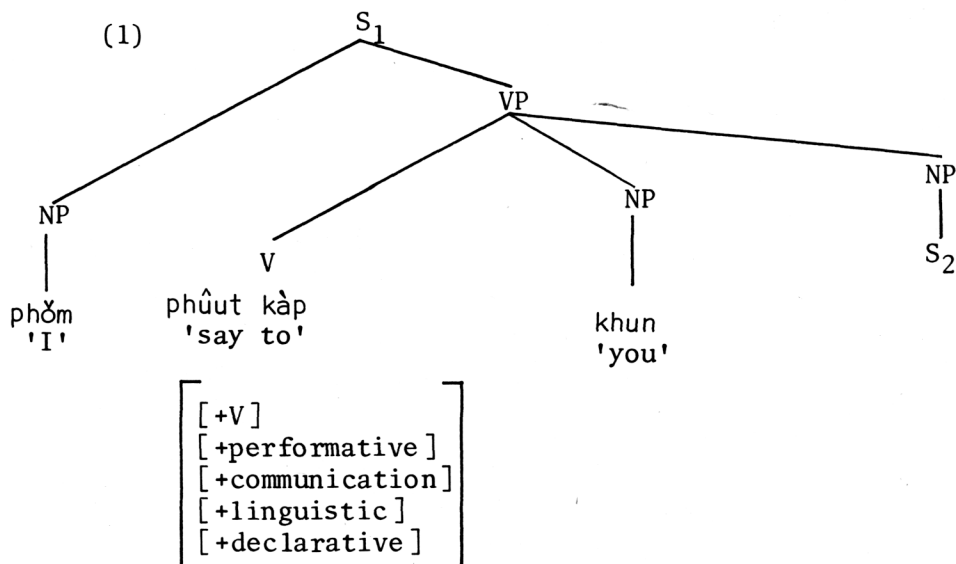


DEPENDENCY OF UNDERLYING STRUCTURE AND FINAL PARTICLES IN THAI¹

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A foreigner studying Thai always complains that final particles give him a big problem in learning spoken Thai. It is true that a foreigner can make himself understood by not using a single final particle in his speech, but his language will sound strange to the native Thai and it may be considered substandard. Final particles rarely appear in written language but they seem to be indispensable in spoken language. This paper aims at showing that the underlying structure of each of the top two or three performative sentences² collapses into a final particle in spoken Thai. It is always deleted in written language and sometimes even in spoken language.

John Robert Ross proposed that "all types of sentences have exactly one performative as their highest clause in deep structure"³ My analysis agrees with his in every aspect except that my analysis introduces two more levels of performative sentences. The topmost performative sentence is the same in every way, as illustrated in the following example.



Since there are many words in Thai used as 'I' or 'you' depending on sex and status of the speaker and the person spoken to, (1) has to undergo the copying pronoun features transformational rule before the application of a collapse rule. The features of 'you' will be copied into 'I' and the features of 'I' will be copied into 'you'. The following are lexical entries of pronouns 'I' and 'you' in Thai after applying the copying pronoun features transformational

rule.

'I'

phǎm

phǎm [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+masculine] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] [+citizen] [+polite]
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dìchǎn

dìchǎn [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+feminine] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] ([+citizen], [+monk]) [+polite]
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kràphǎm

kràphǎm [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+masculine] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] [+monk], [+high ranking official] [+polite]
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ʔàattàmaa(phâap)

ʔàattàmaa(phâap) [+PRO] [+I] [+monk]	[+PRO] [+II]
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khâaphráphútthacâw

khâaphráphútthacâw [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] ([+monarch], [+prince1]) [+polite]
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klâawkràòm

klâawkràòm [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] [+prince2] [+polite]
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kràòm

kràòm [+PRO] [+I] [+citizen] [+masculine] [+polite]	[+PRO] [+II] [+prince3] [+polite]
--	--

mòmchăn	<div> <div>mòmchăn</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+feminine]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+prince3]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
kuu	<div> <div>kuu</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimated])</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div> </div>
khăa	<div> <div>khăa</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div> </div>
chăn	<div> <div>chăn</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div>
ʔúa ³	<div> <div>ʔúa</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+masculine]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+masculine]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div>
'You'		
khun	<div> <div>khun</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
(pháná)thân	<div> <div>(pháná)thân</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+high ranking official]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
phrákhuncâaw	<div> <div>phrákhuncâaw</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+monk]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>

máhăabɔɔphít	<div> <div>máhăabɔɔphít</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+monarch]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+monk]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
yoom	<div> <div>yoom</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+monk]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
tâyfàaláʔɔɔŋ-thúliiphrábàat	<div> <div>tâyfàaláʔɔɔŋthúliiphrábàat</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+monarch]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
tâyfàaláʔɔɔŋ-phrábàat	<div> <div>tâyfàaláʔɔɔŋphrábàat</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+prince1]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
tâyfàaphrábàat	<div> <div>tâyfàaphrábàat</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+prince2]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
fàaphrábàat	<div> <div>fàaphrábàat</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+prince3]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> </div>
thəə	<div> <div>thəə</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+polite]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div> </div>
mɪŋ	<div> <div>mɪŋ</div> <div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div> </div> </div>	<div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div> </div>

ʔeŋ

<div>ʔeŋ</div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div>	<div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>([-polite], [+intimate])</div>
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lɛɛw

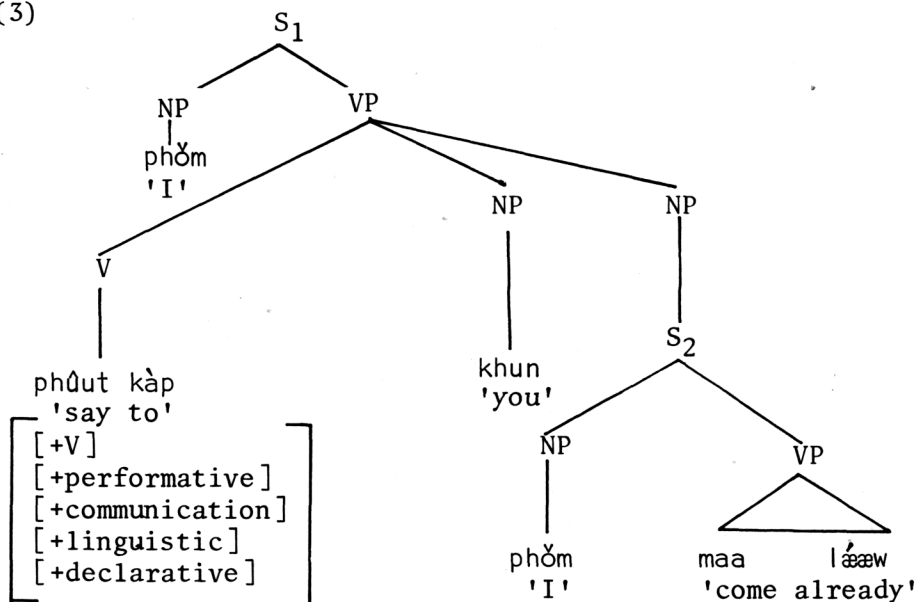
<div>lɛɛw</div> <div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+II]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+masculine]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div>	<div>[+PRO]</div> <div>[+I]</div> <div>[+citizen]</div> <div>[+masculine]</div> <div>[+intimate]</div>
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The feature [+citizen] indicates that the status of the speaker or the person spoken to is that of a normal citizen, not a member of a Royal family or a monk. The feature [+high ranking official] indicates a person of high position in the Government, thus [+high ranking official] is also [+citizen] in most cases. The feature [+monarch] represents the King or Queen, [+prince1] the son or daughter of the King by a member of a Royal family, [+prince2] the son or daughter of [+prince1] or the son or daughter of the King by a commoner, and [+prince3] the son or daughter of [+prince2]. The feature [+monk] is used for a Buddhist monk only. [+polite] is used in opposition to [-polite] which most lower class citizens and hoodlums prefer. The feature [+intimate] occurs in word used among close friends.

In my analysis (2) is derived from deep structure (3).

(2) phǒm maa lɛɛw kháp 'I have come already.'

(3)



performative verb, and NP of S_1 will be collapsed by the following rules.

- (4) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+masculine] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ ([+citizen], \\ [+monk]) \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{kháp}$
- (5) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+feminine] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{khâ}$
- (6) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+monk] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{càrəənpħəəŋ}$
- (7) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+monk] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ ([+monarch], \\ [+prince1], \\ [+prince2], \\ [+prince3]) \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{thàwǎyphrápħəəŋ}$
- (8) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+masculine] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ [+monarch] \\ ([+prince1] \\ [+prince2]) \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{phráphútthácāwkhāa}$
- (9) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+feminine] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ ([+monarch], \\ [+prince1], \\ [+prince2], \\ [+prince3]) \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{pheekhǎ}$
- (10) $\left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [+citizen] \\ [+masculine] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_1 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ [+prince3] \\ [+polite] \end{array} \right]_2 \left[\begin{array}{c} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right]_{NP} 3 \quad 4 \Rightarrow \text{krāməm}$

$$(11) \begin{array}{c} \left[\begin{array}{l} [+PRO] \\ [+I] \\ [-polite] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [+PRO] \\ [+II] \\ [-polite] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [+performative] \\ [+declarative] \end{array} \right] \\ 1 \qquad \qquad 2 \qquad \qquad 3 \end{array} \quad NP \quad 4 \Rightarrow w'oooy$$

Final particle 'khâ' from (5) has to undergo a tone change rule if S₁ is followed by a performative S₂.

$$(12) \quad \begin{array}{c} khâ \\ 1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} X \\ 2 \end{array} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} [+performative] \\ [-declarative] \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} khâ \\ 2 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \\ 3 \end{array}$$

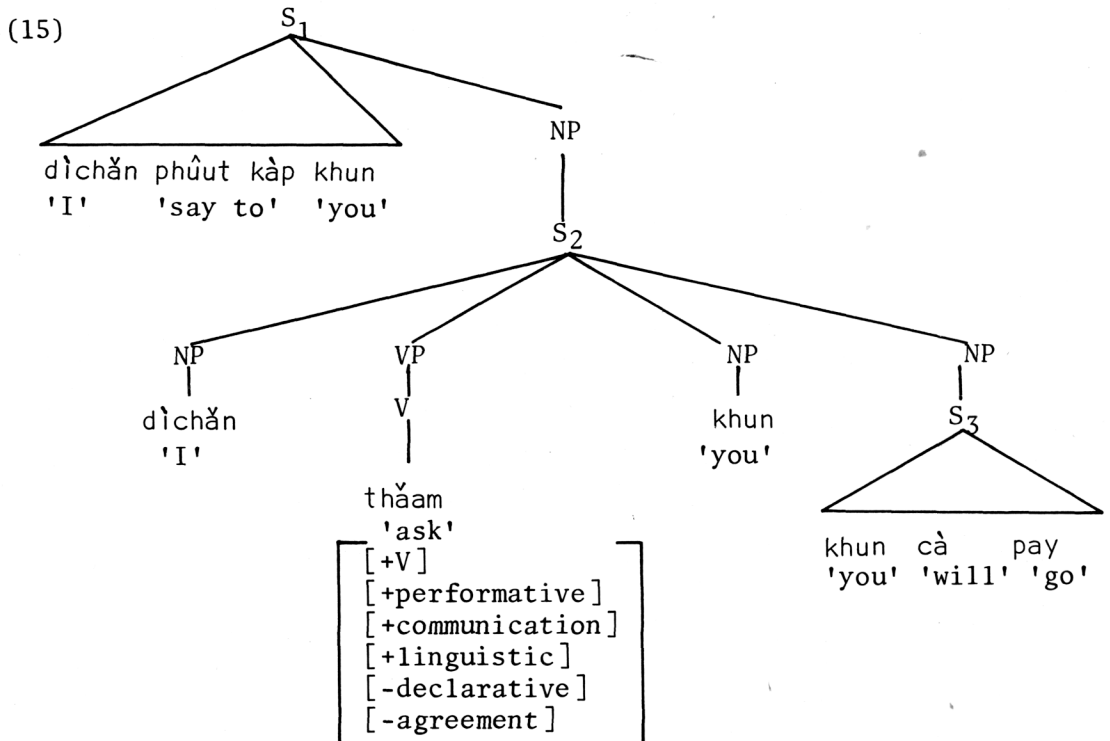
Final particle 'w'oooy' from (11) has to undergo an impolite final particle change rule if S₁ is followed by a performative S₂.

$$(13) \quad \begin{array}{c} w'oooy \\ 1 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} X \\ 2 \end{array} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} [+performative] \\ [-declarative] \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \begin{array}{c} wâ \\ 2 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c} \\ 3 \end{array}$$

Thus (3) becomes khráp by applying (4) to (3) and later a final particle transpositional rule has to be applied so that khráp will be transposed to the rightmost of S₂ to obtain (2).

(14) khun cà pay ṛĩ khâ 'Are you leaving?'

The deep structure of (14) is (15).



The performative S_2 will be collapsed by collapse rule (16) as follows:

$$(16) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} [+I] & [+II] & th\ddot{a}am & NP \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{array} \Rightarrow r\ddot{i}$$

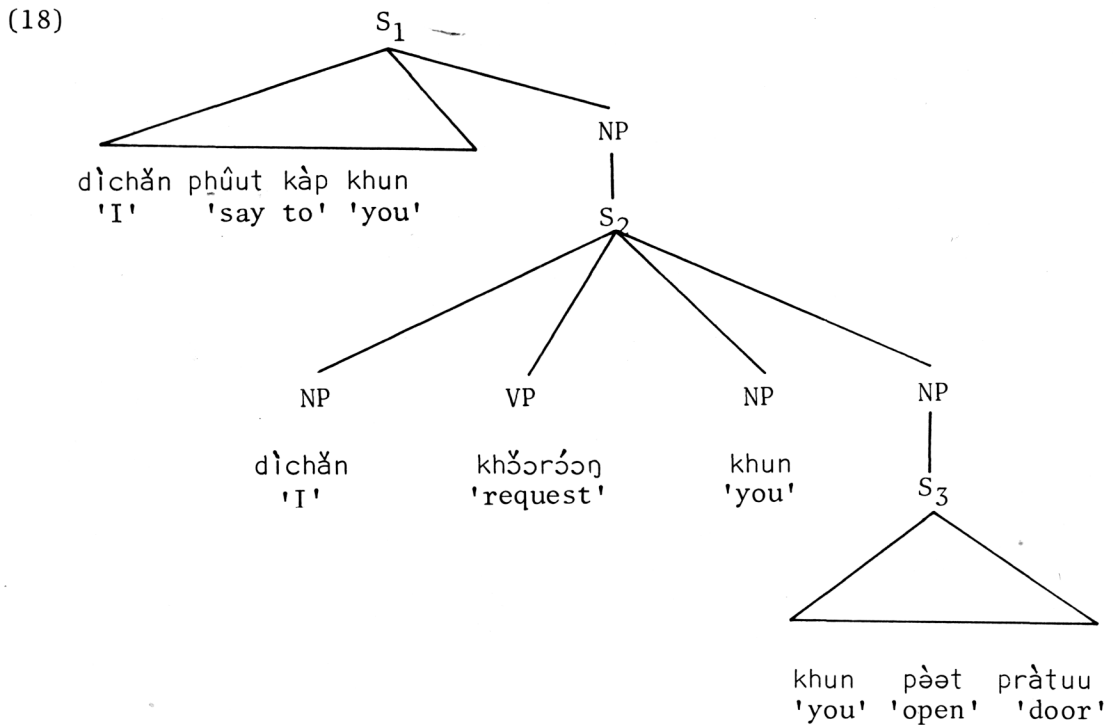
Thus (14) becomes *khá r \ddot{i} khun cà pay* by applying rules (5), (12), and (16) respectively. Finally a final particle transpositional rule has to apply cyclically to obtain (14).

It should be noted here that the performative verb of S_2 must contain [-declarative] as opposed to [+declarative] of S_1 and [-agreement] as opposed to [+agreement] of S_3 , if it appears.

Other performative verbs of S_2 are *khǎw rǎw* 'request', *sàw* 'command, order', *tǎw* 'answer', and *yám káp* 'emphasize'.

(17) *pèet pràtuu sí khá* 'Please open the door.'

The deep structure of (17) is (18).



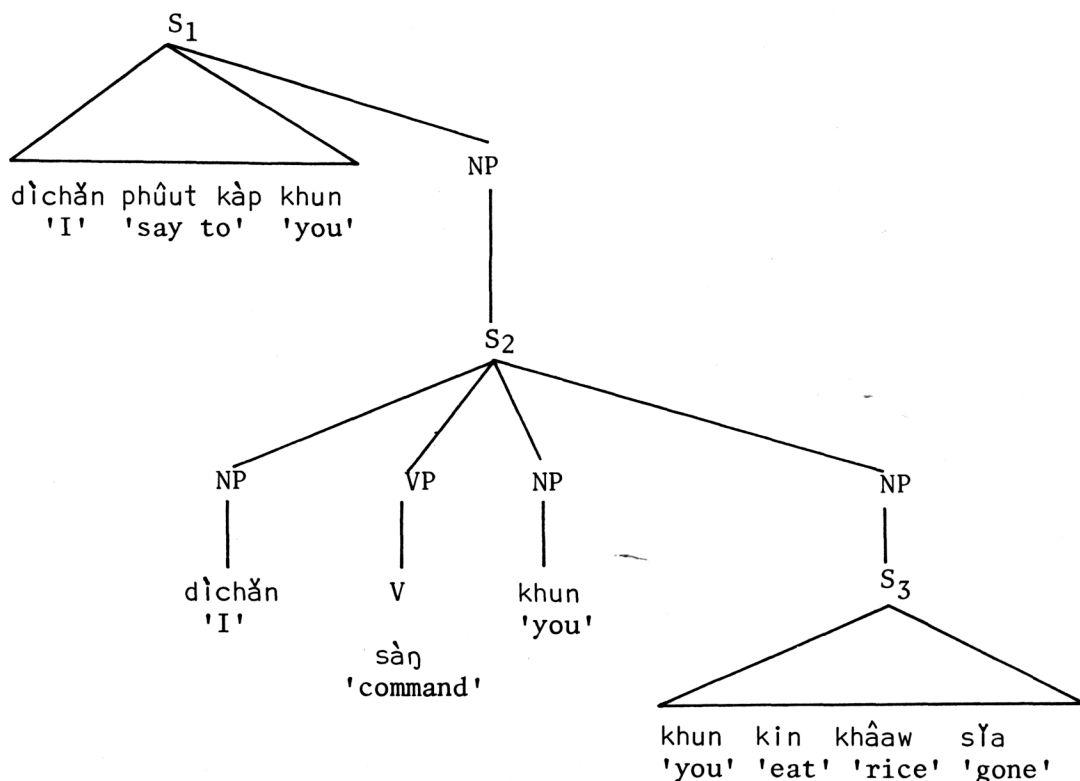
S_2 will undergo collapse rule (19) as follows:

$$(19) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} [+I] & [+II] & kh\ddot{a}w r\ddot{a}w & NP \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{array} \Rightarrow sí$$

The second person pronoun khun 'you' is deleted by a second person pronoun deletion rule. sĭ is then moved to the rightmost of S₃ by a final particle transpositional rule and so is khá which is derived from (5) and (12).

(20) kin kháaw sĭa sĭ khá 'Eat your rice.' (20) is derived from deep structure (21) as follows:

(21)

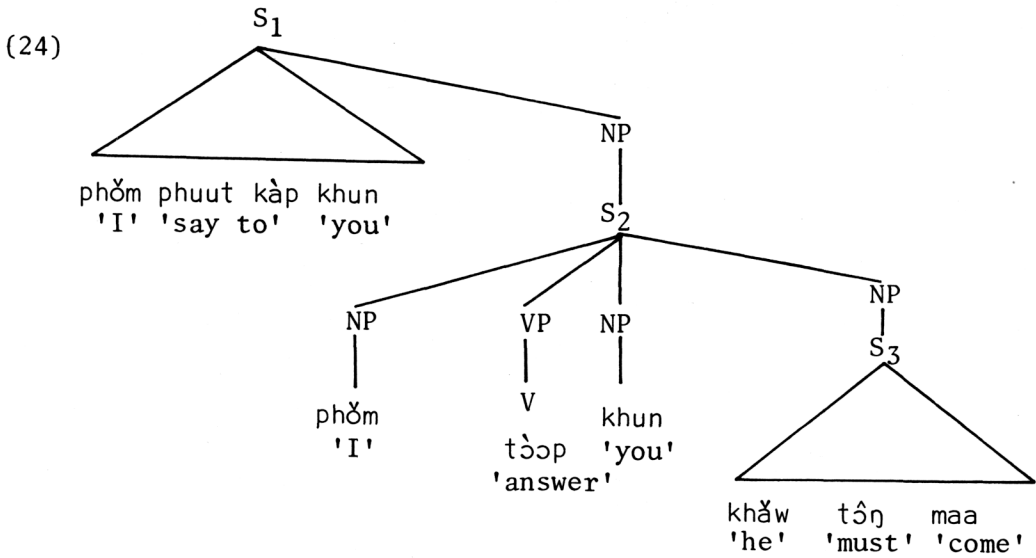


The performative verb sàŋ 'order, command' undergoes collapse rule (22) as follows:

(22) $\begin{matrix} [+I] & [+II] & sàŋ & NP \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{matrix} \Rightarrow sĭ$

Then a final particle transpositional rule can be applied cyclically to obtain (20).

(23) kháw tŏŋ maa sii khráp 'He has to come.' (24) is the deep structure of (23).

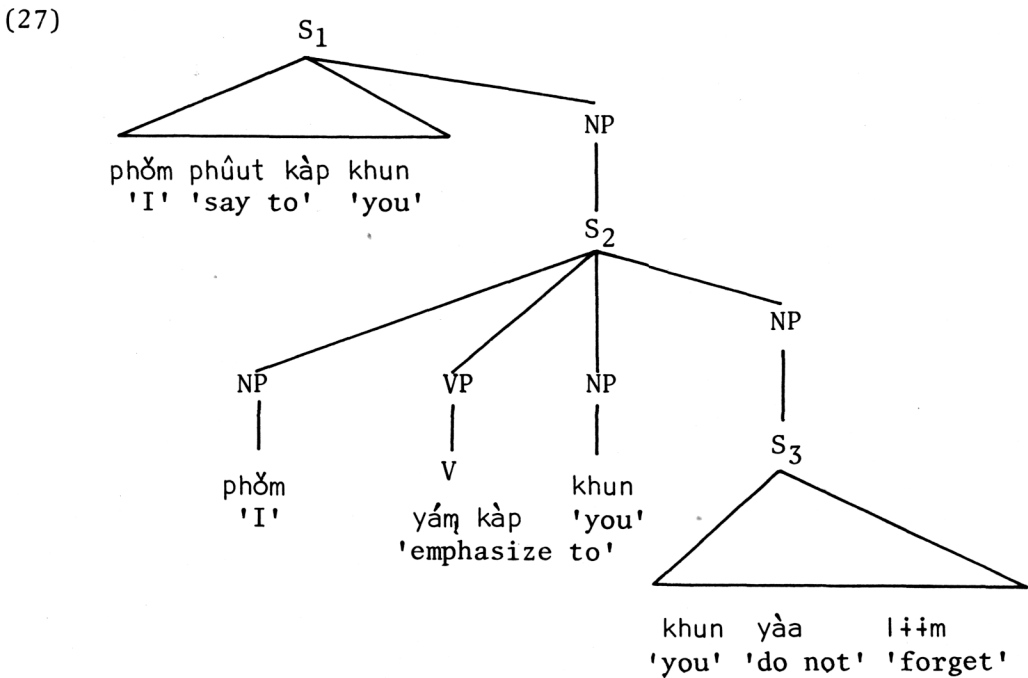


S₂ will undergo collapse rule (25) as follows:

(25) $\begin{matrix} [+I] & [+II] & tồp & NP \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{matrix} \Rightarrow sii$

Again a final particle transpositional rule will be applied cyclically to obtain (23).

(26) yàa lậ̀m nắ khráp 'Don't forget!' (27) is the deep structure of (26).



S_2 will undergo collapse rule (28) as follows:

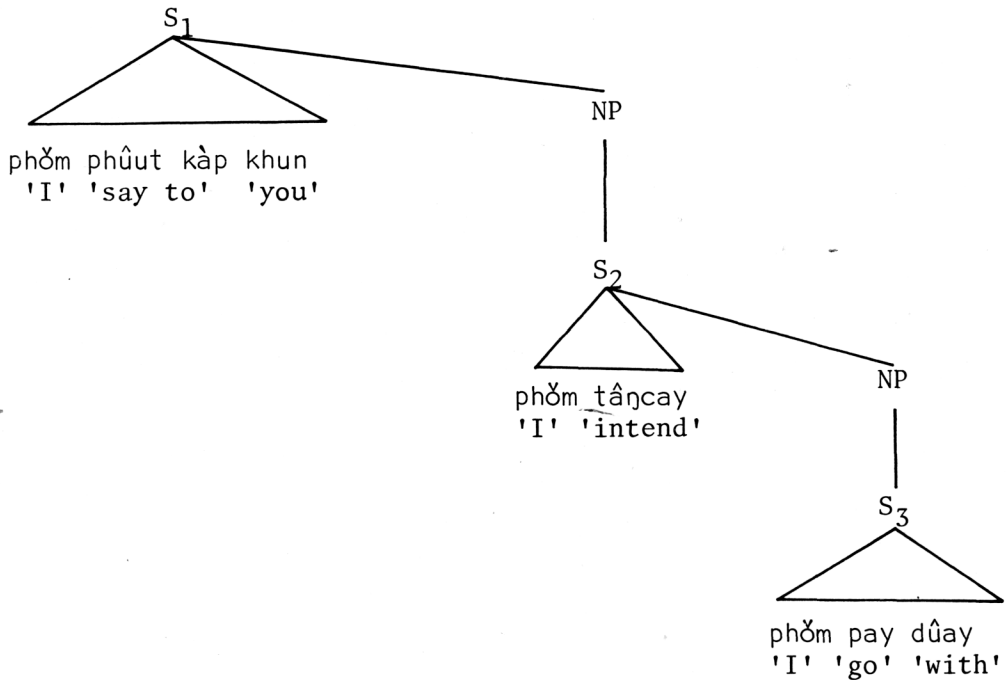
$$(28) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} [+I] & [+II] & yám & káp & NP & & \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & & \Longrightarrow & ná \end{array}$$

Then a final particle transpositional rule will be applied cyclically to obtain (26).

There are at least two nonperformative verbs in Thai, *tângcay* 'intend' and *wǎŋ* 'hope' which behave in the same way as a performative verb of S_2 .

(29) *phǒm pay dūay ná khráp* 'I want to go with you.' (29) has (30) as its deep structure.

(30)

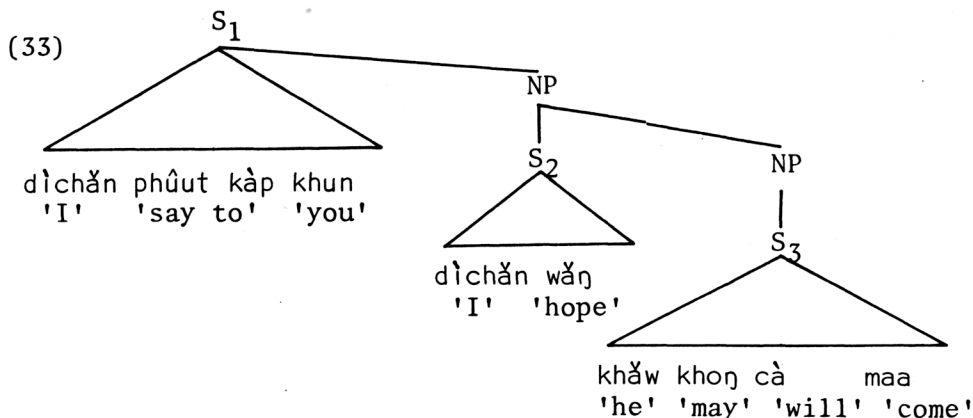


S_2 will undergo collapse rule (31) as follows:

$$(31) \quad \begin{array}{ccccccc} [+I] & [+II] & tângcay & S_3 & & & \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & \Longrightarrow & ná & 4 \end{array}$$

A final particle transpositional rule will also be applied to move *ná* to the rightmost of S_3 as with *khráp* in the later cycle.

(32) *khǎw khon cà maa ná khá* 'I hope he will come.' (32) is derived from deep structure (33).

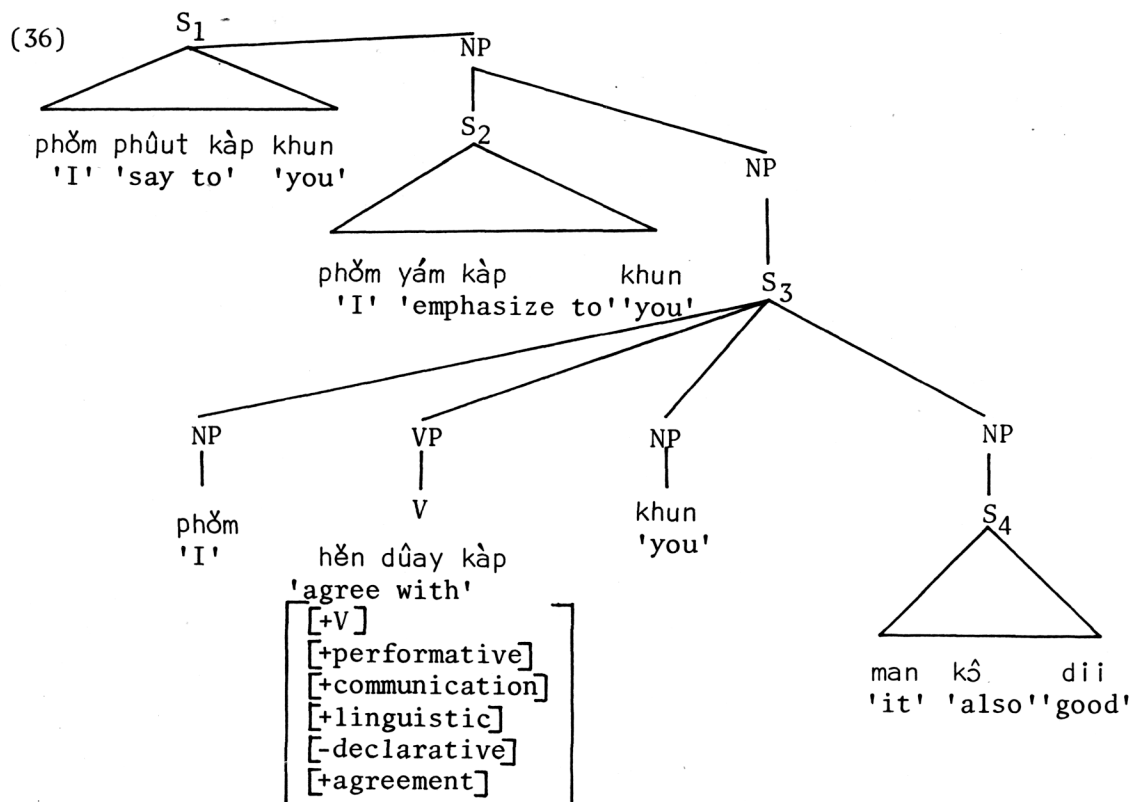


(33) will undergo collapse rule (34) and a final particle transpositional rule to obtain (32).

$$(34) \quad \begin{array}{cccc} [+I] & [+II] & wǎng & S_3 \\ 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \end{array} \Rightarrow \begin{array}{cc} nǎ & 4 \end{array}$$

The third level performative sentence rarely appears in conversation. The performative verb of S_3 must contain [-declarative] and [+agreement].

(35) man kô dii sii nǎ khráp 'It's a good idea.' The deep structure of (35) is the following:



(36) will undergo collapse rule (37) as follows:

(37) [+I] [+II] hěn dũaay kàp NP
 1 2 3 4 \Rightarrow sii

A final particle transpositional rule will be applied cyclically. S_3 , S_2 and S_1 will be respectively transposed to the rightmost of S_4 to obtain (35).

Some may suspect that lá in (38) is also derived from S_3 in the same manner.

(38) phỏm pay lá nả khráp 'I'm leaving.'

It should be pointed out here, however that lá in this case is a reduced form of láew not derived from a performative verb in the deep structure.

In conclusion I hold that all final particles in Thai are derived from first person pronoun subject, a performative verb, and a second person pronoun indirect object on different levels. The highest performative sentence becomes the outermost final particle, the next lower performative sentence becomes the penultimate final particle, and the third level performative sentence becomes the antepenultimate final particle.

NOTES

- ¹ This paper was presented to the 29th International Congress of Orientalists in Paris on July 20, 1973.
- ² John L. Austin introduced the term 'performative verb' for verbs that specify the illocutionary force of the sentence they head. See John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962).
- ³ John Robert Ross, "On Declarative Sentences", Roderick A. Jacobs and Peter S. Rosenbaum (eds.). *Readings in English Transformational Grammar* (Waltham, 1970), pp. 222-272.
- ⁴ Chinese loan words for 'I' and 'you'.