

The Predicative-Adjective Construction in Thai

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1. Introduction

One of the syntactic categories in Thai which are rather problematic for grammarians and linguists is adjective. To my knowledge, adjectives in Thai have not yet been thoroughly analyzed despite the fact that they are always mentioned about when morphological and syntactic analyses are made. Many traditional grammarians and linguists in Thai view what are called adjectives in different ways. Thonglao (1966) does not have the term "adjective" in his grammar, but he includes adjective elements in a category "wiseet" or modifiers. There are various kinds of modifiers in this category. Suree Pancharoen (1966) attempts to distinguish adjectives from intransitive and transitive verbs by using the test frames as proposed by Vichintana (1964). However, her analysis is based on the syntactic positions only; this is why her work is not well-justified. Songwiththaya & Songwiththaya (1976) do not mention about the term "adjective" in their grammar book. Instead, they treat as minor intransitive verbs what have been analyzed as adjectives. Wongsiri (1982) proposes six types of intransitive verbs based on Fillmore's (1970) Case Grammar. She treats adjectives like *suay* 'pretty' and *ruay* 'rich' as intransitive verbs with Objective Case.

This study presents a linguistic analysis of the syntactic category "adjective" in Thai. We will first explore the morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of what are called or should be called adjectives as well as their distribution. Based on this analysis, we will classify adjectives into subtypes. Next we will examine the syntactic and semantic properties of each subtype of this syntactic category. The investigation will finally indicate the constructions in which each type of adjectives occur. The study focusses on constructions of predicative adjectives in Thai.

I divide the study into three main sections: 1. Introduction, 2. The Analysis, and 3. Conclusion. The Analysis section is divided into 2.1. The Definition; 2.2. The Characteristics of Adjectives in Thai; 2.3. Attributive Adjectives; and 2.4. Predicative Adjectives.

For convenience, I use the symbol I for the short central high vowel, II the long central high, E the short central mid, EE the long central mid, O the short back low, OO the long back low, x the short front low and xx the long front low, respectively.

2. The Analysis

This section presents an analysis of adjectives in Thai. The focus is on adjectives which function like verbs. Using a definition of "adjective" by Crystal (1985:7-8), I analyze its types, the semantic and

syntactic characteristics of each type as well as syntactic elements required to occur with them. Then I argue for the sentencehood of the predicative-adjective construction, and finally the subjecthood of an element which occurs in this construction.

2.1. *The Definition of "Adjective"*

I follow Crystal (1985:7-8) in defining the term "adjective":

"Adjective is a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to the main set of items which specify the attributes of Nouns. From a formal point of view, four criteria are generally invoked to define the class in English: they can occur within the noun phrase, i.e. they function in the 'attributive' position, e.g. the big man; they can occur in a post-verbal or 'predicative' position, e.g. the man is big; he called it stupid; they can be premodified by an intensifier, such as very, e.g. the very big man; and they can be used in a comparative and superlative form, either by inflection (e.g. big, bigger, biggest) or periphrastically (e.g. interesting, more interesting, most interesting.) However, not all adjectives satisfy all these criteria, and the sub-classification of adjectives has proved quite complex. Both narrow and broad applications of the term 'adjective' will be found in grammars. In its broadest sense it could include everything between the determiner and the noun, in such a phrase as the vicar's fine old English garden chair; but many linguists prefer to restrict it to the items which satisfy most or all of the above criteria (to include only fine and old, in this example), the other items being called 'adjective-like', or 'adjectivals'. Adjectives may also be the heads of phrases ('adjective phrases', such as 'that's very important') and an adjectival function is sometimes recognised for certain types of clause (e.g. he's the man I saw)."

2.2. *The Characteristics of Adjectives in Thai*

My analysis of adjectives in Thai is based on the narrower definition of "adjective" by Crystal above as well as the morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics of what are called "adjectives", all of which are presented and discussed in the following subsections.

2.2.1. Forms and Meanings of Adjectives

Adjective is a syntactic category the members of which describe permanent states of or tell something about their subjects. They describe persons, things, situations, etc. They say what persons or things are like or seem like. They give information about their subjects. The information includes quality, color, shape, size, age, temperature, distance, time and origin. Illustrated in (1) are some examples of adjectives in Thai.

- (1) Quality: dii 'good', yxx 'not good, terrible',
 suay 'pretty', naarak 'lovely, nice',
 khxx 'hard', OOn 'soft, weak', etc.
- Color: (sii)dxn 'red', (sii)khiaw 'green',
 (sii)dam 'black', (sii)muang 'purple',
 (sii)khaaw 'white', etc.
- Shape: klom 'round', siliam 'square, rectangle',
 saamlam 'rectangle', etc.
- Size: lek 'small, little', yay 'big, large',
 yaaw 'long', san 'short', etc.
- Age: kxx 'old', OOn 'young', num 'young (for
 male), saaw 'young (for female), etc.
- Temperature: roOn 'hot', naaw 'cold', yen 'cool',
 ?un 'warm', etc.
- Distance: klay 'far', klây 'near'
- Time: chaw 'morning', saay 'late in the morning',
 thian 'noon', baay 'afternoon',
 yen 'evening', dïk 'late at night',
 ?a?diit 'past', patcu?ban 'present', ?a?naakhot
 'future', etc.
- Origin: ciin 'chinese', thai 'Thai',
 farang 'western', khxxk 'Indian', etc.

The adjectives shown above occur within the scope of the noun phrase. They function as modifiers or adjuncts of head nouns they modify. Their use and occurrence is optional. They are thus called attributive adjectives (AA) by function.

Most of the attributive adjectives shown above can also function as predicates. That is, they occur in sentences and function like intransitive verbs. They describe permanent states of or tell something about their subjects in sentences. They fill the predication part of sentences. In this manner their use is obligatory. By function, they are thus called predicative adjectives (PA). Adjectives of this type occur outside the scope of the noun phrase.

Let us now consider some examples of both attributive and predicative adjectives in various syntactic constructions. (2a) shows the attributive adjective **suay** 'pretty' within the scope of a noun phrase. Here **suay** modifies the noun **dek** 'child'.

- (2)a. [_{NP} dèk [_{AA} suây] khon níl]
 child pretty n.classifier this
 "This pretty child"

(2b) shows the adjective *suây*, which has the same form and meaning as *suay* in (2a). Here *suay* does not modify the noun *dèk* because it is not located within the scope of a noun phrase. Instead, the adjective *suay* functions as a predicate, describing the permanent state of an NP subject of the sentence. I thus analyze *suây* in the sentence (2b) as a predicative adjective.

- (2)b. [[_{NP} dèk khon níl] [_{PA} suây]]
 child n.cl this pretty
 "This child is pretty"

From the evidence above, adjectives can be divided into two types: attributive adjectives (AA) and predicative adjectives (PA). Both types are similar in form and meaning. They differ in syntactic position and function in constructions in which they occur.

In this analysis, predicative adjectives can occur in the position of attributive adjectives, but the reverse is not always true for attributive adjectives. There are a few attributive adjectives which can not function as predicate adjectives; these include adjectives indicating time, as shown in (1) and those indicating sequence such as *kOOn* 'former', *lăŋ* 'latter', *rxxk* 'first', *sutthāay* 'last, final'. These AAs occur with noun classifiers only, as illustrated in (2c). *khon* is a noun classifier and *kOOn* 'former' the attributive adjective.

- (2)c. [_{NP} hūānāa khon [_{AA} kOOn] (khon) nān]
 boss n.cl former n.cl that
 "That former boss"

AA *kOOn* cannot occur as PA in the predicate scope (PRED), as shown in (2d).

- (2)d. */?? [_S [_{NP} hūānāa khon nān] [_{PRED} khon [_{PA} kOOn]]]
 boss n.cl that n.cl former
 "That boss is the former one"
 * [_S [_{NP} hūānāa khon nān] [_{PRED} hūānāa khon [_{PA} kOOn]]]
 boss n.cl that boss n.cl former
 "That boss is the former one"
 * [_S [_{NP} hūānāa khon nān] [_{PA} kOOn]]
 boss n.cl that former
 "That boss is the former one"

To make the sentences in (2d) grammatical, the copula *pen* 'be' is required in the predicate, as shown in (2e).

- (2)e. [_S[_{NP} hũnã khon nán] [_{PRD} pen (hũnã) khon kŏŋn]]
 boss n.cl that be boss n.cl former
 "That boss is the former one"

2.2.2. Morphological Characteristics of Adjectives

This section presents three morphological characteristics of adjectives in Thai which can be observed from such linguistic processes as adjectivization of verbs, nominalization of adjectives and adverbialization of adjectives.

2.2.2.1. Adjectivization of Verbs

Besides the regular forms as mentioned in the previous section, attributive and predicative adjectives can be formed from verbs through adjectivization. In this linguistic process, such verbs are conjoined with the adjective morphemes *nãa*, *khĩ* or *chãaŋ*, as shown in (3).

- (3) Verb ==> adj[{*nãa*, *khĩ*, *chãaŋ*} Verb]

From the rule in (3), we have as a result adjectives in the forms [*nãa*-verb], [*khĩ*-verb], and [*chãaŋ*-verb], respectively. Adjectives with the morpheme *nãa* yield a neutral or positive meaning; those with the morpheme *khĩ* yield a neutral meaning, those with the morpheme *chãaŋ* a neutral and positive meaning. Even though adjectivization is morphemically productive, not all verbs undergo the process due to semantic constraints and restrictions imposed by speaking and writing styles.

The morpheme *nãa* is used to express the meaning 'pleasant/ nice to Verb' or 'should be Verb-ed'. The morpheme *khĩ* expresses the meaning 'to have a habit of doing something' or 'easy to do something'. The morpheme *chãaŋ* expresses the meaning 'good at doing something, know how to do something'. Some examples are given in (4).

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|--------------------------|
| (4) <i>nãa</i> + <i>sŏncay</i> | ==> | <i>nãa-sŏncay</i> |
| interest | | interesting |
| <i>nãa</i> + ? <i>aan</i> | ==> | <i>nãa-?aan</i> |
| read | | nice to be read |
| <i>nãa</i> + <i>yũu</i> | ==> | <i>nãa-yũu</i> |
| live (in) | | pleasant to live (in) |
| <i>nãa</i> + <i>phĩ?caará?naa</i> | ==> | <i>nãa-phĩ?caará?naa</i> |
| consider | | should be considered |
| <i>khĩ</i> + <i>klua</i> | ==> | <i>khĩ-klua</i> |
| afraid | | easy to be frightened |
| <i>khĩ</i> + <i>rŏŋhãay</i> | ==> | <i>khĩ-rŏŋhãay</i> |
| cry | | easy to cry |

khîi + chuâylǎa help	==>	khîi-chuâylǎa have a habit of helping people, like to help people
cháa] + cera?caa negotiate	==>	cháa]-cera?caa know how to negotiate, be good at negotiating
cháa] + khít think	==>	cháa]-khít know how to think, be good at thinking, be thoughtful

2.2.2.2. Nominalization of Adjectives

Attributive and predicative adjectives in Thai can both undergo nominalization. That is, they can simply combine with the nominalizing morpheme **khwaam** to become nouns. This morpheme distinguishes adjectives from intransitive and non-psychological transitive verbs. The nominalizing morpheme for verbs is **kaan**, not **khwaam**. (5) shows the nominalization structure of adjectives with examples.

- (5) The nominalization structure
khwaam + adjective ==> noun

Examples:

khwaam + dii good	==>	khwaam-dii goodness
khwaam + nǎa-bǎa boring	==>	khwaam-nǎa-bǎa boringness
khwaam + bǎa bored	==>	khwaam-bǎa boredom
khwaam + khǐl-bǎa be easy to be bored	==>	khwaam-khǐl-bǎa being easy to be bored
khwaam + cháa]-khít thoughtful	==>	khwaam-cháa]-khít thoughtfulness

2.2.2.3. Adverbialization of Adjectives

One characteristic of adjectives is that they can undergo a linguistic process called adverbialization. In this process, adjectives combine with the adverbializing morpheme **yaa]**, yielding adverbs of manner. However there are semantic constraints in this process. Because the resulting adverbs are those of manner, not all adjectives can undergo this process. The adverbialization structure and some examples are shown in (6).

- (6) The adverbialization structure:
yaa] + adjective ==> adverb of manner

Examples:

yaan̄ + dii	==>	yaan̄-dii
good		well
yaan̄ + nãa-bĩã	==>	yaan̄-nãa-bĩã
boring		boringly
yaan̄ + khĩl-koon̄	==>	yaan̄-khĩl-koon̄
cheating		cheatingly

2.2.3. Syntactic Characteristics of Adjectives

We have seen from the previous sections that adjectives occur in two syntactic positions. Attributive adjectives follow head nouns that they modify within the scope of noun phrases, while predicative adjectives occur outside the scope of noun phrases. In addition, PAs function as predicates of constructions in which they occur.

To consider other syntactic characteristics of adjectives, we should investigate the comparison of adjectives and their modifiers. Both are presented in the following subsections.

2.2.3.1. Comparison of Adjectives

Both attributive and predicative adjectives can occur with the comparative morpheme **kwaa** and the superlative morpheme **thĩsũt**. In this analysis, I describe the two morphemes as degree words. (7a) shows the structure of comparative adjectives with examples.

- (7)a. The comparative structure
adjective + **kwaa**

Examples:

sũay + kwaa	==>	sũay kwaa
pretty than		prettier than
rũOn + kwaa	==>	rũOn kwaa
hot than		hotter than
nãa-tĩIntên + kwaa	==>	nãa-tĩIntên kwaa
exciting than		more exciting than
khĩl-bõn + kwaa	==>	khĩl-bõn kwaa
have a habit of than		more complaining than
complaining		
chãan̄-khĩt + kwaa	==>	chãan̄-khĩt kwaa
thoughtful than		more thoughtful than

(7b) shows examples of the comparative form of an adjective functioning as an AA and PA. In (7b) **chãan̄-khĩt khwaa raw** 'more thoughtful than us' is an AA phrase (AAP).

- (7)b. [_{NP} dèk [_{AAp} cháaŋ-khít kwaà raw] khon nĩ]
 child thoughtful than we n.cl this
 "This more thoughtful than us child"

The phrase **cháaŋ-khít kwaà raw** 'more thoughtful than us' in (7c) functions as a predicative adjective phrase (PAP). It is located outside the noun phrase **dèk khon nĩ** 'this child'.

- (7)c. [_S dèk khon nĩ [_{PAP} cháaŋ-khít kwaà raw]]
 child n.cl this thoughtful than we
 "This child is more thoughtful than us"

Illustrated next is the occurrence of adjectives with the superlative morpheme **thĩsùt**, as shown in (8a).

- (8)a. The superlative structure
 adjective + **thĩsùt**

Examples:

khêmquát + thĩsùt	=>	khêmquát thĩsùt
strict most		the most strict
náa-sóncaŋ + thĩsùt	=>	náa-sóncaŋ thĩsùt
interesting most		the most interesting
khĩ-kooŋ + thĩsùt	=>	khĩ-kooŋ thĩsùt
cheating most		the most cheating
cháaŋ-sǎŋkeèt + thĩsùt	=>	cháaŋ-sǎŋkeèt thĩsùt
good at observing most		the best at observing

Examples in (8b) and (8c) show the superlative form of adjectives functioning as AA and PA, respectively.

- (8)b. **khĩ-kooŋ thĩsùt** as an AA phrase

[_{NP} dèk [_{AAp} khĩ-kooŋ thĩsùt] khon nĩ]
 child cheating most n.cl this
 "This most cheating child"

- (8)c. **khĩ-kooŋ thĩsùt** as a PA phrase

[_{NP} dèk khon nĩ [_{PAP} khĩ-kooŋ thĩsùt]]
 child n.cl this cheating most
 "This child is the most cheating"

2.2.3.2. Modifiers of Adjectives

Attributive and predicative adjectives can both be modified by intensifiers such as quantifiers and degree words. Some instances of

these elements are **mâak** 'very', **nítñóoy** 'a little', **thiidiaw** 'quite', **ciŋciŋ** 'really', etc. The degree words include the comparative morpheme **kwaa** and the superlative morpheme **thísùt**, which have been illustrated with discussion in the previous section.

Shown in (9a) is an instance of the attributive adjective **nâarâk** 'lovely, nice', modified by the intensifier **mâak**.

- (9)a. [_{NP} dèk [_{AP} nâarâk mâak] khon níi]
 child lovely very n.cl this
 "This very lovely child"

(9b) shows the intensifier **mâak** modifying the predicative adjective **nâarâk** 'lovely'.

- (9)b. [_S dèk khon níi [_{AP} nâarâk mâak]]
 child n.cl this lovely very
 "This child is very lovely"

2.3. Attributive Adjectives

Attributive adjectives occur within the scope of the NP and after linking verbs. Their function is to modify head nouns in noun phrases and subjects of sentences.

Within a noun phrase, an attributive adjective co-occurs with a noun it modifies, a number, a noun classifier and a demonstrative. (10) shows the distribution of attributive adjectives in the scope of noun phrases. As attributive adjectives, they cannot follow a sequence of [number + noun classifier], [noun classifier + demonstrative], [number + noun classifier + demonstrative] or [noun classifier + demonstrative]. The misplacement of attributive adjectives does not yield the meaning as required.

- (10)a. Noun + Attributive Adjective + Number + Noun
 Classifier

[_{NP} dèk nâarâk saãm khon]
 child lovely three n.cl
 "Three lovely children"
 * [_{NP} dèk saãm khon nâarâk]

- (10)b. Noun + Attributive Adjective + Noun Classifier +
 Demonstrative

[_{NP} dèk nâarâk khon níi]
 child lovely n.cl this
 "This lovely child"
 * [_{NP} dèk khon níi nâarâk]

- (10)c. Noun + Attributive Adjective + Number + Noun
Classifier + Demonstrative

[_{NP} dèk nâarâk saâm khon nîi]
child lovely three n.cl this
"These three lovely children"
*[_{NP} dèk saâm khon nîi nâarâk]

- (10)d. Noun + Noun Classifier + Attributive Adjective +
Noun Classifier + Demonstrative

[_{NP} sâ tua too tua nîi]
shirt n.cl big n.cl this
"This big shirt"
*[_{NP} sâ tua nîi tua too]

- (10)e. Noun + (Noun Classifier) + Attributive Adjective
+ Possessive marker + Possessor

[_{NP} dèk (khon) nâarâk khOŋ chán]
child n.cl lovely of I
"My lovely child"
*[_{NP} dèk khOŋ chán (khon) nâarâk]

- (10)f. Common Noun + Attributive Adjective + Comparative
Marker + Pronoun/ Definite Noun + Noun Classifier
+ Demonstrative

[_{NP} khon caydii kwaa raw khon nîi]
person kind than we n.cl this
"This person who is kinder than us"
*[_{NP} khon khon nîi caydii kwaa raw]

- (10)g. Noun + Attributive Adjective + Superlative Marker
+ Noun Classifier + Demonstrative

[_{NP} sâ suây thîsùt tua nîi]
shirt beautiful most n.cl this
"This most beautiful shirt"
*[_{NP} sâ tua nîi suây thîsùt]

One interesting characteristics of attributive adjectives is that they do not modify a proper name and a pronoun which precede them, as shown in (11a) and (11b), respectively.

- (11)a. *[_{NP} sudaa [_{AA} nâarâk]]
Thai name lovely
"Lovely Suda"

- (11)b. * [_{NP} kháw [_{AA} náárák]
 he/she/they lovely
 "Lovely him/ lovely her/ lovely them"

(11a) and (11b) are grammatical if náárák is allowed to function as a predicative adjective, as illustrated in (11c) and (11d), respectively. Notice the meaning of the two items.

- (11)c. [[_{NP} sūdaa] [_{PA} náárák]]
 Suda lovely
 "Suda is lovely"
- (11)d. [[_{NP} kháw] [_{PA} náárák]]
 he/she/they lovely
 "He/She is lovely"
 "They are lovely"

2.4. *Predicative Adjectives*

In this study, I propose that there are two types of predicative adjectives in Thai: Predicative Adjective 1 (PA 1) which only allows a noun phrase to precede it; and Predicative Adjective 2 (PA 2) which requires a complementized sentence or S' to follow it. My analysis is based on the structure of grammatical units which occur in the PA construction as well as their syntactic behavior. Presented in this section are characteristics of PAs of both types.

2.4.1. *Complements of Predicative Adjectives*

Predicative adjectives describe permanent states of or tell something about their subjects. That is, they describe persons, things, situations, etc. They say what persons or things are like or seem like. They give information about their subjects. The information includes *quality, color, shape, size, age, temperature, distance, time and origin*.

Syntactically, predicative adjectives require complements the type of which I will argue to be subjects of the constructions in which they occur. Grammatical elements which occur with these verb-like adjectives appear in the form of NP, S and S'. Most predicative adjectives allow these three to occur in the position preceding them. NP is the regular form. The S and S' forms are allowed to occur in this position only when they are focussed or emphasized.

(12a-b) show some examples of predicative adjectives which require noun phrases in the subject position immediately preceding them. Notice the meanings of the two constructions.

- (12)a. [[_{NP} dèk khon nán] [_{PA} náárák]
 child n.cl that lovely
 "That child is lovely"

- (12)b. [[_{sp} sǎ̌ tua nǎn] [_{pa} too]
 shirt n.cl that big
 "That shirt is big"

(12c) shows that S is not allowed to precede a predicative adjective. The construction does not convey the meaning as stated because dii 'good' requires a NP as its subject.

- (12)c. *[[_s khǎw chuây khon con] [_{pa} dii]
 he help person poor good
 "That he helps poor people is good"

Construction (12c) will make sense only if dii 'good' functions as an adverb, meaning 'well'. Very often, adjectives and adverbs in Thai share the same form. We need to examine whether the word modifies a verb, thus functioning as an adverb, or whether it functions as a predicative adjective, similar to a verb. Thus construction (12c) will be grammatical, as shown in (12d), when dii functions as an adverb modifying the VP chuây khon con 'help poor people'. This adverb appears in two forms: simply dii (with yaan omitted as understood) or yaan-dii, with yaan as a morpheme marking adverb of manner. In this case dii and yaan-dii share the same meaning 'well'. It is thus obvious that (12d) is a sentence.

- (12)d. [_s khǎw chuây khon con (yaan-) dii]
 he help person poor adv: well
 "He helps poor people well"

One way to maintain both the structure and the meaning of (12c) -- that is, to keep the word dii as a predicative adjective, not as an adverb of manner -- is to emphasize the S unit. (13) illustrates the emphatic pattern of the S form. The morpheme nǎ followed by a pause in this pattern serves to express emphasis. This morpheme can be omitted, but a pause will remain.

- (13) CLAUSE + (nǎ) + PAUSE + Predicative Adjective

Following the emphatic pattern in (13), we can rearrange construction (12c), as shown in (14). Here S stands for a clause.

- (14) [[_s khǎw chuây khon con] nǎ PAUSE [_{pa} dii]]
 he help person poor emp PAUSE good
 "That he helps poor people (emphasis) is good"

To have the unit S' in the position immediately preceding a predicative adjective causes the same problem as with the S form as illustrated above. (15a) shows that the resulting construction is not accepted if we allow S' to occur in the position preceding PA 2 dii

'good' to yield the meaning as stated.

- (15)a. *[[_S thîl khăw chuay khon con] [_{PA} diil]]
 that he help person poor good
 "That he helps poor people is good"

However, (15a) will turn to be fine if dii functions as an adverb of manner, meaning 'well' and modifying the VP *chûay khon con* 'help poor people'. In this way, dii must be part of S', not a predicative adjective. As adverbs of manner, dii and *yâaŋ-dii* are interchangeably used. This is shown in (15b).

- (15)b. [_S thîl khăw chuay khon con (yâaŋ-)dii]
 that he help person poor adv: well
 "That he helps poor people well"

Construction (15a) will be grammatical with dii functioning as a predicative adjective only if the S' unit is emphasized, as shown in (15c) below. Notice that *yâaŋ-dii* cannot be used as a predicative adjective here.

- (15)c. [[_S thîl khăw chûay khon con] nâ PAUSE [_{PA} diil]]
 that he help person poor emp PAUSE good
 "That he helps poor people (emphasis) is good"
 *"That he helps poor people well (emphasis)"
 *[[_S thîl khăw chûay khon con] nâ PAUSE yâaŋ -dii]

It can be observed that elements preceding predicative adjectives have a grammatical function like subjects because they are what predicates describe, tell about or talk about. Moreover, the combination of these elements and predicates yields complete meanings. In other words, the elements under investigation and predicates form constructions which are complete thoughts in themselves. Predicative adjectives take NP as a regular form in the position preceding them. The S and S' forms are accepted in this position only if they are emphasized. We will later demonstrate the sentencehood of these constructions, and, consequently, the subjecthood of elements both preceding and following predicative adjectives.

2.4.2. Co-occurrence of Predicative Adjectives with Temporal Verbs

Like regular verbs, some predicative adjectives allow some temporal verbs (Sookgasem 1990:64-103) to occur with them. The temporal verbs which can precede predicative adjectives are *câ?* 'future' *tôn* 'obligation', *khon(câ?)* or *?aâtca?* 'probability' and *kamlan* 'progressive'. The temporal verbs which can follow some predicative adjectives or predicative adjective phrases are *lxxw* 'perfect' and *dây* 'ability'. The limitation on such co-occurrence is due to the semantic property of the adjectives, particularly the evaluative and epistemic

adjectives. Shown in the following are some examples of PA 1 constructions with temporal verbs. In (16a) *dii* 'good' functions as a PA 1 (which allows the NP *khăw* 'he' to precede it) and *lxxw* 'perfect', a temporal verb.

- (16)a. [khăw [_{PA} dii lxxw]] [khun mây tŏŋ tlan khăw]
 he good perfect you not oblig warn he
 "He has been good. You don't have to warn him"

In construction (16b), *năa-blă* 'boring' is a PA 1 and *kamlă* 'progressive' a temporal verb. Both together form a predicative adjective phrase (PAP).

- (16)b. [rŭa] ní [_{PAP} kamlă năa-blă]
 matter this progressive boring
 "This matter is being boring"

Similarly in construction (16c), *chă?laät* 'wise' is a PA 1; *că?* 'future' and *dăay* 'ability' are temporal verbs.

- (16)c. [khăw [_{PAP} că? chă?laät dăay] thăa khăw mii
 he future wise ability if he have
 pră?sòpkaan]
 experience
 "He can be wise if he has experience"

Shown in (17a-b) are examples of PA 2 constructions. Here we have *S'* as a grammatical unit in the position following a PA 2. In construction (17a), *?aätcă?* 'probability' is a temporal verb and *penpaydăay* 'possible' a PA 2. Both form a PA phrase.

- (17)a. [_{PAP} kho] penpaydăay [_{S'} thŭi fŏn că? tŏk]
 probability possible that rain future fall
 "It is probable/ possible that it will rain" or
 "That it will rain is probable/ possible"

Construction (17b) has *thùk* 'right, correct' as a PA 2 and *lxxw* 'perfect' as a temporal verb. Both form a PA phrase *thùk lxxw*.

- (17)b. [[_{PAP} thùk lxxw] [_{S'} thŭi khun thantaam kŏt]]
 right perfect that you follow rule
 "It's been right that you follow the rule" or
 "That you follow the rule has been right"

2.4.3. Elements Following Predicative Adjectives

We have seen in the previous section that PAs permit a NP to occur preceding them in regular constructions. There are some predicative

adjectives which allow only S' to follow them. I call these adjectives 'PA 2'. This type of adjective includes epistemic adjectives and those which serve to express attitude or opinion. Following Givon (1984: 94-96), I call the latter type "evaluative adjectives". Shown below are some examples of adjectives in this group.

(18)a. **Evaluative Adjectives**

i. Regular adjectives

- dii 'good'
- mây dii 'not good'
- leew 'bad'
- mây leew 'not bad'
- thuuk 'right/ correct'
- phît 'wrong'
- ciŋ 'true'
- mây ciŋ 'not true'
- yxx 'terrible'
- yîam 'excellent' (slang)
- yôôt 'excellent' (slang)
- yôôtyîam 'excellent'

ii. Adjectivized elements (or verbs which undergo
adjectivization)

- nâa-tîlntên 'exciting'
- nâa-sôncay 'interesting'
- nâa-sôŋsâan 'pitiful'
- nâa-hěncay 'sympathetic'
- nâa-klua 'frightening'
- nâa-bîa 'boring'
- nâa-chîlŋchom 'admirable/ should be admired' etc.

(18)b. **Epistemic Adjectives**

- penpaydaây 'possible'
- penpaymâydaây 'impossible'

First let us investigate the distribution of Predicative Adjectives 2, which is our main concern. (19) shows a construction with the evaluative adjective dii 'good'. This adjective allows a NP to precede it.

- (19) $[[_{NP} \text{ rîaŋ} \text{ nîi}] \text{ } [_{PA} \text{ dii}]]$
 matter this good
 "This matter is good"

(20a-b) illustrate the constructions with the epistemic adjective penpaydaây 'possible' with a NP immediately preceding it. Note that kaan is a nominalizing morpheme. It always precedes a verb to form a noun.

- (21)f. *[[_s khun chuây khon con] [_{pa} dii]]
 you help person poor good
 "It is good that you help poor people"
 "That you help poor people is good"

However, the S and S' elements are allowed to precede PA 2 only if the whole construction is emphasized, as shown in the previous section. This fact is shown again in (22a-b). Notice the emphatic construction where the S and S' elements are followed by a sequence of the emphatic marker *nà*, a pause and the PA 2 dii 'good'. Here we see that the meanings of (22a) and (22b) are the same.

- (22)a. [[_s thîi khun chuây khon con] *nà* PAUSE [_{pa} dii]]
 that you help person 'poor emp PAUSE good
 "That you help poor people (emphasis) is good"
- (22)b. [[_s khun chuây khon con] *nà* PAUSE [_{pa} dii]]
 you help person poor emp PAUSE good
 "That you help poor people (emphasis) is good"

One interesting characteristics of Predicative Adjectives 2 which require S' to follow them is that they allow their modifiers or intensifiers to immediately follow them. In this manner, a construction appears with the word order as shown in (23).

- (23) Predicative Adjective 2 < Modifier/ Intensifier < S'

An example of this construction is illustrated in (24). Here the adverb of degree *thiidiaw* 'quite' cannot occur after the S' element. Nor can it (*thiidiaw*) occur as part of the S'; otherwise, the resulting output will be ungrammatical. *It makes no sense to have thiidiaw 'quite' modify the VP chuây khon con 'help poor people'.*

- (24) [[_{pa} dii thiidiaw] [_s thîi khun chuây khon con]]
 good quite that you help person poor
 "It is quite good that you help poor people"
 *[[_{pa} dii] [_s thîi khun chuây khon con] thiidiaw]]
 *[[_{pa} dii] [_s thîi khun chuây khon con thiidiaw]]

To sum up, the S' element follows either a PA 2 or a PA 2 phrase. After we have considered the characteristics of predicative adjectives, especially their syntactic behaviour and meanings, we will argue in the following section that the PA 2 constructions are sentences, not verb phrases.

2.4.4. Sentencehood of the Predicative-Adjectives 2 Constructions

Following the traditional grammarians who define the linguistic

term "sentence" as a grammatical construction which contains a subject plus predicate and expresses a complete thought, we will argue that a predicative-adjective construction in Thai is a sentence, not a predicate phrase.

Let us first consider sentence (25a) below. Here the PA 2 constituent *dii* combines with the S' element following it, yielding a grammatical construction with a complete thought or a complete meaning. This adjective requires an S' element, and nothing else, to be its complement. Neither the PA 2 *dii* alone nor the S' *thîi khun chûay khon* can alone yield a complete thought because it is not the largest possible syntactic construction nor the largest possible syntactic unit. However, the combination of the PA 2 *dii* and the S' element does yield a complete thought or meaning, which is characteristic of a sentence.

- (25)a. [[_{PA} *dii*] [_{S'} *thîi khun chûay khon con*]]
 good that you help person poor
 "It's good that you help poor people"

If the expletive *man* were used in (25a), it would be coreferential with the S' element, as illustrated in (25b). Also notice that (25a) and (25b) have the same meaning. This evidence shows that one characteristic of the expletive *man* in Thai is optionality.

- (25)b. [[_{NP} *man*]_i [_{PA} *dii*] [_{S'} *thîi khun chûay*
 expletive good that you help
 khon con]_i]
 person poor
 "It's good that you help poor people"

In (26a) we have a natural event in the S' element as the complement of the PA 2 *dii*.

- (26)a. [[_{PA} *dii*] [_{S'} *thîi fǒn tǒk*]]
 good that rain fall
 "It's good that the rain fell (= it rained)" or
 "That the rain fell (= it rained) was good"

(26a) is complete in meaning without any nominal in the position preceding the PA 2 *dii*. This construction is ill-formed if a nominal is inserted into this particular position. (26b) shows that the output is ill-formed when a NP is inserted before the PA 2 *dii*.

- (26)b. *[[_{NP} *fǒn*] [_{PA} *dii*] [_{S'} *thîi fǒn tǒk*]]
 rain good that rain fall
 *[[_{NP} *kaan-tǒk*] [_{PA} *dii*] [_{S'} *thîi fǒn tǒk*]]
 falling good that rain fall

(26c) is also incorrect when pronouns are inserted in the position

preceding the PA 2 *dii* 'good'.

- (26)c. *[[_{NP} khăw/chăn/khun] [_{PA} dii] [_S thîi fǒn tok]]
 he I you good that rain fall

The insertion of the NP ?*aakaat* 'weather' in the position preceding *dii* still results in an ill-formed sentence because this NP is not coreferential with the event expressed by the S' element. This is shown in (26d).

- (26)d. *[[_{NP} ?aakaat] [_{PA} dii] [_S thîi fǒn tǒk]]
 weather good that rain fall

However, the use of the expletive *man* 'it' in this position is possible and optional even though its use in this particular construction sounds somewhat awkward to some Thai native speakers, as shown in (26e). The preference of most Thai native speakers seems to be construction (26a) rather than (26e). This shows that not all constructions are equally acceptable with the expletive *man* although the use of this element is possible.

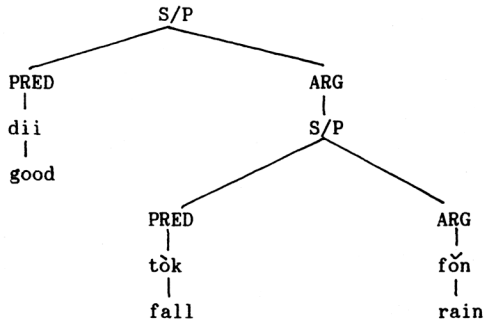
- (26e) ?[[_{NP} man]_i [_{PA} dii] [_S thîi fǒn tǒk]_i]]
 expletive good that rain fall

"It's good that the rain fell (= it rained)"

To argue for the sentencehood of the construction in (26a) [*dii thii fǒn tǒk*], we need to consider its semantic representation which reveals that the meaning of a sentence is decomposable into component propositions. A proposition consists of a predicate and its arguments. Both are semantic entities. According to Langacker (1972:95-96), predicates are typically manifested in surface structure by verbs or adjectives, while nominals normally manifest arguments. Here we have the adjective *dii* 'good' as a predicate and the nominal in the S' form *thîi fǒn tǒk* 'that the rain fell' as its argument. The function of this PA 2 is to evaluate its S' argument.

(27a) shows the propositional structure of the construction in (27a). Here the whole S' is the argument of the PA 2 *dii*. The S' argument itself is a proposition which consists of the predicate *tok* 'fall' and the argument *fǒn* 'rain'. Notice that the expletive *man* is not an argument of the predicate *dii* 'good'.

(27)a.

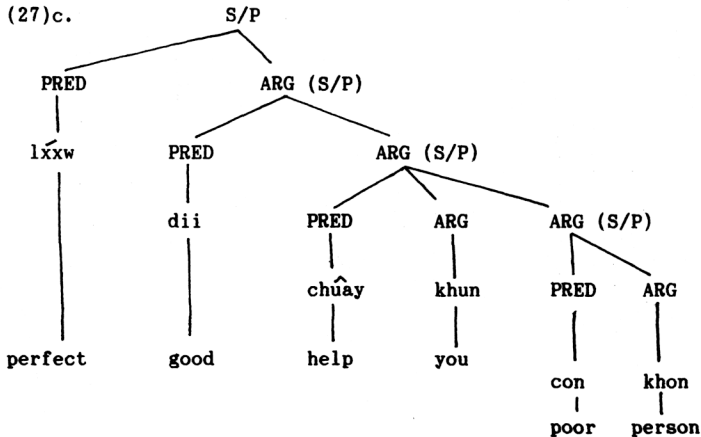


Next the construction in (27b) can be described by means of a propositional structure, as shown in (27c).

- (27)b. [[_{pp} man]_i [_{pa} dii lxxw] [_s thí khun chuây
 expletive good perfect that you help
 khon con]_i]
 person poor
 "It's been good that you helped poor people"

Notice that the expletive **man** does not exist as part of the propositional structure in (27c) because, as mentioned before, it is coreferential with the S' thí khun chuây khon con. Here the temporal verb lxxw has a wider scope than the PA 2 dii.

(27)c.



The propositional structures of the dii constructions as illustrated above strongly support the argument that this particular construction is, in fact, a sentence, not a predicate or an adjective phrase.

2.4.5. Subjecthood of Elements Following Predicative Adjectives

Having argued that a predicative adjective construction is a sentence, not a phrase, I will further argue that an element following a predicative adjective or a predicative adjective phrase is actually a subject, not an object or a modifier, of a sentence in which it occurs. The arguments are presented in the following subsections.

2.4.5.1. The Use of Question and Answer

One way to argue that an element after a predicative adjective 2 is the subject of a sentence is to ask a question with the question word ?ã?ray 'what'. Notice that this question word occurs in the position of a preverbal subject only. (28a) shows a dialogue in which A expresses his attitude toward B's coming to see him. B does not hear his words well, so she asks him (A) a question. In this situation, A expresses his attitude without emphasis. That is why the PA 2 dii 'good' precedes its S' complement. When B asks A, she uses the subject-predicative adjective pattern. The position of the question word ?ã?ray 'what' in the interrogative sentence shows that what A says as expressed in the S' form functions as a subject of the sentence. Finally, A answers. He repeats his assertion. Here we see that the S' form occurs in the emphatic pattern. That is, the S' subject precedes the PA 2 dii with the emphatic morpheme na and a pause located between the two units.

(28)a. A: [_S [_{PA} dii] [_{S'} thîî khun maa]]
 good that you come
 "It's good that you come"

B: [_S [_{PP} ?ã?ray] [_{PA} dii]]
 what good
 "What is good?"

A: [_S [_{S'} thîî khun maa] nà PAUSE [_{PA} dii]]
 that you come emp PAUSE good
 "That you come (emphasis) is good"

2.4.5.2. Advancement of Predicative Adjective 2 Phrases

One characteristic of a subject, according to Perlmutter and Postal (1974) as cited by Keenan (1972:319) is that a subject can be advanced. I will show in this section that a PA 2 or PA 2 phrases can also be advanced or topicalized.

To illustrate the advancement of a PA 2, I will first show the topicalization of a NP subject of a regular sentence. As we know, an element which is topicalized is emphasized or focussed. Notice the emphatic morpheme *nà* and the pause which follow it in the sentence structure. This is shown in (29a-c).

(29)a. No topicalization

[_S [_{NP} phu^hucàtkaan] [_{VP} tham^h]aan nàk]]
 manager work hard
 "The manager works hard"

(29)b. Topicalization

[_S [_{NP} phu^hucàtkaan] nà PAUSE [_{VP} tham^h]aan nàk]]
 manager emp PAUSE work hard
 "It is the manager who works hard"

Without the emphatic morpheme *nà* and a pause between the topicalized NP and a VP, the resulting sentence does not yield an emphatic meaning, as shown in (29c).

(29)c. [_S [_{NP} phu^hucàtkaan] [_{NP} tham^h]aan nàk]]
 manager work hard
 "The manager works hard"
 NOT "It is the manager who works hard"

(30a-b) shows topicalization of the PA 1 phrase *nâa-klua mâak* 'very frightening'. This requires that a NP subject precede it.

(30)a. No Topicalization

[_S [_{NP} phx^hndin wăy] [_{PA} nâa-klua mâak]]
 earthquake frightening much
 "The earthquake is very frightening"

(30)b. Topicalization

[_S [_{NP} phx^hndin wăy] nà PAUSE [_{PA} nâa-klua mâak]]
 earthquake emp PAUSE frightening much
 "It is the earthquake that is very frightening"

The meaning of (30b) will not hold if the emphatic morpheme *nà* and a pause after the NP *phx^hndin wăy* 'earthquake' do not occur. This is illustrated in (30c).

- (30)c. [_S [_{NP} phx̃ndin wǎy] [_{PA} nǎa-klua mǎak]]
 earthquake frightening very
 "The earthquake is very frightening"
 NOT "It is the earthquake that is very frightening"

Illustrated in (31a-c) is the advancement or topicalization of the S' element which follows a predicative adjective. Its syntactic behaviour is similar to that of the intransitive verb *tham* 'work' and the PA 2 *nǎa-klua* 'frightening', as shown above.

- (31)a. No topicalization

[_S [_{PA} penpaydaây] [_S thǐ fǒn cà' tòk]]
 possible that rain future fall
 "It is possible that it will rain"

(31b) is a result of topicalization of the S' *thǐ fǒn cà' tòk* 'that it will rain' in (31a).

- (31)b. Topicalization

[_S [_S thǐ fǒn cà' tòk] nǎ PAUSE [_{PA} penpaydaây]]
 that rain fut fall emp PAUSE possible
 "That it will rain (emphasis) is possible"

The emphatic meaning in (31b) will not hold if the sentence does not follow the topicalization pattern, as shown in (31c).

- (31)c. * [_S [_S thǐ fǒn cà' tòk] [_{PA} penpaydaây]]
 "That it will rain (emphasis) is possible"

The evidence above thus supports the argument that the S' element after a PA 2 is actually a subject, not an object, of the sentence in which it occurs.

2.4.5.3. Independent Existence of Elements Following Predicative Adjectives

According to Keenan (1976:312-313), the entity that a basic subject (b-subject) refers to exists independently of the action or property expressed by the predicate. This is less true for non-subjects. Thus in sentence (32)

- (32) A student wrote a poem

the existence of the poem is not independent of the act of writing, whereas the existence of the student is.

Turning to a sentence with a PA 2 in Thai, we see in (33) that the

event that you tell the truth, which appears in the form of S' (or which S' refers to), does exist independently of the evaluation that is expressed by the predicate dii.

- (33) [_S [_{PA} dii] [_S thîl khun bōōk khwaam-ci]]
 good that you tell truth
 "That you tell the truth is good" or
 "It is good that you tell the truth"

2.4.5.4. Dummy Subject in Predicative Adjective 2 Constructions

According to Li and Thompson (1976:467), the existence of a dummy subject in a language indicates that that language is of the subject-predicate type, not the topic-comment type. A dummy or empty subject category occurs in some languages such as it and there in English, il and ce in French and es in German. These dummy subjects are obligatory under certain circumstances.

In Thai the word **man** is used as a dummy subject. This subject is optionally used in a predicative-adjective 2 construction, as shown in some examples above and in example (34a) below. Notice that (34a) and (34b) have the same meaning. In this analysis, **man** is coreferential with the S' element which follows a PA 2.

- (34)a. [_S [_{PP} man]_i [_{PA} dii] [_S thîl khun chuây khon con]_i]
 expletive good that you help person poor
 "It is good that you help poor people" or
 "That you help poor people is good"
- (34)b. [_S [_{PA} dii] [_S thîl khun chuây khon con]]
 good that you help person poor
 "It is good that you help poor people" or
 "That you help poor people is good"

Without the S' element, the dummy subject **man** does not yield any meaning. It cannot occur in a sentence in isolation without the S' element, as shown in (34c); otherwise, the resulting string cannot be called a sentence since it does not contain a complete meaning.

- (34)c. *[_S [_{PP} man]_i [_{PA} dii]]
 expletive good
 */?? "It is good"

Man is a hyponym for the expletive **man** and the third person pronoun **man**. The expletive **man** requires that its coreference occur in the same sentence. However, the third person pronoun **man** requires that its coreference or antecedent occur in a preceding clause or sentence, not in the same clause or sentence in which it occurs. Observe this fact in (35), where the pronoun **man** is coreferential with the noun phrase **nājsīl**

lêm nĩ 'this book' in the preceding sentence.

(35) A: [_s [nǎ̌ sǐľ lêm nĩ]_i pen yaŋ̌ ay]
 book n.cl this be how
 "How is this book?"

B: [_s [ɲ̌ man]_i [_{PA} dii]]
 it good
 [_s [ɲ̌ man]_i [_{PA} nǎ̌-sǒncay]]
 it interesting
 "It (the book) is good. It is interesting"

To sum up, there exists a dummy subject in Thai in the form of expletive *man*. But this kind of subject is optionally used in a PA 2 sentence. This evidence supports the argument that Thai is a subject-predicate language. And since the expletive *man* is optional, it is very reasonable to treat the S' element in such a sentence as a post-predicate subject.

2.4.5.5. Elements Following Predicative Adjectives 2 as Controllers of Coreferential Deletions

Keenan (1976:315) proposes that basic subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalizations. His examples are given in (36a-b).

- (36) a. John_i talked to Bill_j for awhile and then he_{i,j}
 left.
 b. John_i talked to Bill_j for awhile and then 0_{i,j}
 left.

Now let us consider the S' element under investigation. (37a-b) show that the S' element which follows the PA 2 *naa-wi?tok* 'worrying' controls a coreferential deletion in a clause which immediately follows it.

- (37)a. [_s [_{PA} nǎ̌-wi?tok] [_s thĩ coon khǎ̌ tamruàt
 worrying that thief kill policeman
 bǔy̌bǔy̌]_i ťx̌ [_s thĩ coon khǎ̌ tamruàt
 often but that thief kill policeman
 bǔy̌bǔy̌]_i kǔ̌ mǎy̌ďy̌ thamȟy̌ tamruàt
 often clause marker not make policeman
 thúǩ khoň kluǎ]
 every n.cl frightened
 "That thieves often kill policemen is frightening, but
 it (= that thieves often kill policemen) does not make
 every policeman frightened"

(38) Agent > Patient > Experiencer > Theme/Instrumental > Locative

The subject hierarchy in (38) reads:

- a. If the simple clause has an Agent argument, it will be the subject.
- b. If the simple clause has no Agent but has a Patient argument, it will be the subject.
- c. If the simple clause has no Agent nor Patient but has an Experiencer argument, it will be the subject.
- d. If the simple clause has no Agent, no Patient and no Experiencer but has a Theme argument, it will be the subject.
- or
- e. If the simple clause has no Agent, no Patient and no Experiencer but has an Instrumental argument, it will be the subject.
- f. If the simple clause has no Agent, no Experiencer, neither Patient nor Instrumental, but has a Locative argument, it will be the subject.

Predicates can be either verbs or adjectives. One predicate can contain one or more than one argument. For an argument to function as the subject of a sentence, we will follow the subject hierarchy, as shown above. (39a-d) illustrate the subjecthood of arguments.

- (39)a. The Agent coon 'thief' is the subject.
 [s c00n khaa tamruat duay ra?bEEt]
 thief-Ag kill police-Pat with bomb-Ins
 "A thief killed a policeman with a bomb"
- (39)b. The Patient tamruat 'police' is the subject.
 [s tamruat thuuk khaa duay ra?bEEt]
 police-Pat PASSIVE kill with bomb-Ins
 "A policeman was killed with a bomb"
- (39)c. The Experiencer tamruat 'police' is the subject.
 [s tamruat hen coon / ra?bEEt]
 police-Exp see thief-Th / bomb-Th
 "A policeman sees a thief"
 "A policeman sees a bomb"
- (39)c. The Instrumental ra?bEEt 'bomb' is the subject.
 [s ra?bEEt thamlaay sa?naambin]
 bomb-Ins destroy airport-Th
 "A bomb destroyed the airport"
- (39)d. The Theme sa?naambin 'airport' is the subject.
 [s sa?naambin thuuk ra?bEEt thamlaay]
 airport-Th PASSIVE bomb-Ins destroy
 "The airport was destroyed by a bomb"
- (39)e. The Theme sa?naambin 'airport' is the subject.
 [s sa?naambin thuuk thamlaay]
 airport-Th PASSIVE destroy
 "The airport was destroyed"

(39)f. The Locative *prà?thêetthay* 'Thailand' is the subject.

[_s *prà?thêetthay* *suay*]
 Thailand-Loc beautiful
 "Thailand is beautiful"

In the case of a sentence with an intransitive verb or a verb-like adjective, there is one predicate and one argument. It is this very argument which must function as the subject of the sentence, as illustrated in (40a-b). (40a) is an example of a sentence with the predicative adjective *phît* 'incorrect', which requires a NP subject. The semantic role of the argument which functions as a subject of this sentence is Theme.

(40)a. [_s [_{pp} *khamtòp* *khô nîi*] [_{pa} *phît*]]
 [answer n.cl this]-T incorrect
 "This answer is incorrect"

In sentence (40b), we have the PA 2 *dii* 'good' with S' as its post-predicate subject. In terms of semantic role, I analyze the S' element *thîi fôn tók* 'that it rained' as the Theme of its predicate *dii*.

(40)b. [_s [_{pa} *dii*] [_s *thîi fôn tók*]]
 good [that rain fall]-Th
 "It's good that the rain fell (=it rained)"

We have already seen that a sentence must contain a subject and a predicate to make a complete thought. In case there is more than one nominal in a sentence, the subject hierarchy will select one to be a subject of the sentence. This hierarchy supports my argument that the S' element following a PA 2 in Thai is the subject, not a direct object or a modifier, of the sentence in which it occurs.

3. Conclusion

This paper has presented an analysis of adjectives, using Crystal's (1985) definition of "Adjective". Having analyzed what are called adjectives in terms of form and meaning, morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics as well as distribution, we have found that there are two types of adjectives: attributive and predicative. Predicative adjectives (PA) can be further classified into two subtypes PA1 and PA2. PA1 elements subcategorize for subjects in the position immediately preceding them. In contrast, PA2 elements require that their subjects be in the form of S' and that the subjects follow them. To argue that there are two types of PA in Thai, I present tests for sentencehood of constructions in which PA elements occur. The NPs preceding PA1 elements and the complementized sentences (S') following PA2 elements are finally shown by linguistic criteria to be subjects of the sentences in which they occur.

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