the subject slot in these one hundred clauses reveals the following:

| | |
|--|-------|
| Nouns (noun phrases, nominalizations) | 26 |
| Personal pronouns | 21 |
| Nouns with personal pronouns in apposition | 2 |
| Demonstrative pronouns | 0 |
| Relative pronouns | 3 |
| Independent 'zero' | 29 |
| Dependent 'zero' | 19 |
| | Total |
| | 100 |

Of the twenty-nine occurrences of 'independent zero' ($\emptyset I$) (cf. page 61) the majority were the subjects of the verbs /mii/ 'have, there is, there are', /pen/ 'be, there is, there are', /khyy/ 'be, that is' (cf. French *c'est à dire*), and /châj/ 'be, be correct'. In the remaining clauses in which ($\emptyset I$) occurred, 'zero' represents an impersonal subject (cf. French *on*). The 'dependent zero' ($\emptyset D$) subjects (as in 22 and 89) have as referents previous nominal clauses or (as in 58 and 59) have as referents the subject of previous clauses. These seem to be the primary functions of ($\emptyset D$).

From these observations we may make certain tentative deductions. Except for those cases mentioned at the beginning of this section, (i.e., 'zero' as subject slot filler in request utterances (as in 24); in expressions such as /khòəbkhun/ 'to thank' (as in 96 and 97); and in responses to questions seeking affirmation or negation, 'zero' functions as an indefinite or impersonal noun substitute. 'Zero' may also function as subject of a clause when the referent is a large segment of the discourse. In general, however, if there is a specific antecedent, or if the speaker wishes to refer to himself as the subject, the subject is expressed. These observations clarify, to some degree, the question of 'omission' of a subject slot filler in Thai clauses.

7.2 SUMMARY

This study has provided some insight into the form and distribution of noun substitutes in modern Thai. It has described the class of forms, here called pronouns, which, though they share clause functions with Thai nouns, have distributional restrictions and in the cases of interrogatives, relatives and demonstratives have secondary grammatical functions. That is, interrogatives for example, may fill the subject slot of a clause (like a noun) but they also have the additional function of signaling that the utterance is a question rather than a request or a statement. Besides the various subclasses of pronouns, reference was made to other devices which function as noun substitutes; namely, classifiers and 'zero', which in certain environments fill those clause slots characteristically filled by nouns or nominalizations.

In an effort to restrict the scope of this study to one segment of Thai grammar, many other interesting problems or aspects of Thai grammar were put aside for future study. For example the complexities of the Thai verb and its modification structure are challenging subjects of research. Needless to say, the description of any one aspect of the grammar suffers without a thorough understanding of the rest of the grammar. It is hoped that this study along with many others will eventually provide the necessary information needed for the preparation of a comprehensive and meaningful grammar of Thai.

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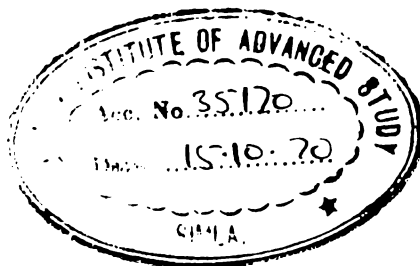
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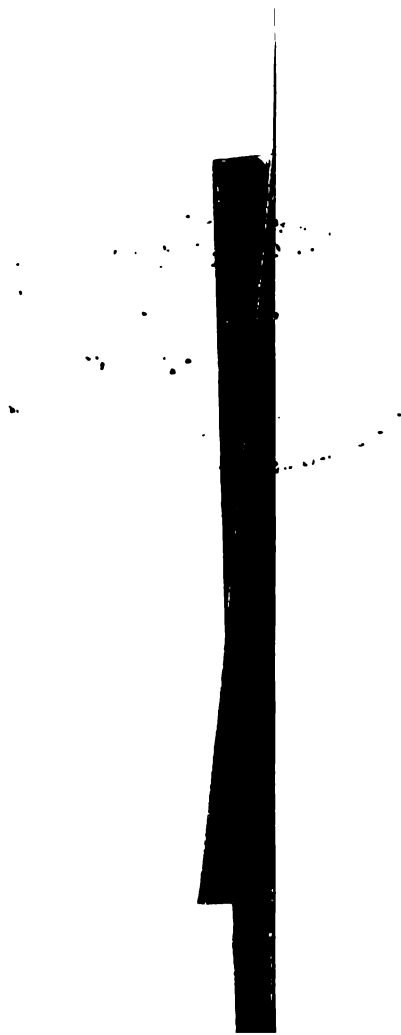
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