

THE SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF SENTENCE-INITIAL INANIMATE NPs IN THAI:
MIDDLE AND TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS



A THESIS
BY
KANOKWANWALAI INHONGSA

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts Degree in Linguistics
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AN ABSTRACT
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Thai is known to have both active and passive constructions. The result of this study will show that there is another kind of voice construction which, like the passive, has a subject that is interpreted as theme/patient, but unlike the passive, lacks an overt passive marker. The main claim of this study is that these structures are not concealed passives (pace Sinlapasan. 1979); (Thonglor. 2001). Rather, they are middle constructions and identify various empirical diagnostics to distinguish between passive and middles. Another aspect of this study concerns topic constructions. Thai topics are categorized into two types; topicalization and left-dislocation topics (Ekniyom. 1982); (Hoonchamlong. 1991). This can be sub-categorized in Thai topics into overtly-marked topics and unmarked topics. Clearly, these that these two sub-categories of Thai topics are syntactically distinct. This study will provide various empirical diagnostics to distinguish between overtly-marked topics and unmarked topics in Thai. To date, this syntactic subcategorization of Thai topic has yet to be proposed.

การวิเคราะห์วากยสัมพันธ์ของนามวลีไม่มีชีวิตในตำแหน่งต้นประโยคในภาษาไทย:
หน่วยสร้างมีชฌิมวากยและหน่วยสร้างแก่นความ



เสนอต่อบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ เพื่อเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษา
ตามหลักสูตรศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาภาษาศาสตร์
ธันวาคม 2559

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ภาษาไทยเป็นภาษาที่มีหน่วยสร้างกรตุวากและกรรมวาก (พระยาอุปทิศศิลปสาร. 2499); (อมรา ประสิทธิ์รัฐสินธุ์. 2553); (กำชัย ทองหล่อ. 2554) งานวิจัยนี้ค้นพบว่าภาษาไทยมีหน่วยสร้างมัชฌิมวาก (middle voice) เพิ่มเติมจากหน่วยสร้างกรรมวากซึ่งหน่วยสร้างดังกล่าวไม่ใช่กรรมวากซ่อนเร้นอย่างที่พระยาอุปทิศศิลปสาร (2499) และกำชัย ทองหล่อ (2554) ได้เสนอไว้ แต่หน่วยสร้างนี้มีประธานเป็นผู้รับการกระทำที่มีลักษณะเป็นสิ่งไม่มีชีวิต (inanimate) มีกริยาที่ก่อให้เกิดการกระทำ (agentive verbs) มีคำวิเศษณ์บอกลักษณะอาการ (manner adverbs) และไม่มีตัวบ่งชี้กรรมวาก ผู้วิจัยได้วิเคราะห์ความแตกต่างระหว่างกรรมวากและมัชฌิมวากด้วยการทดสอบด้านวากยสัมพันธ์ที่หลากหลาย การวิจัยยังค้นพบอีกว่าหน่วยสร้างแก่นความในภาษาไทยแบ่งย่อยออกเป็นสองประเภทคือแก่นความที่ปรากฏตัวบ่งชี้ (overtly-marked topics) และแก่นความที่ไม่ปรากฏตัวบ่งชี้ (unmarked topics) เพิ่มเติมจากเพียร์ศิริ เอกนิยม (2525) และยุพาพรรณ หุ่นจำลอง (2534) เสนอให้แก่นความในภาษาไทยผ่านกระบวนการบวนการแปลงประโยคเป็นประโยคแก่นความ (topicalization) และการย้ายแก่นความไปอยู่ตำแหน่งแรกของประโยค (left-dislocation) ซึ่งทั้งสองประเภทย่อยของหน่วยสร้างแก่นความนี้มีความแตกต่างในด้านวากยสัมพันธ์

The thesis titled
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Abbreviations

ACC	accusative case
ASP	aspect
ART	article
AUX	auxiliary
ANTIC	anticausative
AGENT	agent
C	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase
CL	classifier
COMP	complement
CAUSE	causative
CTopP	contrastive topic phrase
DAT	dative
DET	determiner
DP	determiner phrase
DUM.SUBJ	dummy subject
FUT	future tense
FEM	feminine
FP	future perfect tense
ForceP	force phrase
FinP	finite phrase
FocP	focus phrase
Foc	focus
IMPERF	imperfective aspect
I	Inflection
IP	inflectional phrase
MID	middle
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
NONACT	non-active
NP	noun phrase

NTopP	normal topic phrase
OBL	oblique
OBJ	object
PART	particle
PAST	past tense
PRO	pronoun
PART	particle
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PASS	passive
Q	question
REFL	reflexive
RECP	reciprocal
SUBJ	subject
T	tense
THEME	theme
TP	tense phrase
TOP	topic marker
TopP	topic phrase
V	verb (syntactic head of VP)
VP	verb phrase
sg	singular
pl	plural
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The basic word order in Thai is SVO, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. มาลี เขียน จดหมาย
 maalii.NOM k^hian còtmăaj.ACC
 Malee write letter
 “Malee writes a letter”
- b. *มาลี จดหมาย เขียน
 maalii.NOM còtmăaj.ACC k^hian
 Malee letter write
- c. . *มาลี เขียน
 maalii.NOM k^hian
 Malee write

This means that in active sentences with agentive verbs, we expect an agent in the initial position as shown in (1). *maalii* “Malee” is the agent of the agentive verb *k^hian* “write” and appear in sentence-initial position.

However in informal Thai speech, there are many cases where an initial NP is not the agent of an agentive verb, as shown in (2) and (3). *blók* “painting block” and *k^hวณว่๑๓* “Converse” in (2) and (3) are not living entities which occur in the initial position with the agentive verbs *t^ham* “make” and *sàì* “wear”. I will refer to non-living entities like *blók* and *k^hวณว่๑๓* as sentence-initial inanimate NPs or SIINPs.

- (2) บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก อะ
 blók t^ham mâi jâak k^hà
 painting block make NEG hard PART
 “Painting block is not hard to make.”

- (3) คนเวิร์ส ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ ค่ะ
 kʰwɔn wəət mâi tɔ̃ŋ sài tʰɯ̃ŋtʰáaw ná kʰá
 Converse NEG must wear socks PART PART
 “Converse, no need to wear socks.”

Sinlapasan (1979) proposes that SIINPs can be a covert passive subject of the passive construction where the marker e.g. *tʰùuk*¹ is omitted. A passive construction in Thai is illustrated in (4).

- (4) ฉัน ถูก ตี
 cʰǎn tʰùuk tii
 1sg PASS beat
 “I was beaten.”

If Sinlapasan’s analysis is correct, we predict that we can insert a passive marker and the sentence will be acceptable. But sentence (2) and (3) cannot be passivized, they are unacceptable with the marker *tʰùuk* as shown in (5) and (6).

- (5) ?บล็อก ถูก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰùuk tʰam mâi jâak kʰá
 painting block PASS make NEG hard PART
 “painting block is not hard to make.”
- (6) *คนเวิร์ส ไม่ ต้อง ถูก ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ ค่ะ
 kʰwɔn wəət mâi tɔ̃ŋ tʰùuk sài tʰɯ̃ŋtʰáaw ná kʰá
 Converse NEG must PASS wear socks PART PART
 “Converse no need to wear socks.”

If the sentence-initial NPs *blók* “painting block” and *kʰwɔn wəət* “Converse” in (5) and (6) are not the subject of passives, what is the status of SIINPs when they occur with agentive verbs?

Additional evidence that cases like (2) are not covert passives is that the cases like (2) are ungrammatical without an adverbial as shown in (7).

¹There are several Thai passive markers e.g.- *tʰùuk*, *doon* and *dâjráp*. But *tʰùuk* has more generic use than *doon* and *dâjráp*. *doon* is used in negative meaning, *dâjráp* can use both positive and negative meaning but it must precedes only noun phrase e.g.- [*cʰǎn dâjráp raəŋwan*]_{CP} “I got a reward”. Thus I use *tʰùuk* in this study.

- (7) *บล็อก ทำ ค่ะ
 blók tʰam kʰà
 painting block make PART
 “Painting block makes.”

Evidence that cases like (3) are not covert passives are sematic; in (3) the SIINP does not have a theta-role. The NP *kʰwɔ̌nwəət* in (3) does not have theta-role unlike *blók* in (2) which is the theme. The subject of passive construction must be a theme/patient but *kʰwɔ̌nwəət* bears no theta-role, thus the construction like (3) cannot be a passive.

Another possible way to analyze SIINPs is from Hoonchamlong (1991). She claims that Thai has several characteristics of a topic-prominent language (as opposed to subject-prominent language). She proposes that sentence-initial NPs (SINP)² are topics and that two are three ways to derive topics in Thai: (i) topicalization and (ii) left-dislocation. For topicalization, topics move to initial position and leave a gap/trace. In contrast, left-dislocation topics in the initial position co-refer to pronouns in the relevant thematic position (see details in chapter 2). The constructions like (2) and (3) are not left-dislocation topic, however, because there is no co-referent pronoun in the thematic position. Moreover, constructions like (2) cannot be analyzed as topicalized topics either because the construction (2) cannot co-occur with an overt subject like *kʰunpʰwɔ̌w* “father” as shown in (8). This contrast with Hoonchamlong’s topicalized NP topics which can occur with an overt subject.

- (8) a. ?บล็อก คุณพ่อ ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók kʰunpʰwɔ̌w tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block father make NEG hard PR.PRAT
 “Painting blocks are not hard for **father** to make.”
- b. คอนเวิร์ส คุณพ่อ ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า
 kʰwɔ̌nwəət kʰunpʰwɔ̌w mâi tɔ̌ŋ sài tʰňtʰáaw
 Converse father NEG must wear socks
 นะ ค่ะ
 ná kʰá
 PART PART

² Hoonchamlong (1991)’s SINP can be animate or inanimate NPs.

“Converse, **father** no need to wear socks.”

The sentence (8) is acceptable with an overt subject but (3) also cannot be analyzed with Hoonchamlong’s analysis, as *kʰwɔnwəət* “Converse” lacks a thematic role and cannot be analyzed as moving from a thematic position. Therefore, *kʰwɔnwəət* is not topicalized topic. The evidence in (8) suggest that the SIINPs in (2) and (3) need a different analysis from Hoonchamlong 1991’s two kinds of topicalization structure.

An additional approach to analyze SIINPs is as causative constructions. Pylkkänen (2008) proposes two kinds of causative constructions which are agentive and eventive constructions. Pothipath (1999) proposes that the overt causative construction in Thai can be identified the verb by the verb *tʰamhâi* “make” as shown in (9).

- (9) พายุ ทำให้ บ้าน พัง (*eventive causative*)
 pʰaajú tʰamhâi bâan pʰaŋ
 storm make house broken
 “The storm broke the house.”

A causative approach to (2) and (3) is also problematic because they cannot occur with the overt causative *tʰamhâi* as shown in (10).

- (10) a. *บล็อก ทำให้ ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰamhâi tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block make make NEG hard PART
 “painting block makes making easily.”
- b. *คอนเวิร์ส ทำให้ ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า
 kʰwɔnwəət tʰamhâi mâi tɔŋ sài tʰn̥tʰáaw
 Converse make NEG must wear socks
 นะ ค่ะ
 ná kʰá
 PART PART
 “Converse makes no need to wear socks.”

Given these empirical differences, SIINPs like *blók* “block” in (2) and *kʰwɔnwəət* “Converse” in (3) are a valid puzzle for analysis. In this study, I propose two different kinds of

SIINP constructions: a middle construction and a base-generated topic construction.³ The main claims of my study are that:

- (i) Cases like (2), where the SIINP is a theme, and occurs with an adverbial, are middle construction
- (ii) Cases like (3), where the SIINP may or may not have a theta role, but crucially can co-occur with a subject, are one of two types of topic constructions – unmarked topic like (3) are adjuncts in the CP domain, which differ from marked topics which are specifier of a TopP (see chapter 4 for more details).

Objectives of the Study

1. To investigate the syntax of SIINPs that cannot be accounted for under previous analyses
2. To determine whether SIINPs all have a uniform syntax
3. To develop empirical diagnostics to distinguish middle-subject SIINPs, passive-subject SIINPs and topic SIINPs

Significance of the Study

This research helps the Thai teachers who teach Thai for foreigner. It also helps the Thai learners who are learning Thai as a foreign language to understand the structure of SIINPs co-occurring with verbs which normally require animate NPs in the initial position of the sentence. Moreover, this research reveals that Thai has a middle voice/construction in addition to the active, passive and causative voice/construction, and adds to our understanding of the range of syntactic topic structure in Thai.

³ In chapter 4, I argue that there are two different types of base-generated topic; overtly-marked and unmarked, and that these have distinct syntactic properties.

Scope of the Study

The data used in this research are drawn from Pantip.com, which is an online forum for many different topics. I collected 146 sentences from the site from January to April, 2014. The criteria for selecting the sentences were as follows.

1. Only the sentences where SIINP occurs with agentive verbs, were selected.
2. Obvious causative constructions⁴ were excluded because SIINPs in causatives are an overt causer (and therefore were not a puzzle).
3. The serial verb construction is excluded because each verb of serial verbs may have different argument structure.
4. Metaphoric use of verb is excluded because metaphoric used verb may have different argument structure from non-metaphoric use of verb.
5. Metonymic use as a noun is excluded because the SIINP refers to animate noun e.g. human, thus the metonymic use of SIINP is interpreted as alive entities.

Technical terms and concepts

1. Sentence-initial noun phrase (SIINP) is the noun phrase which appears on the leftmost of the sentence.
2. Agentive verb is the verb which requires an animate agent.
3. Deep structure or D-structure is the structure before it is derived by transformation rules.
4. Surface structure or S-structure is the transformation's result of the sentence.
5. Topic-prominent languages are the languages that do not necessarily have subjects such as Chinese, Korean, Japanese, etc.
6. Subject-prominent languages are the languages that need to have a subject in each sentence such as English, French, etc.

⁴ I will discuss the details in Chapter 3.

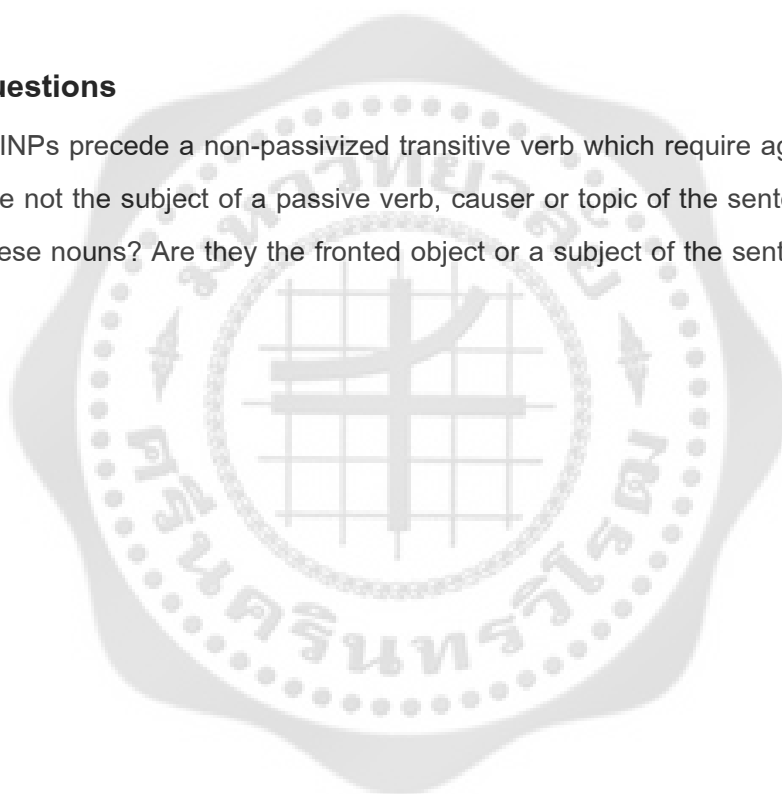
7. An ergative verb (Burzio, 1981; Keyser; & Roeper, 1984) is an intransitive verb that can also be used like a transitive verb e.g. a) “*The ice **melted**.*” (intransitive verb), b) “*The sun **melted** the ice.*” (transitive verb).

Approaches and Theories

I adopt the Theta Criterion (Chomsky. 1988) combined with X-bar theory (Chomsky. 1970) to analyze the data and explain the status of SIINPs which co-occur with agentive verbs.

Research questions

1. How can SIINPs precede a non-passivized transitive verb which require agentive subjects?
2. If SIINPs are not the subject of a passive verb, causer or topic of the sentence, what is the status of these nouns? Are they the fronted object or a subject of the sentence?



CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this study, I propose that the sentence-initial inanimate NPs (SIINPs) co-occurring with the agentive verb have one of two statuses: the subject of a middle construction or the topic of the sentence. In this chapter, I summarize the relevant background literature on the middles and topics. This chapter is organized as follows:

1. The syntax , morphology and semantics of the middles
 - 1.1 The middle voice in Mandarin Chinese
 - 1.2 Patient-subject construction in Thai
2. Passive construction
 - 2.1 Passive construction in Thai
3. Causative construction
 - 3.1 Causative construction in Thai
4. Valence changing operation
 - 4.1 Valence decreasing
 - 4.2 Valence increasing
5. Topic-prominent language and Subject-prominent language
 - 5.1 Topic
 - 5.1.1 Topic-prominent language
 - 5.1.2 Topicalization and Left-Dislocation in Thai
 - 5.2 Subject
 - 5.2.1 Subject-prominent language
 - 5.3 The differences between Topic and Subject
6. The differences between Topic and Focus
7. Theories adopted in the analysis
 - 7.1 Thematic relation
 - 7.2 X-bar Theory

1. The syntax, morphology and semantics of the middles

In this section, I introduce the middle construction or middle voice and summarize the syntax, morphology and semantics of middles. I focus in particular on the middle in Chinese Mandarin which is a pro-drop language like Thai.

Middle voice is a grammatical construction that take a single argument, interpreted as a theme, as shown in (1a), but the middle lacks some characteristics of the passive constructions as shown in (1b) i.e. the sentence is passivized by the auxiliary *was*, and the verb *open* becomes the verb participle *opened* (Keenan; & Dryer. 2007: 352). *The door* in (1b) is interpreted as a theme, and *easily* is a manner adverbial.

- (1) a. The door was opened (passive)
(Alexiadou. 2011: 4)
- b. The door opens easily. (middle)
(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 383)

There is another construction which is alike to the middle construction, called the “*ergative construction*” as shown in (2).

- (2) The ice melted.
(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 381)

The ergative construction contains an ergative verb. Abraham (1989: 291) points out that an ergative verb is an intransitive but can also behave like a transitive verb as shown in ergative pair (3).¹

- (3) a. The sun melted the ice. (transitive)
b. The ice melted. (intransitive)
(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 381)

An active-middle minimal pair is shown in (4).

- (4) a. Someone bribed the bureaucrats.
b. Bureaucrats bribe easily.
(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 381)

¹ The phenomenon illustrated (3) is also called the causative-inchoative alternation.

There are some differences between ergatives and middles. Keyser and Roeper (1984) claim that the ergative does not require an adverbial like *easily*. Whereas, the middles do require adverbials like *easily* and have a more generic semantics: *chickens* in (5b) refers to general type of chickens, not only some types of chickens like Orrington chicken or Leghom chicken. The claim in (5b) is that in general, all kinds of chicken are easy to kill.

- (5) a. The boat sank. (ergative)
 b. Chickens kill easily. (middle)
 c. *The chicken killed. (middle)

(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 384-5)

(5a) is grammatical without adverbial *easily* because *sink* is the ergative verb but the middle has to have the adverbial *easily*, otherwise it is ungrammatical as shown by the context (5b) and (5c). Moreover, Condoravdi (1989) points out that middles are not permitted as pre-nominal modifiers but ergatives are.

- (6) a. The slowly bouncing ball. (ergative verb)
 b. The rapidly rolling ball. (ergative verb)
 c. *The deftly killing chickens. (middle verb)
 d. *The rapidly painting wall (middle verb)

(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 387)

The examples (6) are evidence for middle verbs being transitive because transitives cannot occur in prenominal position as shown in (6c) and (6d), but ergative verbs can, as shown in (6a) and (6b) (Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 388).

Lekakou (2005) studies middles in cross-linguistically. In order to account for the observation that middle constructions require a generic meaning subject. She proposes a Gen operator (Generic operator) which derives an implicit agent. The Gen operator is an operator for changing an agent to be an arbitrary implicit agent. For English, there is no morphological middle system as in Greek² thus the Gen operator is encoded at the presyntactic level; the Gen operator does not display as morphological marking for the English middle, in contrast to Greek.

² Greek middles has morphological middle. The Gen operator is shown via this morphological system. For example:

a.	Afto	to	vivio	diavazete	efkola.
	this	the	book	read-IMPERF.NONACT.3sg	easily

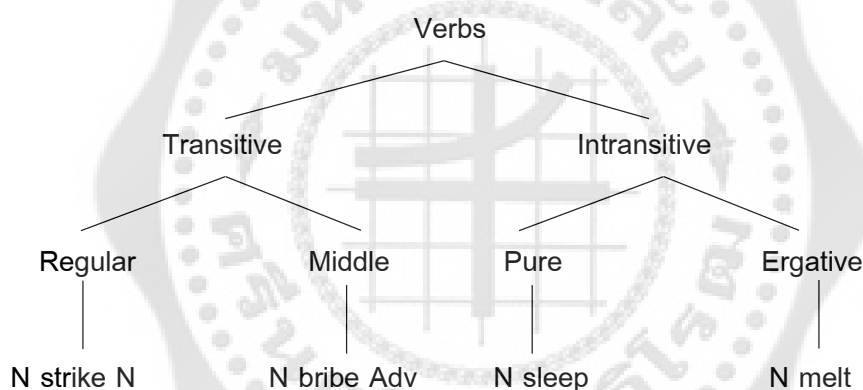
Furthermore, Keyser and Roeper (1984) also point out that while the ergative can be modified by the progressive as shown in (7a) while, the middle cannot because middle verbs are not used to describe events. Under the assumption that the progressive only occurs with eventives, we expect that, middle verbs cannot appear in progressive construction as shown in (7b):

(7) a. The boat is sinking. (ergative)

b. *Chickens are killing. (middle)

(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 384-5)

Having discussed the distinctions between middle and ergatives, Keyser and Roeper (1984) categorize ergative verbs as intransitive, while middle verbs are categorized as transitive. Figure 1 summarizes the idea that middle and ergative verbs are distinct categories as below:



(Keyser; & Roeper. 1984: 382)

Figure 1 Taxonomy of English verbs

Having summarized the prototypical characteristics of middle construction, I will now discuss the morphological properties of middle constructions cross-linguistically. In some languages, middle constructions have a reflexive meaning for example Classical Greek is illustrated in (8).

"This book reads easily."

b. Afto to provlima linete afkola.
 this the problem sole-IMPERF.NONACT.3sg easily

"This problem can be/is solved easily."

(Lekakou. 2005: 15-6)

(8) loúo-**mai** tàs cheîras

wash-MID of hand

“I wash my hand.”

(Kemmer. 1993: 1)

Morphologically, some languages have middle markers such as Classical Greek, Quechua and Spanish while, other languages, like English do not have middle markers. I exemplify some middle markers from Classical Greek, Quechua and Spanish respectively in (9).

(9) a. hállo-**mai**

(Classical Greek)

leap-MID

“I leap”

(Kemmer. 1993: 1)

b. punku kiča-**ka**-rqa-n

(Quechua)

door open-MID-PAST-3

“The door opened.”

(Keenan; & Dryer. 2007: 353)

c. **Se** quemó el dulce

(Spanish)

REFL burn.PAST.3sg the jam

“The jam burned.” (or “The jam was burnt”)

(Keenan; & Dryer. 2007: 353)

d. Dus Buch liest **sich**

leicht (German)

the book-NOM reads REFL-PRO-ACC easily

“The book reads easily.”

(Steinbach. 2002: 3)

Classical Greek has the middle morphological *mai* as shown in (9a). In (9b), Quechua has *ka* which indicates the middle construction. The *se* in (9c) is the reflexive in Spanish which also has middle and passive functions. In (9d) *sich*, is the middle and reflexive marker in German. Now, we have seen cross-linguistic variation in middles. In the next section, I will summarize two different approaches of forming middle constructions in Mandarin Chinese.

1.1 Middle construction in Mandarin Chinese

As we know well, Chinese and Thai are pro-drop languages. Moreover, they are both analytic languages.³ For these reasons, I will discuss the middle phenomenon which exists in Mandarin Chinese. Ting (2006) demonstrates that there is a middle construction in Mandarin Chinese. She claims that the sentence-initial preverbal NP is the grammatical subject of the middle construction, generated in the subject position rather than via NP-movement. Moreover, the sentence-initial patient NP can be topicalized but she argues that it can also be the grammatical subject of a middle construction. In this section, I summarize the details of her argument.

In Mandarin Chinese, there are two constructions the passive and the middle constructions. The passive construction has *bei* which is the passive marker, while the middle construction does not. I exemplify as follows:

- (10) a. yifu **bei** xi-hao-le (passive)
 clothes PASS wash-good-ASP
 “The clothes have been washed.”
 (Ting. 2006: 90)
- b. yifu xi-hao-le (middle)
 clothes wash-good-ASP
 “The clothes have been washed.”
 (Ting. 2006: 91)

Ting proposes that *yifu* “clothes” is not in the topic position as (11) but it is in the specifier of the IP projection which is the grammatical subject position, as (12).

- (11) [_{TopP} yifu [_{IP} pro [_{VP} xi-hao-le]]]
 (Ting. 2006: 91)
- (12) [_{IP} yifu [_{VP} xi-hao-le]]
 (Ting. 2006: 92)

She argues that the SIINP is the grammatical subject of the middle construction as opposed to topic, using anaphoric reference as a diagnostic. This is illustrated in (13). The anaphor *ziji* in the sentence (13a) has co-index with *Zhangsan*. This suggests that

³ Analytic language is a language in which most words are single morphemes (Rowe & Lavine. 2015: 92).

[*Zhangsan de che*]_{NP} “Zhangsan’s car” in (13a) is the A-position of grammatical subject because *Zhangsan* can bind the anaphor, the SIINP to be coreferential with *ziji*. This shows that the SIINP can bind *ziji*. (13b) is a passive structure, where the anaphor *ziji* “self” can be bound by either the subject of the passive [*Zhangsa de che*]_{NP} “Zhangsan’s car” or the agent by-phrase *Lisi*. This shows that NPs in A-positions can bind anaphors in Mandarin. (13c) shows that topics, on the other hand, cannot bind anaphors as *ziji* cannot be co-referent with the topic [*Zhangsan de che*]_{NP}. This shows that NPs in A’-positions cannot bind anaphors in Mandarin.

- (13) a. Zhangsan_i de che zai ziji_i de dian-li mai de
 Zhangsan PART car at self PART store-inside sell PART
 hen hao (middle)
 very good
 “Zhangsan_i’s car sells well at the car dealership that he_i owns.”
- b. Zhangsan_i de che bei Lisi_j zai ziji_{i/j} de dian-li mai de
 Zhangsan PART car PASS Lisi at self PART store-inside sell PART
 hen hao (passive)
 very good
 “Zhangsan_i’s car is sold well by Lisi_j at the car dealership that he_{i/j} owns.”
- c. Zhangsan_i de che, Lisi_j zai ziji_{*i/j} de dian-li mai de
 Zhangsan PART car Lisi at self PART store-inside sell PART
 hen hao (topicalization)
 very good
 “Zhangsan_i’s car, Lisi_j sold it well at the car dealership that he_{*i/j} owns.”
- (Ting. 2006: 93)

Further evidence that the sentence-initial patient NP is the grammatical subject of the middle construction comes from definiteness: the topic has to be definite element, while the subject does not.

- (14) a. yijian beixin zhi de you fei you chang bu zhidao
 one vest weave PART again fat again long not know
 dasuan gei shei chuan
 plan give who wear

“One vest was made wide and long. I don’t know who is going to wear it.”

- b. *yijian beixin ta zhi de you fei you chang
 one vest he weave PART again fat again long

“One vest_[TOPIC], he wove it both wide and long. (He made the vest wide and long.)”

(Ting. 2006: 94)

biexin “vest” in sentence (14a) might be the subject or the topic of the sentence. Ting adds *yijian* “one” which make the following noun is indefinite. The outcome exhibits that the sentence (14b) is ungrammatical thus, *biexin* “vest” in sentence (14a) is the subject of the sentence.

Following Ting (2006), there are two meanings of the middle construction in Mandarin Chinese. The first meaning of the middle construction is an eventive or a stative; it may signify an event time in time or a state as in (15).

- (15) a. xiaowu sandianzhong zheng shu zhongyu mai-diao-le
 afternoon three o'clock sharp book finally sell-fall-ASP

“The book were all sold out by three o'clock in the afternoon.”

- b. Zhangsan_i de che zhengzai ziji_i de dian li siuli
 Zhangsan PART car presently self PART store inside fix

“Zhangsan’s car is being fixed in his own garage.”

(Ting. 2006: 106)

The example (15a) exhibits the eventive middle which signifies the event time *sandianzhong* “three o'clock”. (15b) shows the stative middle, where the subject [*Zhangsan de che*]_{NP} “Zhangsan’s car” is in the state of being fixed. The second meaning of the middle construction is a general truth or the state of subject NP as in (16).

- (16) a. fan chi-dou-le duzi hui zhang fan chi-shao-le duzi you hui e
 rice eat-many-ASP belly will swell rice eat-little-ASP belly again will hungry

“When one eats too much, his belly becomes swollen; when one eats too little, his belly starves.”

(Ting. 2006: 107)

There are two main approaches to derive middle constructions: the first approach is syntactic approach. Keyser and Roeper (1984), Roberts (1987), Carrier and Randall (1992), Stroik (1992, 1995, 1999), Hoekstra and Roberts (1993) and Authier and Reed (1996) propose that the subject of the middle construction is an active internal argument that is promoted to be the grammatical subject and an active external argument is demoted (Ting. 2006: 95).

Cheng and Huang (1994) claim that the middle construction is the outcome of syntactic argument-suppression followed by NP-movement.

- (17) a. ta chui-po-le qiqiu.
 he blow-broken-ASP balloon
 “He popped the balloon.”
 b. qiqiu chui-po-le.
 balloon blow-broken-ASP
 “The balloon was popped (blown-broken).”

(Cheng; & Huang. 1994: 207)

The sentence (17a) is the underlying argument structure of the sentence (17b). The verb *chui* “blow” in (17a) is transitive while it is intransitive in (17b). Cheng and Huang (1994) explain that the sentence (17b) is the result from a rule of de-thematization, which suppresses the agent role *ta* “he” and moves the theme *qiqiu* “balloon” to be the grammatical subject.

The second approach is a presyntactic approach.⁴ Fagan (1988, 1992), Zribi-Hertz (1993) and Ackema and Schoorlemmer (1994, 1995) propose that the grammatical subject of the middle construction is generated in the subject position which is assume to be VP-internal. It is not derived by NP-movement (Ting. 2006: 95-6).

Ting (2004) supports the second approach. She claims that the agent of the middle construction in Chinese is not at the syntactic level. She uses a diagnostic based on Keyser and Roeper (1989’s observation, that ergative construction can occur with *[all by itself]_{PP}* but middle constructions cannot as in shown (18). The idea is that modifiers like *[all by itself]_{PP}* can only modify syntactically present agents level if the agent is suppressed. The middle, lacking even a syntactically suppressed agent, cannot be modified by *[all by itself]_{PP}*.

⁴ For presyntactic approach, the agent is demoted via lexicon operation e.g. valence-changing operation (details in section 3).

- (18) a. *naiyou* **ziji** *ronghua-le* (ergative)
 butter self melt-ASP
 “The butter melted **by itself**.”
- b. **shu* **ziji** *mai-diao-le* (middle)
 book self sell-fall-ASP
 “The book was sold **by itself**.”

(Ting. 2004: 102)

In (18a), [*The butter*]_{NP} can melt by itself, it does not need an agent or a subject to sink it while *the books* in (18b) cannot sell itself. It needs to have an agent or a subject to sell it.

As for two approaches, Ting (2004) examines the place where the agent is located in the presyntactic level as follows:

- (19) a. *guanjiande* *zhengju* *bei* **guyi** *hushi* (passive)
 crucial evidence PASS deliberately ignore
 “Crucial evidence was **deliberately** ignored.”
- b. **guanjiande* *zhengju* **guyi** *hushi* (middle)
 crucial evidence deliberately ignore
 “Crucial evidence was **deliberately** ignored.”

(Ting. 2004: 102)

The sentence (19a) is the passive construction with the passive marker *bei*. When we add *guyi* “deliberately” which contains the intention of a doer, the sentence is grammatical because there is a subject or doer but it is omitted from the sentence. While the middle construction in (19b), when we add the intention of a doer, the sentence is ungrammatical because there is no a subject or doer in the syntactic level. Thus, Ting (2004: 104) concludes that the implicit agent of the middle construction is in the presyntactic level but the passive construction has implicit agent in the syntactic level.

1.2 Patient-subject construction in Thai

Thongteang (2009) claims that Thai patient-subject constructions like (20a) are different From Thai passive constructions like (20b). His evidence is that sentences like (20a) are incompatible with passive marker *tʰùuk*, as shown in (21).

- (20) a. ผ้าห่ม ผืน นี้ ซัก สะอาด (*patient-subject*)
 p^hâahòm p^hhîn níi sák sàʔàad
 blanket CL this wash cleanly
 “This blanket wash cleanly.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 31)

- b. ผ้าห่ม ผืน นี้ ถูก ซัก (*passive*)
 p^hâahòm p^hhîn níi t^uùuk sák
 blanket CL this PASS wash
 “This blanket was washed.”

- (21) *ผ้าห่ม ผืน นี้ ถูก ซัก สะอาด
 p^hâahòm p^hhîn níi t^uùuk sák sàʔàad
 blanket CL this PASS wash cleanly
 lit. “This blanket was washed cleanly.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 31)

Another difference between Thongteang’s Thai patient-subject construction and the passive construction is that animate or inanimate NPs can be the subject of passive as shown in (22). In contrast, only inanimate NPs tend to occur in the patient-subject construction, as shown in (23).

- (22) a. คำปรึกษา_[inanimate] นี้ ถูก ไข
 k^ham.p ìk.săa níi t^uùuk k^hăi
 suggestion this PASS explain
 “This suggestion is explained.”

- b. พี่สาวฉัน_[animate] ถูก ฆ่า
 p^hi.săaw.c^hăn t^uùuk k^hâa
 my elder sister PASS kill
 “My elder sister was killed.”

(Prasithrathsint. 2006: 294-5)

- (24) a. โจร ก๊ นี้ ปราบ ยาก (*patient*)⁵
 coon kók níi pràap jâak
 bandit group this subdue difficulty
 “This bandit group subdue difficulty.”
- b. นายทุน คน นี้ กู้ เงิน ยาก (*beneficiary*)
 naajt^hun k^hon níi kúu ฅອ jâak
 capitalist CL this take loan money difficulty
 “This capitalist take loan money difficulty.”
- c. เตียง นี้ นอน สบาย (*place*)
 tianj níi นอน sàbaaj
 bed this sleep comfortably
 “This bed sleeps comfortably.”
- d. ปากกา นี้ เขียน ดี (*instrument*)
 paakkaa níi kǎn dii
 pen this write well
 “This pen writes well.”
- e. แป้ง นี้ ทำ ขนม ไม่ ได้ (*material*)
 pê̌ɛŋ níi t^ham k^hànǒm mǎi dâaj
 powder this make snack NEG can
 “This powder cannot make snack.”
- f. เพลง นี้ ร้อง ง่าย (*range*)
 p^hlɛŋ níi rǒwŋ ŋâaj
 song this sing easily
 “This song sings easily.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 36)

Based on (24a-f), the initial subjects have to be definite i.e. a proper noun or common noun occurs with modifiers to make the noun definite. The common noun *coon* “bandit” in (24a) and *naajt^hun* “capitalist” in (24b) are modified by classifiers *kók* “group” and *k^hon* “human”, and determiner *níi*.

⁵ Thongteang (2009) uses the term “goal”.

The main verbs of patient-subject construction are originally transitive verbs, Thongteang claims that the patient-subject construction derives an intransitive verb from the original transitive verbs. This is illustrated in (26).

- (25) a. แม่ ชัก ผ้าห่ม ผืน นี้ (active)
 m̄ɛ sák pʰâahòm pʰɯn ní
 mother wash blanket CL this
 “Mother washes this blanket.”
- b. NP + Verb_[trans] + NP
 Agent Patient
 m̄ɛ sák pʰâahòm pʰɯn ní
 (Thongteang. 2009: 37)
- (26) a. ผ้าห่ม ผืน นี้ ชัก สะอาด (patient-subject)
 pʰâahòm pʰɯn ní sák sàʔaad
 blanket CL this wash cleanly
 “This blanket wash cleanly.”
- b. NP + Verb_[intrans]
 Patient
 pʰâahòm pʰɯn ní sák
 (Thongteang. 2009: 38)

Thongteang (2009: 39) divides transitive verbs which can occur in patient-subject construction in Thai in four groups:

- (i) Verbs of change-of-state – e.g. *kwaat* “sweep”, *sák* “wash”, *lâaŋ* “wash”, etc.
- (ii) Verbs of creation – e.g. *sâaŋ* “build”, *wâat* “draw”, *ràbaaj* “paint”, etc.

In this types Pion (2007) categorizes verbs of creation into three groups which are (i) creation of physical verbs like *sâaŋ* “build”, *wâat* “draw” and *ràbaaj* “paint”, (ii) creation of performance verbs like *sùat* “pray”, *róŋ* “sing” and abstract entity verbs like *ʔaʔkbɛ̀ɛp* “design”, *tɛ̀ɛŋ* “compose”, etc.

- (iii) Verbs of cause-motion – e.g. *jwət* “park (car)”, *khwəw* “hook”, *khwəɛn* “hang”, etc.
- (iv) Verbs of action – e.g. *nəɲ* “sit”, *jəm* “borrow”, *kin* “eat”, etc.

Moreover, He categorizes the syntax and semantics of the Thai patient-subject construction as follows:

(The table 1 is in next page.)



Table 1 Syntax and semantics of the Thai patient-subject constructions

Semantics	Syntactic structure				
	Subject	Transitive verbs			
		Change-of-state	Creation	Motion	Action
1. Present the new state of action					
1.1. Change to the new result	Patient	✓	✓		Verb _[state]
1.2 Change the state	Patient	✓	✓		pen + NP
1.3 Physical state	Patient				jùu + NP/PP
1.4 State of new result	Patient		✓		dâaj + Verb _[state]
2. Present particular property	Patient		✓		PP
3. Situation assessment of the action	Patient	✓			Adv
4. Present the potential property	Patient	✓	✓		dâaj (+ NP _[qualifier])

1. Presentation the new state of action

1.1 Change to be the new result of patient-subject for example:

- (27) ห้องนี้กวาดสะอาด (แล้ว)
 hǎwŋ nīi kʰàat sàʔàat léɛw
 room this sweep cleanly ASP
 “This room sweep/swept cleanly.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 48)

The patient-subject *hǎwŋ nīi* “this room” in (27) is a recipient of the action *kʰàat* “sweep” which is a change-of-state verb, and occurring with state verb like *sàʔàat* “cleanly”. The patient-subject *hǎwŋ nīi* “this room” was dirty before, then it is swept. The dirty room has the new result of the action “sweep”; it becomes clean room. The schematic structure of (27) is represent in figure 3.

NP + Verb_[trans: change-of-state/ creation] + Verb_[state]

(Thongteang. 2009: 47)

Figure 3 Schematic structure of the new result of patient-subject

1.2 Changing the state of patient-subject for example:

- (28) หนังสือเล่มนี้แปลเป็นภาษาไทย
 nǎŋsǎi lêm nīi plɛɛ pen pʰaasǎa tʰai
 book CL this translate be language Thai
 “This book is translated into Thai language.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 50)

The patient-subject [*nǎŋsǎi lêm nīi*]_{NP} “this book” occurs with change-of-state verb *plɛɛ* “translate”. The verb *pen* “to be” indicates the changing point of the state i.e. the book is changed from English to be Thai. The schematic structure of (28) is represent in figure 4.

NP + Verb_[trans: change-of-state/creation] + pen + NP

(Thongteang. 2009: 50)

Figure 4 Schematic structure of changing state of patient-subject

1.3 Physical state of patient-subject for example:

- (29) กระถาง ไบ นี้ แหวน อยู่ ใต้ ต้นไม้
 kràt^hǎaŋ bai níi k^{hw}ǎen jùu tâaj tônámámuŋ
 pot CL this hang be under tree
 lit. "This pot hangs under the tree."

(Thongteang. 2009: 54)

The action verb *k^{hw}ǎen* "hang" describes the physical state of the patient-subject [*kràt^hǎaŋ bai níi*]_{NP} "this pot". The preposition phrase [*tâaj tônámámuŋ*]_{PP} describes the position state of patient-subject where is under the tree. The schematic structure of (29) is represented below:

NP + Verb_[tras: action] + jùu + NP/PP

(Thongteang. 2009: 53)

Figure 5 Schematic structure of physical state of patient-subject

1.4 The state of new result of patient-subject which occur from the ability of an agent for example:

- (30) ห้องประชุม ตกแต่ง ใต้ สวยงาม
 hǎwŋpràc^hum tòktǎeŋ dâaj sǎajŋaam
 meeting room decorate AUX beautifully
 "The meeting room, one decorates beautifully."

(Thongteang. 2009: 56)

The sentence (30), we can see *dâaj* which is the auxiliary verb⁶ to present the ability of an agent. Due to the decorate ability of one (the agent), the meeting room is changed to be beautiful (new result). The new result *beautiful* is the new state of the patient-subject *meeting room*. The schematic structure of (30) is represented below:

⁶ *dâaj* can behave like a verb, auxiliary verb or adverb.

NP + Verb_[trans: creation/action] + dâaj + Verb_[state]
(Thongteang. 2009: 55)

Figure 6 Schematic structure of the state of new result of patient-subject

2. Presentation of a particular property of the patient-subject for example:

- (31) a. โอ่ง ไบ นี้ ผลิต ที่ ราชบุรี (place)
 ʔòonɯŋ bai nii pʰàlɨt tʰii rāatcʰábùrii
 jar CL this produce at Ratchaburi

“This jar is produced/made **at Ratchaburi**.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 58)

- b. ขนม พวก นี้ ทำ จาก แป้งข้าวโพด (material)
 kʰànǎm pʰuak nii tʰam càak pɛ̌ŋ.kʰâaw.pʰôot
 snack PL this make from corn powder

“This snacks are made from corn powder.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 62)

- c. สินค้า ดังกล่าว ผลิต ด้วย เครื่องจักร อัน
 sɨnkʰáa daŋklàaw pʰàlɨt dɯaj kʰɛ̌ŋcàk ʔan
 product aforementioned produce by machine COMP
 ทันสมัย (instrument)
 tʰan.sà.mǎj
 modern

“The aforementioned product is produced by **the modern machine**.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 63)

- d. อนุสาวรีย์ นี้ สร้าง ตั้งแต่ ปี 1974 (time)
 ʔànútsǎowáarii nii sâaŋ tâŋtɛ̌e pii 1974
 monument this build since year 1974

“This monument was built **since 1974**.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 65)

- e. เพลง นี้ แต่ง ขึ้น เพื่อ สื่อ ถึง คนรัก (*purpose*)
 p^hlɛɛŋ nii tɛɛŋ k^hɨŋ p^hɤa sɨi t^hɨŋ k^honrák
 song this compose up for convey to lover
 “This song was composed for conveying to lover.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 66)

- f. เพลง นี้ แต่ง โดย ไดแอน วอร์เรน (*agent*)
 p^hlɛɛŋ nii tɛɛŋ dooj daiɤɛn wɔɔrɛn
 song this compose by Diane Warren
 “This song was composed by Diane Warren.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 68)

This type of patient-subject occurs with creation or action verbs as shown in (42a-f), and preposition phrase to assert a particular property of the patient-subject e.g. place, material, instrument, time, purpose and agent. The schematic structure of (31a-f) is represented below:

NP + Verb_[trans: creation/action] + PP

(Thongteang. 2009: 58)

Figure 7 Schematic structure of particular property of patient-subject

3. Situation assessment of the action for example:

- (32) a. ไมโล ดื่ม อร่อย
 mailoo dɨm ʔàrɔ̀ɔj
 Milo drink deliciously
 “Milo drinks deliciously.”
 b. เตียง นี้ นอน สบาย
 tianɣ nii nɔɔn sàbaaj
 bed this sleep comfortably
 “This bed is comfortably to sleep.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 69-70)

Thongteang (2009: 71) explains that the semantics of this type of patient-subject is the agent's assessment after the agent does the action *d̥im* “drink” in (32a) or *nɔɔn* “sleep” in (32b); in this case, the agent discovers/judges the property of the patient-subject *mailoo* “Milo” as *ɔ̀àrɔ̀ɔ̀j* “delicious” in (32a), or *tiaŋ* “bed” as *sàbaaj* “comfortably” in (32b). This assessment expresses the satisfaction of the agent. The schematic structure of (32) is represented below:



Figure 8 Schematic structure of situation assessment of the action

This type of patient-subject looks similar to the middle construction cross-linguistically. I will later argue that in chapter 4 that the patient-subject in the construction like (32) is not all subjects. But (32a) is a subject of a middle construction while, the construction like (32b) is topicalization of middle subject.

4. Presentation the potential property of patient-subject for example:

- (33) a. รองเท้า คู่ นี้ ใส่ ได้
 rɔŋtʰáaw kʰúu níi sàì dâaj
 shoes CL this wear can
 “These shoes one can wear.”
- b. เก้าอี้ ตัว นี้ นั่ง ได้ สาม คน
 kâawʔii tua níi nâŋ dâaj sǎam kʰon
 chair CL this sit can 3 CL
 “Three person can sit on this chair.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 73)

Thongteang (2009: 74) explains that the semantics of this type of patient-subject presents that the potential to do an action. The semantics potential property is indicated by *dâaj* “can”. He divides these into two groups: (i) the potential property of a person as shown in (33a), and (ii) the potential property of the group of people as shown in (33b). The schematic structure of (33) is represented below:

NP + Verb_[trans: action/creation] + dâaj (+ NP_[qualifier])

(Thongteang. 2009: 75)

Figure 9 Schematic structure of the potential property of patient-subject

In this type of patient-subject, I will argue later that [ɾɔŋtʰ áaw kʰûu nîi]_{NP} “these shoes” in (33a) and [kâawʔîi tua nîi]_{NP} “this chair” in (33b) are not subjects but topics of the sentence in chapter 4.

Having discussed middle constructions cross-linguistically and Thai patient-subject constructions, Thai patient-subject constructions have several pattern structure and semantics differences; some patient-subject constructions describe property or state of the initial NP (Thongtean's patient-subject). However, not all of initial NPs which Thongteang (2009) proposes are a subject of the sentence but some of initial NPs are a topic. As we have seen that the initial NPs of his data mostly occurs with the topic marker *nîi*, this might be an evidence that the initial NPs are a topic.

2. Passive constructions

Passive construction/voice is another construction in which SIINPs appear. Tallerman (2005) suggests that passive constructions are derived via a promotion and demotion process. She mentions that there are two properties of passive constructions cross-linguistically; (i) passives involve an object promotion to the subject position, (ii) an active subject is demoted and becomes optional. The example (34) is an active and passive counter pairs in English. The passive subject *The vase* in (34b) is promoted and triggers singular morphology on the singular auxiliary *was*. The main verb *break* in (34a) is characterized by auxiliary *was* then become past participle *broken*. The subject *Kim* in (34a) is demoted to be the preposition phrase *by* as shown in (34b).

- (34) a. Kim broke the vase. (active)
b. The vase was broken by Kim. (passive)

(Tallerman. 2005: 21)

The data (34) is an example of the passive in an analytic language. The data (35) is the example of passive in Chichewa, which is a morphological language. In this language, the passive suffix *-edw* combines with the verb. The object argument [*mkazi wa njovu*]_{NP} “the elephant’s wife” in (35a) is passivized to become the subject of the passive construction in (35b), and the subject argument *Kaluu* “hare” of the active in (35a) becomes an adjunct PP or omitted in (35b). The morphological passive *-edw* is presented in 35b).

- (35) a. *Kaluu a-na-b-a mkazi wa njovu. (active)*
 hare SU-PAST-steal-ASPECT wife of elephant
 “The hare stole the elephant’s wife.”
- b. *Mkazi wa njovu a-na-b-edw-a*
 wife of elephant SU-PAST-steal-PASSIVE-ASPECT
 (ndi kalulu) (passive)
 by hare
 “The elephant’s wife was stolen (by the hare).”

(Tallerman. 2005: 58)

We have seen the basic concept of passive constructions. In a passive, the object/THEME of the active construction is promoted to being the subject of the passive construction. This means, passive constructions usually involve transitive verbs as shown in (36) *take* and (37) *sikaru* “scold”.⁷ The examples (36) and (37) are active and passive pairs in English and Japanese respectively.

- (36) a. Kim **took** some great photos with that old camera. (active)
 b. Some great photos were **taken** (by Kim) with that old camera. (passive)

(Tallerman. 2005: 188)

- (37) a. *sensei ga John o sikat-ta (active)*
 teacher SUBJ John OBJ scold-PAST
 “The teacher **scolded** John.”
- b. *John ga sensei ni sikar-are-ta. (passive)*
 John SUBJ teacher by scold-PASS-PAST

⁷ I will discuss intransitive passive e.g. German later.

“John **was scolded** by the teacher.”

(Tallerman. 2005: 21)

In the active sentences, (36a) and (37)a), the transitive verbs *take* in (36) and *sikaru* “scold” in (37) require two argument which are the original subjects *Kim* and *sensei* “teacher”, and direct objects [*some great photos*]_{NP} and *John*. When passives are derived, the direct object [*some great photos*]_{NP} in (36) and *John* in (37) are promoted to be the subjects of the passives, and the original subject *Kim* and *Sensei* “teacher” are demoted to being a preposition phrase or omitted. In other words, a transitive verb becomes intransitive verb. These are the basic concept of passive construction cross-linguistically; an active subject and object change their grammatical relation when a passive is derived. However, can intransitive verbs can be derived passive construction?

Tallerman (2005: 193-4) mentions that there are various languages allow passivization with intransitive verbs e.g. Welsh in (38) and German in (39).

- (38) a. **Can-odd** y côr neithiwr. (active)
sing-PAST the choir last.night
“The choir sang last night.”
- b. **Can-wyd** (gan y côr) neithiwr. (passive)
sing-PAST-PASS by the choir last.night
“There was singing (by the choir) last night.”
(lit. “Was sung by the choir last night.”)
- (39) a. Die Leuten **tanz-ten.** (active)
the people dance-PAST
“the people danced.”
- b. Es wurde **getanzt.** (passive)
it was dance:PAST PARTICIPLE
“Ther was dancing.”
(lit. “It was danced.”)

The verb *Can-wyd* “was sung” in (38b) and *getanzt* “was danced” (39b) do not have THEM NP to be promoted to the subject position. This construction is called the “impersonal passive”. In German, the dummy subject *Es* “it” is inserted in the subject position. Thus, for

impersonal passives, we do not have true subject. As we have seen, passivization involves transitive verbs which change the grammatical relation between a subject and object. However, impersonal passives do not involve changing grammatical relations, since, intransitive verbs have only one argument. (Tallerman. 2005: 194).

Having discussed about passive constructions cross-linguistically, I will next present the Thai passive construction in section 2.1.

2.1. Passive construction in Thai

Sinlapasan (1979) and Thonglor (2001) claim that sentence-initial inanimate NPs (SIINPs) are subjects of passive constructions. They claim that the subject of the passive construction has accusative case - i.e., passive construction SIINPs require a subject with accusative case.⁸ To form a Thai passive, the auxiliary *tʰùuk* is added before the verb, and the AGENT becomes optional, as shown in (40):

- (40) ฉัน ถูก พ่อ ตี
 cʰǎn tʰùuk (pʰǎw) tʰii
 sg1 PASS father beat
 “I was beaten (by father).”

This auxiliary verb *tʰùuk* can be omitted and the sentence maintains only the accusative subject to indicate the passive construction as in (41). Sinlapasan thus claims that the inanimate NP in initial position in sentences like (41) are the subject of a passive construction where the sentence maintains only the verb and deletes the auxiliary verb *tʰùuk*.

- (41) a. บุหรี่ นี้ ขาย ดี
 burii níi kʰǎaj dii
 cigarette this sell good
 “This cigarette is easy to sell.”
 b. ขนม นี้ กิน ดี
 kʰanǒm níi kin dii
 snack this eat good
 “This snack is tasty to eat.”

(Sinlapasan. 1979: 136-7)

⁸ Acknowledge that it's strange.

c. แกงไก่	กิน	อร่อย
kɛŋkàì	kin	ʔàrɔ̀ɔj
chicken curry	eat	delicious

lit. "The chicken curry eats deliciously."

(Thonglor. 2001: 233)

Sinlapasan (1979) and Thonglor (2001) claim that both sentences in (41) are the passive construction because they have the same meaning as the passive in (41a), (41b) and (41c) but only auxiliary verb *tʰùuk* is deleted from the sentence.

Prasithrathsint (2010: 175-6) defines the properties of passive constructions cross-linguistically as below:

1. A grammatical subject of passive has a patient theta-role.⁹

Savettamal (in Prasithrathsint. 2001: 345) suggests that patient role is the entity: the patient role belongs to the/a entity that undergoes a change in possessor, status or experience, as the outcome/result of the action. This is shown in (42). *น้อง* "younger sister" undergoes a change of experience to the action *dù* "scold".

(42) แม่	ดุ	น้อง
mɛ̌ɛ	dù	น้อง
mother	scold	younger sister

"Mother scolds **younger sister**."

(Prasithrathsint. 2010: 176)

2. Passive verbs are derived from transitive verbs as illustrated in (43).

(43) a. หัวหน้า	ย้าย	เขา	(active)
húanâa	jáaj	kʰǎo	
boss	move	him	

"Boss moved him."

⁹ Prasithrathsint (2010) uses the term "patient case relation" instead of "patient theta-role". To maintain construction with my discussion, I have replaced her terminology with the terminology I adopt.

b. เขา	ถูก	ย้าย	(passive)
khǎo	tʰùuk	jáaj	
he	PASS	move	
“He is moved .”			

(Prasithrathsint. 2010: 176)

The main verb *jáaj* “move” is derived from transitive verb. Only one patient argument remains, thus *jáaj* “move” becomes an intransitive verb.

3. Passive markers might be affixes or auxiliary verbs.

The passive markers in Thai are *tʰùuk* or *doon* for example:

- (44) a. ถูก ตาม
 tʰùuk taam
 PASS pursue
 “be pursued”,
 b. ถูก ค้นพบ
 tʰùuk kʰónpʰóp
 PASS discover
 “be discovered”
 d. น้อง โดน แม่ ตี
 nǎwng doon mǎe tii
 younger sister PASS mother slap
 “younger sister was slapped by mother.”

(Prasithrathsint. 2010: 176)

4. Passive constructions are used less than active constructions.

Passive constructions are the marked construction. The frequency use of passives is less than actives, which is the unmarked construction (Prasithrathsint. 2010: 176).

Warotamasikkhadi (1963: 32-3) analyzes the Thai passive construction based on Chomsky (1957)’s Generative Transformational Grammar. He claims that passive construction is derived from the active construction as shown in (45).

- (45) a. หมา กัด เด็ก (active)
 mǎa kàt dèk
 dog bite child/children
 “A dog bit a child/children.”
- b. เด็ก ถูก หมา กัด (passive)
 dèk tʰùuk mǎa kàt
 child/children PASS dog bite
 “A child/children was bitten by dog.”

(Prasithrathsint. 2010: 185)

Warotamasikkhadit (1963) proposes the passive transformation rules deriving a passive structure from an active structure.

Having discussed passive constructions in various languages, I will now present the causative construction, in which SIINPs can occur.

3. Causative constructions

In the previous section, we have seen SIINPs that are interpreted as themes and function as the subject of the middle construction. In this section, I will show some SIINPs that are not interpreted as a theme, but as a causer. There are two types of causative constructions which can be distinguished via various diagnostics; (i) single event, (ii) double events (Pylkkänen. 2002).

Firstly, the single-event causative construction involves a causer causing an event. The causer of the event can be an animate entity as shown in (46) or an inanimate entity as shown in (47).

- (46) Lisa broke the window.

(Pylkkänen. 2002: 73)

- (47) The hammer broke the window.

(Alexiadou; & Schäfer. 2006: 40)

Lisa in (46) is the agent who causes the event [*breaking window*]_{VP}. While, [*the hammer*]_{NP} in (47) is the instrument which causes the event [*breaking window*]_{VP}.

Secondly, the double-event causative involves an event causing another event. The causer event is inanimate entity. (48) is the example of an event causing an event in Japanese, *sensoo* “the war” is the event which causes “*Taro*” died.

- (48) a. *Sensoo-ga Taro-o sin-ase-ta*
 War-NOM Taro-ACC die-CAUSE-PAST
 “The war caused Taro to die.”

(Pylkkänen. 2002: 84)

Having discussed causative constructions cross-linguistically, I will now discuss Thai causative constructions in section 3.1.

3.1. Causative constructions in Thai

Thai has four causative constructions: (i) covert causatives, (ii) *t^ham* constructions, (ii) *hâi* constructions, and (iv) *t^hamhâi* constructions (see Pothipath.1999). However, SIINPs can appear in only *t^hamhâi* construction.¹⁰ The subject (initial position) of causatives in *t^hamhâi* construction is a cause, not agentive cause as shown in (49) (Pothipath.1999: 99). The cause [*rɛɛŋ k^hɔ̌wŋ hɔ̌wk*]_{NP} “force of spear” is the inanimate subject of the causative construction in (49).

- (49) แรง ของ หอก ทำให้ ขุน สาย ตก จาก
 rɛɛŋ k^hɔ̌wŋ hɔ̌wk t^hamhâi k^hũn sǎaj tòk càak
 force belong spear CAUSE titled official Sai fall from
 หลังม้า
 lǎŋ.mâa
 horseback

“The force of spear caused Khun Sai fell down from horseback.

(Pothipath. 1999: 129)

Thepkanjana (1986) suggests that this construction is not an independent type of causative. She argues that the *t^hamhâi* construction is the *hâi* construction modified by *t^ham*. Moreover, she argues that *t^hamhâi* is not a single verb because we can insert negation between *t^ham* and *hâi* as shown in (50).¹¹

¹⁰ Animate or inanimate entities can be a subject of the causatives in *t^hamhâi* construction.

¹¹ I find (50b) strange.

- (50) a. สุรีย์ ทำให้ สุดา ร้องไห้
 sùrii t^hamhâi sùdaa rǒwŋhâaj
 Suree CAUSE Suda cry
 “Suree made Suda cry.”
- b. สุรีย์ ทำ ไม่ ให้ สุดา ร้องไห้
 sùrii t^ham mâi hâi sùdaa rǒwŋhâaj
 Suree CAUSE NEG CAUSE Suda cry
 lit. “Suree makes Suda does not cry.”

(Thepkanjana. 1986: 61)

Pothipath argues that *t^hamhâi* construction is a causative in Thai. The schematic structure of *t^hamhâi* construction is represent below:

Subject₁ [$\pm$ animate] + *t^hamhâi* + Subject₂ [$\pm$ animate] + Verb₂ [$\pm$ controllable]
 ([+event])

Figure 10 Schematic structure of *t^hamhâi* construction

Pothipath mentions that Thepkanjana (1986)'s analysis does not cover the causative subject which is a PP as shown in (51a) or clause as shown in (52a). Here we cannot insert negation between *t^ham* and *hâi* as shown in (51b) and (52b).

- (51) a. ด้วย ความสามัคคี และ ยุทธวิธี ที่
 dûaj k^{hw}aam.săa.mák.kii lé jút.t^há.wi.t^hii t^hii
 with unity and strategy COMP
 ดีเด่น ใน ด้าน การรบ ทำให้ ฝ่ายไทย ได้รับ
 diidèn nai dâan kaanróp t^hamhâi fàajtai dâaj.ráp
 outstanding in side battle CAUSE Thai side get
 ชัยชนะ ในที่สุด
 c^haic^haná nai.t^hii.sùt
 victory finally

“With the unity and outstanding strategy of battle caused Thai side got victory finally.”

b. *ด้วย	ความสามัคคี	และ	ยุทธวิธี	ที่
dúaj	k ^{hw} aam.sǎa.mák.kii	lé	jút.t ^h á.wi.t ^h ii	t ^h ii
with	unity	and	strategy	COMP
ดีเด่น	ใน	ด้าน	การรบ	ทำ
diidèn	nai	dâan	kaanróp	t ^h am
outstanding	in	side	battle	CAUSE
ได้รับ	ชัยชนะ	ในที่สุด		NEG
dâaj.ráp	c ^h aic ^h aná	nai.t ^h ii.sút		CAUSE
get	victory	finally		Thai side

(Pothipath. 1999: 95)

(52) a. รัฐบาล	ได้	ประกาศ	ให้	วันที่	12	ถึง	15	เมษายน
rât.t ^h à.baan	dâaj	pràkàat	hâi	want ^h ii	12	t ^h ɯ̌ŋ	15	meesǎajon
government	AUX	announce	give	date	12	to	15	April
เป็น	วันหยุดราชการ	ประจำปี	และ	วันที่	14			
pen	wan.jút.râat.c ^h a.kaan	pràcampii	lé	want ^h ii	14			
be	official holiday	annual	and	date	14			
เมษายน	จะ	เป็น	วันครอบครัว	ด้วย	ทำให้	โอกาส		
meesǎajon	ca	pen	wan.k ^h ɔ̌p.k ^h rua	dúaj	t ^h amhâi	ʔookàat		
April	will	be	family's day	also	CAUSE	opportunity		
สงกรานต์	ยิ่ง	มี	ความหมาย	มาก	ยิ่งขึ้น			
sǒŋkraan	jīŋ	mii	k ^{hw} aammǎaj	mâak	jīŋk ^h ɯ̌ŋ			
Songkran festival	more	have	meaning	much	even more			

"The government announcing that 12th-15th April is an annual official holiday plus the 14th also here family's day, makes Songkran festival time have more meaning."

- b. *รัฐบาล ได้ ประกาศ ให้ วันที่ 12 ถึง 15 เมษายน
 rât.t^hà.baan dâaj pràkàat hâi want^hii 12 t^hij 15 meesăajon
 government AUX announce give date 12 to 15 April
 เป็นวันหยุดราชการ ประจำปี และ วันที่ 14
 pen wan.jùt.râat.c^ha.kaan pràcampii lé want^hii 14
 be official holiday annual and date 14
 เมษายน จะ เป็น วันครอบครัว ด้วย ทำ ไม่ ให้
 meesăajon ca pen wan.k^huwp.k^hrua dūaj t^ham mâi hâi
 April will be family's day also CAUSE NEG CAUSE
 โอกาส สงกรานต์ ยิ่ง มี ความหมาย มาก
 ʔookàat sŏŋkraan jīŋ mii k^{hw}aammăaj mâak
 opportunity Songkran festival more have meaning much
 ยิ่งขึ้น
 jīŋk^hin
 even more

(Pothipath. 1999: 95)

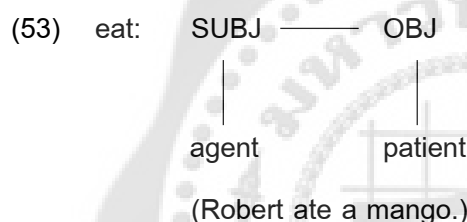
We have seen that the subject of *t^hamhâi* constructions can be an NP, PP or clause as shown in (49), (51) and (52). The inanimate subjects (subject₁) are [*ræŋ k^huwp hwaŋ*]_{NP} “force of spear” in (49), [*dūaj k^{hw}aam.săa.mák.kii ...*]_{PP} “With the unity ...” in (51) and [*rât.t^hà.baan dâaj pràkàat ...*]_S “Government announced that ...” in (52). Pothipath (1999: 96) explains that the subject₁ can be an object/item, abstract entity or event. In the case where the subject₁ is an event, the feature [+event] will be inserted. The subject₂ can be animate like [*k^hun sǎaj*]_{NP} “Khun Sai” in (49), or inanimate like *fàajtai* “Thai side” in (51) and [*ʔookàat sŏŋkraan*]_{NP} “Songkran festival time” in (52). The verb₂ can be a controllable or uncontrollable verb. In other words, Pothipath defines controllable verbs as the verbs, where a subject has the ability to control the action of verb₂ like *pəət* “open”. Uncontrollable verbs are the verbs where a subject cannot control, or lose ability/potential to control, the action of verb₂, like *tòk* “fall” in (49), *dâaj.ráp* “get’ in (51) or *mii* “have in (52).

Having discussed the causative construction, we have seen that SIINPs can also be a cause. However, the overt causative construction like the *t^hamhâi* construction are out of my

scope. In the next section, I will summarize valence changing operations, which change the number of arguments and change transitive verbs into intransitive verbs.

4. Valence changing operation

In this section I sum up following Haspelmath (2002). Valence is the number of arguments of a verb and contains the word class and the meaning of that verb. There are two parts of valence which are syntactic valence and semantic valence. Syntactic valence is the syntactic function structure and semantic valence is semantic role structure. When we know the meaning of the verb, we know the participants of that verb (53) is provide as an example (Haspelmath 2002: 209-11):



(Haspelmath. 2002: 210)

As we know the verb *eat* has two arguments which are a subject and an object. Subject and object are the syntactic functions. Agent and patient/theme are the semantic roles. The valence of a verb is changeable. The valence of a verb is changeable; there are operations which are function-changing of voice and event-changing operations. These can increase or decrease the number of arguments and affect syntactic function and semantics rule. I summarize these in the next sections.

4.1. Valence decreasing

The best example of a valence decreasing operation is the passive. The function-changing operation of voice is used to change an active to a passive. The examples in (54) are an active and a passive sentence from Chichewa.

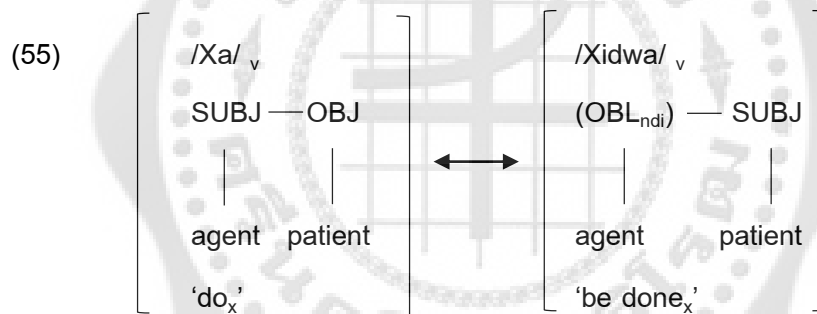
- (54) a. Naphiri a-na-lemba kalata. (*active*)
 Naphiri 3sg-PAST-write letter.
 "Naphiri wrote a letter."

b. Kalata i-na-lembedwa (ndi Naphiri). (passive)
 letter 3sg-PAST-write-PASS by Naphiri

“The letter was written (by Naphiri).”

(Haspelmath. 2002: 212)

The passive in Chichewa is marked by suffix *-idw* or *-edw* as (54b). The passive morphology affects syntactic functions but it does not affect the semantic roles of a verb. *Naphiri* in (54a) is the agent of the verb *lemba* “write” and the subject of the sentence, while *kalata* “letter” is the patient/theme of the verb and an object of the sentence. While *kalata* in the passive (54b) has a different syntactic function, being the subject, it has the same semantic role of patient/theme. The passive schema rule is represented in formula (55), */Xa/* in the left parentheses is the verb stem which ending with *-a*, while */Xidwa/* in the right parentheses is the verb stem with passive morphology.



(Haspelmath. 2002: 212)

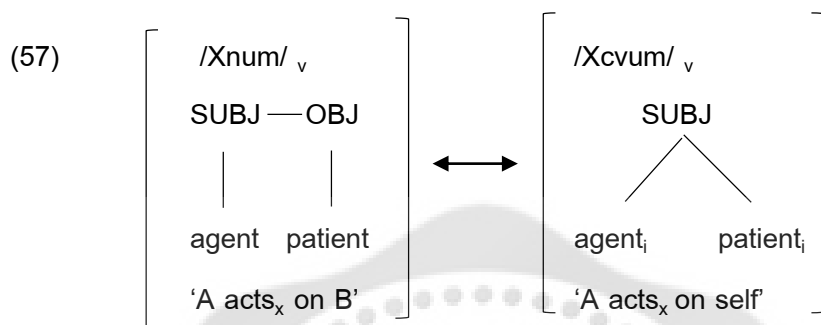
The suffix *-idw* syntactically affects the arguments of a verb because the sentence pattern changes; an active becomes a passive. The agent of a verb functions as a subject in the active while an agent is linked to an oblique (OBL_{ndi}) function in a passive. Additionally, the patient is switched to be the subject thus only one argument remains in the sentence.

The next example of a function-changing operation of valence decreasing is the reflexive. In reflexives, the agent and patient are co-referent and correlate with a single syntactic function. (56a) and (56b) are examples of an active and a reflexive from Eastern Armenian; their schema are given in (57).

(56) a. Mayr-ə Ivan-um e Seda-yi-n. (active)
 mother-ART wash-PRS AUX Seda-DAT-ART

“Mother is washing Seda.”

- b. Seda-n lva-cv-um e. (*reflexive*)
 Seda.NOM-ART wash-REFL-PRS AUX.
 “Seda is washing (herself).”



(Haspelmath. 2002: 213)

The subject *mayr* “mother” in (56a) is the subject and agent of the verb *lvan* “wash” and *Seda* “Seda” is the patient/theme of the verb in the active sentence. When we turn the active to the reflexive, we use suffix *-um* to attach the verb stem and arguments of the verb are changed; the agent and the patient/theme *Seda* in (56b) are coreferential and become the single argument as shown in the right parentheses of schema (57).

We have seen function-changing operations of valence decreasing, I will give another an example which is an event-changing operation; the anticausative. Anticausative is different from passive because the agents of anticausatives are deleted as opposed to suppressed from the argument structure. Examples and their schemas are given from Russian in (58) and (59) respectively.

- (58) a. Vera zakryla dver. (*active*)
 Vera.NOM closed door.ACC
 “Vera closed the door.”
- b. Dver’ zakryla-s’ (*anticausative*)
 door.NOM closed-ANTIC
 “The door closed.”

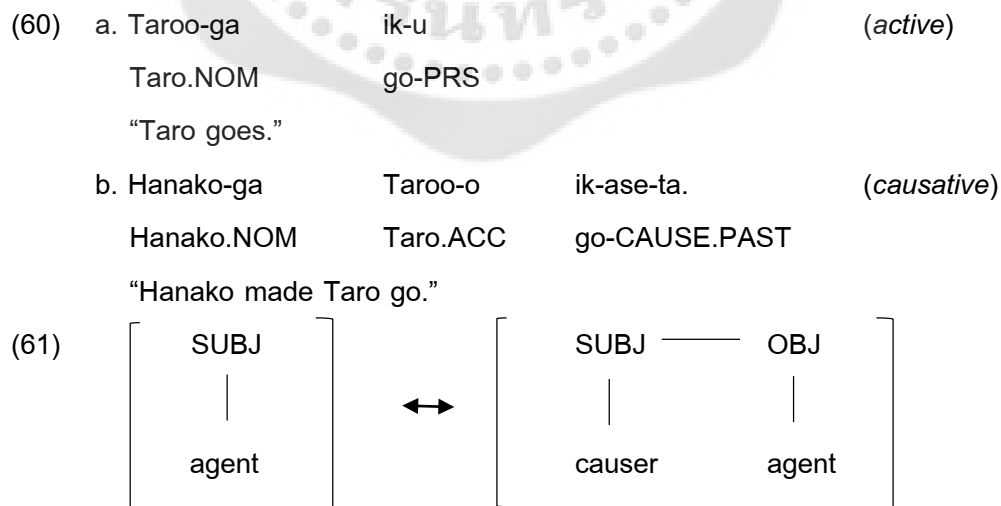


(Haspelmath. 2002: 213)

The suffix *-sja* or *-s'* exhibits the anticausative in Russian as in (58b). From the schemas (59), Haspelmath (2002: 213-4) points out that the agent and the cause element are deleted from the argument structure and the conceptual event structure. There is only the patient which functions as the subject of the sentence and its state. As shown in (58b), there is only *Dve* “the door” and its state *zakryla* “closed”. Having summarized valence decreasing operations, I will discuss valence increasing operations in the next section.

4.2. Valence increasing

In this section, I present some valence increasing operations. A good example of this kind of operation is the causative. The causative or agent-adding operation is an event-changing operation. Shibatani (1990) presents examples from Japanese, the causative and its schema are given in (60) and (61) in order.



(Haspelmath. 2002)

Taroo “Taro” in (60a) is the single argument of the verb *iku* “go”. When the verb *iku* is inflected to be the causative verb *ikasaeta* as in (60b), “*Taroo*” still has the semantic role as the agent but there is a causer *Hanako* which takes the syntactic function of subject, as shown in (61). The agent of the transitive becomes an indirect object in the causative.

So far we have discussed valence-modifying operations; these operations affect the number of arguments and event structure of a sentence. In the next section, I will discuss topic constructions.

5. Topic-prominent language and Subject-prominent language

5.1. Topic

A traditional way to divide an utterance is in terms of the topic-comment division. The “topic” refers to what the sentence is about. The comment, or detail, provides some property that is attributed the topic for example:

- (62) a. **My father**, he’s fit to be tied.
 b. **That house on Grant Street**, it was right by the graveyard.

(Johnston. 2008: 114-5)

My father and *That house on Grant Street* are the topics of the sentence while [*he’s fit to be tied*]_{CP} and [*it was right by the graveyard*]_{CP} are their comments respectively. From the above examples, we observe that Topic appears before Comment in the sentence.

There are several different terminological traditions regarding the Topic-Comment division. It was analyzed as Subject-predicate approaches before the 19th century. Then, Topic-Comment replaced this terminology. Other terminological options include Gabelentz (1868) who labels these as Psychological subject and Psychological predicate. Cho (1986) calls it Logical subject and Logical predicate. Buráněvá, Hajicěvá and Sgall (1986) from Prague School and Gundel (1974, 1989) call it Topic and Focus. All of these approaches assume that Topic is the old or new information while Comment is the detail about Topic.

Li and Thompson (1976) adopt the Topic-Comment approach to group languages into four groups:

- 1) The topic-prominent language: it requires the topic for basic sentence construction such as Chinese.

- 2) The subject-prominent language: it requires the subject for basic construction. The subject is obligatory. Moreover, there are only some noun phrases that can be the topic of the sentence such as in Indonesian.
- 3) The subject and topic-prominent language: the subject and the topic can occur in the same sentence. There are also markers to distinguish the subject and the topic such as Japanese, Korean.
- 4) Neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent language such as Tagalog.¹²

In this section, I discuss languages in group 1 and 3 i.e., languages that are topic-prominent. Group 2 will be presented in the subject-prominent language section.

5.1.1. Topic-prominent language

Li and Thompson (1976) define six properties of a topic-prominent language: 1) There is a marker or special position for the topic. 2) There is no passive construction. 3) The sentence does not have to have a subject. 4) Double subjects are allowed. 5) A noun phrase or pronoun which co-refers with the topic of the sentence can be dropped. 6) They are mostly verb-final languages. The details are discussed below.

The first property of topic-prominent language is the existence of a topic marker. The topic-prominent language has a marker or special position in the surface structure for the topic. For example, Lisu and Lahu have morphological markers to identify the topic of the sentence. (63) is an example of the morphological marker in Lisu.

¹² Tagalog is not an accusative or ergative system. It is not marked by case-marking. But there are markers which indicate a semantic role: an agent and a theme are marked by preposition *ng*. A location is marked by *sa* or *mula sa*. A beneficiary is marked by *para sa*. A topic of the sentence is marked by *ang*. I exemplify markers in Tagalog as follow:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------|-----------|-------|-------|---------|---------|-------|
| a. | Kukuha | ang babae | ng | bigas | sa | sako | para sa | bata. |
| | take out-FUT | TOP woman | THEME | rice | from | sack | for | child |
| | "The woman _[TOPIC, Agent] will take some rice out of a sack for a/the child." | | | | | | | |
| b. | Kukunin | ng babae | ang bigas | sa | sako | para sa | bata. | |
| | take out-FUT | AGENT woman | TOP rice | from | sack | for | child | |
| | "A/the woman _[TOPIC, THEME] will take the rice out of a sack for a/the child." | | | | | | | |
| c. | Ang sako ay kukunan | ng | bigas | ng | babae | para sa | bata. | |
| | TOP sack be take out-FUT | THEME | rice | AGENT | woman | for | child | |
| | "The sack _[TOPIC, LOCATION] will have rice taken out of it by the woman for the child." | | | | | | | |
| d. | Ang bata ay ikukuha | ng | bigas | ng | babae | mula sa | sako. | |
| | TOP child be take out-FUT | THEME | rice | AGENT | woman | from | sack | |
| | "The child _[TOPIC, BENEFICIARY] will have rice taken out of the sack for him/her by the woman." | | | | | | | |

- (63) Lathyu nya ana ku-a
 people TOP dog bite-declarative marker
 “People_[TOPIC] dogs bite them.”

(Li; &Thompson. 1976: 473)

The topic *Lathyu* “people” has the marker *nya* to indicate that the noun phrase preceding *nya* is the topic of the sentence.

The second property is the lack of passive construction. The passive construction in topic-prominent language is rare. Lisu and Lahu do not have the passive construction. Any noun phrase is possible to be the topic of the sentence.

Thirdly, sentences in the topic-prominent language do not have a dummy subject such as Mandarin in (64).

- (64) Zher hen re
 here very hot
 “It is very hot here” (lit. Here is hot.)

(Li; &Thompson. 1976: 465)

While sentences like (64) in subject-prominent languages like English require a dummy subject. (64) has *Zher* which is not the subject as, it has semantic content.

Fourthly, we can see double subject construction in a sentence. For example, Japanese has both of the topic and the subject in a sentence.

- (65) Sakana-wa tai-ga oishii.
 fish-TOP red snapper-SUBJ delicious
 “Fish_[TOPIC], red snapper is delicious.”

(Li; &Thompson. 1976: 469)

In sentence (65) there are two noun phrases which seem to be the subject of the sentence, hence double-subject. But there are different markers to indicate the subject and the topic of the sentence. The marker *wa* is the marker for the topic and the marker *ga* is the marker for the subject of the sentence.

Fifthly, a noun phrase that is co-referential with the sentence-initial topic can be omitted. This is illustrated in (66), where the object of the main verb *xihuan* “like”, which is co-referent

with the sentence-initial topic [*neike shu*]_{NP} “that tree” can be omitted (Li; & Thompson. 1976: 462).

- (66) *Neike shu yezi shower, suoyi wo bu xihuan ____.*
 that tree leaves big , so I not like ____.
 “That tree_[TOPIC], the leaves are big, so I don’t like *it*.”

Finally, most topic-prominent languages are verb-final. Examples of verb-final topic-prominent languages are Japanese, Lahu, and Lisu, etc. (67) shows Lisu’s verb-final position.

- (67) *Ana nya lathyu khu-a*
 dogs TOP people bite-declarative marker
 “Dogs_[TOPIC] they bite people.”

(Li; &Thompson. 1976: 473)

Given the above discussion, we can conclude that Thai has several properties that characterize a topic-prominent language. Like topic-prominent languages, Thai has overt topicalization markers; *nīi*, *nīi*, *nāa*, *nāa*, *nān*, *sāmraṇ* and *sūan*. Thai also allows for subject-less sentences and double subject constructions. Moreover, nouns coreference with a topic can be omitted.

5.1.2. Topicalization and Left-Dislocation in Thai

Having determined that Thai exhibits properties associated with topic-prominent languages, I will now discuss some theoretical literature regarding topicalization in Thai- namely Hoonchamlong (1991). Based on Chomsky (1997), Hoonchamlong (1991) claims that there are two types of topic constructions in Thai: Topicalization and Left-Dislocation. Topicalization involves moving the subject or object to initial position and leaving a gap or trace. This is represented below in (68), where the gap/trace is represented with ‘ $\emptyset$ ’. The Left-Dislocation construction looks similar to the Topicalization structure, except that a co-referent pronoun is located in the thematic position associated with the topic. This is illustrated in (69).

- (68) ผู้ชาย คน นั้น นะ ฉัน คิด ว่า ฉัน เห็น เสื้อ ที่
 p^huc^haaj k^hon nán nà c^hǎn k^híd wāa c^hǎn hěn sǎa t^hii
 man CL that PART 1sg think that 1sg see shirt COMP
 ∅ ใส่ อยู่ ขาย ที่ ร้าน บอสตัน
 sài jùu k^hǎaj t^hii ráan Boston
 ∅ wear ASP sell at store Boston

“That man_[TOPIC], I think the shirt that I saw (he/she) is wearing is on sale at Boston Store.”

- (69) ผู้ชาย คน นั้น นะ ฉัน คิด ว่า ฉัน เห็น เสื้อ ที่
 p^huc^haaj k^hon nán nà c^hǎn k^híd wāa c^hǎn hěn sǎa t^hii
 man CL that PART 1sg think that 1sg see shirt COMP
 เขา ใส่ อยู่ ขาย ที่ ร้าน บอสตัน
 k^hǎo sài jùu k^hǎaj t^hii ráan Boston
 3sg wear ASP sell at store Boston

“That man_[TOPIC], I think the shirt that I saw he/she is wearing is on sale at Boston Store.”

(Hoonchamlong. 1991: 95)

The noun phrase [p^huc^haaj k^hon nán nà]_{NP} “that man” in (68) is in initial position. It is moved from the subject position of the embedded clause and therefore, the subject position is empty and there is no pronoun to refer to the topic. On the other hand, the noun phrase [p^huc^haaj k^hon nán nà]_{NP} “that man” in (69) has a pronoun which refers to it and so there is no gap in the subject position. (70) is an example of object Topicalization.

- (70) หนังสือ เรื่อง เซแทนนิก เวอร์ส ฉัน คิด ว่า เล็ก กำลัง ตามหา
 nǎngsǎi rǎaŋ Satanic Verses c^hǎn k^híd wāa lék kamlaŋ taamhǎa
 book title Satanic Verses 1sg think that Lek ASP look for
 คน ที่ มี ∅ อยู่ หรือ เคย อ่าน ∅ แล้ว
 k^hon t^hii mii jùu rǎi k^hǎəj ʔàan lǎəw
 CL COMP have ∅ ASP or ever read ∅ ASP

“Satanic Verses, I think that Lek is looking for the person who has (it) or has read (it).”

(Hoonchamlong. 1991: 95-96)

The noun phrase [*naŋsɿ́ r̥aŋ Satanīc Verses*]_{NP} “Satanic Verses” in sentence (70) is in initial position. It is the direct object of the verb *mii* “have” and *ʔaan* “read” in the embedded clause. The noun phrase [*naŋsɿ́ r̥aŋ Satanīc Verses*]_{NP} is moved from the object positions of the verb *mii* and *ʔaan*. This leaves the object positions of the verbs empty, and there are no pronouns to refer to it.

Having discuss topics and the characteristics of topic-prominent languages, I now move on to subjects and subject-prominent languages.

5.2. Subject

Within an X-bar framework, the subject of a sentence is structurally defined as the XP that occupies the specifier position of IP. Many languages have grammatical constructions that are sensitive to the subject. For instance, in languages like English, German and French, the inflected subject usually agrees with the subject in number and gender, as shown in (71).

(71) Subject Verb Agreement in German

a. Ich	sehe	den	Vogel.
1sg.NOM	see.PRS.1sg	the.ACC	bird
“I see the bird.”			
b. Wir	sehen	den	Vogel.
1pl.NOM	see.PRS.1pl	the.ACC	bird
“We see the bird.”			

(Tallerman. 2011: 133-4)

Another example of a subject-sensitive construction are tag-questions in English. Tag-questions in English are formed from basic sentences with the addition of a negated auxiliary and a pronoun co-referent with the subject. This is illustrated in (72).

- (72) a. **Tony Stark** made a suit of iron, didn't **he**?
 b. **Those iron suits** were made by Stark Industries, weren't **they**?
 c. **It** rains a lot in October, doesn't **it**?
 d. **Iron suits** rust easily, don't **they**?

(74) **Es** wurde getanzt.

it DUM.SUBJ become-PAST dance-PAST.PARTICIPLE

"There are dancing." (Literally, "It became danced.")

(Tallerman. 2015: 238)

Es in (74) is the dummy subject which has no meaning but the sentence needs the subject to be grammatical.

Finally, not all noun phrases can be the topic of the sentence. There are only some noun phrases which are allowed to be the topic. The sentences in (75) are examples from Indonesian. Li and Thompson (1976) use the data in (75) to show that only subjects, or the genitive of the subject can be topicalized.

- (75) a. **Ibu anak itu** membeli sepatu
 mother child that buy shoes
 "That child's mother_[SUBJ] bought shoes."
- b. **Ibu anak itu,** dia membeli sepatu
 mother child that she buy shoes
 "That child_[TOPIC], his mother bought shoes."
- c. ***Sepatu itu,** ibu anak itu membeli
 Shoes that mother child that buy
 "That shoes , mother child that bought."

(Li; & Thompson. 1976: 471-2)

The example (75a) shows a basic sentence. (75b) shows a topicalization structure where the subject has been topicalized. (75b) shows that the genitive complement of a subject can be topicalized, and (75c) shows that the object cannot be topicalized. This property is in contrast to topic-prominent language, where any NP can become the topic.

We have reviewed topic and the subject, I will compare the differences between the topic and the subject which have some interface properties in the next section.

5.3. The differences between Topic and Subject

Ekniyom (1982) and Rizzi (2005) claim that SIINPs need not be subjects; SIINP can also be a topic or focus. Ekniyom (1982) and Rizzi (2005) use the following criteria to distinguish between a subject and a topic:

- (1) Definiteness
- (2) Semantic role
- (3) Relation with verbs
- (4) Agreement with verbs
- (5) Position in a sentence
- (6) Aboutness and D-linking

I will discuss each of these.

1) Definiteness

The subject of a sentence does not have to be definite but the topic of a sentence must be definite or [+definite]. Rizzi (1997, 2005) also mentions that the subject of the active construction and the passive construction need not have a definite meaning. But Ekniyom (1982) argues that the topic of the sentence needs to be old information: it must have old information features or [+given] (Ekniyom. 1982: 36).

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------|--------|-----|------|
| (76) | คำถาม | ข้อ | นี้ _[Topic] | นิสิต | ตอบ | ไม่ | ได้ |
| | k ^h amt ^h ăm | k ^h ǝw | níi | nísit | tòwp | mâi | dâaj |
| | question | CL | this | student | answer | NEG | can |
- “**This question** the student cannot answer.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 31)

[k^hamt^h ăm k^hǝw níi]_{NP} “this question” in (76) has the definite meaning: the speaker specifies only this question. The speaker is not talking about other questions.

2) Semantic role

The subject of a sentence does not need to have semantic content or a thematic role. For example, pleonastic elements like *it* and *there* in English are only required for syntactic reasons, and do not have semantic content or thematic roles (Huang. 1984: 550). Topic, on the other hand, do have semantic content. They inform the hearer as to what the sentence is about (Ekniyom. 1982: 22).

3) Relation with verbs

The subject has to relate with a verb but the topic does not. Generally, there is a relation between the subject argument and the verb: the verb assigns a theta role like agent or experiencer to the subject in an active construction.

- (77) a. พวก นิสิต เบื่อ อาจารย์ วิลไล
 p^hûak nisit bə̀a ʔaacaan wilai
 PL students bored professor Wilai
 “The students_[SUBJ] are bored with Professor Wilai.”
- b. อาจารย์ บาง คน เอาใจ เด็ก มากไป
 ʔaacaan baang k^hon ʔawcai dèk mâakpai
 professor some CL pamper student too much
 “Some professors pamper the students too much.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 24)

[p^hûak nisit]_{NP} “the students” in (77a) has theta role as an experiencer while, [ʔaacaan baang k^hon]_{NP} “some professors” is an agent. The relation between the topic and NP in a sentence is part-whole relation. In sentence (78),

- (78) ก๋วยเตี๋ยว ฉัน ชอบ เส้นเล็ก ต้มยำ
 kúajtǐaw c^hǎn c^hǔwp sênlék tômjam
 noodle 1sg like small-noodle chili soup
 “Talking about noodles, I like the small kind in chili soup.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 24)

[sênlék tômjam]_{NP} “small kind of noodle in chili soup” in (78) is the object of the sentence which is the member of the topic kúajtǐaw “noodle”. Thus, [sênlék tômjam]_{NP} is the member-set of the kúajtǐaw. Therefore, the relation between the topic kúajtǐaw and the noun phrase [sênlék tômjam]_{NP} is the member-set relation.

4) Agreement with verbs

The subject is an argument of the verb, and it often triggers agreement on the verb. Topics, on the other hand, are not an argument of the verb and do not trigger agreement. (79) is an example of subject agreement in Spanish and (80) is non-agreement of the topic in Italian.

- (79) Las casas se-r-án vendi-**das** (el mes próximo)
 DET houses(Fem) be-FUT-3P sold-FP DET month next

“The houses_[SUBJ] will be sold out (next month).”

(Gelderen. 2013: 10)

- (80) il tuo libro, io **ho** comprato
 DET your book I AUX.1sg buy

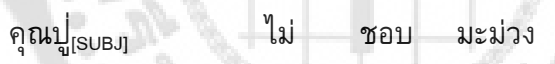
“Your book_[TOPIC], I bought it.”

(Rizzi. 1997: 289)

The gender of *Las casas* “the house” in (79) is feminine, thus the verb *vendi* “sell” must have the morpheme *-das* which is the plural feminine agreement morpheme in Spanish. In contrast, *[il tou libro]_{NP}* “your book” in (80) is the topic of the sentence, the auxiliary verb *ho* “have” does not agree with *[il tou libro]_{NP}*, but rather agrees with the subject *io* “I”.

5) Position in a sentence

The position of the topic is the initial position, it does not vary across languages with word order. But the position of the subject varies with the word order of each language: subject-verb-object (SVO), verb-subject-object (VSO), verb-object-subject (VOS) as shown in (81).

- (81) a. _[SUBJ] **mai** **chop** **mamuang** (Thai)
 k^hunpùu mâi c^hôwp mamûaŋ
 grandpa NEG like mango
 “Grandpa does not like mangoes.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 23)

- b. Tuigeann **Brid**_[SUBJ] Gaeilge. (Irish)
 understands Bridget Irish
 “Bridget understands Irish.”

- c. E kamatea te naeta **te** **moa**_[SUBJ]. (Gilbertese)
 3sg kill.3sg the snake the chicken
 “The chicken killed the snake.”

(Tallerman. 2011: 174)

Ekniyom (1982) argues that the basic Thai word order is subject-verb-direct object (as shown in (81a), and the variation of the order does not affect the meaning of the sentence.

The only difference is emphasis. Moreover, she claims that the direct object can move to the initial position for the so called “Topicalization” as (82) (Ekniyom. 1982: 26).

- (82) ความรัก_i พ่อแม่ ให้ $\emptyset_i$ แก่ ลูก ๆ
 $k^{hw}aamrák$ $p^{h'w}w-mêɛ$ $hâi$ $\emptyset_i$ $kèɛ$ $lûuklûuk$
 love parents give (it) to children
 “**Love**_[TOPIC] parents give to their children.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 26)

$k^{hw}aamrák$ “love” in (82) is moved from the direct object position to initial position therefore, the direct object position is empty.

6) Aboutness and D-Linking

Rizzi (2005) claims that the subject and the topic have the same feature which is Aboutness or [+Aboutness]: it is what the sentence is about. There is a different feature between the subject and the topic which is discourse linking feature or [+D-Linking]. Pesetsky (1987) points out that D-Linking is the feature which involves a relationship to some entity in the speaker’s assumed context. For example:

- (83) **Which** book did you read?

(Pesetsky. 1987: 108)

In the example (83), the speaker assumes the hearer to pick the set of *book* which is contextually salient (i.e. discourse salient). The answer of the hearer will be contained in the set of the contextually-salient books, not the unrestricted set of books. Thus, *which book* is discourse linking, and *which* is a D-Linking Wh-word.

On the other hand, if there is no relation to elements salient in the discourse like (83), we call this non-discourse linking, as shown in (84). The Wh-word *how* is non-D-Linking Wh-word.

- (84) **How** many books?

(Pesetsky. 1987: 108)

The hearer cannot pick up the set of *book* to answer, there is not assumption between the speaker and hearer, and the set in their mind. Moreover, Rizzi also points that if something is D-Linking (i.e. related to something in discourse, e.g. via part-whole relation) it can form a topic chain as shown the Mandarin Chinese’s example in (85).

discourse. On the other hand, Subject must be related to the verb and may trigger subject-verb agreement. However, it does not have to be definite or have a semantic content or have a discourse linking feature.

We have reviewed research on the subject and the topic. However, there is another construction which looks like the topic construction. That is the focus construction. I summarize the differences between topic and the focus in next section.

6. The differences between Topic and Focus

Initial elements need not to be topics. They can be subjects or focuses. Focus is distinct from topic, it defines the contribution part of a sentence which is new or non-derivable, or contributes contrastive information (Halliday. 1976: 206). I summarize the difference between topic and focus as below.

1) Position in the sentence

Usually the topic is in the initial position but the focus can appear anywhere in the sentence. The focus does not need to be in only the initial position.

(87) a. **That man**_[TOPIC] , I hate.

(Gelderen. 2013: 175)

b. เด็ก คน นี้ ไข่ [FOCUS] ที่ เขา พา มา
 dèk kʰon níi ɲai-lá tʰii kʰǎo pʰaa maa
 boy CL this PRAT-PART COMP 3sg bring come
 “It is this boy_[FOCUS] that he brought with him.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 144)

c. It was **cookies**_[FOCUS] I bought.

(Gelderen. 2013: 173)

d. What I brought was **cookies**_[FOCUS] .

(Gelderen. 2013: 173)

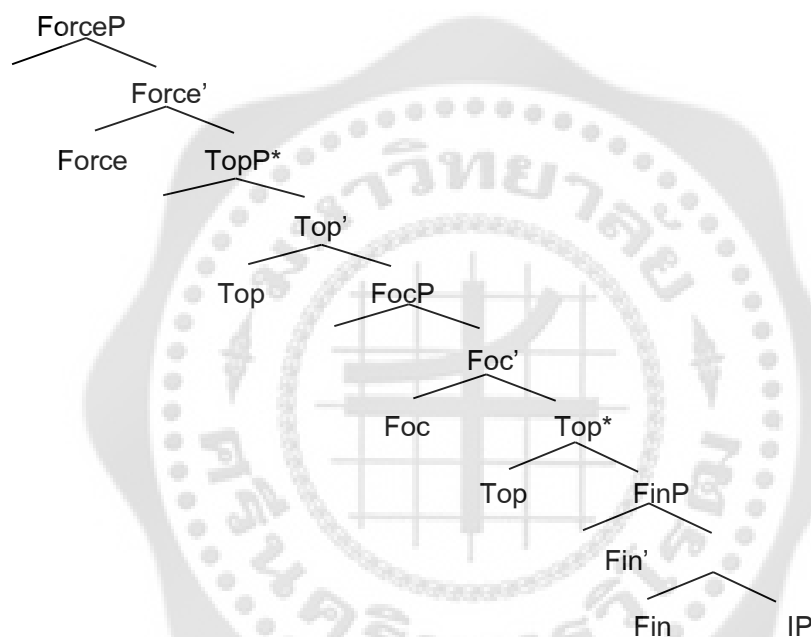
that man in (87a) is the topic of the sentence which in the initial position. While, [dèk

*kʰon nīl*_{NP} “this boy” and *cookies* in (87b-d) is the focus of the sentence which have various position: [*dèk kʰon nīl*]_{NP} in (87b) is the focus which is in the initial position while “cookies” in (87c-d) are in the middle and final position respectively.

2) Projection of Topic and Focus

Rizzi (1997) proposes that Topic and Focus are in the different projection. He situates the topic projection above the focus projection, as shown in (88).

(88)

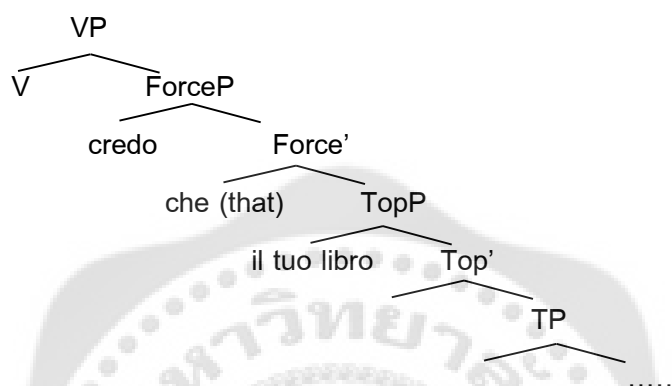


(Rizzi. 1997: 297)

The diagram (88) shows that Force phrase (ForceP) is the highest projection, it indicates what type of the sentence is: question, command, dative, etc. The next projection is the topic phrase (TopP), it is possible to have more than one projection depending on the parameter of each language (represented by the symbol ‘*’). Below the topic phrase is the focus phrase (FocP), the projection for the focus of the sentence. The next projection is the finite phrase (FinP) shows the finite or non-finite verb of the sentence. I show an example of the topic projection in Italian in (89b).

- (89) a. Credo, **il tuo libro**_[TOPIC], di apprezzarlo molto.
 believe DET your book for appreciate-it much
 “I believe I like your book very much.”

b.



(Gelderen. 2013: 160)

[*il tuo libro*]_{NP} in (89b) is the topic of subordinate clause. It is in the spec-TopP which is under the ForceP projection.

3) Stress

Topic is not stressed with the speaker's tone but Focus is.¹⁴ A speaker uses tone to stress the focus elements of the sentence. The stress also affects the structure of topic and focus as (90).

- (90) a. **This book**_[FOCUS] we should give Ø to John.
 b. **This book**_[TOPIC] , we should give Ø to John.

This book in (90a) is stressed by speaker's tone thus, it is the focus of the sentence. The meaning of the sentence (90a) is [*we should give **this book** (not other book) to John*]_{CP}: *This book* contrasts with alternatives *this document*, *this notebook*, *this dictionary*, etc. In contrast focus, *This book* in (90b) is the topic of the sentence because it is not stressed by tone. The meaning of the sentence (90b) is [*this book, we should give it to John (not other one)*]_{CP}. Therefore, the stress does not affect only the structure but also affect the meaning of the sentence too (Birner; & Ward. 1998: 31).

¹⁴ Koch (2011) points that not all of languages mark focus with phonological prominence.

4) Marker

There are different markers for the topic and the focus. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) propose markers of the sentence-initial topic: *nán*, *níi*, *nĩi*, *nĩa* and *nà*. (Iwasaki; & Ingkaphirom. 2005: 361) And Ekniyom (1982) also proposes contrastive markers which are *sùan* and *sǎmràp* (Ekniyom. 1982: 48). Moreover, Rusawang (2014) divides focus markers in Thai into 3 groups which are Exclusive marker, Additive marker and Non-scalar marker: *kʰɛɛ*, *tɛɛ*, *pʰiaŋ*, *ʔeeŋ*. (Rusawang. 2014: 160) I summarize all of the markers in table 3.

Table 3 Topic and Focus markers

	Groups of markers	Markers
Topic markers	Normal	<i>nán</i> , <i>níi</i> , <i>nĩi</i> , <i>nĩa</i> , <i>nà</i>
	Contrastive	<i>sùan</i> , <i>sǎmràp</i>
Focus markers	Exclusive	<i>kʰɛɛ</i> , <i>tɛɛ</i> , <i>pʰiaŋ</i> , <i>ʔeeŋ</i> , <i>chàpʰɔ́</i> , <i>tʰáwnán</i>
	Additive	<i>kʰɛɛ</i> ... (<i>kʰɔ́</i>) <i>jaŋ</i> , <i>kʰànaat</i> ... (<i>kʰɔ́</i>) <i>jaŋ</i> , <i>mée tɛɛ</i> ... (<i>kʰɔ́</i>) <i>jaŋ</i> , <i>mée kʰatʰaŋ</i> , <i>tʰɿŋ</i> , <i>kʰɔ́</i> , <i>dúaj</i>
	Non-scalar	<i>doojchàpʰɔ́</i> , <i>doojchàpʰɔ́ jàaŋjĩiŋ</i>

Ekniyom (1982) also identifies that sentence-initial focus NPs are always followed by an overt focus marker unlike the cases I am interested in.

5) Bare quantification elements

Quantificational elements are unable to be the topic but they can be the focus of the sentence in Italian. This is because quantificational elements like *nessuno* “no one”, *tutto* “everything”, *qualcosa* “something” do not have definite semantics, and topics must have a definite semantics.

- (91) a. ***Nessuno**_[TOPIC], io ho visto
 no one I AUX.1sg see-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “**No one**_[TOPIC], I saw him.”

- b. ***Tutto**_[TOPIC], io ho fatto
 everything I AUX.1sg make-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “**Everything**_[TOPIC], I did it.”
- c. **NESSUNO**_[FOCUS] ho visto Ø
 no one AUX.1sg see-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “**NO ONE**_[FOCUS] I saw.”
- d. **TUTTO**_[FOCUS] ho fatto Ø
 everything AUX.1sg make-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “**Everything**_[FOCUS] I did.”

(Rizzi. 1977: 290)

The quantification element *nessuno* and *tutto* in (91a-b) is ungrammatical because, they are in the position of Clitic Left-Dislocation topics and a necessary property of topics is [+definite]: the noun phrase which is the topic of the sentence must have definite meaning. In contrast, the sentences (91c-d) is grammatical because the focus element does not require the definite elements.

6) Uniqueness

While a sentence can have more than one topic, there can only be one focused element in a sentence.

- (92) a. **il libro, a Gianni, domani**_[TOPIC], glielo darò senz'altro
 DET book to Gianni tomorrow it-to-him give-FU sure
 “**The book, to Gianni, tomorrow**_[TOPIC], I'll give it to for sure.”
- b. ***A GIANNI IL LIBRO**_[FOCUS] darò (non a Piero, l'articolo)
 to Gianni DET book give-FU (NEG to Piero the article)
 “**TO Gianni THE BOOK**_[FOCUS] I'll give, not to Piero, the article.”

(Rizzi. 1977: 290)

The sentence (92a) is grammatical because the topic [*il libro*]_{NP} “the book” modifies the topic [*a Gianni*]_{NP} “to Gianni” and [*a Gianni*]_{NP} modifies the topic *domani* “tomorrow” and all of them modify the next sentence [*glielo darò senz'altro*]_{CP}. In contrast, [*a Gianni*]_{NP} and [*il libro*]_{NP}

in (92b) are focus elements, and therefore the sentence (92b) is ungrammatical as a sentence can have only one focus element.

Ruangjaroon (2007: 123) proposes that the focus of cleft constructions in Thai is also subject to a uniqueness requirement. A Thai cleft is illustrated in (93).

- (93) [นิค ที่] เป็น [คน ทำ จาน แตก]
 ník tʰi pen kʰon tʰam caan tèk
 Nick DEF be NOM CAUSE plate break

“Nick was the one that broke a plate.”

➔ Existential presupposition: X broke a plate.

➔ Uniqueness presupposition: X = only Nick.

(Ruangjaroon. 2007: 125)

Ruangjaroon (2007) argues that the focus/clefted *ník* “Nick” must be interpreted as the unique individual in the context who broke a plate; (93) is unacceptable if there were multiple plate breakers.

7) Compatibility with Wh-operator

The topic can occur with a Wh-operator in fixed order: the topic precedes the Wh-operator (Top Wh) as shown in (94a) (Rizzi. 1977: 291). In contrast, the focus cannot occur with Wh-operator because Wh-operators are focus elements. As we saw previously, a sentence can have only one focus and if a Wh-operator is presented as focus, then an additional focus will be ungrammatical as shown in (94c-d).

- (94) a. **A Gianni**_[TOPIC], che cosa gli hai detto?
 To Gianni what to-him AUX tell-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “**To Gianni**_[TOPIC], what did you tell him?”
- b. *Che cosa, **a Gianni**_[TOPIC], gli hai detto?
 what to Gianni to-him AUX tell-PAST PARTICIPLE
 “What, **to Gianni**_[TOPIC], did you tell him?”
- c. ***A GIANNI**_[FOCUS] che cosa hai detto (,nona Piero)?
 to Gianni what AUX tell-PAST PARTICIPLE (NEG to Piero)
 “**TO GIANNI**_[FOCUS] what did you tell (, not to Piero)?”

- d. *Che cosa **A GIANNI**_[FOCUS] hai detto (,non a Piero)?
 what to Gianni AUX tell-PAST PARTICIPLE (NEG to Piero)
 “What **TO GIANNI**_[FOCUS] did you tell (, not to Piero)?”
 (Rizzi. 1977: 291)

We have discussed the differences between Topic and Focus. I summarize all differences in table 4.

Table 4 The differences of Topic and Focus

	Position	Projection	Stress	Markers	Quantificational elements	Uniqueness	Compatibility with Wh-operator
Topic	Initial position	TopP	-	✓	-	-	✓
Focus	Else where	FocP	✓	✓	✓	✓	-

In sum, Topic has TopP projection, has a marker and co-occur with Wh-operator. It does not have the stress and cannot be quantificational element. On the other hand, Focus has FocP projection, has the stress, has a marker and can be quantificational element. It cannot co-occur with Wh-operator.

Having discussed theoretical frameworks, I will summarize the theories I adopt to analyze the data in this study.

7. Theories adopted in the analysis

7.1. Thematic relation

Theta theory is a theory of the relationship between noun phrases/arguments and a verb within the sentence: a verb assigns a role for each noun in the sentence. It is the relation between

the syntactic function and the semantic function. For example, the verb *eat* requires an agent and a theme to complete the meaning of a sentence (Haspelmath. 2002: 209).

A verb assigns a function of each noun which is the semantic property called “theta role or θ -role”: a verb defines the specific theta role of nouns which are arguments of the verb. Therefore, theta roles are the function of element’s relation in the sentence such as someone is doing something to someone. Moreover, within a Principle and Parameter’s framework (Chomsky, 1988), one argument can only have one theta role and one theta role can only have one argument, it is called “theta criterion” (Cook. 1988: 116).

(95) Keith lent the book to Harry.

(Cook. 1988: 116)

Keith in the sentence (95) is an actor. The verb *lend* cannot assign another role to *Keith*. *book* and *Harry* are a theme and a goal of the verb *lend* respectively. Each argument is selected by the syntactic and semantic relation: C-selection or Categories-selection is the lexicon selection of the syntactic categories, and S-selection or Semantic-selection is the selection of the meaning. S-selection and C-selection of the verb *lend* show in (96).

(96) lend [___ NP] <Agent, Theme, Goal>

The verb *lend* in (96) selects noun phrases for syntactic category to be arguments and selects an agent, a theme and a goal for semantic roles: the subject, the direct object and indirect object are NPs and they are an agent theme and goal respectively.

The relationship between arguments and a verb is called “Thematic relation or θ -relation”. The role of each argument is so called “theta role or θ -role”. There are theta roles as follows.

1. Agent is an initiator of an action and it is usually animate entity.
2. Experiencer is an entity which feels or perceives an event.
3. Theme or patient is an entity which undergoes an action.
4. Goal is an entity towards which a motion takes place.
5. Recipient is an entity towards which a motion takes place that involves the possession changing.
6. Source is an entity which the motion or action takes place from.
7. Location is an entity where an action occurs.
8. Instrument is an entity which performed by the action.

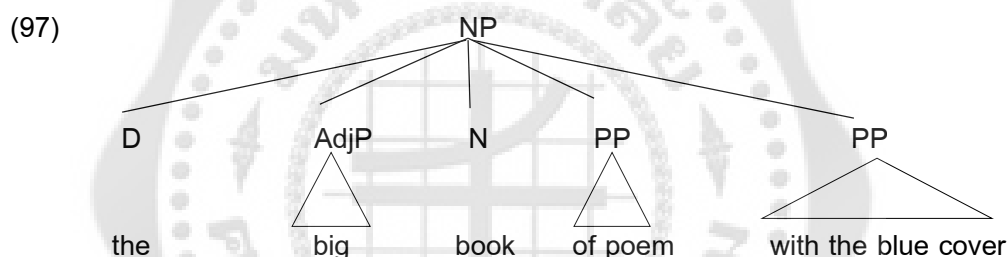
9. Beneficiary is an entity who gets benefit from the event or action.

In addition, Theta roles are assigned depending on C-selection, S-selection and thematic criterion.

Having discussed thematic relation, I will summarize another theory which I adopt for this study.

7.2. X-bar theory

X-bar theory is a theory of phrase structure that constrains phrase-structure rules. It was proposed in 1970 by Noam Chomsky to solve a problem posed by traditional analyses, which assume a flat structure. For example, [*The big book of poems with the blue cover*]_{NP} *is on the table.*” was formerly analyzed with the phrase structure rule $NP \rightarrow (D) (AdjP+) N (PP)$ as illustrated in **Error! Reference source not found..**



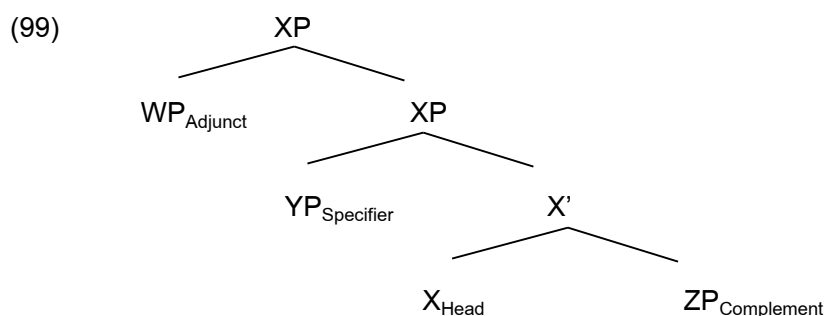
(Carnie. 2007: 153)

In the diagram (97), all of the phrases are at the same level. It fails to represent asymmetric relationships between constituents. Therefore, Chomsky (1970) proposes general rules for phrase structure which distinguish between the different constituents with the NP according to their structural position. He uses the variables {X, Y, Z, W} to signify the letical categories {N, V, P}. The labels “YP, ZP” and “WP” represent the strucrally-defined positions Specifier, Complement and Adjunct respectively. The formula of general rules are represent is (98).

- (98) a. $XP \rightarrow YP \quad X'$ (specifier rule)
 b. $X' \rightarrow X \quad ZP$ (complement rule)
 c. $XP \rightarrow WP \quad XP$ or $XP \rightarrow XP \quad WP$ (modifier/adjunct rule)

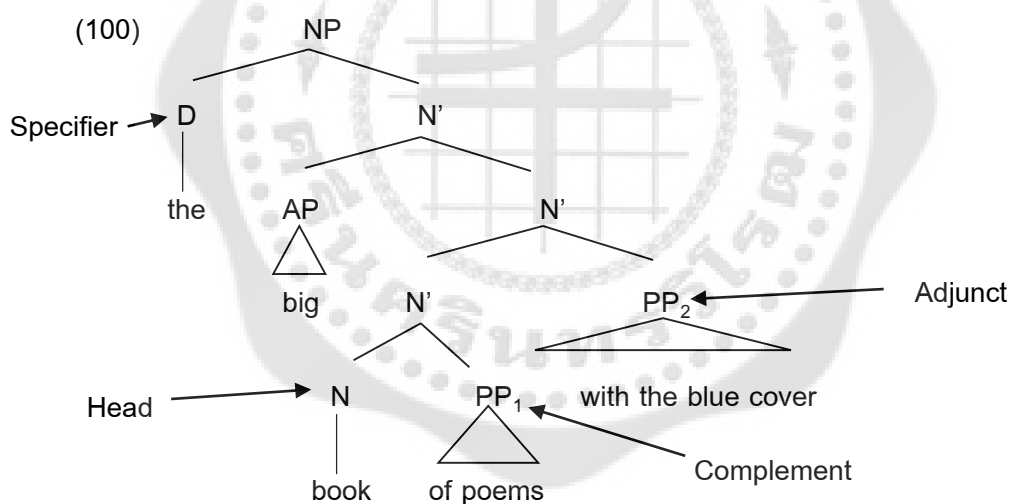
(Gelderen. 2013: 8)

From the PSRs in (98), we derive the hierarchy model of domains in (99).



(Gelderen. 2013: 9)

Based on the rules (98) and diagram (99), an adjunct can have can be either left or right of the head. The adjunct is a sister and daughter to an XP. A phrase can have only one specifier, which is to the left of the head. The specifier is the daughter of XP and sister to X' level. A complement is a daughter to X', and sister to the head. Using the model in (98), we can draw a new diagram to analyze the hierarchy of constituents in (100).



(Carnie. 2007: 154)

The diagram (100) represents the asymmetrical relationship between constituents like how [*with the blue cover*]_{PP} modifies [*book of poems*]_{NP}. Determiner *the* is a specifier of NP projection. The PP₁ [*of poem*]_{PP} is the complement that is the sister of head. PP₂ [*with the blue cover*]_{PP} is the adjunct that is sister of N'. The adjunct/specifier distinction is important for the analysis I present in Chapter 4, where I show that some topics (overtly-marked topics) behave like specifiers and other topics (unmarked topics) behave like adjuncts. The X'-phrase structure

rules produce a “dedp strukture” which can then be modified by movement operations that produce the “surface structure”.

Having discussed theoretical frameworks and theories adopted in this study. I will present the methodology of this research in the next chapter.



CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will discuss methodology of the research as in the below outline:

1. Collecting and selecting data
2. Diagnostics as instruments
 - 2.1 Identify thematic role of SIINPs
 - 2.2 Diagnostics for distinguishing between passive and middle constructions in Thai
 - 2.3 Diagnostics for distinguishing between middle and topic constructions in Thai

1. Collecting and selecting data

The data used in this research are drawn from Pantip.com which is an online forum of many different topics; cosmetic, home and kitchen because the most of sentence-initial NPs are inanimate NPs, and the data in Pantip.com are easy to collect and they are the expressions which people use in daily. I collected 146 sentences from the site from January to April, 2014. I wanted several verbs that occurred with SIINPs. The criteria for selecting sentences were as follows:

1. I select only the sentences where SIINPs occur with agentive verb.

(1) สปอร์ตบรา	ถอด	ยาก	จัง
sàpòwtbraa	tʰòwt	jâak	caŋ
sport bra	take off	difficult	PART
“It is difficult to take off sport bra.”			

In general, the verb *tʰòwt* “take off” requires an animate subject to do the action i.g. Human, but the subject position (initial position) in (1), there is *sport bra* which is the inanimate entity and cannot take itself off. *sàpòwtbraa* “sport bra” in (1) is strange to be the subject of an active sentence i.g. [*The sport bra took off her shoes]_{CP}. Therefore, examples like (1) provide an interesting puzzle with respect to the syntactic function and semantic roles that are represented.

2. Obvious causative construction are excluded because the SIINP is an overt causer. Obvious causative constructions in Thai are marked by the verb *t^hamhâi* “make” and *sòŋp^hǎnhâi* “affect” for example:

(2) สมุนไพร	นี้	ทำให้	กิน	ข้าว	ได้	น้อยลง
samŭnp ^h rai	nîi	t ^h amhâi	kin	k ^{hw} âw	dâaj	nójlɔŋ
herb	this	make	eat	food	can	less

“This herb makes (eater) eat food less.”

tamhâi “make” in (2) is the causative marker in Thai, and SIINP *samŭnp^hrai* “this Herb” is the causer.

3. Serial verb constructions are excluded because verbs in serial verb construction may have a complex argument structure.

(3) สิวหนอง	ใช้	กด	เอา	หัวสีขาว	ออก	ก่อน
sǐwŋwɔŋ	c ^h ǎj	kòt	ʔao	hŭasǐw	ʔwàk	kòwn
inflamed acne	use	press	get	white head	out	before

“For the inflamed acne, press the white head and take it out before.”

There are three verbs *c^hǎj* “use”, *kòt* “press” and *ʔaw* “get” in (3). The verb *c^hǎj* “use” requires two arguments which are an agent and an instrument while, the verbs *kòt* “press” and *ʔaw* “get” require an agent and a theme.

4. Metaphoric uses of verb are excluded because the metaphoric use of verbs may have different argument structure from non-metaphoric used verbs.

(4) ซาร่า	ราคา	โดด	มาก	ไหม	ครับ
saarâa	raak ^h aa	dòot	mâak	măi	k ^h âp
Zara	price	jump	much	Q	PART

“Is the price raised much at Zara?”

The metaphoric use of verb *dòot* “jump” has different argument structure with the non-metaphoric used verb *p^hǎm* “increase”: *dòot* “jump” requires an argument which is an agent while, *p^hǎm* “increase” can have two arguments e.g. [*maalii p^hǎm námnǎk*]_{CP} “Malee increases her weight.”.

5. Metonymic uses are excluded because the SIINP refers to animate NP and it is interpreted as a living entity for example:

- (5) ร้าน นี้ ตัด ผม ดี มาก
 ráan níi tàt p^hǒm dii mâak
 shop this cut hair good very
 “This salon cuts hair very good.”

ráan níi “this salon” refers to a hairdresser who works in that salon. Since, the salon and the hairdresser have whole-part relation; the salon is the whole and the hairdresser is the part of salon and does the action. Therefore, *ráan níi* in (5) is a metonymic use, and excluded from this research.

Now we have discussed how I have collected data and in the next section I will discuss how to analyze the data.

2. Diagnostics as instruments

In this section, I apply several empirical diagnostics to distinguish between three SIINP constructions: passive, middle and topic constructions. Then, I use X' theory to analyze the data. The details are as follows:

2.1 Identify thematic role of SIINPs

Diagnostic 1: identify SIINPs thematic role by interrogative sentences if the NP can serve as the answer.

In this diagnostic, I will test thematic roles of SIINPs by interrogative sentences. The diagnostic will show the several thematic roles of SIINPs, and each role can show that SIINPs are an argument or non-argument of the verb. For example:

- (6) บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók t^ham mâi jâak k^hà
 painting block make NEG difficult PART
 “It is not difficult to make **painting block**.”

Whether *blók* “painting block” in (6) is an agent of the verb *t^ham* “make” or not, we will diagnose by interrogative sentences as below:

(7) Q: ใคร เป็น คน ทำ มัน
 k^haj pen k^hon t^ham man
 who is person make it
 “Who made it?”

A: ?? บล็อก

blók

painting block

“(the one who made is) painting block.”

We know that *blók* “painting block” in (6) cannot be an answer to the agentive questions like (7), thus *painting block* is not the agent of the verb *t^ham* “make”. The interrogative sentence test can also be used to determine whether an NP has the theme theta role, as illustrated in (8).

(8) Q: คุณ กำลัง ทำ อะไร อยู่
 k^hun kamlaj t^ham ʔarai jùu
 you PROG make what ASP
 “What are you making?”

A: บล็อก

blók

painting block

“(I made) painting block.”

Because *blók* can be used to answer the them question like (8) thus, *blók* “painting Block” in (6) is the theme of the verb *t^ham* “make”. We can make the theta grid of the verb *t^ham* as below:

(9) “t^ham” (make)

DP	DP
Agent	Theme
NP _[animate]	NP _[inanimate]
Maker	Object

Diagnostic 2: identify the grammatical function of SIINPs in Thai

In diagnostic 2, it will test the grammatical function of SIINPs by omission test if SIINP can be omitted this shows that the SIINP is not an argument of a verb. The test will show what a grammatical function of SIINPs is. Each grammatical function will show what kind of thematic roles can be an argument or adjunct of a verb. For example:

- (10) a. เมื่อวาน น้องชาย ทำ บล็อก ด้วย ไม้
 mǎwaaan nǎwɯŋcʰaaj tʰam blók dūaj mâaj
 yesterday younger brother make painting block by woods
 “My brother made a painting block from woods yesterday.”
- b. *เมื่อวาน น้องชาย ทำ ด้วย ไม้
 mǎwaaan nǎwɯŋcʰaaj tʰam dūaj mâaj
 yesterday younger brother make by woods
 “My brother made from woods yesterday.”
- c. เมื่อวาน น้องชาย ทำ บล็อก
 mǎwaaan nǎwɯŋcʰaaj tʰam blók
 yesterday younger brother make painting block
 “My brother made a painting block yesterday.”

In (10b), *a painting block* is omitted and the sentence is ungrammatical, thus *a painting block* is the argument of the sentence. In contrast, if *with woods* is omitted, the sentence is still grammatical. Thus, *with woods* is the adjunct of the sentence.

Now we can make the diagram of SIINPs in Thai in figure 11.

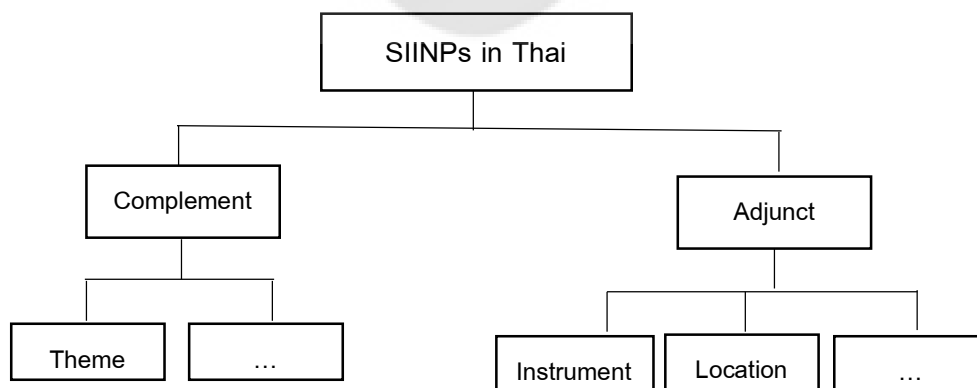


Figure 11 thematic role diagram of SIINPs in Thai

Next step we will diagnose SIINPs in passive and middle constructions in Thai. We will see that SIINPs behave like the subject of passive or middle constructions.

2.2 Diagnostics for distinguishing between passive and middle constructions in Thai

In this section, I use the tests to distinguish the passive and middle construction.

There are tests as below:

Diagnostic 3: passive construction test

In diagnostic 3, I will test sentences by adding the passive marker *tʰùuk*. If the result is unacceptable this shows that the construction is not a passive. This test is applied by Prasithrathsin (1985) and Thongteang (2009). The result of the test will distinguish middle and topic construction from passive construction. Moreover, the test will show that SIINPs in middle or topic construction are not the subject of passive construction. For example:

- (11) a. บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block make NEG difficult PART
 “It is not difficult to make painting block.”
- b. *บล็อก ถูก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰùuk tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block PASS make NEG difficult PART
 “painting block is not difficult to make.”

Now we know that the sentence (11a) is not the passive construction and *blók* is not a subject of the passive construction.

Diagnostic 4: agentive test

In diagnostic 4, I will test SIINP which co-occur with an oblique agent in the construction. If the SIINP can co-occur with an oblique agent this shows that the construction has a syntactically suppressed agent or the construction is passive. The result of the test will distinguish passive and other construction. This test is also used in English by Keyser and Roeper (1984).

(12) a. *บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก โดย น้องชาย ค่ะ (middle)

blók tʰam mâi jâak dooj nówɯcʰaaj kʰà

painting block make NEG difficult by brother PART

“It is not difficult to make painting block **by brother**.”

b. บล็อก ถูก ทำ โดย น้องชาย ค่ะ (passive)

blók tʰùuk tʰam dooj nówɯcʰaaj kʰà

painting block PASS make by brother PART

“painting block is made **by brother**.”

In (12a), I add the agent *nówɯcʰaaj* “brother” in the sentence and the sentence is strange but while I add the agent in the passive construction (12b), the sentence is still grammatical. Thus, (12a) is not a passive construction in which a passive marker is omitted.

Diagnostics 5: adverbial test

In diagnostic 5, I will test constructions with progressive construction, and adverbial of time-point and intention, if the construction is unacceptable this shows that the construction is not passive. For example: This test is also used in English by Keyser and Roeper (1984).

(13) a. บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ (middle)

blók tʰam mâi jâak kʰà

painting block make NEG difficult PART

“It is not difficult to make painting block.”

b. บล็อก ถูก ทำ ค่ะ (passive)

blók tʰùuk tʰam kʰà

painting block PASS make PART

“Painting block is made.”

(14) a. *บล็อก กำลัง ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ (progressive middle)

blók kamləŋ tʰam mâi jâak kʰà

painting block AUX make NEG difficult PART

“Painting block is not making difficultly.”

- b. บล็อก กำลัง ถูก ทำ ค่ะ (progressive passive)
 blók kamlan tʰùuk tʰam kʰà
 painting block AUX PASS make PART
 “Painting block is being made.”
- (15) a. ?บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ตอน หกโมง ค่ะ (time-point)
 blók tʰam mâi jâak tɔɔn hòkmoɔŋ kʰà
 painting block make NEG difficult when 6 o'clock PART
 “It is not difficult to make painting block at 6 o'clock.”
- b. บล็อก ถูก ทำ ตอน หกโมง ค่ะ (time-point)
 blók tʰùuk tʰam tɔɔn hòkmoɔŋ kʰà
 painting block PASS make when 6 o'clock PART
 “Painting block is made at 6 o'clock.”
- (16) a. *บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ด้วยความตั้งใจ ค่ะ (intention)
 blók tʰam mâi jâak dūaj^{hw}aamtâŋcaj kʰà
 painting block make NEG difficult on purpose PART
 “It is not difficult to make painting block **on purpose**.”
- b. บล็อก ถูก ทำ ด้วยความตั้งใจ ค่ะ (intention)
 blók tʰùuk tʰam dūaj^{hw}aamtâŋcaj kʰà
 painting block PASS make on purpose PART
 “Painting block is made **on purpose**.”

From adverbial test, we can distinguish the middle and passive construction. The middle construction always requires an adverbial e.g. difficult, easy as shown in (13a). While, the passive construction does not as shown in (13b). Moreover, the middle construction cannot appear with progressive in (14), time-point (15), intentional adverbials in (16) but the passive construction can.

From all of diagnostic of passive and middle constructions, we will know distinct between the passive and the middle construction. Next issue, I examine SIINPs in causative and middle constructions in Thai.

2.3 Diagnostics for distinguishing between middle and topic constructions in Thai

In this section, I use two diagnostics to distinguish a subject and a topic of the sentence as below:

Diagnostic 6: Agentive test

In diagnostic 6, I will test SIINPs in the initial position by addition an agent in the subject position if it is unacceptable this suggests that the SIINP is in the subject position. The results of the test also can distinguish between middle and topic construction because if the SIINP is a topic, it should be compatible with an overt subject. For example:

- (17) a. บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ (*middle*)
 blók tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block make NEG difficult PART
 “It is not difficult to make painting block.”
- b. *บล็อก เธอ ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰəə tʰam mâi jâak kʰà
 painting block 2sg make NEG difficult PART
 “Painting block, **you** do not make easily.”
- (18) a. คอนเวิร์ส ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ (*topic*)
 kʰwɔn wəət mâi tɔŋ sài tʰŋtʰáw ná
 Converse NEG must wear socks PART
 “Converse no need to wear socks.”
- b. คอนเวิร์ส เธอ ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ
 kʰwɔn wəət tʰəə mâi tɔŋ sài tʰŋtʰáw ná
 Converse 2sg NEG must wear socks PART
 “Converse, **you** no need to wear socks.”

From diagnostic 6, it shown that we cannot put the agent in the subject position of the middle construction (17) but we can do so in the topic construction (18).

Diagnostic 7: Pronoun-binding test

This diagnostic Ting (2006) applies this test the SIINP in middle, passive and topic constructions by seeing whether the SIINP can bind a pronoun in Chinese Mandarin sentences.

Diagnostic 8: Manner adverb test

Keyser and Roeper (1984) suggests that manner adverbs associate to middle constructions cross-linguistically. I will test adverbs which co-occur with SIINPs and agentive verbs. This diagnostic, I use interrogatives with Wh-word *jàaŋrai* “how” to distinguish manner and non-manner adverbs. Manner adverbs describe the action, if an adverb can be the answer of interrogatives with Wh-word *jàaŋrai* “how”, it suggest that that adverb is a manner adverb. The diagnostic is applied as below:

- (20) Q: การทำ บล็อก เป็น อย่างไร
 kaant^ham blók pen jàaŋrai
 making painting block be how
 “How was making painting block?”
- A1: ง่าย (manner)
 ɣâaj
 easily
 “(It makes) easily.”
- A2: *มาก (non-manner)
 mâak
 much
 “(It makes) much.”
- A3: *บ่อยๆ (non-manner)
 bəwəj.bəwəj
 often
 “(It makes) often.”
- A4: *ตอนนี้ (non-manner)
 tɔwɔnníi
 now
 “(It makes) now.”
- A5: *ได้ (non-manner)
 dâaj
 can/ably

“(It makes) ably.”

The data (20) shows that non-manner adverbs like *mâak* “much” and *bòwj.bòwj* “often” cannot be the answer of the interrogative with Wh-word *jàaŋrai* “how” – i.e. *mâak* “much” is an adverb of degree, *bòwj.bòwj* “often” is an adverb of frequency, *twannîi* “now” is an adverb of time, and *dâaj* “can/ably” is a modal adverb that shows the ability of the agent. This test can be used to distinguish Thai middle constructions from other similar [NP_[inanimate] V_{agentive} Adv_[-manner]] constructions. If the adverb fails this manner test, the construction cannot be a middle, according to Keyser and Roeper (1984); Robert (1985); Alexiadou (1997); Cinque (1999); Steinbach (2002).

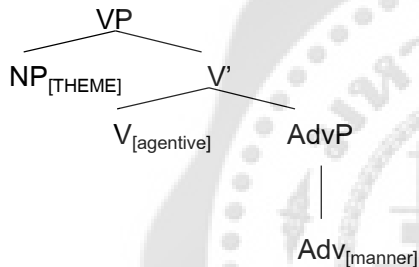


CHAPTER 4

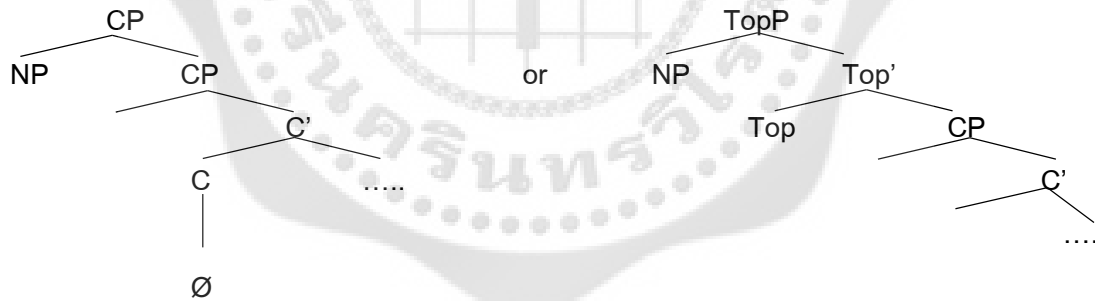
ANALYSES

In chapter 1, I proposed that SIINPs in Thai have two statuses. One, they can be the subject of a middle construction, and two they can be the topic of the sentence. In this chapter, I will demonstrate and analyze the syntax of SIINPs in various constructions. I divide the analysis into 2 sections as shown in the below outline:

1. SIINPs as Middle construction in Thai



2. SIINPs as Topic constructions in Thai



1. SIINPs as middle construction in Thai

1.1 Empirical diagnostics

In this section, I will demonstrate my hypothesis for the middle construction which consists of two parts:

- (i) The subject of the middle construction has the semantic role of THEME/PATIENT
- (ii) Only sentences which have the structure as [NP_[inanimate, THEME] vp[V_[agentive] Adv_[manner]]] are the middle construction. Note that the adverbial in (ii) must be a manner

adverbial. This structure is derived from a lexical valence changing operation, as illustrated in figure 12.

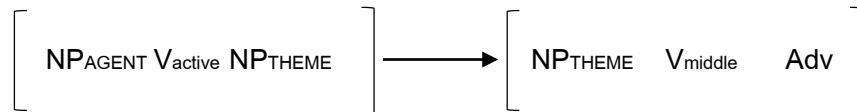


Figure 12 Middle valence changing operation

Recall, in active Thai sentences, the basic word order is SVO. Assuming an agentive predicate, we thus predict the initial NP in non-passive sentences to be an AGENT. The presence of inanimate NPs in sentence-initial position, as in (1), are thus surprising - inanimate NPs, lacking the semantic characteristics to be agents, should not be in sentence-initial position. i.e., *baiʔoodəəmâa* “Bioderma” cannot be the agent of the agentive verb *cʰái* “use” because *baiʔoodəəmâa* lacks a mind/ the free will to make a decision.

- (1) a. ไบโอเดอร์มา ใช้ ดี จริงๆ
baiʔoodəəmâa cʰái dii cingciŋ
 Bioderma use good really
 “**Bioderma** works (lit. uses) really well.”
- b. สันดอน ขุด ง่าย แต่ สันดาน ขุด ยาก ครับ
săndɔɔn kʰùt ŋâaj tɛɛ sǎndaan kʰùt jâak kʰráp
 sand bar dig easy but character dig difficult PART
 “**Sand bar** digs easily. But the **character** digs hard.” (It is difficult to change someone’s habit.)
- c. สปอร์ตบรา ถอด ยาก จังหวะ
sà.pɔ̀ɔt.braa tʰɔ̀ɔt jâak caŋ
 sport bra take off difficult PART
 “**Sport bras** are hard to take off.” (One cannot take off sport bras so easily.)

From this point on, we will refer to sentence-initial inanimate NPs like *baiʔoodəəmâa* “Bioderma” in (1a), *săndɔɔn* “sand bar” and *sǎndaan* “character” in (1b), and *sà.pɔ̀ɔ t.braa* “sport bra” in (1c) as SIINPs. The basic structures of empirical interest are represented in (2).

- b. *บุหรี่ นี้ ถูก ขาย ดี
 bûrii nii tʰùuk kʰǎaj dii
 cigarette this PASS sell good
 lit. “This cigarette is sold well.”
- c. *แกงไก่ ถูก กิน อร่อย
 kɛŋkài tʰùuk kin ʔàrɔ̀ɔj
 chicken curry PASS eat delicious
 lit. “The chicken curry is eaten deliciously.”

This suggests that the sentences (1) and (3) are not covert passive constructions as Sinlapasan and Thonglor proposed. I have proposed that they have the structural and semantic properties of a middle construction. Next, I review the syntactic and semantic properties of middle constructions cross-linguistically.

Table 5 Empirical differences between Thai middles and passives

Diagnostic	Middle	Passive
Passive marker <i>tʰùuk</i>	×	✓

Keyser and Roeper (1984) observed that middles require an adverbial. The Thai examples in (1) and (3), like middles cross-linguistically, are unacceptable without adverbials, as shown in (6c) and (6d). This contrasts with the overt passive constructions shown in (7a) and (7b), which are fully grammatical without adverbials.

- (6) a. ไบโอดีร์มา ใช้ ดี จริงๆ (*middle*)
 baiʔoodəəmâa cʰái dii ciŋciŋ
 Bioderma use good really
 “Bioderma uses really well.”

- b. บุหรี่ ขาย ดี (middle)
 bùrìi k^hǎaj dii
 cigarette sell good
 “Cigarette sells well.”
- c. *ไบโอเดอร์มา ใช้
 bai^oodəomâa c^hái
 Bioderma use
 lit. “Bioderma uses.”
- d. *บุหรี่ ขาย
 bùrìi k^hǎaj
 cigarette sell
 lit. “This cigarette sells.”
- (7) a. ไบโอเดอร์มา ถูก ใช้ (passive)
 bai^oodəomâa t^hùuk c^hái
 Bioderma PASS use
 “Bioderma is used.”
- b. บุหรี่ ถูก ขาย (passive)
 bùrìi t^hùuk k^hǎaj
 cigarette PASS sell
 “This cigarette is sold.”

This empirical diagnostics so far are summarized in table 6.

Table 6 Empirical difference between Thai middles and passives (adverbial requirements)

Diagnostic	Middle	Passive
1. Passive marker <i>t^hùuk</i>	✗	✓
2. Adverbial requirement	✓	✗

Keyser and Roeper (1984) also argue that middle constructions have a generic semantics, expressing sentences that are generally true, as opposed to describing particular

events. In a language like English, this is supported by the fact that (i) middles cannot be modified by specific time-point adverbials as in shown in (8), and (ii) middles cannot occur with progressive morphology as in shown in (9).

- (8) a. ?Yesterday, the mayor bribed easily, according to the newspaper.
 b. ?At yesterday's house party, the kitchen wall painted easily.
 c. ?If it hadn't been wet, my kitchen floor would have waxed easily.

(Based on examples from Keyser & Roeper 1984)

- (9) a. ?Bureaucrats are bribing easily.
 b. ?Chickens are killing easily.
 c. ?The floor is waxing easily.

(Based on examples from Keyser & Roeper 1984)

The examples of interest in (1) and (3) similarly have a generic semantics. The analogous (10), for example, expresses something that is generally true, as opposed to describing a particular event. Sports bras are hard, in general, to take off; (10) does not describe a particular event where a particular individual, e.g., Mary, has hard taking off a particular sports bra.

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------|-----------|------|
| (10) สปอร์ตบรา | ถอด | ยาก | จึง |
| sà.pwót.braa | tʰwót | jâak | can |
| sport bra | take off | difficult | PART |
- “Sport bra is difficult to takes off.”

In contrast, passive construction can describe particular events. *kʰonɲaan* “worker” in (11) refers to a particular person that was fired.

- | | | |
|------------|-------|---------|
| (11) คนงาน | ถูก | ไล่ออก |
| kʰonɲaan | tʰùuk | lâi?wók |
| worker | PASS | fire |
- “The worker is fired.”

(Thonglor. 2001: 233)

The example (10) and (11) suggest that the middle subject has generic semantics while the passive subject has specific semantics. The empirical diagnostics illustrated in (10) and (11) is summarized in table 7.

Table 7 Semantic properties of subject between Thai middles and passives

Diagnostic	Middle	Passive
1. Passive marker <i>t^hùuk</i>	✗	✓
2. Adverbial requirement	✓	✗
3. Semantics of subject	generic	specific

The data below provides further evidence for this semantic distinction; the proposed middle constructions in (12) are unacceptable with a particular time adverbial like *mʰa waan níi* “yesterday”, unlike passive constructions, as shown in (13).

- (12) a. *เมื่อวานนี้ สปอร์ตบรา ถอด ยาก จัง
 mʰa.waan.nii sà.pòt.braa tʰòt jâak caŋ
 yesterday sport bra take off difficult PART
 “?Yesterday, sport bras was difficult to remove.”
- b. *เมื่อวานนี้ ไปโอเดอรามา ใช้ ดี จริงๆ
 mʰa.waan.nii baiʔoodəomâa cʰái dii cingɯŋ
 yesterday Bioderma use good really
 “?Yesterday Bioderma used really well.”
- (13) เมื่อวานนี้ คนงาน ถูก ไล่ออก
 mʰa.waan.nii kʰonɯŋaan tʰùuk láiʔòk
 yesterday worker PASS fire
 “Yesterday, the worker was fired.”

Similarly, like the English middles in (9), the Thai constructions in (1) and (3) are incompatible with progressive morphology. This is shown in (14a). Thai passive constructions, on the other hand, are compatible with progressive morphology, as shown in (14b).

- (14) a. *ไบโอเดอร์มา กำลัง ใช้ ดี จริงๆ (*middle*)
 baiʔoodəəmâa kamlan cʰái dii cɪŋcɪŋ
 Bioderma PROG use good really
 “Bioderma is using really well.”
- b. ประตู กำลัง ถูก เปิด (*passive*)
 pràtuu kamlan tʰùuk pèet
 door PROG PASS open
 “The door is being opened.”

Table 8 Empirical diagnostic of time-point adverbials and progressive constructions between Thai middles and passives

Diagnostic	Middle	Passive
1. Passive marker <i>tʰùuk</i>	✗	✓
2. Adverbial requirement	✓	✗
3. Semantics of subject	generic	specific
4. Compatible with specific time point adverbial	✗	✓
5. Compatible with progressive morphology	✗	✓

We also can test for a generic meaning using an additional diagnostic – the presence/absence of a specific agent adverbial. Ting (2006) claims that there is no agent in the syntactic level of middle constructions, while passives have syntactically present (but suppressed) agents. In any case, middle constructions are not compatible with adverbials indicating specific agents, as shown below in (15).

- (15) a. ?Bureaucrats bribe easily by the NRA.

b. ?Chickens kill easily by Mrs. Tweedy.

c. ?The floor waxes easily by Mr. Miyagi.

(Based on examples from Keyser & Roeper 1984)

The data in (16) shows that the constructions of interest, like English middles, are incompatible with specific agent adverbials. This contrasts with Thai passive constructions, as shown in (17).

(16) *สปอร์ตบรา	ถอด	ยาก	โดย	มาลี
sà.pwət.braa	tʰwət	jâak	dooj	maalii
sport bra	take off	difficult	by	Malee
“Sport bra is difficult to takes off by Malee. ”				
(17) บุหรี่	ถูก	ขาย	โดย	พนักงานขาย
bùrii	tʰùuk	kʰǎaj	dooj	pʰánákɲaankʰǎaj
cigarette	PASS	sell	by	seller
“This cigarette is sold by the seller. ”				

Further evidence that suggests that middles lack a specific agent is demonstrated with intentional adverbials. Intentional adverbials can occur in passives but not in middles because middles have no syntactic agent. Thus, middles cannot occur with an adverbial describing the intention of a doer/actor as shown in (18a). This contrasts with passives, which can occur with intentional adverbials as shown in (18b).

(18) a. *สปอร์ตบรา	ถอด	ยาก	ด้วยความตั้งใจ	(middle)
sà.pwət.braa	tʰwət	jâak	dúaj.kʰw aam.tâŋcai	
sport bra	take off	difficult	on purpose	
“Sport bra is difficult to takes off on purpose. ”				
b. สปอร์ตบรา	ถูก	ถอด	ด้วยความตั้งใจ	(passive)
sà.pwət.braa	tʰùuk	tʰwət	dúaj.kʰw aam.tâŋcai	
sport bra	PASS	take off	on purpose	
“Sport bra is taken off on purpose. ”				

The empirical diagnostic illustrated in (16), (17) and (18) are summarized in table 9.

Using these diagnostics, we can distinguish between a middle and passive construction in Thai. SIINPs which occur with agentive verbs and adverbials are the subject of the middle construction, not a passive construction.

Table 9 Empirical Differences between Thai middles and passives

Diagnostic	Middle Constructions	Passive constructions
1. Compatible with overt passive markers e.g. <i>tʰùuk</i>	✗	✓
3. Require adverbials	✓	✗
4. Semantics of subject	generic	specific
5. Compatible with specific (non-generic) time-point adverbials	✗	✓
6. Compatible with specific (non-generic) agent adverbial	✗	✓
7. Compatible with progressive morphology	✗	✓
8. Compatible with intentional adverbials	✗	✓

1.2 Theoretical analyses for middle constructions

I propose both the middle and passive constructions involve function changing operations of voice. i.e., they change the standard mapping of thematic roles to grammatical role. Changing an active to middle is illustrated in (19); and an active to passive in (20).

(19) a. บิว ขาย สินค้า ชุด ฟอรั่เกดมี๊นอต (active)

biw k^hǎaj sǐnk^háa c^hút forget me not

Biw sell product set forget me not

“Biw sells the product set ‘Forget me not’.”

b. สินค้า ชุด ฟอรั่เกดมี๊นอต ขาย ดี (middle)

sǐnk^háa c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj dii

product set forget me not sell good

“The product set ‘Forget me not’ sells really well.”

(20) a. นัต ดืม น้ำ จน หมด (active)

nát d̥im nám con mòt

Nat drink water until finished

“Nat drinks water until finished.”

b. น้ำ ถูก ดืม จน หมด (โดย นัต) (passive)

nám t^hùuk d̥im con mòt dooj nát

Water PASS drink until finished by Nat

“Water is drunk until finished (by Nat).”

(19) and (20) show that these voice-changing operations affect the syntactic function of the NPs but do not affect the semantic roles. The NP *nám* “water” and *sǐnk^h á c^hút forget me not* “The product set ‘Forget me not’” are objects in (19a) and (20a), but subjects in (19b) and (20b) respectively. However, these NPs are interpreted as the THEME in both (19) and (20), despite their different syntactic positions. The verb *k^hǎaj* “sell” and *d̥im* “drink” require two argument which are *y* and *x*; *k^hǎaj(y,x)* and *d̥im(y,x)*. The second argument *x* of the verb *k^hǎaj* means when *y* sells *x*, *y* does not own *x* any longer because *x* has changed owners, as shown in (22). The second argument of the verb *d̥im* “drink” means, when *y* drinks *x*, *x* decreases as shown in (21). Even through, the voice is changed, the argument *x* is still affected by this entailment. In both the active and the passive the NP *nám* “water” refers to something that decreases as the event occurs.

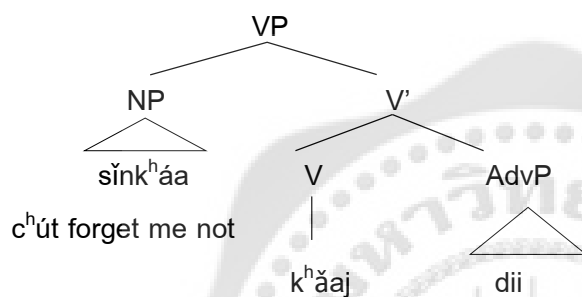
(21) Drink(*y*, *x*) (incremental theme)

→ *x* is decreased

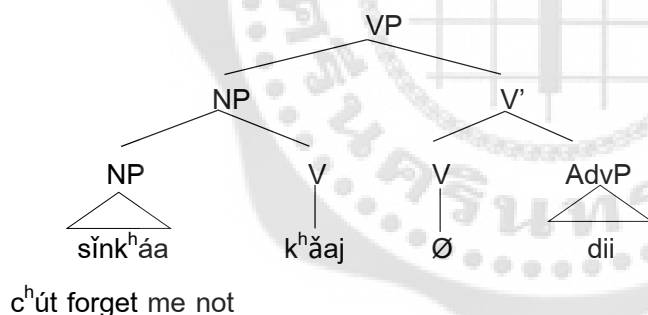
(Krifka. 1989: 88)

According to (23), the theme SIINP maps onto the middle subject, and must occur with a manner adverb (non-manner adverbs lack empirical properties of middles see section 1.2). I show that the theme SIINP is a middle subject by using constituency tests on data. I provide two diagram for constituency test as below: (i) shows the structure I propose (ii) shows an alternative structure that I am arguing against.

- (i) SIINP is an NP constituent, and the [V Adv] form a VP constituent.



- (ii) [SIINP V] is the subject and behaves like a constituent. (cf. “selling ‘forget me not’ is good”)



First I will use the conjunction test to show that the SIINP and verb do not form a constituent. If the SIINP [*sǐnk^hǎa c^hút forget me not*]_{NP} and the verb *k^hǎaj* “sell” behave like a constituent, (25) should be acceptable, but it is not.

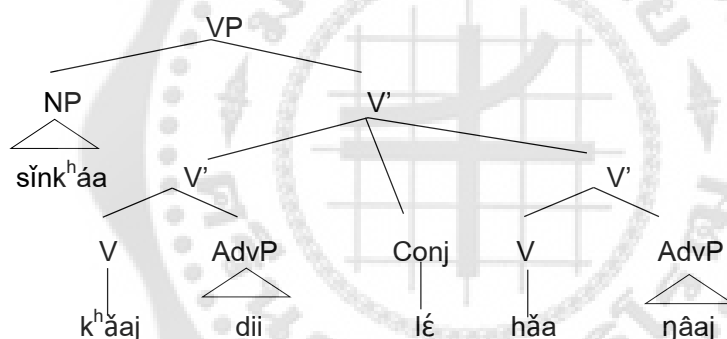
(25)	*สินค้า	ชุด	ฟอร์เกตมื๋นอต	ขาย	และ	หนังสือ
	sǐnk^hǎa	c^hút	forget me not	k^hǎaj	lé	nǎŋsǐi
	product	set	forget me not	sell	and	book

นิยาย	เรื่อง	ฟอร์เกตมีนอต	อ่าน	ดี
níjaaj	h̥aŋ	forget me not	ʔàan	dii
fiction	title	forget me not	read	well

“The product set ‘forget me not’ sells and the fiction book ‘forget me not’ sells well.”

In contrast the verb and adverb do behave like a constituent, as shown in (26).

(26) สิ้นค้า ชุด ฟอร์เกตมีนอต ขาย ดี และ
 sǐnk^há c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj dii lé
 หา ง่าย
 hǎa ŋǎaj
 “The product set ‘Forget me not’ sells well and find easily.”



However, consider the data below:

I will also show that the [SIINP V] do not pass the movement test as shown in (27). Since the middle subject can be topicalized which is marked by the topic marker *nīi* (I will discuss in topic construction's section).

(27) *สิ้นค้า ชุด ฟอร์เกตมีนอต ขาย นี่ ดี
 sǐnk^háa c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj nīi dii
 product set forget me not sell TOP well

In this section, we see that THEME SIINPs is derived a middle subject via valence changing operation of middle. The SIINP which is a middle subject is an NP constituent.

The verb constituent is formed by a verb and an adverb. Next section, I will discuss adverbs which associate with a middle construction.

1.3 Manner adverbs

We have seen that the middle construction requires an adverbial. The question I address in this section is whether there are semantic restrictions on this adverbial. For example, whether the adverbial must refer to a manner (Keyser; & Roeper. 1984); (Robert. 1985); (Alexiadou. 1997); (Cinque. 1999); (Steinbach. 2002).

Recall Keyser and Roeper (1984), Robert (1985), Alexiadou (1997), Cinque (1999) and Steinbach (2002) suggest that the middle constructions cross-linguistically is associated with a manner adverb or PP adverbial as illustrated in (28). Cinque (1991: 101-2) also suggests that the manner adverbials like *well* have a close link to middle voice.

(28) a. The speech transcribes **well**.

b. The car drives **nicely**.

c. These toys assemble **rapidly**.

(Keyser; &Roeper. 1984: 384)

However, consider the sentences in (29) and (30) which have a similar structure to the middle.

(29) SIINP = THEME, Adv ≠ mannaer

a.	เนื้อ	นี้	ซื้อ	ตรง	ปากซอย	ทองหล่อ	แน่	เลย
	nia	nii	sii	tron	pàaksɔj	tʰɔŋlɔw	nɛ̌c	lɔɔj
	meat	this	buy	at	entrance	Thonglor	sure	PART

“This meat must be bought at the entrance of Soi Thonglor.”

b.	ปิ้ง	ย่าง	กิน	เยอะๆ	แล้ว	เลี่ยน	ครับ
	pîŋ	jâaŋ	kin	jɔʔjɔʔ	lɛ̌w	lian	kʰráp
	grill	BBQ	eat	a lot	then	nauseous	PART

“For grilled and BBQ meat, when I eat too much of it, I get nauseous.”

c. ชานมไข่มุก	กิน	มากๆ	ก็	อ้วน
c ^h aa.nom.k ^h ài.múk	kin	mâak.mâak	kǐw	ʔúuan
bubble tea	eat	a lot	then	fat
เบาหวาน				
bawwǎan				
diabetes				

“Bubble tea, if one drinks too much of it, one will get fat and diabetes.”

The adverbs in (29a), (29b) and (29c), *nɛɛ* “sure”, *jəʔ* “a lot” and *mâak* “a lot” are not manner adverbs, but adverbs of probability and degree modifiers respectively. Thus, (29a), (29b) and (29c) do not qualify to be a middle construction. Another case of construction is not a middle construction, as shown in (30). I argue they are a topic construction (see in section 2).

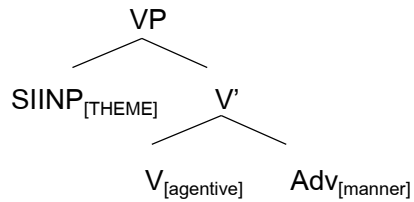
(30) SIINP ≠ THEME, Adv = *dâaj*

a. คอนโด	ทำ	ไม่	ได้	ครับ
k ^h ɔ̃ndoo	t ^h am	mâj	dâaj	k ^h ráp
condo	do	NEG	can	PART
“You cannot do it at the condo.”				
b. แอป	PSI	ดู	ได้	
ɛp	PSI	duu	dâaj	
application	PSI	watch	can	
“With PSI application, you can watch (the show).”				

The semantic roles of SIINPs *k^hɔ̃ndoo* “condo” in (30a) and *ɛp PSI* “PSI application” in (30) are not THEME but LOCATION and INSTRUMENT respectively. Moreover, the adverb *dâaj* is not a manner adverb. This shows that the construction like (30) are not quality to be a middle construction. Again, I argue they are a topic construction (see in section 2).

Based on the empirical generalizations discussed, I propose the following as the basic structure and diagram of Thai middle construction in (31).

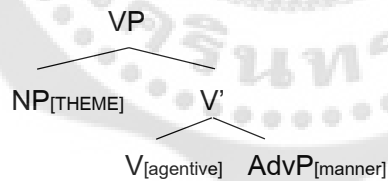
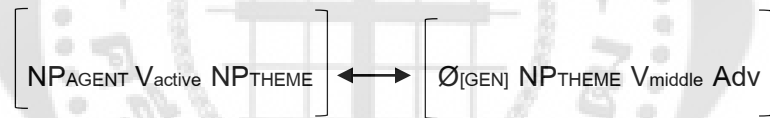
(31) [NP_[inanimate, THEME] VP[V_[agentive, THEME] Adv_[manner]]]



1.4 Generic operator

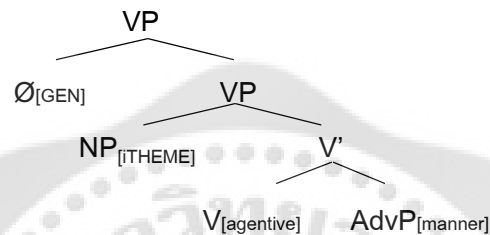
Following the basic structure in (31) and the previous diagnostics, I would like to present two options for the generic semantics of the middle construction. Option (i) the AGENT argument role is bound by a generic operator during the lexical middle operation, (ii) the AGENT argument role remains, but the lexical operation encodes a restriction that selects only the $\emptyset_{[GEN]}$ for that role as presented below:

- (i) Option 1: the AGENT argument role is bound by the lexical middle operation



- (ii) Option 2: AGENT argument role remains but the lexical operation encodes a restriction that selects only the $\emptyset_{[GEN]}$ for that role

$$\left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}} \text{V}_{\text{active}} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \right] \longleftrightarrow \left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}[\text{GEN}]} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \text{V}_{\text{middle}} \text{Adv} \right]$$



Both of the above are options to form a middle construction, Firstly, in both (i) and (ii), the SIINP is a specifier of VP which I will assume is the subject position. Second, in both (i) and (ii), the agent is interpreted generically.² In the next section, I will discuss these options in more detail.

1.4.1 Lexically encoded GEN operator

In the first option, the lexical semantic generic operator (GEN) is lexically-encoded at the presyntactic level. With this option, GEN is inserted into the lexical entry of the middle verb and this generic operator binds the agent theta-role, as shown in (32). This effectively makes the middle verb into an intransitive verb that only syntactically selects for a theme NP.

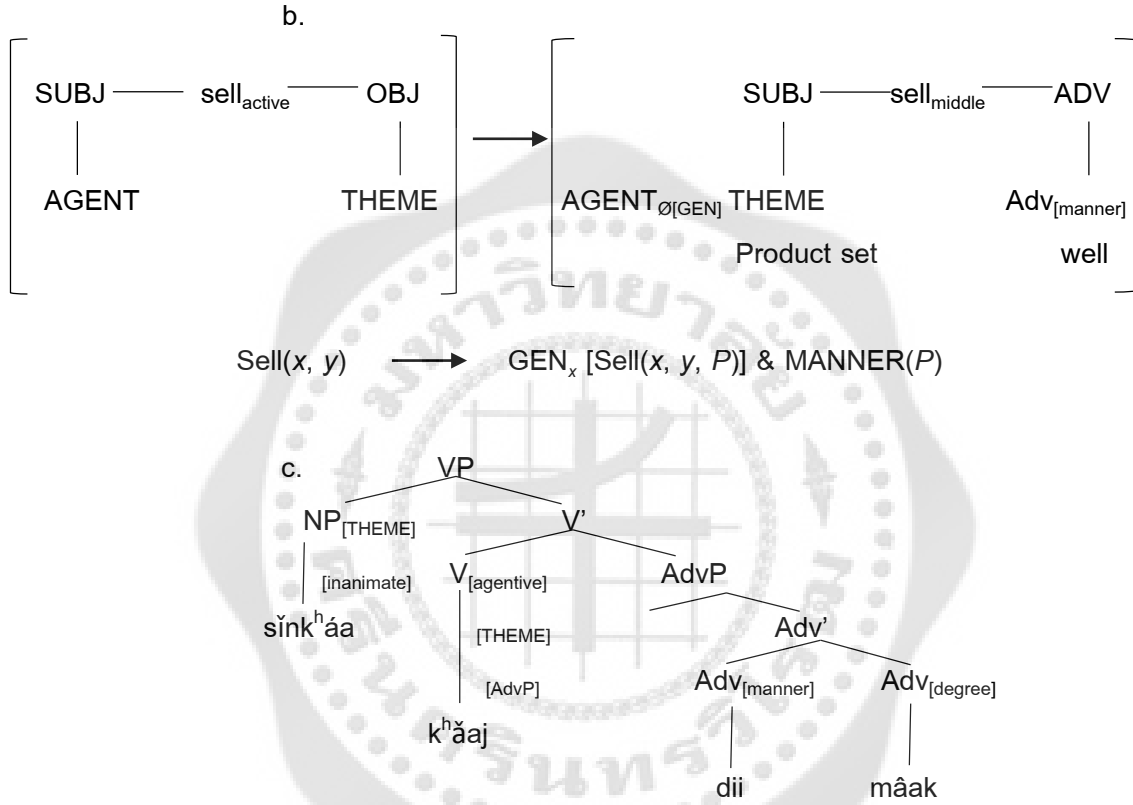
(32) Presyntactic lexical operation: Middle formation

$$\text{Verb}(x, y) \rightarrow \text{GEN}_x [\text{Verb}(x, y, P) \ \& \ \text{manner}(P)]$$

From (32), I illustrate the valence changing operation and tree diagram of middle construction in (33).

² Leakou (2005) claims that there is the generic operator or GEN which derives generic subject in the middle construction. The GEN can be encoded in two ways; (i) lexically bound at the presyntactic level which does not display via morphological system like English, (ii) be at the syntactic level which displays via morphological system like Greek.

- (33) a. สินค้า ชุด ฟอเก็ตมีนอต ขาย ดี มาก ครับ³
 sǐnk^háa c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj dii mâak k^hráp
 product set forget me not sell good many PART
 “The product set “Forget me not” sells really well.”



1.4.2 Syntactically-merged $\emptyset_{\text{GEN}}$ operator

The second option to formalize the middle construction in Thai is, one where the AGENT argument role remains open, but there is a lexical restriction that requires the agent to be generically bound in the syntax, as shown in (34).

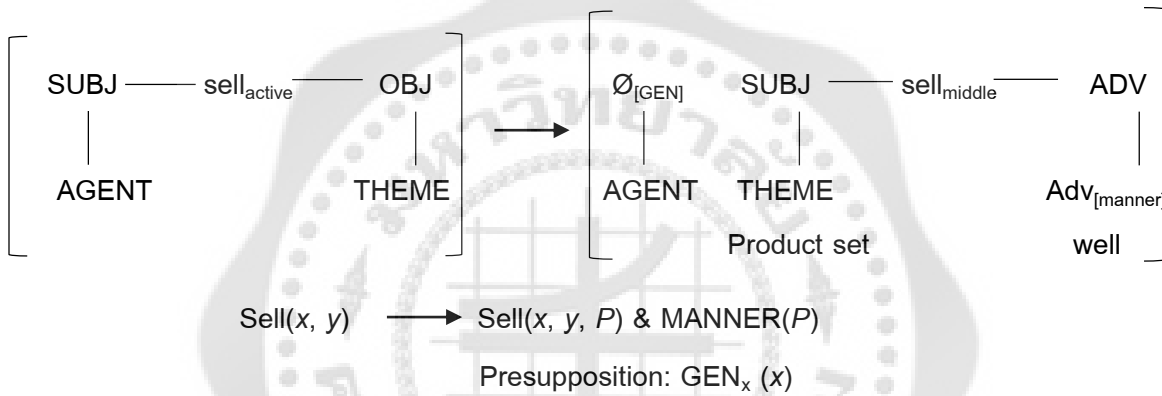
$$(34) \text{Verb}(x,y) \rightarrow \text{Verb}(x,y,P) \& \text{GEN}(x) \& \text{MANNER}(P)$$

³ Particles are not included in tree diagrams.

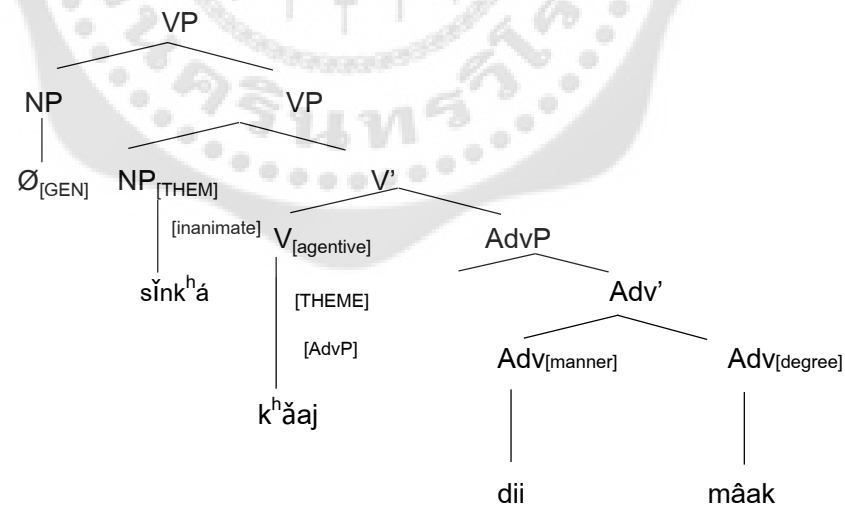
In this option, there are multiple Spec-VP positions (as shown in (34)); the lower Spec position is filled by the $SIINP_{THEME}$ and the higher Spec position is filled by a null generic operator as shown in (35c).⁴

- (35) a. สินค้า ชุด ฟอเก็ตมีนอต ขาย ดี มาก ครับ
 sǐnk^há c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj dii mâak k^hráp
 product set forget me not sell good many PART
 “The product set “Forget me not” sells really well.”

b.



c.



⁴ Technically a null pronoun or trace bound by a generic operator.

1.4.3 Where is the generic agent?

In option one, the generic operator is in the presyntactic level, it does not appear in the syntactic level. We would predict that it cannot interact with other elements in the syntax, like bound anaphors. With option 2, we predict that the $\emptyset_{\text{GEN}}$ can interact with other elements in the syntax such as bound anaphors. Hoonchamlong (1991), Ting (2006) and Hadad (2007) claim that reflexive anaphors can only be bound by a subject. However, I was unable to come to a solid conclusion to this issue (see chapter 5 for more discussion).

2. SIINPs as topic construction in Thai

According to the previous section, SIINPs which occur with an agentive verb and adverb, are the subject of the middle construction. In this section, I will show that SIINPs can also be a topic of the sentence. Ekniyom (1982) and Hoonchamlong (1991) claim that Topicalization exists in Thai. Moreover, Hoonchamlong proposes that Left-Dislocation and base-generated topic both exist in Thai. I present my proposals as below:

- (i) SIINPs which occur with an active agentive verb, but no adverbial, are topics.
- (ii) SIINPs which occur with an agentive verb and non-manner adverb are topics.
- (iii) SIINPs which have theta roles are topicalization topics (i.e. undergo movement).
- (iv) SIINPs which lack theta roles are base-generated topics.
- (v) Marked and unmarked topics have a distinct syntax.

Recall Ekniyom (1982) and Hoonchamlong (1991) claim that sentence-initial NPs in Thai can be the topic of the sentence. Hoonchamlong (1991) proposes that there are two ways to form topic constructions: topicalization and left-dislocation. Topicalization involves moving the subject or object to initial position and leaving a gap or trace. This is represented below in (36), where the gap/trace is represented with $\emptyset$. The Left-Dislocation construction looks similar to the Topicalization structure, except that a co-referent pronoun is located in the thematic position associated with the topic. This is illustrated in (37).

- (36) ผู้ชาย คน นั้น นะ ฉัน คิด ว่า ฉัน เห็น เสื้อ
 p^hũuc^haaj k^hon nán nà c^hǎn k^hít wâa c^hǎn hěn sǎa man
 CL that PART 1sg think that 1sg see shirt
 ที่ Ø ใส่ อยู่ ขาย ที่ ร้าน บอสตัน
 t^hii sài jùu k^hǎaj t^hii ráan bówttân
 COMP Ø wear ASP sell at store Boston
 “That man_[TOPIC], I think the shirt that I saw (he/she) is wearing is on sale at Boston Store.”

- (37) ผู้ชาย คน นั้น นะ ฉัน คิด ว่า ฉัน เห็น เสื้อ ที่
 p^hũuc^haaj k^hon nán nà c^hǎn k^hít wâa c^hǎn hěn sǎa t^hii
 man CL that PART 1sg think that 1sg see shirt COMP
 เขา ใส่ อยู่ ขาย ที่ ร้าน บอสตัน
 k^hǎo sài jùu k^hǎaj t^hii ráan bówttân
 3sg wear ASP sell at store Boston
 “That man_[TOPIC], I think the shirt that I saw he/she is wearing is on sale at Boston Store.”

(Hoonchamlong. 1991: 95)

The examples (36) and (37) show the overt subject/agent *c^hǎn* “I” in the subject position following the topic [*p^hũuc^haaj k^hon nan nà*]_{NP} “that man”. Ekniyom (1982) also illustrates a subject following a topic as shown in (38). *nísit* “student” is the subject of the sentence while the SIINP [*k^hamt^ham k^hóv níi*]_{NP} “this question” is the topic of the sentence.

- (38) คำถาม ข้อ นี้ นิสิต ตอบ ไม่ ได้
 k^hamt^hǎm k^hóv níi nísit tòp mâi dâaj
 question CL this student answer NEG can
 “This question_[TOPIC] the student cannot answer.”

(Ekniyom. 1982: 31)

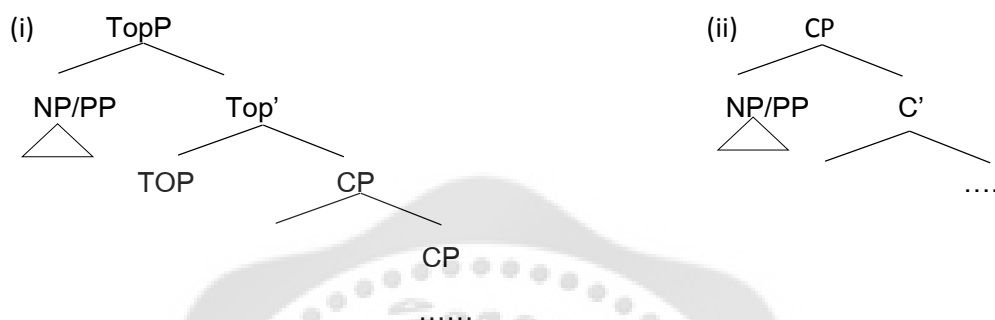
As we saw above from Ekniyom and Hoonchamlong's data, topicalization structures are compatible with an overt subject in the subject position. Recall the data in (29) where we had

a SIINP_{THEME}, but a non-manner adverbial, and the data in (30), where we saw non-theme SIINP with the adverbial *dâaj* “able/possible”. I argued that these are not middle constructions but topic constructions. I show that the data (29) and (30) are compatible with an overt subject as shown in (39) and (40). This contrasts with the middle constructions discussed in section 1.

- (39) a. เนื้อ นี่ คุณ ซื้อ ตรง ปากซอย ทองหล่อ แน่
 nia nîi kun sîi tron pàaksɔɔj tʰɔŋlɔ̀w nɛ̌
 meat this you buy at entrance Thonglor sure
 เลย
 lɔ̌ɔj
 PART
 “This meat, **you** must bought at the entrance of Soi Thonglor.”
- b. ปิ้ง ย่าง ผม กิน เยอะๆ แล้ว เลียน ครับ
 pîŋ jâaŋ pʰǎm kin jəʔ.jəʔ léɛw lîan kʰráp
 grill BBQ I eat a lot then nauseous PART
 “For grilled and BBQ meat, when I eat too much of it, I get nauseous.”
- c. ชาวมะขาม เรา กิน มากๆ ก็ อ้วน เบาหวาน
 cʰaa.nom.kʰài.múk rao kin mâak.mâak kɔ̀w ʔúuan bawwǎan
 bubble tea we eat a lot then fat diabetes
 “Bubble tea, if **we** drinks too much of it, **we** will get fat and diabetes.”
- (40) a. คอนโด คุณ ทำ ไม่ ได้ ครับ
 kʰɔndoo kun tʰam mâi dâaj kʰráp
 condo you you do NEG can PART
 “**You** cannot do it at the condo.”
- b. แอป PSI ผม ดู ได้
 ɛp PSI pʰǎm duu dâaj
 application PSI I watch can
 “With PSI application, I can watch (the show).”

I propose that the data in (29)/(39) and (30)/(40) represent two different types of topic constructions: Topic overtly marked with *nîi* (as in 39a) are the specifier of a TopP. The topic not

overtly marked (39b,c), (40a,b) are CP-Adjuncts. The difference between Spec-TopP and CP-Adjunct is, the topic which is in Spec-TopP allow only one topic, while you may have multiple CP-Adjunct topics. I will discuss this in more detail in the following sections. The structures of both topics are represented below:



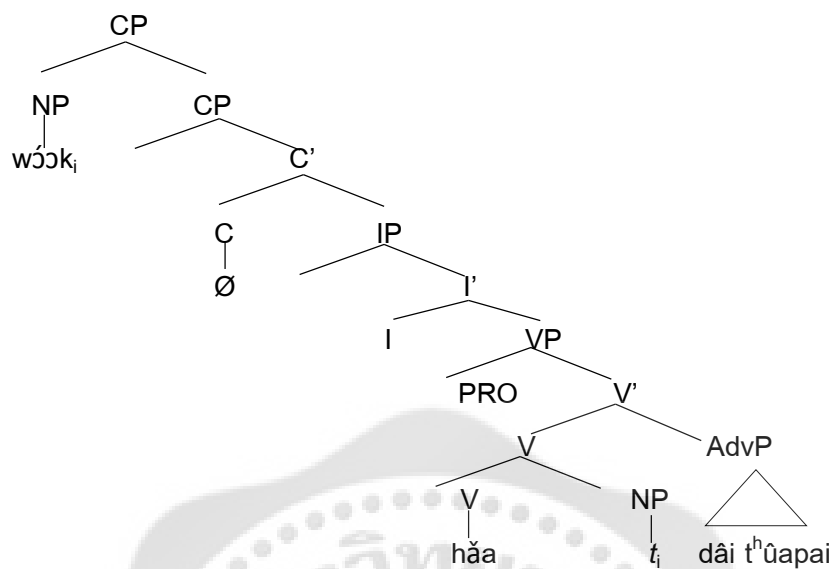
Regarding (39) and (40), the topic *nia* “meat” in (40a) occurs with the topic marker *nīi* “this” while the topics in (39b-c) and (40a-b) do not occur with topic markers. I divide topics into these two groups: (i) unmarked topics like (39b-c) and (40a-b), and (ii) overtly-marked topics (with topic markers) like (39a).

2.1 Unmarked topics

In this section, I will present two kinds of topics: topicalized as shown in (41), and base-generated topics as shown in (42).⁵

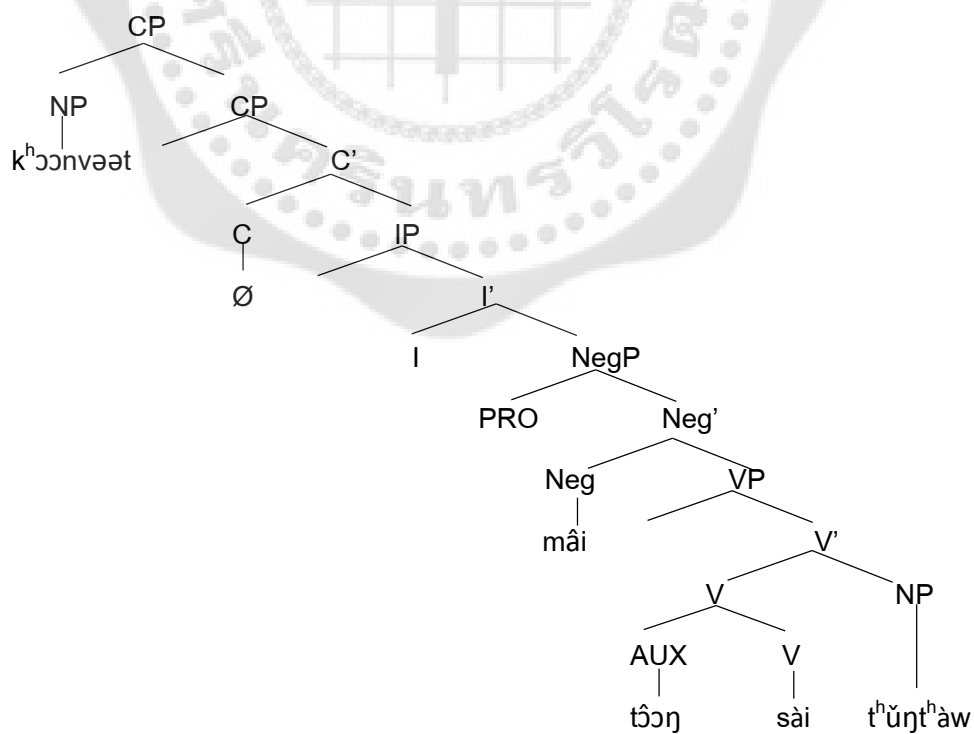
(41)	วอด _i	PRO	หา	<i>t_i</i>	ได้	ทั่วไป	ครับ
	wók		hǎa		dâi	tʰúapai	kʰráp
	Wok		find		can	general	PART
	“ Wok , we can find <i>t_i</i> anywhere.”						

⁵ Left-Dislocation topics do not exist in my collected data.



- (42) คนเวิร์ส PRO ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ ค่ะ
 k^huonvəət mâi t^huəŋ sài t^hũŋt^hàw ná k^há
 Converse NEG must wear socks PART PART

"For **Converse**, one does not need to wear socks."



The topic *wók* “wok” in (41), is moved from the object position to the adjoined topic position and leaves a trace in that position. The topic *k’wɔnvəət* “Convert” in (42) however, it does not move from any position in the sentences, since it is not thematically related to any lexical item in the sentence. Therefore, the topic *k’wɔnvəət* “Convert” is base-generated in the adjoined topic position.

To support my claim that these unmarked topics (both topicalized and base-generated) are adjuncts, I will show that multiple unmarked topics are allowed. (43) shows this for unmarked topicalized topics, (44) for unmarked base-generated topics.

- (43) a.

ที่	กรุงเทพ	วอด	หา	t_i	ได้	ทั่วไป	ครับ
t ^h i	kun téep	wók	hǎa		dâaj	t ^h ûapai	k ^h ráp
at	Bangkok	Wok	find		can	general	PART

“At Bangkok, wok, we can find t_i anywhere.”
- b.

วอด	ที่	กรุงเทพ	หา	t_i	ได้	ทั่วไป	ครับ
wók	t ^h i	kun téep	hǎa		dâaj	t ^h ûapai	k ^h ráp
Wok	at	Bangkok	find		can	general	PART

“Wok, at Bangkok, we can find t_i anywhere.”
- (44) a.

ช่วงซัมเมอร์	คอนเวิร์ส	ไม่	ต้อง	ใส่	ถุงเท้า
c ^h ûngsammô	k’wɔnvəət	mâi	tɔ̀ng	sài	t ^h ûngt ^h àw
summer	Converse	NEG	must	wear	socks

นะ	คะ
ná	k ^h á
PART	PART

“In summer, Converse, one does not need to wear socks.”
- b.

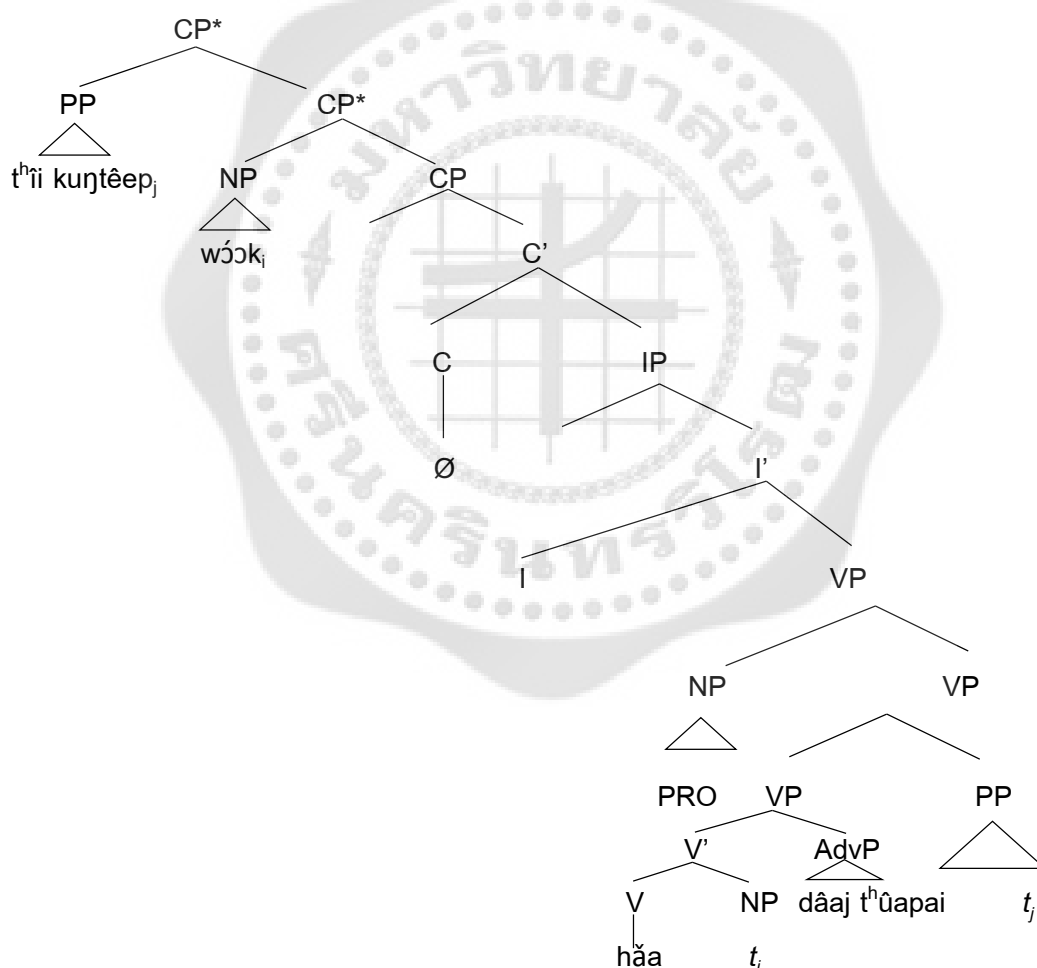
คอนเวิร์ส	ช่วงซัมเมอร์	ไม่	ต้อง	ใส่	ถุงเท้า
k’wɔnvəət	c ^h ûngsammô	mâi	tɔ̀ng	sài	t ^h ûngt ^h àw
Converse	summer	NEG	must	wear	socks

นะ	คะ
ná	k ^h á
PART	PART

“**Converse**, in **summer**, you does not need to wear socks.”

From (43) and (44), we see that multiple topics can appear for both topicalized and base-generated topic constructions. This suggests that they are CP-Adjuncts. I present diagrams of the unmarked topic in (45).

- (45) ที่ กรุงเทพ วอค, หา t_i ได้ ทั่วไป ครับ
 t^{hi} kun t êep wók hǎa dâaj t^hûapai k^hráp
 at Bangkok Wok find can general PART
 “At Bangkok, wok, we can find t_i anywhere.”



We have seen the structure of unmarked topics, I will present marked topics in the next section.

2.2 Overtly-marked topics

Ekniyom (1982) and Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) claim that there are topic markers to indicate a topic of the sentence in Thai; they propose both normal and contrastive topic markers (details in chapter 2). I illustrate topics with normal and contrastive topic markers in (46) and (47).

(46) Normal topic markers *nīi* and *nīi*

- a. เนื้อ ⁱนี้ซื้อ ⁱที่ตรงปากซอยทองหล่อแน่เลย
 nia nīi sīi trong pàaksɔɔj tʰɔɔŋlɔ̀w nɛ̌ɛ ləɔj
 meat this buy at entrance Thonglor sure PART
 “**This** meat_i, PRO must bought *t_i* at the entrance of Soi Thonglor.”
- b. ผลิตภัณฑ์นี้ใช้สารกันแดดทั้งหมดสามตัว
 pʰàlittapʰan nīi cʰái sǎankandɛ̌ɛt tʰáŋmòt sǎam tua
 product this use sunscreen altogether three CL
 “**This** product uses three substances of sunscreen.”

(47) Contrastive topic markers *sùan* and *sǎmràp*

- a. ส่วนเอเอชเอี๋หา ⁱได้แต่ตอนกลางคืน
 sùan ʔeeʔetʔee tʰaa dái tɛ̌ɛ tɔɔn klaaŋkʰin
 For AHA apply can only when night
 “**For** AHA, PRO can apply *t_i* only at night.”
- b. สำหรับเครื่องสำอางสำหรับน้องสาวแนะนำ
 sǎmràp kʰhǎŋsǎmʔaaŋ sǎmràp nɔ̀wŋsǎaw nénam
 For cosmetics for younger sister suggest
 ยี่ห้อแคนเมคคะ
 jǐihwíw kʰɛ̌ɛnméek kʰà
 brand Canmake PART
 “**As for** cosmetics for younger sisters, (I) suggest Canmake brand.”

The topicalized topic *nia* “meat” in (46a) occurs with the normal topic marker *nīi* “this” while, the topicalized topic ʔeeʔetʔee “AHA” in (47a) occurs with the contrastive topic marker *sùan* “as for”. The base-generated topic *pʰàlittapʰan* “product” in (46b) occurs with the normal

topic marker *nii* “this” while, the base-generated topic *kʰriŋsǎmʔaŋ* “cosmetics” in (47b) occurs with the contrastive topic marker *sǎmràp* “for”.

We have seen in section 2.1 that multiple unmarked topics can appear within a sentence. The following data shows that this is not always the case for overtly-marked topics.

(48) Contrastive and Contrastive topic (Unacceptable)

a. *ส่วน	ผลิตภัณฑ์	ส่วน	ยูเซอริน	PRO	ใช้
sùan	pʰàlittapʰan	sùan	juusəəriin		cʰái
as for	product	as for	Eucerin		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
sǎankandèet	tʰáŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

“As for product, as for Eucerin PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

b. *สำหรับ	ผลิตภัณฑ์	สำหรับ	ยูเซอริน	PRO	ใช้
sǎmràp	pʰàlittapʰan	sǎmràp	juusəəriin		cʰái
for	Eucerin	as for	product		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
sǎankandèet	tʰáŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

“For product, for Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

c. *ส่วน	ผลิตภัณฑ์	สำหรับ	ยูเซอริน	PRO	ใช้
sùan	pʰàlittapʰan	sǎmràp	juusəəriin		cʰái
as for	product	for	Eucerin		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
sǎankandèet	tʰáŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

“As for product, for Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

d. *สำหรับ	ผลิตภัณฑ์	ส่วน	ยูเซอริน	PRO	ใช้
sămràp	p ^h àlittap ^h an	sùan	juusəəriin		c ^h ái
for	product	as for	Eucerin		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
săankandèet	t ^h áŋmòt	săam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

“For product, as for Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

The data (48) shows that contrastive topic can have only one topic for a sentence. The data (48a) is unacceptable case where contrastive topic marker *sùan* “as for” co-occurs with *sùan*. The data (48b) is unacceptable case where the contrastive topic marker *sămràp* “for” co-occurs with *sămràp*. Moreover, the data (48c-d) are unacceptable cases with the different contrastive topic markers *sămràp* and *sùan*.

However, overtly-marked normal topics are more complicated, the data in (49) shows cases where they cannot co-occur.

(49) Normal and normal topic (Unacceptable)

a. *ผลิตภัณฑ์	นี้	ยูเซอริน	นี้	PRO	ใช้
p ^h àlittap ^h an	níi	juusəəriin	níi		c ^h ái
product	this	Eucerin	this		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
săankandèet	t ^h áŋmòt	săam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

This product, this Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

b. *ผลิตภัณฑ์	เฝ้า	ยูเซอริน	เฝ้า	PRO	ใช้
p ^h àlittap ^h an	nía	juusəəriin	nía		c ^h ái
product	this	Eucerin	this		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
săankandèet	t ^h áŋmòt	săam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

This product, this Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

c. *ผลิตภัณฑ์	นี้	ยูเซอริน	เฝีย	PRO	ใช้
p ^h àlittap ^h an	níi	juusəəriin	nîa		c ^h ái
product	this	Eucerin	this		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
sǎankandèet	t ^h áŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

This product, this Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

d. *ผลิตภัณฑ์	เฝีย	ยูเซอริน	นี้	PRO	ใช้
p ^h àlittap ^h an	nîa	juusəəriin	níi		c ^h ái
product	this	Eucerin	this		use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
sǎankandèet	t ^h áŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

This product, this Eucerin, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

Crucially, the examples in (49a-b) show that two topics marked with the same topic marker cannot co-occur; this suggests that they are specifiers not adjuncts. Moreover, the cases where the topics are marked by the different normal topic *níi* and *nîa*, are also unacceptable. We see that topics with the marked topic markers cannot co-occur.

However, the data in (50) suggests that *nîa* and *níi* head different topic phrases. Recall the examples (50c-d) are unacceptable cases. In contrast, the example (50) is acceptable case with the different overtly-marked normal topics co-occur. I suggest that the normal topic marker *níi* and *nîa* in (50c-d) cannot co-occur because of a semantic factor: *p^hàlittap^han* “product” is the member of *juusəəriin* “Eucerin”, it must be ordered following *juusəəriin* “Eucerin” as shown in (50). If the member *p^hàlittap^han* “product” is ordered preceding *juusəəriin* “Eucerin”, it is unacceptable as shown in (50c-d).

(50)	[ยูเซอร์อิน juuseəriin Eucerin สารกันแดด sǎankandèt sunscreen]	เหี้ย nîa this ทั้งหมด tʰáŋmòt altogether]	[ผลิตภัณฑ์ pʰàlittapʰan product สาม sǎam three]	นี้ nîi this ตัว tua CL]	PRO	ใช้ cʰái use
------	---	---	--	---	-----	--------------------

“This Eucerin, this product, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

Another example to show that overtly-marked normal topics can co-occur is shown in (51). The topics *haadalaabò* “Hada Labo” and *cʰûaŋsammò* “summer” are marked by the normal topic markers *nîi* and *nîa*. They are acceptable to co-occur. This also suggests that *nîi* and *nîa* head different topic phrases. Note that in these cases the topic lack a semantic “member-of” relationship.

(51) Normal and normal topic (Acceptable)

a.	ฮาดะลาโบะ haadalaabò Hada Labo ที่ เซเว่น tʰi seewên at seven-eleven	นี้ nîi this	ช่วงซัมเมอร์ cʰûaŋsammò summer ทุก สาขา tʰúk sǎakʰǎa every branch	เหี้ย nîa this	ซื้อ sʰi buy	ได้ dâaj can
----	---	--------------------	--	----------------------	--------------------	--------------------

“Hada Labo, this summer, PRO can buy at every branches of seven-eleven.”

b.	ฮาดะลาโบะ haadalaabò Hada Labo ที่ เซเว่น tʰi seewên at seven-eleven	เหี้ย nîa this	ช่วงซัมเมอร์ cʰûaŋsammò summer ทุก สาขา tʰúk sǎakʰǎa every branch	นี้ nîi this	ซื้อ sʰi buy	ได้ dâaj can
----	---	----------------------	--	--------------------	--------------------	--------------------

“Hada Labo, this summer, PRO can buy at every branches of seven-eleven.”

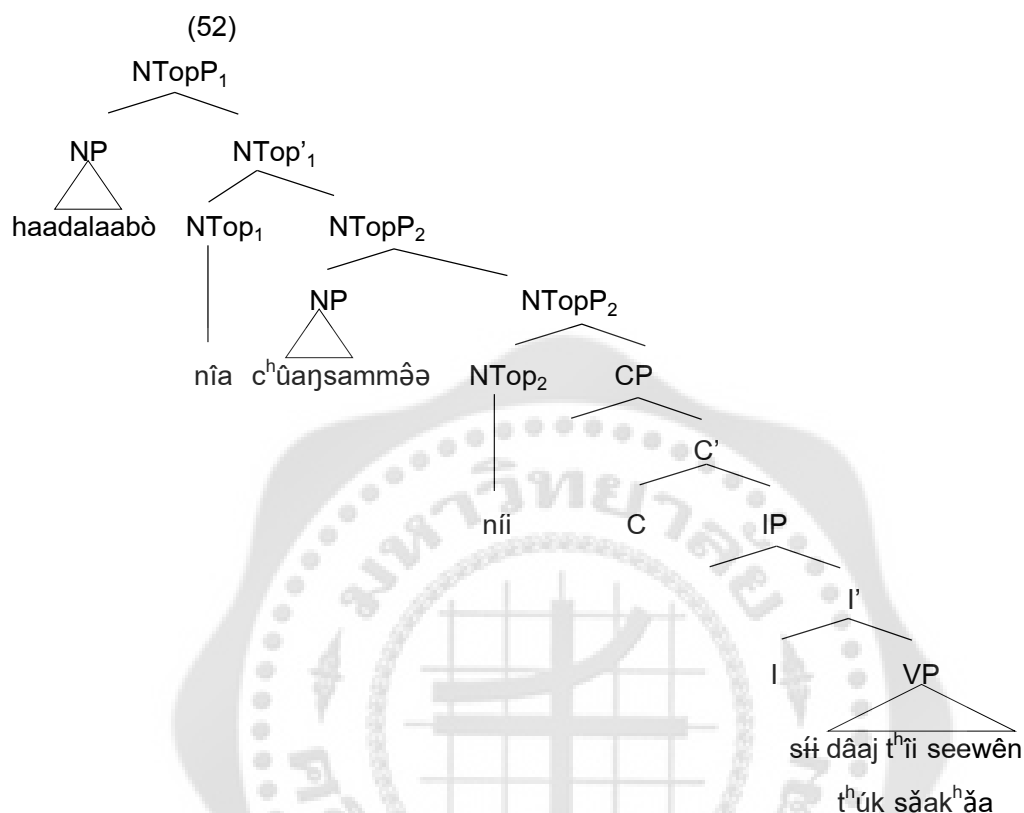
c. ขยะ ใน ครัว นี้ ตอน หน้าฝน เหยี ทิ้ง
 k^hàjà nai k^hoa níi tɔɔn nâafǒn nîa t^híŋ
 garbage in kitchen this when rainy season this throw
 ทุกวัน
 t^húkwan
 everyday

“The garbage in kitchen, the rainy season, PRO throw away everyday.”

d. ขยะ ใน ครัว เหยี ตอน หน้าฝน นี้ ทิ้ง
 k^hàjà nai k^hoa nîa tɔɔn nâafǒn níi t^híŋ
 garbage in kitchen this when rainy season this throw
 ทุกวัน
 t^húkwan
 everyday

“The garbage in kitchen, the rainy season, PRO throw away everyday.”

I represent the diagram of (51) in (52).



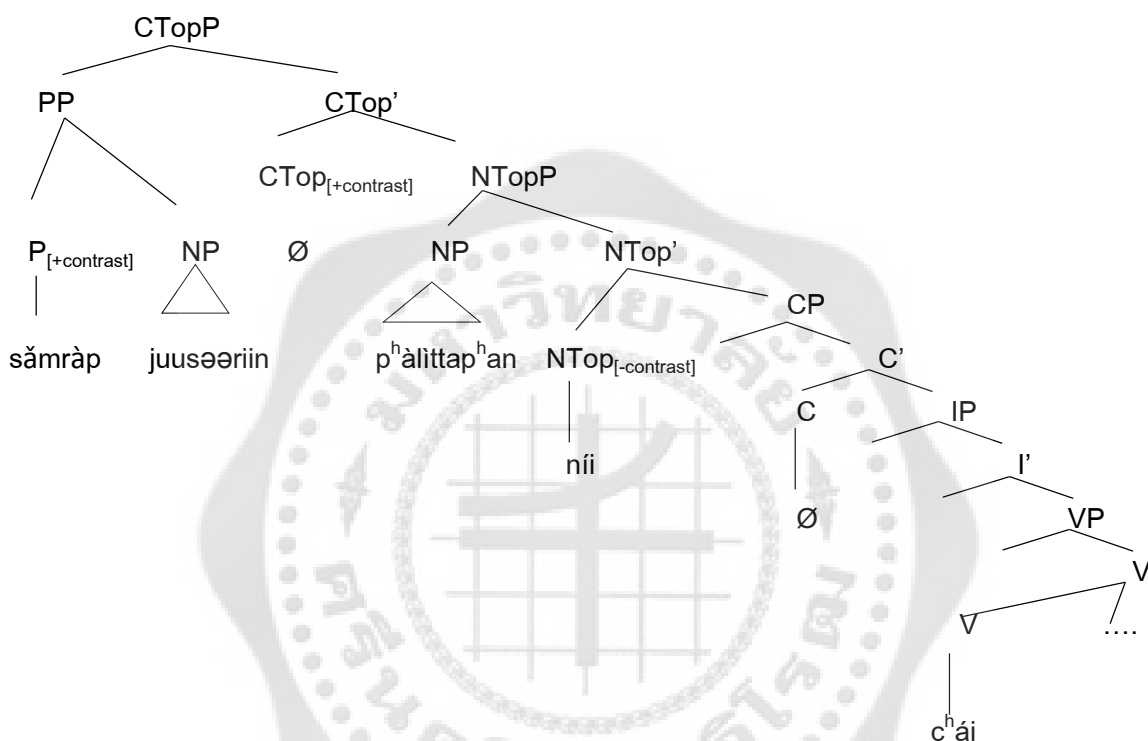
We see that overtly-marked contrastive topics cannot co-occur with the same type. In contrast, overtly-marked normal topics can co-occur with the same type, but the restriction is, if the topics have membership relation, we need to order the position correctly. Next, I will show that contrastive and normal topic can co-occur as shown in (53).

(53)	[สำหรับ	ยูเซอริน]	[ผลิตภัณฑ์	นี้]	PRO	ใช้
	sǎmràp	juusəəriin	p^hàlittap^han	nîi		c^hái
	as for	Eucerin	product	this		use
	สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว		
	sǎankandèet	t^hǎŋmòt	sǎam	tua		
	sunscreen	altogether	three	CL		

“For Eucerin, this product, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

According to (53), this suggests that the contrastive topic markers is in contrastive TopP because normal topic markers and contrastive topic markers have different position. The diagram of (53) is represent in (54).

(54) Contrastive topic projection



We have seen that a marked topics and unmarked topic are in different positions. Next, I will show that these two different types of topic can co-occur. The data in (55) and (56) show that either order (marked topic-unmarked topic-S or unmarked topic-marked topic-S) is acceptable.

(55) a.	[ที่ ประเทศไทย]	[ผลิตภัณฑ์]	นี้	PRO	ใช้
	tʰii pràtʰeettʰai	pʰəlittapʰan	nii		cʰái
	at Thailand	product	this		use
	สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว	
	sǎankandèet	tʰáŋmòt	sǎam	tua	
	sunscreen	altogether	three	CL	

“In Thailand, this product, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

b. [ผลิตภัณฑ์ นี้] [ที่ ประเทศไทย] PRO ใช้				
p ^h àlittap ^h an	níi	t ^h ii	pràt ^h eett ^h ai	c ^h ái
product	this	at	Thailand	use
สารกันแดด	ทั้งหมด	สาม	ตัว	
sǎankandèt	t ^h áŋmòt	sǎam	tua	
sunscreen	altogether	three	CL	

“This product, in Thailand, PRO uses three substances of sunscreen.”

(56) a. [สำหรับ เครื่องสำอาง สำหรับ น้องสาว] [ช่วงซัมเมอร์]				
sǎmràp	k ^h íŋsǎmʔaaŋ	sǎmràp	nóʋŋsǎaw	c ^h ûŋsammǎw
for	cosmetics	for	younger sister	summer
PRO แนะนำ	ยี่ห้อ	แคนเมค	ค่ะ	
nénam	jiihǎw	k ^h ɛnméek	k ^h à	
suggest	brand	Canmake	PART	

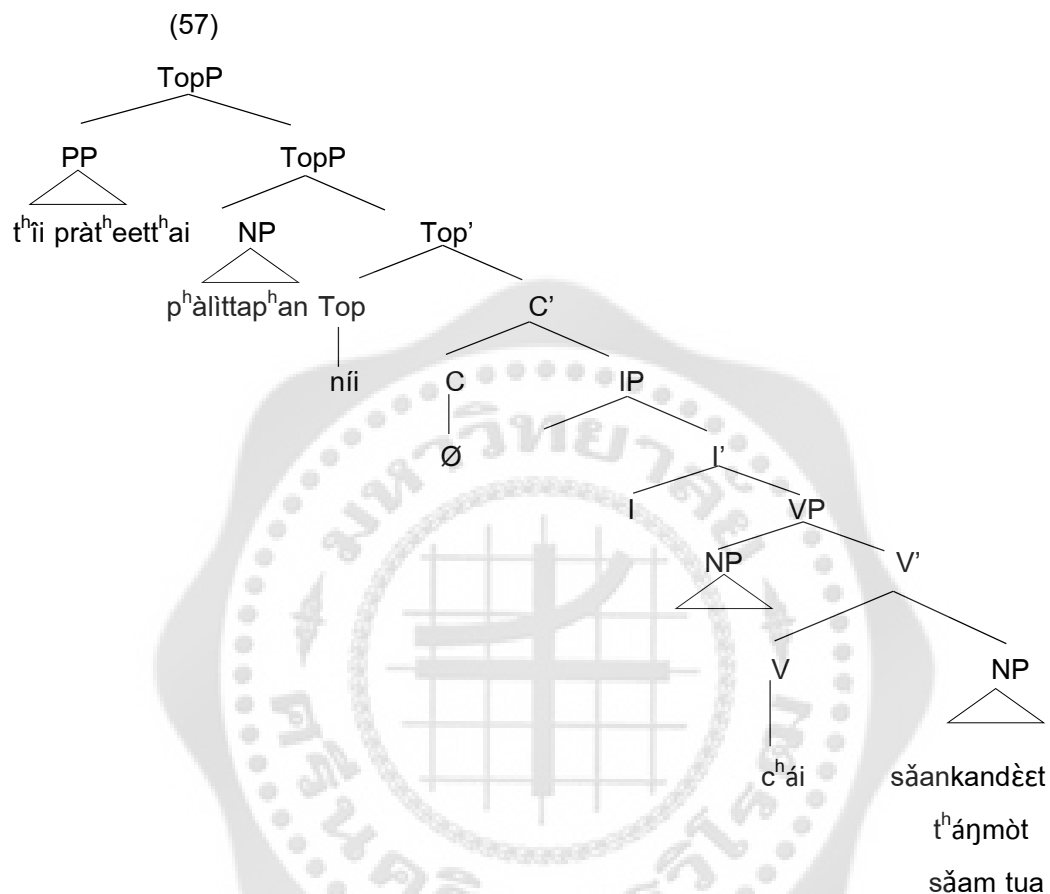
“For cosmetics for younger sisters, in summer, PRO suggest Canmake brand.”

b. [ช่วงซัมเมอร์] [สำหรับ เครื่องสำอาง สำหรับ น้องสาว]				
c ^h ûŋsammǎw	sǎmràp	k ^h íŋsǎmʔaaŋ	sǎmràp	nóʋŋsǎaw
summer	for	cosmetics	for	younger sister
PRO แนะนำ	ยี่ห้อ	แคนเมค	ค่ะ	
nénam	jiihǎw	k ^h ɛnméek	k ^h à	
suggest	brand	Canmake	PART	

“In summer, for cosmetics for younger sisters, PRO suggest Canmake brand.”

The examples (55a-b) are the case where the marked normal topic [*p^hàlittap^han níi*]_{NP} “this product” co-occurs with the unmarked topic [*t^hii pràt^heett^hai*]_{PP} “at Thailand”. We can see that the linear order of the marked topic [*p^hàlittap^han níi*]_{NP} “this product” and the unmarked topic [*t^hii pràt^heett^hai*]_{PP} “at Thailand” can be switched. Moreover, the examples (56a-b) are cases where the marked contrastive topic [*sǎmràp k^híŋsǎmʔaaŋ sǎmràp nóʋŋsǎaw*]_{PP} “for cosmetics for younger sister” co-occurs with the unmarked topic [*c^hûŋsammǎw*] “summer”, and they can also switch linear positions. I present the tree diagram of (55a) and (55b) in (57). To account for the

variable order, I propose that the NP $[t^h\dot{i}i\ pràt^heett^h\dot{a}i]_{PP}$ “at Thailand” is the adjoined topic, which can merge either at the CP-level, or the TopP level.



We have seen a marked and unmarked topic co-occur together. The empirical diagnostics presented in this section can be summarized by the table below:

Table 10 Empirical differences between Thai overtly-marked topics and unmarked topics

Diagnostics	Unmarked topics	Overtly-marked topics
1. Co-occur with an overt subject	✓	✓
2. Multiple topics (of the same type)	✓	✗
3. Optional	✓	✓

In this chapter we have seen that middle and topic constructions have a different syntax. However, the middle and topic constructions can co-occur as shown in (58).

- (58) ระยอง คอนโด ซื้อ ง่าย ขาย ยาก ค่ะ
 ra.jɔɔŋ kɔndo sǐŋ ɯ̌aj kʰǎaj jâak kʰà
 Rayong condo buy easy sell difficult PART
 “In Rayong_[TOPIC], Condos_[SUBJECT] are easily bought but hard to sell.”

The topic *ra.jɔɔŋ* “Rayong” in (58) is the unmarked topic which co-occurs with the subject of the middle construction *kɔndo* “condo”. The data in (59) shows that the *ra.jɔɔŋ* “Rayong” and *kɔndo* “condo” cannot switch linear order. This what we expect given the proposed syntax; the order in (59) could only be derived if a topic could adjoin at the V'-level. This is contrary to what I have proposed i.e. topics adjoin at the CP or TopP level.

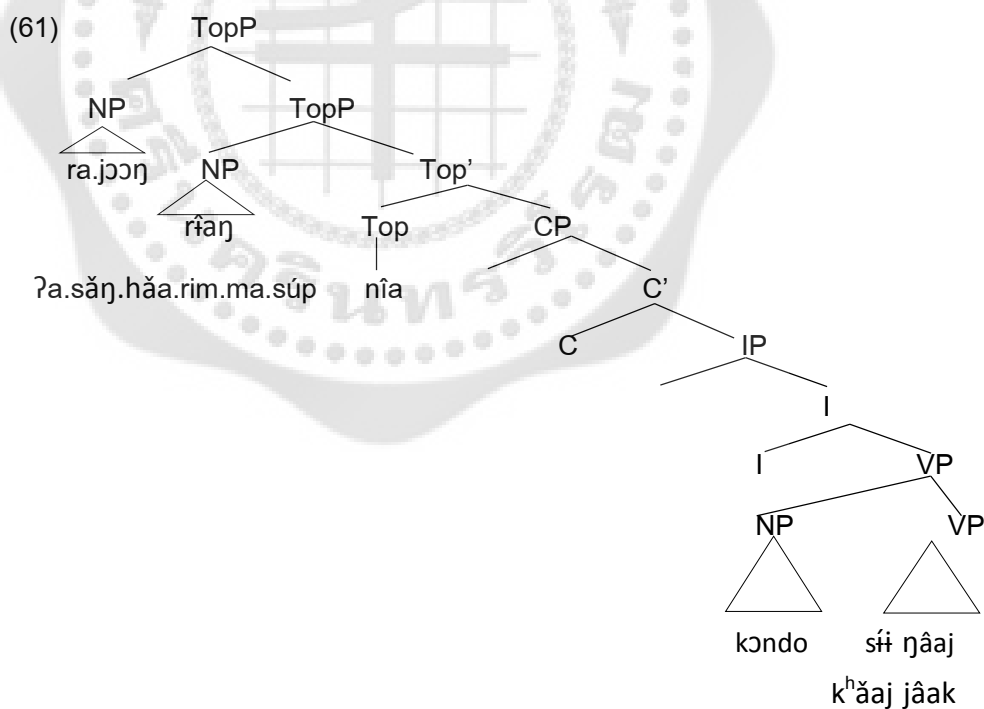
- (59) *คอนโด ระยอง ซื้อ ง่าย ขาย ยาก ค่ะ
 kɔndo ra.jɔɔŋ sǐŋ ɯ̌aj kʰǎaj jâak kʰà
 condo Rayong buy easy sell difficult PART
 “Condos_[SUBJECT], in Rayong_[TOPIC] are easily bought but hard sell.”

The example (59) is a case of an unmarked topic co-occurring with a middle subject. I will illustrate the case of unmarked and marked topic co-occurring with a middle subject in (60).

(60)	ระยอง	เรื่อง	อสังหาริมทรัพย์	เห็น	คอนโด	ซื้อ
	ra.jwɔŋ	ri.lɔŋ	ʔa.sǎŋ.hǎa.rim.ma.súp	nǐa	kɔndo	sí
	Rayong	story	real estate	TOP	condo	buy
	ง่าย	ขาย	ยาก	ค่ะ		
	ŋáaj	kʰǎaj	jâak	kʰà		
	easy	sell	difficult	PART		

“In Rayong_[TOPIC], the real estate, condos_[SUBJECT] are easily bought but hardly sold.”

The example (60) shows that the unmarked topic *ra.jwɔŋ* “Rayong” can co-occur with the *nǐa* marked topic *ʔa.sǎŋ.hǎa.rim.ma.súp* “real estate”, and the middle subject *kɔndo* “condo”. I present the tree diagram with unmarked, overtly-marked topics co-occurring with a middle construction in (61).



My analysis also predicts that a middle subject could be topicalized. The data in (63) supports this prediction.

nominal argument THEME which require a manner adverbial. For the topic construction in Thai, I categorize topics in Thai into two group which are overtly-marked topics and unmarked topics. I argued that the overtly-marked and unmarked topics are in different syntactic position; the unmarked topic is a CP-Adjunct, the overtly-marked topic is a Spec-TopP. In the next section, I will summarize the finding of this study and also discuss some remaining questions for.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSTION

I have presented two analyses of SIINPs in Thai:

1. The analysis of Thai middle constructions. The case when SIINPs are interpreted as a THEME, and co-occur with an agentive verb and manner adverbial.
2. The analysis of Thai topic constructions where the SIINP is not restricted to being interpreted as a THEME and where a manner adverbial is not required. Thai topics divide into three types; (i) topicalization (ii) left-dislocation and (ii) base-generated (Ekniyom. 1982); (Hoonchamlong. 1991); (Iwasaki; & Ingkaphirom. 2005). However, I additionally categorize Thai topics into two types which are overtly-marked topics and unmarked topics with distinct syntactic properties.

1. Objectives of the Study

- 1.1 To investigate the syntax of SIINPs that cannot be accounted for under previous analyses
- 1.2 To determine whether SIINPs all have a uniform syntax
- 1.3 To develop empirical diagnostics to distinguish middle-subject SIINPs, passive-subject SIINPs and topic SIINPs

2. Questions of the Study

- 2.1 How can SIINPs precede a non-passivized transitive verb which require agentive subjects?
- 2.2 If SIINPs are not a subject of a passive verb, causer or topic of the sentence, what is the status of these nouns? Are they fronted objects or a subject of the sentence?

3. Methodology

I operate this research following the below outline:

- 3.1 Collecting data of SIINPs which occur with agentive verbs in website pantip.com
- 3.2 Researching which involved the topic constructions and middle constructions cross-linguistically
- 3.3 Demonstrating and analyzing the syntactic structure of SIINPs that occur with agentive verbs and manner adverbials: middle construction
- 3.4 Demonstrating and analyzing the syntactic structure of SIINPs which occur with agentive verbs and non-manner adverbials: topic construction
- 3.5 Summarizing the analysis and further study

4. Conclusion

In this study, I have examined SIINPs in Thai. We have seen SIINPs that are the causer of causative constructions, subjects of passive constructions, topics of topic constructions or focus of focus constructions. However, in this study I propose that SIINPs interpreted as THEME can also be the subjects of a middle construction/voice. The basic structure of Thai middles is in (1).

- (1) [NP_[inanimate, THEME] [V_[agentive, THEME] AdvP_[manner]]]

I have provided several diagnostics to show that the proposed middle construction is distinct from the previously mentioned passive construction in Thai. These diagnostic are summarized in the table below:

Table 11 Differences between Thai middles and passives

Diagnostic	Middle Constructions	Passive constructions
1. Compatible with overt passive markers e.g. <i>tʰùuk</i>	✗	✓
2. Require adverbials	✓	✗
3. Semantics of subject	generic	specific
4. Compatible with specific (non-generic) time-point adverbials	✗	✓
5. Compatible with specific (non-generic) agent adverbial	✗	✓
6. Compatible with progressive morphology	✗	✓
7. Compatible with intentional adverbials	✗	✓

From table 11, we see the distinction between Thai middles and passives. Thai middles are not compatible with the overt passive marker *tʰùuk*, specific time-point, specific agent adverbial and progressive morphology. In contrast, Thai passives are compatible with the overt passive marker *tʰùuk*, specific time-point, specific agent adverbial and progressive morphology. Moreover, Thai middles do requires manner adverbial while, passives do not.

For the distinction between middles, passives and topic constructions in Thai, I summarize in the table below:

Table 12 Distinction between Thai middles, passives and topics

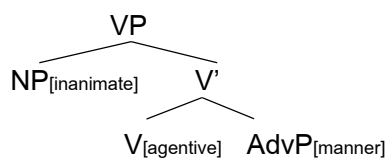
Diagnostics	Middles	Passives	Topics
1. Compatible with overt agent	✗	✓	✓
2. Require manner adverbial	✓	✗	✗
3. Position	VP level	VP level	CP-Adjunct/ Spec-TopP

From the table in 12, we have seen the distinction between Thai middles and topics. Thai middles are not compatible with the overt agent, and require manner adverbials. In contrast, Thai topic are compatible with the overt agent, but do not require manner adverbials.

I propose that Thai middles are derived via a valence changing operation. I present two options to formalize this: (i) a lexically-encoded generic agent and (ii) a syntactically-merged GEN operator. I provide diagrams of the two options below:

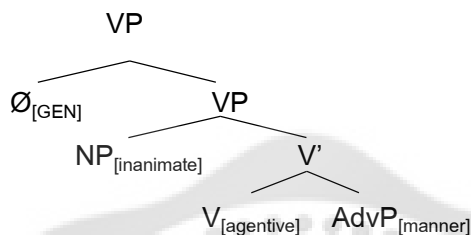
(i) a lexically-encoded generic agent

$$\left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}} \text{V}_{\text{active}} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \right] \rightarrow \left[\emptyset_{[\text{GEN}]} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \text{V}_{\text{middle}} \text{Adv} \right]$$



(ii) a syntactically-merged GEN operator

$$\left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}} \text{V}_{\text{active}} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \right] \rightarrow \left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}[\text{GEN}]} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \text{V}_{\text{middle}} \text{Adv} \right]$$



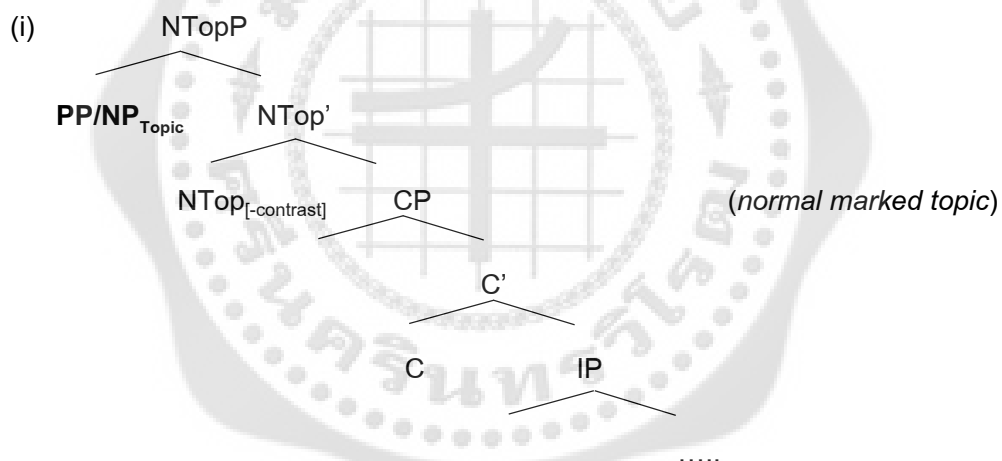
The difference between option one and two is how the generic interpretation of the agent is derived. Option one lexically encodes the generic agent into the middle verb. In contrast, option two encodes a restriction for the AGENT, which only allows a generic operator to bind the agent argument position in the syntax. Recall that this option (option 2), predicts that a middle construction with *ʔεεη* “self” will allow *ʔεεη* “self” to be interpreted as a generic agent. Option one predicts that this is impossible.

Another claim of this study is, that SIINPs can be topics of two distinct types: (i) overtly-marked topics and (ii) unmarked topics. Overtly-marked contrastive topic with contrastive topic markers cannot have multiple topics of same type. Overtly-marked normal topics with normal topic markers cannot have multiple topics with the same marker, but can co-occur with another normal topic marker. I suggest that overtly-marked normal topics head different topic phrases. In contrast, multiple unmarked topics can co-occur with each other within the same sentence, and with overtly marked topics. This suggests that these have difference syntactic positions. Marked topics are Spec-TopP, while unmarked topics are CP or TopP adjuncts. I summarize topic diagnostics in the table below:

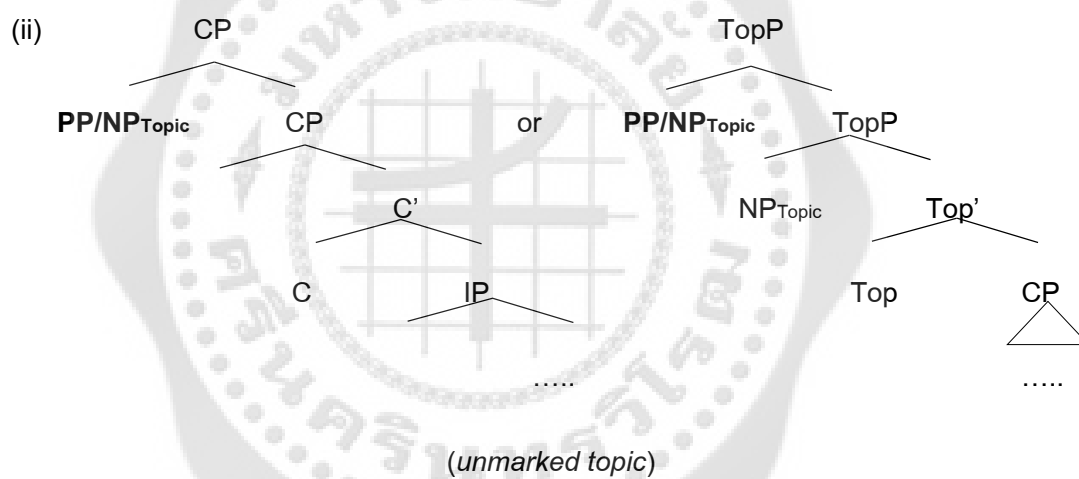
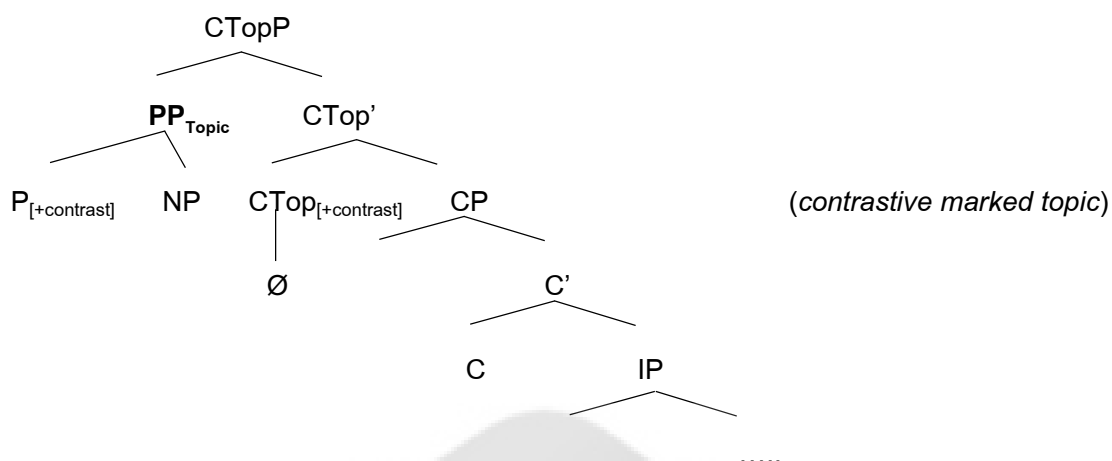
Table 13 Diagnostics for different Thai topic constructions

Diagnostics	Unmarked topics	Marked topics
1. Co-occur with an overt subject	✓	✓
2. Multiple topics (of the same type)	✓	✗
3. Optional	✓	✓
4. Position	CP-Adjunct or TopP-Adjunct	Spec-TopP

I provide diagrams of marked and unmarked topics in Thai below:



Or



However, adjoined topics can merge either at the CP-level or the TopP level.

5. Discussion

5.1 Thai middle constructions

In this study, I proposed that Thai has a middle construction/voice, as in Mandarin and English. I follow Keyser and Roeper (1984), Alexiadou (2006), Robert (1985) and Cinque (1991), and analyze the middle verbs as being derived from transitive verbs. Moreover, I further follow Keyser and Roeper (1984), Alexiadou (2006), Robert (1985) and Cinque (1991) and propose

that the Thai middle construction requires a manner adverbial, like the middle in English, German and Spanish.

Thongteang (2009) claims that PATIENT NPs are the subject of patient-subject constructions in Thai. I argue that not all patient-subjects are a subject – i.e. some of his patient-subjects are the subject of the middle construction, but some of his patient-subjects are topic of the topic construction as shown in (2). Notice that (2) has the overtly topic marker *níi*, and that *dâaj* is not a manner adverbial.

- (2) รองเท้า คู่ นี้ ใส่ ได้
 rɔŋtʰáaw kʰuu níi sàì dâaj
 shoes CL this wear can
 “These shoes one can wear.”

(Thongteang. 2009: 73)

However, I propose that the construction of Thongteang’s patient-subject in (3) and Sinlapasan’s covert passive in (4) is an overtly-marked normal topic construction where a middle subject is topicalized.

- (3) เพลง นี้ ร้อง ง่าย
 pʰlɛŋ níi rɔŋ ŋâaj
 song this sing easily
 “This song sings easily.”

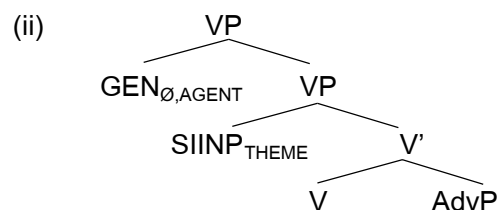
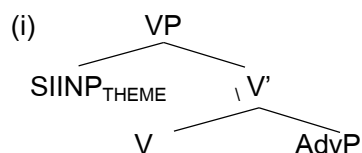
(Thongteang. 2009: 36)

- (4) บุหรี่ นี้ ขาย ดี
 burii níi kʰăaj dii
 cigarette this sell good
 “This cigarette is easy to sell.”

(Sinlapasan. 1979: 136)

5.1.1 Generic operator and binding ʔɛŋ

Regarding chapter 4, I have provided two options to formalize Thai middle construction which are (i) lexically-encoded generic agent and (ii) syntactically-merged generic agent as shown below:



Hoonchamlong (1991) and Hadad (2007) claim that only subjects in Thai can bind the reflexive anaphor $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ “self”. Given the two possibilities to formalize the Thai middle construction as presented above, option (i) predicts that $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ “self” cannot be bound by a $\text{GEN}_{\text{AGENT}}$, but can be bound by the $\text{SIINP}_{\text{THEME}}$. Option (ii) predicts that $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ “self” can be bound by a $\text{GEN}_{\text{AGENT}}$ or the $\text{SIINP}_{\text{THEME}}$. But I found that the reflexive anaphor $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ “self” cannot be bound by either a $\text{GEN}_{\text{AGENT}}$ or the $\text{SIINP}_{\text{THEME}}$ as shown in (5).

- (5) *น้ำอัดลม_i ขาย ดี_i เอง_i (*middle*)
 náam.ʔət.lom kʰǎaj dii ?εεη
 soft drink sell well self
 “Soft drinks sell well by itself.”

I summarize the problematic prediction of $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ “self” in table 14.

Table 14 Problematic prediction of $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ binding

	$\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ co-refers to $\text{GEN}_{\text{AGENT}}$	$\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ co-refers to $\text{SIINP}_{\text{THEME}}$
Prediction of option 1	✗	✓
Prediction of option 2	✓	✓
Reality	✗	✗

5.1.2 Animacy restrictions

In all the data so far, we have seen middle subjects that are inanimate NPs, but can animate NPs be the subject of the middle construction? I illustrate an animate NP occurring with an agentive verb and manner adverb in (6); the data shows that the animate NP is odd.

(6) ?หมา	ขาย	ดี
mǎa	kʰǎaj	dii
dog	sell	well
“Dogs sell well.”		

This is not what we expect; *mǎa* “dog” has the generic semantics required by the middle construction (see Piriawiboon 2010).¹ Interestingly, embedding the example in (6) into a comparative construction improves its acceptability, as shown in (7). Since the syntax and semantics of comparative construction are outside of space of this thesis, I leave this issue for further research.

(7) หมา	ขาย	ดี	กว่า	แมว
mǎa	kʰǎaj	dii	kʷàa	mɛɛw
dog	sell	well	more	cat
“Dogs sell well more than cats.”				

¹ Piriawiboon (2010:6), she suggests that Thai nominals have vague semantics of number and definition because Thai nominals argument lack determiners and plural marker. She proposes four kinds of nominal arguments in Thai which are kind, generic, definite and indefinite. The example is illustrated below.

a. หนู	ใกล้	สูญพันธุ์				(kind)
หนู	klâi	suǔnpʰan				
mouse	almost	extinct				
“Mice are almost extinct.”						
b. หนู	อาศัย	ตาม	ท่อน้ำ			(generic)
หนู	ʔaasaj	taam	tʰwǎnám			
mouse	live	in	sewer			
“Mice live in the sewer.”						
c. เมื่อวาน	หนู	เข้า	มา	ใน	ครัว	(indefinite)
mǎawaan	หนู	kʰǎo	maa	nai	kʰrua	
yesterday	mouse	enter	come	in	kitchen	
วันนี้	หนู	หาย	ไป		แล้ว	(definite)
wanníi	หนู	haǎj	pai		lɛ́ɛw	
today	mouse	disappear	ASP		already	
“Yesterday, a mouse/mice came in the kitchen. Today, the mouse/mice disappear.”						

(Piriawiboon. 2010: 42-3)

nuǔ “mouse/mice” in (a) refers to the kind of mice while, *nuǔ* in (b) refers to the general habit of mice. In (c), *nuǔ* refers to an indefinite mouse/mice which coming in the kitchen while, the second nominal *nuǔ* have definite interpretation which refers to the mouse/mice that came in the kitchen yesterday. The middle construction, a subject does require a generic nominal argument as in (b).

5.2 Thai topic constructions

One aspect of the topic constructions I have not discussed is the relationship between topic and focus. Recall Rooswang (2014) proposes that focus markers in Thai project to multiple FocPs. One obvious question is how the TopP I have proposed interacts with these focus projections – i.e., can they co-occur? If so what order do they appear in? Another question is whether the adjoined topic I have proposed can adjoin to FocP. I provide an example for further research in (8).

- (8) แค่ คูกี้กึ่เนยสด_[focus] ที่ ตลาด_[topic] ก็ มี ขาย
 kêe k^húk.kii.nəəj.sòt t^hii talàat kôw mii k^hǎaj
 just butter cookies at fresh market also have sell
 “Just only butter cookies_[focus], at fresh market_[topic] also sell.”

6. Suggestion for the further research

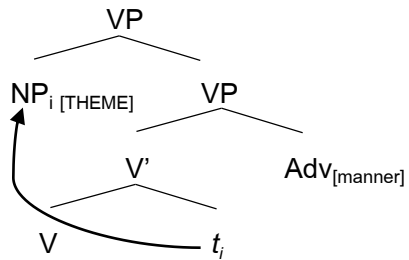
These are some remaining questions which I suggest for the further research.

- 6.1 Where is GEN operator?
- 6.2 Are only inanimate NPs allowed as the subject of Thai middles? Why does this show an interaction with the comparative construction.
- 6.3 Are Thai middles also derived by a movement operation?

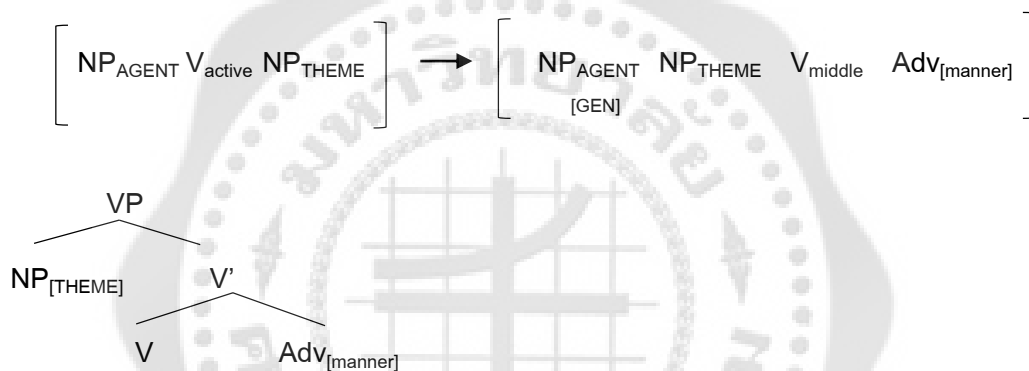
Regarding question 6.3, two hypotheses which remain for the further research are presented below:

- (i) Hypothesis 1: SIINP is base-generated in object position to get theta role, then moved to Spec-VP.

$$\left[\text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}} \text{V}_{\text{active}} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\emptyset_{[\text{GEN}]} \text{NP}_{\text{THEME}} \text{V}_{\text{middle}} \text{Adv}_{[\text{manner}]} \right]$$

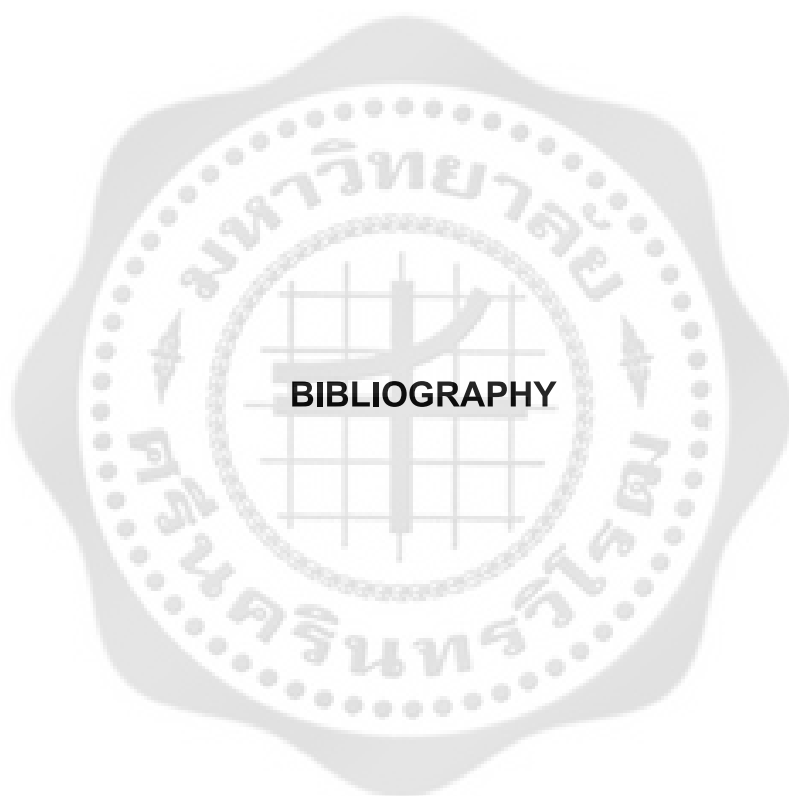


- (ii) THEME is base-generated in higher Spec-VP; no movement occurs.



6.4 Why cannot SIINP which is the middle subject bind $\text{?}\epsilon\epsilon\eta$ "self"?

I suggest that these above question should be investigated for further research, to clarify the details of Thai middle construction.



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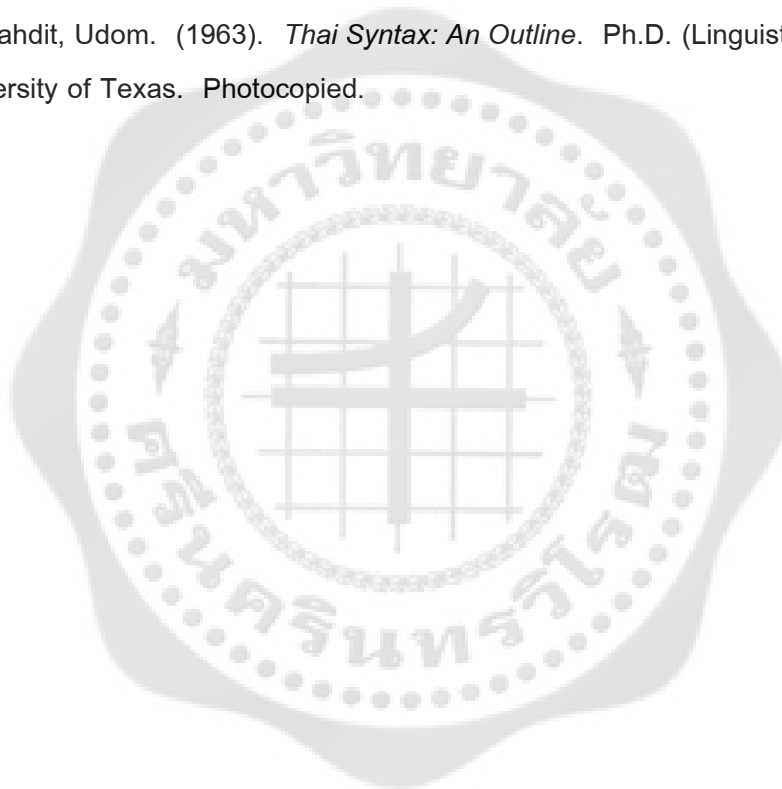
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APPENDIX

1. สินค้า ชุด ฟอเก็ตมีนอต ขาย ดี มาก ครับ
 sĭnk^há c^hút forget me not k^hǎaj dii mâak k^hráp
 product set forget me not sell good many PART
 “The product set ‘Forget me not’ sells really well.”
2. สปอร์ตบรา ถอด ยาก จ้าง
 sà.pòwt.braa t^hòwt jâak caŋ
 sport bra take off hard PART
 “Sport bras are hard to take off.” (One cannot take off sport bras so easily.)
3. ขนสังเคราะห์ จะ เกลี่ย ผลิตภัณฑ์ ครีมๆ ง่าย กว่า นะ
 k^hõnsǎŋk^hrú cà kliia p^hàlittap^han k^hriimk^hriim ŋâaj k^wàaw ná
 synthetic bristle will spread product creamy easy more PART
 “The synthetic bristle brush spreads creamy products more easily.”
4. รอยดำ แนะนำ สกินนอเรน ได้ผล กว่า ค่ะ
 rowjdām nĕnam sàkinnowrén dâajp^hõn k^wàa k^hà
 dark spot suggest Skinoren effective more PART
 “The dark spot, (I) suggest Skinoren is more effective.”
5. หน้าร้อน แบบ นี้ ใช้ สเปรย์ เวลา ออก แดด ไม่
 nâarwón bĕep níi c^hái sapree veelaa ʔwɔk dĕet mâi
 summer like this use spray when going out sunshine NEG
 เหนียว ค่ะ
 nǎaw k^hà
 sticky PART
 “In the summer, when one uses spray (sunblock), it wouldn’t be sticky.”
6. แพลตตินัม ตึก เก่า หน้า ชั้น 1 ซอย โซโฮ4 สังเกต ง่าย
 p^hlĕettinâm tìk kàw nâa c^hán nĕŋ swɔj soohõosii sǎŋkeet ŋâaj
 Platinum building old front floor one alley Soho4 notice easy
 “The old Platinum building, front of first floor, in Soho 4 alley, (the shop) is noticeable.”

7. ร้าน ขาย กางเกง ทั้ง ร้าน สังเกต ง่าย ค่ะ
 ráan kʰǎaj kaŋkeeng tʰáŋ ráan sǎŋkeet ŋáaj kʰà
 shop sell pants entire shop notice easy PART

“The pants shop is noticeable.”

8. โอ้มายอายไลน์เนอร์ กับ อโล ใช้ ดี จริงๆ จ้า
 ʔôomaajʔaajlainôə kap ʔaloo cʰái dii ciŋciŋ câa
 Oh my eye liner and Aloe use good really PART

“Oh my eye liner and Aloe, is really good for use.”

9. บล็อก ทำ ไม่ ยาก ค่ะ
 blók tʰam mâi jaak kʰà
 painting block make NEG difficult PART

“Painting block, one can make it without difficulty.” / Painting blocks are made easily. /

Painting blocks are easy to make.

10. นาฬิกา รุ่น นี้ ใส่สบาย จริงๆ ครับ
 naaríkaa rûn nîi sài sabaaj ciŋciŋ kʰráp
 watch model this wear comfortable really PART

“This model of watch is comfortably wearable.”

11. ไบโอดอร์มา ใช้ ดี จริง
 baioodəəmâa cʰái dii ciŋciŋ
 Bioderma use good really

“Bioderma is really good.”

12. กาว คิตตี้ ขาย ดี หมด ทุก ร้าน
 kaaw kʰittii kʰǎaj dii mòt tʰúk ráan
 glue Hello Kitty sell good all every shop

“Hello Kitty’s glue sells well in every shop.”

13. ลายสก๊อต ตอน อยู่ เมืองนอก ใส่ บ่อย นะ
 laajsakót tɔɔn júu miangnɔ̀wk sài bɔ̀ɔj ná
 plaid when live abroad wear often PART

“Plaid (shirt), I wore it often when I was living abroad.”

14. เครื่อง เรา 10 กว่า ปี แล้ว มั้ง รุ่น พัน กว่า ๆ ใช้ ดี
 k^hʰaŋ raw sɨp k^wàa pii léɛw máŋ rún p^han k^wàak^wàa c^hái dii
 machine I 10 more year already maybe version 1,000 over use well

“The one I’m using may be more than 10 years. **The one that cost around 1,000 baht** is good.”

15. สุกี้น้ำ ใส่ วุ้นเส้น กับ ผัก เยอะ ๆ นะ
 sukĩĩnám sài wúnssên kàp p^hàk jójó ná
 sukiyaki put glass noodle and vegetable lot PART

“**Sukiyaki**, put a lot of glass noodle and vegetables.”

16. หมูสามชั้นต้ม จิ้ม น้ำจิ้ม แซบ ๆ
 mǔusǎamc^hántôm cĩm náamcĩm sǎpsǎp
 boiled streaky pork dip dip delicious

“**Boiled streaky pork** is dipped into a delicious dip.”

17. คิทแคท เคย ซื้อ ถูกสุด 250 เยน
 k^hít k^hét k^həj sɨ t^hũksút sǎwŋrǎwjasip jen
 Kitkat used to buy cheapest 250 yen

“**Kitkat**, (I) used to buy it at lowest price for 250 yen.”

18. แป้ง แม็ค มิเนอร์อไลซ์ อ่าน รีวิว ซะ เยอะ
 pǎɛŋ mék mínəwǎlai ʔaan riwiw sá jój
 powder Mac mineralize read review PART lot

“**Mineralize Mac powder**, (I) read a lot of review.”

19. คอลลาเจน 1,300 มิลลิกรัม ทาน เม็ด เดียว ไม่
 k^həwŋlaajên nǎŋp^hansǎmrǎw minlígram t^haan mét diaw mâi
 collagen 1,300 milligram eat tablet only one NEG
 พอ นะ คะ
 p^həw ná k^há
 enough PART PART

“**Collagen 1,300 milligram**, just one tablet is not enough.”

20. เบนเซค แนะนำ เลย เห็นผล มาก
 bensèk nénam ləj hǎnp^hǎn mǎak
 Benzec suggest PART effective much

“**Benzec**, I highly recommend it. It is very effective.”

21. ปาเต้ฟิลลิปส์ 24 ตัว เดี่ยว ใช้ ยาวๆ ครับ
 paatép^hinlíp jìisìpsii tua diaw c^hái jaawjaaw k^háp
 Patek philippe 24 CL only one use long PART

“Patek philippe 24, just this one and you are good for a long time.”

22. แป้งฝุ่น แบบ ไม่ ผสม รองพื้น ยี่ห้อ คาทริส หรือ เอสเซนส์
 p^hêɲp^hùn bèɛp mâi p^hasǝm rɔŋp^hh̄n jiihǝw khaat^hrit r̄h̄ ʔéetséen
 talcum style NEG mix foundation brand Catrice or Essence
 ใช้ ดี เลย นะ คะ
 c^hái dii lǝj ná k^há
 use good PART PART PART

“Both Catrice and Essence non-foundation talcum are good.”

23. ของ ซานริโอ ใช้ คຸ້ມ ใช้ ดี มาก ค่ะ
 k^hǝwŋ saanriʔǝo c^hái k^húm c^hái dii mâak k^hà
 belong to Sanrio use worthwhile use good much PART

“Sanrio’s (products) are worth your money.”

24. โทเนอร์ ใช้ น้ำเกลือ แทน
 t^hoonnǝ c^hái náamkl̄a t^hɛɲ
 toner use saline solution instead

“Toner, (I) use saline solution instead of it.”

25. กลัวยหอม ทาน ตอน ท้องว่าง ไม่ ดี
 kl̄ujhǝm t^haan tɔw t^hǝwŋwǝŋ mâi dii
 banana eat when empty stomach NEG good

“Bananas should not be eaten with empty stomach.”

26. วิตามิน ทาน หลัง อาหาร ทันที
 wítsii t^haan lǎŋ ʔaahǎan t^hant^hii
 Vitamin C take after food immediately

“Vitamin C, take it after meal immediately.”

27. แอลเอ็ม ใช้ ดี มาก ๆ นะ
 ʔɛwʔem c^hái dii mâak.mâak ná
 LM use good much PART

“LM is really good.”

28. ม่าน กั้น แอร์ ทำ เอง ได้ ไม่ ยาก
 mään kân ʔɛɛ tʰam ʔɛɛ dâaj mâi jâak
 curtain block A/C make on one's own can NEG hard

"One can easily make **A/C blocking curtains** on one's own."

29. ฝาหน้า ชัก นาน อยู่แล้ว ครับ
 fǎa.nâa sák naan yùulɛ́ɛw kʰráp
 front load wash long time for sure PART

"**Front load** (washing machine), it does take a long time to operate."

30. เงินเดือน 25,000 ผ่อน รถ อย่างเดียว 4,000 ยัง ไม่พอ เลย ค่ะ
 ɲəndian 25,000 pʰòn rót jàaŋdiaw 4,000 jaŋ mâipʰwɔ̌ ləɔj kʰà
 salary 25,000 installment car alone 4,000 still not enough PART PART

"**With the salary of 25,000**, if one only pays monthly installment for cars at 4,000 baht, it's still not enough."

31. Pure sine inverter ทำ เอง ได้ ยาก ครับ
 Pure sine inverter tʰam ɛɛŋ dâaj jâak kʰráp
 Pure sine inverter do yourself can hard PART

"**For Pure sine inverter**, it is hard to do it yourself."

32. สันดอน ขุด ง่าย แต่ สันดาน ขุด ยาก ครับ
 sǎndwɔ̌n kʰùt ɲâaj tɛɛ sǎndaan kʰùt jâak kʰráp
 sand bar dig easy but character dig hard PART

"**Sand bar** digs easily. But the **character** digs hard." (It is hard to change someone's habit.)

33. ระยอง คอนโด ซื้อ ง่าย ขาย ยาก ค่ะ
 ra.jwɔ̌ŋ kɔ̌ndo sɨ́ ɲâaj kʰǎaj jâak kʰà
 Rayong condo buy easy sell hard PART

"Condos in Rayong are easily bought but hardly sold."

34. ทาวน์โฮม ราคา ต่างจังหวัด ยัง หา ยาก เลย
 tʰaaw.hoom raa.kʰaa tàaŋcaŋwàt jaŋ hǎa jâak ləɔj
 townhome price outskirts still find hard PART

"**A townhome with an outskirts price** is still hard to find."

35. เทคนิค เล็กน้อย แบบ เต็ม ๆ หา ได้ เยอะ มาก google youtube
 tʰéknìk léknój bɛ̀ɛp temtem hǎa dǎaj jəʔ mâak google youtube
 technique little CL full find can a lot many google youtube

“Full videos of little techniques can be found a lot on Google and Youtube.”

36. แซลมอน จาน นี้ ของ ดอกพุด จำ ไม่ ผิด 600
 sɛwmǝn caan níi kʰǝwɔŋ dǝwkpʰút cam mâi pʰit hòkrǝj
 salmon dish this of Dokput (name) remember NEG wrong 600

“For this salmon dish of mine, if I’m not mistaken, it was 600 baht.”

37. เนื้อ นี้ ซื้อ ตรง ปากซอย ทองหล่อ แน่ เลย
 nɛ̌a níi sɨ́i trɔŋ pàaksɔj tʰǝwɔŋlǝw nɛ̌ɛ lǝɔj
 meat this buy at entrance Thonglor sure PART

“This meat must be bought at the entrance of Soi Thonglor.”

38. อาหาร ปรุง ใหม่ ๆ ทุก จาน
 aahǎan prɔŋ mài.mài tʰúk caan
 food season new every dish

“For the food, every dish is made fresh.”

39. เกลือแร่ ดื่ม ทุกวัน ไม่ดี ระวัง เป็น โรคไต
 klia.rɛ̌ɛ dɨ́m tʰúk.wan mâi.dii rawaŋ pen rooktai
 mineral drink every day not good beware get Kidney’s diseases

“Mineral mix, it is not good to drink every day. Be careful of Kidney’s diseases.”

40. น้ำ เย็น ๆ ใส่ น้ำยา อุทัยทิพย์ หอม ชื่นใจ
 náam jen.jen sǎi nám.jaa ʋu.tʰaj.tʰíp hǝwm cʰɨ́n.cai
 water cold with drop Uthaithip aromatic refreshing

“Iced water with Uthaithip drops is refreshing.”

41. สี 36ซี หา ไม่ ยาก หรือ ค่ะ
 sǎi sǎamsìphòksii hǎa mâi jâak rǝwɔk kʰà
 color 36C find NEG difficult PART PART

“36C color, one can find it easily.”

42. ยี่ห้อ นี้ ใช้ ต่อเนื่อง กัน เป็น 10 ขวด ค่ะ
 jǝihǝw níi cʰái tǝwɔŋɛ̌aŋ kan pen sìp kʰuat kʰà
 brand this use continue RECP be 10 bottle PART

“This brand, I have used 10 bottles continually.”

43. ไม่ ไฟฟ้า ใช้ ดี เหมาะ กับ งาน เล็ก ๆ ชื้อ มา เท พื้น
 moo fajfáa cháí dii mw? kàp ŋaan léklék sǎi maa t^hee p^hin
 mill electric use good suitable for job small buy come pour floor

“**Electric mills** are good and suitable for small floor jobs.”

44. สอง คอนโด นี้ เลือก ไม่ ถูก
 sǎŋ cɔwɔndoo níi lǎak mâi t^huuk
 two condominium this choose NEG can

“(I) cannot choose between **these two condominiums**.”

45. ยันฮี เลือก หมอ ได้ ค่ะ
 janhii lǎak mǎw? dǎaj k^há
 Yanhee hospital choose doctor can PART

“At **Yanhee hospital**, one can choose a doctor.”

46. ฟาร์เกอร์ เปลี่ยน สี ได้ ชัด จาก หัว ดำ ๆ
 faakôo plian sǎi dǎaj c^hát càak hǎa damdam
 Farger change color can clear from head black

“**Farger** changes the color of black hair to be more noticeable.”

47. ส่วน เอเอชเอ ทา ได้ แต่ ตอน กลางคืน
 sùan ʔeeʔetʔee t^haa dǎaj tɛɛ tɔwɔn klaaŋk^hin
 For AHA apply can only when night

“For **AHA**, it can be applied only at night.”

48. ป๊อปคอร์น อดใจ ไม่ ได้
 pǔwɔpk^hɔwɔn ʔòtcai mâi dǎaj
 popcorn resist NEG can

“**Popcorn**, one cannot resist it.”

49. ฮาดะลาโบะ ชื้อ ได้ ที่ เซเว่นอีเลเว่น ทุก สาขา
 haadalaabò sǎi dǎaj t^hai seewênʔiileewên t^húk sǎak^hǎa
 Hada Labo buy can at 7-eleven every branch

“**Hada Labo** can be bought at every branch of 7-eleven.”

50. เงินเดือน 25,000 ู้ ได้ ประมาณ 1.5 ล้าน บาท
 ງອອndian ສ້ວງມຸ່ນໂຮ່ພານ kúu dâaj pramaan ນຶ່ງຄູ່ທ້າ ລ້ານ bàat
 salary 25,000 take on loan can around 1.5 million baht

“With 25,000 baht salary, one can get a loan for approximately 1.5 million baht.”

51. สายด่วน PEA 1129 ร้องเรียน ได้ ทุก เรื่อง ของ
 ສ້າງດູ່ ພື້ນຖານ ນຶ່ງຄູ່ທ້າ ລ້ານ ກ່ຽວກັບ ລ້ານ ດ້ານ ທຸ່ກ ສິ່ງ ຂອງ
 hotline PEA 1129 complain can every story belong
 การไฟฟ้า ส่วนภูมิภาค
 kaanfaifáa sàanpʰuumípʰâak
 electricity authority provincial

“At 1129 PEA hotline, one can make all kinds of complaint about provincial electricity authority.”

52. สลิป ใช้ สำเนา ก็ได้ ครับ
 sàlíp cʰái sǎmnaw kǐw dâaj kʰráp
 pay slip use copy also can PART

“As for pay slip, one can also use a copy.”

53. ขนาด แอร์ คำนวณ ได้ จาก เว็บไซต์ นี้ ครับ
 kʰànàat ງຮູ ກຳນວນ ດ້ານ ຈາກ ເວັບ ນີ້ ກ່ຽວກັບ
 size air conditioner calculate can from website this PART

“Air conditioner sizes can be calculated at this website.”

54. Gmmz hd ู ได้ เกือบ ทุก อย่าง
 ciiʔemʔemsɛt ʔétdii duu dâaj kʰap tʰúk jàan
 Gmmz hd watch can almost every thing

“With GMMZ HD satellite box, one can watch almost anything.”

55. กล่อง GMM HD Lite ู ช่อง ไทยรัฐทีวี ไม่ ได้
 klòwɯ ciiʔemʔem ʔétdii láit duu cʰwɯ tʰairáttʰiivii mâi dâaj
 box GMM hd lite willlatch channel Thairath TV NEG can

“With GMM HD Lite box, I cannot watch Thairath TV channel.”

56. น้ำผลไม้ ดื่ม ได้ แต่ ก็ อย่า มาก นะ คะ
 náampʰŏnlamái dʰim dâaj tèɛ kǐw jàa mâak ná kʰá
 juice drink can but also not much PART PART

“Juice, one can drink but not too much.”

57. ระเบียง คอนโด ต่อเติม แบบ นี้ ไม่ ได้ นะ คะ
 rabianj kʰondoo tòwtəm bɛ̀p nii mâi dâaj ná kʰá
 balcony condo modify style this NEG can PART PART

“For the condo’s balcony, you cannot modify it like this.”

58. คอนโด ทำ ไม่ ได้ ครับ
 kʰondoo tʰam mâi dâaj kʰráp
 condo do NEG can PART

“You cannot do it at the condo.”

59. แอป PSI ดู ได้
 èp PSI duu dâaj
 application PSI watch can

“With PSI application, you can watch (the show).”

60. ถั่วเหลือง 1 กิโล 35 บาท ทำ น้ำเต้าหู้ ได้ 3 ถึง 4 ลิตร
 tʰuə.háŋ nɨŋ kilo 35 bàat tʰam náam.tâw.húu dâaj 3 tʰɨŋ 4 lit
 bean 1 kilo 35 baht make soy drink can 3 to 4 liter

“One kilo of beans for 35 baht yields 3 to 4 liters of soy drink.”

61. ไอติม ร้าน vivi ราคา 39 หยวน เลือก ได้ 2 รส
 aitim ráan wiiwii raakʰaa sǎmsipkâaw juan hǎk dâaj sǎwŋ rót
 ice-cream shop vivi price 39 Yuan choose can two flavor

“The ice-cream at Vivi Shop costs 39 Yuan. You can choose two flavors.”

62. ถั่วฝักยาว ผัด พริก หา ได้ ตาม ร้านทั่วไป
 tʰuə.fàk.jaaw pʰàtpʰrík hǎa dâaj taam ráan tʰuə.paj
 long bean stir-fry chilifind can at shop general

“Stir-fried long bean with chili can be found at any restaurants.”

63. วอด หา ได้ ทั่วไป ครับ
 wóvk hǎa dâaj tʰúapai kʰráp
 Wok find can general PART

“Wok can be found anywhere.”

64. ข้าว จี่ ข้าวเหนียว ทอด กิน ง่าย ขาย ง่าย จำ
 kʰâaw cii kʰâaw.nǎaw tʰwɔt kin ŋâaj kʰǎaj ŋâaj câa
 rice roast sticky rice fry eat easy sell easy PART

“Roasted rice and fried sticky rice can be eaten easily and sell easily.”

65. ชาหนมไข่มุก กิน มากมาก ก็ อ้วน เบาหวาน
 c^haa.nom.k^hai.múk kin mâakmâak kǐw ʔuuan bawwǎan
 bubble tea eat a lot then fat diabetes

“**Bubble tea**, if one drinks too much of it, one will get fat and diabetes.”

66. กางเกง แบบ นี้ ใส่ เสื้อยืด ตัว หลวม ๆ คง จะ ดู
 kaŋkeŋ bɛ̌p níi sàì s^haj^hit tua lǔamlǔam k^hoŋ jà duu
 pants style this wear t-shirt CL baggy might will look
 ย้อนยุค ไป นิด
 jǔwŋjúk pai nít
 retro go a little

“**This style of pants**, if you wear them with a baggy T-shirt, you will probably look a bit retro.”

67. น้ำมะเขือเทศ ทาน แล้ว ผิว ดี
 námmak^hiat^het t^haan léɛw p^hǐw dii
 tomato juice eat then skin good

“**Tomato juice**, when one drinks it, one’s skin will be good.”

68. โลชั่น อัน นี้ ใช้ แล้ว หน้า นุ่ม ด้วย แหะ
 looc^hân ʔan nǐi c^hái léɛw nâa ním dúaj lè
 lotion CL this use then face soft too PART

“**This lotion**, after one uses it, one’s face becomes soft too.”

69. ป้ายราคา สีฟ้า ซื้อ แล้ว หิ้ว กลับ บ้าน ได้ เลย
 pâajraak^haa sǐifáa sǐ léɛw hǐw kap bâan dâaj ləɔj
 price tag blue color buy then carry back home can PART

“(the product with) **blue price tag**, one can take it home after buying.”

70. แชมพู ใช้ แล้ว ผม เหนียว มาก เลย ครับ
 c^hɛmp^huu c^hái léɛw p^hǔm nǎw mâk ləɔj k^hráp
 shampoo use then hair oily a lot PART PART

“**The shampoo**, after one uses it, one’s hair becomes very oily.”

71. เรฟลอน ตัว มูส ใช้ แล้ว หน้า เยิ้ม มาก
 réplwŋn tua múut c^hái léɛw nâa jǔəm mâak
 Revlon CL mousse use then face oily much

“**Revlon’s mousse** (product), one’s face gets oily after use.”

72. ชาแนล ทา แล้ว ฝ่อง กว่า ผิว สวย กว่า
 c^haanɛɛw t^haa léɛw p^huáw k^wàa p^hɔw sǔaj k^wàa
 Chanel apply then bright more skin beautiful more

“Chanel, the skin becomes brighter and more beautiful after use.”

73. น้ำมะพร้าว กิน แล้ว ผิว ดี ด้วย
 náammáp^hráaw kin lééw p^hɔw dii dúaj
 coconut juice eat then skin good also

“Coconut juice, drink it for good skin.”

74. ไอติม พาร์เฟต์ กราโนล่า กิน ห้า แท่ง ก็ ไม่ อ้วน
 ajtim p^haafée kranoláa kin hâa t^hɛŋ kǎ mâi ʔuán
 popsicle parfait granola eat five CL then NEG fat

“Granola parfait popsicle, eat five of them and still stay slim.”

75. ผนัง มวลเบา ต้อง ใช้ พุก พิเศษ จึง จะ ไม่ มี ปัญหา
 p^hanǎŋ muan.baw tǔwŋ cháí p^húk p^híseet cɨŋ ca mâi mii panhǎa
 wall aerated must use anchor special so will NEG have problem

“For aerated walls, you must use special anchors so that there will be no problems.”

76. ปิ้ง ย่าง กิน เยอะๆ แล้ว เลียน รับประทาน
 pîŋ jâaŋ kin jəʔ.jəʔ léɛw lían k^hráp
 grill BBQ eat a lot then nauseous PART

“For grilled and BBQ meat, when I eat too much of it, I get nauseous.”

77. Fast food สั่ง แล้ว จ่าย เลย
 fáat.fúut sàŋ léɛw càaj ləəj
 fast food order then pay PART

“For fast food, you pay right after you order.”

78. Louis vuiton damier azur belt ที่ ไทย ขาย 16,000 บาท
 Louis vuiton damier azur belt t^hii t^hai k^hǎaj nǎŋmìnhòkp^han baat
 Louis vuiton damier azur belt in Thailand sell 16,000 baht

“Louis vuiton damier azur belt is sold for 16,000 baht in Thailand.”

79. เดอะวัน หน้า เซ็นทรัลลาดพร้าว ขาย 150 บาท ค่ะ
 dəwan nâa sen.t^hân.lâat.p^hrâaw k^hǎaj nǎŋrúwjhâaɩp baat k^há
 The One in front of Central Lardphrao sell 150 baht PART

“They sell it for 150 baht at The One in front of Central Ladphrao.”

80. อนุสาวรีย์ฯ ใน เซ็นเตอร์วัน ขาย 239 บาท
 ʔanútsǎwárii nai sentóʔvan kʰǎaj sǎwŋrǎʔjsǎamsipkáaw baat
 Victory Monument in Center One sell 239 baht

“They sell it for 239 baht at **Center One at Victory Monument.**”

81. แมคโดนัลด์ แลก ซื้อ ตุ๊กตา คิตตี้ ค่า
 Mékdoonân lǎek sǎi túkkataa kʰittii kʰá
 Macdonald exchange buy doll Hello Kitty PART

“Hello Kitty’s doll can be redeemed at **Macdonald.**”

82. เบนเซค ทา ก่อน ล้าง หน้า
 Bensák tʰaa kǔwŋ láaŋ nǎa
 Benzac apply before wash face

“**Benzac**, apply it before cleaning your face.”

83. วิตามิน ซีรัม ของ การ์นิเย่ เอเอ็นอาร์ ทา ใต้ ตา
 wítsii seerâm kʰǎʔŋ kaanijêe ʔeeʔenʔaa tʰaa tái taa
 Vitamin C serum belong Ganier ANR apply under eyes
 กับ แก้ม ด้าน หน้า
 kap kǎem dǎan nǎa
 and cheeks side front

“**Ganier’s Vitamin C serum ANR** is applied under eyes and onto cheeks.”

84. คลินด้าเอ็ม ทา สิวอักเสบ
 kʰindǎaʔem tʰaa sǎwʔàksèep
 Clinda-M apply acne

“**Clinda-M** is applied onto acne.”

85. ส่วน เรตินเอ ทา ก่อน นอน
 sùan reetinʔee tʰaa kǔwŋ nɔwŋ
 For Retin-A apply before sleep

“For **Retin-A**, it is applied before bedtime.”

86. ฮาดะลาโบะ ต้อง ตบ บน หน้า เบา ๆ
 Haadalabò tǔŋ tòp bon nǎa bawbaw
 Hada Labo must pat onto face gently

“**Hada Labo** must be gently patted onto face.”

87. สีผิว อยู่ ระหว่าง **NC35-40** ใช้ รองพื้น ของ
 sǐp^hɪw jùu rávǎaŋ ʔensiisǎmsiphâa-siisip c^hái roonp^hin k^hǎw
 skin color is between NC35-40 use foundation belong
 บ๊อบบี้ สี เนเทอร์อล ค่ะ
 bópbii sǐi neetǎoʔwɔɔn k^hà
 Bobbi Brown color Natural PART

“For **skin color between NC35-40**, one should use Natural Bobbi Brown’s foundation.”

88. เส้นเลือดขด แนะนำ โรงพยาบาลโรคผิวหนัง ค่ะ
 sên^hhiatk^hǎwɔt nénam roonp^hajaabaanrôokp^hɪwnǎŋ k^hà
 varicose vein suggest skin hospital PART

“For **varicose vein**, (I) suggest skin hospital.”

89. คอนเวิร์ส ไม่ ต้อง ใส่ ถุงเท้า นะ ค่ะ
 k^hɔɔnvǎet mâi tǎwŋ sǎi t^hǎŋt^hǎw ná k^hà
 Converse NEG must wear socks PART PART

“For **Converse**, one does not need to wear socks.”

90. รอยดำ จาก สิว ใช้ แอคนรีแพร์ครีม ของ ดร. สมชาย
 roojdam caak sǎw c^hái ʔeeknêeriip^heeek^hiim k^hǎwɔt dǎktǎosǎmc^haaŋ
 dark spot from acne use Acne repair cream belong Dr.Somchai

“For **dark spots from acne**, one should use Dr.Somchai Acne Repair Cream.”

91. น้ำเปล่า บีบ มะนาว ลง ไป หน่อย ค่ะ
 náampàw biip mánaaw loŋ pai nǔwɔj k^hà
 water squeeze lemon into go little PART

“As for water, squeeze some lemon into it.”

92. เครื่อง ที่ ใช้ สั่ง จาก ใน เน็ต อะ ค่ะ
 k^hɪaŋ t^hii c^hái sǎŋ càak nai nèt ʔà k^hà
 machine which use order from in internet PART PART

“The machine (that I am) using, (I) ordered it online.”

93. เสื้อยืด ยับ ๗ กางเกงสามส่วน ลาย ๗ แตะหนึบ ช้างดาว
 sǎjɪt jápjáp kaŋkeŋsǎamsuan laajlaaj tènɪp c^háaŋdaaw
 t-shirt wrinkled knee length pants with prints sandals Changdaw's
 เดิน พาราгон กิน สตาร์บัค
 dǎon p^haaraakwɔn kin satabák
 walk Paragon eat Starbuck

“(Dressed in) wrinkled t-shirt, knee-length pants with prints, Changdaw’s sandals, I walked around in Paragon and drank coffee at Starbucks.”

94. กางเกงบอล เสื้อยืด รองเท้าแตะ เดิน เวิร์ลเทรด
 kaankeeŋbwaŋ sɔ̌jɨt rwaŋtʰáwtɛ̌ dɔ̌n wɔ̌wtʰròət
 soccer pants t-shirt sandal walk World trade center

“(Dressed in) **soccer pants, t-shirt and sandals**, (I) walked around World trade center.”

95. เดอะลอร์ด ไป เดี๋ยวนี้ เกือบ หมื่นบาท ต่อ รอบ
 dèlòwt pai dɛ̌awnii kiap mɨ̌nbaat tòw rɔ̌p
 The lord go now almost 10,000 baht per time

“**The lord**, to go see it, one pays almost 10,000 baht per view nowadays”

96. ชาแนล ลอง vitalumiere สิ ค่ะ
 cʰaanɛ̌w lwaŋ vitalumiere sɨ kʰá
 Chanel try vitalumiere PART PART

“**Chanel**, you should try Vitalumiere.”

97. สำหรับ เครื่องสำอาง สำหรับ น้องสาว แนะนำ ยี่ห้อ แคนเมค ค่ะ
 sǎmràp kʰɨ̌ŋsǎmʔaaŋ sǎmràp nɔ̌wŋsǎaw nɛ̌nam jiihɔ̌w kʰɛ̌nméek kʰá
 For cosmetics for younger sister suggest brand Canmake PART

“As for **cosmetics for younger sisters**, (I) suggest Canmake brand.”

98. Eagle eyes ใช้ เทคโนโลยี ทาง อวกาศ ของ นาซ่า เลย นะ ครับ
 Eagle eyes cʰái tʰéknooloojii tʰaaŋ ʔawakàat kʰɔ̌wŋ naasâa lɔ̌j ná kʰráp
 Eagle eyes use technology way space belong Nasa PART PART PART

“**Eagle eyes**, they use NASA space technology.”

99. ต้นแขน ใหญ่ เล่น เวท ค่ะ
 tɔ̌nkʰɛ̌n jàì lɛ̌n wɛ̌t kʰá
 biceps big play weight PART

“**Big biceps**, it’s because of weightlifting.”

100. ผิวแห้ง ไม่ แนะนำ แอลเอ็ม เลย ค่ะ
 phǐwhɛ̌ŋ mâi nɛ̌nam ʔɛ̌wʔem lɔ̌j kʰá
 dry skin NEG recommend LM PART PART

“**Dry skin**, I don’t recommend LM.”

101. แมคสตูดิโอฟินิช ไม่ เคย ใช้ ครับ
 mɛ̌ksàtuudiʔoofinít mâi kɔ̌j cʰái kʰráp
 Mac studio finish NEG used to use PART

“Mac studio finish, I have never used it.”

102. สกินโนเรน ทา เฉพาะ กลางคืน
 sàkinnoorén t^haa c^hàp^hó klaan^hhìn
 Skinoren apply only night time

“Skinoren, apply it only at night time.”

103. กระดาษซับหน้ามัน สุมิเร ซื้อ 1 แถม 1 ราคา 129 บาท
 kràdàatsápnâaman sumiree s^hì n^hng t^hěem n^hng raak^haa n^hng r^hójjìisìpkâw bàat
 blotting paper Sumire buy 1 free 1 price 129 baht
 ที่ วัดสัน จ้า
 t^hii wátsǎn câa
 at Watson PART

“Sumire’s blotting paper, buy 1 get 1 free at 129 baht at Watson.”

104. มาส์กหน้า และ สครับหน้า ถาม ค่ะ
 máaknâa lé sàk^hrápnâa t^hăam k^hà
 facial mask and facial scrub ask PART

“Facial mask and facial scrub, I have a question about them.”

105. หน้า เรา ใช้ กันแดด มะเขือเทศ ของ สกินฟู้ด ค่ะ
 nâa raw c^hái kandèet mák^hatèet k^hǎw sàkinfúut k^hà
 face 1SG use sunscreen tomato belong Skinfood PART

“My face, I use Skinfood tomato sunscreen.”

106. เสื้อผ้า ซื้อ ประจำ
 s^hap^hâa s^hì pràjam
 clothes buy often

“Clothes, I buy them often.”

107. ผลิตภัณฑ์ นี้ ใช้ สารกันแดด ทั้งหมด สาม ตัว
 p^hàlittap^han n^hii c^hái sǎankandèet t^hǎngmòt sǎam tua
 product this use sunscreen altogether three CL

“This product uses three substances of sunscreen.”

108. ยาคุมกำเนิด กิน เพื่อ คุม ฮอโมน
 jaak^humkamn^hòet kin p^hra k^hum h^huymoon
 birth-control pill eat for control hormone

“Birth-control pills are taken for controlling hormones.”

109. ลิป ของ แมค ชื้อ จาก สยามเซ็น ลด สิบบห้า เปอร์เซ็นต์
 líp kʰwǎŋ méɛk sǎi càak sàiaamsen lòt síphâa pǎesen
 lipstick of M.A.C. buy from Siam Center discount 15 percent
 “**M.A.C. lipsticks**, (I) bought them from Siam Center at 15% off.”
110. กันแดด ใช้ แต่ แบบ น้ำ ใสๆ ไม่ ครีม ไม่ มัน
 kandèet cʰái tɛɛ bɛɛp náam sǎi.sǎi mâi kʰriim mâi man
 sunscreen use only kind liquid transparent NEG creamy NEG oily
 “**Sunscreen**, (I) only use the liquid, no color, no cream and no oil kind.”
111. รองพื้น กลางวัน ใช้ สอง ตัว คะ
 rɔŋpʰɨn klaanwan cʰái sǎwŋ tua kʰà
 foundation day time use two CL PART
 “**Foundation for daytime**, (I) use two kinds.”
112. โพลาร์ ดู สำหรับ แอนดรอยด์ ด้วย ครับ
 Pʰoolâa duu sǎmráp ʔɛendrowj dūaj kʰráp
 Polar see for Android also PART
 “**Polar**, also see one for Android.”
113. ร้านอาหาร แนะนำ จิตร์ประภัสสร อยู่ ตรง วัดเสมียนนารี
 ráanʔaahǎan nénam cítrápʰátsǎwŋ jùu tron wátsamíannaarii
 restaurant suggest Jitrapassorn locate at Samian Nari Temple
 “**For restaurants**, I recommend Jitrapassorn located at Samian Nari Temple.”
114. ขยะ ใน ครัว ต้อง ทิ้ง ทุก วัน หรือ ทุก ครั้ง
 kʰàjà nai kʰua tǎwŋ tʰíŋ tʰúk wan hǎi tʰúk kʰáng
 garbage in kitchen must throw every day or every time
 “**The garbage in kitchen** must be emptied every day or every time.”
115. ดอกแก้ว ดอกโมก ปลูกลง ใน กระถาง
 dǔwkkêew dǔwkmòok plùuk nai kràtʰǎaŋ
 orange Jessamine wild water plum grow in pot
 “**Orange Jessamine and wild water plum** are grown in pots.”
116. คอนโด สุภาลัยเวอเรนด้า รัชวิภา ประชาชื่น สอบถาม
 kʰwɔndoo sùpʰaalajwǎerendâa rátʰáwípʰaa pràcʰaacʰɨn sǔwptʰǎam
 condominium Suphalai Veranda Ratchavipha Prachachuen ask
 “I have a question about **Suphalai Veranda condominium Ratchviphaprachachuen**.”

117. หลอดไฟ ยี่ห้อ P แจ้ง กำลังไฟ ที่ 7 วัตต์
 lówtfai jiihíw p^hii cĕŋ kamlanɣai t^hii cèt wàt
 light bulb brand P inform power at 7 watt
 “The P light bulb says the power is at 7 watts.”
118. หลอดไฟ ยี่ห้อ B แจ้ง กำลังไฟ ที่ 7.5 วัตต์
 lówtfai jiihíw bii cĕŋ kamlanɣai t^hii cètçùthâa wàt
 bulb brand B inform power at 7.5 watt
 “The B light bulb says the power is at 7.5 watts.”
119. กล่อง ดิจิตอลสมาร์ทสตรอง เปลี่ยน ช่อง ช้า
 klówtɣ díçitòwsà máatsàtrɔwtɣ plian c^híwtɣ c^háa
 box digital smart strong change channel long time
 “Digital smart strong box takes too long to change channel.”
120. เมกกี้โปรเจค ผูก ชิงช้าไม้ กับ ต้นไม้ หลัง บ้าน
 mèekkii proocè p^huuk c^hingc^háamái kàp tɔnmái lǎŋ bâan
 Maggi project attach wooden swing onto tree behind house
 (งบ 844 บาท)
 ɳób pĕtɔrɔwtɣsɔiisipsii bàat
 budget 844 baht
 “Maggi project, attach a wooden swing onto a tree behind the house (budget is 844 baht).”
121. ซัมซุง โฮมเธียเตอร์ เบา เสียง เอง จน สุด
 samsunɣ hoomt^hiatóo bao sǎŋ ʔee con sùt
 Samsung home theater lower volume on its own until mute
 “Samsung home theater lowers its own volume until mute.”
122. รีไฟแนนซ์ บ้าน แนะนำ หน้อย ครีป
 riifainéɛn bâan nĕnam nòwt k^hráp
 refinancing home suggest PART PART
 “Please suggest with regards to refinancing home.”
123. โจ๊ก นี่ ไม่ ใส่ น้ำตาล ใส่ แต่ พริกป่น อย่าง เดียว
 cóok nii mâi sài námtaan sài tĕɛ p^hríkpòn jàaŋ diaw
 porridge TOP NEG add sugar add only chili CL only
 “For porridge, please don’t add sugar, add only chili.”

124. เมนู นี่ สั่ง ประจำ ค่ะ เวลา เข้า ร้าน อิตาลี
 meenuu nīi sàŋ pràcam k'hà weelaa k'hào ráan ?àtaalīan
 Menu this order usually PART when enter restaurant Italian
 “This menu, (I) usually order it when (I) go to an Italian restaurant.”
125. เนื้อปลา สด ผัด คล้าย ๆ พริกไทยดำ ใส่ กระเทียมโทน
 nīaplaa sòt p'hàt k'hàaj k'hàaj p'híkt'haidam sài krat'hiamt'oon
 fish fresh stir-fry similar black pepper add pickled garlic
 “**Fresh fish**, stir-fry with black pepper and pickled garlic.”
126. เห็ดออริจิน ผัด หมูกรอบ ใส่ พริก สาม สี
 hètʔwɔrinci p'hàt m'nukròwp sài p'hík sǎam sǐi
 King Oyster mushroom stir-fry crispy pork add chili three color
 “**Stir-fried Eryngii with crispy pork**, add three colors of chilies.”
127. รอยซ์ โปเตโต้ฟาร์ม ชิโรอิ โคอิบิโตะ ซื้อ สนามบิน ขากลับ
 rójj pootetòofaam c'hírooʔi k'hooʔibito sǐi sànáambin k'hǎakláp
 Royce Potato Farm Shiroy Koibito buy airport return trip
 “**Royce, Potato Farm and Shiroy Koibito**, buy at the airport when return.”
128. น้ำมะพร้าว น้ำมะตูม ปั่น สมูทตี้ กิน เอง
 náammáp'hraaw náammátuum pàn sàmúuttīi kin ʔeenj
 coconut juice bale fruit juice blend smoothie eat REFL
 “**Coconut juice and bale fruit juice**, make a smoothie oneself.”
129. รส กระหรี่ เคย เห็น ที่ โตเกียว ดิสนีย์แลนด์ อะ ครีป
 rót krarii k'həy hen t'hī Tokyo Disneyland ʔa k'hráp
 flavor curry used to see at Tokyo Disneyland PART PART
 “(Popcorn) **curry flavor**, I once saw it at Tokyo Disneyland.”
130. อาทิตย์ ก่อน ทำ กุ้งอบเกลือ ไป เสริม มื้อเช้า บ้านพัก คนชรา
 aa'thīt k'wɔn t'hām k'ung.ʔòp.klīa pai sǎəm m'ic'hāaw bāan.p'hák. k'hon.c'hāraa
 week previous make salty shrimp to add breakfast home elderly
 “**Last week**, I made salty shrimp as an option for breakfast at a nursing home.”
131. เมนู นี่ ทำ เก๋ ด้วย การนำ สปาเก็ตตี้ มา รวม กับ เครื่องเทศ
 menu nīi t'hām k'ēe dūaj kaannam sapakétti maa ruam kàp k'hīangt'hēt
 menu this do nifty with bringing spaghetti come combine with spices
 “**This menu** is nifty by combining spaghetti with spices.”

132. ที่ดิน ครึ่ง หนึ่ง อยู่ ทาง สาม แยก ก็ นับ ครับ
 tʰidin kʰrɨŋ nɨŋ jùu tʰaang sǎam jɛɛk kʰwǎ náp kʰráp
 land half one locate at three junction still count PART

“Half of the land which is at the T-section still counts.”

133. หลอดไฟ บ้าน ชั้น ดาดฟ้า ติด แค่ ปลาย หลอด ทั้ง สอง ชั้น
 lòwt.faj bâan cʰán data.fáa tit kʰêɛ plaaj lòwt tʰáŋ sǎwŋ cʰán
 light bulb house floor rooftop install just tip bulb both two floor

“The light bulb for the house’s rooftop floor was installed at just the tip on both floors.”

134. ข้าว ยำ ปักซี่ใต้ แนะนำ ครับ
 kʰâaw jam pàktâaj nɛnam kʰráp
 rice salad southern recommend PART

“I highly recommend the southern rice salad.”

135. อี ร้าน นี่ เดิน ผ่าน ทุก วัน เวลา ไป ขึ้น MRT
 ii ráan níi dɔɔn pʰaan tʰúk wan weelaa pai kʰin em.aa.tʰii
 shop this walk past every day when go take MRT

“This shop, I walk by it every day when I get on an MRT train.”

136. ชา กาแฟ ที่นี่ ใช้ ชา ของ TWG
 cʰaa kafɛɛ tʰiinii cháí cʰaa kʰwǎŋ tʰii.dabliw.cii
 tea coffee here use tea of TWG

“As for tea and coffee, here we use TWG tea.”

137. สำหรับ กาแฟ ของ ที่นี่ ใช้ ของ BON CAFÉ ครับ
 sǎmràp kafɛɛ kʰwǎŋ tʰiinii cháí kʰwǎŋ bon kafɛɛ kʰráp
 for coffee of here use of bon café PART

“As for coffee, here we use BON CAFÉ.”

138. บึง กับ สนาม บางที จะ เห็น คุณ วรณช ว่ายนํ้า
 bɨŋ kàp sanǎam baŋtʰii ca hǎn kʰun wɔranút wáajnám
 pond and field sometimes will see mister water monitor swim

เล่น

lên

for fun

“In a pond and a field, sometimes you will see water monitors swimming for fun.”

139. เนื้อ กระทะ ร้อน ต้อง สั่ง !!! อร่อย มาก
 nia krat^há rón tǎŋ sàŋ aròj mâak
 meat pan hot must order delicious very
 “**Fried meat hot pan** is a must. It’s so good!”
140. จาจังเมียน ของแท้ ดั้งเดิม ต้อง กิน ที่ ปักกิ่ง นะ
 caa.caŋ.myon k^hǎwŋt^héē dāŋdǎəm tǎŋ kin t^hii pàkkin ná
 black bean sauce noodle original original must eat in Beijing PART
 “**The original black bean sauce noodle** must be eaten in Beijing.”
141. จาน แรก **Extra cheesy** เลือก เป็น หมู ครี
 caan rêek extra cheesy líak pen mǎu k^hráp
 dish first extra cheesy choose be pork PART
 “**The first dish Extra cheesy**, I chose pork.”
142. แครมบริวเล่ ของ ร้าน นี้ ใช้ ไข่ ออแกนิก อย่าง ดี
 krēm brulê khǎwŋ ráan níi cháii khài ʔəkenik jàaŋ dii
 crème brule of shop this use egg organic kind good
 “**This restaurant’s crème brule** is made with good organic eggs.”
143. เมนู ของ ที่นี้ นำเสนอ เครื่องดื่ม หลากหลาย เมนู
 menu k^hǎwŋ t^hii.níi nam.sanǎə k^hráŋ.dǐm làak.lǎaj menu
 menu of here present drink various menu
 “The menu of this restaurant contains a variety of drink menus.”
144. ครีมกลางวัน ใช้ กานีแย่ กระปุก ชมพู
 k^hiimklaaŋwan c^hái kaanijée krápùk c^homp^huu
 day cream use Garnier jar pink
 “**Day cream**, (I) use the pink Garnier.”
145. กล่อง **Gmmz hd** หา แพ็คเก็ต ที่ แถม โกลด์ หนึ่ง
 klǎwŋ ciiʔemʔemsɛ̌t ʔétdii hǎa p^hékkèt t^hii t^hǎem koow nǎŋ
 box Gmmz hd find package which fling in gold package one
 ปี ครี
 pii k^hráp
 year PART
 “**Gmmz hd box**, (I) find the package which fling in the gold package for 1 year.”



VITAE

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