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 performatives 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 performatives as their highest clause in deep structure ...". 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.

(1) $S_1$  

\[ S_1 \rightarrow NP \rightarrow V \rightarrow NP \rightarrow NP \rightarrow S_2 \]

\[ \phi hm \quad \phi h ut \ k p \quad k h u n \]

\[ 'I' \quad 'say to' \quad 'you' \]

\[ [+V] 
\[ [+\text{performative}] 
\[ [+\text{communication}] 
\[ [+\text{linguistic}] 
\[ [+\text{declarative}] \]

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
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)  phôm  maa  láaw  khráp  'I have come already.'

(3)  

\[ S_1 \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{phôm} \quad 'I' \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{phût kâp} \quad 'say to' \]
\[ [+V] \]
\[ [+performativé] \]
\[ [+communication] \]
\[ [+linguistic] \]
\[ [+declarative] \]

\[ S_2 \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{khun} \quad 'you' \]
\[ \text{NP} \]
\[ \text{phôm} \quad 'I' \]
\[ \text{VP} \]
\[ \text{maa} \quad láaw \quad 'come already' \]
performative verb, and NP of S₁ will be collapsed by the following rules.

(4) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+masculine]} \quad \text{[+masculine]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{khráp}

(5) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+feminine]} \quad \text{[+feminine]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{khâ}

(6) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+monk]} \quad \text{[+monk]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{càræenphçon}

(7) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+monk]} \quad \text{[+monk]} \\
& \quad \text{[+princel]} \quad \text{[+princel]} \\
& \quad \text{[+prince2]} \quad \text{[+prince2]} \\
& \quad \text{[+prince3]} \quad \text{[+prince3]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{thàwáayphráphçon}

(8) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+monarch]} \quad \text{[+monarch]} \\
& \quad \text{[+masculine]} \quad \text{[+masculine]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{phráphútthácâwkhâa}

(9) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+monarch]} \quad \text{[+monarch]} \\
& \quad \text{[+feminine]} \quad \text{[+feminine]} \\
& \quad \text{[+princel]} \quad \text{[+princel]} \\
& \quad \text{[+prince2]} \quad \text{[+prince2]} \\
& \quad \text{[+prince3]} \quad \text{[+prince3]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{pheekhâ}

(10) 
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{[+PRO]} \quad \text{[+PRO]} \\
& \quad \text{[+II]} \quad \text{[+II]} \\
& \quad \text{[+citizen]} \quad \text{[+citizen]} \\
& \quad \text{[+prince3]} \quad \text{[+prince3]} \\
& \quad \text{[+masculine]} \quad \text{[+masculine]} \\
& \quad \text{[+polite]} \quad \text{[+polite]} \\
\end{align*}
\]

3 4 \Rightarrow \text{krámôm}

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

(12) khâ X ] [+performativé] ] [-declarative] ]
 [ 1 2 3 ]
 4 \rightarrow khâ 2 3

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

(13) wôoy X ] [+performativé] ] [-declarative] ]
 [ 1 2 3 ]
 4 \rightarrow wâ 2 3

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 cã pay rHy khâ 'Are you leaving?'

The deep structure of (14) is (15).
The performative $S_2$ will be collapsed by collapse rule (16) as follows:

\[(16)\]  \[+I\]  \ [+II\]  thàam  \[NP\]  \[1\]  \[2\]  \[3\]  \[4\]  \[→ rỉi\]

Thus (14) becomes khá rỉi khun cả 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 khởcơcơc 'request', sàñ 'command, order', tọc 'answer', and yâm kàp 'emphasize'.

\[(17)\]  pàèt pàèt pràuuu sí kêa 'Please open the door.'

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

\[(18)\]

\begin{align*}
S_1 & \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{dìchăn phúu kàp khun} & \quad \text{I'} \quad \text{'say to'} \quad \text{'you'} \\
S_2 & \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{dìchăn} & \quad \\ \\
\text{khởcơcơc} & \quad \text{'request'} \\
\text{khun} & \quad \text{'you'} \\
S_3 & \quad \text{khun} \quad \text{pàèt pràuuu} \\
& \quad \text{'you'} \quad \text{'open'} \quad \text{'door'}
\end{align*}

$S_2$ will undergo collapse rule (19) as follows:

\[(19)\]  \[+I\]  \ [+II\]  khởcơcơc  \[NP\]  \[1\]  \[2\]  \[3\]  \[4\]  \[→ sì\]

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The second person pronoun khun 'you' is deleted by a second person pronoun deletion rule. sī 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 sīa sī khá 'Eat your rice.' (20) is derived from deep structure (21) as follows:

(21)

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

(22) [+I] [+II] sàn NP

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

(23) kháaw tōŋ maa sīi khráp 'He has to come.' (24) is the deep structure of (23).
S₂ will undergo collapse rule (25) as follows:

(25) \([+I][+II] \quad \text{tòop} \quad \text{NP} \)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{sii} \]

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

(26) \(\text{yàa liîm ná kháp} \quad \text{'Don't forget!'} \quad (27) \text{is the deep structure of (26).} \)

(27)

\[ \begin{array}{cccc}
\text{phóm phùut kàp khun} \\
\text{'I' 'say to' 'you'} \\
\end{array} \]

\[ \rightarrow \text{sii} \]

\(\text{khun yàa liîm} \quad \text{'you' 'do not' 'forget'} \)
S₂ will undergo collapse rule (28) as follows:

(28) \([+I][+II] \ yâm\ kàp\ NP\]
1 2 3 4 → ná

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

There are at least two nonperformative verbs in Thai, ñàñcay 'intend' and wǎñ 'hope' which behave in the same way as a performative verb of S₂.

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

(30)

\[
\text{phôm phùut kàp khun 'I' 'say to' 'you'}
\]

\[
\text{phôm tâñcay 'I' 'intend'}
\]

\[
\text{phôm pay duyay 'I' 'go' 'with'}
\]

S₂ will undergo collapse rule (31) as follows:

(31) \([+I][+II] \ tâñcay\ S₃\]
1 2 3 4 → ná 4

A final particle transpositional rule will also be applied to move ná to the rightmost of S₃ as with khráp in the later cycle.

(32) khâw khoñ 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) \[ [+I] [+II] \text{ wǎŋ} \quad S_3 \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ná} \quad 4 \]

The third level performative sentence rarely appears in conversation. The performative verb of \( S_3 \) must contain \([-\text{declarative}] \) and \([+\text{agreement}] \).

(35) \( \text{man kô díi sìi ná kháp} \quad '\text{It's a good idea.'} \) The deep structure of (35) is the following:

(36) \[ \cdots \quad \text{phŏm wŭt kāp khun} \quad 'I' 'say to' 'you' \quad \cdots \]

\[ \quad \text{phŏm yám kāp k̨hun} \quad 'I' 'emphasize to' 'you' \quad \text{phŏm khun} \quad '\text{agree with}' \quad \text{hēn dūy kāp} \quad '\text{it' also'good'} \quad \text{man kô díi} \]
(36) will undergo collapse rule (37) as follows:

(37) [+I][+II] hẹn dâu kàp NP
    1  2  3  4 ➔ 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 lâ in (38) is also derived from $S_3$ in the same manner.

(38) phòng pay lâ nga khrâp    'I'm leaving.'

It should be pointed out here, however that lâ in this case is a reduced form of lâaw 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).


4 Chinese loan words for 'I' and 'you'.