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Quasi-mermaid construction in Thai

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') roughly as follows.

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
    Clause Noun Copula

The predicate (which is often a verb) of the 'Clause' may be inflected. But it may be followed by a nominalizer ('NMLZ'), as in (2). An example is (50), an instance of the Japanese MMC.

(2) ... verb + NMLZ Copula

The prototype, shown in (1), is based on the MMC of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b), an SOV (or AOV) language. Thai is an SVO (or AVO) language. Unlike Mandarin Chinese, another SVO language, which has structures that may be considered variants of the MMC, Thai does not have a structure that would be unequivocally called the MMC. Nonetheless, it has a structure that may be considered 'quasi-MMC'. It is of three types.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Thai:
    a. Psych-verb type:
      (Target +) Copula + [NMLZ + psych-V]
      (+ Obl + Experiencer)
    b. Speech-verb type:
      (Target +) Copula + [NMLZ + speech-V]
      (+ Obl + Speaker)
    c. Quotative-complementation type:
      Copula + [NMLZ + psych/speech-V] + [COMP + Clause]

The psych-verb type (3-a) involves a psych-verb ('psych-V'), while the speech-verb type (3-b) contains a speech verb ('speech-V'). Both types of verbs are acceptable in the quotative-complemention type (3-c).

(3-c) differs from (3-a) and (3-b) in two respects. First, it lacks 'Target', 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl + Speaker'. Second, it obligatorily contains a complement clause ('COMP + Clause').

All of (3-a) to (3-c) are similar to the variety of the MMC shown in (2), in which the verb is accompanied by a nominalizer.

(3-a) is the oldest quasi-MMC in Thai. It has been used since the era of the Sukhothai dynasty (13-14C), the earliest period in the documented history of the Thai language (Kitsombat 1981: 33). It has been regarded by Thai linguists as a peculiar sort of passive construction. (3-b) and (3-c) appear to originate from (3-a). (3-b) seems to have risen rather recently. It is not mentioned in studies on Thai grammar. (3-c) emerged in the nineteenth century (Kitsombat 1981: 44) and came to be commonly used in the twentieth century (Prasithrathsint 1985: 96).

2. Initial illustration

Examples of (3-a) to (3-c) include (4) to (6), respectively.

(3-a):
  (4) *kháw*   *yɔ̂ɔm*   *pen*   [*thîi*   *chûa mân*]
       PRON   inevitably COP   NMLZ be.confident
       khɔ̌ɔŋ   *phûu tây baŋkháp banchaa*
       GEN   subordinates
       LT: 'He is inevitably that/what [they] are confident [of], of the
          subordinates.'
       FT: 'He is inevitably trusted by [his] subordinates.'

(3-b):
(5) nawaníyaay   rûuaŋ   níi   pen
    novel   CLF   this   COP
    [thîi   klàaw   thŭŋ   yàaŋ phrêɛ lăay]
    NMLZ   say   reach   widely
    LT: 'This novel is that/what [they] mention widely.'
    FT: 'This novel is widely mentioned.'

(3-c):
(6) pen   [thîi   yɔɔm ráp   kan   thûa   pay]
    COP   NMLZ   admit   RECP   be.overall   go
    [wâa   wannakam   lέʔ   phâaphayon   mii
    COMP   literary.work   and   movie   have
    ʔitthíphon   tɔ̀ɔ   kan lέʔ kan   yàaŋ mâak]
    influence   upon   each.other   very.much
    LT: '[It] is that/what [they] generally admit that literary works and
         movies influence each other very much.'
    FT: 'It is generally admitted that literary works and movies
         influence each other very much.'

The nominalizer ('NMLZ') and the verb (a psych-verb or a speech verb)
form a unit. The quotative complementizer ('COMP') and the complement
clause ('Clause'), too, are inseparable. In the relevant examples, a
combination of the nominalizer and the verb is indicated by means of square
brackets. So is a combination of the complementizer and the complement
clause. (A combination of the nominalizer and the verb may be expanded by
means of modifier(s) of the verb or other verb(s). See 5.3.2-[1], -[2].)

3. Profile of the language

Thai belongs to the Tai group of the Tai-Kadai family. It is the official
language of Thailand. According to *Ethnologue* (online version 2000), the
population of L1 Thai speakers is about 20,200,000 and that of L2 Thai
speakers is about 40,000,000.

The inventory of Thai phonemes is as follows: (a) consonants: /p, t, k, ʔ,
ph, th, kh, b, d, f, s, h, c, ch, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, y/; (b) vowels: /i, ɯ, u, e, ə, o,
ɛ, a, ɔ, ii, ɯɯ, uu, ee, əə, oo, ɛɛ, aa, ɔɔ/; (c) diphthongs: /ia, ɯa, ua/; and
(d) tones: Mid, Low, Falling, High, Rising (e.g., maa, màa, mâa, máa, mǎa).

Thai is a typical isolating language. It employs virtually no affixation.
Verbs do not inflect. Thai is neither dependent-marking nor head-marking. It
may be regarded as configuratonal, for the verb tends to be tightly
connected with the object rather than the subject.

Thai has prepositions. However, like other functional morphemes, they
are often not used, especially in oral discourse. The basic orders of clausal
constituents are AVO and SV. The A, S, and O are not marked for case. That
is, Thai has the neutral case system: A=S=O. Modifiers of a noun, e.g.,
demonstrative, classifier, and relative (or adnominal) clause, follow the

noun.

Thai abounds with the serial verb construction. See 5.3.2-[1].

The Thai writing system was created in the thirteenth century. The present work is based on data gathered from the written language.[1] The examples of the quasi-MMC cited in the present paper were collected mainly from the Thai National Corpus, which is the largest electronic Thai corpus available on the Internet, and partially from two previous studies: Kitsombat (1981) and Prasithrathsint (1985).[2] The English glosses and translations are mostly those of the present author. Some of the examples were slightly modified owing to space limitation and other stylistic reasons.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

4.1 Verb-predicate clauses/sentences and noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Clauses/sentences of Thai can be divided into two types: verb-predicate clauses/sentences (4.1.1) and noun-predicate clauses/sentences (4.1.2). There is no separate word class of adjectives. What may correspond to adjectives of, say, English and Japanese are verbs in Thai, e.g., (9).[3]

Verbs occurring in independent verb/noun-predicate clauses/sentences can be modified by a modal/aspectual marker. For example, in (7) and (17), the verb (*mii* 'exist', *pen* 'COP') is preceded by an epistemic modal marker (*ʔàat* 'maybe', *khoŋ* 'probably'). In (8), the verb and its nominal argument (*kə̀ət panhǎa* 'a problem occurs') are followed by the inchoative aspect marker (*khʉ̂n* 'INC').

4.1.1 Verb-predicate clauses/sentences
Verb-predicate clauses/sentences can be classified into four types.

[1] One-place clauses/sentences with the VS order
[2] One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order
[3] Two-place clauses/sentences
[4] Three-place clauses/sentences

We shall look at each of these four types.

[1] One-place clauses/sentences with the VS order
These clauses/sentences describe existence, e.g., (7) (*mii* 'exist') or emergence/extinction, e.g., (8) (*kə̀ət* 'occur').

(7) *ʔàat*   *mii*   *panhǎa*
    maybe   exist   problem
    'There may be a problem.'

(8) *kə̀ət*   *panhǎa*   *khʉ̂n*
    occur   problem   INC
    'A problem occurs.'

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[2] One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order

As seen above, one-place clauses/sentences with the VS order describe existence or emergence/extinction. One-place clauses/sentences with the SV order describe other situations. Examples follow.

(9) phǒm   yaaw
     hair   be.long
     'The hair was long.'

(10) kêɛw   tèɛk
     glass   break
     'The glass broke.'

[3] Two-place clauses/sentences

Two-place clauses/sentences have the AVO order. Examples include:

(11) mîit   bàat   níw
     knife   cut   finger
     'The knife cut the finger.'

As noted in Section 3, the serial verb construction is very common in Thai. An example involving a two-place verb is (12) (*phát* 'blow' + *phaŋ* 'tumble.down').

(12) lom   phát   bâan   phaŋ
     wind   blow   house   tumble.down
     'The wind blew the house, which tumbled down.'

[4] Three-place clauses/sentences

The recipient or the like may not be marked for case, e.g., (13), or may be preceded by the dative preposition *kɛ̀ɛ* 'to', the comitative/dative preposition *kàp* 'with, to', e.g., (14), or the benefactive preposition *hây* 'for, to'. Irrespective of whether it is marked by a preposition or not, the recipient or the like consistently follows the gift, theme, or the like.

(13) kháw   hây   ʔaahǎan   mǎa
     PRON   give   food   dog
     'He gave the dog some food.'

(14) kháw   hây   ʔaahǎan   kàp   mǎa
     PRON   give   food   COM/DAT   dog
     'He gave some food to the dog.'

In passing, the word order in (14) is the same as its English counterpart: *He gave some food to the dog.* In contrast, the word order in (13) is unacceptable in English: **He gave some food the dog.*

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4.1.2 Noun-predicate clauses/sentences

Thai has two copulas: *pen*, e.g., (15), and *khɯɯ*, e.g., (16).

(15) *kháw*   *pen*   *khruu*
      PRON   COP   teacher
      'He is a teacher.'

(16) *nân*   *khɯɯ*   *náŋsɯ̌ɯ*   *kháw*
      that   COP   book   PRON
      'That is his book.'

The two copulas, *pen* and *khɯɯ*, have been contrastively characterized as 'characterizational' vs. 'identificational'(Kuno & Wongkhomthong 1981) and 'thought-like, slow/analytic processing' vs. 'sensation-like, fast/holistic processing' (Takahashi & Shinzato 2003). For instance, (15) (*pen*) portrays a characteristic of the referent of the subject (categorization), whereas (16) (*khɯɯ*) presents the entity with which the referent of the subject is identified (definition). These dichotomic meanings of the two copulas are presumably ascribable to the different modes of information processing that the speaker excutes. Specifically, the use of *pen* reflects slow/analytic processing of information (thought-like processing), while the use of *khɯɯ* is associated with fast/holistic processing of information (sensation-like processing). Accordingly, the thought-implying copula *pen* is compatible with modal modification indicative of the speaker's deliberation, reasoning, inference, judgment, reckoning, etc., e.g., (17), but the sensation-implying copula *khɯɯ* is not; see (18).

(17) *nân*   *khoŋ*   *pen*   *náŋsɯ̌ɯ*   *kháw*
      that   probably   COP   book   PRON
      'That is probably his book.'

(18) *nân   *khoŋ*   *khɯɯ*   *náŋsɯ̌ɯ*   *kháw*
      that   probably   COP   book   PRON
      Intended meaning: 'That is probably his book.'

Related to this is the fact that *pen* may be used for expressions of negative evaluation, e.g., (19), while *khɯɯ* cannot; see (20).

(19) *kháw*   *mây*   *pen*   *khruu*
      PRON   NEG   COP   teacher
      'He is not a teacher.'

(20) * *kháw*   *mây*   *khɯɯ*   *khruu*
      PRON   NEG   COP   teacher
      Intended meaning: 'He is not a teacher.'

Someone who uses an expression of negative evaluation has to engage herself in analytic thinking before reaching the conclusion of negative evaluation.[4] Hence, negative evaluation employs the thought-implying copula *pen*.

The use of a copula verb is not obligatory, e.g., (21). A copula verb is often absent in daily conversations.

(21) *nân*   *náŋsɨɨɯ*   *kháw*
      that   book   PRON
      'That [is] his book.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Like Japanese, Thai has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') (4.2.2) and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs') (4.2.3). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very roughly speaking, the difference between them is as follows. In the internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to an argument or an adjunct of the AC.

I prefer to use Kullavanijaya's (2008) terms, and in the present paper, I shall often use the following terms.

(a) 'Relative clauses' in place of 'internal ACs'
(b) 'Noun complement clauses' in place of 'external ACs'

The concept of 'noun complement clause' corresponds to what Croft (2001: 348) names 'nominal complement'. A 'complement' is defined as a 'component structure that elaborates a salient substructure of the head (the profile determinant at a given level of organization)' (Langacker 2000: 21, 212-218). I shall use the terms 'relativizer' and 'noun complementizer' as follows.

(c) Relativizer: a functional morpheme that heads an embedded clause,
    the antecedent (head noun) of which must have a syntactic
    relation with the verb in the embedded clause
(d) Noun complementizer: a functional morpheme that heads an
    embedded clause, the antecedent (head noun) of which does not have
    any grammatical relation with the verb in the embedded clause (cf.
    Kullavanijaya 2008: 448)

As noted in Section 3, Thai ACs follow the head noun. Their structure can be shown as in (22). It has three most common variants: (a), (b), and (c). The AC marker (i.e., adnominal clause marker) may be absent, as in (a), or present, as in (b) and (c). It may be a relativizer, as in (b) and (c), or a noun complementiezer, as in (b) and (c).

(22) Head noun + (AC marker) + clause
     (a) Head noun + Ø + clause

The AC marker is absent, e.g., (23).

(b) Head noun + *thîi* + clause

The AC marker is the nominalizer *thîi* functioning as a relativizer, e.g., (25) and (32), or as a noun complementizer, e.g., (33).

(c) Head noun + *sûuŋ* + clause

The AC marker is the typical relativizer *sûuŋ* functioning as a relativizer, e.g., (25) to (32), or as a noun complementizer, e.g., (33).

Thai ACs are of the 'external-head', 'postnominal' type in Keenan's (1985) and Lehmann's (1986) terminology. Resumptive pronouns may occur in ACs, e.g., *kháw* 'PRON' in (25), (28), and (31), and *man* 'PRON' in (26), (27), and (30). A classifier also possibly occurs between the head noun and an AC, e.g., (23) and (25).

4.2.2 Internal ACs

Examples of internal ACs follow.

(23) *nák sùksǎa*   (*khon*)   *rian*   *tɔɔ*
student   (CLF)   study   continue
'the student who continues to study [something]'

(24) * *nák sùksǎa*   *kháw*   *rian*   *tɔɔ*
student   PRON   study   continue
Intended meaning: 'the student who continues to study [something]'

(25) *nák sùksǎa*   (*khon*)   {*thîi* / *sûuŋ*} (*kháw*)   *rian*   *tɔɔ*
student   (CLF)   REL   (PRON)   study   continue
'the student who continues to study [something]'

(23) is an example of (22-a). In this type, the clause cannot contain its subject. In (24), the clause contains its subject: *kháw* 'PRON'. It is no longer an example of (22-a), and it does not mean 'the student who continues to study'. (It can mean 'as for the student, he continues to study'.) (25) is an example of (22-b) and (22-c).

All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) noun phrase accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on (Yaowapat & Prasithrathsint 2009).

(a) Subject, e.g., (23) and (25)
(b) Direct object, e.g., (26)
(c) Indirect object, e.g., (27)
(d) Oblique object, e.g., (28) and (29)
(e) Genitive or possessor, e.g., (30)
(f) Object of comparison, e.g., (31)

(26) *náŋsǔu sûuŋ*   *kháw*   *cèɛk*   (*man*)   *nay*   *thêesakaan*
book   REL   PRON   distribute   (PRON) LOC   festival

'the books which he distributed in the festival'

(27) *măa*   *sûŋ*   *kháw*   *hây*   *ʔaahăan*   *(man)*
    dog   REL   PRON give food   (PRON)
    'the dog which he gave some food'

(28) *khon*   *sûŋ*   *chán*   *phûut*   *kàp*   *kháw*
    person REL PRON talk   COM/DAT PRON
    'the person with whom I talk'

(29) *klɔ̀ŋ*   *sûŋ*   *kháw*   *sày*   *khɔ̌ɔŋ*   *yɔ̂ʔ*
    box   REL PRON put.in thing   many
    'the box in which he put many things'

(30) *mɛɛw*   *sûŋ*   *khŏn*   *(man)*   *yaaw*
    cat   REL hair   (PRON) long
    'the cat whose hair is long'

(31) *khon*   *sûŋ*   *chán*   *kèŋ*   *kwàa*   *(kháw)*
    person REL PRON proficient more.than (PRON)
    'the person whom I am more proficient than'

4.2.3 External ACs

Examples of external ACs include the following.

(32) *klìn*   *{ thîi / sûŋ}*   *kháw*   *yâaŋ*   *plaa*
    smell REL   PRON grill fish
    LT: 'the smell with which he grills a fish'
    FT: 'the smell of him grilling a fish'

(33) *rûaŋ*   *{ thîi / sûŋ}*   *kháw*   *rian*   *tɔ̀ɔ*
    fact   COMP   PRON study continue
    'the fact that he continues to study [something]'

5. Quasi-mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC') roughly as shown in (1), which is repeated as (34).

  (34) Prototype of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
          Clause Noun Copula

This prototype is based on the MMC of Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b), an SOV (or AOV) language. Thai is an SVO (or AVO) language. Unlike Mandarin Chinese, another SVO language, which has structures that may be considered variants of the MMC, Thai does not have a structure that would be unequivocally called the MMC. Nonetheless, it has a structure that may be considered 'quasi-MMC'. It was shown in (3), which is repeated as (35).

(35) Quasi-MMC of Thai:[5]
    a. Psych-verb type:
        (Target +) **Copula** + **[NMLZ** + **psych-V]**
        (+ Obl + Experiencer)
    b. Speech-verb type:
        (Target +) **Copula** + **[NMLZ** + **speech-V]**
        (+ Obl + Speaker)
    c. Quotative-complementation type:
        Copula + **[NMLZ** + **psych/speech-V]** + **[COMP** + **Clause]**

The psych-verb type (35-a) involves a psych-verb, e.g., *like*, *worry*, *know*, *respect*, *love*, *acknowledge*, *be.interested*, *favor*, *be.confident*, *be.annoyed*, *enjoy*, *understand*, *be.sure*, *desire*, *want*, *dote.on*, *believe.in*, or *feel.satisfied*. The speech-verb type (35-b) contains a speech verb, e.g., *say*, *mention*, *criticize*, or *rumor*. Both types of verbs are acceptable in the quotative-complemention type (35-c).

'Experiencer' refers to the experiencer (i.e., mental Undergoer) of psych-verbs, while 'Speaker' indicates the speaker (i.e., verbal Actor) of speech verbs. (The terms 'Undergoer' and 'Actor' are adopted from Foley and Van Valin (1984). They are macro-roles. In the quasi-MMC of Thai, the 'Undergoer' and 'Actor' are, respectively, an experiencer and a speaker.) 'Obl' is indicated by a preposition: *khɔɔŋ* 'GEN', *nay* 'LOC', *kɛɛ* 'DAT', or *kàp* 'COM/DAT'.

'Target' identifies the target, goal, or the like of psych-verbs or speech verbs.

The 'COMP + Clause' (the quotative complementizer *wâa* plus a clause) in (34-c) represents the complement of the psych-verb or the speech verb.

In each of (35-a) to (35-c), the following constituents are obligatorily present: (i) 'Copula' verb, (ii) 'NMLZ' (nominalizer), and (iii) a psych-verb or a speech verb. In (35-a) and (35-b), 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' are sometimes absent. 'COMP + Clause' cannot occur. In (35-c), 'COMP + Clause' is obligatorily present, while 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' cannot occur. In (35-a) to (35-c), those constituents that are obligatorily present are shown in bold face.

(35-c) differs from (35-a) and (35-b) in twó respects. First, it lacks 'Target' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'. Second, it obligatorily contains a complement clause ('COMP + Clause').

All of (35-a) to (35-c) are similar to the variety of the MMC shown in (2), in which the verb is accompanied by a nominalizer. (35-c) resembles the prototype of the MMC (see (34)) most closely in that a clause is included.

We shall now examine each constituent of the quasi-MMC of Thai, as shown in (35-a) to (35-c), paying attention to their semantic and syntactic aspects, in particular. Morphological issues are largely irrelevant, since Thai is basically an isolating language. In order to appreciate the structure and meaning of the quasi-MMC, it is the most convenient to start with 'NMLZ': nominalizer.

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5.2 Nominalizer

The nominalizers used in the quasi-MMC are *thîi* and *kaan*. In the quasi-MMC of the present-day Thai, *kaan* is little used, whereas *thîi* is dominantly used.[6] Both *kaan* and *thîi* are polysemous, polyfunctional morphemes, as shown below.

kaan can be used as (i) a lexical noun that is used in idiomatic expressions and means 'activity, affair', e.g., (36), and (ii) a class noun meaning 'matter', e.g., (37).[7] It can also be used as a functional morpheme: (iii) as a nominalizer, e.g., (38).

(36) *ŋaan*   *kaan*
      work   activity
      'duties'

(37) *kaan*   *prapaa*
      matter   water.supply
      'waterworks'

(38) *kaan*   *sùksăa*
      NMLZ   study
      'education'

thîi can be used as (i) a lexical noun meaning 'place', e.g., (39); and (ii) a class noun meaning 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)', e.g., (40) and (41). It can also be used as a functional morpheme such as (iii) a classifier, e.g., (42); (iv) a preposition, e.g., (43); (v) a nominalizer, e.g., (44); (vi) a relativizer, e.g., (25), (32), and (45); (vii) a noun complementizer, e.g., (33) and (46); and (viii) a verb complementizer, e.g., (47).

(39) *thîi*   *din*
      place   earth
      'a piece of land'

(40) *thîi*   *nâŋ*
      entity   sit
      'seat'

(41) *thîi*   *ciŋ*
      entity   be.true
      'in fact'

(42) *nám*   *chaa*   *sɔ̌ɔŋ*   *thîi*
      water   tea   two   CLF
      'two men's tea'

(43) *dèk dèk*   *thîi*   *bâan*
      children   at   house
      'the children at home'

(44) *thîi*   *kháw*   *thĭaŋ*
      NMLZ   PRON   argue
      'that he argued'

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(45) *plaa*   _thîi_   *kháw*   *yâaŋ*
fish   REL   PRON   grill
'the fish that he grilled'

(46) *rûaŋ*   _thîi_   *kháw*   *thǐaŋ*
fact   COMP   PRON   argue
'the fact that he argued'

(47) *chán*   *sǐa cay*   _thîi_   *kháw*   *thǐaŋ*
PRON   be.sorry   COMP   PRON   argue
'I was sorry that he argued.'

It is in the capacity of nominalizers that *thîi* and *kaan* can occur in the quasi-MMC of Thai. Examples of the quasi-MMC involving *thîi* include (4) to (6), and the following.

(48) *nay bàtcuban níi*   *ʔaahǎan*   *yîipùn*   *cà?*   *pen*
currently   food   Japan   IRR   COP
[*thîi*   *níyom*   *kan*   *yàaŋ phrêɛ lǎay*]
NMLZ   favor   RECP   widely
nay   *mùu*   *khon*   *thay*
LOC   group   people   Thai
LT: 'Currently Japanese food is that/what [they] favor widely in the group of Thai people.'
FT: 'Currently Japanese food is widely favored among Thai people.'

Examples of the quasi-MMC involving *kaan* include the following.

(49) *phaasǐi*   *pen*   [*kaan*   *ramkhaan*]   *kàp*
tax   COP   NMLZ   be.annoyed   COM/DAT
khon súɯɯ khǎay
sbuyers.and.sellers
LT: 'Tax is that/what [they] are annoyed [at], with buyers and sellers.'
FT: 'Buyers and sellers are annoyed at tax' or 'Tax annoys buyers and sellers.'

As noted in 5.1, in (35-a) to (35-c), the nominalizer ('NMLZ') and the verb (a psych-verb or speech verb) form a unit, separate from 'Copula' and 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'. It is in view of this that, in the relevant examples, they are shown by means of square brackets. This unit may contain modifiers of the verb, e.g., *yàaŋ phrêɛ lǎay* 'widely' in (48), or other verb(s). (See 5.3.2-[1], -[2].)

In the prototype of the MMC, shown in (34), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by what may be termed a 'lexical noun' or 'content noun'. However, this slot may be occupied by a nominalizer. The enclitic =*no* of Japanese is a case in point. Consider the following example, cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b). The Japanese MMC with =*no* expresses cause, reason, or the

like.

(50) *Gakusee=ga   issyokenmee   benkyoo-si-te   i-ru.*
student=NOM   very.hard   study-do-TE   be-NONPST
'The students are studying very hard.'
Siken=ga   ar-u=no=da.
examination=NOM   be-NPST=*no*=COP.NPST
'This is because there will be an examination.'

The enclitic =*no* may be regarded as the genitive case marker or a non-content noun. It may also be regarded as a nominalizer. The quasi-MMC of Thai resembles those instances of the MMC (including the Japanese MMC with =*no*) that contain a nominalizer.

I have stated that it is in the capacity of nominalizers that *thîi* and *kaan* can occur in the quasi-MMC of Thai. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that these nominalizers can be used as nouns in the present-day Thai. *kaan* can be used as a lexical noun 'activity, affair', and as a class noun 'matter'. *thîi* can be used as a lexical noun 'place', and as a class noun 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)'. Note that these nouns have generic (as against specific) meanings. As noted in Tsunoda (this volume-a) and as shown in other chapters in the present volume, nouns that occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC in other languages often have generic meanings. (Examples include *tokoro* 'place', *mono* 'thing' and *koto* 'thing' of Japanese (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.3).) In this respect, too, the quasi-MMC in Thai is similar to the MMC in these languages.

Having examined the 'NMLZ' (nominalizer) in (35-a) to (35-c), we shall turn now to verbs.

5.3 Psych-verbs and speech verbs

Psych-verbs and speech verbs will be listed in 5.3.1.[8] A few issues concerning their use in the MMC will be discussed in 5.3.2.

5.3.1 List of psych-verbs and speech verbs
These verbs can be classified as follows, respectively.

(a) Psych-verbs
(a-1) Perception verbs, e.g., *hěn* 'see'
(a-2) Emotion verbs, e.g., *chûa mân* 'be.confident', e.g., (4); *níyom* 'favor', e.g., (48), (53), and (59); *ramkhaan* 'be.annoyed', e.g., (49); *ʔùn cay* 'feel.relieved', e.g., (51); *tɔ̂ŋ kaan* 'need', e.g., (54); *rák* 'love', *khrây* 'desire', *lǒŋlǎy* 'dote.on', e.g., (57); *sanùk* 'enjoy', e.g., (60); *sàtthaa* 'believe.in', e.g., (62); *phɔɔ cay* 'feel.satisfied', e.g., (63); *nɛ̂ɛ nɔɔn* 'be.sure', e.g., (64); and *bùa* 'be.tired'
(a-3) Cognition verbs, e.g., *yɔɔm ráp* 'admit', e.g., (6); *rúu càk* 'know', e.g., (58) and (61); *and sǒn cay* 'be.interested'

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(b) Speech verbs, e.g., *klàaw* 'say', e.g., (5) and (65); *klàaw khwǎn* 'criticize', e.g., (52); and *lɯ̂aŋ lɯɯ* 'rumor'

(51) *phûu ráp cháy*   *thîi*   *thɯ̌ɯ*   *khwaam sɯ̂ɯ troŋ*   *pen*
     employee   REL   hold   loyality   COP
     [*thîi*   *ʔùn cay*]   *khɔ̌ɔŋ*   *hǔa nâa*
     NMLZ   feel.relieved   GEN   boss
     LT: 'Employees who have loyality are that/what [they] feel
         relieved of the bosses.'
     FT: 'Employees with loyality are a relief to the bosses.'

(52) *phalìttaphan* *làw níi*   *pen*
     product   these   COP
     [*thîi*   *klàaw khwǎn*   *thɯ̌ŋ*   *yàaŋ mâak*]
     NMLZ   criticize   reach   very.much
     LT: 'These products are that/what [they] criticize very much.'
     FT: 'These products are criticized very much.'

The sample data collected from the Thai National Corpus reveals that psych-verbs are more common than speech verbs in the quasi-MMC in terms of both token and type frequency.[9]

What may be considered prototypical transitive verbs, such as 'break', do not occur in the quasi-MMC. In this respect, the quasi-MMC is low in transitivity.

5.3.2 Other issues

[1] Serial verb construction

As noted in Section 3, Thai abounds in the serial verb construction. In the quasi-MMC, too, the psych-verb or speech verb may be followed by other verbs. Examples include (5) ('say + reach'), (6) ('admit + be.overall + go), (52) ('criticize + reach'), (53) ('favor + eat + be.overall + go'), and (61) ('know + be.good').

(53) *ʔaahǎan* *níi*   *pen*
     food   this   COP
     [*thîi*   *níyom*   *rápprathaan*   *kan*   *thûa*   *pay*]
     NMLZ   favor   eat   RECP   be.overall   go
     LT: 'This food is that/what [they] favor for eating generally.'
     FT: 'This food is generally favored for eating.'

[2] Modifiers of the verb

The verb in the quasi-MMC may be followed by something like adverbial modifier(s). Examples include (5), (48) ('widely'), (6), (48), (53), (59), (61), (65) ('RECP'), and (52) ('very much'). The reciprocal marker (*kan* 'RECP') is best considered an adverbial modifier of verbs.

[3] Non-finiteness of the verb

As mentioned in Section 3, Thai verbs do no inflect. Nonetheless, functionally, the verbs in the quasi-MMC are not finite, except for the

copula verb *pen* (see 5.4). The reasons for this are the following.

(a) The verbs are preceded by a nominalizer.

(b) As noted in 4.1, verbs in independent verb/noun-predicate clauses/sentences can be modified by a modal/aspectual marker. In contrast, the verbs in the quasi-MMC cannot be accompanied by a modal/aspectual marker. For example, compare (54) and (55). In (55), the verb *tôŋ kaan* 'need' is accompanied by a modal/aspectual marker (*càʔ* 'IRR'), and it is not acceptable.

(54) *Ɂaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rɔ̂əm pen [thîi tôŋ kaan]*
    frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ need
    LT: 'Frozen foods began to be that/what [they] need.'
    FT: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.'

(55) * *Ɂaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rɔ̂əm pen [thîi càʔ tôŋ kaan]*
    frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ IRR need
    Intended meaning: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.'

(c) The verbs cannot take nominal arguments. 'Experiencer' in (35-a) and 'Speaker' in (35-b) are separated from the verb, being preceded by a preposition ('Obl'). In Thai, the A, O, and S are not preceded by any preposition (see Section 3). In contrast, combinations of a preposition and a nominal are adverbial elements. That is, 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl + Speaker' in (35) are best regarded as adverbial elements. They are not arguments of the psych-verb or speech verb in question. Consider the following, for example. The '[NMLZ + psych-V]' contains 'Experiencer' with no preposition, and this sentence is not acceptable.

(56) * *Ɂaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ rɔ̂əm pen [thîi chaaw yîipùn*
    frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ people Japan
    tôŋ kaan]
    need
    Intended meaning: 'Frozen foods began to be that/what Japanese people need' or 'Frozen foods began to be needed among Japanese people.'[10]

5.4 Copula

As mentioned in 4.1.2, Thai has two copula verbs: *pen* 'the thought-implying copula' and *khɯɯ* 'the sensation-implying copula'. Only *pen* is used in the quasi-MMC.

'Copula' can participate in the serial verb construction. For example, in (54), 'Copula' is preceded by another verb (*rɔ̂əm* 'begin').

Functionally, 'Copula' is finite, unlike the verbs that follow the nominalizer (5.3.2-[3]). In the quasi-MMC, 'Copula' may be preceded by modal/aspectual markers. Examples include the following: (57) (the irrealis marker *càʔ*), (58) (the continuous aspect marker *yaŋ* 'still', the epistemic modal marker *khoŋ* 'probably', the negative marker *mây*), and (59) (the

progressive aspect marker *kamlaŋ*).

(57) *naaŋ* *càʔ* *pen* [*thîi* *rák* *khrâɣ* *lǒŋlǎɣ*]
lady IRR COP NMLZ love desire dote.on
khɔ̌ɔŋ *thêep* *tháŋ lǎay*
GEN god all.and.sundry
LT: 'The lady would be that/what [they] love and dote on of all the gods.'
FT: 'The lady would be loved and doted on by all the gods.'

(58) *tɔɔn nán* *ʔaahǎan* *yîipùn* *kɔ̂* *yaŋ* *khoŋ* *mây*
that time food Japan CONJ CONT probably NEG
pen [*thîi* *rúu càk*]
COP NMLZ know
LT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet that/what [they] know.'
FT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet known.'

(59) *ʔaahǎan* *níi* *kamlaŋ* *pen* [*thîi* *níyom* *kan*]
food this PROG COP NMLZ favor RECP
LT: 'This food is being that/what [they] favor.'
FT: 'This food is being favored.'

5.5 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'

The structure shown in (35-a), which involves a psych-verb, contains 'Obl + Experiencer', and the structure shown in (35-b), which involves a speech verb, contains 'Obl + Speaker'. The 'Obl' slot is occupied by a preposition. The following prepositions are attested in this slot: *khɔ̌ɔŋ* 'GEN', *nay* 'LOC', *kɛ̀ɛ* 'DAT', and *kàp* 'COM/DAT'. In the quasi-MMC of the present-day Thai, the genitive case and the locative case seem dominant, while the dative case and the comitative/dative case are uncommon. When the quasi-MMC involves a speech verb, the 'Speaker' cannot be preceded by the dative preposition or the comitative/dative preposition. Examples include the following. GEN: (4), (51), (57), and (63); LOC: (48), (61), and (62); DAT: (60); COM/DAT: (49).

(60) *pen* [*thîi* *sanùk*] *kɛ̀ɛ* *thêepphayádaa* *tháŋ puaŋ*
COP NMLZ enjoy DAT god all
LT: '(It) was that/what [they] enjoy to all the gods.'
FT: 'All the gods enjoyed (it)' or '(It) was enjoyed by all the gods.'

Semantically, 'Experiencer' refers to the experiencer (mental Undergoer) of psych-verbs, and 'Speaker' refers to the speaker (verbal Actor) of speech verbs. Furthermore, 'Experiencer' and 'Speaker' generally refer to a certain group of people or the general public, and not a specific individual.

Sometimes 'LOC + Experiencer/Speaker' refers to a place. However, the named place is a specific place, and it metonimically refers to the people living there. For example, in (61), *náʔŋáʔsáʔkìʔ* 'Nagasaki' refers to

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Nagasaki people.

(61) kaafɛɛ pen khrɯ̂aŋ dɯ̀ɯɯm sɯ̌ŋ pen [thîi
     coffee COP drink   REL COP NMLZ
     rúu càk kan diî]   nay ná?ŋá?sá?kì?
     know RECP be.good   LOC Nagasaki
     maa   tâŋ tèɛ samǎy ?è?dò?
     CONT since   the.Edo.era
     LT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been that/what [they] know
         well in Nagasaki since the Edo era.'
     FT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been well known in Nagasaki
         since the Edo era.'

As noted in 5.1, in (35-a) and (35-b), 'Obl + Experiencer' and 'Obl +
Speaker' are sometimes absent, e.g., (5), (52), (53), (54), (58), and (59).
They cannot occur in (35-c). In contrast, 'NMLZ' (nominalizer) and
'psych-V/speech-V' are never absent. This constitutes strong evidence that
'NMLZ' and 'psych-V/speech-V' form a unit, to the exclusion of 'Obl +
Experiencer/Speaker'.

Nonetheless, 'Obl + Experiencer/Speaker' is by no means insignificant.
Indeed its presence is often necessary for adequately interpreting an instance
of the quasi-MMC—especially if 'Experiencer' or 'Speaker' refers to not
the general public, but members of a certain group. As examples, consider
(62) and (63). If 'Obl + Experiencer' (nay mùu chon chán nák róp 'in the
group of the warrior class' in (62) and khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít 'of the
communists' in (63)) were absent, it would be very difficult to understand
what the sentences mean.

(62) níkaay sen pen   [thîi   sàtthaa]
     sect   Zen COP   NMLZ   believe.in
     nay   mùu chon chán   nák róp
     LOC   group social.class warrior
     LT: 'The Zen sect was that/what [they] believe in in the group
         of the warrior class.'
     FT: 'The Zen sect was believed in by the warriors.'
(63) bùkkhon phûu níi pen [thîi   phɔɔ cay]
     person CLF   this COP NMLZ   feel.satisfied
     khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít
     GEN   communist
     LT: 'This person is that/what [they] feel satisfied of the
         communists.'
     FT: 'This person satisfies the communists' or 'The communists are
         satisfied with this person.'

5.6 'Target'

(35-a) and (35-b) include 'Target', e.g., (4) ('he'), (5) ('this novel'), (48),

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(58) ('Japanese food'), (49) ('tax'), (51) ('employees with loyality'), (52) ('these products'), (53), (59) ('this food'), (54) ('frozen foods'), (57) ('the lady'), (61) ('the drink'), (62) ('the Zen sect'), and (63) ('this person'). 'Target' refers to the target, goal, or the like of psych-verbs or speech verbs. It names a salient entity serving as the stimulus of a psychic state or a verbal activity, for instance, the object of emotional concern (admiration, desire, confidence, anxiety, envy, aversion, etc.), the focus of cognition, the target of criticism, and the center of public attention. Sometimes 'Target' is absent and the preceding sentence or discourse alludes to the target, goal, or the like of the verb.

(35-c), on the other hand, excludes 'Target'. This is because the description of (35-c) brings focus into the content of 'Clause' (see 5.7).

5.7 'COMP + Clause'

(35-c) contains a complement clause led by the quotative comlementizer ('COMP + Clause') that immediately follows 'NMLZ + psych/speech-V', e.g. (6), (64), and (65).

(64) *pen* [*thîi* *nêε nɔɔn*] [*wâa* *kaan* *plìan plɛɛŋ*
    COP NMLZ be.sure COMP NMLZ change
    làw níi *dây* *sòŋ* *phǒn* *tɔ̀ɔ* ...]
    these INC transmit effect upon
    LT: '(It) is that/what [they] are sure that these changes effected ....'
    FT: '(It) is sure that these changes effected ....'

(65) *pen* [*thîi* *klàaw kan*] [*wâa* *camnuan*
    COP NMLZ say RECP COMP number
    chaaw *yiw* *thîi* *taay* *loŋ* *khâay* *hèŋ* *níi*
    people Jew REL die TER camp CLF this
    mâak *kwàa* ...]
    be.many more.than
    LT: '(It) is that/what [they] say that the number of Jewish people
       that died in this camp was more than....'
    FT: '(It) is said that the number of Jewish people that died in this
       camp was more than....'

As mentioned in Section 1, the quotative-complementation type seems to have derived from the oldest quasi-MMC (i.e. the psych-verb type), which inherently takes no complement clause. Unlike the original one, it specifies neither the target of the psych-V or speech-V ('Target') nor the experiencer or speaker ('Obl + Experiencer/Speaker'). Rather, it signals that the unnamed experiencer or speaker is supposed to be the general public. The quotative complement clause represents the general public's feeling or opinion, which the utterer assumes, or more accurately, it expresses the utterer's view or belief that the genral public must feel or think so. On this basis, it can be regarded as a rather highly grammaticalized construction exhibitive of an epistemic modal sense. Though the original quasi-MMC is

irrelative to modality, this newly derived type may be considered to have undergone the process of 'subjectification' (cf. Traugott 1995) to some degree and gained a more or less modal meaning.[11]

Note that the quotative-complementation type of the Thai quasi-MMC, e.g., (6), (64), and (65), is similar to the Japanese MMC with the enclitic =no, e.g., (50), in that they contain a clause as an indispensable constituent ('Copula [NMLZ psych/speech-V] [COMP Clause]', 'Clause=no Copula') and, more importantly, that they are a grammatical construction with an epistemic modal flavor. Specifically, the Thai quasi-MMC expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion, and the Japanese MMC with the enclitic =no denotes the utterer's understanding or judgment as to what is the cause, reason, or the like of the relevant situation.

6. Comparison of the quasi-MMC and noun-predicate sentences with a copula verb

The structure of the quasi-MMC is shown in (3) and (35). Roughly speaking, that of noun-predicate sentences with a copula verb (hereafter often referred to as 'copula sentences', for convenience) is as shown below. (Recall that in noun-predicate sentences the use of a copula verb is not obligatory; see 4.1.2.)

(66) Nominal(1) + Copula + Nominal(2)

The nominals are generally a noun or a pronoun, which may be accompanied by modifier(s). Examples include (15), (16), (17), and (19).

The quasi-MMC and coupla sentences exhibit commonalities and differences.

(a) Commonalities
(a-1) Both contain a copula verb.
(a-2) In both of them (except the quotative-complementation type of the quasi-MMC shown in (3-c)), the 'Copula' links two nominals:
(b) Differences
(b-1) Structural difference
The constituent that follows the 'Copula' is a (modified) noun or pronoun in copula sentences, but it is 'nominalizer + the unit including a psych-verb or speech verb' in the quasi-MMC.
(b-2) Semantic difference
In the structure shown in (3) (except (3-c)), the nominal that precedes the 'Copula' is the target of the psych-verb or speech verb that follows. Such a semantic relationship is unlikely to obtain in copula sentences.

On the basis of these structural and semantic differences, it is justified to say

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that the quasi-MMC is a construction distinct from copula sentences.

7. Previous studies

The original type of the quasi-MMC (i.e. the psych-verb type), shown in (3-a), has been used since the era of the Sukhothai dynasty (13-14C). As the examples given above show, it has been used to describe a situation where a certain entity (person or matter) is the target of people's or the general public's psychological activity such as perception, emotion, and cognition. Put differently, it is a useful device to effectively encode a human-particular event in which a group of associated people are together mentally affected in some way by a remarkable entity (person or matter) in the society. Accordingly, it has been regarded by Thai linguists as a kind of passive construction (e.g., Prasithrathsint 1985: 17, 92-97). In particular, it is taken to be a non-prototypical passive construction with a transitive verb for psychological activity. The degree of its transitivity is quite low.[12]

The present paper has proposed an alternative analysis, and indicated that this construction can be regarded as a quasi-MMC.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

Although Thai is an SVO language, unlike many other languages described in the present volume (they are in the main SOV), it has what may be considered the quasi-MMC, which are of three types: psych-verb type, speech-verb type, and quotative-complementation type. The quotative-complementation type employs both psych-verbs and speech verbs. All of these verbs are low in transitivity.

In all of the three types, 'Copula' is necessary. Also, the verb is obligatorily accompanied by a nominalizer (*thîi* or *kaan*). (In this respect, the Thai quasi-MMC resembles a type of the MMC found in languages such as Japanese.) The quotative-complementation type resembles the prototype of the MMC in that it (obligatorily) contains a clause. In contrast, the psych-verb type and the speech-verb type do not (and cannot) contain a clause.

The experiencer of psych-verbs and the speaker of speech verbs generally refer to the general public or members of a certain group, and not to specific individuals. This construction effectively describes such an event where a group of people ('Experiencer' or mental Undergoer) are mentally affected by a remarkable entity ('Target' or the stimulus of psychic states) in the society. Because of this, it has been analyzed by Thai grammarians as a kind of passive construction. The present paper has shown that it can be alternatively analyzed as a quasi-MMC.

thîi and *kaan* can be used as nouns (as lexical nouns and class nouns) in the present-day Thai. When used as nouns, they have generic meanings: *thîi* 'place' and 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)', and *kaan* 'activity,

affair' and 'matter'. In that these forms have generic meanings when used as nouns, the Thai quasi-MMC is similar to the MMC reported in some other chapters in the present volume.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. This restriction on the type of research data (i.e., using only data from a corpus of written texts) does not come from a belief that the quasi-MMC tends to be used in the written language rather than the oral language. But it is simply because it is practically impossible to collect a sufficient amount of additional data from the oral language in a limited, relatively short period of research.

2. The Thai National Corpus is a general corpus of written texts of various genres (e.g., academic, administration, commerce, religion, law, letters, blogs, newpapers, etc.) in the standard Thai language, which is designed to be comparable to the British National Corpus in terms of its domain and medium proportion (Aroonmanakun 2007).

3. A clarification is in order here. In this study I follow Prasithrasint's (2000) and Enfield's (2004) view that adjectives form a verbal subclass in Thai and Lao. Post (2008: 376) states that "contrary to claims made by at least some previous analysts [that there "is not" a class of adjectives in Thai], there "is" a class of terms in Thai which closely resembles the adjective classes of many other languages in terms of semantic contents, internal structures, and distribution relative to other lexical classes". At the same time, however, he concurs with Prasithrasint's and Enfield's idea that there is not a class of adjectives in Thai and Lao in the sense that adjectives are grouped together with verbs at a 'higher taxonomic level' than that at which adjectival class-defining criteria are construed as applying.

4. Takahashi & Shinzato (2003: 138) use Taylor's (1976) finding of his experiment as evidence supporting this argument. In the experiment, the subjects are asked to make 'same-different' judgments about successively presented pairs of letters, and Taylor found that 'same' responses with the recognition of matching letters, which is analogous to the affirmative 'X is Y' situation, were faster than 'different' responses with the recognition of mismatching letters, which is more congruous with the negative 'X is not Y'

situation. Hence, his conclusion that while 'fast/holistic' processing is employed for 'same' responses (affirmative recognition), 'slow/analytic' processing is utilized for 'different' responces (negative recognition).

5. As mentioned in Section 2, in the schematic representations of the syntactic structures of Thai quasi-MMC, the square brackets are conventionally used to mark a unit whose constituents are inseparable.

6. John Whitman (p.c.) comments that it might be the case that the nominalizer *thîi* in the Thai quasi-MMC is a calque (loan translation) of the nominalizer *suo* in Chinese. I am not in a position to judge whether this idea is plausible, for I do not have sufficient knowledge of historical changes of the two morphemes. Nonetheless, the assumed grammaticalization pathways of *suo* (cf. Yap & Wang 2011) have something parallel to those of *thîi* (cf. Kullavanijaya 2008) indeed. *suo*, just like *thîi*, was originally a locative noun meaning 'place' and evolved into a 'light noun' (viz. semantically generalized or bleached noun) (or 'class noun' in Bisang's (1993) terminology; cf. Note 7) before further developing into a wide range of functional morphemes including locative nominalizer, patient nominalizer, conditional subordinator, and part of possessive and passive constructions.

7. 'Class nouns' are defined by Bisang (1993: 5) as 'nouns with a high level of abstraction'. In other words, they are lexical nouns with generic (non-specific) meanings. Haas (1964) named those nouns 'class terms', which are adopted by DeLancey (1986). DeLancey (1986: 438-439) explicates the characteristics of 'class terms' as follows. (N.B., The present author has supplied the words in the square brackets.)

> "[Class terms = class nouns] are morphemes which occur as the head of a number of noun compounds which are examplers of the category labelled by the class term [= class noun]. Thus class terms [= class nouns] have a semantic classifying function quite similar to that of classifiers, although they do not ordinarily show the incoherent range of uses which is a not uncommon feature of classifiers. Many class terms [= class nouns], like *khon* ['person' in Thai], also function as classifiers (though [...] it is not always the case that a class term [= class noun] which is also a classifier is the classifier for all compounds in which it functions as a class term [= class noun]); and a number of class terms [= class nouns] do not occur alone as independent nouns."

8. The listed psych-verbs and speech verbs are mainly taken from the collected sample data and partially supplied by my native speaker consultant.

9. As a reviewer suggests, dealing with data only from a corpus of written texts is possibly a disadvantage in describing the language fact. Admittedly, if we analyze oral data, too, then we might find a different fact, say, that

psych-verbs and speech verbs are both commonly used in the quasi-MMC.

10. If the noun *sìŋ* 'thing' is inserted in front of *thîi*, as shown in (i), *thîi* will be interpreted as relativizer and the construction will change into a normal copulative predicate meaning that 'Frozen foods are a thing that Japanese people need'. In that case, the subject noun phrase of the verb *tôŋ kaan* 'need' (i.e., *chaaw yîipùn* 'Japanese people') may or may not be specified.

(i) *Ɂaahǎan chêɛ khěŋ   pen   sìŋ   thîi   chaaw   yîipùn*
     frozen.foods   COP   thing REL   people   Japan
     tôŋ kaan
     need
     'Frozen foods are a thing that Japanese people need.'

11. The historical development of the quasi-MMC from the psych-verb type into the quotative-complementation type can be considered a sort of 'subjectification' (i.e., a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition) or 'modalisation of the epistemic kind' (Traugott 1989, 1995). As the construction came to suppress a prepositional phrase ('Obl + Experiencer/Speaker') and embrace a complement clause ('COMP + Clause'), the meaning of the construction shifted from less subjective/epistemic (i.e., being based in the external described situation) to more subjective/epistemic (i.e., being based in the internal described situation). The derived quotative-complementation type implicitly indicates the speaker's epistemic attitude toward what the speaker is talking about, while the original psych-verb type does not.

12. The other types of passive construction in Thai are exemplified below.

(i)   *bâan   nán   thùuk   (fay)   phǎw mây*
      house   that   undergo/PASS (fire)   burn
      LT: 'The house has undergone [an event that] (the fire) burnt [it].'
      FT: 'The house burnt (by the fire).'
(ii) *khǎw   dây ráp   kaan   chûay lǔa   (càak   phɯ̂an)*
      PRON   receive   NMLZ   support   (from   friend)
      LT: 'He received the support (from his friends).'
      FT: 'He was helped (by his friends).'
(iii) *náŋsɯ̌ɯ   nîi   khǐan   dooy nák khǐan   thîi   mii chɯ̂ɯ sǐaŋ*
      book   this   write   by   writer   REL   be.famous
      'This book was written by the famous writer.'

Type (i) contains a transitive verb that describes a damaging activity or process (e.g., *phǎw mây* 'burn'). Type (i) by and large conveys the sense of adversity. Type (ii) contains a transitive verb that describes an activity of benefit (e.g., *chûay lǔa* 'help'). Type (iii) contains a transitive verb that describes creating activity (e.g., *khǐan* 'write').

Abbreviations

AC - adnominal clause; CLF - classifier; COM/DAT – comitative/dative; COMP - complementizer; CONJ - conjunction; CONT - continuous; COP - copula; DAT - dative; FT: free translation: GEN - genitive; INC - inchoative, IRR - irrealis; LOC - locative; LT - literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; NMLZ - nominalizer; NOM – nominative; NPST – nonpast; PASS - passive; PROG - progressive; PRON - pronoun; RECP - reciprocal; REL - relativizer; TER - terminative.

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Corpus

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