#### ON IMPERSONAL VERBS IN THAI

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#### 1. Introduction

This paper discusses the occurrence of impersonal verbs in Thai within the Lexicase dependency framework. The paper limits its scope to a discussion of the impersonal verbs which do not require a verbal dependent. These verbs are referred to in the Lexicase grammar as non-extension impersonal verbs. The paper proposes the postposing test to identify impersonal verbs and to distinguish a subject from a preverbal locational noun.

The paper is divided into 5 sections. While the first section presents an introduction, the second part provides an overview of impersonal verbs within the Lexicase analysis. The tests to be used in identifying impersonal verbs are discussed in the third section. An analysis of non-extension impersonal verbs in Thai is illustrated in the fourth section. The last section presents the conclusion.

# 2. Impersonal Verbs

Within the Lexicase dependency framework, verbs may be subcategorized with the feature [±mprs] (personal), as shown in SR-1, according to whether they take a referential subject or a non-referential subject. A personal verb ([-mprs]) grammatically requires a referential subject, as illustrated in RR-1. An impersonal verb [+mprs] requires a non-referential subject, as shown in RR-2. RR-3 captures the fact that the majority of verbs in Thai are referential.

SR-1	[+ <b>V</b> ]	->	[±mprs]
RR-1	[-mprs]	->	? +Nom       +rfrn
RR-2	[+mprs]	->	? +Nom      -rfm
RR-3	[+ <b>V</b> ]	->	[-mprs]

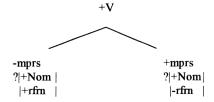


Figure 1: Subcategorization of Verbs in Terms of Referentiality in Lexicase

Impersonal verbs may be divided into two categories: true-impersonal and pseudo-impersonal verbs (Pagotto 1985). True-impersonal verbs are verbs which do not have an overt grammatical subject or those cooccurring with a phrasal constituent in a preverbal position, referred to as a 'subject surrogate', in the case of English (Pagotto 1985:1) as shown in (1a). Pseudo-impersonal verbs, on the other hand, are verbs which require the presence of an expletive subject 'it', as in (1b).

Even though the Thai language has both types of impersonal verbs, this paper will only discuss the occurrence of impersonal verbs which do not require a verbal dependent, referred to as non-extension verbs. All non-extension impersonal verbs in Thai are true-impersonal verbs. True-impersonal verbs in Thai are verbs which do not allow an overt grammatical subject, for example,  $k\partial a_2$  to happen'.

# 3. Tests to identify Impersonal Verbs

In this section, I propose the postposing test and the postposing topicalization to identify the syntactic function of a noun phrase in a preverbal position. The postposing test distinguishes a referential subject of a personal verb from a preposing non-subject argument of an impersonal verb. The postposing topicalization is used as a supportive test to identify the preverbal noun phrase as a subject.

The Thai language has three case forms, namely the Nominative (Nom), the Accusative (Acc) and the Locative case form which is marked by the feature [+lctn]. Any arguments of a verb may be postposted via postposing topicalization. This postposing topicalization is performed by two mechanisms: 1) a final particle and/or a pause marking the end of a sentence preceding the constituent; and 2) a topic marker  $n \hat{a} ?$  at the end of a topicalized phrase. 1 The following example illustrates that in Thai a Nominative actant (a subject) and an Accusative actant (an object) may be postposed via postposing topicalization.

**(2)** kôy kin khanŏm thîi chán Síi maa r<del>i</del>?yaŋ Kov which hither or not eat sweet buv Nom +trns Acc

'Has Koy eaten the sweets that I bought?'

b. kin khanŏm thîi chán sái maa rɨʔyaŋ [PAUSE] eat sweet which I buy hither or not

kôy nà? Koy TOP

'Has she eaten the sweets that I bought, Koy?' (Lit.)

c. kôy kin rɨʔyaŋ [PAUSE] khanŏm thĩi chán sɨɨ
Koy eat or not sweet which I buy

maa nà? hither TOP

'Has Koy eaten them, the sweets that I bought?' (Lit.)

Both subject,  $k \delta y$  in (1b) and the object *khanom thii chan sii maa* in (1c) can be postposed to the end of the sentence by having a pause marking the end of a clause and the topic marker n a ? at the end of the topicalized phrase.

Moreover, a Locative actant marked by the localistic feature [+lctn] can be postposed via postposing topicalization. In (3), the Locative actant is in a preverbal position while in (4) it is in a postverbal position.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The topic marker na? is optional when the topicalized noun phrase is modified by the determiners nii 'this' or nan 'that'

(3) a. də?mal kəbt faymay rəə the Mall exist fire Ques +lctn

'Did 'The Mall' burn?'

- k
   èət faymây r
   ëə [PAUSE] d
   è?mal n
   à?
   The Mall TOP
   Top (Lit.)
- (4) a. thee cà? pay pàcháa rée you will go cemetry Ques +lctn

'Are you going to the cemetry?'

b. thee cà? pay rée [PAUSE] pàcháa nà? you will go Ques cemetry TOP

'Are you going there, the cemetry?' (Lit.)

It should be noted that the noun phrase in a preverbal position can be a Nominative actant or a Locative actant. The locative actant in this position is normally a lexically locational noun. A noun is identified as a locational noun if it may occur as immediate dependent of a locational verb such as pay, maa, and yùu. (Indrambarya 1994:53). For example, the locational verb pay 'to go' expects a noun with the feature [+lctn] as its dependent to be interpreted as a Locus and Locative actant. In (5a) the verb pay may have the noun phrase  $d\partial mal$  as its immediate dependent since  $d\partial mal$  is a locational noun marked by the localistic feature [+lctn]. The verb pay then assigns the Locative case form and the Locus case relation to  $d\partial mal$ , shown by the implied feature [3[+lctn]] and [3[+LOC]] on the lexical matrix of the regent verb pay. On the other hand, the noun tônmáy tôn nán 'that tree' in (5b) is not a locational noun and hence the regent verb's requirement for a locative complement is not satisfied.

(5)	a.	deen	pay	dà?mal
` '		Dang	go	The Mall
		Index	2ndex	3ndex
		Nom	+lctn	+lctn
		PAT	-trns	LOC
		actr	3[+LOC]	
			3[+lctn]	

'Dang went to The Mall.'

nán b. \*deen tônmáy tôn pay CL that Dang go tree **2ndex** 3ndex Index Nom +lctn -lctn PAT -trns ?[+lctn] actr ?[+LOC]

'Dang went to that tree.'

The Nominative actant and a Locative actant which occur in a preverbal position, in (2a) and (3a), exhibit different characteristics. Only a Locative actant may be postposed to the position before the final particle without a pause and a topic marker. Comparing the Nominative actant  $k\Im y$  in (2a) with the Locative actant  $d\Im z$  mal in (3a). Example (6) illustrates that the Nominative actant  $k\Im y$  in (2a) cannot be postposed to the position before the final particle. On the other hand, example (7) illustrates that the locative actant  $d\Im z$  mal in (3a) may be postposed to the position before the final particle.

- (6) \*kin khanom thii chán sái maa kôy rɨʔyaŋ eat sweet which I buy hither Koy or not 'Has she eaten the sweets that I bought, Koy?' (Lit.)
- (7) kèət faymây də? mal rəə exist fire the Mall Ques

  Did it burn, the mall? (Lit.)

I then claim that the postposing test is able to identify the syntactic category of a preverbal noun phrase. The test is performed by postposing the preverbal noun phrase in question to the end of a sentence, before the final particle, if there is one. Note that there is no pause in between at all. If the sentence remains acceptable, the noun phrase is not a subject. Instead, it is a Locative noun phrase of an impersonal verb. On the other hand, if the sentence is unacceptable, the preverbal noun phrase is identified as the subject of the sentence. The postposing topicalization mentioned earlier may be used as a supportive evidence identifying a preverbal noun phrase as a subject if it can only be postposed with a pause and a topic marker.

Now consider the following sets of sentences in (8) and (9) in which the locational noun phrase  $t\hat{a}y$   $t\acute{o}$ ?  $n\acute{u}$  'space under this table' is in a preverbal position<sup>2</sup>. Since there is no final particle at the end of sentence (5a), one may test the syntactic function of  $t\hat{a}y$   $t\acute{o}$ ?  $n\acute{u}$  by simply postposing it to the end of the sentence without having a pause.

(8)	a.	tây	tó?	níi	yaŋ	wâaŋ
		under	table	this	still	empty
		+lctn				+lctn
		Nom				-mprs
		PAT				-trns
		actr				-xtns

'The space under this table is still available.'

- b. \*yan wâan tây tó? níi still empty under table this
   'The space under this table is available.'
- c. yan wâan PAUSE tây tó? níi nà? still empty under table this TOP

  'The space under this table is available.'

As shown in (8b), the sentence becomes ungrammatical when the noun phrase  $t\hat{a}y$  to ?  $n\hat{u}$  is postposed to the end of the sentence without a pause and a topic marker. Example (5c) confirms that that the noun phrase  $t\hat{a}y$  to ?  $n\hat{u}$  can only postposed via postposing topicalization, that is, with the topic marker  $n\hat{a}$ ? and a pause. Hence,  $t\hat{a}y$  to ?  $n\hat{u}$  in (5a) is identified as a subject, rather than a preposed Locative actant. Now compare the distribution of the noun phrase  $t\hat{a}y$  to ?  $n\hat{u}$  in (8) with (9).

(9)	a.	tây under +lctn +N	tó? table	níi this	mii exist +lctn +mprs +trns	klòoŋ box	sŏoŋ two	bay CL
				+trns				
					-xtns			

'The space under this table has two boxes.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> According to Savetamalya (1989), relator nouns such as  $t\hat{a}y$  'space under' and bon 'surface' are analyzed as nouns since they may have the determiner as their dependent, for example,  $t\hat{a}y$  nii 'space under this'.

'There are two boxes under this table.'

Unlike (8a), because the locational noun phrase  $t\hat{ay}$   $t\hat{o}$ ?  $n\hat{u}$  in (9a) may be postposed without a pause and a topic marker, as illustrated in (9b), the noun phrase  $t\hat{ay}$   $t\hat{o}$ ?  $n\hat{u}$  in (9a) is not a subject. It is a preverbal locative noun phrase of a locational impersonal verb. This noun phrase is assigned the Locative case marker by the regent impersonal verb  $m\hat{u}$  exist.

Thus a locational noun in a preverbal position may function either as a subject of a personal verb or as a preverbal locative noun phrase of an impersonal verb. I have illustrated in this section that the postposing test and the postposing topicalization are helpful in identifying the function of the preverbal noun phrase and in distinguishing a personal verb from an impersonal one.

### 4. Non-extension Impersonal Verbs in Thai

Non-extension impersonal verbs in Thai are locational, true-impersonal ([psdo]) and are all transitive verbs, as shown in RR-4. Thus they are non-extension impersonal locational transitive verbs.

Non-extension impersonal locational transitive verbs do not allow the presence of a non-referential subject *man* 'it' in their case frames, as shown in the unacceptable (10b). Hence, these verbs are true-impersonal.

In general, impersonal locational transitive verbs do not allow any overt grammatical subject, especially in a formal speech such as a news report, as shown below.

#### **Formal**

hèŋ níi CL this

'There will be a big storm in this desert.'

However, verbs of this class may allow the presence of non-referential subject man 'it' in colloquial speech style, as in the following sentence. I do not classify it as another verb class because the variety depends on speech formality and there found to be no grammatically significant environments.

#### Colloquial

'Is there also a ghost in this house?'

Within the lexicase dependency analysis, each word consists of three basic components, namely sound, distribution, and meaning. According to Starosta (1988:98), a form is considered to belong to two distinct lexical entries when it occurs in two distinct grammatically significant environments. In other words, if a form X can occur in syntactic patterns A and B, but some other form Y can occur only in pattern A but not B, or only in pattern B but not A, the form X is considered to belong to two separate lexical items distinguished by their distinct syntactic distributions. Consider (13) and (14):

(13) a. kòəta námthûam thii4 phâaktây happen flood at South

'There is a flood in the South.'

b. kòọt4 námthûam khîn4 thîi4 phâaktây happen flood up at South

'There is a flood in the South.'

(14) a. mii<sub>3</sub> námthûam thîi<sub>4</sub> phâaktây exist flood at South

'There is a flood in the South.'

b. \*mii námthûam kh<del>î</del>n thîi4 phâaktây<sup>3</sup> exist flood up at South

'There is a flood in the South.'

As shown, the form  $k\partial\partial$  in (13) can occur in two environments, but  $mii_3$  may occur only without the adverb  $kh\hat{n}$ , as shown in (14a). This gives us evidence that  $k\partial\partial$  in the two sentences should be considered to be two distinct lexical items belonging to two separate subclasses.

With evidence from the grammatically significant environments criteria, verbs of this class may be divided with the feature [±ncpt] (inception) into two classes according to their cooccurrence with the path adverb khîn 'up'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> However, it is found that when an object of *mii* indicates a gathering together for a specific purpose such as a negotiation and a conference, not a natural phenon, *mii* may coocur with the adverb *khin* 'up', as shown below. This could be an instance of a selectional restriction of the noun phrase following *mii*. For example

<sup>\*</sup>mii kaansummana kiawkàp phasa thai khîn thîi4 rooŋreem nii exist seminar about language Thai up at hotel this

<sup>&#</sup>x27;There is a seminar on Thai language at this hotel.'

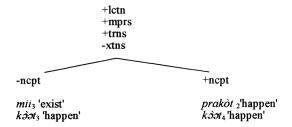
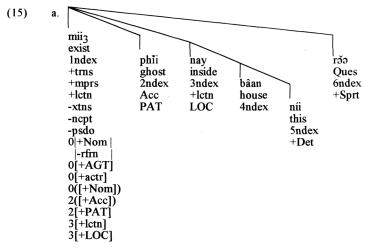


Figure 2: Syntactic Subclassification of Non-extension Impersonal Locational
Transitive Verbs

# 4.1. Non-extension True-impersonal Locational Non-inception Transitive Verbs

Non-extension true-impersonal locational non-inception transitive verbs expect a locational complement and do not allow the presence of the path adverb  $kh\hat{\imath}n_4$  'up'. They include  $mii_3$  'to exist' and  $k\partial \sigma t_3$  'to occur'. These verbs do not allow the presence of any grammatical subject.



'There are ghosts in this house?' (Lit.)

The noun phrases *nay bâan nii* 'inside this house' headed by the locational noun *nay* 'inside' in (15a) may be preposed, as shown in (15b).

(15)	b.	nay	bâan	níi	mii3	phĭi	ršə
		ın	house	this	exist	ghost	Ques
		+N	+lctn		+lctn	_	
		+lctn			+mprs		
		LOC			+trns		

'In this house, there are ghosts?'

The ability of the noun phrase nay bâan nii 'in this house' to occur both at the beginning of the sentence, as in (15b), and at the end of the sentence without a pause and a topic marker, as in (15a), illustrates that this noun phrase is a locative noun phrase of the impersonal verb mii3 'to exist', rather than a subject of a personal verb. When a locational noun occurs sentence-initially, the same postposing test may serve as a reliable test in distinguishing a subject from a preposed locative noun phrase. Consider (16):

- (16) a. bâan níi mii phĩi house this have ghost 'This house has ghosts.'
  - b. \*mii<sub>1</sub> phǐi bâan níi have ghost house this

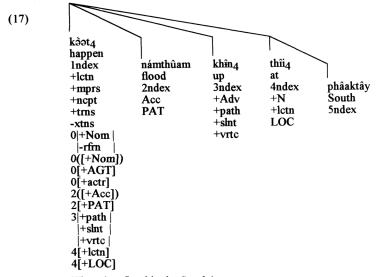
The example (16b) suggests that  $b\hat{a}an\ nii$  in (16a) is subject of the non-extension personal transitive verb  $mii_1$  'to have'. This is because the noun phrase  $b\hat{a}an\ nii$  in (16a) cannot be postposed without a pause, as shown in the ungrammatical (16b). Instead, it can only be postposed via postposing topicalization, that is with a pause and a topic marker, as in (16c).

(16) c. mii phǐi ná? [PAUSE] bâan níi nà exist ghost prt house this TOP

'Has ghosts, this house.' (Lit.)

# 4.2. Non-extension True-impersonal Locational Inception Transitive Verbs

Non-extension true-impersonal locational inception transitive verbs are transitive verbs which do not allow an overt grammatical subject but which require the presence of the path adverb with the feature [+path,+vrtc,+slnt] namely, khîn<sub>4</sub>. This class is limited in number and includes kòơt<sub>4</sub> 'to happen' and prakòt<sub>2</sub> 'to appear'.



'There is a flood in the South.'

(18) A: kèət phayú? yày occur storm big 'There is a big storm.'

B: thîi<sub>4</sub> nǎy at where 'Where?'

A: thîi<sub>4</sub> Khaway at Kaui 'At Kaui.'

Sookgasem (1992a:291-293, 1992b:2), working within the HPSG framework, argues that Thai has two types of subjects: preverbal subjects and postverbal subjects. The forms mii 'to exist' and  $k\partial \sigma$  'to occur' are instances of a limited set of verbs occurring in the verb-subject construction in Thai. In other words, the noun phrase following mii (i.e. phii ghost' in (15)) is not an object but rather a subject of the verb mii. Her argument is based on the three criteria: passivization, imperativization, and VP topicalization.

According to Sookgasem (1992:291), only transitive verbs in Thai may be passivized with the  $th\grave{u}uk_5$  construction. Since a noun phrase following mii cannot be passivized, she concludes then that the noun phrase after mii must be a subject, rather than an object of the verb. However, 1) it does not follow that if only transitive verbs can be passivized, then all transitive verbs can be passivized; and 2) not all transitive verbs in Thai may trigger the  $th\grave{u}uk_5$  passive construction. Only activity non-factitive transitive verbs which are perceived as affecting a Patient, such as  $tii_1$  'to hit' and  $d\grave{u}?_1$  'to reproach', may occur as an embedded verb of  $th\grave{u}uk_5$  and  $doon_4$ , as shown in (19). While activity factitive transitive verbs such as  $w\hat{a}at_4$  'to draw' may be passivized only with the  $dooy_1$  construction as illustrated in (20), non-activity transitive verbs such as  $d\hat{a}yyin_1$  'to hear' and  $m\check{*}an_1$  'to resemble' cannot be passivized at all, as seen in (21) (Indrambarya 1994:168-178, 270, 275-276). Thus, her passive criterion is not generally valid.

- (19) a. mεε dù? nít mother reproach Nit '(Nit's) mother reproached Nit.'
  - b. nít thùuk5/doon4 mêe dù?
    Nit undergo mother reproach
    'Nit was reproached by her mother.'

- (20) a. thomayantii khîan niyaay rîan nii Thomaryantii write novel CL this 'Thomayantii wrote this novel.'
  - b. ??níyaay rîan nii thùuk5/doon4 thomayantii khîan novel CL this undergo Thomaryantii write

'This novel was written by Thomayantii.'

- c. níyaay r<del>î</del>aŋ níi khîan dooy thomayantii. novel CL this write by Thomaryantii 'This novel was written by Thomayantii.'
- (21) a. chán mian phôo I resemble father 'I resemble my father.'
  - b. \*ph3o thùuk5/doon4 chán mian father undergo I resemble '(My) father is resembled by me.'
  - c. \*phôo mɨan dooy chán father resemble by I '(My) father is resembled by me.'

Another test Sookgasem employed is imperativization, according to which only a subject may be imperativized (Sookgasem 1992:288-289), as shown in (22b).

## (22) (Sookgasem's 17a and 17b)

a. mii phayú? nay thaleesaay níi thâwnán exist storm in desert this only

'There exist storms only in this desert.'

b. phayú? PAUSE mii nay thaleesaay níi storm exist in desert this

thâwnán ná only IMP

'Storms, exist only in this desert.'

Since one can command the word *phayú?* storm in (22b), Sookgasem concludes that the noun phrase *phayú?* in (22a) must be the subject of the sentence, yielding the verb-subject construction. Such an analysis is statable in a powerful transformational framework, but from the constrained monostratal lexicase point of view, the imperative sentence in (22b) is not related to (22a) but to (23) below.

mii2 (23)phavú? bèep níi nav thaleesaav storm kind this exist in desert Nom +lctn +lctn **PAT** LOC -mprs actr -trns

> níi thâwnan this only

'This kind of storm occurs only in this desert.'

Thus, in sentence (22) there are two lexical items mii 'to exist'. The form mii in (22a) is an impersonal locational transitive verb  $mii_3$ , while the form mii in (22b) and (23) is a personal locational intransitive verb  $mii_2$  'to exist', requiring an overt referential subject  $phay\dot{u}$ ? 'storm'. Two pieces of supporting evidence are the result of the postposing test and the postposing topicalization. The sentence (22b) becomes unacceptable when  $phay\dot{u}$ ?  $b\dot{e}ep$  nii is postposed to the end of the sentence without a pause or a final particle and a topic marker, as in (24a). The sentence is acceptable only in the postposing topicalization test, which makes use of both a pause and a topic marker, as in (24b).

(24) a. \*mii2 thaleesaav thâwnan nay níi exist in desert this only phayú? bèep níi storm kind this

'This kind of storm occurs only in this desert.'

thaleesaay níi thâwnan 18? mii2 b. nay desert this only prt exist in nà? [PAUSE] phayú? bèep níi kind this TOP storm

'Exists only in this desert, this kind of storm.'

VP topicalization or Subject postposing is another kind of support adduced for Sookgasem's claim. Since the NP following *mii* may be postposed, as in (25), she concludes that it is the subject of *mii* in (22a).

(25)	mii exist	nay in	thaleesaay desert	níi this	thâwnan only
	phayú? storm	reeŋ stroi		níi this	
1992:294)	'Exists on	ly in this	desert, this kin	nd of strong	storm.' (Sookgasem

However, Sookgasem fails not only to note that (25) is acceptable only with a pause before the postposed noun phrase phayú? reeŋ bèep nii 'this kind of strong storm', as shown in (26),

(26)	mii exist	nay thaleesa in desert	ay níi this	thâwnan only	[PAUSE]
	phayú? storm	reeŋ strong	bὲεp kind	níi this	
	'Exists on	ly in this dese	rt, this kind	l of strong stor	rm.'

but also to notice that (25), which I have rewritten as (26), is ambiguous. Since both a subject and an object may be topicalized via postposing, I argue that (26) is an ambiguous structure. The postposed noun phrase could either be a subject of the personal locational intransitive verb mii<sub>2</sub>, as shown in (23) or an object of the impersonal locational transitive verb mii<sub>3</sub>, as in (22a). Thus Sookgasem's VP topicalization is only a type of postposing topicalization in which a subject or an object is postposed. Hence, I contend that there is no verb-subject construction in Thai. There is, however, verbs which do not have a referential subject in their case frame referred to as impersonal verbs. These verbs may also have homophonous personal verb forms. For example, the non-extension locational non-inception

transitive verb mii<sub>3</sub> 'to exist' has the personal transitive verb mii<sub>1</sub> 'to have' and the personal locational intransitive verb mii<sub>2</sub> 'to exist' as homophones.

#### 5. Conclusion

I have illustrated in this paper that there exists a construction in Thai called impersonal verbs construction, rather than verb-subject construction. I have proposed the postposing test and postposing topicalization to identify and differentiate a subject of a sentence from a preverbal locative noun phrase. Non-extension impersonal verbs in Thai do not allow an overt grammatical subject and hence they are true-impersonal. Moreover, non-extension impersonal verbs in Thai are also found to occur only with Locus actant and transitive verbs and thus are all classified as non-extension impersonal locational transitive verbs. These verbs are subdivided into non-inception and inception subclasses depending on whether they may cooccur with the path adverb khûn 'up'.

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