A Categorization of thùuk in Thai: Lexicase Analysis

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a syntactic analysis of the word thùuk in Thai using a lexicase framework, a type of lexicalist dependency grammar (Starosta & Hashimoto, 1984; Starosta, 1988). Within the lexicase analysis, grammatical relations are characterized by case relations, case forms, and macro role. Case relations include Agent, Patient, Correspondence, Locus, and Means. Case forms include Nominative and Accusative. Macro role is represented by Actor.

From this study, there are several different homophonous lexical entries for thùuk. These can be defined by both their semantics and syntactic distribution. thùuk can occur either as a verb or as a “particle” adverb which can be seen in the following discussion.

2. SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF thùuk

2.1. thùuk as a Transitive Verb

The first syntactic distribution of thùuk is that of a transitive verb. Here it obliqatorily requires a following noun, bearing a Patient case relation as its dependent sister. There are two transitive forms of thùuk: thùuk₁ meaning ‘hit’, and thùuk₂ meaning ‘touch’. Examples:

1.  lûukbôn  thùuk₁  dèk
    ball    hit    child
    AGT  [+trns]  PAT

    ‘The ball hit the child.’

In (1) thùuk₁ is a transitive verb. It requires an Agent, lûukbôn and a Patient, dèk. The reason that dèk is treated as a Patient instead of carrying some other case relation is because, according to the Patient centrality hypothesis (Starosta 1982, p. 10), a transitive verb requires both an Agent and a Patient (as in 1). If sentence (1) had no Agent, the verb would be intransitive, and would result in the ungrammatical sentence (2):

2.  * lûukbôn  thùuk₁
    ball    hit
    PAT  [-trns]
Therefore, dëk, which is required by the verb thùuk₁, is treated as a complement noun. As a noun, it has to carry a case relation. Which case is it? Consider the following sentence in which thùuk₁ allows one further argument:

3. lûukbôn thùuk₁ dëk thîi¹ hûa
   |AGT| |+trns| |PAT| LOC
   |+actrl| ![+AGT]l | -actrl
   | ![+PAT]l
   ball hit child at head
   ‘The ball hit the child on the head.’

hûa carries a Locus case relation, marked by the relator noun thîi. It is a locative complement rather than a Locus adjunct based on the assumption that a complement cannot be preposed, whereas an adjunct can. This results in the ungrammaticality of (3a), in which thîi hûa is a complement, and also the grammaticality of (3b) in which thîi roongrian is an adjunct:

3a. * thîi¹ hûa lûukbôn thùuk₁ dëk
    at head ball hit child
3b. thîi¹ roongrian dëk rian nânsûtu
    at school child study book
    ‘At school, the children studied.’

With regard to (3), it should be noted that it is possible for the compound thùuk+noun construction to have a verbal complement as its sister, as in (a):

a. nûu thùuk+yaaphît taai
   mouse to poison die
   ‘A mouse was poisoned to death.’

The internal structure of this sentence is illustrated below:

```
   thùuk+yaaphît
     |2ndex|
   nûu   | - trns | taai
   | Index | | +fint |
   | +N    | | ![+Nom]l | - trns |
   | +Nom  | | ![+PAT]l | - fint |
   | PAT   | | ![+actrl]l | | ![+actrl]l |
   | 3 | - fint |
   | ![+PAT]l | | ![+PAT]l |
```

The implied patient of taai ‘die’ is chained with the patient of the matrix clause.

¹Following Savetamalya (1989, p. 57), one of the subclasses of thîi is analyzed as a relator noun, marking location. It obligatorily requires a dependent noun as its sister.
nǐu ‘mouse,’ by the Actor Control Rule.

According to the Patient centrality hypothesis, the complement takes the Patient in its scope and, in Thai, typically occurs adjacent to the Patient. Therefore, dēk carries a Patient case relation, rather than any other case relation.

Other supporting evidence for treating thùuk, as a transitive verb appears in the following data:

4. lūukbon thùuk₁ hūa (khōŋ) dēk tëek
   ball hit head of child break
   ‘The ball hit a child’s head and the head was broken.’

If thùuk₁ is treated as a transitive verb, the structure in (4) will look like the following:

Let us focus on the interpretation of the verb tēek. tēek as an intransitive verb implies a Patient subject. The Patient is interpreted as hūa following the Actor Control rule, which simply states that the implied actor of an infinitival complement is coreferential with the Patient of the regent verb, formulated as follows (Starosta 1990):

1. Actor Control Rule:
   ![Diagram]

   If hūa were marked by some other case relation, rather than Patient, the matrix clause would be intransitive. In that case, the implied Patient of the verb tēek would be mistakenly equated to a presumed Patient subject lūukbon. This interpretation would not be correct. The tree structure for this hypothetical interpretation is shown below:
From these arguments, the conclusion is that thùuk₁ is to be analyzed as a transitive verb and a dependent noun immediately following thùuk₁ is to be analyzed as a Patient.

On the basis of the different syntactic distributions of thùuk, mentioned above, there are three different homophonous entries for transitive thùuk. All of them require a Patient complement and have the same meaning as ‘hit,’ and since their syntactic distributions are different, each of them will be indexed differently. The first one, thùuk₁, does not allow another complement sister other than a Patient (as in 1). The second one, thùuk₂, allows one more complement sister bearing a Locus case relation (as in 2). The last one, thùuk₃, allows an infinitival complement as its dependent sister (as in 4).

Another homophonic entry, thùuk₄, occurs as a transitive verb whose meaning is ‘touch.’ Again thùuk₄ requires a Patient complement as in (6a). If there is no Patient, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (6b):

6a. tɔi thùuk₄ muuu chǎn
   Toy   touch   hand   I
   | AGT |   +trns   |   PAT |
   | +actr |   ? [+AGT] |   -actr |
   | ? [+PAT] |
   ‘Toy (unintentionally) touched my hand.’

6b. *tɔi thùuk₄
   Toy   touch
   | PAT |   -trns   |
   | +actr |   ? [ +PAT]|

Sentence (6b) is grammatical if the meaning of thùuk is ‘be correct,’ in which case thùuk would be classified differently (see section 2.3.)

2.1.1. Incorporated thùuk+Noun Construction.

A construction having thùuk followed by a noun is not always a transitive form. In the
examples that follow, the noun that follows thùuk is incorporated with it, forming a compound that behaves as a single syntactic unit.

7. nùu thùuk yaaphít
   mouse affected poison
   ‘A mouse was poisoned.’
8. kh¢n thùuk kh¢nη
   person affected thing
   ‘A person was affected by demonic possession.’

thùuk and its incorporated noun is considered as a compound verb because the incorporated noun behaves differently than the Patient noun of the transitive verbs thùuk, to thùuk. The noun in the incorporated thùuk+N construction cannot be modified by a determiner, a classifier, or a stative modifier, as in (7a-7c); whereas the Patient noun of the transitive verb thùuk, can be modified, as in (8a-8c).

7a. *ŋuu thùuk+yaaphít niii
    snake affected by poison this
7b. *ŋuu thùuk+yaaphít nûŋ thûai
    snake affected by poison one cup
7c. *ŋuu thùuk+yaaphít yen
    snake affected by poison cold

8a. phaaŋ? thùuk, bāan niii
    storm hit house this
    ‘The storm hit this house.’
8b. phaaŋ? thùuk, bāan sip lāŋ
    storm hit house ten clsf
    ‘The storm hit ten houses.’
8c. phaaŋ? thùuk, bāan kāu
    storm hit house old
    ‘The storm hit old houses.’

thùuk+noun compound verbs are, in some cases, non-compositional. That is, the meaning of the compound is normally not completely predictable from the meaning of the two source words from which it is derived, as illustrated by the following examples:

9. thùuk kh¢n
   affected neck
   ‘to enjoy chatting with’
10. thùuk ?ōk thùuk t¢ai
    affected chest affected heart
    ‘very pleased’
11. thûuk máai thûuk muwu
    affected wood affected hand
    ‘touch’
12. thûuk khêen thûuk khâa
    affected lower legs affected legs
    ‘get along (in doing something)’

As a compound verb, thûuk will not be indexed as having a different sub-category from transitive verbs because thûuk +N is not an independent lexical item, but rather a compound instead.

Having finished the discussion of thûuk as a transitive verb, I shall now present another subcategory of thûuk functioning as an intransitive verb.

2.2. thûuk₅ as a Non-Extensional Intransitive Verb

The intransitive verb thûuk₅ requires a subject marked with the Patient case relation, rather than an Agent. There are two homophones forms with different meanings: thûuk₅ ‘be cheap,’ and thûuk₆ ‘be correct.’ Examples:

13. raakhaa thûuk₅
    price be cheap
    PAT  l-trns l
         l-xtns l
    ‘The price is cheap.’
14. sut₄ tua ní thûuk₅
    blouse clsf this be cheap
    ‘This blouse is cheap.’
15. kaanbāàn thûuk₆
    homework be correct
    ‘The homework is correct.’
16. thîi₂ nákrii tham nán thûuk₆
    that student do that be correct
    ‘What the student did was correct.’

In (13–16), there is only one noun phrase for each sentence, raakhaa, sut₄, kaanbāàn, and thîi₂ nákrii tham nán respectively. According to the Patient centrality hypothesis, the NP that appears alone in a non-impersonal sentence is always a Patient. If the NPs in these sentences are Patients, then the verbs must be marked as intransitive. Thus, thûuk₅ and thûuk₆ are treated as intransitive verbs, whose Patient subjects are raakhaa, sut₄, kaanbāàn, and thîi nákrii tham nán, respectively.

²In this sentence, thîi₂ is treated as a relative noun, obligatorily followed by a verbal complement (Savetamalya, 1989, p. 23).
An intransitive verb is non-extensional since the meaning of a sentence is complete in itself without requiring any clausal complement. \textit{thùuk}_5 and \textit{thùuk}_6 are homophonic forms and are considered to be different lexical entries because, although they occur in the same syntactic environments, they are different in meaning. Thus the internal structures of sentences in which \textit{thùuk}_5 and \textit{thùuk}_6 appear are the same:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{thùuk}_5
  \begin{itemize}
  \item raakhā
    \begin{itemize}
    \item 2ndex
      \begin{itemize}
      \item -trns
      \end{itemize}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\item \textit{thùuk}_6
  \begin{itemize}
  \item thīi
    \begin{itemize}
    \item 1ndex
      \begin{itemize}
      \item -trns
      \end{itemize}
    \end{itemize}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

2.3. \textit{thùuk}, as an Extensional Intransitive Verb

The lexical entry of \textit{thùuk}, as an extensional intransitive verb is associated with the passive-like meaning of ‘be affected by’ by many Thai syntacticians (Warotamasikkhatit, 1963; Lekawatana, 1970; Kullavanijaya, 1972; Prasitrathsinth, 1985). Examples of \textit{thùuk}, are the following:

17. nākriñ thùuk, khruu tīi
    student affected teacher hit
    ‘The student was hit by a teacher.’

18. bān thùuk, fai māi
    house affected fire burn
    ‘The house was burned by fire.’
19. nök thük, dêk yiŋ
   bird affected child shoot
   ‘A bird was shot by a child.’

20. phleeŋ nii thük, nákprāʔ phan têŋ mài
   song this be affected author compose new
   ‘This song was newly composed by a composer.’

In these examples, there are two NPs appearing preceding and following thük, and there is always a verbal complement following thük. The question arises of how these NP arguments of thük are treated in relation with the verbal complement, and as a consequence whether thük is transitive or intransitive.

Three possible alternative structures can be assigned to the thük construction. In the first one thük is treated as having two NP arguments occurring with its verbal complement:

```
                                      thük,
                                         | 2ndex
                            nákrian      |  +V
                                           |  3ndex    ↑
                                           |  4ndex
                      | Index     |  +trns
                      |  +N       |  1  [ +Nom ]
                      |  +Nom     |  1  [ +AGT ]
                      |  AGT      |  PAT
                      | actr      |  3  [ -Nom ]
                      |  3  [ +PAT ]
```

With this analysis, the above structure indicates that the NP arguments of thük, nákrian and khruu, bear an Agent and a Patient case relation. Thus, thük is considered a transitive verb. The justification for this analysis is given in the following discussion.

First let us consider the verbal complement tii. tii as a transitive verb must include both an Agent and a Patient. However, there are no overt Agent and Patient nouns. What should be the interpretation for these missing NPs? The interpretation of an implied argument in an infinitival complement clause is recovered by the Actor Control Rule (Starosta, 1990) or the Patient-to-Patient Control Rule (Indrambarya, 1992, p. 38). The two rules are formulated as follows:

1. Actor Control Rule:
   | 1  [ +actr ] |  -->  | m  [ +actr ] \  | m  [ +PAT ] |
   |  -fint      |          | n  [ -fint ] |
   |  ndex       |
This rule states that the implied actor of a non-finite verb is chained with a Patient of a matrix clause.

2. Patient-to-Patient Control Rule:

| +V | +V |
| +trns | +trns |
| -fint | m [+PAT] |
| ? [+PAT] | m [+trns] |
| n | n [-fint] |

This rule states that the implied Patient of a non-finite verb of an infinitival complement is chained with the Patient of a regent verb.

Following the Patient-to-Patient Control Rule, the interpretation of the Patient of tii would be khruu, the Patient of a higher clause. This interpretation does not match a native speaker’s intuition.

Thus, the structure having thùuk, appearing with two NP arguments in which thùuk, is considered to be a transitive verb is not acceptable. Treating thùuk, as a transitive verb results in a wrong judgment of the following sentence:

*nãkrian thùuk, tua?een tii
student affected oneself hit

If thùuk, is transitive, then the reflexive noun tua?een can appear as a Patient noun. The sentence would appear to be grammatical, when in fact it is ungrammatical.

Let us look at another alternative to treating thùuk, as an intransitive verb. Intransitive thùuk, can occur with either two NP arguments or one NP argument. The first assumption will be discussed first. thùuk, as an intransitive verb occurring with two NP arguments has the following structure:

```
| thùuk, |
| 2ndex |
| nãkrian | +V |
| Index | - trns |
| +N | 1 [ +Nom ] |
| +Nom | 1 [ +PAT ] |
| PAT | 1 [ +actr ] |
| actr | 3 [ -Nom ] |
| | 3 [ +COR ] |
| | 4 [ -fint ] |
| | 3 [ +AGT ] |
| | 3 [ +Nom ] |
| | ? [ +actr ] |
| | 1 [ +PAT ] |
```

The structure above shows thùuk, as having two NP arguments and an infinitival complement. The NP arguments, nãkrian and khruu bear different case relations, Patient and Correspondent respectively. In this sense, thùuk, is considered to be intransitive because there is no Agent in the sentence. What is the interpretation for the implied Patient of the infinitival complement tii?
Following the Patient-to-Patient Control Rule, the implied Patient of $tii$ is interpreted as $näkrían$, the Patient of a matrix clause. This interpretation matches a native speaker’s intuition.

As a result, the structure of $thùuk_{5}$, as an intransitive verb, appearing with two NP arguments, bearing a Patient and a Correspondent case relation, followed by an infinitival complement is possible.

However, this structure is not preferable. In Thai, normally a Patient NP occurring after a transitive verb (as in 21b.) and a Correspondent NP occurring after an intransitive verb (as in 22a.) can be topicalized.

21. dêk kin khâ?qnom
   child eat dessert
   AGT [+trns] PAT
   ‘A child ate some dessert.’

21a. khâ?qnom nâ? dêk kin lêêu
   dessert AGT [ -trns]
   topic child eat already
   ‘As for the dessert, a child has already eaten.’

22. dêk wîñ jàam kí?loo
   child run three kilometers
   PAT [-trns] COR
   ‘A child ran three kilometers.’

22a. jàam kí?loo nâ? dêk wîñ
    three kilometers topic child run
    COR PAT [ -trns]
    ‘Three kilometers, a child ran.’

If we compare the $thùuk_{5}$ construction with $thùuk_{7}$ (in the first analysis) as a transitive verb, the following Patient NP should be topicalized. In fact it cannot be.

23. *khruu nâ? näkrían thùuk_{7} tii
    PAT AGT [+trns] [+trns]
    teacher topic student affected hit

If $thùuk_{7}$ (in the second analysis) is an intransitive verb, the following Correspondent NP should also be topicalized. In fact it cannot be.

24. * khruu nâ? näkrían thùuk_{7} tii
    COR PAT [-trns] [+trns]
    teacher topic student affected hit

The conclusion is that $thùuk_{7}$ cannot appear in both analyses and $khruu$ cannot be a dependent sister of the root verb $thùuk_{7}$.

Let us consider the last alternative where $thùuk_{7}$ is treated as an intransitive verb having only one NP argument followed by a verbal complement. The structure would be as follows:
This structure shows that thùuk, appears with one NP argument. Following the Patient Centrality Hypothesis, if a verb has one NP argument, that NP is always a Patient and the verb is always intransitive. Thus, the NP argument of the verb thùuk, nakrian, bears a Patient case relation.

The verbal complement headed by tii has khruu as its Agent. The implied Patient is interpreted by the General thùuk Control Rule.

3. General thùuk Control Rule:

| +V | --> [ m [ +PAT ] \ | thùuk |
| +trns | | -trns |
| +fint | | m [ +PAT] |
| ?[+PAT] | | nndex |

This rule states that the implied Patient of a finite verb of a verbal complement is chained with the Patient of thùuk.

Thus, the interpretation of an implied Patient of tii is nakrian. This interpretation conforms with a native speaker’s intuition. The structure treating thùuk as an intransitive verb and having a following noun as a dependent sister of a verbal complement, not as its own dependent sister, is possible.

The hypothesis that a noun following thùuk forms a constituent with the following verbal complement can be supported by a coordinating construction. That is, a dependent verbal complement of thùuk can be coordinated as in the following sentences:

25. nakrian thùuk, khruu tii lé? mée dù?
   student affected teacher hit and mother scold
   ‘The student was hit by the teacher and was scolded by his mother.’

26. nakrian thùuk, khruu tii lé? dù?
   student affected teacher hit and scold
   ‘The student was hit and was scolded by the teacher.’
In (25), the verbal dependent khruu tii is coordinated with mēe dùʔ. The sentence (26) illustrated that khruu tii coordinates with dùʔ whose Patient subject is coreferential with khruu. The structure looks like the following:

The structure shows that the subjects of the coordinated verbs tii and dùʔ are the same. khruu is the subject of both tii and dùʔ, they represent two constituents.

The conclusion is that thuuk, in a passive-like construction is considered an intransitive verb having a subject Patient case and is followed by a verbal dependent sister.

There is a limitation on the types of verbal complement sisters that can occur following thuuk,
 That is, thuuk (like chúai ‘help’) cannot take a finite complement introduced by the complementizer wāa or thīi, ‘that’ as its dependent sister (Savetamalya, 1987, p. 22), e.g.,

27. *khâu chúai wāa nákrian khâʔyâñ
   he help that student diligent

28. *bāan thūk, wāa khon ruūu
   house affected that people demolish
   [-trns] [+P]

29. *khâu chúai thīi, nákrian sōp dáai
   he help that student take exam get

30. *khâu thūk, thīi, chān faŋ
   he affected that I listen
   [-trns] [+P]

\(^3\) thīi is considered to be a complementizer noun, obligatorily followed by a verbal complement (Savetamalya, 1989, p. 25).
It is not necessary that the verbal complement of *thùuk*, always be finite, it can be non-finite. Consider the following sentences:

31. wua thùuk, lāi  
    cow affected chase  
    ‘Cows are chased.’

The structure of this sentence would look like the following:

![Diagram](image)

There are two missing arguments in the non-finite complement clause. One of the missing arguments is an Agent. The Agent can be a zero anaphor, in which the performer of the action may be interpreted as anybody, depending on the context. A pronoun can also occur in the same position as the zero anaphor. Thus, the following sentence is grammatical

32. wua thùuk, khāu lāi  
    |PAT | | -trns | |AGT | | +trns |  
    | +actr | | ![+PAT]| | ![+actr]|  
    cow affected he chase
    ‘The cow was chased by him.’

The other missing argument is a Patient. It is reinterpreted as wua by the General Thuuk Control Rule.

When *lāi* in sentence (31) behaves as an independent verbal clause it can occur alone, as in (33):

33. khāu lāi pai lēeū  
    he chase go already
    ‘He already chased (something) away.’

This is the same as the verbal clause *khruu tii* in the sentence *dèk thùuk, khruu tii*  
‘The student was hit by a teacher,’ in which *khruu tii* can occur as an independent
clause. Thus the sentence *wua thùuk, lâi* ‘Cows are chased’ is treated in the same way as the sentence *dèk thùuk, khruu tii*.

The construction of *thùuk*, with its non-finite complement seems to match with another kind of verbal construction in Thai, which has a sentential complement as its sister (Wilawan, 1990), e.g.,

34. nákrian | jüuun | kin | kháñnöm
   student | stand | eat | dessert
   l|Index | l2ndex | l3ndex | l4ndex | l
   l|PAT | l-trns | l+trns | l+PAT | l
   l+actr | l|fint | l-fint | l-actr | l
   l[|+PAT] | l|4|-Nom | l
   l|4|+PAT | l

‘The student stood while having some dessert.’

*kin kháñnöm* is a non-finite complement of a matrix verb *jüuun*, in the same way as *lâi* is a non-finite complement of *thùuk*.

In summary, the *thùuk*, construction allows both finite and non-finite complements as its dependent sister. To fully account for these two types of complements, the General *thùuk* Control Rule needs to be modified as follows:

4. General *thùuk* Control Rule (Revised):
   l|+V | --> [m[+PAT] | \ | thùuk | l
   l|+trns | l-trns | l
   l[|+PAT] | l m[+PAT] | l
   l|ndex | l

This rule states that the implied Patient of a verbal complement (either finite or non-finite) is chained with the Patient of *thùuk*.


2.4. *thùuk* as an Impersonal Verb

The impersonal verb *thùuk*, has the meaning of ‘be right’ or ‘be correct.’ The class of impersonal verbs [+V, +mprs] is syntactically different from personal verbs [+V, -mprs] in that impersonal verbs do not allow an overt referential grammatical subject, rather they cooccur with phrasal constituents in preverbal position.

Such preverbal phrases are referred to as subject surrogates (Pagotto, 1986, p. 3). In English, a subject surrogate consists of a complementizer preposition followed by a verbal clause, e.g.,

35. [To jog under the hot sun] is not healthy.
36. [That Mary got promoted] amazed me.

The subject surrogate in (35) includes the complementizer preposition to and the infinitival verb jog. In (36), the surrogate is introduced by the complementizer preposition that and contains a finite clause.

Unlike real subjects, subject surrogates cannot be marked [+Nom] 'Nominative,' since their lexical heads are not nouns but complementizer prepositions. They are substitutes for nouns. In Thai, the subject surrogates are headed by verbs, and they cooccur with the impersonal thùuk₈. The characteristics of the impersonal verb thùuk₈ can be formulated by the following rule:

\[ \vdash +V \quad \vdash -frn \]
\[ \vdash +mprs \quad \vdash +Nom \]

Examples of thùuk₈ occurring with subject surrogates in preverbal position are:

37. nákrian tham kaanbáan thùuk₈
   | +V   |
   | +mprs |
   student do homework right
   'The student did the homework right.'

38. dèk yín pupakan thùuk
   | +V   |
   | +mprs |
   child fire gun be correct
   'The child fired the gun (and hit it right).'

The syntactic evidence to support the claim that thùuk₈ is an impersonal verb and is the highest verb in the clause is that thùuk₈ can be negated (37a-38a), but not the other verbs, e.g., tham and yín in (37b-38b).

37a. nákrian tham kaanbáan mái thùuk₈
    student do homework not right
    'The student did not make the homework right' (or, 'made it wrong. ')

38a. dèk yín pupakan mái thùuk₈
    child fire gun not be correct
    'The child fired the gun (and did not hit it right).'

37b. *nákrian mái tham kaanbáan thùuk₈
    student not do homework be correct

38b. *dèk mái yín pupakan thùuk₈
    child not fire gun be right

Additional supporting evidence is that the answer for a yes–no question with impersonal thùuk₈ always consists of either a positive thùuk₈ (40) or a negative mái
thùuk₈ (41), rather than the verbs (42). This further confirms that thùuk₈ is the highest verb in the clause.

39. nákriam tham kaanbāan thùuk₈ ruūt u māi thùuk₈
student do homework be right or not be right
‘Did the student do the homework right?’
Or, ‘The student did the homework right or wrong?’

40. thùuk₈
be correct
‘Yes, he did.’

41. māi thùuk₈
not be correct
‘No, he did not.’

42. *māi tham
not do

The internal structure of sentence (37) in which thùuk₈ is treated as an impersonal verb is illustrated below:

```
   thùuk₈
   +index
   -trns
   +fint
   +mprs
   [ +Nom ]
   [ +AGT ]
   [ -Nom ]
   [ -actr ]
   [ -PAT ]
```

thùuk₈, as an impersonal intransitive verb, has a verbal complement nákriam tham kaanbāan as its surrogate dependent sister. According to the Patient Centrality Hypothesis, every verb requires a Patient (Starosta & Nomura, 1984, p. 10) and the Patient can only be marked on a lexical NP head. As a subject surrogate, it has no overt NP. However, the subject feature of an impersonal verb can have a zero index (0), which means that there is no overt coreferential element for the nominative Patient.

Besides taking a finite clause complement in initial position, the impersonal intransitive verb thùuk₈ also allows an immediate following noun as its dependent sister, e.g.,
43. puun yin thuk_pau
   gun shoot hit target
   ‘The gun shot, hitting the target.’
44. rot teh thuk_tonmai
   car smash hit tree
   ‘The car smashed into the tree.’

The thuk verbs in these sentences are impersonal because thuk occurs as the highest verb and can be negated as in (43b) and (44b) below.

43b. puun yin mai thuk_pau
   gun shoot not hit target
   ‘The gun did not hit the target.’
44b. rot teh mai thuk_tonmai
   car smash not hit tree
   ‘The car wasn’t able to hit the tree.’

The dependent noun following thuk is assigned a Correspondent case, rather than a Patient. According to the word-order typology of an accusative language like Thai, the Patient always occurs following a verb if and only if the verb is transitive. Since the finite complement or the subject surrogate of thuk is marked with an implied zero Patient, it means that the Patient occurs preceding thuk, and the verb is intransitive. Since the verb is intransitive, there can only be one Patient per sentence. As a consequence, the noun following thuk cannot be marked as a Patient, but rather as a Correspondent.

The structure of a sentence having thuk as a transitive impersonal verb looks like the following:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thuk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ndex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- trns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 - trns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2   +mprs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3    index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Nom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0   [+Nom]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10   [+PAT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10   +actr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0   +rfrn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

The impersonal verb thuk has two dependent sisters. One is the subject surrogate puun yin, the other is the Correspondent noun pau.

The following dependent noun is not considered to be incorporated with thuk, as in the case of thuk, since the noun can be modified by a determiner (45), or a classifier (46), or a stative modifier (47):
45. puuun yin thùuk₈ pâu ní
    gun shoot hit target this
    ‘The gun shot hitting this target.’
46. puuun yin thùuk₈ pâu sāam pâu
    gun shoot hit target three target
    ‘The gun shot hitting three targets.’
47. puuun yin thùuk₈ pâu yài
    gun shoot hit target big
    ‘The gun shot hitting the big target.’

2.5. Particle Adverb thùuk₉

A particle adverb is an adverb that cooccurs with a particle verb. A particle verb, unlike other verbs, impose strong selectional restrictions on a cooccurring adverb, such as English look (up), bring (in), put (up) (with), etc. The verbs look, bring, and put impose selectional restrictions on following adverbs, up, in, and up with.

A particle adverb appears as a sister of the verb in order to satisfy the contextual feature imposed by the verb. Its function is to give additional meaning to, and to mark distinct homophonous lexical entries (which may be derived) for a verb (Starosta, 1988, p. 245). For example, the particle adverb up give an additional meaning to the verb look, and distinguishes the single verb look from the particle verb look up.

thùuk₉ is treated as a particle adverb because it gives an additional meaning to the particle verb with which it combines, and also distinguishes the derived particle verb from the underived verb. Examples of a particle adverb thùuk₉ are duu thùuk₉ ‘insult’ and khit thùuk₉ ‘make a right decision.’

Unlike impersonal thùuk₉ in (50), the particle adverb thùuk₉ cannot be negated by the negative verb mái (48–49):

48. *nuan tehɔp duu mái thùuk₉ khon
    Nuan like look not right people

49. *nít khít mái thùuk₉ thií pai nɔok
    Nít think not right that go abroad

50. nít phûut mái thùuk₉
    Nít speak not be correct
    ‘Nít did not speak right.’

A particle adverb thùuk₉ cannot be preposed outside the domain of its commanding verb, e.g.,

51. *thùuk₉ khon nuan tehɔp duu
    right people Nuan like look
52. *thùukₙ, thìi pai nŏk nít khít
     right that go abroad Nit think

3. CONCLUSION

According to the lexicase analysis, there are nine homophonous entries for thùuk. Each homophonous form has its own syntactic and semantic distribution. The major syntactic category of thùuk can be either a verb or a ‘particle’ adverb. There are four transitive thùuk. The first one, thùukᵢ ‘hit,’ does not allow any dependent sister, other than Agent and Patient. The second one, thùukₑ ‘hit,’ allows a Locus complement as another dependent sister. The third one, thùukᵸ ‘hit,’ allows a non-finite verbal complement as another dependent sister. And the last one, thùukᵹ ‘touch,’ allows both an Agent and a Patient as its dependent sisters.

There are three intransitive homophonous entries for thùuk. thùukᵣ means ‘be cheap.’ thùukᵢ, means ‘be correct,’ and thùukₑ is an extension intransitive verb meaning ‘be affected by,’ which can be followed by either a finite or a non-finite verbal complement. There is one impersonal intransitive thùukᵹ ‘be right.’ The last one, thùukᵩ, is treated as a ‘particle’ adverb.

There is also an incorporated thùuk construction: the thùuk+noun construction. thùuk occurring in these constructions will not be treated as a separate lexical entry since the meaning of this construction is composite and cannot be defined by the verb thùuk alone. The whole construction behaves as one single unit, thus thùuk cannot be treated separately, but is incorporated.

REFERENCES


