



รายงานวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์

โครงการ “การศึกษาหน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผลในเชิง
แบบลักษณะภาษา”

(A Typological Study of Resultative Constructions)

โดย รองศาสตราจารย์ ดร.กึ่งกาญจน์ เทพกาญจนา และคณะ

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คณะผู้วิจัย

1. รองศาสตราจารย์ ดร.กิงกาญจน์ เทพกาญจนา

2. ศาสตราจารย์ ดร.ชาโตชิ อุเอฮาระ

สังกัด

ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์

คณะอักษรศาสตร์

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Graduate School of

International Cultural Studies,

Tohoku University, Japan

สนับสนุนโดยสำนักงานกองทุนสนับสนุนการวิจัย

(ความเห็นในรายงานนี้เป็นของผู้วิจัย สกว.ไม่จำเป็นต้องเห็นด้วยเสมอไป)

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บทคัดย่อ (ภาษาไทย)

โครงการวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะศึกษาหน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนหรือเรียกสั้นๆว่า หน่วยสร้างก่อนผลในเชิงแบบลักษณ์ภาษา หน่วยสร้างก่อนผลมักถูกนิยามว่าเป็นหน่วยสร้างที่ประกอบด้วยภาคแสดงสองส่วน คือภาคแสดงหลักและภาคแสดงรอง ภาคแสดงรองซึ่งมีชื่อเรียกว่าภาคแสดงก่อนผลหรือวลีก่อนผลจะแสดงสภาพที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของคำนามในประโยคที่เป็นผล จากการกระทำที่แสดงโดยคำกริยาในภาคแสดงหลัก ภาษาที่อยู่ในขอบเขตการศึกษาในโครงการวิจัยนี้ได้แก่ภาษาไทย ภาษาอังกฤษและภาษาอื่นๆที่สำคัญในทวีปเอเชียได้แก่ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น ภาษาเกาหลี ซึ่งภาษาไทย ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น และภาษาเกาหลีรวมเรียกว่าภาษาแปซิฟิกตะวันตก ผู้วิจัยใช้แนวทางในการศึกษา 2 แนวทางได้แก่แนวภาษาศาสตร์หน้าที่และแบบลักษณ์และแนวภาษาศาสตร์ปริชาณ ผู้วิจัยใช้แหล่งข้อมูลหลายแหล่งได้แก่ข้อมูลเอกสาร จากผู้บอกภาษา และจากคลังข้อมูลอิเล็กทรอนิกส์

บทคัดย่อ (ภาษาอังกฤษ)

This research project aims at studying resultative constructions from a typological perspective. The resultative construction is generally defined as the construction which consists of two predicates, which function as the main and secondary predicates. The secondary predicate, which is called resultative predicate or resultative phrase, expresses the changed state of the referent denoted by the noun which results from the action denoted by the verb in the main predicate. The languages within the scope of study are Thai, English and other major languages in Asia, namely, Chinese, Japanese and Korean. All languages under investigation in this study except English are called languages of the Pacific Rim Asia. The approaches used in this study are functional-typological linguistics and cognitive linguistics. The data used in this study are drawn from many sources, i.e. from linguistic literature, informants and language corpora.

หน้าสรุปโครงการ (Executive Summary)

1. ความสำคัญของปัญหา

การมองเห็นความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเหตุการณ์ต่างๆในโลกว่าบางเหตุการณ์เป็นเหตุการณ์เหตุ และบางเหตุการณ์เป็นเหตุการณ์ผลนั้นเป็นกระบวนการทางปริธานในระดับพื้นฐานของมนุษย์ มนุษย์มีแนวโน้มที่จะมองสิ่งต่างๆที่เกิดขึ้นรอบตัวในรูปของเหตุที่นำไปสู่ผล ภาษาทุกภาษาจึงมีกลไกที่แสดงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเหตุการณ์ในเชิงเหตุและผลดังกล่าว หน่วยสร้าง (construction) ประเภทหนึ่งที่แสดงความสัมพันธ์ดังกล่าวได้แก่หน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผล หรือที่เรียกสั้นๆว่าเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative construction) หน่วยสร้างก่อผลมักถูกนิยามว่าเป็นหน่วยสร้างที่ประกอบด้วยภาคแสดงสองส่วน คือภาคแสดงหลักและภาคแสดงรอง ภาคแสดงรองซึ่งมีชื่อ เรียกว่าภาคแสดงก่อผล (resultative predicate) หรือวลีก่อผล (resultative phrase) จะแสดงสภาพที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของคำนามในประโยคที่เป็นผลจากการกระทำที่แสดง โดยคำกริยาในภาคแสดงหลักเช่นตัวอย่างข้างล่างในภาษาอังกฤษ คำที่ขีดเส้นใต้ไว้ทำหน้าที่ วลีก่อผล

- (1) John painted the wall red.
- (2) He wiped the table clean.
- (3) We yelled ourselves hoarse.
- (4) They ran the pavement thin.

การทำวิจัยเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในอดีตเริ่มจากการวิเคราะห์ภาษาอังกฤษก่อนและ ศึกษาในแนวทฤษฎีภาษาศาสตร์รูปแบบ (formal linguistics) ก่อนเช่นทฤษฎี Transformational Grammar, Government and Binding, Relational Grammar, Lexical-Functional Grammar, Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar ต่อมาจึงเริ่มขยายไปวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลในภาษายุโรปอื่นๆ เช่น ภาษาอิตาลี ภาษาเยอรมัน และภาษาบางภาษาในทวีปเอเชีย เช่นภาษา ญี่ปุ่นและภาษาเกาหลี อย่างไรก็ตาม ถ้ามองในภาพรวม งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวกับหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาเอเชีย นับว่ายังมีน้อยอยู่ และงานวิจัยส่วนใหญ่เท่าที่ปรากฏมักเป็นงานที่ทำในแนวภาษาศาสตร์รูปแบบ เนื่องจากเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลมีความสำคัญในเชิงภาษาศาสตร์และในเชิงจิตวิทยาสูงแต่ปรากฏว่ายังมีการวิจัยเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาต่างๆไม่มากนัก ดังนั้น ขณะนี้จึงเป็นโอกาสอันดีที่จะทำวิจัยเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาไทย ภาษาอังกฤษ และภาษาอื่นๆที่สำคัญในเอเชีย ได้แก่ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น และภาษาเกาหลี ซึ่งภาษาไทย จีน ญี่ปุ่น และเกาหลี รวมเรียกว่าภาษาแปซิฟิกริมเอเชีย (languages of the Pacific Rim Asia) งานวิจัยนี้จะทำในแนวแบบลักษณ์ภาษา (linguistic typology) และแนวภาษาศาสตร์ปริธาน (cognitive linguistics) ซึ่งยังมีงานวิจัยหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในแนว

ดังกล่าวค่อนข้างน้อย

2.วัตถุประสงค์

2.1 วิเคราะห์คำจำกัดความของหน่วยสร้างก่อผล (resultative construction) ซึ่งใช้กันอย่างหลากหลายในงานวิจัยหัวข้อนี้ในภาษาต่างๆ และเสนอคำจำกัดความซึ่งจะใช้ในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

2.2 ระบุรูปของหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาที่อยู่ในขอบเขตของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

2.3 วิเคราะห์คุณสมบัติทางอรรถศาสตร์ (semantic properties) และวัจนปฏิบัติ (pragmatic) ของรูปของหน่วยสร้างก่อผลต่างๆ ที่ได้ในข้อ 2.2

2.4 วิเคราะห์เงื่อนไขที่ทำให้หน่วยสร้างก่อผลในแต่ละภาษามีคุณสมบัติถูกไววยกรณ์ (well-formed) และเปรียบเทียบเงื่อนไขที่พบในภาษาต่างๆ

2.5 ศึกษาว่ารูปแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผลในแต่ละภาษามีความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆ นอกจากการแสดงผลการก่อผลหรือไม่ ถ้ามี ก็จะระบุความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆ เหล่านั้น และจะศึกษาว่าความหมายเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative meaning) มีความสัมพันธ์อย่างไรหรือไม่กับความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆ เหล่านั้น ถ้าพบว่ามีความสัมพันธ์กัน ก็จะวิเคราะห์ว่าความหมายใดเป็นความหมายพื้นฐาน (basic meaning) และความหมายใดเป็นความหมายที่พัฒนาขึ้นมา (extended meaning)

2.6 วิเคราะห์เชิงเปรียบเทียบต่างหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษา 2 กลุ่มทั้งในแง่รูปและความหมาย ภาษาในกลุ่มแรกที่จะศึกษาเปรียบเทียบหน่วยสร้างก่อผลได้แก่ภาษาอังกฤษ ภาษาจีน และภาษาไทย ภาษาในกลุ่มที่สองที่จะศึกษา เปรียบต่างหน่วยสร้างก่อผลได้แก่ภาษาญี่ปุ่นและภาษาเกาหลี

3.ระเบียบวิธีวิจัย

ในโครงการวิจัยนี้ ผู้วิจัยใช้วิธีการวิจัยหลายวิธีด้วยกัน ได้แก่ การเก็บข้อมูลจากเอกสาร และการวิจัยเอกสาร การเก็บข้อมูลและวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลจากผู้บอกภาษา (informant) และจากคลังข้อมูลอิเล็กทรอนิกส์ (electronic corpus) แนวทฤษฎีที่ใช้ในการวิจัยคือแนวภาษาศาสตร์หน้าที่ และแบบลักษณ์ (functional-typological linguistics) และแนวภาษาศาสตร์ปริชาน (cognitive linguistics)

4.การดำเนินงานในรอบ 3 ปี

4.1เขียนบทความเรื่อง “Resultative Constructions with Implied-result and Entailed-result Verbs in Thai and English: A Contrastive Study” ร่วมกับ Professor Satoshi Uehara ซึ่งเป็น ผู้ร่วมวิจัย และส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences ซึ่งตีพิมพ์ โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Mouton de Gruyter ประเทศเยอรมนี และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าว แล้ว

4.2 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “Directional Verbs as Success Markers in Thai: Another Grammaticalization Path” ร่วมกับ Professor Satoshi Uehara ซึ่งเป็นผู้ร่วมวิจัย และส่งไปตีพิมพ์ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการ (edited volume) ชื่อ The Tai-Kadai Languages ตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Routledge ในประเทศอังกฤษ บรรณาธิการคือ Anthony Diller และ Jerold Edmondson และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการเล่มนี้แล้ว

4.3 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “The Verb of Giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese as a Case of Polysemy: A Comparative Study” ร่วมกับ Professor Satoshi Uehara ซึ่งเป็นผู้ร่วมวิจัยและส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Language Sciences ซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Elsevier และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าวแล้ว

4.4 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “Semantic Extension of the Verb of Breaking in Thai and Japanese” ร่วมกับ Professor Satoshi Uehara ซึ่งเป็นผู้ร่วมวิจัย และส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Manusya. Journal of Humanities และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการให้ตีพิมพ์บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าวแล้วและได้ตีพิมพ์ในวารสารนี้ในฉบับที่ 13 ปี 2007 เรียบร้อยแล้ว

4.5 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “Verb Serialization as a Means of Expressing Complex Events in Thai” และส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่หนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการ (edited volume) ชื่อ Asymmetric Events โดยมี Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk เป็นบรรณาธิการซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ John Benjamins ในประเทศเนเธอร์แลนด์ และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการเล่มนี้แล้ว

4.6 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “Semantic Extension of the Verb of Giving in Vietnamese” ร่วมกับนางสาวสุรชาติพ เหมือนใจซึ่งเป็นนิสิตมหาบัณฑิตซึ่งอยู่ในความดูแลของผู้วิจัยและส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Mon-Khmer Studies และได้รับการตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการให้ตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในวารสารฉบับนี้แล้ว

4.7 เขียนบทความเรื่อง “The Verb of Killing in Chinese, Thai and English” ร่วมกับ Professor Satoshi Uehara ซึ่งเป็นผู้ร่วมวิจัยและส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Australian Journal of Linguistics ผู้วิจัยได้รับคำตอบจากบรรณาธิการว่าบทความนี้ยังไม่สามารถตีพิมพ์ในวารสารฉบับนี้ได้และให้ปรับแก้ไขบทความและส่งไปรับการพิจารณาใหม่

4.8 เสนอบทความวิจัยเรื่อง “Resultative and other Homophonous Constructions in Korean and Japanese: A Contrastive Case Study of Constructional Networks” ในการประชุมนานาชาติชื่อ The 9th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference ระหว่างวันที่ 17-22

กรกฎาคม 2548 ที่กรุงโซล ประเทศเกาหลี ขณะนี้กำลังเขียนบทความฉบับสมบูรณ์อยู่

4.9 เสนอบทความวิจัยเรื่อง “Properties of Events Expressed by Serial Verbs Constructions in Thai” ที่ภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัย San Jose State University, California ประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกาในวันที่ 13 มีนาคม 2549 และที่การประชุมทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ “Intertheoretical Approaches to Complex Verb Constructions” ซึ่งจัดโดยภาควิชาภาษาศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัย Rice University, Houston ประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา ซึ่งจะจัดขึ้นระหว่างวันที่ 16-18 มีนาคม 2549 ขณะนี้กำลังเขียนบทความฉบับสมบูรณ์อยู่

4.10 เสนอบทความวิจัยเรื่อง “Motivation of Linear Order of Directional Verbs in Serial Verb Constructions in Thai” ที่ Theme Session ชื่อ Motivation in Language ในการประชุมทางวิชาการนานาชาติชื่อ The 10th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference ซึ่งจัดระหว่างวันที่ 15-20 กรกฎาคม 2550 ณ เมือง Krakow ประเทศโปแลนด์ ขณะนี้กำลังเขียนบทความฉบับสมบูรณ์อยู่

5. เนื้อหางานวิจัย

ในการศึกษาหน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดในภาษาไทยและภาษาอังกฤษที่ภาคแสดงก่อกำเนิด ประกอบด้วยคำกริยา 2 ประเภท ได้แก่ implied-result verbs และ entailed-result verbs นั้น ผู้วิจัยพบว่าคำกริยาทั้งสองประเภทในภาษาอังกฤษมีข้อจำกัดในการเกิดร่วมกับภาคแสดงก่อกำเนิดมากกว่าคำกริยาประเภทเดียวกันในภาษาไทย พุคอีกนัยหนึ่งก็คือหน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดที่ประกอบด้วยคำกริยาทั้งสองประเภทข้างต้นมีผลิตภาพ (productivity) มากกว่าหน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดในภาษาอังกฤษ ซึ่งเนื่องมาจากการเปลี่ยนการเน้นลักษณะประจำคำกริยา (aspectual profile shift) ซึ่งเกิดในหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงในภาษาไทย ผู้วิจัยพบว่าหน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดในภาษาไทยเป็นหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงประเภทหนึ่ง หน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดในภาษาไทยสามารถแสดงได้ทั้งเหตุการณ์ที่เป็นปกติวิสัยในวัฒนธรรมหนึ่ง (conventionalized) และเหตุการณ์ที่ไม่เป็นปกติวิสัย (unconventionalized) แต่หน่วยสร้างก่อกำเนิดในภาษาอังกฤษสามารถแสดงได้แต่เหตุการณ์ที่เป็นปกติวิสัยเท่านั้น ผู้วิจัยพบว่า คำกริยาบอกทิศทาง (directional verb) ในภาษาไทยจำนวน 6 คำ ได้แก่ ขึ้น ลง เข้า ออก ไป มา สามารถทำหน้าที่เป็นภาคแสดงก่อกำเนิดได้ ภาคแสดงก่อกำเนิดที่เป็นคำกริยาบอกทิศทางจะแสดงความสำเร็จหรือความล้มเหลวในการกระทำอาการของผู้กระทำ คำกริยาที่เกิดกับคำกริยาบอกทิศทางที่ทำหน้าที่เป็นภาคแสดงก่อกำเนิดต้องเป็นคำกริยาแสดงการเคลื่อนที่โดยตรงหรือคำกริยาที่มีนัยยะ (imply) ของการเคลื่อนที่ นอกจากนั้น คำกริยาหลักต้องแสดงนัยยะว่าผู้กระทำมีเป้าหมาย อย่างใดอย่างหนึ่งในการทำอาการและเป้าหมายของผู้กระทำนั้นมีแนวโน้มว่าจะสัมฤทธิ์ผล คำกริยาแสดงทิศทางในหน่วยสร้างประเภทนี้ทำหน้าที่เน้นความสำเร็จในการกระทำอาการของ

ผู้กระทำ อย่างไรก็ตาม คำกริยาบอกทิศทางในหน่วยสร้างดังกล่าวมักเกิดในประโยคปฏิเสธหรือประโยคคำถามมากกว่าประโยคบอกเล่า คำกริยาบอกทิศทางดังกล่าวผ่านกระบวนการกลายเป็นคำไวยากรณ์มาจากตัวบ่งชี้แสดงทิศทาง (directional markers) ซึ่งผ่านกระบวนการกลายเป็นคำไวยากรณ์มาจากคำกริยาอีกทีหนึ่ง

ในการศึกษาคำกริยาที่แปลว่า “ให้” ในภาษาไทยและภาษาจีน ผู้วิจัยพบว่าคำกริยาดังกล่าวมีหลายความหมายและหลายหน้าที่ คำกริยานี้ในภาษาไทยและภาษาจีนมีทั้งความคล้ายคลึงกันและความแตกต่างกัน ผู้วิจัยพบว่าคำกริยา “ให้” ในภาษาไทยมีความหมายและหน้าที่ดังนี้ (1) เป็นคำกริยาหลักแสดงความหมายของการโอนกรรมสิทธิ์ (2) แสดงกรรมรอง (dative) (3) แสดงผู้รับผลประโยชน์ (benefactive) (4) แสดงการริตหรือสาเหตุให้เกิดเหตุการณ์ใดเหตุการณ์หนึ่ง (causative) (5) แสดงผู้รับผลไม่ดีจากการกระทำ (malefactive) (6) แสดงการเชื่อม (connective) ส่วนคำกริยา *gei* ซึ่งแปลว่า “ให้” ในภาษาจีนมีความหมายและหน้าที่ดังนี้ (1) เป็นคำกริยาหลักแสดงความหมายของการโอนกรรมสิทธิ์ (2) แสดงกรรมรอง (dative) (3) แสดงผู้รับผลประโยชน์ (benefactive) (4) แสดงการริตหรือสาเหตุให้เกิดเหตุการณ์ใดเหตุการณ์หนึ่ง (causative) (5) แสดงกรรมวาจก (passive) (6) แสดงทวิกรรมกริยา (ditransitive) มีผู้วิเคราะห์ว่าหน้าที่หรือความหมายหนึ่งของคำกริยาที่แปลว่า “ให้” คือการแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนผล ผู้วิจัยพบว่าการแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนผลนั้นอันที่จริงแล้วคือหน้าที่การแสดงการริตและการแสดงการเชื่อมอนุพจน์ประเภทที่อนุพจน์ที่สองเป็นวัตถุประสงค์ของอนุพจน์ที่หนึ่ง ความหมายและหน้าที่เหล่านี้มีความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกันและกัน คำกริยาทั้งสองจึงจัดได้ว่าเป็นคำหลายความหมาย (polysemy) ผู้วิจัยพบว่ากระบวนการนามนัย (metonymy) เป็นกลไกหลักในการขยายความหมายของคำกริยาทั้งสอง ส่วนคำกริยา *cho* ที่แปลว่า “ให้” ในภาษาเวียดนามมีความหมายขยาย (extended meaning) ที่เป็นได้ทั้งความหมายประจำคำ (lexical meaning) และความหมายทางไวยากรณ์ (grammatical meaning) ซึ่งต่างจากคำกริยาที่แปลว่า “ให้” ในภาษาไทยและภาษาจีนที่ขยายความหมายออกเป็นความหมายทางไวยากรณ์เท่านั้น คำกริยา *cho* ในภาษาเวียดนามมีความหมายขยายที่เป็นความหมายประจำคำดังนี้ (1) การใส่สิ่งใดสิ่งหนึ่งในภาชนะ และ (2) การแสดงความเห็น คำกริยา *cho* แสดงความหมายทางไวยากรณ์ดังนี้ (1) เป็นคำกริยาหลักแสดงความหมายของการโอนกรรมสิทธิ์ (2) แสดงกรรมรอง (dative) (3) แสดงผู้รับผลประโยชน์ (benefactive) (4) แสดงการริตหรือสาเหตุให้เกิดเหตุการณ์ใดเหตุการณ์หนึ่ง (causative) (5) แสดงผู้รับผลไม่ดีจากการกระทำ (malefactive) (6) แสดงวัตถุประสงค์ (purposive) หน้าที่การแสดงวัตถุประสงค์มีความคล้ายคลึงทางความหมายกับหน้าที่การแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนผลมากจนทำให้เกิดการเข้าใจผิดว่าคำกริยาที่แปลว่า “ให้” มีหน้าที่แสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนผล

ผู้วิจัยได้ศึกษาคำกริยาก่อนผล (resultative verb) คำหนึ่งได้แก่คำกริยาที่แปลว่า “break” ใน

ภาษาไทยและภาษาญี่ปุ่น คำกริยาดังกล่าวได้แก่คำว่า หัก ในภาษาไทย และคำว่า *oru* ในภาษาญี่ปุ่น โดยได้วิเคราะห์การขยายความหมายของคำกริยาทั้งสอง ผู้วิจัยพบว่าความหมายขยาย (extended meaning) ของคำกริยาทั้งสองเกิดขึ้นจากกระบวนการที่ความหมายบางส่วนของคำกริยาถูกปรับให้เข้ากับคำที่อยู่ข้างเคียงในประโยค ผู้วิจัยพบว่าความหมายขยายต่างๆของคำกริยาทั้งสองมีความสัมพันธ์ซึ่งกันและกัน ความหมายพื้นฐาน (basic meaning) ของคำกริยาทั้งสองแสดงเหตุการณ์ที่เป็นรูปธรรมที่สุดและเป็นความหมายเชิงปริธานที่เด่น (salient) ที่สุด กล่าวคือการทำให้สิ่งใดสิ่งหนึ่งแยกตัวหรือขาดออกจากกัน ความหมายพื้นฐานดังกล่าวประกอบด้วยแง่มุมทางความหมาย (facet) จำนวนหนึ่งที่แสดงสภาพผลที่เป็นรูปธรรมของสิ่งที่เป็นผลจากการกระทำที่แสดงโดยคำกริยาทั้งสอง ผู้วิจัยพบว่ามีกลไก 2 กลไกที่ขยายความหมายของคำกริยาทั้งสอง กลไกที่หนึ่งเป็นการยกระดับ (promote) แง่มุมทางความหมายบางแง่มุมของความหมายพื้นฐานให้เด่นขึ้น กลไกที่สองเป็นการตีความความหมายของคำกริยาทั้งสองในเชิงเปรียบเทียบ

ผู้วิจัยได้ค้นพบว่าหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงซึ่งเป็นกลไกในการแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผลในภาษาไทยนั้นแสดงเหตุการณ์แบบซับซ้อน (complex event) 2 แบบ เหตุการณ์ซับซ้อนแบบที่หนึ่งคือเหตุการณ์ที่แสดงโดยหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงนั้นเกิดเรียงกันไปโดยไม่มีช่องว่างของเวลาที่สังเกตเห็นได้ชัดเจน เหตุการณ์ซับซ้อนแบบที่หนึ่งมักจะมีมีความหมายของวัตถุประสงค์ในการกระทำอาการ (purposive meaning) การทำให้เกิดอีกเหตุการณ์หนึ่ง (causative meaning) และการแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative meaning) เชื่อมป้อนอยู่ด้วย เหตุการณ์ซับซ้อนแบบที่สองเป็นเหตุการณ์ที่เกิด ณ เวลาและสถานที่เดียวแต่คำกริยาแสดงแง่มุมต่างๆของเหตุการณ์นั้นๆ คำกริยาในหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงที่แสดงเหตุการณ์ซับซ้อนทั้งสองแบบมีความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกันและกันแบบรวมความ (coordination) ซึ่งคำกริยาในหน่วยสร้างกริยาเรียงจะมีสถานการณ์เท่าเทียมกัน

6. ผลผลิต (output) ที่ได้จากโครงการ

ผลผลิตที่ได้จากโครงการอยู่ในรูปของบทความวิจัยที่ตีพิมพ์ในวารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติจำนวน 6 บทความดังนี้

6.1 บทความเรื่อง “Resultative Constructions with Implied-result and Entailed-result Verbs in Thai and English: A Contrastive Study” ผู้วิจัยเป็นผู้เขียนชื่อแรก (first author) และ Professor Satoshi Uehara เป็นผู้เขียนร่วม (co-author) ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งบทความนี้ไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ *Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences* ซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Mouton de Gruyter ประเทศเยอรมนี และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าวแล้ว วารสารดังกล่าวมี Impact factor 0.426 (เมื่อ พ.ศ. 2548) และได้รับการอ้างอิงในฐานข้อมูลบรรณานุกรมดังนี้

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Humanities Abstracts

Humanities Index

IBR International Bibliography of Book Reviews of Scholarly Literature on the Humanities and

Social Sciences

International Bibliography of the Social Sciences

Language Teaching

Linguistics Abstracts

Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts

MLA International Bibliography

PsycINFO

Social Sciences Citation Index

6.2 บทความเรื่อง “Directional Verbs as Success Markers in Thai: Another Grammaticalization Path” ผู้วิจัยเป็นผู้เขียนชื่อแรก (first author) และ Professor Satoshi Uehara เป็นผู้เขียนร่วม (co-author) ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งบทความนี้ไปตีพิมพ์ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการ (edited volume) ชื่อ The Tai-Kadai Languages ตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Routledge ในประเทศ อังกฤษ บรรณาธิการคือ Anthony Diller และ Jerold Edmondson และได้รับคำตอบรับจาก บรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการเล่มนี้แล้ว

6.3 บทความเรื่อง “The Verb of Giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese as a Case of Polysemy: A Comparative Study” ผู้วิจัยเป็นผู้เขียนชื่อแรก (first author) Professor Satoshi Uehara เป็นผู้เขียนร่วม ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งบทความนี้ไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Language Sciences ซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ Elsevier และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์ บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าวแล้ว วารสารดังกล่าวมี Impact factor 0.250 (เมื่อปี พ.ศ. 2549) และ ได้รับการอ้างอิงในฐานะข้อมูลบรรณานุกรมดังนี้

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6.4 บทความเรื่อง “Semantic Extension of the Verb of Breaking in Thai and Japanese”

โดยผู้วิจัยเป็นผู้เขียนชื่อแรก (first author) และ Professor Satoshi Uehara เป็นผู้เขียนร่วม (co-author) ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งบทความนี้ไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Manusya. Journal of Humanities และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการให้ตีพิมพ์บทความนี้ในวารสารดังกล่าวแล้ว และได้ตีพิมพ์ในวารสารนี้ในฉบับที่ 13 ปี 2007 เรียบร้อยแล้ว

6.5 บทความเรื่อง “Verb Serialization as a Means of Expressing Complex Events in Thai”

ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งบทความนี้ไปตีพิมพ์ที่หนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการ (edited volume) ชื่อ Asymmetric Events โดยมี Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk เป็นบรรณาธิการซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ John Benjamins ในประเทศเนเธอร์แลนด์ และได้รับคำตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการว่าจะตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในหนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการเล่มนี้แล้ว

6.6 บทความเรื่อง “Semantic Extension of the Verb of Giving in Vietnamese” โดยผู้วิจัย

เป็นผู้เขียนร่วม (co-author) และเป็น corresponding author นางสาวสุรทิพ เหมือนใจซึ่งเป็นนิสิตมหาบัณฑิตซึ่งอยู่ในความดูแลของผู้วิจัยเป็นผู้เขียนชื่อแรก (first author) ผู้วิจัยได้ส่งไปตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Mon-Khmer Studies และได้รับการตอบรับจากบรรณาธิการให้ตีพิมพ์บทความเรื่องนี้ในวารสารฉบับนี้แล้ว

ภาคผนวก

รายการบทความที่เป็นผลผลิตของโครงการ

- 1.บทความเรื่อง “Resultative Constructions with Implied-result and Entailed-result Verbs in Thai and English: A Contrastive Study” จะตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Linguistics: An Interdisciplinary Journal of the Language Sciences (มีจดหมายตอบรับและข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับวารสารทางวิชาการแนบมาด้วย)
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- 4.บทความเรื่อง “Semantic Extension of the Verb of Breaking in Thai and Japanese” ได้รับการตีพิมพ์ที่วารสารทางวิชาการระดับนานาชาติชื่อ Manusya. Journal of Humanities (มีต้นฉบับที่ได้รับการตีพิมพ์แล้วแนบมาด้วย)
- 5.บทความเรื่อง “Verb Serialization as a Means of Expressing Complex Events in Thai” ได้รับการตีพิมพ์ที่หนังสือรวมบทความวิชาการ (edited volume) ชื่อ Asymmetric Events โดยมี Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk เป็นบรรณาธิการซึ่งตีพิมพ์โดยสำนักพิมพ์ John Benjamins ในประเทศเนเธอร์แลนด์ (มีจดหมายตอบรับแนบมาด้วย)
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Dr Kingkarn Thepkanjana
Dept of Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok 10330
Thailand

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UNIVERSITY OF ANTWERP
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UNIVERSITEITSPLEIN 1
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BELGIUM

TELEPHONE (+32-3) 820 2765
FAX (+32-3) 820 2762

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Resultative Constructions with “Implied-result” and “Entailed-result” Verbs in Thai and English: A Contrastive Study*

KINGKARN THEPKANJANA

SATOSHI UEHARA

Abstract

This study aims to make a contrastive investigation of the Thai and English transitive-based resultative constructions which consist of a causative predicate indicated by a transitive verb and a resultative predicate linguistically realized as a verb in Thai and an adjective in English. The resultative constructions which are the object of study in this paper are those in which the causative predicate is manifested by two kinds of transitive verbs postulated in this paper, namely, “implied-result verbs” and “entailed-result verbs”. This paper examines one of the syntactic-semantic behavioral properties of both types of verb in both languages when they co-occur with resultative predicates. It is found in this paper that English implied-result and entailed-result verbs are much more restricted in taking resultative predicates than the Thai counterparts. In other words, Thai resultative constructions are more productive than English ones. The productivity in the case of the former is attributed to the aspectual profile shift operating in serial verb constructions in Thai. Thai resultative constructions are arguably an instantiation of serial verb constructions. Resultative constructions in Thai allow both conventionalized as well as unconventionalized scenes to be expressed. In contrast, only conventionalized scenes can be expressed by resultative constructions in English.

1. Introduction

There is indeed no single cross-linguistically accepted definition of the term “resultative,” and different and conflicting ranges of examples are cited in the literature as “resultative.” This paper will therefore adopt a working semantic, theoretically neutral definition of the term “resultative”. The term “resultative” can be semantically defined in a broad way as a term which refers to linguistic forms that express a state and a previous event. The resultative situation may be linguistically realized by many types of linguistic forms across languages, such as single verbs, compound verbs, two serialized predicates without any intervening linker and two predicates with an intervening linker. It is thus apparent that the resultative meaning may reside in a single verb and may also be expressed by a syntactic construction. Note that these types of resultative forms differ from one another in the degree of “lexicality” and “syntacticality” which they exhibit. The form which is the most lexical or the least syntactic is single verbs, which typically express a resulting state while implying a causing action, such as *broken* in *The vase is broken*, or *mended* in *The shoes are mended* in English. On the other hand, the form which is the least lexical or the most syntactic is two predicates with an intervening linker such as *He beat a snake until it was dead* in English.

The resultative forms which are intermediate between the two extremes are compound verbs and two serialized predicates without an intervening linker. The former type is more lexical than the latter. In the latter form, the causative predicate can be instantiated by either a transitive or an intransitive verb referred to in this paper as transitive-based and intransitive-based resultative constructions, respectively. Resultative compound verbs are found to be prevalent in Chinese as in *lā-kāi* ‘pull-

open,' *shā-sī* 'kill-die,' and *dā-suī* 'strike-be in pieces' (Thompson 1973). Examples (1) and (2a-c) below illustrate the intransitive-based and transitive-based resultative constructions without an intervening linker in Thai, respectively.

- (1) *nók* *năaw* *taay* *yùu* *khâaŋnôk*
 bird feel cold die, dead be located at outside
 'A bird froze to death outside.'

- (2) a *khăw* *chók* *pŭran* *lóm*
 he punch friend collapse
 'He punched his friend and he collapsed.'

- b *khăw* *sák* *sŭa* *sà?aat*
 he wash shirt clean
 'He washed his shirt clean.'

- c *khăw* *khâa* *phûuráy* *taay*
 he kill criminal die, dead
 'He killed the criminal (and the criminal died as a result)¹.'

There are also two types of resultative construction in English, namely, intransitive and transitive. Examples (3a-e), in which the causative predicates are realized as intransitive verbs, illustrate intransitive-based resultative constructions in English. Examples (3a-b) are different from (3c-e) in that the causative predicates in the latter are followed by noun phrases whereas those in (3a-b) are not. However, these noun phrases are not subcategorized arguments of the intransitive verbs functioning as the causative predicates.

- (3) a. The river froze solid. (Napoli 1992: 66)
- b. The clothes steamed dry. (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1999: 206)
- c. The boy cried himself sick. (Napoli 1992: 60)
- d. The joggers ran their Nikes threadbare. (Carrier and Randall 1992: 173)
- e. The kids laughed themselves into a frenzy. (Carrier and Randall 1992: 173)

Sentences (4a-c) illustrate the transitive-based resultative construction in which the resultative predicates are realized as adjectives in (4a-b) and as a prepositional phrase in (4c).

- (4) a. The gardener watered the tulips flat. (Carrier and Randall 1992: 173)
- b. I painted the car yellow. (Napoli 1992: 56)
- c. The grocer ground the coffee beans (in)to a fine powder. (Carrier and Randall 1992: 173)

This study aims at contrastively investigating the transitive-based resultative constructions in Thai and English in which the causative predicate is manifested by two types of transitive verb which are postulated in this paper, namely, “implied-result verbs” and “entailed-result verbs.” Specifically, this paper aims to identify constraints on co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates in the transitive-based resultative constructions in the two languages. The similarities and differences in constraints on the co-occurrences between the two predicates between the two languages will be accounted for in semantic and functional terms.

In Section 2 of this paper, the implied-result and entailed-result verbs will be characterized. In Section 3, findings regarding constraints on the co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates in English and Thai will be presented and accounted for in semantic and functional terms. In Section 4, we review previous studies which accounted for co-occurrence constraints in different languages. We propose another perspective to account for such constraints in Section 5. Section 6 concludes the paper.

2. Implied-result verbs and entailed-result verbs

The terms “implied-result” and “entailed-result” verbs which are postulated in this paper are taken and modified from the terms “implied-fulfillment” and “attained-fulfillment” verbs postulated by Talmy (2000: 262-263) for reasons to be elaborated later. In setting forth the theory of realization, which refers to “an event of fulfillment or confirmation in realizing the agent’s intention or goal in carrying out an action”, Talmy postulates four verbal patterns, namely, (i) intrinsic-fulfillment verbs co-occurring with a further event satellite², (ii) moot-fulfillment verbs co-occurring with a fulfillment satellite, (iii) implied-fulfillment verbs co-occurring with a confirmation satellite, and (iv) attained-fulfillment verbs co-occurring with a pleonastic satellite. Talmy’s four verbal patterns are largely based on English verbs. The main verbs in the four verbal patterns exhibit varying degrees of realization of the agent’s intention. In the intrinsic-fulfillment verb pattern, the agent’s goal in carrying out the action referred to by the verb is exactly fulfilled by the action itself. It does not extend beyond the action. An example of this type of verb is *kicked*. A “further-event

satellite” can be added to an intrinsic-fulfillment verb to denote a meaning that is extrinsic to the meaning referred to by the verb as in *flat* in *I kicked the hubcap flat* (Talmy 2000: 262). In the moot-fulfillment verb pattern, the agent further intends that the action lead to a particular result. However, based on the referential content of the verb, the fulfillment of the agent’s intended result is left moot or questionable without a satellite. An example given by Talmy to illustrate this type of verbal pattern is *The police hunted the fugitive down* (Talmy 2000: 262). Since this study is concerned with those verbs which implicate and entail that certain resulting events will take place after the performance of the actions named by the verbs, only the other two types of verb postulated by Talmy are relevant to this study, namely, the implied-fulfillment verb and the attained-fulfillment verb. These two types of verbs are described below.

(a) Implied-fulfillment verb + confirmation satellite

The implied-fulfillment verb also consists of two main components, namely, (1) the agent’s intended and executed action, and (2) the agent’s further intention that this action lead to a particular desired result. However, the implied-fulfillment verb conveys the implicature that the agent’s goal to bring about a certain result has been fulfilled. Since the agent’s goal is merely an implicature, this reading is defeasible or cancelable by a disclaiming phrase as in *I washed the shirt but it came out dirty* (Talmy 2000: 265). The addition of a satellite confirms what is otherwise only implied. In *I washed the shirt clean*, the satellite *clean* confirms that the implicature of the shirt’s becoming clean has been fulfilled. Consequently, the implied-fulfillment verb accompanied by a satellite cannot co-occur with any disclaiming phrase as in **I washed the shirt clean but it came out dirty*.

(b) Attained-fulfillment verb (+pleonastic satellite)

Like the other three types of verb mentioned above, the attained-fulfillment verb consists of two major components, i.e. (1) the agent's intended and executed action, and (2) the agent's further intention that this action lead to a particular desired result. However, it indicates the *actual* fulfillment of the agent's intention. The attained-fulfillment verb cannot be accompanied by a satellite to indicate the realization of the agent's intention; otherwise it would result in redundancy. An example of this type of verb given by Talmy is the transitive verb *drown*, which cannot be accompanied by the satellite *dead* indicating the agent's intention in executing the action of submerging an animate being in liquid. Thus, the sentence **I drowned him dead* is unacceptable.

It is obvious that Talmy's verbal patterns in (a) and (b) above correspond to transitive-based resultative constructions examined in this study. The transitive verbs in Talmy's verbal patterns correspond to causative predicates and Talmy's satellite to resultative predicates in our terms. Thus, our study borrows many notions and analyses from his framework. However, it should be noted at the outset that our approach differs from his from one fundamental standpoint. We argue that the notion of the agent's intention is not crucial at all in the domain of realization as claimed by Talmy. In other words, the agent's intention is a part of the prototypical reading of the verb representing the causative predicate since the former is pragmatically associated with the latter in normal circumstances. We argue that the satellite or the resultative predicate in our terms does not indicate the fulfillment of the realization of an agent's intention as claimed by Talmy. It is argued that the result of the causing action, rather

than the agent's intention is a semantic property which is intrinsic in the semantics of the causing verb and that the degree of its intrinsicness varies from verb to verb. The fact that the English verbs classified by Talmy as "implied-fulfillment" and "attained-fulfillment" verbs can co-occur with the adverbs *accidentally* or *unintentionally* as shown in (5a-d) proves that they are not always associated with an agent's goal that a certain result takes place on the part of an affected entity.

- (5) a. I wiped the table clean unintentionally.
b. I kicked the hubcap flat unintentionally.
c. The police killed the criminal accidentally.
d. He drowned her unintentionally.

It is likely that the agent of these verbs sets a goal in carrying out an action but we argue that it is not a necessary part of the causative verb meanings. We can always create a context in which a sentence can be interpreted in such a way that the agent's goal concerning the affected entity is lacking.

We argue that what is at issue here is not the degree of the agent's intention inherent in a transitive verb. Rather, it is the degree of the likelihood that an event take place as a result of the causing action that is inherent in the causing verb. Such a likelihood is called implicature and entailment in this study. We postulate two types of verb which function as the causative predicate, namely, implied-result and entailed-result verbs. These two verb types are defined in terms of Vendler's event types (Vendler 1967), namely, activities, accomplishments, achievements and states. Vendler's event types which are relevant here are activities and accomplishments.

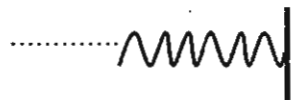
Activities as defined by Vendler (1967) refer to processes going on in time in a homogeneous way, consisting of successive phases following one another in time, such as *run, walk, swim, push a cart, drive a car*. Activities are thus durative and unbounded, and can be schematically illustrated as a zigzag line in figure 1.

Figure 1. *A schematic representation of an activity*



Accomplishments refer to processes going on in time and proceeding to a terminal point, such as *paint a picture, make a chair, deliver a sermon, draw a circle*. Accomplishments are thus durative and bounded, and can be schematically shown in figure 2. The zigzag line represents an activity whereas the vertical line represents a terminal point or the boundary of the activity.

Figure 2. *A schematic representation of an accomplishment*



Our implied-result verbs as defined in this study are a subtype of activity verbs. They express activities which have an implicature that a patient undergoes a change in state as a result of the agent's action. The result is not guaranteed to take place; it is only implied. Thus, implied-result verbs can be schematically shown by figure 3 with the dots in the box representing the implicature.

Figure 3. *A schematic representation of an implied-result verb*



Some examples of implied-result verbs are *wash (clothes, glasses)*, *wipe (a table)*, *sweep (a floor)*, *iron (a shirt)*, *polish (a floor)* in English, and *lǎaŋ (kǎæw)* ‘wash (glass)’, *sák (phǎa)* ‘wash (clothes)’, *thǔu (phúuun)* ‘wipe (floor)’, *khǎt (rɔɔŋtháw)* ‘polish (shoes), shoeshine’, *kwàat (phúuun)* ‘sweep (floor)’, *tǎak (suǎa)* ‘expose to the sun (clothes)’, *rǐit (phǎa)* ‘iron (clothes)’ in Thai.

According to Vendler (1967), temporal adverbials are sensitive to the type of event being modified. For example, activity verbs can be modified by durative adverbials, such as *for an hour*, while accomplishment verbs cannot. In contrast, accomplishment verbs can be modified by frame adverbials, such as *in an hour*, while activity verbs cannot. Therefore, the (im)possibility to co-occur with certain temporal adverbials can be used as a criterion to determine the event type of a given verb. All of the examples of implied-result verbs given above can co-occur with a durative adverbial as shown below, which proves that implied-result verbs are activity verbs.

- (6) a. John washed his clothes for one hour.
 b. John wiped a table for one hour.
 c. John swept the floor for one hour.
 d. John ironed the shirt for one hour.

(7) a. sǝmchaay láaŋ kǝæw naan nũŋ chũamooŋ

Somchaay wash glass for one hour

'Somchaay washed the glasses for one hour.'

b. sǝmchaay sák phâa naan nũŋ chũamooŋ

Somchaay wash clothes for one hour

'Somchaay washed the clothes for one hour.'

c. sǝmchaay kwàat phũwũn naan nũŋ chũamooŋ

Somchaay sweep floor for one hour

'Somchaay swept the floor for one hour.'

d. sǝmchaay rĩit phâa naan nũŋ chũamooŋ

Somchaay iron clothes for one hour

'Somchaay ironed the clothes for one hour.'

Our entailed-result verbs, on the other hand, are a subtype of accomplishment verbs. They express accomplishments which have an entailment that a patient undergoes a change in state as a result of the agent's action and that the state results after the terminal point has been reached. In an entailed-result verb, a resulting state is entailed. Entailed-result verbs are schematically shown in figure 4. Notice that the schematic representation of entailed-result verbs is different from that of implied-result verbs in that the former is composed of a zigzag line denoting the activity phase, a vertical line denoting the boundary of the activity and a black box denoting the entailment of the accomplishment whereas the latter is composed of only a zigzag line representing the activity and a dotted box representing the implicature.

Figure 4. A schematic representation of an entailed-result verb



Some examples of entailed-result verbs are *tear (paper)*, *kill (a criminal)*, *break (a twig)*, *destroy (a building)*, *drown (a child)*, *strangle (a man)* in English, and *chīik (kràdàat)* 'tear (paper)', *khāa (phūurāay)* 'kill (criminal)', *hàk (kīŋmáay)* 'break (branch)', *tàt (phāa)* 'cut (cloth)', *thamlaay (?aakhaan)* 'destroy (building)', *pòok (plūak)* 'peel (skin)', *thǎon (fan)* 'pull out (teeth)' in Thai. The fact that all instances of entailed-result verbs given here can co-occur with a frame adverbial as shown below proves that they are accomplishment verbs.

- (8) a. John tore these pieces of paper in an hour.
 b. John broke the twigs in an hour.
 c. John destroyed the building in an hour.
 d. The dentist pulled out his tooth in one hour.

- (9) a. sǒmchaay chīik kràdàat phaaynay nùŋ chūamoŋ
 Somchaay tear paper in one hour
 'Somchaay tore the paper in one hour.'
- b. sǒmchaay hàk kīŋmáay phaaynay nùŋ chūamoŋ
 Somchaay break twig in one hour
 'Somchaay broke the twigs in one hour.'
- c. sǒmchaay thamlaay aakhaan phaaynay nùŋ chūamoŋ

Somchaay destroy building in one hour

‘Somchaay destroyed the building in one hour.’

d. sǒmchaay thǒn fan khǎw phaaynay nǔŋ chûamoon

Somchaay pull out tooth he in one hour

‘Somchaay pulled out his tooth in one hour.’

It is noted that implied-result and entailed-result verbs can be defined semantically as well as syntactically. Implied-result verbs can be accompanied by both a confirming clause as in (10a-c) and (11a-c), and a disclaiming clause in biclausal constructions as in (12a-c) and (13a-c).

(10) a. John washed the shirt and it came out clean.

b. John wiped the floor and it came out clean.

c. John ironed the shirt and it came out smooth.

(11) a. sǒmchaay sák sūa lǎe? sūa kōw sàʔaat

Somchaay wash shirt and shirt topic marker clean

‘Somchaay washed the shirt and the shirt came out clean.’

b. sǒmchaay thǔu phǔwun lǎe? phǔwun kōw sàʔaat

Somchaay wipe floor and floor topic marker clean

‘Somchaay wiped the floor and the floor came out clean.’

c. sǒmchaay rīit sūa lǎe? sūa kōw rīap

Somchaay iron shirt and shirt topic marker smooth

Somchaay ironed the shirt and the shirt came out smooth.’

(12) a. John washed the shirt but it did not come out clean.

b. John wiped the floor but it did not come out clean.

c. John ironed the shirt but it did not come out smooth.

(13) a. sǝmchaay sák sũa tææ sũa mǝy sàʔaat

Somchaay wash shirt but shirt not clean

'Somchaay washed the shirt but it did not come out clean.'

b. sǝmchaay thũu phũuun tææ phũuun mǝy sàʔaat

Somchaay wipe floor but floor not clean

'Somchaay wiped the floor but the floor did not come out clean.'

c. sǝmchaay řiit sũa tææ sũa mǝy řiap

Somchaay iron shirt but shirt not smooth

'Somchaay ironed the shirt but the shirt did not come out smooth.'

In contrast, entailed-result verbs cannot be accompanied by a disclaiming clause in biclausal constructions as in (14a-c) and (15a-c).

(14) a. *John killed some bugs but they did not die.

b. *John cut a piece of paper but it was not cut.

c. *John broke a twig but it was not broken.

(15) a. *sǝmchaay khǝa malææŋ tææ malææŋ mǝy taay

Somchaay kill bug but bug not die/dead

'Somchaay killed some bugs but they did not die.'

b. *sǝmchaay tǝt kràdǝat tææ kràdǝat mǝy khǝat

Somchaay cut paper but paper not be torn

'Somchaay cut a piece of paper but it was not cut.'

- c. *sǒmchaay hək kǐŋmáj tææ kǐŋmáj māj hək
 Somchaay break twig but twig not be broken

'Somchaay broke a twig but it was not broken.'

Entailed-result verbs can take a confirming clause as in (16a-c) and (17a-c).

However, they sound odd because of redundancy.

(16) a. ?John killed some bugs and they died.

b. ?John cut a piece of paper and it was cut.

c. ?John broke a twig and it broke.

- (17) a. ?sǒmchaay khāa malææŋ læ? malææŋ kōo taay
 Somchaay kill bug and bug topic marker die/dead

'Somchaay killed some bugs and they died.'

b. ?sǒmchaay tət kràdàat læ? kràdàat kōo khàat

Somchaay cut paper and paper topic marker be torn

'Somchaay cut a piece of paper and it was cut.'

c. ?sǒmchaay hək kǐŋmáj læ? kǐŋmáj kōo hək

Somchaay break twig and twig topic marker be broken

'Somchaay broke a twig and the twig was broken.'

As mentioned above, the notion of agent's intention is not relevant to the characterization of implied-result and entailed-result verbs. The prototypical situation expressed by an implied-result verb is one in which an agent volitionally performs an

action with the intention that a certain resulting state will occur, and that it is likely to occur. Likewise, the prototypical situation expressed by an entailed-result verb is one in which an agent volitionally performs an action with the intention that a certain resulting state will occur, and that it does occur. However, some non-prototypical cases can exist as exemplified in (5a-d). In the next section, we will present findings regarding constraints on the co-occurrences between such causative verbs and their resultative predicates in Thai and English.

3. Constraints on the co-occurrences between the causative and resultative predicates in Thai and English

In this section, we will look into the syntactic-semantic behavioral properties of transitive verbs of implied-result and entailed-result types when they co-occur with resultative predicates in Thai and English. Specifically, we will study resultative sentences with implied-result and entailed-result verbs in the following aspects:

- a) examine syntactic and semantic types of resultative predicates which can co-occur with implied-result and entailed-result verbs in each language,
- b) identify constraints on the co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates in each language,
- c) account for collocational constraints in semantic and functional terms.

We will divide this section into three subsections. The first subsection deals with Thai and English resultative sentences with implied-result verbs whereas the second one deals with those with entailed-result verbs. We will postulate constraints on the co-

occurrences between the two predicates and will account for them in the third subsection.

3.1 *Thai and English resultative constructions with implied-result verbs*

3.1.1 Thai resultative constructions with implied-result verbs

The resultative construction in Thai in which the causative predicate is instantiated as an implied-result verb is linguistically realized as a monoclausal transitive-based resultative sentence in which three components, namely, a transitive verb expressing a causing action, a direct object argument and a verb indicating a resulting state, are placed in juxtaposition without any intervening linker. The syntactic pattern of the transitive-based resultative construction in Thai is as follows.

NP1	V1	NP2	V2
(subject)	(causative predicate)	(object)	(resultative predicate)

There are many Thai verbs which can be semantically classified as belonging to the implied-result verb type, such as *chéet* 'wipe', *thǔu* 'wipe forcefully', *lǎag* 'wash, rinse', *kwáat* 'sweep', and *sák* 'wash (clothes)'. As we saw above, these verbs are activity verbs which have the implicature that the activities lead to certain results and that the results take place. In the case of these five implied-result verbs in Thai, they convey the implicature that the objects that were affected by the agents' performance became clean as a result of the agents' activities. The addition of the stative verb *sà?àat* 'clean' after the direct object noun phrases confirms the occurrence of the

implied results which are inherent in the transitive verbs. Such a stative verb is thus termed “confirmed-implicature” resultative predicate. Sentences (18a-e) illustrate resultative constructions with confirmed-implicature resultative predicates.

(18) a. sǒmchaay sák sũa sà?àat

Somchaay wash shirt clean

‘Somchaay washed his shirt clean.’

b. sǒmchaay thũu phúuun sà?àat

Somchaay wipe floor clean

‘Somchaay wiped the floor clean.’

c. sǒmchaay ríit sũa ríap

Somchaay iron shirt smooth

‘Somchaay ironed his shirt smooth.’

d. sǒmchaay láan rôt sà?àat

Somchaay wash car clean

‘Somchaay washed his car clean.’

e. sǒmchaay kwàat phúuun sà?àat

Somchaay sweep room clean

‘Somchaay swept the floor clean.’

It is noted that the resultative construction with the confirmed-implicature resultative predicate sounds more natural if the resultative predicate is accompanied by an intensifier *caŋ* meaning “very” as in (19). The intensifier *caŋ* creates the context of a

high degree of the result rather than the realization in and of itself³. This accounts for why the confirmed-implicature resultative predicate sounds natural in (19).

- (19) sǒmchaay sák sūa sàʔaat caŋ
 Somchaay wash shirt clean very
 'Somchaay washed his shirt so clean.'

In addition to the confirmed-implicature resultative predicate, it is possible to add an "anti-implicature" resultative predicate to *some* implied-result verbs to cancel the implicature inherent in a causative verb and to indicate that the opposite resulting state takes place instead as in (20a-e):

- (20) a. sǒmchaay sák sūa sòkkapròk
 Somchaay wash shirt dirty
 'Somchaay washed the shirt but it came out dirty.'
- b. sǒmchaay thǔu phúuun sòkkapròk
 Somchaay wipe floor dirty
 'Somchaay wiped the floor but it came out dirty.'
- c. sǒmchaay rīit sūa yáp
 Somchaay iron shirt wrinkled
 'Somchaay ironed the shirt but it came out wrinkled.'
- d. ʔsǒmchaay láaŋ rót sòkkapròk
 Somchaay wash car dirty
 'Somchaay washed the car but it came out dirty.'
- e. ʔsǒmchaay kwàat phúuun sòkkapròk

Somchaay sweep room dirty

'Somchaay swept the floor but it came out dirty.'

As indicated above, sentences (20d-e) are questionable whereas sentences (20a-c) sound more acceptable. It is noted that the actions expressed by the verbs *sāk* (*sūa*) 'wash (clothes)', *thūu* (*phūuun*) 'wipe (floor)', *rīt* (*sūa*) 'iron (shirt)', which allow an anti-implicature resultative predicate, must be performed in an "appropriate" or "favorable" situation; otherwise, certain unexpected events might result. For example, if the agent in (20a) washed a white shirt with clothes in bright colors, the shirt could be stained and come out dirty. In (20b), if the agent did not wipe the floor in a neat manner or wiped it with a dirty piece of cloth, the floor would become dirty rather than clean. In (20c), if the agent ironed the shirt unskillfully, the shirt might come out wrinkled. The agent's skill and use of good instruments and materials to perform the actions obviously constitute the "appropriate" or "favorable" situations of the actions in (20a-c) and are required in order for the expected results of the actions to obtain. In contrast, the agent's skill and use of good instruments and materials are less likely to play a crucial role in obtaining the expected results in the case of *lāaŋ* (*roī*) 'wash (car)' and *kwàat* (*phūuun*) 'sweep (floor)'. In other words, even if the actions expressed by these two verbs are performed in an unfavorable situation, such as by an unskillful agent or with a bad instrument, it is likely that the expected results take place. This accounts for the oddness of (16d-e), in which *lāaŋ* (*roī*) 'wash (car)' and *kwàat* (*phūuun*) 'sweep (floor)' co-occur with anti-implicature resultative predicates, which express unexpected resulting situations. It can be generalized that the implied-

result verbs which do not take anti-implicature resultative predicates express actions which do not require a favorable situation for an expected result to obtain.

It is also possible to negate the confirmed-implicature resultative predicate in Thai, as shown in (21a-e). The negated resultative predicate functions as a disclaiming phrase and is termed “cancelled-implicature” resultative predicate in this paper. The cancellation of the implicature inherent in the matrix verb results in vagueness in that it can be interpreted either as anti-implicature (“dirty” and “wrinkled” in (20a-e) above) or non-implicature (moving toward the implied result, i.e. the state of cleanliness and smoothness in (20a-e), but not reaching that state yet.)

(21) a. sǒmchaay sák sǔa mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wash shirt not clean

‘Somchaay washed his shirt but it did not come out clean.’

b. sǒmchaay thǔu phǔtun mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wipe floor not clean

‘Somchaay wiped the floor but it did not come out clean.’

c. sǒmchaay rǐit sǔa mây rǐap

Somchaay iron shirt not smooth

‘Somchaay ironed his shirt but it did not come out smooth.’

d. sǒmchaay láaŋ rǓt mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wash car not clean

‘Somchaay washed his car but it did not come out clean.’

e. sǒmchaay kwàat phǔtun mây sàʔaat

Somchaay sweep floor not clean

'Somchaay swept the floor but it did not come out clean.'

The last type of implicature which can be accompanied with implied-result verbs is the "other-event"⁴ resultative predicate, which expresses a state that results from an action that does not lie on the axis leading to the implicated result.

(22) a. yàa sák sũa khàat ná

do not wash shirt torn final particle

'Do not wash the shirt in such a way that it gets torn in the process.'

b. yàa láaŋ kǎæw tǎæk ná

do not wash glass broken final particle

'Do not wash the glass in such a way that it gets broken in the process.'

c. yàa rīit sũa mây ná

do not iron shirt burnt final particle

'Do not iron the shirt in such a way that it gets burnt in the process.'

In summary, the implied-result verbs in Thai which function as the causative predicate can be accompanied by various types of resultative predicate, namely, confirmed-implicature, anti-implicature, cancelled-implicature and other-event resultative predicates⁵. It is noted that only some implied-result verbs can be accompanied by the anti-implicature resultative predicate.

3.1.2 English resultative constructions with implied-result verbs

In this section, we will examine what types of resultative predicate can accompany implied-result verbs which function as the causative predicate in English. The syntactic pattern of the resultative construction in English is basically the same as that in Thai. Our quick survey of some American English speakers revealed that implied-result verbs in English can be accompanied by the confirmed-implicature resultative predicate with varying degrees of acceptability as below.

- (23) a. John waxed the floor glossy. (marginal)
b. John washed the glass clean. (marked)
c. John ironed the shirt smooth. (less marked than (23a) and (23b))
d. John swept the floor clean. (very common)
e. John wiped the table clean. (very common)

Sentences (23a-e) are ordered from the lowest to the highest degree of acceptability. Sentence (23a) has the lowest degree of acceptability whereas (23e) has the highest degree⁶. Sentence (23b) is marked in that it must occur in an appropriate context such as an emphatic one.

Implied-result verbs in English cannot take the anti-implicature resultative predicate as shown below. According to native speakers of English, the unacceptability of (24a-e) arises from the fact that these sentences express inconceivable situations.

- (24) a. *John waxed the floor dull.
b. *John washed the glass dirty.

c. *John ironed the shirt wrinkled.

d. *John swept the floor dirty.

e. *John wiped the table dirty.

Implied-result verbs in English cannot take the cancelled-implicature resultative predicate in the structural pattern parallel to that in (21a-e) in Thai, in which *mây* 'not' appears immediately before the resultative predicate. The English sentences with the cancelled-implicature resultative predicate parallel to (21a-e) in Thai would be ungrammatical as shown in (25a-e) because English simply does not allow such a syntactic structure⁷.

(25) a. *John waxed the floor not glossy.

b. *John washed the glass not clean.

c. *John ironed the shirt not smooth.

d. *John swept the floor not clean.

e. *John wiped the table not clean.

It is found that implied-result verbs in English cannot take the other-event resultative predicate either as shown below.

(26) a. *Do not wax the floor slippery.

b. *Do not wash the glass broken.

c. *Do not iron the shirt torn.

d. *Do not wipe the floor slippery.

To summarize, implied-result verbs in English exhibit more constraints in taking resultative predicates than those in Thai. The former can take only confirmed-implicature resultative predicates whereas the latter can take as many as four types. Furthermore, not every implied-result verb in the former can take confirmed-implicature resultative predicates as shown in (23a-e). The fact that English implied-result verbs are much more heavily restricted in taking resultative predicates than the comparable Thai verbs is accounted for in section 5.

3.2 Thai and English resultative constructions with entailed-result verbs

3.2.1 Thai resultative constructions with entailed-result verbs

The verbs in Thai which can be classified as entailed-result verbs include *khâa* 'kill,' *chhîik* 'tear,' *hâk* 'break,' *tât* 'cut,' *pòk* 'peel,' and *thamlaay* 'destroy.' These verbs which function as the causative predicate can take a "confirmed-entailment" resultative predicate to confirm that the entailed result inherent in the causing verbs take place as shown below.

- (27) a. tamrùat khâa phûuráay taay
 police kill criminal die, dead
 'The police killed the criminal (and he/she was dead).'
- b. sômchaay chhîik phâa khàat
 Somchaay tear cloth torn
 'Somchaay tore the cloth (and it was torn).'

c. sǒmchaay hək kǐŋmáj ʔòk⁸

Somchaay break branch exit

‘Somchaay broke the branch (and it was broken).’

d. sǒmchaay tət phâa khàat

Somchaay cut cloth torn

‘Somchaay cut the cloth (and the cloth was torn).’

e. sǒmchaay pòk plǔak sôm ʔòk

Somchay peel peel (noun) orange exit

‘Somchaay peeled the orange (and the peel came off).’

f. sǒmchaay thamlaay kamphææŋ phaŋ

Somchay destroy wall collapse

‘Somchaay destroyed the wall (and it was destroyed).’

It is also possible to negate the confirmed results in (27a-f). In other words, it is possible for entailed-result verbs in Thai to take “cancelled-entailment” resultative predicates as shown below.

(28) a. tamrùat khâa phûuráay mây taay

police kill criminal not die, dead

‘The police tried to kill the criminal but he/she was not dead.’

b. sǒmchaay chǐik phâa mây khàat

Somchaay tear cloth not torn

‘Somchaay tried to tear the cloth but it was not torn.’

c. sǒmchaay hək kǐŋmáj māj ?òk

Somchaay break branch not exit

‘Somchaay tried to break the branch but it was not broken.’

d. sǒmchaay tət phāa māj khàat

Somchaay cut cloth not torn

‘Somchaay tried to cut the cloth but the cloth was not torn.’

e. sǒmchaay pòk plùak sôm māj ?òk

Somchay peel peel (noun) orange not exit

‘Somchaay tried to peel the orange but the peel did not come off.’

f. sǒmchaay thamlaay kamphææŋ māj phəŋ

Somchay destroy wall not collapse

‘Somchaay tried to destroy the wall but it was not destroyed.’

The notion of entailment is traditionally defined as that which is not cancellable. The phenomenon in (28a-f) in which the entailment of entailed-result verbs in Thai can be cancelled thus seems to contradict the traditional definition of the notion of entailment. We will account for the seemingly exceptional behavior of the entailment of entailed-result verbs in Thai in section 5.

3.2.2 English resultative constructions with entailed-result verbs

English verbs which can be classified as entailed-result verbs include *drown*, *kill*, *burn*, *cut*, *break*, and *destroy*. These verbs are classified by Talmy (2000) as attained-fulfillment verbs, which indicate the actual fulfillment of the agent’s intention.

Syntactically, they cannot be accompanied by a satellite to indicate the realization of the agent's intention since all the semantic elements, including the agent's intention referred to by the verbs, are realized. Talmy (2000: 267) discusses two verbs of this type, namely, *kill* and *drown*. According to Talmy, the addition of a satellite to attained-fulfillment verbs to confirm the agent's intention is considered redundant and results in unacceptability as in **I killed him dead* and **I drowned him dead*. We have argued that the agent's intention is not relevant in characterizing this type of verb. Talmy is right in saying that attained-fulfillment verbs, which correspond to entailed-result verbs in this study, cannot take a satellite or resultative predicate in our terms as shown below.

- (29) a. **I killed him dead.*
b. **I drowned him dead.*
c. **I cut the cloth torn.*

Sentences (29a-c) are unacceptable because of redundancy. Interestingly, it is found that the verb *kill* in English can take the confirmed-entailment resultative predicate only in the case of advertising insect-killing spray or computer bugs-killing software such as below.

- (30) a. "Raid. Kills Bugs Dead." (A RAID commercial advertisement)
b. "ZD Net: kill Y2K Bugs Dead." (A computer program commercial)

It can be concluded that the verb *kill* in English cannot take a confirmed-entailment resultative predicate in normal cases. It can take one only as a fixed phrase in an emphatic context, such as in a commercial advertisement, in which the speaker or writer wants to emphasize the dead condition of an affected entity, which is the entailment inherent in the verb *kill*. The emphasis aims at convincing the hearer or reader of the effectiveness of an advertised product. Therefore, the emphatic context pragmatically licenses the appearance of the confirmed-entailment resultative predicate of *kill*.

3.3 Summary

In this section, we have examined the constraints on the co-occurrences between causative predicates with implied-result and entailed-result verbs in Thai and English on the one hand and resultative predicates in both languages on the other. It is found that the resultative constructions containing the two types of verbs in English exhibit more constraints than those in Thai. That is, the causative predicates with implied-result verbs in Thai can co-occur with confirmed-implicature, anti-implicature, cancelled-implicature and other-event resultative predicates, whereas those in English can co-occur only with confirmed-implicature with varying degrees of acceptability. As for causative predicates with entailed-result verbs, those in Thai can co-occur with confirmed-entailment and cancelled-entailment resultative predicates whereas those in English cannot co-occur with either one. There is only one exception, i.e. the case of the verb *kill* in English, which can co-occur with the confirmed-entailment in such emphatic contexts as advertisements. In the next section, we will examine how these

constraints on co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates have been accounted for in previous studies on various languages.

4. Previous studies on collocational constraints between causative and resultative predicates

In this section, we will review five pieces of work which examine co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates both in monoclausal and biclausal structures, namely, Teng (1972), Tai and Chou (1975), Ikegami (1985), Talmy (2000) and Pederson (in press). These works examine co-occurrences between the two types of predicates in Chinese, Japanese, Tamil, German and English.

Teng (1972) is the first researcher to observe that while the English verb *kill* consists of two subevents, namely, a causing action and a resulting state, the corresponding verb *shā* in Mandarin Chinese has only the causing action although it may imply the resulting state of *sǐ* 'dead.' Tai and Chou (1975) also compares and contrasts the verbs *kill* in English and *shā* in Mandarin Chinese and presents evidence and arguments to support Teng's claim. They claim that "As opposed to the verb compound *shā sǐ*, *shā* can occur in the pattern of *X shā, Y, Y not sǐ* 'X "kill" Y, Y not die.' This indicates that *shā* does not necessarily imply *sǐ*." (Tai and Chou 1975: 48-49). Tai and Chou (1975) label English verbs which imply an attainment of the agent's goal in carrying out an action, such as *kill*, an "implicative action verb." They postulate a general principle governing some discrepancies between Chinese and English lexicalization which states that while English has implicative action verbs such as *kill*, *find*, and *learn*⁹, which imply an attainment of a certain goal, their

correspondences in Chinese must be expressed by means of verb compounds in which the first element indicates the action and the second one indicates the attainment of the goal of the action which is the resulting state. They make a further claim that so far they have found no Chinese action verbs which imply the attainment of goal.

Ikegami (1985) also provides a contrastive investigation of a number of English and corresponding Japanese "goal-directed" action verbs defined as verbs which contain two subevents, i.e. an action and a goal, bearing a relation to each other in such a way that the former is directed to the latter. Some examples of this kind of verb include those meaning 'kill', 'burn', 'boil', 'drop', 'cheat', 'dry', 'float', 'melt', etc. According to Ikegami (1985), a goal-directed action may or may not achieve its goal. It is found in this work that there is a systematic contrast between English and Japanese verbs referring to goal-directed action in terms of the implication of achievement or non-achievement of the goal. In other words, corresponding verbs in English and Japanese may differ in the emphasis they place on the action or the achievement phase. English verbs are found to focus on the achievement phase whereas Japanese verbs focus on the activity phase. He concludes that English verbs are goal-oriented whereas the Japanese ones are process-oriented. Ikegami also discusses the English and Japanese verbs with the meanings 'kill' and 'burn.' He points out that the English verb *kill* and the corresponding Japanese verb *korosu* are in the same semantic category since the achievement of the goal is implied in both verbs in the two languages. On the other hand, the English verb *burn* and the corresponding verb *moyasu* in Japanese are in different semantic categories since the achievement of the goal is implied by the English verb but not by the Japanese one. The English and Japanese sentences cited by Ikegami (1985: 273) to support this claim are as follows.

- (31) *John killed Mary, but Mary didn't die.
- (32) *John-wa Mary-o korosita keredomo, Mary-wa sinanakatta
 John-Top Mary-Acc killed though Mary-Top didn't die
 '*John killed Mary but Mary didn't die.'
- (33) *I burned it, but it didn't burn.
- (34) moyasita keredo, moennakatta
 burned though didn't burn
 '* (Someone) burned (something), but it didn't burn.'

Talmy (2000: 269) accounts for the same phenomenon by postulating the notion of "lexicalized implicature," which refers to the kind of implicature which is defeasible and which is associated with a lexical item. Talmy claims that different verbs in a certain semantic field in a single language, such as *choke*, *stab*, *strangle* and *drown*, may have different degrees of strength of lexicalized implicature which might correlate in part with different degrees of strength of the agent's intention for a further result. Furthermore, the different degrees of strength of implicature tend to correlate also with the verbs' ability to take a satellite that confirms the fulfillment. The verb *choke* is located at one end of the cline of strength of implicature since it has no implicature of entailed result, at least for some speakers, whereas the verb *drown* is located at the other end since the occurrence of the resulting event of dying is not merely implied but asserted in the lexical semantics of the verb itself. The verbs *stab* and *strangle* are located between the two extremes with some degree of strength of implicature.

Pederson (in press) explores how different languages encode the realization of an event. The data in this study is drawn from Tamil, German and English. He claims that the core meanings expressed by typical translation equivalents or corresponding verbs in English and Tamil are the same. However, Tamil verbs are more flexible in that they can be used extensionally in ways prohibited by English. For example, although the verb for 'kill' in Tamil does mean 'kill' in its basic use, it can be used to refer to only the doing part without asserting the final realized state (dead). Pederson (in press) argues that the whole-for-part metonymy is a strategy which allows Tamil speakers to use a transitive verb such as the verb for 'break' to refer only to the first part(s) of the event. However, they cannot use this strategy when they use the converb construction, which entails realization, otherwise it would be contradictory. On the other hand, English has a number of words and constructions which explicitly deny realization, such as *almost*, *nearly*, *shoot at the soldier*. The availability of this strategy reduces the motivation to use event verbs in a whole-for-part metonymy. In addressing the question of learnability of German-speaking and Tamil-speaking children, this study argues that all of these children need not acquire different understandings of the semantics of the simple verbs. Rather, they acquire a language-sensitive appreciation of what is an allowable extended use of the verbs and what is not. It is claimed in this paper that Tamil-speaking children learn that they can be flexible with their verbs in a way that is not allowed for German-speaking children.

In accounting for properties of entailed-result verbs across languages, all of the works reviewed above take the same position with regard to two issues. First, all works above, except Pederson (in press), claim that lexical semantic properties inherent in entailed-result verbs have a bearing on whether they can co-occur with

resultative predicates or not. Such lexical semantic properties of entailed-result verbs can vary from language to language and from verb to verb in the same semantic field in a single language. Second, all works reviewed above assume that the agent performs an action expressed by an entailed-result verb with a certain goal in mind. The goal is a resulting state which happens to an affected entity after the agent has performed the action. If the resulting state takes place, it means the agent's goal has been attained. This paper takes a different position with regard to the agent's intention as argued in section 2 and also takes a different approach in analyzing the constraint in co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates as argued in the next section.

5. An account of collocational constraints in terms of aspectual profile shift

5.1 Aspectual contour and aspectual profile

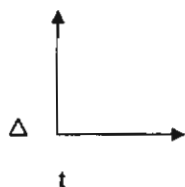
In this section, we will propose a new perspective of analyzing constraints on co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates in Thai and English. We will account for such constraints in terms of aspectual profile shift, which is the notion postulated by Croft (In preparation). Before we discuss the mechanism of aspectual profile shift, it is imperative to understand the semantic representation of lexical aspect as set forth by Croft (In preparation).

Aspect is generally defined as the temporal structure of a situation. Croft argues that the notion of aspect involves an important second dimension, namely, its qualitative structure, which is defined as the qualitative states it possesses over time.

The qualitative structure dimension represents only the relevant qualitative states and changes in a situation. The participants involved in a situation possess many different qualitative states at a given time. According to Croft, aspect must be understood as the interaction of two dimensions, namely, qualitative state and change on the one hand and time on the other. These two dimensions are represented geometrically in the two-dimensional diagram shown in figure 5. The symbol Δ represents the dimension of qualitative states and changes in a situation where as the symbol t represents the dimension of time.

Figure 5. *The two-dimensional representation for verbal aspect (Croft In preparation:*

2)

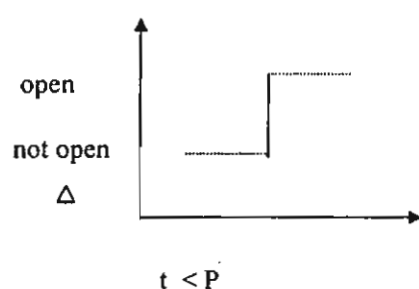


A situation is represented as a contour in the two-dimensional diagram above. This contour is called the "aspectual contour." The aspectual contour describes the course of a situation from its beginning to its end and represents a speaker's encyclopedic knowledge about the course of an event. The aspectual contour does not represent the aspectual meaning of a sentence containing a verb stem such as *open* and a tense-aspect construction. It is important to specify a particular phase in the situation as asserted by a sentence, such as *I opened the door*. The phase expressed by this sentence is the instantaneous change of state of the door from being not open to

being open. This phase of the situation is called the “profile” of the sentence meaning.

The aspectual contour and profile for *I opened the door* is shown in figure 6.

Figure 6. The aspectual contour and profile for ‘I opened the door.’ (Croft In preparation: 3)



In the figure above, the three central lines represent the aspectual contour of the situation of opening the door, which indicates the course of a situation from its beginning to its end. The vertical line represents the profile of the sentence *I opened the door*, which corresponds to the meaning of the transitive verb stem in combination with the tense-aspect construction, which is past tense in this case. The symbol $<P$ indicates a point in time preceding the present.

The combination of a verb stem and a tense-aspect construction gives rise to a “construal operation”, which refers to a reconceptualization of the situation’s aspectual structure. It may be a minor or major reconceptualization. A minor reconceptualization is simply a shift in what part of the aspectual contour is profiled. A major one is a more substantial restructuring of the aspectual contour.

According to Croft, the profile of the aspectual contour of a situation can be shifted if the verb stem indicating that situation appears in a “profile-changing construction.” A good example of a profile-changing construction is the *VERB-ing*

aspect construction, which normally serves as the progressive aspect marker in English. This progressive marker appears with activity verbs in normal circumstances, such as *John is running*, *John is reading a book*. However, stative verbs can occur in this construction in marked contexts. In that case, this construction serves to change the aspectual profile of the stative verbs from states to activities. Please look at the examples below.

(35) a. He is naughty.

b. He is being naughty.

The verb stem *be naughty* in sentence (35a) profiles a state. When this verb stem is put into the *VERB-ing* construction in sentence (35b), the original aspectual profile, which is a state, is reconceptualized or construed as an activity which is going on at the moment.

5.2 Aspectual profile shift in resultative constructions in Thai

In this section, we will account for the fact that the causative predicate with implied-result and entailed-result verbs can co-occur with many types of resultative predicate in terms of aspectual profile shift in Croft's sense. However, the profile-changing construction which applies to Thai resultative constructions is not the tense-aspect construction as in English. Rather, we argue that it is serial verb construction which changes the profile of the aspectual contour of a situation. A serial verb construction is generally defined as a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate and

which are put in juxtaposition without any linker. Serial verb constructions are prevalent in West African languages, Chinese and Southeast Asian languages including Thai, creole languages and Oceanic languages. There are many types of relation between verbs in serial verb constructions. One of the typical uses of serial verb construction is to indicate events occurring in sequence without a noticeable time span in between. The resultative meaning in which an action is followed by a resulting state of an affected entity can be considered a sequence of events. If an entailed-result verb representing the causing event and an inchoative verb representing the resulting event occur in sequence in the serial verb construction, these two verbs will be coerced by the construction to express a sequence of causing and resulting events without a noticeable time span. One important coercion effect is the disappearance of the entailment in the original entailed-result verb. It is argued in this paper that the crucial factor which allows the entailed-result and the implied-result verbs in Thai to take various types of resultative predicates is the reconstrual or reconceptualization of the original aspectual meaning of the verbs. The phenomenon under investigation is therefore accounted for in terms of Croft's notion of aspectual profile shift.

We argue that when an entailed-result verb in Thai, which expresses a sequence of subevents in itself, takes place in a serial verb construction, the accomplishment which characterizes the entailed-result verb is reconceptualized as an activity. The culmination phase of the situation denoted by the entailed-result verb is, in the serial verb construction, encoded as a separate achievement verb following the entailed-result verb in the case of a confirmed-entailment resultative predicate, or denied and encoded as the negative marker followed by the achievement verb in the

is linguistically negated by the negative morpheme *mây* preceding the achievement verb *taay* 'die/dead' as in (37b).

- (37) a. *sômchaay* *khâa* *malææŋ* *taay*
 Somchaay *kill* *bug* *die,dead*
 'Somchaay killed some bugs.'
- b. *sômchaay* *khâa* *malææŋ* *mây* *taay*
 Somchaay *kill* *bug* *not* *die,dead*
 'Somchaay tried to kill some bugs but they did not die.'

In the same vein, the aspectual profile of an implied-result verb with an inherent implicature occurring in a serial verb construction is reconceptualized as an activity without an implicature. This allows them to co-occur with different kinds of resultative predicate, namely, confirmed-implicature as in (18a-e), anti-implicature as in (20a-e), cancelled-implicature as in (21a-e), and other-event resultative predicate as in (22a-c).

5.3 *An account of collocational constraints in English*

To recapitulate, some English implied-result verbs functioning as the causative predicate in the resultative construction can take only a confirmed-implicature resultative predicate. They cannot take other kinds of resultative predicate as those in Thai. As for entailed-result verbs functioning as the causative predicate, they cannot take any resultative predicate. There is only one exception, namely, *kill*, which can

sequence of action and a result caused by the action which is lexically implied and entailed by a transitive verb¹². In contrast, only conventionalized scenes can be expressed by resultative constructions in English.

We might wonder whether or not the new account of the productivity in resultative constructions in Thai in terms of aspectual profile shift is in conflict with the previous accounts of comparable phenomena in terms of varying degrees of strength of implicature inherent in transitive verbs in a semantic field in a single language and in corresponding verbs in different languages as pointed out in section 4. The answer is no. The notions of aspectual profile shift and varying degrees of strength of implicature can work hand in hand. In analyzing linguistic phenomena, Langacker (1987) warns that an analyst should not fall into the "exclusionary fallacy," in which "one analysis, motivation, categorization, cause, function or explanation for a linguistic phenomenon necessarily precludes another" (Langacker 1987: 28). In our case, the adoption of the notion of aspectual profile shift in accounting for the productivity of resultative constructions in Thai does not preclude the notion of varying degrees of strength of implicature. Both notions can work hand in hand and help support each other. It is conceivable that if Thai verbs with an entailment such as *kháa* 'kill' repeatedly undergo aspectual profile shift, i.e. if they are used frequently in the serial verb construction, it is possible that the speaker and hearer accept this phenomenon in which the strength of lexical implicature gets weaker and weaker. From the language change perspective, it can be said that an entailment in this type of verb may become an implicature one day. This change is possible given the fact that there is no formal distinction marking aspectual contour difference between implied-result and entailed-result verbs in the construction under investigation in Thai.

as the state expressed by the satellite that does not lie on the conceptual axis leading to the verb's intended goal (Talmy 2000: 277).

5. The terms "confirmed-implicature," "anti-implicature," and "other-event" postulated in this study are also modified from Talmy's terms for different kinds of satellite, i.e., confirmation satellite, and antifulfillment satellite, respectively.

6. The sentences in (23) are intended to show that degrees of acceptability for confirmed-implicature resultatives vary with the verb. One of the anonymous reviewers pointed out that degrees of acceptability seem to vary with the type of the complement as well as in *John waxed the floor glossy (marginal)* vs. *John waxed the floor to a fine gloss (very common)*.

7. Sentences (21a-e) would be syntactically possible with a morphological negation such as *unclean*. However, they would be semantically odd.

8. The verb *hàk* in Thai belongs to the class of verbs which can be used either transitively or intransitively. The transitive *hàk* means to break something whereas the intransitive *hàk* can be interpreted as a process or a state. The former refers to a dynamic situation in which an entity enters into a state, which is a static situation. If such an "alternating" transitive verb occurs as the causative predicate in the resultative construction, one of the four directional verbs, i.e. *khûn* 'ascend,' *lɔŋ* 'descend,' *khâw* 'enter,' and *ʔòk* 'exit,' will be used as the resultative predicate instead of the homophonous form of the causative transitive verb to avoid repetition. (See Thepkanjana and Uehara (2004) for details on this use of the four directional verbs in Thai.) The action denoted by this type of transitive verb results in the change of location of an affected entity. Any of the four directional verbs which functions as the resultative predicate therefore simultaneously denotes the resulting change of

location of the affected entity and the direction of its motion. These four directional verbs can also appear as the resultative predicate in the resultative construction in which the transitive verb is not an alternating verb such as in (27e).

9. Tai and Chou's (1975) notion of "implicative action verbs" is based on Chauncey's (1973) observation that some English action verbs such as *find* and *learn* imply the attainment of a goal in carrying out an action. It is noted that the verbs *find* and *learn* are different from *kill* in that the agent's action is not linguistically encoded in the former whereas it is in the latter. Therefore, the former are not action verbs. On this basis, only the verb *kill* can be appropriately claimed to be an implicative action verb since it is made up of two subevents, namely, an agent's action and a resulting state.

10. It can be said that the exceptional case of *kill* taking *dead* in the English resultative construction which occurs in certain emphatic contexts is closest to the serial verb construction in Thai in question. It should be noted that the English resultative construction is not an aspectual profile-changing construction as the Thai serial verb construction, but can sometimes be an argument structure-changing construction. For example, the verb *run* is normally an intransitive verb but it can take a direct object in the resultative construction as in *He ran his shoes threadbare*.

11. One of the anonymous reviewers suspects that serial verb constructions in other languages are "quite commonly of this type" (i.e., Thai type), and we share his/her impression. However, we would like to leave the question of the universality of the aspectual profile shift of serial verb constructions for future study due to a lack of sufficient cross-linguistic data at hand.

12. The difference between conventionalized and unconventionalized scenes is a matter of degree and is, presumably, culturally dependent (Thepkanjana 2006).

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Dr Kingkarn Thepkanjana
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Chulalongkorn University
Phayathai Road
Bangkok 10330

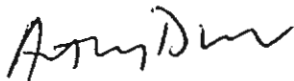
Dear Dr Kingkarn,

Thank you for your recent enquiry regarding the very fine paper you submitted with coauthor Satoshi Uehara: "Directional Verbs as Success Markers in Thai: Another Grammaticalization Path."

The paper was sent to outside readers and was formally accepted for publication. It will make an excellent contribution to the book: "The Tai-Kadai Languages". The publisher is Routledge (11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE) and they are aware of the inclusion of your paper. As you may know, this book is one of an ongoing Routledge series on major language families of the world. The coeditors are Jerold A. Edmondson (Professor of Linguistics at the University of Texas in Arlington), Dr Luo Yongxian of the University of Melbourne, and myself as Anthony Diller. Because of the series nature of the project, I cannot yet specify exactly when the book will be published, however the manuscript is in the final stages of preparation for formal submission, so the end is in sight. I regret any inconvenience this timeframe may cause.

If you need to contact me further, this email is the most efficient: adiller@iprimus.com.au as my institutional email system is sometimes less dependable.

Best wishes for success in your current research and other academic work.



Anthony Diller
Emeritus Director
National Thai Studies Centre, Canberra
& Visiting Fellow (Linguistics), University of Sydney

Postal address:
Unit 10 / 215 Bridge Road
Glebe NSW 2037 Australia

CHAPTER TWENTY

DIRECTIONAL VERBS AS SUCCESS MARKERS IN THAI: ANOTHER GRAMMATICALIZATION PATH*

Kingkarn Thepkanjana and Satoshi Uehara

1. INTRODUCTION

Directional verbs refer to verbs which denote movements described in terms of their directionality with respect to a Landmark,¹ being directed towards or away from it. The Landmark is not treated as the source nor the destination of a movement. Rather, the Landmark is a known point in the path of movement and it may be construed as a possible source or destination if the movement were to be conceived as starting at one Landmark and continuing to another Landmark. Any physical entity may function as a Landmark in specifying the direction of the movement. On this basis, directions may be specified as towards and away from such entities functioning as Landmarks.

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¹ According to Talmy (1983) and Langacker (1987), the description of a location of an object involves the recognition of some kind of asymmetrical relation between the object we want to locate and the object with respect to which we locate it. We may recognize asymmetrical relations with respect to size, containment, support, orientation, order, direction, distance, motion, or a combination of these. In describing the asymmetrical relation between entities in a spatial situation, Talmy (1983) borrows the terms "figure" and "ground" from Gestalt Psychology (Köhler 1929, Koffka 1935) to label the object to be located (Figure) and the reference object (Ground), whereas Langacker (1987) introduces a different pair of terms, namely, Trajector and Landmark. In this study, Langacker's terms will be adopted.

(5) *khăw* *khēn* *roī* *mây* *pay*
 he push car not go
 'He tried to push the car away but was not successful.'

(6) *khăw* *taam* *tamruat* *mây* *maa* *săk* *thii*
 he call upon police not come even time
 'He kept calling upon the police but they did not show up (even once).'

Specifically, this paper aims to:

- (a) analyze semantic types of main verbs that co-occur with the six directional verbs functioning as success markers in the syntactic pattern described above;
- (b) provide a semantic account which motivates the use of the six directional verbs to indicate success of the performance of the agent's actions;
- (c) account for grammaticalization of the six directional verbs into success markers.

Section 2 deals with the first two objectives mentioned above. The grammaticalization process of these directional verbs is examined in section 3. Section 4 concludes the paper. The approach used in this study corresponds to what Traugott (1986) terms "internal semantic reconstruction", which refers to the study of synchronic senses of a lexical item in order to hypothesize the historical order in which those senses arose. Therefore, the notion of polysemy plays a crucial role in the investigation of the grammaticalization of the directional verbs into success markers in this study.

2. MOTIVATION FOR USING THE SIX DIRECTIONAL VERBS AS SUCCESS MARKERS

In this section, we will examine semantic and pragmatic principles which motivate the use of the six directional verbs as success markers. We will first look into the inherent meanings of the six directional verbs when they are used in isolation in section 2.1. In section 2.2, we will discuss semantic properties of the verb phrases which co-occur with the directional verbs functioning as success markers in sentences. Such verb phrases are called in this paper "the co-occurring verb phrases" for convenience. Section 2.3 will discuss a pragmatic constraint on the occurrence of the six success markers in sentences.

2.1 Inherent meanings of the six directional verbs

First, we will examine the semantics of the six directional verbs in detail since it plays a crucial role in accounting for the use of these verbs as success markers. As mentioned above, these verbs conflate motions and directions described with reference to certain Landmarks. The conceptual core of the system for describing movement is the path, which usually has a distinctive beginning and end. Paths are the channels along which people move, such as streets, walkways, canals, rivers. They are generally conceived of as

linear, one-dimensional entities (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 378). Vertical and horizontal axes provide a conceptual frame of reference for path and directional descriptions. They represent internalized Landmarks anchoring judgements of direction and orientation. The verbs *khuân* 'ascend' and *lɔŋ* 'descend' indicate directions of the path with reference to certain salient entities in the environment, namely, the sky and the ground. The former describes the direction of the path towards the sky whereas the latter describes that towards the ground. The effects of gravity enhance the salience of the ground since gravity results in movement towards it (Svorou 1994: 29). The directions of the path by these two directional verbs coincide with the vertical axis. The verbs *khāw* 'enter' and *ʔɔ̀k* 'exit' describe the directions of the path with reference to an enclosure or containment. The former describes the direction of a movement into an enclosure relationship within another entity whereas the latter describes that out of an enclosure relationship. The directions of the movement encoded by these two directional verbs can be along both the vertical as well as the horizontal axis. In other words, the axis of the path along which the movement traverses is not specified in these two verbs. The verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' describe the directions of the movement with reference to the speaker's center of attention, which serves as the deictic center. The former expresses the direction away from the speaker's center of attention whereas the latter expresses the direction towards it. These two verbs are the only pair of directional verbs which are deictic; their interpretation must rely on the speech situation or the context of the utterance in which the two verbs are used. Like *khāw* 'enter' and *ʔɔ̀k* 'exit', the directional verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' can describe the direction of the movement either along the vertical or the horizontal axis. Of all the three pairs of directional verbs, the directions indicated by *khuân* 'ascend' and *lɔŋ* 'descend' are considered the most specific and the most constant for people since everybody is in the same gravitational field. These two verbs are thus physically anchored in the same way for everybody. The deictic verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' are considered the least semantically specific since the actual directions expressed by them when they are uttered in speech totally depend on the context of situation of the utterance containing them. In principle, they can coincide with the directions indicated by the other two pairs of verbs as long as they describe directions with respect to the speaker's center of attention. Note that the verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come', which are the least specific, are found to be used the least frequently as success markers in Thai. In short, the directional verbs enable us to identify dynamic locations, which arise from the movement of objects through many locations successively. The next question which we will address in the next section is what semantic properties the verb phrases that co-occur with the directional verbs have.

2.2 Semantic properties of the co-occurring verb phrases

As mentioned earlier, a predicate consisting of a transitive verb, its direct object argument and one of the six directional verbs functioning as a success marker expresses the meaning that an agent carries out a certain action which brings about an effect in an entity crucially involved in that action and which results in the change of location of that entity.

The affected entity which tends to change its location as a result of the agent's action is not necessarily the entity denoted by the direct object argument although it is likely to be so. For example, the entity which changed the location in (3) above is not the entity named by the direct object, but rather the linguistically unexpressed instrument which is used by the agent in piercing the wall. On this basis, the sentences composed of a transitive verb, its direct object argument, and one of the six directional verbs, can be regarded as the resultative construction. The six directional verbs occurring in this construction are thus qualified to be called "resultative phrases" or "resultative predicates" since they indicate the changed location of an entity involved in an agent's action as a result of that particular action.

It is argued here that a verb phrase which co-occurs with one of the directional verbs functioning as a success marker must incorporate the notion of motion in some way. The motion may be transparent as in *yók klôŋ* 'lift a box' and *kheñ roĩ* 'push a car'. It may be merely implied as in *kin ʔaahǎan* 'eat food' and *pluuk tǝnmǎy* 'plant a tree'. The notion of motion, which is transparently expressed or implied by the verb phrase, motivates its co-occurrence with one of the six directional verbs in a sentence.

The verb phrases which co-occur with the directional verbs functioning as success markers are semantically characterized by the fact that the agents of the actions named by these verb phrases have certain goals in mind in carrying out the actions. In other words, each co-occurring verb phrase consists of two main components, namely, (1) the agent's intended and executed action, and (2) the agent's further intention that this action lead to a particular desired result. In this case, the agent's goal is to set in motion an entity crucially involved in an agent's action so that the entity will be situated in a new location. There are varying degrees of intrinsicness of the agent's goal to the inherent semantics of the co-occurring verb phrase. In other words, the agent's goal may be weakly implicated or strongly implicated. It is more likely for the agent's goal in the latter case to be attained than that in the former case. Some Thai examples which illustrate the agent's goal which is weakly implicated in the semantics of the co-occurring verb phrase are given in (7)-(18). All of the examples are negative sentences for the sake of naturalness.

- (7) *chǎn tǝi khǎy mǎy khuĩn*
 I beat egg not ascend
 'I tried to beat the eggs fluffy but was not successful.'

- (8) *chǎn khuĩt dǝn mǎy khuĩn*
 I dig soil not ascend
 'I tried to dig a hole but was not successful.'

- (9) *chǎn thuĩp tapuu mǎy loŋ*
 I hit down nail not descend
 'I tried to hit the nail down but was not successful.'

- (10) *chǎn klwum nám mǎy loŋ*
 I swallow water not descend
 'I tried to swallow the water down but could not.'
- (11) *chǎn hàn nũa mǎy khǎw phrɔʔ nǎw máak*
 I cut meat not enter because tough very
 'I tried to cut the meat but was not successful because it was very tough.'
- (12) *chǎn cɔʔ kamphæŋ mǎy khǎw*
 I pierce wall not enter
 'I tried to pierce the wall but was not successful.'
- (13) *chǎn phàa tæŋmoo mǎy ʔɔk*
 I cut in half melon not exit
 'I tried to cut the melon in half but was not successful.'
- (14) *chǎn láaŋ khraap sɔkprɔk mǎy ʔɔk*
 I wash stain dirty not exit
 'I tried to wash the stain out but was not successful.'
- (15) *khǎw khēn roit mǎy pay*
 he push car not go
 'He tried to push the car away from him but was not successful.'
- (16) *khǎw lǎy mæw mǎy pay sǎk thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not go even time
 'He tried to drive the cat away from him but was not successful (even once).'
- (17) *khǎw riak khonrapchǎy mǎy maa sǎk thii*
 he call maid not come even time
 'He tried to call a maid but she did not come to him (even once).'
- (18) *khǎw taam tamruat mǎy maa sǎk thii*
 he call upon police not come even time
 'He kept calling upon the police but they did not show up (even once).'

The motion is transparent in the meanings of the verb phrases in most examples above. Each of the co-occurring verb phrases expresses an action with the agent's goal that an entity involved in the agent's action changes its location as a result of his/her action. In each of the examples above except in (11) and (12), the entity which was in motion is that denoted by the direct object argument. In (11) and (12), our real-world knowledge suggests that the entities in motion were a knife which was used to cut the meat and a drill which was used to pierce the wall, respectively. These two entities are not linguistically expressed in the sentence. Because we cannot tell from the inherent semantics of the co-occurring verb phrases if the agent's goal is attained or not, the goal is considered the weak implication. The following negated success markers serve to cancel the implication

in the co-occurring verb phrases. Notice that it takes the whole verb phrase to convey the meaning that the agent has a certain goal in mind in performing an action. A single verb such as *tii* 'hit, beat' in (7) and *ri□ak* 'call' in (17) does not in itself convey such an implication.

The co-occurring verb phrases with the strong implication indicate that the agent's intention in setting an entity in motion is very likely to be fulfilled. Some examples of verb phrases with the strong implication are *khluān (roī)* 'move (car)', *phlik (krādaat)* 'turn over (paper)', *dāp (thian)* 'blow out (candle)', *cāx (roī)* 'stop (car)', *pīt (prātuu)* 'close (door)', and *phaŋ (bāan)* 'demolish (house)'. These transitive verbs correspond to what Thepkanjana (2000: 265) called "alternating transitive verbs", which are defined as transitive causative verbs which have identical intransitive variants. In other words, these verbs can appear in both transitive and intransitive constructions. When these verbs occur intransitively, they may express (a) activities, such as *(roī) khluān* '(car) move', (b) processes or inchoativeness, such as *(thian) dāp* '(candle) go out', and (c) resulting states, such as *(kīŋmāy) hāk* '(twig) be broken'. Notice that some of the alternating transitive verbs are either motion or motion-implied verbs whereas some others are not. It should be noted that most alternating transitive verbs alone without their direct object noun phrases can indicate the implication that the agent's goal is very likely to be fulfilled. On the other hand, a non-alternating transitive verb refers to a transitive verb which does not have an intransitive form, such as *chīk* 'tear', *lāaŋ* 'wash', *bōt* 'grind', *khāa* 'kill', *tai* 'cut off' and *phāa* 'cut in half'. In the case of alternating transitive verbs, it is not possible to use their homophonous intransitive forms, which express the resulting states of the agent's actions expressed by the transitive verbs, to confirm the implication that the resulting states are very likely to occur because it will result in obvious redundancy. In the same vein, it is not possible either to use their negated homophonous intransitive forms to cancel such an implication. Examples (19) and (20) illustrate this point.

(19) **chǎn hāk kīŋmāy hāk*
I break twig broken

(20) **chǎn khōon tōnmāy māy khōon*
I fell tree not collapse

However, it is possible to confirm (only in restricted contexts) and cancel the implication that the agent's intention has been fulfilled only by using appropriate directional verbs functioning as success markers. Only the examples with negated success markers are given below.

(21) *chǎn hāk kīŋmāy ma□y ?āak*
I break twig not exit
'I tried to break the twig but was not successful.'

- (22) *chǎn khōon tōnmǎy mǎy loŋ*
 I fell tree not descend
 'I tried to fell the tree but was not successful.'

Notice that the motions expressed in all examples above are of the physical type. It is also possible for the motion to be in the abstract realm as shown in the examples below.

- (23) *chǎn kheñ lūukchaay mǎy khūñ ciŋ ciŋ*
 I push son not ascend really
 'I tried to push my son to success but was not successful.'
 'I tried to push up my son but was not successful.' (Literal translation)

- (24) *chǎn yu? phūñ mǎy khūñ*
 I convince someone to take action friend not ascend
 'I tried to convince a friend to take an action but was not successful.'

- (25) *chǎn àan laaymuru khōŋ khun mǎy ʔòk*
 I read handwriting of you not exit
 'I tried to read your handwriting but was not successful.'

- (26) *chǎn khĩ khrooŋwǎŋ mǎy ʔòk*
 I think plot not exit
 'I tried to think of a plot of the story but was not successful.'

- (27) *fàaykháan khōon ráithabaan mǎy loŋ*
 opposition turn upside down government not descend
 'The opposition tried to overthrow the government but was not successful.'

In sentences (23)-(27), there are nonphysical motions in the upward, outward and downward directions as a result of the agent's actions. The main verbs in (23) and (27), which roughly mean to set something in motion, are used in a metaphorical way which can be metaphorically interpreted as to make efforts to push someone to success and to overthrow (the government), respectively. We can see that the notion of motion is still transparent in both verbs. It is merely transferred to the abstract domain because the main verbs incorporating it are used in a metaphorical way. The situation is different in (24)-(26), in which the main verbs do not seem to involve the notion of motion at all. We would like to argue that metaphoric processes operate in a more complicated way in (24)-(26), which explains why motion is less transparent in these three sentences. In accounting for the metaphor at work in these three sentences, we will draw on the notion of metaphorical concept postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). According to them, metaphor is not just a matter of language. "On the contrary, human processes are largely metaphorical" (6). Metaphors for them do not refer to linguistic expressions, but to a person's conceptual system, which is metaphorical in nature. This motivates their postulation of the term "metaphorical concept". One type of metaphorical concepts

discussed in their work which is pertinent to the issue in question is "orientational metaphors", which give a concept of spatial orientation and which arise from our physical and cultural experience, for example, HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN; MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN. Orientational metaphors play an important role in human conceptualization because most of our fundamental concepts of human beings are claimed to be organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors. In (24), the metaphorical concept at work is TAKING ACTION IS UP, which is grounded in our experiential basis that taking an action is moving upward. The metaphorical concept which is operative in (25) is UNDERSTANDING IS OUT, which is based on our experience that if we understand something, we have the impression that the sense of that thing comes out and reaches us. The metaphorical concept at work in (26) is FIGURING OUT SOMETHING IS OUT. This metaphorical concept is based on the physical experience that when we try to come up with or to figure out something, our thinking takes place in our head. When we are successful in figuring it out, it will come out of our head and may be known to other people. In summary, the notion of motion in (23)-(27) arises from metaphorical processes but in different ways. In (23) and (27), the motion arises from the metaphorical use of the main verbs. In (24)-(26), the whole actions expressed by the verb phrases must be understood in a metaphorical way, which gives rise to the metaphorical concepts described above.

Notice that there is a particular direction inherent in the motion of an entity crucially involved in the agent's action. For example, in the egg-beating example in (7), since the eggs became fluffy as a result of the agent's beating them, the direction of the motion of the eggs must be upward. Therefore, it is argued that there must be semantic agreement between the direction of the motion associated with the verb phrase and that inherent in the directional verb functioning as the success marker. This is also true for the cases of *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' in (15)-(18) repeated here for convenience as (28)-(31), in which *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' are not interchangeable. However, when the verb phrases in (28)-(31) do not co-occur with *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' in the success reading, they do not exhibit any inherent direction. In other words, they do exhibit an inherent direction when they co-occur with the directional verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' functioning as success markers.

- (28) *khǎw khēn roí mǎy pay*
 he push car not go
 'He tried to push the car away from himself but was not successful.'
- (29) *khǎw lǎy mæxw mǎy pay sǎk thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not go even time
 'He tried to drive the cat away from himself but was not successful (even once).'
- (30) *khǎw rǎk khonrǎpcháy mǎy maa sǎk thii*
 he call maid not come even time
 'He tried to call a maid but she did not come to him (even once).'

- (31) *khaŋw taam tamruət mǎy maa sǎk thii*
 he call upon police not come even time
 'He kept calling upon the police but they did not show up (even once).'

As we see here, the motions expressed by the main verbs and the direct object nouns occurring in (28)–(31) do have specific directions. The main verbs in (28) and (29) express the meanings that the agent tried to move the entities denoted by the direct object arguments away from him/her. On the other hand, the main verbs in (30) and (31) express the meanings that the agent tried to bring someone to where he/she was located. The directional verb *pay* in (28) and (29) cannot be replaced by *maa* and vice versa in (30) and (31) as shown in (32)–(35).

- (32) **khaŋw kheŋ roŋ mǎy maa*
 he push car not come
- (33) **khaŋw lǎy mæaw mǎy maa sǎk thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not come even time
- (34) **khaŋw rǎk khonrǎpchai mǎy pay sǎk thii*
 he call maid not go even time
- (35) **khaŋw taam tamruət mǎy pay sǎk thii*
 he call upon police not go even time

Notice that the speaker's center of attention in the two deictic verbs is replaced by the agent's in (28)–(31). In other words, these two deictic verbs have lost their deictic function when they are used as success markers. This explains why *pay* and *maa* are not interchangeable in the sentences above. This point will be fully discussed in section 3.

2.3 Pragmatic constraint on the occurrence of success markers

As seen in section 2.2, the verb phrases which co-occur with success markers convey the implication that the agent's intention in carrying out an action has been fulfilled, which entails that the agent has performed an action successfully. In this case, one might wonder why we would need to indicate the success of the agent's performance of an action by combining one of the six directional verbs with such verb phrases in the first place. Is such a success not expressed by default in the verb phrases? We want to argue in this study that those verb phrases in the normal state of affairs imply that the agent's goal in performing an action is attained, or, in other words, that a resulting state is incurred upon an affected entity. However, if the context of situation requires that the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of the agent's goal in performing the action be emphasized or highlighted, we can use the linguistic device of adding one of the directional verbs to the verb phrase in the sentence to obtain such a pragmatic effect. To highlight the success of the agent's

performance of an action or the fulfillment of his/her goal in performing an action naturally requires a marked context since those verb phrases by default imply such a success on the part of the agent. According to Givón (1984: 323), the major function of declarative sentences in discourse is to convey new information. If any of the directional verbs functioning as success markers occur in sentences in an unmarked context, they will become redundant and the sentences in which they occur will be infelicitous since they do not provide new information. A marked context enables affirmative sentences with the directional verbs to provide new information, i.e. to emphasize the success of the agent's performance of an action. This "new" information makes the occurrence of the directional verbs pragmatically appropriate. This explains why the use of directional verbs as success markers is not found frequently in affirmative (as opposed to negative) and declarative (as opposed to interrogative) sentences. Rather, these directional verbs functioning as success markers are more prevalent in negative sentences in which the directional verbs themselves are negated and in interrogative sentences. The negative variant of the declarative sentence is used to convey new information of a very different sort than the corresponding affirmative. In the negative sentence, the normal expectation or the presupposed presupposition, which is in this case the success of the performance of the agent's action, is denied, whereas it is questioned in the interrogative one. Since the negative sentence serves to provide new information and the interrogative one to question backgrounded information, they provide appropriate contexts in which the directional verbs can occur.

2.4 Summary

In section 2, we have investigated semantic and pragmatic principles which motivate the use of the six directional verbs as success markers. We have examined the inherent semantics of each directional verb when it occurs in isolation. The deictic verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' are found to be the least specific semantically. We have found that the co-occurring verb phrases convey the implication that the agent's intention in carrying out an action has been fulfilled and that they must incorporate the notion of motion in some way. The motion can be either of the physical or abstract type. The abstract type of motion results from metaphorical processes which can operate either linguistically or conceptually. It is found that there must be semantic agreement in terms of direction between that inherent in the motion associated with the co-occurring verb phrase and that in the directional verb in a sentence. The success markers are found to be prevalent in negative and interrogative sentences because of their pragmatically marked nature. The next section will examine the grammaticalization process which derives success markers from their lexical sources. Some research works on the verbs in other languages which semantically correspond to the Thai directional verbs will be reviewed so that we will get a broader view of the Thai phenomenon being examined.

3. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS INTO SUCCESS MARKERS

We will begin this section by reviewing how the verbs corresponding to the Thai directional verbs have been analyzed in other languages especially Chinese. The previous analyses of these corresponding verbs in other languages will shed light on the Thai phenomenon under investigation.

3.1 Previous analyses of corresponding verbs in other languages

In studying the processes of grammaticalization of nouns and verbs in East and Southeast Asian languages, Bisang (1996) postulates six types of grammaticalized markers or, in his terms, six “products of grammaticalization” of verbs, namely, resultative verbs, directional verbs, TAM (tense, aspect, modality) markers, coverbs, causative verbs, and conjunctive verbs. Three of the six products, i.e. directional verbs, TAM markers and coverbs, show a high degree of grammaticalization (Bisang 1996: 564). Note that Bisang makes distinctions between resultative verbs, directional verbs and TAM markers. It is found in his examples that the verbs which express directions when they occur in isolation in different languages can be grammaticalized into resultative verbs, directional verbs and TAM marker. Bisang’s examples which illustrate resultative and directional verbs are quoted here as below.²

Some examples of resultative verbs given by Bisang (1996: 564-566)

- (36) *tā chī bǎo-le* (Chinese)
s/he eat full-TAM
‘S/He has been eating his/her fill.’
- (37) *nó tìm du’o’c vàng o’ du’o’l sông* (Vietnamese)
he look_for get gold COV:be_at down river
‘He found gold in the river.’
- (38) *khǎw pít pratuu (mā) lɔŋ* (Thai)
he close door (NEG) RES:go_down
‘He closed the door.’ / (‘He didn’t close the door.’)³

² The phonetic transcription, the glosses and the sentence translation of Bisang’s examples are kept intact in this paper.

³ We would translate this sentence as ‘He was trying to close the door but not successful.’ This sentence translation implies that the agent has begun the action of closing the door but could not fulfill the task due to some reason. Bisang’s translation of this sentence may be interpreted in such a way that the agent did not even begin the action of closing the door at all, which is not the accurate interpretation of this sentence.

Some examples of directional verbs given by Bisang (1996: 565: 566).

(39) a. *tā pǎo shàng lái* (Chinese)
 s/he run vdl:go_up vdII: come
 'S/he runs up [towards the speaker].'

b. *tā pǎo xià qù* (Chinese)
 s/he run vdl:go_down vdII: go
 'S/he runs down [away from the speaker].'

(40) *kəɔ̌t lə:t coh cəŋ mə:k* (Cambodian)
 he jump vdl:go_down vdII:go_out vdIII:come
 'He jumps down and out towards the speaker/center of interest.'

Notice that sentence (38) contains one of our directional verbs functioning as a success marker. Therefore, our six directional verbs functioning as success markers would be categorized as resultative verbs by Bisang since these verbs indicate resulting states of the affected entities involved in the agent's actions as pointed out earlier. These directional verbs are claimed in Thepkanjana and Uehara (2004) to be a type of resultative predicate in the Thai resultative construction which indicates the change of location of an affected entity crucially involved in an agent's action. On the other hand, Bisang's category of directional verbs actually consists of the directional verbs which are used in their literal sense in the spatial domain only. It can be inferred from Bisang's separation of the resultative and directional verb categories from each other that there is no sense of direction involved in the verb *loŋ* 'go down' which is claimed by him to function as the resultative verb in sentence (38).

It is found that the Chinese verbs which semantically correspond to the Thai directional verbs have been treated in the literature on Chinese linguistics in a similar fashion as in Bisang (1996). Although the verbal constructions in question in Thai are structurally different from those in Chinese since the former are considered serial verb constructions with an intervening object argument whereas the latter are considered verb compounds, both types of verbal constructions in Thai and Chinese are comparable. Both types of construction are composed of two verbs one of which serves to complement or modify the other. Furthermore, a large number of verbal complements or modifiers in Chinese verb compounds are claimed to add the resultative and the directional meanings to the main verbs, which is also true of a large number of serial verbs in Thai. In light of these facts, a review of analyses of Chinese verb compounds is relevant to the Thai phenomenon under investigation.

In studying resultative verb compounds in Mandarin Chinese, Thompson (1973) distinguishes between resultative verb compounds and directional ones and claims that they are derived by different means. Thompson's category of resultative verb compounds includes those which indicate a change of state or a change of location of an affected entity whereas the directional one includes those with directional suffixes having only a

literal directional meaning. Some examples of Thompson's resultative verb compounds with directional suffixes having metaphorical meanings are quoted below (371).

(41) *xiǎng-chulai* 'think-come out' = 'think of a solution'

(42) *mǐngbai-guolai* 'understand-come past' = 'come to understand'

(43) *tīng-jinqu* 'hear-go in' = "absorb" what is said'

If we apply Thompson's frame of categorization to the Thai verbal constructions containing directional verbs serving as success markers, most of the instantiations especially the ones with metaphorical meanings would be analyzed as resultative verb compounds. The Thai verbal constructions containing directional verbs used in their literal senses would fall under the directional verb compounds within Thompson's framework of analysis.

In studying the verb-verb construction in Mandarin, Lu (1977) also postulates a distinction between resultative and directional verb compounds in Mandarin. A resultative verb compound is defined as a "V-V construction in a sentence where the second verb indicates a result caused by the action or the process represented by the first verb" (282). On the other hand, a directional verb compound is defined as a "V-V construction in a sentence where the first verb indicates the manner of a motion verb and the second the direction in which that verb moves" (292). The former expresses a nonspatial change of the affected entity whereas the latter is used in the spatial domain. Lu also recognizes the third type of verb compound in Mandarin which displays a combination of features of the other two types of verb compound at the same time. The third type of verb compound is thus regarded ambiguous according to Lu. The example below belongs to Lu (300).⁴

(44) *Ta ba keren qing shangqu le*
 he object marker guest invite go up Asp
 'He invited the guest to go up and the guest did.'

Notice that sentence (44) is semantically analogous to the Thai sentences with the directional verbs functioning as success markers especially the verbs *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come'. Since these Thai directional verbs are argued to be resultative predicates indicating a change of location of an affected entity, it is not surprising that their corresponding verbal constructions in Mandarin are claimed to be both resultative and directional at the same time. If we analyzed the Thai data in this frame, the Thai verbal constructions with the directional verbs used in the success reading would be put in Lu's third type of verb compound.

⁴ Tone markers are missing in Lu's examples.

Yong (1997) is another piece of work which makes a distinction between resultative verbs and directional verbs, or in his terms, resultative verb complements (RVCs) and directional verb complements (DVCs). According to Yong (1997: 3), a large number of RVCs are realized as adjectives. The DVC category can be subclassified into the DVC with literal directional meaning and the DVC with nonliteral or little literal meaning. Some examples of the latter subtype of DVC cited by Yong belong to Teng (1977: 5-6), i.e. *ai-shang* 'love-up=fall in love', and to McDonald (1994: 329), i.e. *xing-guolai* 'wake-across towards=wake up'. In light of Yong's analysis of Chinese data, the Thai directional verbs functioning as success markers might be categorized as the DVC type.

In summary, all of the works reviewed above aim at classifying verbal constructions consisting of two verbs into discrete types. The two types which appear in all works cited above are the resultative and directional types. All works make a distinction between resultative and directional verbal constructions. Some of them recognize the nonliteral and/or metaphorical uses of the directionals. The frames of analysis used in all of the works which study the comparable verbal constructions in other languages reviewed above are argued to be inadequate to account for the Thai phenomenon under investigation because the Thai directional verbs functioning as success markers arguably express resultative and directional meanings simultaneously. However, the directional meaning may not always be in the physical realm as shown above. These facts of Thai data would not be easy to account for within the previous frameworks of analysis used with data in other languages especially Chinese. In the next section, we will propose a new analysis of the Thai data in light of the findings that we have presented in section 2.

3.2 Grammaticalization of directional verbs into success markers

In this paper, we will propose a new analysis of the six directional verbs functioning as success markers in Thai. We argue that these six success markers are a "product of grammaticalization" in Bisang's terms and have as their lexical sources full-fledged directional verbs which conflate both movement and direction. These verbs originally occurred as non-initial, serial verbs in the serial verb construction and have been grammaticalized into success markers. Our analysis is discussed in detail below. To prevent confusion about terminology, we will from now on use the term "directional verbs" to refer to lexical sources of all grammaticalized forms derived from them. Therefore, the directional verbs, which are full-fledged verbs, can either occur as single verbs in a sentence or initial verbs in the serial verb construction. We will use the term "success markers" to refer to the grammaticalized forms of directional verbs which function as success markers in the Thai resultative construction. As mentioned earlier, the paper adopts the approach of studying synchronic senses of a lexical item in order to make a generalization about the historical order in which those senses arose, which is called by Traugott (1986) "internal semantic reconstruction".

It is well known that spatial words including nouns and verbs are cross-linguistically an important lexical source of grammatical forms which can be linguistically realized as adpositions, affixes, and case inflections (Svorou 1994: 64). These forms which are

developed from spatial nouns and verbs are termed “spatial grams” (Svorou 1994: 31).⁵ These different forms of spatial grams represent different stages on a grammaticalization path and are used in other semantic domains than the spatial one.

According to the principles of grammaticalization set forth by Hopper and Traugott (1993), grammaticalization can be characterized by the following properties.

- (a) Lexical or content words are sources of grammaticalized forms.
- (b) Grammaticalized forms can be free or bound morphemes.
- (c) In some cases, lexical sources of grammaticalized forms and the grammaticalized forms themselves can coexist at the same time in a language, which constitutes a case of polysemy. In other cases, the former can disappear and only the latter remain.
- (d) The process of grammaticalization proceeds along a path which is a unidirectional cline. That is, it goes forward and does not go back. However, the path of grammaticalization does not necessarily reach the complete and final stage, which is typically morphologization of a lexical item into a bound grammatical morpheme.
- (e) Grammaticalization is typically accompanied by certain effects, namely, decategorization and semantic bleaching.
- (f) The grammaticalized forms can exhibit different degrees of lexical and grammatical status. They are not necessarily depleted of all lexical content and become “completely” grammatical.

Returning to the phenomenon under investigation in this paper, the success markers in Thai synchronically coexist with their lexical sources, which are the homophonous full-fledged directional verbs which can occur in isolation and as initial verbs in the serial verb construction. This constitutes a case of polysemy according to Hopper and Traugott’s principle (c). In order to argue that the six success markers in Thai are grammaticalized forms, or “spatial grams” in Svorou’s terms, which are developed from full-fledged directional verbs, we have to rely on their syntactic and semantic properties since their morphological forms do not change. To find out how success markers differ syntactically and semantically from their lexical sources, we will try taking them out of the sentences in which they appear and combine them with the nouns denoting the entities which are in motion in those sentences to see how acceptable they are as below.

- (45) a. *khǎw yók klòŋ mǎy khuŋ*
 he lift box not ascend
 ‘He tried to lift a box up but was not successful.’

⁵ The term “gram” was first used in Bybee (1986) to refer to grammatical morphemes. This term iconically reflects the typically small phonological size of grammatical morphemes as well as the fact that they are evolved from larger units.

developed from spatial nouns and verbs are termed "spatial grams" (Svorou 1994: 31).⁵ These different forms of spatial grams represent different stages on a grammaticalization path and are used in other semantic domains than the spatial one.

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b. * *klɔŋ* *mây* *khưn*
box not ascend

(46) a. *chǎn* *yu?* *phưn* *mây* *khưn*
I convince someone to take action friend not ascend
'I tried to convince a friend to take an action but was not successful.'

b. ? *phưn* *mây* *khưn*
friend not ascend

(47) a. *khǎw* *kòt* *pum* *mây* *log*
he press button not descend
'He tried to push the button down but was not successful.'

b. * *pum* *mây* *log*
button not descend

(48) a. *chǎn* *thúp* *tapuu* *mây* *log*
I hit down nail not descend
'I tried to hit the nail down but was not successful.'

b. ? *tapuu* *mây* *log*
nail not descend

(49) a. *khǎw* *cɔ?* *kamphæŋ* *mây* *khǎw*
he pierce wall not enter
'He tried to pierce the wall but was not successful.'

b. ? *sawàn* *mây* *khǎw*
drill not enter

(50) a. *chǎn* *hàn* *nuá* *mây* *khǎw* *phrɔ?* *niǎw* *māk*
I cut meat not enter because tough very
'I tried to cut the meat but was not successful because it was very tough.'

b. * *mūt* *mây* *khǎw*
knife not enter

(51) a. *khǎw* *lǎŋ* *khàp* *sòkkapròk* *mây* *?ðək*
he wash stain dirty not exit
'He tried to wash the stain out but was not successful.'

b. *khàp* *sòkkapròk* *mây* *?ðək*
stain dirty not exit
'The stain did not go out.'

(52) a. *chǎn àn laaymɯɯ khɔ̃ɔŋ khun māy ʔɔ̃ɔk*
 I read handwriting of you not exit
 'I tried to read your handwriting but was not successful.'

b. * *laaymɯɯ khɔ̃ɔŋ khun māy ʔɔ̃ɔk*
 handwriting of you not exit

(53) a. *khǎw khěn roí māy pay*
 he push car not go
 'He tried to push the car away but was not successful.'

b. ? *roí māy pay*
 car not go

(54) a. *khǎw láy mæ̃æw māy pay sǎk thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not go even time
 'He tried to drive the cat away from himself but was not successful (even once).'

b. *mæ̃æw māy pay sǎk thii*
 cat not go even once
 'The cat did not go.'

(55) a. *khǎw riák khonrapcháy māy maa sǎk thii*
 he call maid not come even time
 'He tried to call a maid but she did not come to him (even once).'

b. *khonrapcháy māy maa sǎk thii*
 maid not come even time
 'The maid did not show up.'

(56) a. *khǎw taam tamruát māy maa sǎk thii*
 he call upon police not come even time
 'He kept calling upon the police but they did not show up (even once).'

b. *tamruát māy maa sǎk thii*
 police not come even time
 'The police did not show up.'

Each of the (b) sentences above consists of two major components, i.e. (1) the subject noun phrase which was in motion and changed a location, which is an affected entity in the corresponding (a) sentence, and (2) the negated directional verb, which functions as the success marker in the corresponding (a) sentence. What we were trying to do with the (b) sentences above was to try using the success markers in the (a) sentences as full-fledged directional verbs in the (b) sentences with the noun phrases denoting entities

which were in motion in the (a) sentences and see if they were acceptable in that syntactic context or not. Therefore, it seems that each of the (b) sentences is a part of the corresponding (a) sentence. Some observations can be made based on the examples above as follows.

Some of the (b) sentences are acceptable; some are questionable; and some are not acceptable at all even though the noun phrases denoting the entities in motion are the same as those in the corresponding (a) sentences and even though they moved in the same directions in both (a)s and (b)s. The questionability and unacceptability of some of the (b) sentences above can be accounted for in terms of many factors. In some cases, certain subject noun phrases simply do not co-occur with certain directional verbs, such as in (45b), (47b), (50b), and (52b). There may be many reasons for the impossibility for them to co-occur. One reason may be that some of the directional verbs are likely to be used as main verbs with the subject noun phrases denoting animate entities which are capable of expressing volition only. The volitional element may be lost when directional verbs evolve into success markers. This explains why some of the (a) sentences, such as (45a), (47a), (48a), (49a), (50a), (52a), and (53a), in which success markers co-occur with inanimate noun phrases denoting the entities in motion, are acceptable, whereas their (b) counterparts, in which the directional verbs are used as main verbs, are either questionable or unacceptable. Another reason for the impossibility for some subject noun phrases to co-occur with some directional verbs may be that some of the directional verbs which co-occur with some subject noun phrases lack object ones. That means some directional verbs can be used with some subject noun phrases without any following direct object noun phrases only in some cases. In some other cases, if the same directional verbs co-occur with some other subject noun phrases, the sentences will become either questionable or unacceptable. It is thus obvious that each of the directional verbs may have idiosyncratic behavioral properties when they function as main verbs in sentences.

Some conclusions can be drawn from examples (45)-(56). First, although the (a) sentences and their (b) counterparts seem to contain roughly the same motion events, i.e. the same moving entities, the same motions, and the same directions of motions, the success markers in (a)s cannot be readily employed as the main verbs of motion in (b)s. This fact is reflected by the varying degrees of acceptability of the (b) sentences. It also indicates that the success markers in (a)s and the directional verbs in the corresponding (b)s have different syntactic and semantic properties. Even though the success markers in (a)s indicate motions in certain directions, we cannot take them out of their sentences along with the entities in motion and use the success markers and the entities in motion as main verbs and as subjects respectively in (b)s. It is argued here that the success markers in (a)s are grammaticalized forms of directional verbs, which are their lexical sources. In the grammaticalization process, the grammaticalized markers lost some of the properties which are present in the source verbs. This explains why they have different behavioral properties with regard to their potentiality to combine with various noun phrases denoting moving entities. The second conclusion to be drawn from the data above is that the success markers are not grammaticalized to the same degree. For example, *pay* 'go' and

maa 'come' are arguably less grammaticalized than the other success markers since the former are more ready to be used as the main directional verbs in (b)s than the latter. This is shown by the acceptability of (54b), (55b) and (56b) and the questionability of (53b), in which *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' occur as main verbs. In contrast, the remaining (b) sentences, in which the other four directional verbs occur as main verbs, are mostly ungrammatical or questionable. Furthermore, different instantiations of the same success markers occurring in different sentences can be grammaticalized to different degrees. For example, the instantiations of the success marker *ɔk* 'exit' in (51a) and (52a) are not equally grammaticalized. It is argued that the one in (52a) is more grammaticalized since it is used in the metaphorical domain whereas that in (51a) is used in the concrete one. This explains why *ɔk* 'exit' in (51a) can be the main verb but that in (52a) cannot.

It is argued that the six directional verbs with full verbal meanings are lexical sources of success markers. These directional verbs are located at the starting point of a grammaticalization path. At an early stage, they were grammaticalized into forms which lost the movement aspect of the lexical content of the source verbs and retained only the relational aspect. This is the stage on a grammaticalization path which gave rise to the so-called "directional verbs", "directional adpositions", "directional adverbs" or simply "directionals" in linguistic literature. We will refer to the grammaticalized forms of directional verbs in which the movement aspect is depleted and in which the directional one is retained as "directional markers" in this paper. The directional verbs that occur as serial verbs in the serial verb construction are lexical sources of grammaticalized directional markers. The tight link between grammaticalization and serialization is also noted by Bisang (1996: 563). The Thai examples below illustrate the directional markers, which are the grammaticalized forms at this stage of the grammaticalization path. The directional markers are underlined.

- (57) *khǎw sǎn nǎj sǔi w pay lǎəw*
 he send book go already
 'He already sent the book away.'

- (58) *no'k bin khǔn yàa nǔa tɔw*
 bird fly ascend quickly
 'The bird flew up very quickly.'

- (59) *hǎa y cāy khǎw lǔk lǔk*
 breathe enter deep
 'Breathe in deep!'

- (60) *khǎw lǔm lǔn pay*
 he collapse descend go
 'He collapsed (literally down and away from the speaker).'

Notice that the directional markers underlined in examples (57)-(60) are used to describe physical motions in the concrete domain. The movement aspect in these directional

markers is still obvious. Directional markers become more and more grammaticalized as they progress along the grammaticalization path. As they become more grammaticalized, they are more and more abstract and metaphorical. This is the case which Yong (1997) refers to as directional verbs used in the “nonliteral”, “abstract” or “metaphorical” sense (see details in section 3.1). The examples below illustrate the use of more abstract and more metaphorical directional markers.

- (61) *khǎw plian pay mǎak*
 he change go a lot
 ‘He has changed a lot.’
- (62) *khǎw kin pay ruây ruây*
 he eat go continuously
 ‘He kept eating.’
- (63) *khǎw pǔay maa sǎam wan læ̃æw*
 he be sick come three day already
 ‘He has been sick for three days already.’
- (64) *khǎw tham̃aan dii khut̃n mǎak*
 he work good ascend a lot
 ‘He worked much better than before.’
- (65) *khǎw con lon mǎak*
 he be poor descend a lot
 ‘He became much poorer.’
- (66) *tham̃aan rewrew khǎw*
 work quick enter
 ‘Hurry up with your work!’
- (67) *mùak bay nǐ súay ?ǝǝk*
 hat classifier this pretty exit
 ‘This hat is obviously pretty (contrary to what you think.)’

The underlined directional markers in (61)-(67) are used in the abstract or metaphorical domain. In contrast with those in (57)-(60), the movement aspect of the directional verbs, which are the lexical sources, fades from these verbs. However, the directional sense, which is the relational part of the source verbs, is still retained. It can be concluded that the physical aspect of the meanings of the directional verbs fades more and more as they become more and more grammaticalized. What is left is the relational aspect of the verbs, which is the abstract part of their meanings. It is still debatable what specific meanings each of the directional markers in (61)-(67) expresses in addition to the directional meaning. We can see that some of the meanings expressed by these markers relate to the temporal, aspect and modality (TAM) domains. It is not the objective of this paper to

investigate the exact meanings or functions of these grammaticalized markers. It suffices for our purpose to point out that the directional markers in (61)-(67) are grammaticalized at a more advanced degree than those in (57)-(60). Note that the directional markers in Thai, which would be called "directional verb compounds" by many researchers of Chinese linguistics, are arguably not located at one specific point on the grammaticalization path. Rather, they form a cluster and are distributed over a certain range on the path. Some directional markers in the cluster are more abstract than others.

We argue that the "directional markers" which are fairly advanced on the grammaticalization path are likely to develop further into grammaticalized forms used primarily in the temporal domain,⁶ namely, TAM (tense, aspect, modality) markers. Some of the directional markers in (61)-(67) can be argued to be TAM markers. The evolution of TAM markers from directional verbs has been extensively discussed in linguistic literature on grammaticalization. We want to point out that the TAM markers have to proceed via the stage of directional markers on the grammaticalization path. The mechanism which drives this evolution is metaphorization, which involves mapping between relevant aspects between distinct domains. The mapping structures our understanding of the more abstract domains in terms of our experientially based understanding of the more concrete domains. It has been suggested in the research works on metaphor that certain abstract and topological aspects of semantic structure are the aspects which must be preserved across metaphorical mappings (Sweetser 1990: 59). In this case, the directional aspect of the verbs is preserved as the verbs proceed along the grammaticalization path and, consequently, they become more and more metaphorical. We will not discuss the emergence of the TAM markers in detail because it is outside the scope of this paper. However, we want to point out that it is still debatable which tense, aspect or modality is actually indicated by which grammaticalized form. Even the status of the grammaticalized TAM markers is still debatable. Some say that they are aspect markers whereas others say they are merely quasi-aspect ones. In the former case, which aspect they indicate is still uncertain. It is noted that directional markers as illustrated in (57)-(60) still coexist with TAM markers in Thai although the latter are argued to develop from the former.

⁶ According to Givón (1984), all of the TAM markers are associated with the notion of time in some way. He states that "In one way or another, these three represent three different points of departure in our experience of time. Tense involves primarily—though not exclusively—our experience/concept of time as points in a sequence, and thus the notions of precedence and subsequence. Aspects of various kinds involve our notion of the boundedness of times-spans, i.e. various configurations of beginning, ending and middle points. Finally, modality encompasses among other things our notions of reality, in the sense of "having factual existence at some real time" ('true'), "having existence at no real time" ('false'), or "having potential existence in some yet-to-be time" ('possible')" (Givón 1984: 272).

We want to argue in this paper that the directional markers evolve into success markers on a different grammatical path from the one that gives rise to TAM markers. These multiple paths of grammaticalization of directional verbs can be diagrammed in Figure 1.

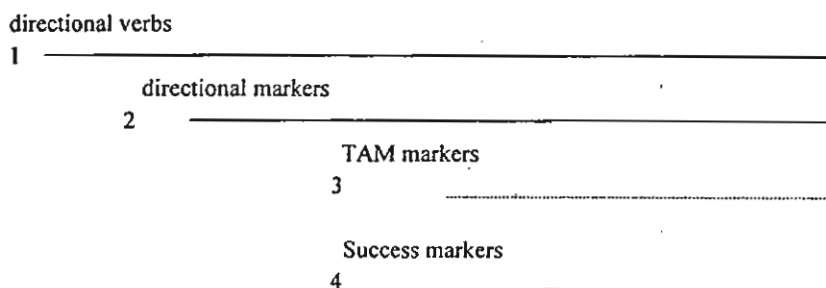


FIGURE 1 GRAMMATICALIZATION PATH OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS IN THAI

Figure 1 displays four lines. The first line, which is the longest, indicates that all grammaticalized forms, namely, directional markers, TAM markers and success markers, are developed either directly or indirectly via directional markers from the directional verbs, which constitute the ultimate lexical sources. Since these three types of grammaticalized forms developed from the directional verbs still preserve the directional sense to a certain degree, we will use the term "directional gram" in analogy with Svorou (1994)'s term "spatial gram" to refer to them as a homogeneous group of grammaticalized forms. The directional verbs, which conflate the movement and the directional aspect of the verbs and which are lexical sources of all types of directional grams, coexist with them. Their coexistence with the other directional grams is illustrated by the most length of the first line. At an early stage on the grammaticalization path, the directional verbs develop into "directional markers" in which the material content of the verbs, i.e. the physical movement aspect of the semantics of the verbs, is lost. The less grammaticalized directional markers express more concrete meanings and are located closer to their lexical sources than the more grammaticalized ones. However, there may be a period of overlap between older and newer forms and/or functions of a morpheme. The grammaticalization path or cline should not be thought of as a line in which everything is in sequence (Hopper and Traugott 1993). Such an overlap is termed "layering" by Hopper (1991: 22) and "chaining" by Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991: 222). According to Hopper (1991: 22), "Within a functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers." This is what happens in Figure 1. The directional verbs coexist with all directional grams developed from them. The directional markers, which are developed from the directional verbs and which emerge on the second layer, also coexist with TAM markers and success markers. Some of the directional markers evolve into TAM markers and emerge on the third layer. In examples (61)-(67), which

illustrate the use of directional markers in the abstract domain, we can see that some directional markers are better viewed as TAM markers such as those in (64)-(67) whereas the remaining ones are at the borderline area between directional and TAM markers. However, this paper does not primarily aim to study the TAM markers. We only want to point out that success markers evolve on a different grammaticalization path from that of TAM markers. Since the grammaticalization path which gives rise to TAM markers and they themselves are still a matter of controversy, we use the dotted line to represent uncertainties and complexities revolving around them. The dotted line should not be taken as representing only one grammatical path leading to the development of TAM markers.

As argued earlier, the success markers have some syntactic and semantic properties which are distinct from directional verbs, which are their lexical sources. However, they still preserve the directional sense present in their lexical sources. It is found that some success markers are more grammaticalized than some others. The more grammaticalized ones seem to be the metaphorical ones, which are used in an abstract realm. We have argued in this section that success markers constitute a different type of directional gram and that they are developed on a distinct grammaticalization path. There are two issues regarding the development of success markers which we would like to point out before we end this section.

First, we would like to underscore one of Hopper and Traugott (1993)'s principles that a lexical item is grammaticalized in a highly constrained syntagmatic context. Grammaticalization does not take place when a lexical item is in isolation. In our case, directional markers are grammaticalized into success markers if they occur in a specific syntactic context and co-occur with certain types of transitive verbs as discussed in section 2.2. Only in this context can directional markers evolve into success markers. The more grammaticalized or more abstract success markers also take place in certain contexts. Roughly speaking, they co-occur with verbs which do not express physical motions. This principle also holds true with the other types of directional grams.

The second thing which we will point out relates to the deictic property of *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' when they are grammaticalized into success markers. We have mentioned briefly in discussing the sentences with the success markers *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' in examples (28)-(31) in section 2.2 that the speaker's center of attention in the two deictic verbs is replaced by the agent's location in those examples. Those examples are repeated here for convenience as (68)-(71) below.

- (68) *khǎw* *khěn* *roĩ* *mây* *pay*
 he push car not go
 'He tried to push the car away from himself but was not successful.'

- (69) *khǎw* *lây* *mæw* *mây* *pay* *sāk* *thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not go even time
 'He tried to drive the cat away from himself but was not successful (even once).'

(70) *khaŋw rŋak khonraŋpchaŋ mŋy maa sŋk thii*
 he call maid not come even time
 'He tried to call a maid but she did not come to him (even once).'

(71) *khaŋw taam tamruat mŋy maa sŋk thii*
 he call upon police not come even time
 'He kept calling upon the police but they did not show up (even once).'

It was argued in section 2.2 that there must be semantic agreement between the direction of the motion associated with the verb phrase and that inherent in the success marker in a sentence. In (68) and (69), the direction inherent in the verb phrases is away from the agent's location whereas that in (70) and (71) is toward the agent's. The speakers' center of attention which was originally present in the deictic verbs, which are the lexical sources of these two success markers is lost and replaced by the agent's location in the grammaticalization process. This explains why *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' cannot be interchangeable in the sentences above as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the sentences below.

(72) **khaŋw kheŋ roŋ mŋy maa*
 he push car not come

(73) **khaŋw lŋy mææw mŋy maa sŋk thii*
 he drive away, expel cat not come even time

(74) **khaŋw rŋak khonraŋpchaŋ mŋy pay sŋk thii*
 he call maid not go even time

(75) **khaŋw taam tamruat mŋy pay sŋk thii*
 he call upon police not go even time

The deixis can be regarded as a type of subjective element in linguistic expressions. Traugott has postulated an important principle in many of her works on grammaticalization that grammaticalization tends to give rise to increased subjectivity (Traugott 1982, 1988, 1991). In this paper, it is found that the case of the success markers *pay* 'go' and *maa* 'come' constitutes a counterexample to Traugott's principle regarding subjectification of grammaticalized linguistic elements. Therefore, further research on cases of "objectification" in grammaticalization across languages is worth pursuing.

To summarize, the resultative meaning inherent in the success markers are not of the type that researchers on the resultative construction are familiar with. Based on research works on the resultative construction, those researchers seem to be more familiar with the change of state than the change of location. The point to be stressed here is that both TAM markers and success markers are argued to develop from directional markers but along different paths. This claim suggests that so-called "directional verbs" in the research works which are reviewed in section 3.1, or alternatively directional markers in our terms,

are not on a par with TAM makers nor success markers. The latter two are arguably later developments of the former. It is not necessary in principle that the final outcome of a grammaticalization path is a fully grammaticalized form, which is depleted of all or most semantic content. The semantic content may be still transparent to a certain degree in the final outcome of grammaticalization. In our case, the directional sense is still apparent to a certain degree in all directional grams including in the success markers. It may be even more obvious in some particular instantiations of success markers than some others. It is crucial to note that the abstract directional sense is present all the way throughout the grammaticalization path but may not be transparent to the same degree.

4. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have examined one of the uses of six directional verbs in Thai, i.e. the use of directional verbs as the resultative predicate indicating success or failure of the agent's performance of an action in the transitive-based resultative construction. We have examined the semantics of the six directional verbs in detail, which motivates their use as success markers. It is found that the verb phrases which co-occur with the directional verbs functioning as success markers must be motion or motion-implied verbs. Furthermore, they must incorporate the implication that the agent has a goal in mind in performing an action and that the goal is more or less likely to take place. These directional verbs serve to highlight the success or failure of the agent's performance of an action and are thus used more frequently in negative and interrogative sentences. As success markers, they are argued to be grammaticalized forms which evolve from directional markers which are in turn grammaticalized from full-fledged directional verbs, which conflate both physical movements and directions. As these directional verbs proceed further along the grammaticalization path, they will lose more and more of the movement aspect of their meanings but still keep the directional one. It is also argued that success markers develop along a different grammaticalization path from TAM markers. Both success and TAM markers are arguably grammaticalized from directional markers. In addition, it is found that success markers can express the resultative and directional meanings at the same time because they indicate the change of location of the affected entity. We hope that this paper not only contributes to the study of Thai linguistics but also sheds light on the areal phenomenon of verb serialization and on the theory of grammaticalization at large.

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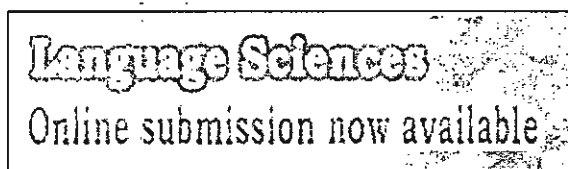
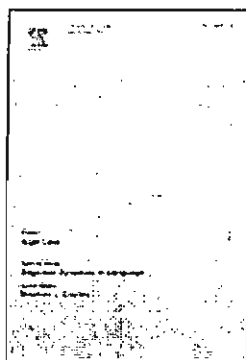
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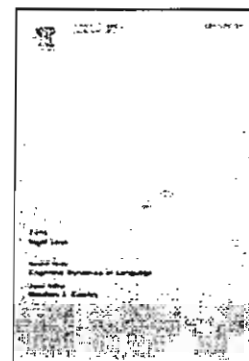
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The verb of giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese as a case of polysemy:

A comparative study

Kingkarn Thepkanjana ^{a,*}, Satoshi Uehara ^b

^a *Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok 10330, Thailand*

^b *Graduate School of International Cultural Studies, Tohoku University, Kawauchi, Aoba-ku,*

Sendai 980-8576, Japan

Abstract

It is generally known that the words corresponding to GIVE in serializing languages including *hây* and *gěi* in Thai and Mandarin Chinese, respectively, tend to have multiple uses. Since these two words exhibit similarities and differences in synchronic usage and diachronic development toward grammaticalization, they will be examined in a comparative manner in this study. This study has two objectives, namely, (i) to identify the similarities and differences in usage between *hây* and *gěi* at the present time and (ii) to argue that the multiple meanings of *hây* and *gěi* are related, i.e. they are cases of polysemy. It is found that *hây* in Thai has the following uses: (1) a main verb use to indicate an action of possession transfer, (2) a dative use, (3) a benefactive use, (4) a causative use, (5) a malefactive use and (6) a connective use in purposive, jussive and complementation constructions. On the other hand, *gěi* has the following uses: (1) a main verb use, (2) a dative use, (3) a benefactive use, (4) a causative use, (5) a passive use and (6) a ditransitive use. These different uses of *hây* and *gěi* arguably constitute cases of polysemy. It is found that the process of metonymy which involves pragmatic inferencing plays a primary role in semantically extending the meaning of GIVE in both languages.

Keywords: Verb of giving; Polysemy; Metonymy; Inferencing; Grammaticalization

* Corresponding author. Fax: 66 2 218 4695
Email address: thepkanjana@gmail.com (Kingkarn Thepkanjana)

1. Introduction

It is generally known that the morphemes corresponding to GIVE in serializing languages tend to exhibit multiple meanings and grammatical polyfunctionality. The use of GIVE in these languages has been extensively investigated both from synchronic and diachronic perspectives. In synchronic studies, attempts have been made to specify the multiple meanings of GIVE, to examine how the seemingly different meanings are related, and to categorize the word forms of GIVE with different meanings and functions. Diachronic studies of GIVE have been devoted to the studying of its grammaticalization both within single languages and across languages. The grammaticalization paths of GIVE have been postulated in these studies. It is recognized that GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese, i.e. *hây* and *gěi* respectively, also has multiple meanings. These two morphemes have been investigated both synchronically and diachronically in Paul (1987), Newman (1993a,b), Xu (1994), Song (1997), Yap and Iwasaki (1998, 2003), Huang and Ahrens (1999) and Lord et al. (2002). Since these two morphemes exhibit similarities and differences in synchronic usage and diachronic development toward grammaticalization, they will be examined in a comparative manner in this study. GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese is interesting to examine because both Thai and Mandarin Chinese have many typological similarities and differences. Furthermore, they are located in different, though connected, linguistic areas, namely Southeast Asia and East Asia, respectively. According to Bisang (1996), the word forms of GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese which function as coverbs¹ have different

¹The term “coverb” originates from Chinese linguistics. It refers to words that are lexically verbs but function as prepositions. According to Li and Thompson (1981), these words are called coverbs rather than prepositions because they are partly like verbs and partly like prepositions. The term “coverb” was coined to avoid labelling them either as verbs or prepositions.

positions. The coverb GIVE in Thai is limited to the postverbal position whereas that in Mandarin Chinese can occur in both preverbal and postverbal positions with different meanings. Based on these facts, GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese is worth investigating in depth. This study primarily aims to identify the similarities and differences in usage between *hây* and *gěi* at the present time and to argue that the multiple meanings of *hây* and *gěi* are related, i.e. they are cases of polysemy.

Although this study is not a diachronic one, it makes use of cross-linguistic findings about grammaticalization paths previously postulated for the verb of giving. The findings and arguments advanced in this study in turn bear on the degree of plausibility of the previously postulated grammaticalization paths.

2. Typological description of Thai and Mandarin Chinese

Thai is a language in the Tai family, which is in turn a branch of the Tai-Kadai one. Tai-Kadai is one of the five language families found in mainland Southeast Asia, namely, Austronesian, Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien (Matisoff, 1992). Typologically, Thai is an isolating, tonal, topic prominent, serializing and verb-rich language with SVO word order. It also has a head-modifier word order. The phenomena of grammaticalization, grammatical polyfunctionality, polysemy, and compounding are widespread in the language.

Mandarin Chinese is a dialect which belongs to the Chinese language family, which is genetically a branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family (Li and Thompson, 1981, p.2). Sino-Tibetan languages are spoken in East and Southeast Asia. Chinese is spoken in the major part of mainland East Asia. Mandarin Chinese is typologically similar to Thai in that it is an isolating, tonal, topic prominent and serializing

language. Unlike Thai, Mandarin Chinese possesses features of both SVO and SOV language types as follows (Li and Thompson, 1981, p.24).

SVO features of Mandarin Chinese

1. VO sentences occur.
2. Prepositions exist.
3. Auxiliaries precede the verb.
4. Complex sentences are almost always SVO.

SOV features of Mandarin Chinese

1. OV sentences occur.
2. Prepositional phrases precede the verb, except for time and place phrases.
3. Postpositions exist.
4. Relative clauses precede the head noun.
5. Genitive phrases precede the head noun.
6. Aspect markers follow the verb.
7. Certain adverbials precede the verb.²

The basic meaning of the verbs *hāy* and *gěi* in Thai and Mandarin Chinese corresponds to a volitional act of transfer of a thing from an animate giver to an animate recipient. What is transferred in this act is the possession and control of the thing from the giver to the recipient. This verb also typically entails a physical movement of the thing. The verbs *hāy* and *gěi* typically co-occur with two noun phrases denoting the giver and the recipient and appear in the following constructions.

²An example of the difference between Thai and Mandarin Chinese regarding the position of an adverb vis-à-vis a verb is that in Thai one says *khun pay kǎn* 'You go/leave first', whereas in Mandarin Chinese one says *nǐ xiān zǒu* 'You first go/leave.'

Thai

- (1) *sǒmsàk hây nən kàæ sǒmchaay*

Somsak give money to Somchaay

‘Somsak gave Somchaay some money.’

- (2) *sǒmsàk hây nən sǒmchaay*

Somsak give money Somchaay

‘Somsak gave Somchaay some money.’

Mandarin Chinese

- (3) *Zhāngsān gěi Lǐsì qián*

Zhangsan give Lisi money

‘Zhangsan gave Lisi some money.’

As seen from the two sentences above, the word order of the construction in which *hây* in Thai is used with the basic meaning is [*hây* Thing (*kàæ*) Recipient],³ whereas that of the construction in which *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese is used is [*gěi* Recipient Thing]. Notice that the preposition *kàæ* in the Thai construction is optional.

However, if the noun phrase representing the thing given is a heavy one,

³Enfield (2002) discusses the verb of giving in Lao, a language which is genetically related and typologically similar to Thai. He notes that this Lao verb can appear in a double object construction which has two orderings as below.

(a) NP_{DONOR} ‘give’ NP_{GIFT} NP_{RECIPIENT}
 (b) NP_{DONOR} ‘give’ NP_{RECIPIENT} NP_{GIFT}

According to Enfield, the ordering that the verb of giving in Lao appears in depends on the noun representing the gift. It is found that there is a strong constraint on the range of nouns that may appear in the NP_{GIFT} slot in the pattern above. That is, only non-referential and non-specific arguments are possible in pattern (a). Therefore, he analyzes the double object construction which has pattern (a) as a case of noun incorporation. He notes that non-referential and non-specific arguments are also possible in English noun-incorporation constructions like *fox-hunting*. Since Lao and Thai are very closely related, one might wonder whether his claim holds true in Thai as well. We argue that pattern (a) is an unmarked pattern for ‘give’ in Thai. There are some restrictions on which noun phrases can appear in pattern (b). Investigating such restrictions is beyond the scope of this paper.

it tends to appear in the construction with the preposition *kàæ*. The difference in word order in the constructions with the two verbs in Thai and Mandarin Chinese shows up again in the other uses as will be pointed out later.

GIVE is one of the typical ditransitive verb meanings. Other ditransitive verb meanings include SELL, BRING, TELL (Haspelmath, 2005). In addition to the subject argument, ditransitive verbs have two arguments, namely, a recipient or addressee argument, and a theme argument. The constructions in which the word *hây* and *gěi* appear with their basic meaning described above is called the “ditransitive construction”. According to Haspelmath (2005), there are three main types of ditransitive construction as follows. (The examples illustrating the three types of ditransitive construction are taken from Haspelmath (2005). The original sources of these examples are given in parentheses after the language names.)

(i) The indirect-object construction

In the indirect-object construction, the theme of the ditransitive verb, which expresses the thing given, is coded like the monotransitive patient and the recipient is coded differently.

Krongo (Reh, 1985, pp.267-268)

- (4) a. *N-àpá-ŋ* *à* *àŋ* *káaw* *y-ikki* (monotransitive)
 1-PFV.hit-TR I person M-that
 ‘I hit that man.’
- b. *N-àdá-ŋ* *à* *àŋ* *bittì* *à-káaw* (ditransitive)
 1-PFV.give-TR I water DAT-person
 ‘I gave water to the man/woman.’

The monotransitive patient in (4a) and the ditransitive theme in (4b) are grouped together as direct objects, as opposed to the recipient, which is referred to as an indirect object.

(ii) The double-object construction

In the double-object construction, both the theme and the recipient of the ditransitive verb are coded like the monotransitive patient. In the examples below, both objects are in the accusative case like the monotransitive patient.

Panyjima (Dench, 1991, p.193)

(5) a. *Ngunha parnka ngarna-rta mantu-yu* (monotransitive)

That lizard eat-FUT meat-ACC

‘That lizard will eat the meat.’

b. *Ngatha yukurru-ku mantu-yu yinya-nha* (ditransitive)

I.NOM dog-ACC meat-ACC give-PST

‘I gave the dog meat.’

(iii) The secondary-object construction

In the secondary-object construction, the recipient of the ditransitive verb is coded like the monotransitive patient whereas the ditransitive theme is coded differently. In the examples below, both the monotransitive patient in (6a) and the ditransitive recipient in (6b) are preceded by an absolutive marker whereas the theme in (6b) is preceded by an oblique marker. In this type of construction, the monotransitive patient and the ditransitive recipient are grouped together as primary objects, as opposed to the theme, which is referred to as a secondary object.

Chamorro (Topping, 1973, p.241, 251)

(6) a. *Ha tuge' i kannastra* (monotransitive)

he.Erg weave ABS basket

'He wove the basket.'

b. *Ha na'i i patgon ni leche* (ditransitive)

he.ERG give ABS child OBL milk

'He gave the milk to the child.'

It is apparent that there are two types of ditransitive construction in Thai, namely, the indirect-object construction as in (1) and the double-object construction as in (2), whereas there is only the double-object construction in Mandarin Chinese as in (3).

Notice that the sentential word orders in the double-object construction in Thai and in Mandarin Chinese are different. This fact suggests that the double-object construction can accommodate the different sentential word orders that appear in Thai and Mandarin Chinese. However, Haspelmath (2005) does not make this observation in his discussion of the double-object construction.

3. The notion of polysemy

It is generally known that the meaning of a word is elusive because it can vary from context to context. Semantic variations of a word form can be very wide with no apparent connection between them as in *They moored the boat to the bank* and *He is the manager of a local bank*, with different but intuitively related meanings, as in *My father's firm built this school* (*school* here refers to the building) and *John's school won the Football Charity Shield last year* (*school* here refers to the people in the school), to hard-to-distinguished variations, as in *Alice can walk already and she's*

only 11 months old and I usually walk to work (Cruse, 2000, p.105). In the case of *bank*, there is a sharp boundary between the readings. In the case of *walk*, the semantic boundary between the readings is hardly perceptible. The case of *school* lies in the middle. According to Cruse (2000), the highest degree of semantic discreteness and distinctness between readings of a word form constitutes a case of “ambiguity” or “homonymy”. Distinct lexemes emerge as a result of semantic distinctness. The non-distinct meanings of a word form constitute a case of “vagueness”. “Polysemy” refers to cases in which a word form is associated with two or more readings which are related in some way. According to cognitive linguists, the boundaries between ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness are fuzzy because the relatedness of meaning is both a gradient and subjective notion. Therefore, in the cognitive linguistic framework, the notions of ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness are no longer seen as classical categories with fixed boundaries. Rather, they are regarded as more or less unfixed points located on a continuum. According to Cruse (2000), of all the meanings of a word form, the meaning which will come to mind in the absence of any context is called “the default meaning”. Some meanings are “established” because they have a high degree of entrenchment⁴ in the speaker’s mind whereas some others are non-established.

It is generally known that the verb of giving across languages has many extended meanings which are semantically related. The extended meanings of GIVE are found to coincide with many grammatical concepts or grammatical functions of a word,

⁴The notion of entrenchment was first introduced by Langacker (1987) to explain how new expressions are formed and remain deeply rooted in language. According to Langacker (1987), there is no sharp boundary between units and nonunits. Linguistic structures are conceived as falling along a continuum scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization. A novel structure with repeated use becomes progressively entrenched to the point of becoming a unit. Units are variably entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence.

such as the dative, benefactive, causative, connective, etc. Heine et al. (1991, p.28)

define grammatical concepts which can be summarized as follows:

- i) they are more abstract than other concepts;
- ii) they include both the derivational and the relational concepts in Sapir's (1921) sense;
- iii) unlike concrete concepts, grammatical concepts do not have semantics by themselves but acquire semantics by combination with other concepts;
- iv) grammatical concepts do not contribute the majority of the content of cognitive representation but tend to determine its structure;
- v) they may be described in terms of topological structures and image schemata;
- vi) they tend to be linguistically realized as grammatical morphemes such as auxiliaries, particles, clitics, affixes, suprasegmental units, word order distinctions. If they are realized by free morphemes, these morphemes tend to belong to closed classes.

The grammatical concepts which are the extended senses of the verb of giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese are found to be well-established grammatical functions or categories linguistically encoded by words from closed classes. Therefore, they have a high degree of semantic discreteness, distinctness and entrenchment in the speaker's mind as will be seen later in the paper. We will argue that these grammatical concepts are semantically related and constitute the phenomenon of polysemy.

4. Commonalities between *hây* and *gěi*

In this section, we will identify the three uses which *hây* and *gěi* share in addition to the same basic meaning of a volitional act of transfer of possession, namely, dative-marking, benefactive-marking, and causative-marking. We will also investigate the process by means of which each use is derived.

(a) Dative-marking

Examples

Thai

- (7) *sǒmsàk sòŋ ɲən hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak send money give Somchaay

‘Somsak sent some money to Somchaay.’

Mandarin Chinese

- (8) *Zhāngsān jì-le yì fēng xìn gěi Lǐsì*

Zhangsan mail-ASP one CL letter give Lisi

‘Zhangsan mailed a letter to Lisi.’

Hây and *gěi* which function as dative markers in (7) and (8) occur after the main verbs both in Thai and in Mandarin Chinese. The sentences in which the dative-marking GIVE appears consist of verbs which have the following semantic properties. They are typically transitive verbs which involve the volitional manual manipulation of something. Some of these verbs incorporate the sense of giving or the transfer of possession such as the verbs corresponding to ‘send’, ‘return (something)’, ‘hand

over', 'present', 'donate' and 'sell', whereas some other verbs do not such as the ones corresponding with 'grab', 'buy' and 'lift'. The former group of verbs are typical ditransitive verbs because they have the sense of giving or the transfer of possession and have three nominal arguments which are conceptually necessary to the meanings of the verbs. These three arguments are agent, theme and recipient. The recipient serves as a target or goal which the action denoted by the main verb is directed at. In contrast, there is no recipient in the semantics of the latter group of verbs, which do not have the inherent sense of giving. However, it is conceivable that the agent gets hold of something and gives that thing to another person, who is called the recipient. That means the recipient can be present in the actions denoted by the latter group of verbs but it is not conceptually necessary to the meanings of the verbs, unlike the former one.

There is a third group of verbs which can occur with the dative-marking GIVE but only in Thai. This group of verbs denote volitional physical motions which are carried out by different body parts on the human face. These actions include *yím* 'smile', *yák khíw* 'raise one's eyebrows' and *lìw taa* 'wink, look with one eye closed'. These verbs can be denoted by both transitive as well as intransitive verbs. The use of the dative GIVE with this kind of verb does not exist in Mandarin Chinese. This is the divergence between Thai and Mandarin Chinese in the use of GIVE in dative marking. The three Thai examples below illustrate the use of these verbs with the verb GIVE in Thai.

- (9) *sǒmsàk yím hây sǒmchaay*
 Somsak smile give Somchaay
 'Somsak smiled at Somchaay.'

(10) *sǒmsàk yák khíw hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak raise eyebrows give Somchaay

'Somsak raised his eyebrows as a signal to Somchaay.'

(11) *sǒmsàk liwtaa hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak wink give Somchaay

'Somsak winked at Somchaay.'

Although these actions do not incorporate the sense of physically giving something to somebody, their performance is typically directed at somebody, i.e. the agent emits a signal to somebody. Therefore, there is a goal or a target inherent in the performance of these actions. The goal or the target of these actions is not the recipient of an action in the strict sense because there is nothing which is physically transferred in the performance of these actions.

Newman (1993a, b) accounts for various meanings of *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese in Cognitive Grammar framework set forth by Langacker (1987). He aims to give cognitive motivations to the range of meanings of *gěi*. According to Cognitive Grammar, a lexical item may have a considerable array of related meanings represented in network form. The meaning of a lexical item, which is called the semantic structure, is equated with the entire network. The typical scenario of an act of giving is as follows: a person who has something passes this thing with his/her hands to another person who receives it with his/her hands. There may be other possible aspects associated with this typical scenario. For example, the giver loses control of the thing he possessed and the recipient is in control of it instead; the given thing will benefit the recipient in some way; the recipient is happy to receive the thing from the giver; the giver means well to the recipient. Some of these semantic aspects

may not be true of all occurrences of the verb of giving. It is apparent that this semantic structure, which is called “cognitive domain” in Langacker’s terms, is encyclopedic in nature. It is not possible to document all the semantic aspects of a lexical item in its semantic structure. The semantic structure can also be labelled “scene” or “frame” in Fillmore’s (1977) terms. According to Newman (1993a), the cognitive domain of *gěi* functions as the “base” or context within which various meanings of *gěi* can be defined. Newman (1993a, b) argues that each meaning of *gěi* refers to or “profiles” selected parts of the base. For example, the dative use or the “recipient use” of *gěi* in Newman’s terms profiles the person to whom the thing is transferred whereas other semantic aspects of the typical act of giving are backgrounded. However, Newman (1993a, b) does not account for how the various meanings of *gěi* are derived. This work merely emphasizes what part of the base of *gěi* is profiled in each use.

We argue that a metonymic process primarily motivates the derivation of the dative-marking function of GIVE. Anttila (1972) suggests that there are two types of semantic transfer, namely, metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor is semantic transfer through similarity whereas metonymy is semantic transfer through contiguity. Metonymy points to or indexes covert meanings of a linguistic expression and operates across interdependent syntactic constituents. Metaphor involves specifying a thing usually in an abstract domain in terms of another in a more concrete domain, which is not present in the context. On the other hand, metonymy involves specifying one meaning of an expression in terms of another that is present, but usually covert, in the context. Pragmatic inferencing usually gives rise to covert meanings which are contiguous to the conventional meanings of lexical items. It is widely known that metonymy and metaphor are central to semantic change including grammaticalization.

Many pieces of work on grammaticalization, namely, Traugott (1982, 1988, 1989, 1990) and Traugott and König (1991), argue that grammaticalization is primarily motivated by metonymic processes rather than metaphorical ones. Since this study is a synchronic one which considers GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese as a case of polysemy rather than grammaticalization, we will make use of the insights provided by the works mentioned above in accounting for how different meanings of GIVE in both languages are semantically related. We will argue that the extended meanings of GIVE are derived by means of metonymy.

As described in the prototypical act of giving, the recipient is also present in the semantic structure or base of GIVE. Metonymy simply puts into profile the recipient in the prototypical scene of an act of giving, which gives rise to the dative-marking function of GIVE. The recipient is a crucial participant in the prototypical action of giving and the actions denoted by the first group of verbs, which has an inherent sense of giving or the transfer of possession. Therefore, we do not really need pragmatic inferencing in order to get access to the recipient in this case. In contrast, the second group of verbs does not have an inherent sense of giving. Thus, the recipient is not necessarily present in the semantic structure of these verbs. However, it can be pragmatically inferred. For example, we can grab something with the intention of giving that thing to somebody. That means the recipient can be pragmatically inferred from the semantic structure of the verbs in the second group. Metonymy helps profile the pragmatically inferred recipient participant of the semantic structure of the verbs, which gives rise to the dative-marking function of GIVE. The same argument holds for the third group of verbs. It is thus apparent that the dative as argued here encompasses both the recipient and the goal participants.

It is debatable what syntactic category the dative-marking GIVE falls into. It is sometimes categorized as a serial verb in the serial verb construction and sometimes as a preposition corresponding to ‘to’ in English. Bisang (1995, 1996) uses the term “coverb” to name the morphemes which are used to introduce peripheral participants and to assign case roles such as locational, dative, benefactive, instrumental and comitative cases. One of the most striking examples of a coverb is GIVE in different languages when it is used to express the dative and benefactive cases. The fact that some linguists categorize it as a grammatical word, namely, a preposition or a coverb, is motivated by the fact that its meaning is weakened. The original meaning of giving is no longer salient in the dative-marking function. Rather, only the recipient is put into profile. Furthermore, GIVE appears after a main verb. We will not argue in this paper which syntactic category GIVE should fall into because the categorization of a word form is beyond the scope of this paper.

(a) Benefactive-marking

Examples

Thai

(12) *sǒmsàk khàp rót hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak drive car give Somchaay

‘Somsak drove a car for Somchaay.’

Mandarin Chinese

(13) *Zhāngsān gěi Lǐsì zào-le yí dòng fángzi*

Zhangsan give Lisi build-ASP one CL house

‘Zhangsan built a house for Lisi.’

Newman (1993b, p.459) suggests that an act of giving naturally results in some kind of benefit to the recipient. Therefore, the beneficiary role of the recipient deserves to be incorporated into the scene of giving. The benefactive GIVE results from profiling the beneficiary role of the recipient, which is a covert aspect of the semantic structure of GIVE. Song (1997) argues that the benefactive-marking function is derived from the basic meaning of GIVE. His argument is along the same line as Newman's (1993b) but is different from the latter in that he accounts for the process of that semantic development in terms of Traugott's theory of pragmatic inferencing. Linguistic utterances containing GIVE usually involve a certain amount of evaluation or inferencing on the part of the speaker. That is, it is pragmatically inferred that someone benefits from the giver's act of giving. The beneficiary is a covert aspect in the semantic structure of GIVE. In other words, it is associative and contiguous to the action of giving.

On the other hand, Iwasaki and Yap (1998) argue that the benefactive function of GIVE is derived from its lexical verb via its function as a dative marker. They claim that this process is well attested in many unrelated languages. In contrast, Heine and Kuteva (2002) claim that the dative function is derived from the benefactive one rather than the other way around. To establish the path of development between different functions of a lexical item obviously requires historical evidence. Because of the lack of historical evidence, we would like to make the tentative claim at the present stage that the benefactive function of GIVE develops directly from the basic meaning of the lexical verb GIVE by means of metonymy. That is, only the person who benefits from the action denoted by the main verb, which is in its semantic structure, is put into profile whereas the rest is backgrounded.

The positions of the benefactive GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese are different. The benefactive GIVE in Thai appears after the main verb whereas that in Mandarin Chinese appears before the main verb as in (12) and (13) respectively.⁵ Since the benefactive GIVE in Thai has the same position as the recipient one, the GIVE phrase occurring after the main verb is ambiguous in the case that the main verb incorporates the idea of giving, such as *sòŋ* 'send', *môp* 'present' and *bòricàak* 'donate', or involves the manipulation of an entity such as *yók* 'lift', *súu* 'buy' and *khǎay* 'sell'. The context of a situation is needed for disambiguation. Examples (14)-(16) illustrate such ambiguity.

(14) *sǒmsàk sòŋ còtmǎay hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak send letter give Somchaay

'Somsak sent a letter to Somchaay.' Or

'Somsak sent a letter for Somchaay/ on Somchaay's behalf.'

(15) *sǒmsàk súu nǎjsúu hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak buy book give Somchaay

'Somsak bought a book and gave it to Somchaay.' (sequential interpretation) Or

'Somsak bought a book to give it to Somchaay.' (purposive interpretation) Or

'Somsak bought a book for Somchaay/ on Somchaay's behalf.'

The notion of benefactiveness encompasses two concepts, namely, the participant who benefits in some way from an agent's action and the person on whose behalf an agent performs an action. It is noted that the latter entails the former. What verbs can

⁵The positional distinction between the benefactive and the dative *gěi* is sometimes difficult to make in Chinese. Li and Thompson (1981, p.386) give a list of verbs which can place dative *gěi*-marked nouns in the preverbal position.

co-occur with the benefactive GIVE depends largely on our real world knowledge.

Examples (16)-(17) in Thai below sound odd because we have difficulty interpreting the actions denoted by the verbs as benefitting somebody.

(16) **sǒmsàk dǎn hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak walk give Somchaay

(17) **sǒmsàk nǎnlâp hây sǒmchaay*

Somsak fall asleep give Somchaay

(c) Causative-marking

Examples

Thai

(18) *sǒmsàk hây sǒmchaay òk pay*

Somsak give Somchaay exit go

‘Somsak let Somchaay go out.’ Or

‘Somsak had Somchaay go out.’

Mandarin Chinese

(19) *Zhāngsān gěi Lǐsì kàn*

Zhangsan give Lisi look

‘Zhangsan let Lisi look.’

The verb GIVE which marks the causative in Thai and Mandarin Chinese has the same syntactic structure, i.e. [NP1 GIVE NP2 VP]. The NP1 is the causer whereas the

NP2 is the causee. The causative construction with GIVE as the causative verb in Thai and Mandarin Chinese has the following semantic properties.

- The causer, which is the subject of GIVE, is typically human.
- The causative verb GIVE does not express a direct causation. The causer causes an event to happen by doing something to prompt the causee to act or by not doing anything which prevents an occurrence of that event. It is the causee, the direct object of GIVE, which directly causes the event to happen by carrying out an action.
- The causee, which is the direct object of GIVE, is typically animate. Inanimate NPs after GIVE occur marginally.
- The causer typically has the intention that an event take place.

It is noted that the causative construction with GIVE in Thai is ambiguous. It can be interpreted as permissive or directive depending on the context (Iwasaki and Yap 1998). The causative constructions with GIVE in Thai and Mandarin Chinese differ in respect to their degree of productivity. The use of the causative GIVE in Mandarin Chinese is much more restricted than that in Thai. There is a pervasive tendency in Mandarin Chinese to prepose most postverbal material to the preverbal position. This gives rise to the change from SVO to SOV word order. The appearance of the causative *gěi* at the preverbal position arises from this diachronic tendency. Notice that the causative *gěi* appears in the same position as the benefactive *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese, which results in ambiguity in some cases as shown below.

(20) *wǒ gěi nǐ kàn* (Newman, 1996, p.192)

I give you look

'I let you look.' Or

'I look on your behalf.'

Yap and Iwasaki (1998) argue that native speakers of Chinese tend to interpret the preposed *gěi* as in (21) as the benefactive marker rather than the causative marker.

- (21) *tā gěi wǒ zào-le yí dòng fángzi*
 s/he give me build-ASP one CL house

‘S/he built a house for me.’ (preferred interpretation)

‘S/he had me build a house.’ (awkward interpretation)

To express indirect causation, Mandarin Chinese prefers the causative verbs *ràng* and *jiào* to the verb *gěi* as below (Yap and Iwasaki, 1998).

- (22) *tā* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *gěi \\ ràng \end{array} \right\}$ *háizi* *shuì-jiào*
jiào
 s/he child sleep
 ‘She let the child sleep.’

Yap and Iwasaki (1998) argue that the awkwardness of the causative *gěi* in the preverbal position arises from competition with the benefactive *gěi* in the same position. As mentioned above, the preverbal *gěi* is ambiguous in the benefactive and the causative readings. To avoid this ambiguity for effective communication, native speakers of Mandarin Chinese tend to opt for *ràng* and *jiào* to *gěi* in forming a causative construction. Therefore, it is apparent that the use of GIVE to mark the causative is more common in Thai than in Mandarin Chinese.

Many works such as Newman (1993a,b, 1996), Iwasaki and Yap (1998), Yap and Iwasaki (1998) and Lord et al. (2002), set forth different hypotheses about the

emergence of the causative GIVE. Newman (1993a) argues that the causative *gěi* is semantically derived from the prototypical act of giving expressed by the lexical verb. The key notion which gives rise to the semantic extension of *gěi* in this case is the transfer of control. According to Newman (1993a,b), one can have control over objects as well as events. However, possession is restricted to objects only. An act of giving incorporates the sense of transfer of control over a thing. The transfer of control over a thing can be extended to the transfer of control over an action which is relevant to the causative domain. To be specific, the causative GIVE denotes the transfer of control from the subject of GIVE to the noun after it, which consequently has the authority to carry out that action. In other words, the transfer of control manifests itself as the granting of permission to someone to perform an action. The giver and the recipient are therefore cognitively associated with the causer and the causee, respectively. Yap and Iwasaki (1998) also argue that the causative GIVE in Thai is derived by a process of metaphorical extension. In this process, a transferred entity in the concrete domain is metaphorically extended to a transferred opportunity to perform an action in the abstract domain.

Iwasaki and Yap (1998) argue that the causative GIVE in Thai is directly derived from the purposive GIVE, which is in turn derived from the dative GIVE. Example (23) in Thai illustrates the purposive construction in Yap and Iwasaki's sense whereas (24) exemplifies the causative construction.

(23) *sǒmsàk sùu nǎŋsǔu hây sǒmchaay àan*

Somsak buy book give Somchaay read

'Somsak bought a book for Somchaay to read.'

(24) *sǒmsàk hây sǒmchaay àan nǎŋsǔu*

Somsak give Somchaay read book

‘Somsak let Somchaay read a book.’ Or

‘Somsak had Somchaay read a book.’

According to Iwasaki and Yap (1998), the causative GIVE results from focusing on the purpose clause in the purposive construction and from backgrounding the enabling event in the first clause by omitting it from the construction. Such a mechanism gives rise to a reduced purposive construction and a reanalysis of this construction as the causative construction. According to Iwasaki and Yap (1998), the development of the causative GIVE from the purposive GIVE in Thai is substantiated by the fact that the causer and the causee of the causative construction must be agentive and volitional, which also holds true of the subject of the enabling event and that of the purpose clause. (See details about our different analysis of the purposive construction in section 5.2.2.1.)

The use of GIVE as a causative verb not only appears in Thai and Mandarin Chinese but is also found in other languages. It is noted that many works on GIVE have attempted in many ways to account for the cognitive association between the causative meaning and the act of giving a thing to another person. The causative GIVE is argued to derive directly from the lexical verb GIVE in some works whereas it is argued to derive from some extended sense of GIVE, such as the dative use, in some others. A detailed diachronic study, which is beyond the scope of this study, is required to support one hypothesis rather than another.

5. Divergences between *hây* and *gěi*

In this section, we will examine how the uses of *hây* in Thai and *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese are different. Section 5.1 discusses the uses of *gěi* which are missing in the

case of *hây* whereas section 5.2 presents the uses of *hây* which are not found in the case of *gěi*.

5.1 Uses of *gěi* which are missing in *hây*

It is found that there are two uses of *gěi* which are missing in the case of *hây*, as follows:

- (a) Passive-marking
- (b) Ditransitive-marking

These two uses of *gěi* are examined below.

5.1.1 Passive-marking.

One of the two uses of *gěi* which are found to be missing in the case of *hây* is the passive use, which is alternatively called the agentive-marking function. The passive use of *gěi* is exemplified by (25) and (26) below.

(25) *Lǐsì gěi Zhāngsān kànjiàn-le* (Haspelmath, 1990, p.48)

Lisi give Zhangsan see-ASP

‘Lisi was seen by Zhangsan.’

(26) *jīnyú gěi māo chī-le* (Newman, 1993b, p.471)

Goldfish give cat eat-ASP

‘The goldfish was eaten by the cat.’

The syntactic structure of the passive construction in which *gěi* appears is apparently [NP1 *gěi* NP2 V]. However, the second NP which denotes the agent of the verb can be omitted, which gives rise to an agentless passive construction. According to Xu (1994), the passive *gěi* is used in colloquial speech whereas the other passive marker, *bèi*, is used in formal speech. In addition, a verb which co-occurs with the passive *gěi* must be marked by the aspect marker *le*, otherwise the sentence with *gěi* will not be interpreted as a passive sentence. Many works, such as Newman (1993a,b), Xu (1994), Yap and Iwasaki (1998, 2003) have accounted for how *gěi* has acquired a passive meaning. These works argue correspondingly that the passive *gěi* is directly derived from the causative *gěi*. Newman (1993b, p.473) points out the conceptual link between the causative sense and the passive sense by using the permissive verb *let* in English as a case study. He argues that *let* can have a strong permission sense, i.e. A expressly authorizes B to do something, and a weak permission sense, i.e. A does nothing to prevent B from doing something. There is still a marginal use of *let* which can be called the “extra-weak permission”, as in *This tarpaulin is too worn – it'll let the rain come in* (Newman, 1993b, p.473). This sentence means that the rain will come in. The verb *let* simply announces what the rain will do to the tarpaulin. The causative, permissive and manipulative content of *let* has been bleached out. It is apparent that *let* has acquired a passive sense in this context. In short, Newman claims that *let* acquires a passive sense if the sentence containing it expresses the meaning “A is such that B does something”. This account can be applied to the emergence of the passive meaning of *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese too.

Yap and Iwasaki (2003) argue that the development of the passive *gěi* from the causative *gěi* arises from the weakening or the loss of agency of the subject of the matrix clause. What happens in this changing process of the function of *gěi* is as follows.

(a) There is an “unwilling permission” or a lack of volition or willingness on the part of the subject, which is the causer, of the matrix clause.

(b) The causer subject of the matrix clause may have less control compared to the causee agent of the complement clause.

(c) The theme or patient of the complement clause is coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause.

On this basis, the change from the causative *gěi* to the passive *gěi* can be argued to take place via the reflexive context characterized by the three properties above. Such a reflexive context is a transition between the causative and the passive. The Mandarin Chinese example below indicates this transitional reflexive step.

(27) *Lisi gěi Zhāngsān kànjiàn-le* (Haspelmath, 1990, p.48)

Lisi give Zhangsan see-ASP

‘Lisi let Zhangsan see (him).’

‘Lisi was seen by Zhangsan.’

The reflexive context characterized above paves the way for the development of the passive meaning. The claim regarding the emergence of the passive *gěi* above corresponds with the claims postulated by other linguists, such as Gabelentz (1861), Haspelmath (1990), Nedjalkov (1993) and Knott (1995), that passive meaning emerges from the causative via reflexive-permissive contexts. Diachronic data

confirms the derivation of the passive meaning from the causative one. Xu (1994) found the causative use of *gěi* in the eighteenth century and the passive use of *gěi* later in the nineteenth century.

The passive *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese has been developed into what Newman (1993b, p.477) calls “the prefixal *gěi* in passive constructions”, one typical example of which is shown below in (28):

- (28) *tā gěi-mà-le* (Newman, 1993b, p.477)
he/she PASSIVE-scold-ASP
‘He/She was scolded.’

An important question which may arise at this point is why the development from a causative use into a passive one does not take place in Thai. Here we refer to Yap and Iwasaki (1998, 2003). Yap and Iwasaki (1998) found out that *hây* in Thai is restricted in the range of causer argument it can take. It takes only a volitional causer. According to Yap and Iwasaki (2003), only nonvolitionality on the part of the causer can allow a passive interpretation to emerge. Therefore, the high degree of volitionality of the causer prevents *hây* from developing into a passive marker in Thai.

5.1.2. Ditransitive-marking.

The other use of *gěi*, which is missing in the case of *hây* in Thai, is the ditransitive-marking use. The ditransitive-marking *gěi* appears immediately after a monotransitive verb or a ditransitive verb. It does not appear after an intransitive verb (Huang and

Ahrens 1999). If the ditransitive-marking *gěi* appears after a monotransitive verb, it will change the verb into a ditransitive verb as in (30)-(31). Because the ditransitive-marking *gěi* appears in the form of a suffix attached to a main verb, Newman (1993b) calls it the “suffix *gěi*” whereas Huang and Ahrens (1999) call it the “postverbal *gěi*”, which is categorized as a verbal affix.

Ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction

- (29) *wǒ sòng-gěi tā yì běn shū*
 I present-give s/he one CL book
 ‘I gave him/her a book.’

(From Li and Thompson, 1981, p.375)

- (30) *wǒ bān-gěi tā yí ge zhuōzi*
 I move-give 3sg one CL table
 ‘I moved a table over to him/her.’

- (31) *wǒ shū-gěi tā yí kuài qián*
 I lose-give 3sg one dollar money
 ‘I lost one dollar to him/her.’

The syntactic structure of this construction is thus [NP_{giver} V *gěi* NP_{recipient} NP_{thing}].

One might wonder, at this point, what motivates the language to have this ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction in addition to the semantically and formally similar construction, i.e. the dative construction, which is one of the extended uses of GIVE discussed above as commonly existing in Mandarin Chinese and Thai. The dative

prepositional use of *gěi* is exemplified by (32) and (33) below, corresponding respectively to (30) and (31) above:

Dative construction

(32) *wǒ bān yí ge zhuōzi gěi tā*
 I move one CL table to 3sg
 'I moved a table over to him/her.'

(33) *wǒ shū yí kuài qián gěi tā*
 I lose one dollar money to 3sg
 'I lost one dollar to him/her.'

Li and Thompson (1981, p.372) compare the two patterns of direct object vis-à-vis the indirect object in the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction and in the dative construction, namely, (a) the pattern [indirect object + direct object] exemplified by (30) and (31), and (b) the pattern [direct object + indirect object] exemplified by (32) and (33) and argue that there exists a functional difference between the two. That is, the former is used when the indirect object has already been mentioned in the discourse while the latter is used when the direct object has already been mentioned in the discourse. On this basis, the "old information" apparently appears earlier in the sentence.

The encoding of pragmatic information in linear order may account for the existence of the two semantically similar constructions in Mandarin Chinese. However, we argue that the use of linear order to encode pragmatic information motivates the emergence of the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction in Mandarin Chinese but not in Thai. That is, the indirect/direct object orders in the basic GIVE

construction and in the dative GIVE constructions are different in Chinese but the same in Thai. Let us first note that the linear order of the arguments in the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction, i.e. the [indirect object (recipient) + direct object (thing)] argument order, exactly matches that of the basic use of *gěi* as the verb of transfer of possession. This shows that the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction is patterned after the ordinary ditransitive construction in which *gěi* is used as the main verb in its basic sense. Thus, we deduce that the basic ditransitive lexical verb *gěi* with the [indirect object + direct object] word order gave rise to the ditransitive-marking suffix *gěi* in Chinese, and that the argument structure, together with the word order, of the former construction has been carried over to the latter construction. Should the ditransitive-marking GIVE be derived from the lexical verb GIVE in Thai, the current analysis predicts that its argument order would be [direct object + indirect object], which is patterned after that of the basic use of *hây* in Thai as in (1) and (2) above. However, this argument order is already exploited by the language's dative use of *hây* as in (7) above, and the functional distinction expressed by, and responsible for, the argument order difference in Chinese, has not served as a motivation for Thai to develop any additional structure that formally and functionally resembles the dative construction of the language.

The fact that *gěi* used in its basic sense rigidly requires the [indirect object + direct object] argument order in Mandarin Chinese also lends support to the above analysis regarding the direct derivation of the ditransitive-marking *gěi* from the verb *gěi* used in its basic sense as a verb of transfer of possession. Li and Thompson (1981, p.378) put *gěi* at the top of the list of verbs that "require the indirect object to precede the direct object". Thus it can be said that this prominent argument order of the basic

ditransitive verb has formed a constructional schema for the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction.

Furthermore, the constituent order of the verb followed by the ditransitive-marking *gěi* is that of the [modifier + modified (head)] pattern, which is available in Mandarin Chinese but not in Thai. In the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction, the role of the ditransitive-marking *gěi* is crucial as the head in that it determines the argument structure of the whole structure. Therefore, as Li and Thompson (1981, p.371) note, some verbs which take the ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction do not allow the deletion of *gěi* from the construction presumably because the argument structure of those verbs without it differs drastically from that of the basic ditransitive verb. With the ditransitive-marking *gěi* and its preceding verb functioning as the pseudo profile-determinant or head of the whole construction and as its modifier, respectively, the whole verbal sequence might give rise to such readings as 'I gave him a table by moving it to him' for (30) and 'I gave him one dollar by losing it to him' for (31). Such a modifier-head order pattern is not found in Thai.

5.2 Uses of *hãy* which are missing in *gěi*

It is found that there are two uses of *hãy* which are not found in the case of *gěi* as follows.

(a) Malefactive use

(b) Connective use in purposive, jussive and complementation constructions

These two uses are investigated below.

5.2.1 The malefactive use.

In colloquial Thai, there is one use of GIVE which appears to be a unique construction and suggests that the action denoted by a co-occurring verb phrase is undesirable and has a bad effect on the person who is affected by the action. The examples below illustrate the use under discussion in Thai.

(34) *dǎw chǎn kǎw tɛʔ hây rɔk*

Shortly I then kick give final particle

'I might kick you in a moment.'

(35) *rawaŋ khǎw càʔ dāa hây*

be careful he will scold give

'Be careful. He might scold you.'

(36) *chǎn klua wāa khǎw càʔ klææŋ hây*

I fear complementizer he will bully give

'I am afraid that he might bully me/you.'

This use of *hây* is characterized by the following properties. The action denoted by the co-occurring verb phrase expresses an undesirable action which has an adverse effect on the affected person. The affected person is linguistically realized as the direct object argument of the verb co-occurring with *hây*, which is typically omitted. In other words, the malefactive *hây* marks the direct object of the co-occurring verb, unlike the benefactive *hây*. Furthermore, the omitted direct object is typically interpreted as referring to the addressee or the speaker. In some cases, it can refer to someone expressed by a noun phrase which has been introduced in the previous

discourse and which is easily recoverable from the context.⁶ Only in some contexts can it be ambiguous between the speaker and the addressee such as in (36). Finally, an action denoted by a verb co-occurring with *hây* in this use has not happened yet.

The construction containing *hây* in the function described above is comparable to the malefactive construction in English. Intransitive verbs in English can undergo a variety of transitivity one of which is realized by means of the addition of a pronoun in a prepositional phrase headed by *on* as exemplified below. The resulting transitivity construction is called a malefactive construction.

(From Humphreys, 1999, p.399)

(37) *Your car broke down on me/ you/ us/ them/ *my wife.*

(38) *My patient died on me.*

(39) *My horse fell on me.* (e.g. as said by someone betting on it at a race.)

(40) *My colleagues went sick on me.*

Only some transitive verbs can appear in the malefactive construction as below.

(41) *My bank bounced my cheques on me.*

In each of the sentences above, the individual denoted by the pronoun after *on* is in some sense a victim of the undesirable event denoted by the verb. Since the sentences with *hây* in (34)-(36) have the same semantic properties as (37)-(41), the former can be labelled the malefactive construction like the latter. The former is different from the latter in that the pronoun in the former must be omitted.

⁶For instance, the missing object of (35) can be interpreted as "my son" if the sentence is uttered in a context in which the speaker has been told that there is a naughty boy in her son's class.

The malefactive GIVE in Thai is semantically similar with the benefactive GIVE in that an agent will carry out an action with the intention that it has an effect on somebody. However, an effect indicated by the malefactive GIVE must be negative, unlike in the case of the benefactive GIVE. On this basis, the malefactive GIVE can be said to derive from the basic meaning of GIVE by means of metonymy as in the case of the benefactive GIVE. Furthermore, we argue that the agent's intention in the malefactive *hây* construction is highlighted to the extent that it does not matter whether the patient likes it or not – as if the patient's existence itself were unimportant, which is iconic of his/her linguistic nonexistence.

The malefactive use of *hây* is prevalent only in conversational discourse, and has not been documented before. We can give no account at present as to why the malefactive use of GIVE is not found in Chinese. However, if that use of GIVE is ever found or occurs in Chinese, we can predict the *gěi* form occurs preverbally, because the benefactive use of *gěi* occurs preverbally in Chinese.

5.2.2 The connective use.

The other synchronic use of *hây* which is missing in the case of *gěi* in Mandarin Chinese is the connective use. The connective *hây* takes place in complex constructions in which *hây* functions as a connector which links two predicates or two clauses. The first clause in the complex construction is the matrix clause and the other is the subordinate one. The complex constructions in which *hây* functions as the connector can be classified into three types, namely, a purposive construction, a jussive construction and a complementation construction. In this section, we argue that each type of complex construction results from a reanalysis of *hây* from the

causative verb to the connector. In the reanalysis process, the causative *hây* is semantically bleached out and loses its verbal properties to varying degrees in the three types of complex construction. In other words, *hây* in the three types of complex construction has different degrees of function word properties as discussed below.

5.2.2.1. *Hây in a purposive construction.* Many works on GIVE such as Rangkupan (1997), Song (1997), Iwasaki and Yap (1998) and Lord et al. (2002) recognize the purposive use of *hây* in Thai. These works are briefly reviewed below.

Rangkupan (1997) argues that *hây* can appear after many kinds of verb in complex constructions. One type of complex construction which *hây* appears in is a purposive construction. A purposive construction is defined in this work as a construction which involves an action performed with the intent of realizing another state of affairs. *Hây* in a purposive construction requires that the matrix subject be animate and that the matrix verb be a volitional activity verb as shown below.

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.35)

(42) *nuan phlâk jŭm hây tòk nám*

Nuan push Jum give fall water

‘Nuan pushed Jum in order for her to fall into the water.’

However, the verb in the subordinate clause following *hây* can be of any semantic type, namely, activity, state, accomplishment or achievement as shown below. It is

noted that the subject noun phrases of the subordinate clauses in (43)-(46) are omitted because they are coreferential with the object noun phrases of the matrix clauses.⁷

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.36)

- (43) *nuan phlâk kâæw hây klîŋ pay rûay rûay*
 Nuan push glass give roll go continually

‘Nuan pushed the glass in order for it to keep rolling.’

- (44) *nuan thúp kâæw hây tàæk*
 Nuan hit glass give be broken

‘Nuan hit the glass in order for it to be broken.’

- (45) *nuan khon námtaan hây lalaay*
 Nuan stir sugar give melt

‘Nuan stirred the sugar in order for it to melt.’

- (46) *nuan láak tchûak tháj sǝŋ sên hây bantçòp kan*
 Nuan pull rope both two CL give meet each other

‘Nuan pulled both ropes in order for them to meet.’

Song (1997, p.339) postulates a grammaticalization path of GIVE on which the purposive use is derived from the benefactive use as below.

GIVE > BENEFACTIVE > PURPOSIVE > MANNER

According to Song (1997), the development of the morpheme GIVE in a language can start and end at any point on the grammaticalization path described above but the two segments that are involved in a given change must be contiguous on the path.

⁷Noun phrases in Thai sentences can be omitted if they are pragmatically recoverable from context.

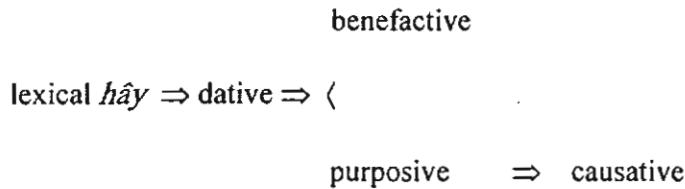
Song (1997, p.333) substantiates the claim that the purposive is derived from the benefactive with a Thai example taken from Vichit-Vadakan (1976, p.475) as below.

- (47) *khǎw khǎn còtmǎay hây khun tòp*
he write letter give you answer
'He wrote a letter so that you would answer.'

Heine and Kuteva (2002, p.55) postulate one of the grammaticalization processes of the benefactive as BENEFACTIVE > PURPOSE, which means that the purposive marker is derived from the benefactive one. Song (1997, p.333) argues that the emergence of the purposive *hây* is based on Traugott's second tendency of the direction of semantic-pragmatic change (Traugott 1989, 1990). This second tendency states that meanings based in the external or internal described situation become meanings based in the textual and metalinguistic situation. According to Song, the shift from the benefactive *hây* to the purposive *hây* reflects this tendency. The purposive *hây* in (47) arguably has a textual function in that it is used as a connector linking the main clause and the subordinate clause of purpose. In addition, Song (1997, p.333) claims that the shift from BENEFACTIVE to PURPOSIVE involves a far greater degree of internal, cognitive evaluation of the situation than the shift from GIVE to BENEFACTIVE in that PURPOSIVE describes an internal, psychological state of mind.

Iwasaki and Yap (1998) recognize the use of *hây* in the purposive construction and call it the purposive *hây* by analogy with the dative, the benefactive and the causative *hây*. They argue that the purposive use and the benefactive use of *hây* are both

derived from the dative one. In addition, the purposive *hây* semantically extends to the causative as schematically shown below.



Lord et al. (2002) argue that *hây* can occur in a construction in which the clause following it is a consequence of the previous action and is typically the goal or purpose of the carrying out of the previous action. They note that this construction is used for permission or enablement but not causation because there is no necessary implication that the event denoted by the clause following *hây* actually occurred.

In this paper, we present a different argument about the original function of *hây* in the purposive construction in Thai. We argue that the purposive construction originally consisted of a volitional activity verb with or without a direct object followed by the causative *hây*, the causee, and the caused event, one after another. In other words, the first verb phrase and the causative *hây* were strung together by means of verb serialization, which is a widespread phenomenon in Thai. The first verb phrase functioned as the ‘enabling action’ in the causing chain. It is argued here that the purposive meaning was not lexically denoted by *hây* at the beginning. Rather, it was derived by means of pragmatic inferencing from the interaction between the volitional activity denoted by the first verb phrase, the indirect causation expressed by the causative *hây* and the caused event. Therefore, *hây* in this case was not originally the purposive marker per se. The purposive meaning was originally a pragmatic meaning associated with the conventional meanings of an utterance containing the

serial verb construction described above. Thus, the conventional meaning of sentence (47) was 'He wrote a letter and had you reply.' The semantic shift from the causative to the purposive arises from the process of "pragmatic strengthening", whereby the conversational implicatures associated with an utterance containing that word become conventionalized by frequent use (Traugott 1989, 1990). According to Traugott, this is what happens at early stages of grammaticalization. Therefore, it can be concluded that *hây* in this case is losing its properties as the causative marker and is being reanalyzed as the purposive marker through the process of grammaticalization. The serial verb construction is being reanalyzed as a purposive complex construction containing two clauses connected by *hây*. However, *hây* is not fully grammaticalized yet and still retains some of its verbal properties. This claim is substantiated by the fact that it can be negated in some contexts such as below.⁸

(48) *sǒmsàk thǒt núa mây hây sùk kəənpay*

Somsak fry beef not give cooked too

'Somsak fried the beef with the intention that it be not too well-done.'

'Somsak fried the beef not having it be too well-done.' (literal translation)

It is apparent that there are still some remnants of the causative meaning in (48). The fact that the purposive *hây* can be negated as in (48) cannot be accounted for if we adopt the analysis that the purposive *hây* is derived from the benefactive marker. The purpose clause in the reanalyzed complex construction can be interpreted as a manner clause if the verb in it is a stative verb such as below.

⁸Here and below, the negative *mây* insertion test is used to test the lexical verb status in Thai. This is because a lexical verb in Thai can take the negative morpheme in front but as the verb loses its

(49) *chấn cà? khàt phứuun hây man*

I will wax floor give glossy

'I will wax the floor so that it becomes glossy.'

The caused event in sentence (49) can be synchronically interpreted as the manner, as well as the purpose, of carrying out the action of waxing the floor. For the floor to become glossy, the agent must perform the action of waxing in a certain manner. According to this analysis, there is no need to posit *hây* which marks manner as such as claimed by Song (1997). The manner meaning is simply a pragmatically inferable interpretation of the purpose clause when the verb in it is stative.

It should be noted in passing that the purpose use of GIVE is not totally missing in Chinese. One representative example is shown in (50) below:

(From Li and Thompson, 1981, p.389)

(50) *wǒ chàng gē gěi nǐ tīng*

I sing song GIVE you hear

'I'll sing for you to hear.'

The productivity of this construction in Chinese, however, is in no way comparable to that of the purposive GIVE construction in Thai. Furthermore, most of the GIVE sentences in Thai listed in this section cannot be translated into grammatical Chinese sentences with GIVE. Li and Thompson (1981, p.388) just briefly mention this construction in passing as one of the *gěi* uses in which "it introduces neither an indirect object nor a benefactive noun phrase". Please see section 5.2.2.4 where we account for the difference in productivity in this construction in terms of word order.

lexical status, it becomes less likely to.

5.2.2.2. *Hây in a jussive construction.* According to Rangkupan (1997), *hây* can also appear in jussive constructions. Jussive constructions express commands, requests or demands made by one participant towards another participant in order for the latter to perform an action (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997, p.427). According to Rangkupan, the jussive construction is formed by communication verbs functioning as matrix verbs followed by *hây*. The matrix verbs occurring in the jussive construction have the sense of orders, commands, coercion and persuasion, such as *chuan* ‘persuade’, *khǝʊ* ‘ask (somebody to do something)’, *sǝŋ* ‘command’, *khayǎn khayɔɔ* ‘urge’, *bòɔk* ‘tell (somebody to do something)’. The verbs in the subordinate clause can be either activity or accomplishment verbs but not state or achievement verbs. The jussive construction is also characterized by the fact that the subjects of the matrix verbs and of the subordinate verbs must be animate. In addition, Rangkupan argues that the jussive construction expresses an impingement type of causation, i.e. an agent forces a non-agent to perform an action. The sentences below exemplify the jussive construction.

- (51) *sǝmsàk bòɔk hây sǝmchaay maa*
 Somsak tell give Somchaay come
 ‘Somsak told Somchaay to come.’

- (52) *sǝmsàk sǝŋ hây sǝmchaay klàp bâan*
 Somsak tell give Somchaay return home
 ‘Somsak told Somchaay to go home.’

- (53) *sǝmsàk khayǎnkhayɔɔ hây sǝmchaay kin*
 Somsak urge give Somchaay eat
 ‘Somsak urged Somchaay to eat.’

It is also possible to switch the position between *hây* and the subject of the subordinate clause as below. However, the word order in (51)-(53) is found to be more common.

- (54) *sǝmsàk* *bòɔk* *sǝmchaay* *hây* *maa*
 Somsak tell Somchaay give come
 ‘Somsak told Somchaay to come.’

- (55) *sǝmsàk* *sàŋ* *sǝmchaay* *hây* *klâp* *bâan*
 Somsak tell Somchaay give return home
 ‘Somsak told Somchaay to go home.’

- (56) *sǝmsàk* *khayánkhayɔɔ* *sǝmchaay* *hây* *kin*
 Somsak urge Somchaay give eat
 ‘Somsak urged Somchaay to eat.’

The noun *sǝmchaay* functions as the subject argument of the subordinate clauses in (51)-(53) whereas it functions as the direct object argument of the matrix verbs in (54)-(56). In (54)-(56), the subject of the subordinate clauses is a zero anaphor which is coreferential with the direct object of the matrix verbs.

No other works on *hây* besides Rangkupan (1997) mention this use of this word in Thai. The present study argues that *hây* in the jussive construction is a connector which is derived from the causative *hây*. In other words, the jussive meaning extends from the causative one. This argument is supported by the fact that the two uses of *hây* have many properties in common. The first shared property is that *hây* in both uses is followed by the same type of syntactic constituent, i.e. the subordinate clause. The second is that the matrix subjects of the causative and the jussive constructions

are animate and have the intention that an event take place. The third is that the matrix subjects in the two constructions do something which indirectly causes another event to take place. In other words, there is an indirect causation between the two events expressed by the causative and the jussive constructions. The *hây*'s in the two constructions are different in that *hây* in the causative construction is the matrix verb whereas that in the jussive construction is preceded by the matrix verb. In addition, the subject of the subordinate verb of the causative construction can be nonagentive such as *kêæw* 'glass' in (57) whereas that in the jussive construction cannot be nonagentive as shown in (58).

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.27)

(57) *nuan hây kêæw klîŋ pay rûay rûay*

Nuan give glass roll DIR continually

'Nuan let the glass keep rolling.'

(58) **nuan bòøk hây kêæw klîŋ pay rûay rûay*

Nuan tell give glass roll DIR continually

'Nuan told the glass to keep rolling.'

It is apparent that *hây* in the jussive construction does not have a full lexical meaning⁹, unlike *hây* in the causative one. *Hây* in the former apparently functions as a connector between the matrix clause and the subordinate one. Can we conclude at this point that *hây* in the jussive construction is a connector which is grammaticalized from the causative *hây*? Well, we have found one behavioral property of *hây* in the

⁹Lexical meanings are characterized in the following way. They are concrete concepts, such as objects, actions and qualities. They have semantics by themselves and usually constitute the core content of a sentence. They tend to be encoded linguistically as content words such as nouns, verbs,

jussive construction which makes us hesitant to make such a conclusion. *Hây* in this use can be negated by the negative word *mây* as shown below.

(59) *sǝmsàk khǝǝ mây hây chǎn pay*

Somsak ask not give I go

‘Somsak asked me not to go.’

(60) *sǝmsàk sǎŋ mây hây chǎn pay*

Somsak order not give I go

‘Somsak ordered me not to go.’

(61) *sǝmsàk ɔɔnwɔɔn mây hây chǎn pay*

Somsak urge not give I go

‘Somsak urged me not to go.’

The fact that *hây* can be negated suggests that it still keeps some verbal properties.

Arguably, *hây* in the jussive construction is not completely grammaticalized yet.

Therefore, it is not a purely grammatical morpheme yet. However, it is not a prototypical verb either because it is semantically bleached out and it appears in a very restricted syntactic-semantic contexts. It can be concluded that *hây* in the jussive construction still has a mixture of verbal and grammatical properties.

Enfield (2002) discusses the verb of giving in Lao which appears in the jussive construction in our terms. He observes that *hǎj* ‘give’ in Lao may mark other causative verbs, by being the secondary verb or V₂, in what appears to be a V-V compound as in (62) and (63) below.

adjectives and adverbs. They are usually characterized as opposed to grammatical meanings. See section 3 for details about grammatical meanings.

Lao (Enfield, 2002, p.33-34)¹⁰

(62) *khòoy sǎng-hàj khǎw paj*

I order-give 3rd person go

‘I order them to go.’

(63) *lǎaw khǎw-hàj khòoy kin-khǎw*

3rd person request-give I eat-rice

‘S/he requested that I eat.’

Enfield (2002) analyzes GIVE in the jussive construction in Lao as the secondary verb in a V-V compound. Our analysis employs a different term, i.e. a grammaticalized connector, to label the corresponding verb with the corresponding function because the subject noun of the subordinate clause can occur between the matrix verb and *hǎy* as shown in (54)-(56). However, Enfield’s analysis that the *hǎj* in (62) and (63) in Lao, which is a language closely related to Thai, is a causative verb supports our argument that the *hǎy* in the jussive construction in Thai still keeps some verbal properties and the causative meaning.

5.2.2.3. *Hǎy in a complementation construction.* *Hǎy* can also appear in the complementation construction in which it links the matrix clause with the subordinate one. This construction with *hǎy* is characterized as follows. The subject noun phrase of the matrix clause is a human noun phrase and it is followed by a specific type of verb, i.e. a verb of desire, such as *yàak* ‘want’, *tǎnkaan* ‘want’ or *pràatthanǎa* ‘want (formal)’. It is noted that there is no restriction to the semantic type of NP₂ and VP which follows NP₂. The NP₂ can be a human or nonhuman NP. The VP which follows

¹⁰The original transcription used in Enfield (2002) is still kept in the examples quoted in this paper.

NP₂ can express an activity, state, achievement, or accomplishment. The structural pattern of the complementation in which *hây* appears is described below.

- (64) NP_{1 human} V_{verb of desire} *hây* NP₂ VP

The sentences below illustrate the use of *hây* in this construction.

- (65) *sǒmsàk* *yàak* *hây* *sǒmchaay* *maa* *hǎa*

Somsak want give Somchaay come see

‘Somsak wanted Somchaay to come to see him.’ ææ

- (66) *sǒmsàk* *tônkaan* *hây* *lúuk* *rian* *phêæt*

Somsak want give child study doctor

‘Somsak wanted his child to study medicine.’

- (67) *sǒmsàk* *yàak* *hây* *fǒn* *tòk*

Somsak want give rain fall

‘Somsak wanted it to rain.’

- (68) *sǒmsàk* *tônkaan* *hây* *sǒmchaay* *lêək* *sùup* *bùrìi*

Somsak want give Somchaay quit smoke cigarette

‘Somsak wanted Somchaay to quit smoking.’

Rangkupan (1997) analyzes *hây* in this use as a linkage marker¹¹ which links two clauses in propositional attitude constructions. Propositional attitude constructions in Rangkupan’s terms express a participant’s attitude, judgement or opinion regarding a state of affairs.

¹¹A linkage marker is defined by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) as a marker which links subclausal units. Linkage markers include such elements as adpositions, determiners and case markers.

It is noted that *hây* in the complementation construction shares many properties with *hây* in the purposive construction and with *hây* in the jussive construction in that (a) the *hây*'s in the three constructions are followed by a subordinate clause, (b) the *hây*'s in the three constructions have an animate matrix subject which has the intention that an event take place and (c) the referent denoted by the animate matrix subject of the *hây*'s in the three constructions indirectly causes another event to take place.

We argue that the *hây* in the complementation construction is the one with the fewest verbal properties or, in other words, the most function word properties, among all of the *hây*'s in the three complex constructions for the following reasons. First, the *hây* in the former construction has fewer restrictions on the subject noun phrase and on the semantic verb class of the lower clause than the *hây* in the jussive construction. Second, the *hây* in the complementation construction is more semantically weakened than that in the purposive and jussive constructions in that the indirect causation is less salient in the *hây* in the former than in the latter. In the purposive and the jussive constructions, the agent of the matrix clause carries out an action which indirectly causes another event to take place. In contrast, the subject of the matrix clause in the complementation does not do anything but simply wants that the event take place. However, the agent's intention for an event to take place still exists in the complementation construction but is less prominent than in the other two constructions. What we have argued for at this point is that *hây* in the complementation construction has more function word properties than that in the purposive and the jussive constructions.

As in the case of *hây* in the purposive and the jussive constructions, *hây* in the complementation construction has not lost all verbal properties. This claim is attested by the fact that *hây* in the complementation construction can be negated as shown below.

- (69) *khǎw yàak mây hây chǎn pay naanlǎn thammay lâ*
 he want not give I go party why particle
 'It served him right for not wanting me to go to the party.'
 'Why did he want me not to go to the party?' (literal translation)

It is more natural to put the negative word *mây* immediately in front of the matrix verb *yàak* than immediately in front of the word *hây* as in (69). Sentence (69) is acceptable only if it is appropriately contextualized. It is a marked sentence because it sounds sarcastic. An example of the situation in which this sentence could be used is one in which the matrix subject did not want the subject of the subordinate clause to go to the party so the latter did not go. It turned out that the former needed the latter in a task and the former could not get that task done because the latter did not come. When the latter knew about this incident, he uttered the sentence above. Notice that it is harder to put the negative word immediately in front of *hây* in the complementation construction than in the purposive and the jussive constructions because the former case requires a special context but the latter does not.

Enfield (2002, p.32) discusses the verb *hàj* 'give' in Lao which appears in the complementation construction and analyzes it as a referential disjunct or switch-reference marker in control constructions. According to him, the referential disjunct marker *hàj* 'give' is semantically weakened and has a structurally functional role. It

signals a switched subject in the lower clause. The complement-taking predicate *jàak* ‘want’ in Lao demands that the following verb has a zero subject coreferential with the matrix subject of the subordinate clause. Enfield analyzes *hàj* which occurs in the complementation construction in Lao as a purely grammatical morpheme. His analysis of *hàj* in Lao supports our claim that the *hây* occurring in the complementation construction in Thai is the most grammaticalized connector, with the fewest verbal properties of all three.

5.2.2.4. *Summary.* To summarize, the connective *hây* in the complex constructions is arguably derived, extended or grammaticalized from the causative *hây*. The *hây*’s in all of these cases are followed by a clause or a predicate. The causative *hây* functions as the main verb in the causative construction whereas the connective *hây* is preceded by a main verb and followed by a clause or a predicate. It is noted that the matrix subject’s intention that an event take place is present both in the causative *hây* and in the connective *hây* in the three types of complex construction. However, the notion of indirect causation has the highest degree of saliency in the causative *hây* but has decreasing degrees of saliency in the purposive, jussive and complementation constructions as argued above. A network of the semantic extensions of *hây* from the causative use to the connective use can be schematized as below.

(Insert Figure 1)

Fig. 1. A network of the semantic extensions of *hây* occurring in complex constructions

The fact that the connective use of GIVE, which is prominent and productive in Thai, is virtually non-existent in Mandarin Chinese constitutes an interesting case, and is accounted for in this paper in terms of the basic word order difference between Thai and Mandarin Chinese. In Thai, the modifier follows the head whereas, in Mandarin Chinese, the modifier precedes the head. In the three types of complex constructions in Thai that we have discussed, it is obvious that the main clause, which functions as the head, precedes the subordinate clause, which functions as the modifier. This pattern obviously corresponds to the basic word order pattern in Thai regarding the modifier vis-à-vis the head. We argue that the word order pattern in Thai is a factor which enables *hây* in Thai to be reanalyzed as a connector which introduces the subordinate clause which comes after the main clause. As for Mandarin Chinese, the word order pattern of the modifier vis-à-vis the head is an obstacle to the development of the reanalysis of *gěi* as a connector which would introduce a modified subordinate clause to the right.

Diessel (2001) examines the ordering distribution of main and adverbial clauses from a crosslinguistic perspective. He shows that the ordering of main and adverbial clauses correlates with the position of the subordinator in the subordinate clause. In languages in which adverbial clauses have a final subordinator (OV languages), adverbial clauses including purpose clauses tend to precede the main clause/predicate (ADV-S/VP order). In languages in which adverbial clauses are marked by initial subordinators, adverbial clauses commonly occur both sentence-initially (ADV-S/VP order) and sentence-finally (S/VP-ADV order). In the latter language type, the

position of the adverbial clause varies with its meaning or function. Diessel (2001, p.445) notes that purpose clauses, a semantic type of adverbial clause,¹² almost always occur sentence-finally, which is after the main clause/predicate (S/VP-ADV order). Therefore, in VO languages where both adverbial-main clause/predicate (ADV-S/VP) and main clause/predicate-adverbial (S/VP-ADV) orders are possible, purpose clauses always take the S/VP-ADV order. In other words, purpose clauses always follow the main clause. In contrast, in OV languages, adverbial clauses including purpose clauses take the ADV-S/VP order. In other words, adverbial clauses precede the main clause/predicate.¹³

The cross-linguistic ordering patterns of adverbial clauses observed by Diessel are compatible with the data for Thai and Mandarin Chinese under investigation. The grammaticalization of the causative GIVE into the connective marker in Thai involves the reanalysis of serial verb constructions with the structure [NP1 VP1 GIVE_(causative) NP2 VP2] into the bi-clausal structure of [S₁[NP1 VP1] GIVE_(connector) S₂[NP2 VP2]], where the second clause is a subordinate one, namely, the complementation, jussive and purposive construction. In Thai, a rigid VO language, the connective use of GIVE introducing the subordinate clause is apparently productive, thus matching the cross-linguistic ordering pattern observed by Diessel (2001). However, in Mandarin Chinese, which exhibits both OV and VO features, the former features are disharmonic with the main clause/predicate-adverbial order (S/VP-ADV order), rendering the reanalysis of GIVE as the purposive marker less likely than that in Thai.

6. Conclusion

¹²The other semantic types of adverbial clause discussed by Diessel (2001) are conditional, temporal, causal and result clauses.

¹³See also Diessel's functional accounts of the cross-linguistic distributional behavior of adverbial clauses in Diessel (2001) and Diessel (2005).

In this paper, we have demonstrated the polysemous status and the polyfunctionality of the verb of giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese in a comparative manner. It is found that the verbs for 'give' in the two languages exhibit many synchronic similarities and differences. The similar uses displayed by the two verbs are (1) the main verb used to express an action of possession transfer, (2) the dative use, (3) the benefactive use, and (4) the causative use. We have also shown that these common uses are derived in a non-arbitrary manner. The process of metonymy is found to play a dominant role in the derivation of the common uses of GIVE in the two languages, namely, the dative, benefactive and causative uses. The different uses exhibited by the two verbs are (1) the passive use, (2) the ditransitive use, (3) the malefactive use, and (4) the connective use. The passive and the ditransitive uses exist in Mandarin Chinese whereas the malefactive and the connective uses are found in Thai. We have argued how the word order difference between Thai and Mandarin Chinese has an impact on the development of linguistic structure as exemplified by the construction containing GIVE. It would be worth investigating in detail in the future whether the word order difference between Thai and Mandarin Chinese gave rise to the development of other different aspects of linguistic structure or not.

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All correspondences should be addressed to: Editor in Chief, Manusya: Journal of Humanities,
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SEMANTIC EXTENSION OF THE VERB OF BREAKING IN THAI AND JAPANESE¹

Kingkarn Thepkanjana²
Satoshi Uehara³

Abstract

The fact that a lexical item has semantic variations when combined with other linguistic elements is a central issue in lexical semantics. A number of researchers claim that a lexical item has one basic meaning, and that other extended meanings are triggered in context by a process whereby the semantic structure of the lexical item is adjusted in certain details so that it is semantically compatible with its neighboring lexical items. This paper aims to examine how this process actually works as it applies to a transitive verb occurring with subject and object arguments. A study of the Thai transitive verb HAK "break" and its corresponding verb ORU in Japanese is presented. Arguably, all seemingly discrete meanings of HAK are interrelated and so are those of ORU. The basic meaning of each verb corresponds to the most concrete event and is the most cognitively salient. It consists of a number of "facets", which represent different

physical resulting states of an entity undergoing an action denoted by either HAK or ORU. Two mechanisms are found to derive the extended meanings. First, only some facets of HAK and ORU are promoted. Second, HAK and ORU are figuratively interpreted. The other objective of this study is to show semantic differences between HAK and ORU. It is demonstrated in this paper that so-called "corresponding" words in different languages, especially verbs, hardly have exactly the same meaning.

Introduction

The fact that a word form is associated with more than one meaning is recognized as one of the central issues in lexical semantics. This phenomenon has received an increased attention in recent years especially by cognitive linguists and computational semanticists. It also raises a number of theoretical questions, for example, whether a lexical item in question constitutes a case of polysemy or homonymy; in case of polysemy, whether there is a core semantic element unifying all of the seemingly discrete meanings of the word form in question. This paper is another attempt to investigate the relationships between the word form and the meanings it is associated with. In accounting for semantic variations of a lexical item in context, it is claimed by cognitive linguists and computational semanticists that a lexical item has one basic or default sense and that other extended senses are triggered in context. The derivation of the extended senses from the basic sense is implemented by a process whereby the semantic structure of a lexical item is adjusted in certain details to make it semantically compatible with the neighboring lexical items. This process is referred to as "co-composition" by

¹ This paper was presented at the 4th ASIALEX Conference: Words in Asian Cultural Contexts, 1-3 June 2005, Singapore.

² Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. Email: thepkanjana@gmail.com

³ Professor, Graduate School of International Cultural Studies, Tohoku University, Sendai, Japan. Email: uehara@intcul.tohoku.ac.jp

Pustejovsky (1995) and as "accommodation" by Langacker (1987). This paper aims to examine in detail how the process of co-composition or accommodation actually works as it applies to a transitive verb occurring in combination with its subject and object arguments. A corpus-based semantic investigation of the Thai transitive verb *hàk* 'break' and its corresponding verb *oru* in Japanese is presented in this paper as a case study. This paper will demonstrate that the semantic extension by means of the same mechanism occurs across languages even in typologically different languages such as Thai and Japanese⁴. This paper also aims at confirming the hypothesis that the so-called "corresponding verbs" in different languages, even the ones which express an action as basic as to disjoin something with force, do not have the same range of meanings. This paper shows that the glosses, which are usually represented in English, do not always reflect the accurate meanings of words in languages. In the next section, we will review some theoretical issues that are usually associated with the studying of the relationships between word forms and their meanings.

2. Ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness

The phenomenon in which a word form is associated with more than one meaning often leads to the question of how to categorize the word form in question. The task of categorizing a word form is tantamount to that of characterizing the relationship between the phonological

shape of a word and the meaning(s) it is associated with. This task involves such notions as "ambiguity", "polysemy" and "vagueness". These three notions will be examined in detail in this section.

In lexical semantics, the definition of the term "polysemy" involves the distinction between polysemy and ambiguity on the one hand and the distinction between polysemy and vagueness on the other. The term "ambiguity" can be alternatively called "homonymy". Ambiguity is traditionally defined as a case in which two or more distinct meanings are associated with a given phonological form. Distinct lexemes emerges as a result of semantic distinctness. A classic example of ambiguity is *bank*, which means "financial institution" and "land adjoining a body of water". Vagueness refers to a case in which non-distinct meanings are associated with a phonological form. The non-distinct meanings can be unified under a single, more general meaning. A standard example of vagueness is *aunt*, which can refer to a father's sister and a mother's sister. Thus, ambiguity or homonymy can be defined in terms of separation of meanings whereas vagueness can be defined in terms of unity of meanings. Lyons (1977: 550) and Zwicky and Sadock (1975:2) utilize the notion of lexeme in defining these three terms. That is, lexical ambiguity or homonymy involves two lexemes each of which has a distinct sense; polysemy involves a single lexeme with distinct senses and vagueness involves a lexeme with a single but non-specific and non-distinguished meaning. These definitions thus indicate that polysemy is located halfway between ambiguity and vagueness. As Deane (1988:345) puts it, "Polysemy seems somehow to straddle the border between identity and distinctness".

⁴ Thai is known as an isolating and head-initial language whereas Japanese is known as an agglutinating and head-final language.

Several cognitively oriented linguists who study the relationships between word forms and meanings come to the same conclusion regarding the demarcation between ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness. For example, Geeraerts (1993) argues that the distinction between vagueness and polysemy is not clear-cut in that "what appear to be distinct meanings from one point of view turn out to be instances of vagueness from another". Tuggy (1993) comes to the same conclusion as Geeraerts regarding the demarcation between these notions. He studies them within the Cognitive Grammar framework (Langacker 1987) and argues that ambiguity and vagueness are located at the opposite ends of a continuum with polysemy located in the middle. In discussing linguistic categorization, Taylor (1995) also states that there is a fuzzy boundary between polysemy and ambiguity, which he refers to as homonymy, because relatedness of meaning is both a gradient and subjective notion. Thus, according to these linguists, the notions of ambiguity, polysemy, and vagueness are no longer seen as classical categories with fixed boundaries. Rather, they are regarded as more or less unfixed points located on a continuum. Lakoff (1987) provides a slightly different definition of the term polysemy. According to Lakoff, all instances of sense variations are a case of polysemy even though some of them are so close that we cannot notice the difference in meaning. Lakoff points out a number of weaknesses of the Classical Theory of categorization and proposes the radial approach⁵ to categorization.

⁵ The prototype approach to categorization postulates two types of category, namely, the prototype and radial categories. The prototype is the most central or typical instance of a

In summary, there seems to be an agreement among linguists working within the cognitive linguistic framework that there are blurred distinctions between ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness. This is why this paper does not aim to determine whether the association of a transitive verb form associated with a number of meanings constitutes a case of polysemy, ambiguity, homonymy or vagueness. Rather, it aims at analyzing how the extended meanings of the verb emerge in context. In the next section, we will present the meanings of the verbs *hàk* and *oru* which are apparently discrete and independent from one another. They result from a preliminary semantic analysis of the verbs occurring in combination with different subject and object arguments.

3. Semantic variations of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese

Before we embark on a semantic analysis of the Thai and Japanese verbs under investigation, it is necessary to review the fundamental concepts of semantic variations of a word form as set forth by Cruse (2000) as below.

3.1 Semantic variations of a word form in context

The meaning of a word form is elusive because it can vary from context to context. Semantic variations of a word form can be very gross with no apparent connection between them as in *They moored the boat to the bank* and *He is the manager of a local bank*, through different but intuitively related meanings, as in *My*

category. Radial categories are extensions of the prototype. They are less typical and may differ from the prototype in one or more features.

father's firm built this school (school here refers to the building) and *John's school won the Football Charity Shield last year* (school here refers to the people in the school), to hard-to-distinguished variations, as in *Alice can walk already and she's only 11 months old* and *I usually walk to work* (Cruse 2000: 105). In the case of *bank*, there is a sharp semantic boundary between the readings. In the case of *walk*, a semantic boundary between the readings is hardly perceptible. The case of *school* lies in the middle. The sharper a semantic boundary between two readings is, the more discrete or distinct the readings will be. According to Cruse (2000), the highest degree of distinctness coincides with antagonism. Antagonistic readings of a word form compete with one another in the speaker's mind. It is impossible for the speaker to focus his/her attention on antagonistic readings at once. Antagonistic readings are therefore fully discrete, such as the two readings of *bank* in the examples above. It is always the case that all word forms have semantic variations which can be gross or subtle to varying degrees when they co-occur with other word forms in sentences. According to Cruse (2000), of all meanings of a word form, the meaning which would come to mind in the absence of any context is called "the default meaning". Some meanings are "established" because they have a high degree of entrenchment⁶ in the

speaker's mind whereas some others are non-established. The meaning of *walk* as standing up and walking unaided in *Alice can walk already and she's only 11 months old* exemplifies the non-established meaning (Cruse 2000: 105). The meanings of a word form can be semantically related or arbitrary. The latter case is the case of ambiguity, such as the meanings of *bank* in the examples above. As for the former case, it has been pointed out that there are varying degrees of semantic relatedness. Furthermore, individual speakers differ in their judgements of relatedness.

Cruse (2000) postulates three types of semantic variations of a word form which fall short of full sensehood but still retain a certain degree of discreteness. The three types of semantic variations are *facets*, *perspectives* and *subsenses*. Facets are fully discrete but non-antagonistic readings of a word. They are characteristically of distinct ontological types. However, they do not represent distinct concepts. Rather, they are fused into a single conceptual unit. For example, the word *book* displays two facets because it can refer either to a physical object or to the text it embodies. Perspectives also show a certain degree of discreteness without antagonism. However, they are less discrete and less autonomous than facets. Perspectives represent different views of looking at an entity, such as looking at it from in front, from the sides, from behind, from on top, etc. These different views are perceptually distinct but are unified by the mind into a single conceptual unity. One of the examples given by Cruse (2000: 117) is *house*, which can be thought of as an example of

⁶ The notion of entrenchment was first introduced by Langacker (1987) to explain how new expressions are formed and remain deeply rooted in language. According to Langacker (1987), there is no sharp boundary between units and nonunits. Linguistic structures are conceived as falling along a continuum scale of entrenchment in cognitive organization. A novel structure with repeated use becomes progressively entrenched to the point of becoming a unit. Units are variably

entrenched depending on the frequency of their occurrence.

a particular architectural style, as a dwelling, as a piece of property or as a piece of construction work. Each meaning is argued to represent a perspective of the word *house*. Subsenses are semantic variations which show a lower level of both discreteness and antagonism than full senses. An example given by Cruse (2000: 119) is *knife*, which has many readings. It can be thought of as a tool, a weapon, a surgical instrument or cutlery.

The three types of semantic variations postulated by Cruse (2000) are not full senses of words nor subtle variations within a single sense resulting from modulation⁷. Full senses of words are both fully antagonistic and fully discrete whereas subtle variations within a single sense are neither. An example of the subtle variations within a single sense is *baby* which can refer to either a babyboy or a babygirl. It is obvious that facets, perspectives and subsenses lie between the two extremes of full senses and subtle variations. In the next section, we will identify meanings of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese when it occurs in combination with other words in sentences. It should be noted that the three types of semantic variations postulated by Cruse are not distinguished from one another in many cases. Even his example of *house* is debatable because it can be argued to display facets, not perspectives. Therefore, the distinctions between these three types of semantic variations are dubious. In this paper, we aim at identifying semantic variations of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese by using the criteria that they display a certain degree of discreteness and relatedness

with one another. It is therefore possible that some postulated readings are intuitively felt to be full senses whereas some others are not. However, all readings are arguably not subtle variations of the word arising from modulation. It should be noted that most examples given by Cruse to illustrate his three types of semantic variations are nouns. This paper is an attempt to apply his notions of semantic variations to verbs across languages.

3.2 Semantic variations of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese

In carrying out a linguistic analysis of a non-English language, it is customary to use English as the metalanguage in expressing the meanings of the non-English data. However, it should be borne in mind that English glosses and translations do not express the exact meanings of the words, phrases, and sentences under investigation as will be pointed out below. The present study is even more complicated because two non-English words which are supposedly corresponding ones are examined. The English word, namely, *break* is inevitably used as the gloss for these two non-English words. In case of Japanese, it is noted that there are two Japanese words which apparently correspond to *break* in English, i.e. *kowasu* and *oru*. For many people, the word *kowasu* might come to mind first. However, if we semantically compare *hàk* in Thai and *kowasu* in Japanese on the one hand and *hàk* and *oru* on the other, it turns out that *hàk* in Thai is closer in meaning to *oru* than to *kowasu* in Japanese. *Hàk* as a transitive verb in Thai is defined as “fold a hard entity with sudden or violent force in such a way that it becomes disjointed or reduced to pieces”. *Kowasu* in Japanese is defined as “change

⁷ See the definition of “modulation” in the next section on relatedness between semantic variations.

the shape of something and make it useless or dysfunctional by using force". On the other hand, *oru* is defined as "apply force to a straight line or a flat object at a point or a line and make two (or more) lines or flat objects". Therefore, *oru* is chosen as the corresponding word of *hàk* even though there are still some differences in meaning between them. All Thai-Japanese dictionaries also provide *oru* as the equivalent of *hàk*. Despite some differences between *hàk* and *oru*, the same gloss, i.e. 'break', is used for both *oru* and *hàk* for convenient purposes. It should be kept in mind that there are differences in meaning between *hàk* in Thai, *oru* in Japanese and *break* in English as will be pointed out below.

3.2.1 Semantic variations of *hàk* 'break' in Thai

In examining the corpus citations of this transitive verb in Thai, it is found that this verb, which occurs in combination with different noun arguments, designate a multiplicity of meanings which are discrete to different degrees. It should be noted that the meanings that are listed below result from a preliminary semantic analysis. The meanings of *hàk* listed below represent a tentative list of meanings of this verb which exhibit discreteness and relatedness to varying degrees. It is inevitable that the identification of meanings involves a certain degree of subjectivity on the analyst's part. The meanings of *hàk* 'break' are as follows.

1.For X to disjoin or reduce something to pieces with sudden or violent force

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| (1) | <i>khǎw</i> | <i>hàk</i> | <i>kinmáw</i> | <i>pen</i> |
| | <i>sǎw</i> | <i>thǎm</i> | | |
| | he | HÀK | branch | as |
| | two | piece | | |

'He broke the branch into two pieces.'

2.For X to deduct money, expenses, tax

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|------------|---------------|---------------------|
| (2) | <i>phǎm</i> | <i>dây</i> | <i>kamray</i> | <i>nǎy</i> |
| | <i>mâak</i> | <i>lǎn</i> | <i>hàk</i> | <i>khâacháycaay</i> |
| | <i>lǎew</i> | | | |
| | I | get | profit | little |
| | very | after | HÀK | expenses |
| | already | | | |

'I got only a small amount of profit after deducting the expenses.'

3.For X to harvest, to collect ears of corn

Example:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| (3) | <i>nít</i> | <i>ǎk</i> | <i>pay</i> | <i>hàk</i> |
| | <i>khâawphôot</i> | <i>thîi</i> | <i>râi</i> | <i>tǎecháw</i> |
| | Nít | exit | go | HÀK |
| | corn | at | field | early |

'Nit went out to harvest corn very early.'

4.For X to take away marks in an examination

Example:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| (4) | <i>khruu</i> | <i>hàk</i> | <i>khanææn</i> |
| | <i>mâak</i> | <i>kænpay</i> | |
| | teacher | HÀK | marks |
| | many | too | |

'The teacher took away too many marks.'

5. For X to turn away the steering wheel

Example:

- (5) *khonkhàp* *hàk* *phuaṇmalay*
yàṇkràthanhǎn
 driver HÀK steering wheel
 abruptly

'The driver abruptly turned the steering wheel.'

6. For X to crack the knuckles

Example:

- (6) *dèkphûuchaay* *khon* *nii*
chôṇ *hàk* *níw*
 boy classifier this
 like HÀK. finger

'This boy likes to crack the knuckles.'

7. For X to cut prices

Example:

- (7) *ráan* *nii* *hàk* *raakhāa*
sínkhāa *lōṇ* *yāṇmāynāachtūa*
 shop this HÀK price
 products descend unbelievably

'This shop reduced the prices of its products unbelievably.'

8. For X to conquer a town

Example:

- (8) *khāasūk* *hàk* *muaṇ* *khāw*
maa *dây* *phaaynay* *nūṇ*
duan
 enemy HÀK town enter
 come can within one
 month

'The enemies could conquer the town in one month.'

9. For X to turn light to a different direction; to refract

Example:

- (9) *lenkææwtaa* *thiam* *khǒṇ* *khǎw*
hàk *sææṇ* *dây* *dii*
māak
 eye lens artificial of his
 HÀK light can good
 very

'His artificial eye lens can refract light very well.'

10. For X to disparage; to slight; to belittle someone

Example:

- (10) *kææ* *klāa* *hàk* *liam*
chǎn *rǔu*
 you dare HÀK corner, angle
 I question particle

'Don't you dare belittle me!'

11. For X to betray someone, to doublecross someone

Example:

- (11) *khǎw* *pen* *khon* *chôṇ*
hàk *lǎṇ* *phūān*
 he be person like
 HÀK back friend

'He is the kind of person that tends to deceive his friends.'

12. For X to break one's heart, to discontinue a romantic relationship with someone

Example:

(12) <i>khǎw</i>	<i>tət</i>	<i>rák</i>
<i>hàk</i>	<i>sawàat</i>	<i>thəə</i>
<i>yàanmâypranii</i>		
he	cut	love
HÀK	romantic love	she
without sympathy		

'He ended a romantic relationship with her without sympathy.'

13. For X to force oneself to get rid of one's feeling toward something/someone

Example:

(13) <i>thəə</i>	<i>təj</i>	<i>hàk</i>	<i>cay</i>
<i>yàakhàat</i>	<i>càak</i>	<i>sǎamii</i>	
she	must	HÀK	heart
divorce	from	husband	

'She had to force herself to divorce her husband.'

14. For X to force someone

Example:

(14) <i>khǎw</i>	<i>hàk</i>	<i>khəw</i>	<i>súru</i>
<i>wǎæn</i>	<i>nay</i>	<i>raakhaa</i>	<i>thiuk</i>
<i>càak</i>	<i>chǎn</i>		
he	HÀK	neck	buy
ring	in	price	cheap
from	I		

'He forced me to sell him a ring at a low price.'

15. For X to embarrass someone

Example:

(15) <i>khǎw</i>	<i>hàk</i>	<i>nāa</i>	<i>phǒm</i>
<i>klaan</i>	<i>thiipràchum</i>		
he	HÀK	face	I
middle	meeting		

'He made me lose face in the meeting.'

We may make some observations of the meanings of *hàk* listed above as follows. First, some meanings of *hàk* are intuitively felt to be distinguished from each other but yet related to each other in some way. Secondly, some meanings are perceived as literal whereas some others are perceived as metaphoric, which result from figurative interpretation. Thirdly, many combinations of *hàk* with the direct object nouns are apparently idiomatic. Therefore, the occurrences of *hàk* with its direct object nouns in these cases seem to be arbitrary. We will argue later that those occurrences of *hàk* and their direct object nouns are motivated and that all meanings of *hàk* are interrelated. In the next section, we will discuss semantic variations of *oru* in Japanese.

3.2.2 Semantic variations of *oru* 'break' in Japanese

As in the case of *hàk* 'break' in Thai, the transitive verb *oru* which co-occurs with different noun arguments exhibit a diversity of meanings. A preliminary, corpus-based semantic analysis of *oru* gives rise to a tentative list of meanings as follows.

1. For X to apply force to a straight line or a flat object at a point or a line and make two (or more) lines or flat objects

Examples :

(16) <i>Boo-o</i>	<i>ni-hon-ni</i>	<i>ot-te</i>
<i>hasi-tosite</i>	<i>ukat-ta</i>	
stick-ACC	two-CL-into	ORU-ing
chopsticks-as	use-PAST	

'(I) broke the stick into two and used them as chopsticks.'

- (17) *Siitu-o huta-tu-ni*
ot-te simat-ta
 sheets-ACC two-CL-in
 ORU-ing stow away-PAST

'(I) folded the bed sheets in two and stowed them away.'

2. For X to count (by bending fingers)

Example:

- (18) *Kare-wa yubi-o ot-te*
10 kazoe-ta
 he-TOP finger-ACC ORU-ing
 10 count-PAST

'He counted (up to) 10 by bending his fingers.'

3. For X to sit down (by bending one's legs at the knees), to come to a halt, to give up doing something

Examples:

- (19) *Uma-wa totuzen moro-hiza-o*
ot-ta
 horse-TOP suddenly both-knee-ACC
 ORU-PAST

'The horse suddenly knelt down/sat down (by bending its both knees).'

- (20) *Kare-wa hasiri-tukare-te*
hiza-o ot-ta
 he-TOP run-get tired-ing
 knee-ACC ORU-PAST

'He got tired from running and came to a stop.'

- (21) *Katu made hiza-o oru*
wakeniwaikanai
 win till knee-ACC ORU
 cannot

'I cannot give up and stop fighting till I win.'

4. For X to surrender, bow (by bending oneself at the waist)

Example:

- (22) *Inaka-no wakazoo-ni*
kosi-o oru ki-ni
nar-anai.
 country-GEN youngster-to
 waist-ACC ORU feeling-in
 become-not

'(I) don't feel like obeying/bowing to the youngster from the countryside.'

5. For X to interrupt (i.e., to stop something in the middle)

Example:

- (23) *Kyuugeki-na en-daka-ga keiki-*
kaihuku-no kosi-o oru daroo
 sudden yen-high-NOM economic-
 recovery-GEN waist-ACC ORU will

'The sudden rising of yen will probably interrupt the economic recovery.'

6. For X to pluck, to break off, pick up (flower)

Example:

- (24) *Kare-wa kirei-na hana-o*
ot-te atume-ta
 he-TOP beautiful flower-ACC
 ORU-ing collect-PAST

'He plucked and collected beautiful flowers.'

7. For X to destroy, make something dysfunctional

Example:

(25) *Kare-wa matti-no ziku-o*
ot-te sute-ta
 he-TOP match-GEN stick-ACC
 ORU-ing throw away-PAST

'He broke the matchsticks and threw them away.'

8. For X to end one's literary career (by breaking one's tool)

Example:

(26) *Kare-wa 40-sai-de*
hude-o ot-ta yoo-da
 he-TOP 40-years old-at
 writing.brush-ACC ORU-PAST appears

'It appears that he ended his literary career at 40 years old.'

9. For X to make efforts

Example:

(27) *Kare-wa musuko-no seikoo-no*
tame-ni hone-o ot-ta
 he-TOP son-GEN success-GEN
 purpose-for bone-ACC ORU-PAST

'He made efforts for his son's success.'

10. For X to return (a phone call)

Example:

(28) *Dewa, ori-kaesi odenwa*
simasu
 well, ORU-returning phone
 will do

'Well, (I) will return (your call).'

11. For X to give in/stop turning a deaf ear (to other people's opinion)

Example:

(29) *Tokiniwa ga-o oru*
koto-mo hituyoo-da
 sometimes self-ACC ORU
 to-also necessary-be

'Sometimes it is necessary to give in (to somebody else's opinion).'

12. For X to create (folded paper)

Example:

(30) *Kanozyo-wa zyoozu-ni*
turu-o oru
 she-TOP well-in
 crane-ACC ORU

'She folds (origami) crane very well.'

Some observations about the postulated meanings of the Japanese verbs above can be made as follows. Firstly, one may find that some meanings are too broad and consist of at least two distinct meanings, such as the first, the third, the sixth, and the seventh meanings. However, we argue that these meanings constitute single meanings of their own. This is evidenced by the fact that the English translations corresponding to each of these uses of *oru* are semantically close to one another. It just happens that English does not have a single verb which corresponds to *oru* with each of these uses. Secondly, some meanings may be perceived to be fully discrete, fully antagonistic and deserve the status of full sensehood, not merely semantic variations, such as the fourth, the ninth, and the eleventh meanings. We will argue below that these meanings are metaphoric and that they extend from the basic meaning.

4. Relatedness between semantic variations

In this section, relatedness between the meanings of *hak* and of *oru* as postulated in the sections above will be accounted for in terms of Cruse (1986)'s principle of lexical semantics and Cruse (2000)'s principle of contextual variability of word meaning. According to Cruse (1986), the meaning of a word form seems to be infinitely variable and is dependent on the context in which the word form appears even though the syntactic context remains the same. However, discrete units of meaning can be identified which are stable in some ways across contexts. These discrete units of meanings are referred to as "sense" by Cruse. Cruse (2000) states that there are three ways in which the meaning of a word form can vary according to contexts, namely, *modulation*, *selection* and *coercion*. In the case of modulation, a single meaning can be modified infinitely by different contexts. Each context emphasizes a certain semantic trait while obscuring or suppressing others. The semantic variation caused by modulation is continuous and fluid. Modulation gives rise to various meanings of a word form of varying degrees of semantic relatedness. Thus, modulation can be defined as variations within a single meaning. Modulation corresponds to Lakoff's notion of polysemy. Modulation is exemplified below.

Examples from Cruse (2000: 121-122)

(31) *Our maths teacher is on maternity leave.*

(32) *The coffee burnt my tongue.*

(33) *The children formed a circle round the teacher.*

In (31), the word form *teacher* refers to a female teacher. In (32), the word form *coffee* refers to hot coffee. The word form *circle* in (33) does not refer to a geometrically exact circle, which is the central, prototypical meaning of this word form. Rather, its meaning is vague in that it covers a range of possible dispositions of the children and that it is not clear what arrangements are excluded. Examples (31) and (32) illustrate semantic variations in which the central meanings of the word forms are augmented. On the other hand, example (33) illustrates a semantic variation in which the central meaning of the word form is impoverished.

In the case of selection, the semantic variation proceeds in discrete jumps rather than continuously. A word form typically incorporates a bundle of meanings. For example, the word form *book* may refer to a physical object or the text it embodies. Another example is *house* which can be used to refer to a place to live in, a piece of property, an example of architectural style or a piece of construction work (Cruse 2000: 117). Selection operates by suppressing the readings which give rise to some sort of semantic clash with the context. The reading which is compatible with the context will be selected.

It sometimes happens that no established meanings of a word form is compatible with the context. Because speakers are supposed to convey an intelligible message, this will trigger a search for a reading that is compatible with the context by means of meaning extensions such as metaphor or metonymy.

It is now evident that semantic variations of a word form does not occur in isolation from its syntagmatic context. In addition to Cruse, two other major linguists also discuss the effects of syntagmatic context on the meaning of a word form, namely, Langacker (1987) and Pustejovsky (1995). Langacker (1987) claims that a composite structure or, in other words, a complex category, not only requires a simple syntagmatic combination of linguistic components, but also a process whereby a semantic structure is adjusted in certain details to make it semantically compatible with its context. An example given by Langacker is the verb *run*. The meaning of *run* must be adjusted in certain respects as it occurs in combination with humans as its subject, and then extends to four-legged animals such as horses, dogs, and cats. This process is called "accommodation" by Langacker. The other linguist who discusses the effects of context on the meaning of a word form is Pustejovsky (1995). In discussing the theory of Generative Lexicon, Pustejovsky (1995) aims at creating a computational system which can capture the generative nature of lexical creativity and sense extension. According to Pustejovsky, the phenomenon in which the meaning of a word form varies in different syntagmatic contexts results from a generative mechanism called "co-composition". It is thus the co-composition which operates on the basic meaning of a word form by making reference to the semantics of the co-occurring nouns to produce contextualized meanings of a word form. We can see that Cruse, Langacker and Pustejovsky, have the same opinion that the meaning of a word form can vary as it is combined with different arguments even though all of them use different terms to refer to the same phenomenon. It is noted that the terms "accommodation" as

defined by by Langacker (1987) and "co-composition" as defined by Pustejovsky (1995) each cover the three types of contextual variability of word meaning postulated by Cruse, namely, modulation, selection and coercion. However, none of them discusses in detail the exact process of meaning extension. We will examine this process further by using the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese as a case study.

4.1 Relatedness between semantic variations of *hàk*

In this section, we will analyze the relatedness between the meanings of the verb *hàk* postulated above. The first meaning of the verb is the most basic because it is the most semantically neutral and require minimal contexts. The basic meaning has a privileged status because it corresponds to the most concrete event, which is readily accessible to intuition and which has the highest degree of entrenchment and cognitive salience in Langacker's sense. It should be noted that the physical action denoted by this verb which corresponds to its basic meaning, namely, "to disjoin or reduce something with sudden or violent force", brings about certain necessary consequences or resulting states which befall the broken entity. That is, the broken entity becomes deformed, destroyed or dysfunctional and smaller in size. Last of all, a path formed by a straight and linear entity becomes deviated as a result of breaking. All of these four semantic elements are incorporated in the basic meaning of the verb *hàk*. The term "semantic trait" will be adopted in this study to refer to these four elements which are extended in different ways from an action of physically breaking something. In order for the basic meaning of the verb *hàk* to obtain, its

direct object argument must have certain properties. That is, the entity indicated by this argument must be concrete, hard, has a potential to be useful or serve some purpose and can be perceived to form a path. An entity having these properties can be considered a prototypically breakable object. We can see that the verb *hàk* needs an appropriate syntagmatic context, namely, the presence of the direct object argument with certain semantic properties, so that the basic meaning of the verb will obtain. This corresponds with Cruse's statement that the meaning of a word is dependent on its context. The other meanings of the verb are arguably extended from the basic one in some way. The fourteen extended meanings of *hàk* can be classified into three types as follows.

1. The first type of extended meaning

The first type of extended meaning is expressed by *hàk* occurring in combination with its nonprototypical direct object argument. For example, the entities indicated by nonprototypical direct object arguments are nonphysical, or physical but not hard and not able to form a path. This type of extended meaning consists of seven meanings as below. Please note that the verb *hàk* is not given an English gloss but will be represented as HÀK to prevent confusion.

- (a) The second meaning :
to deduct money, expenses, tax.

Example: *hàk khâachâycaay* 'HÀK expenses.'

- (b) The fourth meaning:
to take away marks in an examination.

Example: *hàk khanææn* 'HÀK marks.'

- (c) The seventh meaning :
to cut prices.

Example: *hàk rakhaa* 'HÀK prices.'

- (d) The eighth meaning :
to conquer a town.

Example: *hàk muan* 'HÀK a town'

- (e) The ninth meaning :
to refract light.

Example: *hàk sææŋ* 'HÀK light.'

- (f) The twelfth meaning :
to break one's heart, to discontinue a romantic relationship with someone.

Example: *hàk sawàat* 'HÀK a romantic relationship with someone.'

- (g) The thirteenth meaning :
to force oneself to get rid of one's feeling toward something/someone.

Example: *hàk cay* 'HÀK the heart.'

We can see that most entities indicated by the direct object arguments of *hàk* in the examples above are nonprototypical direct object of this verb in that they are nonphysical objects. The extended meanings of this type are derived from semantic interaction between the verb *hàk* and its nonprototypical direct object arguments called "accommodation" by Langacker or "co-composition" by Pustejovsky. It should be noted that the verb *hàk* can incorporate all of the four semantic traits mentioned above only in the case that its direct object argument is prototypically breakable object. In the case that its direct object argument is semantically nonprototypical, the meanings of the verb *hàk* will revolve around only one of the four semantic traits because the nonprototypical direct object of *hàk* promotes some semantic trait of

hàk, whereas demotes some others. The direct object arguments of *hàk* indicating (a) money or expenses as in the second meaning 'to deduct money', (b) marks in an examination as in the fourth meaning 'to take away marks', and (c) price as in the seventh meaning 'to cut prices', promote the semantic trait that the size of a broken entity becomes smaller. The direct object arguments of *hàk* indicating (a) the steering wheel of a car as in the fifth meaning 'to turn away the steering wheel of a car', and (b) light as in the ninth meaning 'to refract light', promote the semantic trait that a broken entity becomes deviated. The direct object arguments of *hàk* indicating (a) town as in the eighth meaning 'to conquer a town', and (b) love as in the twelfth meaning 'to end a romantic relationship with someone', and (c) heart as in the thirteenth meaning 'to force oneself to get rid of a feeling toward something/someone' promote the semantic trait that a broken entity becomes destroyed.

In short, this type of extended meaning is expressed by *hàk* occurring in combination with nonprototypically breakable objects. It is not possible to physically break the objects of this type. These extended meanings result from semantic interaction between the verb *hàk* and its direct object arguments because the nonprototypically breakable objects promote only one of the four semantic traits while suppressing the others.

2. The second type of extended meaning

The extended meanings of this type are indicated by idiomatic expressions containing *hàk* as follows.

- (a) The tenth meaning :
to disparage, to belittle someone.

Example : *hàk liam*, literally, 'HÀK an angle.'

- (b) The eleventh meaning :
to betray someone, to doublecross someone.

Example : *hàk lăŋ*, literally, 'HÀK the back.'

- (c) The fourteenth meaning :
to force someone.

Example : *hàk khoo*, literally, 'HÀK the neck.'

- (d) The fifteenth meaning :
to make somebody lose face.

Example : *hàk năa*, literally 'HÀK the face'.

It should be noted that the entities indicated by the direct object arguments of the verb *hàk* above are NOT nonprototypical entities for an action of breaking something physically because they are concrete and linear entities which are hard and can form a path. However, the literal meanings of these expressions are pragmatically odd because the entities indicated by the direct object arguments are not the things which we typically break. We can see that most of these objects above are body parts. Therefore, the literal meanings of all of the four expressions above must be interpreted idiomatically in order to obtain the intended meanings. The literal meanings of the verb phrases above are important in that they motivate the idiomatic meanings of the phrases. For example, the word *liam* 'angle' in the tenth meaning must be interpreted metaphorically as trickiness, canniness or shrewdness. The angle and these abstract entities are common in that they are perceived as something pointed. To break an angle is to destroy an angle,

which entails the elimination of pointedness. To get rid of pointedness in this case is metaphorically interpreted as to get rid of somebody's trickiness, caniness or shrewdness. This action implies the action of disparaging or belittling somebody, which is the intended meaning of this phrase. In the fifteenth meaning, the word *nâa* 'face' in the Thai culture is associated with honor and dignity. To break the face in this case is to destroy one's honor and dignity, which can suggest the meaning of making someone lose face.

Notice that the process of accommodation and co-composition do not play as crucially a role in obtaining the second type of extended meaning as they do in obtaining the first one. It should be noted that the direct object arguments of *hàk* expressing the first type of extended meaning still retain their literal meanings. They "impose" their meanings upon the verb, which gives rise to semantic variations of the verb.

3. The third type of extended meaning

The extended meanings of the third type include the following meanings.

(a) The third meaning :

to harvest, to collect (ears of corn).

Example : *hàk khâawphôot*, literally 'HÀK corn.'

(b) The fifth meaning :

to turn the steering wheel.

Example : *hàk phuaṇmaalay*, literally 'HÀK the steering wheel.'

(c) The sixth meaning :

to crack the knuckles.

Example : *hàk níw*, literally 'HÀK fingers.'

The three extended meanings above are derived from another kind of semantic extension, namely, inferencing. It should be noted that the literal meanings of the verb phrases are pragmatically possible although they do not occur frequently in discourse. However, it is often the case that the context of situation of these verb phrases occurring in real utterances is the factor which gives a clue that they must not be interpreted literally. Rather, inferencing must be performed on the literal meanings of these verb phrases. Real-world knowledge must also be used in obtaining the intended meanings which are called "implicational inferences" or "implicatures". These implicatures are based on either all of the four semantic traits of the physical action of breaking such as in the third meaning 'to harvest corn', or only one of the four traits of this action such as in the remaining two meanings. However, the phrase *hàk khâawphôot* does not simply convey the physical action of breaking ears of corn. The context of situation might indicate that one physically breaks ears of corn as an action of harvesting or collecting ears of corn from a cornfield. Another example is the phrase *hàk níw* which literally means 'break fingers'. The literal meaning is perfectly fine. However, the meaning 'to crack the knuckles' will be found more frequently in discourse than the literal meaning. The meaning 'to crack the knuckles' is based on the semantic trait that the paths which the fingers form are deviated. In this meaning, the fingers are not reduced to pieces. In short, the three verb phrases are characterized by the fact that they express both the literal meanings and the implicatures. Real-world knowledge and the context of situation play a crucial role in arriving at the intended interpretation. It is obvious that the process of accommodation or co-

composition applies so that the intended meanings of *hāk* will obtain.

In short, there are three types of extended meaning of *hāk*. The first type of meaning of *hāk* obtains in the case that the entity indicated by the direct object is not a prototypically breakable entity. The second type of extended meaning of *hāk* is a part of the idiomatic interpretation of the verb phrase. The object indicated by the direct object is not the thing that we typically break even though it is concrete, hard and has a potential to form a path. The third type of meaning of *hāk* is derived by inferencing. In sum, it is apparent that the basic meaning of a verb has quite a complex conceptual structure. It is apparent that the direct object arguments of the verb play a crucial role in the interpretation of the verb especially in the first and the third types of extended meaning. We can see that all of the seemingly unrelated meanings of *hāk* are actually related with one another. Most meanings are found to extend in different ways from the basic one.

4.2 Relatedness between semantic variations of *oru*

The first meaning of *oru* is obviously the most basic because it is the first meaning which comes to mind in isolation of context. It also corresponds to a concrete event. The physical action of applying force to a straight line or a flat object at a point or a line and making two or more lines or flat objects brings about a number of consequences as follows. An affected linear object may become destroyed or dysfunctional. In addition, a path formed by the affected object becomes deviated. These consequences are likely to take place. There may be other consequences

which probably take place. The affected entity may become separated into two or more pieces. In addition, a new entity such as a paper crane may result from the action of folding (paper). All of these consequences called "semantic traits" in this paper are incorporated in the basic meaning of *oru*. In order for the basic meaning of *oru* to obtain, the noun functioning as its direct object must have certain properties. That is, it must be either linear or flat. In addition, it must not be too hard to modify its shape with one's hands. The other meanings of *oru* are argued to extend from the basic meaning in some way. The ten extended meanings of *oru* can be classified into subtypes as follows.

1. The first type of extended meaning

The meanings which are classified as the first type of extended meanings are as follows.

- (a) The second meaning:
to count (by bending fingers).

Example: *yubi-o oru* 'finger-ACC ORU'

- (b) The third meaning:
to sit down (by bending one's legs at the knees), to come to a halt, to give up doing something.

Example: *hiza-o oru* 'knee-ACC ORU'.

- (c) The fourth meaning:
to surrender, bow (by bending oneself at the waist).

Example: *kosi-o oru* 'waist-ACC ORU'

- (d) The fifth meaning:
to interrupt.

Example: *keiki-kaihuku-no kosi-o oru*
'economic-recovery-GEN waist-ACC
ORU'

- (e) The tenth meaning:
to return a phonecall.

Example: *ori-kaesi denwa-suru* 'ORU-
back phone'

- (e) The eleventh meaning:
to give in/ stop turning a deaf ear (to
other people's opinion).

Example: *ga-o oru* 'self-ACC ORU'.

This type of extended meaning is expressed by *oru* occurring with the direct object argument expressing a body part or the body except the tenth meaning. The body parts expressed by the direct object arguments of *oru* either have the linear shape, which forms a path, or are parts of the body parts which have the linear shape, such as the knees or the waist. When these nouns occur in combination with *oru*, they promote the semantic trait that the paths formed by the linear body parts are deviated after they were bent. Inferencing is then performed on the literal meanings of *oru* in combination with its object arguments in order to obtain the intended meanings. It requires some real-world and cultural knowledge to infer on the functions of bending fingers, bending one's legs at the knees, bending oneself, bending oneself at the waist. As for the second meaning, inferencing enables us to interpret *yubi-o oru*, glossed as 'finger-ACC ORU' as 'to count' because counting is done in Japan by bending fingers one by one. The third meaning is derived by inferencing on the literal meaning of *hiza-o oru*, which is to bend the legs at the knees. When one bends one's legs at one's knees, it implies that one sits down, or stops moving. Furthermore, the meaning

'stop' can be metaphorically understood as 'give up'. The verb phrase *kosi-o oru*, which exemplifies the fourth meaning, literally means 'to bend one's body at the waist'. In the Japanese culture, bending one's body at the waist is taken to be bowing, which is an expression of paying respect. The meaning of surrendering is an implicature of paying respect. On the other hand, the verb phrase *keiki-kaihuku-no kosi-o oru* literally means 'to bend the waist of the economic recovery'. In this case, 'to bend the waist of something' is tantamount to 'to bend the path of something right in the middle while it is in motion', which is metaphorically interpreted as 'to interrupt'. As for the eleventh meaning, the literal meaning of *ga-o oru*, which exemplifies this meaning, is 'to bend oneself'. Our real world knowledge suggests that bending oneself can be an expression of giving in/opening one's ears to somebody's opinion.

As for the tenth meaning, namely, to return a phonecall, this meaning is expressed by the compound verb *ori-kaesu* occurring with the implied direct object argument expressing the image-schematic PATH of a phonecall. This extended meaning also revolves around the semantic trait of *oru* that the path formed by an affected entity is deviated.

2. The second type of extended meaning

The meanings which are classified as the second type of extended meaning are as follows.

- (a) The seventh one:

to destroy, to make something dysfunctional.

Example: *matti-no-ziku-o oru*
'matchstick-ACC ORU'.

- (b) The eighth one:

to end one's literary career.

Example: *hude-o oru* 'writing.brush-ACC ORU'

(c) The ninth one:
to make efforts:

Example: *hone-o ot-ta* 'bone-ACC ORU'

The entities denoted by the direct object arguments in the examples above are concrete ones. They promote the semantic trait that these entities are destroyed. In the eighth and the ninth meanings, inferencing is also performed after the meaning of destruction has been obtained. In the eighth meaning, the literal meaning of the example *hude-o oru* is to destroy the writing brush, which is the tool for literary work in the Japanese culture. It can be inferred that to destroy one's writing brush is to end one's literary career. As for the ninth meaning, the literal meaning of the example *hone-o oru* is to break the bones. This expression is used in the context of working. This unrealistic action implies that, in order to get a piece of work done, one has to exert one's energy and going through hardships which are as hard as breaking one's bones. So, working until one breaks the bones is an exaggeration of making efforts in doing something.

3. The third type of extended meaning

There is only one meaning which falls into this type of extended meaning, i.e. to pluck, to break off, to pick up (flower), which is the sixth meaning. This meaning is exemplified by *hana-o (ta-) oru* 'flower-ACC (hand-) ORU'. This type of extended meaning is expressed by *oru* occurring with the direct object argument expressing a PART of an affected entity. This extended meaning of *oru* has the focus on

the part separated from the whole after undergoing a physical action expressed by *oru*. This suggests that semantic trait of separation is promoted.

4. The fourth type of extended meaning

The fourth type of extended meaning, which is the twelfth meaning, i.e. to create (folded paper) as in *turu-o oru* 'paper.crane-ACC ORU', is expressed by *oru* occurring with the direct object argument that expresses an entity CREATED by folding paper. This meaning draws on the semantic trait of *oru* that an entity made of folded paper may be created from the concrete event expressed by *oru*.

5. Polysemic pushing as a mechanism which gives rise to semantic variations of a verb

In principle, the meaning of a verb can vary infinitely as it is combined with a different noun argument. On this basis, some researchers such as Lakoff (1987) and MacWhinney (1989) consider that all instances of semantic variations are a case of polysemy even though the differences in meaning are so close and subtle, such as the following examples in Thai: *hàk máy* 'break a twig', *hàk khanǎmpañpīn* 'break a piece of toast', *hàk sǎw aakàat* 'break an antenna'. In this section, we will discuss the mechanism which enables semantic variations of a verb to emerge in syntagmatic contexts by presenting MacWhinney's Competition Model (MacWhinney 1989) because it provides some insights to the issue under investigation.

According to MacWhinney (1989), the Competition Model views language as a series of competitions between lexical

items, phonological forms, and syntactic patterns. The type of competition which is relevant to the issue at hand is lexical competition, which provides a way of understanding the semantic ranges of words by showing how words force each other to take on various polysemy and extended meanings. MacWhinney classifies lexical ambiguity into three types as follows, namely, syntactic polysemy, major polysemy and minor polysemy. Syntactic polysemy is the use of a single word for two or more different parts of speech. Major polysemy is the use of a single word for two entirely different senses within a given part of speech. Minor polysemy is the case where there are minor readings within each major entry. There may be further polysemy even within a minor polysemy. Therefore, semantic differences between senses within a minor polysemy may not be so sharp. The semantic variations of the verb *hàk* and *oru* being investigated in this paper would fall into the category of minor polysemy in MacWhinney's terms.

MacWhinney also discusses the mechanism which gives rise to polysemy. In sentences, some words are in constructions with some others and these constructions force words to be polysemous. He emphasizes that not every word in a sentence can impinge on every other word. In order for one word to push another word around, the two words have to be involved in a meaningful relation. This type of polysemy, which stems from some words impinging on some others in a sentence is called "pushy polysemy". Polysemic pushing occurs only across what MacWhinney calls "valence bridges". We will use the Thai data in this paper as an illustration. In the sentence *thāe hàk khāacháycàay rǔtǔyay* 'Have you deducted expenses?', a valence bridge

exists between *hàk* 'break' and *khāacháycàay* 'expenses'. The word *khāacháycàay* pushes or impinges on the verb *hàk* so that the latter will take on the meaning of deducting. A valence bridge will not be formed unless the verb *hàk* assumes this reading. In this example, we can say that the noun *khāacháycàay* pushes the verb *hàk* into a particular polysemic pathway.

It is common for nouns which function as the direct object to push the verbs around as seen in the examples so far. This explains why verbs tend to be polysemous than nouns that they are in construction with. It may be possible for the verbs to push their noun arguments around. For example, the phrase *hàk kràdàat* 'break paper' is unacceptable to native speakers of Thai in normal contexts. However, this seemingly unacceptable phrase *hàk kràdàat* 'break paper' can make sense only in the context in which the noun *kràdàat* is interpreted as having the properties of a prototypically breakable object. Namely, it must be a hard entity, which lends itself to being broken. If the noun did not assume this semantic property, the valence bridge between the verb and the noun would not be formed and this construction would be semantically odd. Notice that the case of a verb pushing a noun around does not occur frequently.

6. Conclusion

In carrying out a contrastive study of the so-called "corresponding" verbs in Thai and Japanese, this paper has demonstrated that word equivalents provided in bilingual dictionaries do not give an accurate picture of what is going on in the language being examined. The word equivalents are often used as glosses in linguistic analysis. We have shown that a

range of meanings of a word especially a verb is culturally bound. It has also been demonstrated how the basic meaning of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese is extended. We have presented how a cognitive linguist, a computational semanticist and a psychologist account for the phenomena of semantic extension and polysemy. The three accounts are made in terms of the notions of accommodation (Langacker 1987), co-composition (Pustejovsky 1995) and valence bridges (MacWhinney 1989), respectively. All of these accounts draw on the highly flexible nature of the human mind in trying to make sense of co-occurring words in sentences.

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Uniwersytet Łódźski

Katedra Języka Angielskiego

Kierownik: Prof. zw. dr hab.
Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk
Kościuszki 65

90-514 Łódź, Polska
Tel./Fax: #48 42 6655 220



University of Łódź

Department of English Language

Chair: Prof. dr hab.
Barbara Lewandowska -Tomaszczyk
Kościuszki 65

90-514 Łódź, Poland
Tel./Fax: #48 42 6655 220

e-mail blt@krysia.uni.lodz.pl
Honorary Professor in Linguistics
and Modern English Language of the
University of Lancaster
Email: blt@krysia.uni.lodz.pl

PRESIDENT OF THE POLISH COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS ASSOCIATION

Professor Kingarn Thepkanjana

Department of Linguistics,

Faculty of Arts,

Chulalongkorn University,

Phayathai Road,

Bangkok 10330,

Thailand

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Dear Professor Thepkanjana,

This is to inform you that your paper "Verb serialization as a means of expressing complex events in Thai" has been accepted for publication by the John Benjamins Publishing Company (P.O. Box 36224 • 1020 ME Amsterdam • The Netherlands Tel: +31.20.6304747 • Fax: +31.20.6739773 www.benjamins.com) in the volume *Asymmetric Events* edited by Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Dr habil. Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

Verb Serialization as a Means of Expressing Complex Events in Thai

Kingkarn Thepkanjana

Chulalongkorn University

Abstract

Verb serialization is generally defined as a linguistic device by means of which two or more verbs or verb phrases are juxtaposed without any linker. The output of verb serialization is called “serial verb construction”, henceforth SVC. This paper aims to (1) examine the characteristics of events expressed by SVCs, (2) analyze the relationships between serial verbs, and (3) investigate constraints on the serializability of verbs. This paper limits its scope to basic nongrammaticalized SVCs in Thai, which consist of two verb phrases only. It is argued that (i) each SVC expresses a single whole, complex event, and (ii) verbs do not serialize freely. This paper accounts for the serializability of verbs by analyzing semantic relationships between verbs in SVCs.

1. Introduction *

Verb serialization is generally defined as a linguistic device by means of which two or more verbs or verb phrases with shared nominal arguments are put into juxtaposition without any linker. The output of verb serialization is called “serial verb construction”, henceforth SVC. However, cases that are called SVCs in linguistic literature are found not to constitute the same phenomenon. There are cases that all linguists working on this topic categorize as SVCs and there are some other cases where they have conflicting opinions. SVCs are prevalent in Chinese, in the languages of West Africa, Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, Oceania, pidgins and creoles. Previous research works on SVCs have mostly dealt with such issues as the syntactic structures of SVCs, the differences between SVCs and related constructions such as coordinate and subordinate constructions, the types of event expressed by SVCs, and the grammaticalization of serial verbs into grammatical markers. Many linguists working on SVCs, such as Bruce (1988), Durie (1997), Foley and Olson (1985) describe them as expressing a “single event”. This paper aims to make an in-depth investigation of the properties of the so-called “single event” expressed by SVCs in Thai. However, the notion of an event is elusive. Different researchers may give different definitions of this term. This paper discusses the different meanings of the term “event” in section 2. The other issue that this paper aims to investigate is the

serializability of verbs. The term “serializability” is defined as the potentiality of verbs to be serialized with one another. Verbs in a serializing language do not serialize with each other freely. The serializability is subject to certain constraints. This paper also aims to investigate the constraints on the ability of verbs to co-occur with each other in SVCs. In accounting for the serializability of verbs, this study draws on Langacker’s notions of valence relations and correspondences in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987, 1999). The two theoretical notions will be discussed in section 4.

SVCs in Thai consist of two or more verbs or verb phrases. SVCs which consist of only two verbs or verb phrases are called “basic SVCs” and ones which consist of more than two verbs or verb phrases are called “complex SVCs” (Chuwicha 1993). Chuwicha (1993) classifies basic SVCs into twelve patterns each of which is described by means of two syntactico-semantic types of verb co-occurring in a fixed linear order. According to Chuwicha (1993), complex SVCs consist of more than two basic SVCs embedded within one another. This paper limits its scope of study to only four patterns of basic SVCs in Chuwicha’s terms. The four patterns under investigation have many properties in common. Firstly, they are lexical verbs, not grammaticalized serial verbs which are prevalent in a large number of SVCs in Thai. Therefore, SVCs with grammaticalized verbs such as in (1) and (2), which are derived from the

lexical verbs *yùu* 'live' and *wáa* 'say', respectively, are excluded from this study. Secondly, each verb in the SVCs being examined is semantically complete; it does not require another verb to complete its sense. SVCs with complement-taking verbs such as *yàak* 'want' in (3) and *wǎŋ* 'hope' in (4) are thus excluded. Thirdly, by virtue of being a lexical verb, verbs in each SVC in the four patterns under investigation have subject arguments which can be identical or different. In the case of the latter, the subject argument of the second verb is identical with the direct object argument of the first. The SVCs containing one of the verbs with the modifying function which does not have any subject argument such as in (5) and (6) are excluded from this study. The four patterns of SVC under investigation are described in section 2.

- (1) *khǎw kin khâaw yùu*
 he eat rice progressive aspect
 'He is eating.'

- (2) *khǎw khít wáa khǎw tham thùuk*
 he think COMP he do right
 'He thought he had done the right thing.'

- (3) *khǎw yàak pay tàaŋpràthéet*
 he want go abroad
 'He wants to go abroad.'

(4) *khǎw wǎŋ tǝŋŋaan kâp thəə*
 he hope marry with you
 'He hopes to marry you.'

(5) *khǎw phimdiit khlôŋ*
 he type skilful
 'He types skilfully.'

(6) *khǎw tǝp thùuk*
 he answer correct
 'He answered correctly.'

2. Relations between Events Expressed by Verbs in Basic SVCs

In order to understand the characteristics of events expressed by verbs in basic SVCs, we need to analyze the relationships between those events. As mentioned above, this study limits its scope to only four patterns of SVC. Before I discuss the four patterns of SVC and investigate the properties of the events expressed by them, it is necessary to examine the possible meanings that the term "event" can express. Pawley (1987) is aware of the difficulty in characterizing events in a precise way. The difficulty arises from the lack of a well-developed metalanguage for talking about conventions for encoding events in linguistics. Therefore, he

postulates a number of technical terms related to "event" and gives definitions to them in order to provide a "rough working platform" (Pawley 1987:335) for accounting for how events are encoded in Kalam and English. The terms which are relevant to this study are as below (Pawley 1987: 335-336).

1. Event classifier: A verb stem denoting a kind of event, which can be conceptually simple or complex, such as *hit, kill, eat, lie*.
2. Conceptual event: The meaning of a clause containing a single event classifier, and denoting a bounded activity. It is usually placed in a particular time and place.
3. Event sequence: Two or more conceptual events, each of which is expressed by a separate clause.
4. Episodic event: A conceptual event which denotes a sequence of more or less separate acts or events. All of the events expressed by (7) constitute an episode or an episodic event.

(7) *Mary painted a landscape; Bill built his own house; Lisa bludgeoned her father to death with forty whacks of an axe; then she gave her mother forty-one.* (Pawley 1987: 336)

- 5.. Simple event: A conceptual event which comprises a single action, unrepeated. It is typically an event that begins and ends within the space of

a few seconds or less. The event expressed by each of the sentences in (8)-(10) exemplifies the simple event.

(8) *Bill released the rope.*

(9) *John winked.*

(10) *Mary gave me a slap on the face.* (Pawley 1987: 336)

6. Complex event: Any conceptual event that is not a simple action but is not necessarily episodic. There are a large number of conceptual events occupying various points on the scale of complexity between simple and episodic events. Each of the sentences in (11)-(13) expresses a complex event.

(11) *Bill hit a ball through the window.*

(12) *Fido is fetching his stick.*

(13) *Mary's words made me angry.* (Pawley 1987: 336)

7. Objective event: The reality which event expressions refer to or which language users imagine they refer to.

It is noted that the term "event" according to Pawley refers to three things, i.e. (1) the conceptual event, (2) the objective event, and (3) the linguistic expression which expresses a conceptual event. The conceptual

event is the meaning of a verb stem and of a single clause. The conceptual event can be simple in that it comprises a single and unrepeated action. A number of conceptual events can occur in sequence and constitute an episodic event if they are expressed by a number of single clauses occurring consecutively. The conceptual event can be complex in that it consists of more than one simple action. However, the actions it comprises are more closely related to one another in time and space than those in an episodic event. In short, a conceptual event is an event in the mind of the speaker and hearer which is designated by a linguistic expression. On the other hand, an objective event is viewed as a "real" event in the world, not an event in the speaker's or hearer's mind. The last thing the term "event" refers to is a linguistic element which expresses an event, namely, a verb stem. The label used for this kind of event is "event classifier".

In each basic SVC, which comprises two verbs or verb phrases, each verb is an event classifier which denotes a conceptual event. Therefore, each basic SVC consists of two event classifiers. I will analyze the conceptual event and the objective event each pattern of SVC denotes below. The four patterns of SVC are described in terms of syntactico-semantic verb types followed by some examples as follows.

1. Primary action verb + Non-primary action verb

(14) *khǎw takoon tɔ̀ɔp*
 he shout answer
 'He answered by shouting.'

(15) *khǎw bòok mɯɯ laa*
 he wave hand bid farewell
 'He bade farewell by waving his hand.'

(16) *khǎw kwàk mɯɯ riak chǎn*
 he wave hand call I
 'He called me by waving his hand.'

(17) *khǎw phayáknâa hěndûay*
 he nod agree
 'He agreed by nodding.'

(18) *khǎw wây khòɔpkhun*
 he raise the hands pressed together thank you
 'He thanked you by raising his hands to his chest and pressing.'

(19) *khǎw khâp rôt fâa faydæɲ*
 he drive car violate red traffic light
 'He violated the red traffic light by driving.'

According to Chuwicha (1993), primary action verbs denote events which are carried out in an exact physical means and manner. In other words, primary action verbs are not vague as to the physical means and

manner of carrying out the actions indicated by them. Primary action verbs are classified by Chuwicha (1993) into five subclasses: (1) physical displacement verbs, such as *dəən* 'walk', *wîŋ* 'run', *bin* 'fly', *khlaan* 'crawl', (2) body part motion verbs, such as *phaŋpòk (hǔa)* 'lower (head)', *pròp (muuu)* 'clap (hands)', *phayāk (nāa)* 'nod (face)', *hǎn (nāa)* 'turn (face)', (3) posture verbs, such as *nāŋ* 'sit', *yuuun* 'stand', *nɔɔn* 'sleep', (4) auditorily and visually physical action verbs, such as *faŋ* 'listen', *mɔɔŋ* 'look at', *?àan* 'read', *phēŋ* 'gaze', and (5) other action verbs which express physical actions carried out by means of more than one body part, such as *kin* 'eat', *phūut* 'say', *khayàw* 'shake', *chìik* 'tear', *takoon* 'shout', *lǎaŋ* 'wash', *pīŋ* 'grill'. In contrast, nonprimary action verbs are vague as to the means and manner of carrying out the actions expressed by them. In other words, it is not known how the actions expressed by nonprimary action verbs are exactly carried out. Nonprimary action verbs can be subclassified into physical action verbs such as *pay* 'go', *maa* 'come', *khāw* 'enter', *ðək* 'exit', *rūip* 'hurry', *fùk* 'practise', *klææŋ* 'pretend', *laa* 'bid farewell', *tòɔp* 'answer', and mental action verbs such as *khūt* 'think', *wikhrɔʔ* 'analyze'.

The SVCs having this pattern refer to one objective physical event. The first verb in each SVC expresses the exact physical means and manner of carrying out the action expressed by the second verb. The actions

indicated by the two verbs in each SVC were performed by the same agent, and took place at the same time and place but refer to different aspects of the same objective event. For example, in (14) the agent answered a question by shouting. The action performed by the agent can be named shouting or answering at the same time. In (15), the agent bade farewell by waving his/her hand. The linear order of verbs in this type of SVC is not iconic since the two actions expressed by the two verbs in the SVC are cotemporal.

This kind of event is conceptually complex in a different way from that described by Pawley (1987). It does not comprise “subevents” which occur in close sequence. Rather, it comprises multiple “event-facets” (Enfield 2002) which are not separable from one another. They are overlaid to form a detailed description of a single objective event.

2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs

(20) *khǎw* *thôx* *plaa* *kin*
 he fry fish eat
 ‘He fried fish to eat.’

(21) *khǎw* *cùt* *bùrìi* *sùup*
 he lit cigarette smoke
 ‘He lit a cigarette to smoke.’

(22) *khǎw yók mui wáy*

he raise hands pay respect by pressing the hands together
 'He raised his hands to pay respect.'

(23) *khǎw rít súa sáy*

he iron shirt put on
 'He ironed the shirt to wear.'

(24) *khǎw yíp khanǎmpaŋ kin*

he grab, pick up bread eat
 'He picked up a piece of bread to eat.'

(25) *khǎw ɲǎæn moŋ thǎŋfáa*

he raise one's head see sky
 'He raised his head to see the sky.'

(26) *khǎw hǎn lǎŋ phiŋ phanǎk kǎw?ii*

he turn back lean against backrest chair
 'He turned around to lean against the back of a chair.'

The SVCs in this pattern express two physical actions which are performed by the same agent but which occur in close sequence without a noticeable time span in between. The two verbs in this type of SVC are not vague as to the means and manner of carrying out the actions indicated by the verbs. The order of the verbs in this type of SVC is obviously iconic. The second actions are typically interpreted as the purpose of carrying out

the first actions. Therefore, it is not necessary that the second events denoted by the second verbs, which are the purposes of performing the first actions, really took place. Since the two actions expressed by each SVC in this pattern are performed by the same agent, are interpreted as an action-purpose sequence of events, and are conceptualized as occurring at more or less the same time and place if the purpose event does take place, they can be easily thought of as constituting a single objective event. However, they constitute a complex conceptual event because they comprise two conceptual actions expressed by two verbs or two event classifiers which are closely related to each other.

3. { Primary action verbs } + Physical process (inchoative) verbs
 { Physical action verbs }

(27) *khǎw* *paa* *kææw* *tææk*
 he throw glass broken

'He threw a glass and it was broken.'

(28) *khǎw* *yìap* *klòŋ* *bææn*
 he step on box flat

'He stepped on a box and it became flat.'

(29) *khǎw* *thúp* *kææw* *tææk*
 he hit, pound glass broken

‘He hit a glass and it was broken.’

- (30) *khǎw* *khǎa* *phûuráay* *taay*
he kill criminal dead

‘He killed the criminal.’

- (31) *khǎw* *sák* *sûta* *sà?àat*
he wash shirt clean

‘He washed a shirt and it became clean.’

- (32) *khǎw* *chìik* *phǎa* *khàat*
he tear cloth torn

‘He tore a piece of cloth.’

- (33) *khǎw* *rîit* *sûta* *rîap*
he iron shirt smooth

‘He ironed the shirt and it became smooth.’

The two verbs in each SVC in the third pattern express two events occurring in close sequence. Like the second pattern of SVC, there is hardly any noticeable time span between the two events. The first event is an action whereas the second one can be interpreted as either a process or the resulting state of an entity indicated by the direct object argument of the first verb. It is noted that stative verbs in Thai are ambiguous in that they can express either processes or states. In short, the two verbs in this type of SVC express a physical action carried out on a patient entity and a

physical resulting state occurring to the patient entity, respectively. Like the second pattern of SVC, the order of this pattern of SVC is iconic. Since this type of SVC is interpreted as a cause-result sequence of events occurring right after each other at the same place, they can readily be considered as constituting a single objective event like the second pattern of SVC. This pattern of SVC expresses a complex conceptual event in that it comprises two conceptual events corresponding to the cause and result which occur at the same place without any noticeable time span. Notice that this pattern of SVC is complex in a different way from the second one.

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

- (34) *khǎw nâŋ àan nâŋsûu*
 he sit read book
 'He sat reading a book.'

- (35) *khǎw yuun rǝŋphleeŋ*
 he stand sing
 'He stood singing.'

- (36) *khǎw nɔɔn rǝŋhây*
 he lie cry
 'He lay crying.'

This type of SVC expresses the meaning that the subject entity performs an action denoted by the second verb while being in a certain posture denoted by the first verb. The two verbs in this pattern of SVC denote one single objective event because they express an action performed by the same agent at the same time and place. Like the first pattern, this pattern of SVC expresses multiple event-facets which provide a detailed description of an objective event. Therefore, it expresses a complex conceptual event like the first pattern of SVC.

One might wonder whether we can analyze the verb types of each pattern of SVC above in terms of their lexical aspect, which is also called Aktionsart, or not. Lexical aspect is the inherent temporal structure of a situation. Most semantic analyses of the lexical aspect are presented in terms of Vendler's event types (Vendler 1967). Vendler distinguishes four types of event based on three semantic features, namely, stative/dynamic, durative/punctual, and bounded/unbounded (or telic/atelic). The four event types are states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. States describe situations that do not change over time, that are extended in time and that do not have an inherent endpoint, such as *love* and *be beautiful*. Activities describe situations that involve change over time, but are unbounded and durative, such as *run* and *eat*. Achievements also describe dynamic situations but involve a change of state that is instantaneous or

punctual. The punctual change of state ends in a resulting state. Two examples of achievements are *reach the summit* and *shatter*. Accomplishments are processes that are durative and lead to a natural endpoint, such as *kill* and *read the book*. Using Vendler's terminology, the first pattern of SVC consists of two activity verbs; the second one also consists of two activity verbs, the third one consists of an activity verb followed by an accomplishment or a state verb; the fourth one consists of two activity verbs. It is obvious that Vendler's classification of event types is too coarse for our purpose. We need a classification of event types that is more fine-grained than that of Vendler.

To summarize, the four patterns of SVCs above can be classified into two types according to the temporal relationship between the events expressed by the verbs in the SVCs. The first and the fourth patterns fall into the first type in which the two events expressed by the two verbs are performed by the same agent and occur simultaneously. The second and the third patterns fall into the second type in which the two events expressed by the two verbs have different subject arguments and occur in close sequence without a noticeable time span. However, it is argued that each of the four patterns of SVCs expresses one complex conceptual event.

3. Constraints on the Serializability of Verbs

In this section, I will examine the factors which constrain the ability of verbs to co-occur in such a way that they result in well-formed SVCs. It is argued in this paper that there are two constraints on serializability, namely, the schematic constraint and the lexical constraint. The schematic constraint involves the syntactico-semantic verb types which co-occur as the first and the second verbs in basic SVCs. This constraint is therefore realized in terms of the two specific verb types which co-occur with each other in the patterns of SVC described in section 2. This constraint operates at the schematic level in a taxonomic hierarchy in that the verb types in question are superordinate structures of lexical verbs. Such superordinate structures are termed "schemas", in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987: 68). Thus, this constraint is called the schematic constraint. To recapitulate, there are four patterns of SVCs under investigation as below. These patterns can be viewed as the schematic constraint on the serializability or co-occurrence of verb types in SVCs within the scope of study.

1. Primary action verbs + Non-primary action verbs
2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs
3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Primary action verbs} \\ \text{Physical action verbs} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Physical process (inchoative) verbs}$

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

The schematic constraint is not sufficient for the well-formedness of SVCs in Thai. It is not the case that any verbs which instantiate the schemas appearing in the four patterns of SVC above can co-occur with each other in SVCs. It is found that only certain verbs which instantiate their respective schemas can co-occur. The examples below illustrate this point.

1. Primary action verbs + Non-primary action verbs

- (37) * *khǎw* *yók* *mǔu* *khòɔpkhun*
 he raise hands thank
- (38) * *khǎw* *kwàk* *mǔu* *fàa* *faydææŋ*
 he wave hands violate red light
- (39) * *khǎw* *khàp* *rót* *ríak*
 he drive car call
- (40) * *khǎw* *phayáknáa* *laa*
 he nod bid farewell

2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs

- (41) * *khǎw* *pîŋ* *plaa* *klunum*

	he	grill	fish	swallow
(42)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>sǎk</i>	<i>phǎa</i>	<i>rít</i>
	he	wash	clothes	iron
(43)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>yép</i>	<i>sǔa</i>	<i>háyɣɣum</i>
	he	sew	shirt	lend
(44)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>cút</i>	<i>bùrìi</i>	<i>thíg</i>
	he	light	cigarette	throw away

3. { Primary action verbs } + physical process (inchoative) verbs
 { Physical action verbs }

(45)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>hǔŋ</i>	<i>kháaw</i>	<i>dùat</i>
	he	cook	rice	boil
(46)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>chìik</i>	<i>kràdàat</i>	<i>yáp</i>
	he	tear	paper	wrinkled
(47)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>thúp</i>	<i>kǎæw</i>	<i>bææn</i>
	he	hit strongly	glass	flat
(48)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>khâa</i>	<i>phûuráy</i>	<i>cèp</i>
	he	kill	thief	hurt

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

(49)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>dəən</i>	<i>láp</i>	
	he	walk	fall asleep	
(50)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>nɔɔn</i>	<i>khii</i>	<i>càkkayaan</i>
	he	sleep	ride	bicycle
(51)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>nɔɔn</i>	<i>?əkkamləŋkaay</i>	
	he	sleep	exercise	
(52)	* <i>khǎw</i>	<i>yurum</i>	<i>khàp</i>	<i>rót</i>
	he	stand	drive	car

The SVCs in sentences (37)-(52) obey the schematic constraint as the two verbs in each sentence fall into the two verb classes in each pattern of SVC. However, these sentences are not well-formed. This fact shows that the schematic constraint is not sufficient to produce well-formed SVCs. I argue that SVCs must also obey another constraint, namely, the lexical constraint. The lexical constraint requires that verbs which have a potential to be serialized express commonly associated events. The lexical constraint can be viewed as a pragmatic constraint since it requires real-world knowledge to determine whether two events are associated in the real world or not.

Sentences (37)-(40) are not acceptable because of two reasons. In (37) and (40), the first verbs in these sentences do not express conventional means and manner in performing the actions indicated by the

second verbs. In Thai culture, it is not customary to express appreciation by raising one's hand as expressed in (37) and to bid farewell by nodding as expressed in (40). On the other hand, in (38)-(39), it is not conceivable that one can perform the actions indicated by the first verbs while performing those indicated by the second verbs. In other words, it is practically not possible to perform the actions expressed by the first verbs and the second verbs simultaneously.

Sentences (41)-(44) are not well-formed for two reasons. Sentences (41)-(42) express plausible sequences of events; however, they are ill-formed because our real-world knowledge suggests that such sequences of events do not occur right after each other. There is a span of time between the two events in each sequence of events. As for sentences (43)-(44), they do not express conventionalized scenes or prototypical sequences of events in the real world. We can conclude that, in order for this type of SVC to be well-formed, it must express a conventionalized sequence of actions occurring right after each other without a time span.

Sentences (45)-(48) are ill-formed because they do not express conventionalized sequences of causing and resulting events. All sequences of events expressed in (45)-(48) are practically impossible. In order for this type of SVC to be well-formed, it must express a conventionalized sequence of causing and resulting events occurring without an intervening time span such as below.

(53) *khǎw hǔŋ kháaw sùk*
 he cook rice cooked
 'He cooked rice (and it was cooked.)'

(54) *khǎw ch̀iik kràdàat khàat*
 he tear paper torn
 'He tore paper (and it became torn).'

(55) *khǎw thúp kǣæw tǣæk*
 he hit strongly glass broken
 'He hit a glass and it broke.'

(56) *khǎw khâa phũuráy taay*
 he kill thief dead
 'He killed the thief (and he died).'

Sentences (47)-(52) are ill-formed because the sequences of events expressed by them are practically impossible for the same persons to perform simultaneously. In other words, their ill-formedness arises from the impossibility of the two events denoted by the first and the second verbs to take place simultaneously in the real world.

In summary, the lexical constraint requires that SVCs consist of verbs which are semantically and pragmatically associated in the following ways. Firstly, they must express scenes which have the

possibility of taking place in the real world. Secondly, the possible scenes must also be prototypical or conventionalized in the real world. There are two types of conventionalized scenes exhibited by SVCs, namely, (i) the scenes in which actions are performed by conventionalized means and in conventionalized manners, and (ii) the scenes in which conventionalized sequences of actions take place without an intervening time span. It is noted that these SVCs do not have a high degree of productivity. Rather, they exhibit word-like features in that they express scenes which are highly conventionalized. This corresponds with Bruce (1988)'s claim that SVCs in Alambak exhibit a high degree of lexicalization and therefore form part of a structural continuum between syntactic units and lexical items.

Notice that the four patterns of SVC under investigation have some properties in common with the coordinate construction. Stassen (1985) classifies conjunct clauses in the coordinate constructions into two types based on the temporal relationship between them, namely, "consecutive chains" or "C-chains" and "simultaneous chains" or "S-chains". The C-chains are clauses which express events which take place in temporal sequence. The clauses which are C-chains are iconic in that the linear order of the conjoined clauses reflects the temporal order of the events denoted by the clauses. The S-chains are clauses which represent simultaneous events. Since the two events expressed by the two verbs in

the SVCs being investigated can occur sequentially and simultaneously, Stassen's notions of C-chains and S-chains can be applied to the SVCs too. This is the first similarity between SVCs and coordinate constructions.

Wierzbicka (1980) argues that joining two sentences with a conjunction is possible only when a speaker can conceive of the two events as a single whole. The single whole corresponds to the Gestalt notion of a single, unified figure. According to Wierzbicka (1980), the conceptualization of two events as a single whole requires finding a common denominator between the conjoined elements. In other words, the speaker must conceptualize the two events as a single whole having something in common. According to Croft (2001), the requirement to find a common denominator between conjoined elements explains why some coordinate constructions are acceptable such as (57) whereas some others sound odd such as (58).

(57) *The sun was shining and the birds were singing.*

(58) ?? *John kissed Mary on the nose and kangaroos are mammals.*

(Croft 2001: 336)

The requirement for SVCs to obey the lexical constraint, which depends to a large extent on real-world knowledge, suggests that SVCs must express a single, unified figure as does the coordinate construction.

In order for a basic SVC to be well-formed, the speaker and hearer must be able to conceptualize of two events expressed by the two verbs in the basic SVC as a single, complex conceptual event which is a single, unified but complex figure in Gestalt terms. In coordinate constructions, not everything can be naturally conjoined. In the same vein, not everything can be naturally serialized in SVCs.

4. An Account of the Constraints on Serializability in terms of Valence Relations

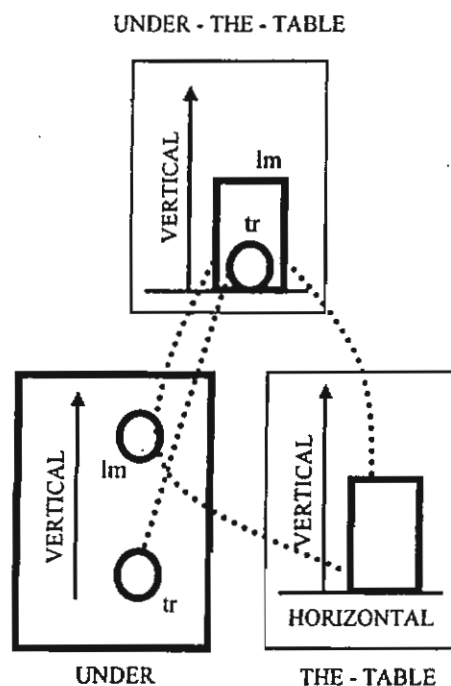
The term “valence”, which is better known as “valency”, is a theoretical construct used in various syntactic theories such as valency grammar, dependency theory and some kinds of functional grammar. It refers to a kind of dependency property of lexical items especially verbs. It is seen as the capacity a lexical item has for combining with other sentence constituents, in a similar way to that of the valency of a chemical element which refers to its capacity for combining with a fixed number of atoms of another element. The term “valency” is typically used to describe the capacity of verbs to combine with other constituents which are typically nouns.

4.1 Valence relations in Cognitive Grammar

Langacker (1987) postulates the term “valence relations” in his Cognitive Grammar. Valence relations exist between two component structures which combine to form a composite structure, which is a more elaborate expression. Valence relations are based on the sharing of elements between component structures in the same way as those between atoms which are based on the sharing of electrons. “It is only by virtue of having certain substructures in common that two component expressions can be integrated to form a coherent composite expression (Langacker 1987: 278).” In other words, two symbolic structures are combined by virtue of a set of “correspondences” which link shared substructures within the two structures (Langacker 1999: 66). Correspondences can hold between facets of two component structures, which are called “horizontal correspondences”, and can hold between facets of the component and composite structures, which are called “vertical correspondences.” Horizontal correspondences constitute the one invariant feature of valence relations. Moreover, there are both semantic as well as phonological correspondences. The type of correspondence which is relevant to this study is the semantic one. For example, the two semantic components [UNDER] and [THE TABLE] are integrated into [UNDER THE TABLE] (Langacker 1987:279). The predication [UNDER] profiles a stative spatial

relationship whereas [UNDER THE TABLE] profiles an entity which has a shape specification in three-dimensional space. The integration of the two predications above depends on a correspondence between the landmark of [UNDER] and the profile of [THE-TABLE]. These are substructures which are construed as identical. A composite structure is formed by superimposing corresponding entities and merging their specifications. The component predications are integrated by virtue of their overlapping substructures. Identifying correspondences is therefore crucial to the full description of a construction. Figure 1 illustrates the horizontal and vertical valence relations of the composite structure [UNDER THE TABLE]. The correspondences are represented by dotted lines.

Figure 1. Valence relations of [UNDER THE TABLE] (Langacker 1989: 280)



Linguists who work on valency or valence relations have focused their attention on verbs and their capacity to take nominal arguments. Consequently, there is a tendency to assume that only relational predications especially verbs are capable of having valence relations. According to Langacker (1987:284), valence relations holding between verbs and nouns are considered prototypical. There are nonprototypical valence relations holding between some elements other than verbs and nouns. An example of nonprototypical valence relations given by Langacker are those holding between nouns and nouns in noun compounds such as *puppy dog* and *killer bee* and in appositional expressions such as *Jack the Ripper* (Langacker 1987: 285). Another case of nonprototypical valence relations which I will introduce here is those holding between verbs in SVCs. In section 4.2, I will discuss valence relations in SVCs and how the notion of valence relation can be employed in accounting for the potentiality of verbs to be serialized.

4.2 Correspondences between verbs in SVCs

In accounting for constraints on serializability in terms of valence relations or correspondences, I will set out by discussing one of the basic assumptions of Cognitive Grammar concerning linguistic semantics.

According to Cognitive Grammar, most lexical items have a considerable array of related meanings, which are represented in network form. The meaning of a lexical item, which is called the semantic structure, must be equated with the entire network. The semantic structures of lexical items are characterized relative to "cognitive domains," which are cognitive entities such as mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts or conceptual complexes (Langacker 1987: 147). Linguistic semantics in Cognitive Grammar is held to be encyclopedic and open-ended in nature.

This paper is concerned with verbs which co-occur in strings. Verbs are known to be relational in nature; they are not semantically complete in themselves. They must take some arguments in order to be semantically complete. According to Langacker (1987: 215), a relational predication puts interconnections in profile. Relations are conceptually dependent in nature. One cannot conceptualize interconnections without also conceptualizing the entities they interconnect. However, the verbs or verb phrases occurring in the SVCs under investigation are semantically complete in themselves. Serial verbs are apparently interconnected relational predications. An important question is what factor integrates two semantically complete verbs or verb phrases, which result in the composite structure called SVC. As discussed in section 4.1, valence relations involve the integration of two or more component structures to form a composite structure. They depend on correspondences established between

substructures within the component elements. We might wonder what correspondences hold between two semantically complete verbs and verb phrases in our case. To account for such an integration requires that we have an encyclopedic conception of the semantics of verbs, which takes into consideration both the so-called linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge of the lexical items in question.

In the first type of SVC in which primary action verbs co-occur with non-primary action ones exemplified in (14)-(19), the first verbs express the conventional means and manner of carrying out the actions indicated by the second verbs. The actions expressed by the second verbs are at the same time viewed as the objective in carrying out the actions expressed by the first verbs.

Notice that the correspondences between the first and second verbs in the SVCs in (14)-(19) are not as prominent as those between verbs and nominal arguments, which constitute the prototypical valence relations. It requires extralinguistic knowledge to know that some actions can be seen as the means and manner of carrying out other actions whereas some actions are implemented by means of other actions. For example, only an inclusive semantic characterization of the first verb *phayáknâa* 'nod' in (17) can bring into the picture the action of *hěndûay* 'agree' which can be placed in correspondence with *phayáknâa* 'nod,' thereby permitting the integration of the two verbs to form a coherent composite structure.

In the second type of SVC exemplified in (20)-(26), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the prerequisite actions in carrying out those expressed by the second ones. The latter actions are also regarded as the agents' objectives in carrying out and completing the former ones. As in the first type of SVC, it requires encyclopedic knowledge to detect such nonprototypical correspondences between the two verbs in each SVC.

In the third type of SVC shown in (27)-(33), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the causing actions which give rise to the events expressed by the second verbs. An encyclopedic knowledge of verbs is necessary in identifying such correspondences between the verbs in each SVC.

In the fourth type of SVC shown in (34)-(36), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the agents' postures while performing the actions denoted by the second verbs in the constructions. It requires some extralinguistic knowledge to identify the semantic relatedness or the correspondences between the two verbs in the SVCs. Such correspondences allow the integration of the two verbs into a coherent composite unit.

In summary, the correspondences between the two verbs or verb phrases in the SVCs under investigation are not of the prominent type. The substructures of the component semantic structures overlap, not at the

core, but at the periphery. This fact explains why the verbs in these SVCs are felt to be semantically complete to a large degree. It takes encyclopedic knowledge to detect such nonprominent correspondences between the two verbs in these SVCs. Now we can account for the ill-formedness of sentences (37)-(52) in terms of correspondences. Sentences (37)-(52) are ill-formed as long as we cannot find correspondences between the semantic structures of the two verbs in each sentence.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the following aspects of the basic nongrammaticalized type of SVC in Thai: (i) characteristics of events expressed by SVCs, (ii) relationships between verbs in SVCs, and (iii) constraints on the serializability of verbs. The events expressed by SVCs are accounted for in terms of the Gestalt Principle, which essentially states that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. It is argued that each SVC expresses a single whole, complex event. An event can be complex in two ways. Firstly, it may consist of separate events which occur sequentially without any intervening time span, and which expresses a unitary, complex event with an additional purposive, causal or resultative meaning. Secondly, an event may consist of multiple event-facets which are not

separable from one another in constituting a complete event. This paper represents another attempt which examines the nature of the event expressed by SVCs in Thai. However, it provides an in-depth analysis of the kinds of event expressed by SVCs in Thai, which will hopefully shed light on the investigation of the nature of events expressed by SVCs across languages. It is also found in this paper that verbs cannot be serialized freely. Verbs which can be serialized must have a common denominator in Wierzbicka's terms, which corresponds to the notion of "correspondences" in Cognitive Grammar. This paper accounts for the serializability of verbs by analyzing semantic correspondences between verbs in SVCs. The correspondences between verbs in SVCs are considered nonprototypical valence relations. Discerning the nonprototypical valence relations requires encyclopedic knowledge. However, the analysis of the valence relations between serial verbs in SVCs is considered preliminary at this stage. Hopefully, the phenomenon of verb serialization will provide some insight into the further study of valence relations in Cognitive Grammar.

Notes

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มหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล ถนนพุทธมณฑลสาย 4 ตำบลศาลายา อำเภอพุทธมณฑล จังหวัดนครปฐม 73170

Mahidol University, Salaya, Phutthamonthon, Nakhonpathom 73170 Thailand

Tel. (662) 800-2301-2, 800-2345, 800-2308-14 Ext. 3211, 3212 Fax. (662) 800-2332

E-mail: direct@mucc.mahidol.ac.th. Web page: <http://www.mahidol.ac.th/mahidol/lc/index.html>.

July 3, 2007

Associate Professor Kingkarn Thepkanjana
Department of Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
Chulalongkorn University
Phayathai Road, Bangkok 10330

Dear Associate Professor Kingkarn Thepkanjana,

Thank you very much for your manuscript entitled "Semantic Extension of the Verb of Giving in Vietnamese" which you have submitted for publication in Mon-Khmer Studies, it has been accepted.

Thank you for your contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Sophana Srichampa

Sophana Srichampa, Ph.D.
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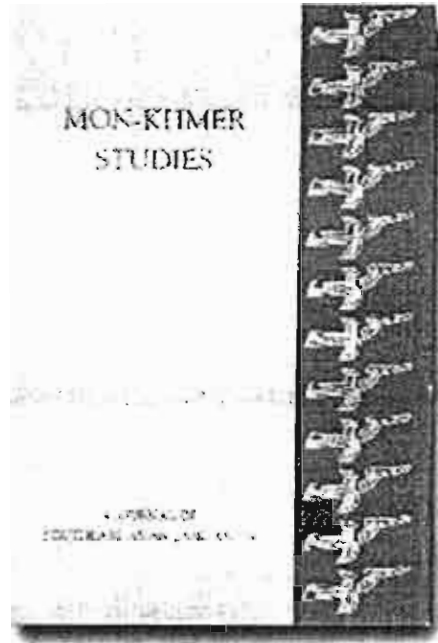
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Semantic Extension of the Verb of Giving in Vietnamese¹

Suthatip MUEANJAI and Kingkarn THEPKANJANA²

Chulalongkorn University

1. Introduction

The verb of giving has been extensively examined across languages as evidenced by a large amount of research works such as Huang and Ahrens (1999), Bisang (1996), Iwasaki (1997), Newman (1993, 1996), Rangkupan (1997), Song (1997), Thepkanjana and Uehara (In press), Viberg (2002), Xu (1994), and Yap and Iwasaki (1998). The verb of giving in Vietnamese, namely, *cho*, is worth examining in depth because it has semantic properties which are not found in the verb of giving in other languages as documented in the previous studies. This paper aims at investigating (1) the extended

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² Corresponding author: Email address: thepkanjana@gmail.com

meanings of the verb of giving in Vietnamese and (2) the processes of semantic extension of this verb. This paper is divided into five sections. Section two introduces the typological characteristics of Vietnamese and examines the basic meaning of the verb *cho* in detail. Section three examines the extended meanings of *cho* as found in the verb of giving in other languages. Section four examines the extended meanings of *cho* as found in Vietnamese only. The processes of semantic extension are also investigated in sections three and four. Section five concludes the paper.

2. Background

Vietnamese is a language in the Viet-Muong branch in the Mon-Khmer sub-family, which is in turn in the Austro-Asiatic family. It is an official language of the Republic of Vietnam and is spoken by about 85 million people all over the world. It has three dialects: the northern Hanoi dialect, the central Hue dialect and the Southern Saigon dialect. The writing system in use today is an adapted version of the Latin alphabet with additional diacritics for tones and certain letters. Vietnamese is an isolating language with the SVO word order.

The basic meaning of *cho* in Vietnamese is to volitionally transfer the possession or control of a thing from an animate giver to an animate recipient. According to Newman (1997), although the verb of giving in its basic sense

is easily understood, it has a complex structure of semantic components. The cognitively salient components of the basic sense of this verb are described below.

- There are three salient participants: the giver, the recipient and the “gift” or the thing given.
- The action named by the verb is the transfer of possession or control of a thing.
- There is a motion of the thing given.
- The transfer of possession or control must be volitional.
- There are physical interactions between the giver, the thing given and the recipient
- The recipient is the goal of the transfer of possession or control.
- The recipient benefits in some way from the transfer of possession or control.

The verb *cho* occurring in its basic sense must appear in the following syntactic pattern.

(1) [Agent *cho* Recipient Theme]

Example:

(2) *Tôi cho nó hai cuốn sách*
I give he two classifier book

‘I gave him two books.’

The verb *cho* occurring in its basic sense must be followed by the nouns expressing the recipient and the theme respectively as seen in (2). If the theme precedes the recipient, the sentence will be ungrammatical as in (3).

(3) **Tôi cho hai cuốn sách nó*
I give two classifier book he

It is found that the basic meaning of *cho* extends to a diversity of meanings. Some of the extended meanings are lexical and some others are grammatical. In order to show how the Vietnamese verb of giving is semantically interesting from a crosslinguistic perspective, we will discuss the extended meanings of *cho* in terms of two types of meanings, i.e. the meanings that are found in the verb of giving in other languages as documented in the linguistic literature on this verb and the ones that seem to be characteristic of the verb of giving in Vietnamese only.

3. The extended meanings of *cho* as found in the verb of giving in other languages

It is noted that the extended meanings of *cho* that are also found in the corresponding verb in other languages are mostly grammatical meanings. Grammatical meanings are usually characterized as the meanings which are semantically incomplete in themselves. They must be combined with other lexical meanings in order to express complete thoughts. They express

grammatical functions of words in sentences. According to Sapir (1921), grammatical meanings can be classified into two types: derivational concepts and relational concepts. Derivational concepts express additional concepts of the lexical meanings and are expressed by either bound morphemes or modifiers. Relational concepts indicate relationships among words in sentences and are also expressed by bound morphemes or by function words in closed word classes such as prepositions, conjunctions and discourse markers. The grammatical meanings which are found to be expressed by *cho* are discussed below.

3.1 Dative-marking. The word *cho* can function as the dative marker indicating the recipient of a given thing. The dative-marking *cho* is usually categorized as a preposition and appears with two semantic types of verb, namely, the manually manipulative verb type and the communicative verb type. The former type of verb includes *gửi* 'to send', *trả* 'to return', *bán* 'to sell', *ném* 'to throw', *đưa* 'to hand in' and *giao* 'to present'. Sentence (4) illustrates the dative-marking *cho* occurring with the first type of verb.

(4) Hoa	<i>gửi</i>	<i>thư</i>	<u><i>cho</i></u>	Lan
Hoa	send	letter	give	Lan

'Hoa sent a letter to Lan.'

The latter type of verb includes such verb as *gọi điện thoại* 'to telephone', *đánh điện* 'to telegram' and *nhắn* 'to leave (a message)'. Sentence (5) illustrates the dative-marking *cho* occurring with this type of verb.

(5) *Tớ gọi điện thoại cho cậu ngay,*
 I telephone give you immediately
nhưng máy bận
 but machine busy

'I called her immediately but the line was busy.'

The dative-marking function extends from the basic meaning of *cho* by means of metonymy. Metonymy traditionally refers to a figure of speech used in rhetoric and literature. Metonymy is currently playing a crucial in modern linguistics especially in cognitive linguistics. Metonymy as defined by cognitive linguists refers to a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model (Kövecses 2002). Metonymy is therefore an important cognitive process consisting in the transfer of meaning based on associations between contiguous ideas in the same cognitive domain. Viewed from the cognitive perspective, metonymy can give rise to a new primary meaning of a word which used to be a covert element in the original meaning of the word. In the case under discussion, the recipient which is one of the backgrounded concepts contiguous to the basic meaning of *cho* is highlighted or promoted by the metonymic process as a

new primary meaning of *cho*. This semantic extension is supported by the crosslinguistic grammaticalization path of GIVE postulated by Heine and Kuteva (2002), on which the dative-marking function of GIVE is grammaticalized from the basic action of possession transfer.

3.2 Benefactive-marking and malefactive-marking. Some actions can bring about either a good or bad effect to an animate entity involved in the action. In the case under investigation, the action of transferring the possession of an entity typically brings about a good effect to the recipient. This situation can be regarded a prototypical one of the action of giving. In this case, the fact that the animate entity benefits in some way from the act of giving, which is one of the backgrounded meanings in the basic sense of the verb of giving, is promoted as a new primary meaning of the word in the same way as the recipient is as discussed above. The new primary meaning in this case is generally known as the benefactive-marking function. Sentences (6) and (7) illustrate the benefactive-marking function of *cho*.

(6) *Hoa lái xe cho bố*
 Hoa drive car give father
 'Hoa drove the car for this father.'

(7) *Liên xây nhà cho Lan*
 Lien build house give Lan
 'Lien built a house for Lan.'

The benefactive participant across languages is typically an animate entity especially a human being. This fact is understandable because the entity who can benefit from an action is naturally an animate entity. However, the notion of benefactive in Vietnamese can extend to cover inanimate entities, which can be considered a peripheral case of the benefactive as shown in (8) and (9).

(8) *Bố mua lốp mới cho chiếc xe cũ*
 father buy tyre new give classifier car old
 'Father bought a new tyre for the old car.'

(9) *Anh ấy để dành tiền cho tương lai*
 He save money give future
 'He saved money for the future.'

In (8) and (9), the noun phrases *xe cũ* 'old car' and *tương lai* 'future' are figuratively viewed as the entities benefiting from the actions of buying a new tyre and saving money, respectively. In other words, they are personified as the benefactors. This case constitutes the first peripheral case of the benefactive *cho*.

There are two other peripheral cases of the benefactive *cho*. The second peripheral case is the case in which *cho* appears in sentences with non-action verbs as described in (9) and shown in (10) and (11).

(9) [NP1 stative verb (NP2) *cho* NP3]

- (10) *Quyển sách này là để cho trẻ em từ*
 classifier book this be for give child from
bảy đến mười hai tuổi
 six to twelve year

'This book is for children whose ages are between 6-12 years old.'

- (11) *Máy tính có ích cho nhiều người*
 Computer have benefit give plural people

'Computers are useful for a large number of people.'

The last peripheral case of the benefactive *cho* is the one in which *cho* appears in isolated noun phrases, or in other words, non-sentences. The prototypical case of the benefactive *cho* is the one in which it appears with an action verb in a sentence. The case in which the benefactive *cho* co-occurs with an action verb is prototypical because the fact that a person gets a benefit entails that an action has been carried out in such a way that it yields a positive effect to that person. The peripheral case in which the benefactive *cho* appears in isolated noun phrases is described schematically in (12) and exemplified in (13).

- (12) [NP1 *cho* NP2]

- (13) *Tiếng Việt cho người nước ngoài*
 language Vietnam give people country outside

'Vietnamese for foreigners.'

We might want to argue that the semantic role of the noun phrases marked by *cho* in the three peripheral cases is target rather than benefactive. Since the target and benefactive roles are semantically similar and are hard to distinguish, we put them in the same semantic category with a remark about their prototypical and peripheral statuses as the benefactive entity.

The Vietnamese case is interesting because *cho* can mark the animate entity receiving not only a good effect of an action but also a bad effect. The former case is called the benefactive as discussed above whereas the latter case is called the malefactive. The malefactive *cho* typically co-occurs with verbs which inherently express "harming" actions, such as *thoi / đấm* 'to punch', *tát* 'to slap', *chửi* 'to attack verbally', *mắng* 'to scold', *đánh* 'to beat, hit' and *cắn* 'to bite'. Sentences (14) and (15) exemplify the malefactive *cho*.

- (14) *Đừng chọc con chó. Nó cắn cho đấy*
do not bully classifier dog it bite give particle
'Do not bully the dog. It might bite you (and have a bad effect on you.)'

- (15) *Anh ấy thoi cho thằng Pháp một quả*
he punch give French person one classifier
'He gave a punch to a French person (and yielded a bad effect on him.)'

As in the case of the dative-marking *cho*, the benefactive-marking and malefactive-marking *cho*'s are derived by means of metonymy. The person or entity which receives an effect from an action carried out by an agent, which

is a backgrounded meaning in the basic sense of the act of giving, is mentally accessed by the metonymic process and subsequently promoted as a new primary meaning of *cho*. If the effect is positive, *cho* will be benefactive-marking. If the effect is undesirable, *cho* will be malefactive-marking.

3.3 Causative-marking. *Cho* can function as a causative verb marking indirect causation in the analytic causative construction. In indirect causation, the causer lets, or does not prevent, the causer from accomplishing the caused event; the causer does not bring about the caused event directly. Sentences (16) and (17) exemplify the causative-marking function of *cho*.

(16) *Chị cho tôi mượn cái kéo*
 you (f) give I borrow classifier scissors
 'You(f) let me borrow the scissors.'

(17) *Công nhân cho máy chạy*
 worker give machine run, work
 'The worker let the machine work.'

The causative verb *cho* in Vietnamese constitutes an interesting case from a typological perspective because it can co-occur with the verbs *biết* 'to know', *thấy* 'to see' and *đến* or *tới* 'to arrive' in the causative construction to express the concepts which are realized by single verbs in other languages such as Thai and English as discussed below.

The combination of the causative *cho* and the verb *biết* 'to know' in the causative construction literally expresses the indirect causative meaning of letting somebody know something as exemplified in (18) and (19). This meaning is realized as single verbs in other languages such as *bòk* 'to tell' and *cææŋ* 'to inform' in Thai. It is found that the causee is optional in the causative construction of *cho biết* 'let know'.

(18) *Tôi cho anh Nam biết ngày mai tôi cưới vợ*
 I give brother Nam know tomorrow I get married
 'I told Brother Nam (let Brother Nam know) that I will get married tomorrow.'

(19) *Anh ấy cho biết ngày mai không đi học*
 he give know tomorrow not go study
 'He told (let know) that he would not go to study tomorrow.'

The combination of the causative *cho* and *thấy* 'to see' in the causative construction literally expresses the meaning of letting someone see something as in (20). This meaning is realized by single verbs in other languages such as *sææŋ* 'to show'. It is common that the causee is not present in the causative construction of *cho thấy* 'let see'.

(20) *Điều này cho thấy tiếng Anh rất quan trọng*
 thing this give see language English much important
 'This thing shows (lets see) that English is very important.'

The causative construction consisting of the causative verb *cho* and *đến* or *tới* 'to arrive' literally means to let (time) proceed until a certain point of time. The causing event is to let time proceed and the caused event is that time has reached a certain point. This causative meaning is equivalent to the preposition *conkrathây* in Thai or *until* in English. Sentence (21) illustrates this causative construction.

- (21) *Khu nhà chúng tôi sống hết sức êm đềm,*
 surrounding area house we live extremely peaceful
hầu như chưa xảy ra sự cố gì cho tới hôm nay
 almost not yet happen problem what give arrive day this
 'The surrounding area of the house where we live is very peaceful.
 There has never been any problems up until now.'

The causative construction consisting of the causative verb *cho* and another verb indicating the caused event as described above can in principle allow the noun phrase expressing the causee to intervene between *cho* and the verb naming the caused event. However, it is found that the causee is not present in most instances of the causative sentences of this type. We should therefore note that the constant absence of the causee paves the way for the causative constructions to be lexicalized and to express single concepts of telling, showing and until. We suspect that the causative constructions consisting of *cho* and the verbs *biết* 'to know', *thấy* 'to see' and *đến* or *tới* 'to

arrive' are now on the way to become lexicalized phrases. The causative constructions will cease to exhibit semantic transparency by the time they become lexicalized.

The causative-marking function of *cho* is derived from the basic sense of the act of giving by means of the metaphoric process. The transfer of possession or control of an entity from the giver to the recipient, which is the basic sense of the act of giving, metaphorically extends to the transfer of control of an action from the causer to the causee. The situation in which the causer lets the causee perform an action is equivalent to the transfer of control of an action from the causer to the causee, which is in turn metaphorically viewed as the transfer of possession or control of an entity.

3.4 Purposive-marking. *Cho* can function as the connector indicating a purpose in carrying out an action. Newman (1996:180) claims that the purpose-marking GIVE connects two clauses with each other. The agent performs an action expressed by the first clause in order that a certain event expressed by the second clause takes place. However, the second event does not necessarily take place because it merely represents the purpose of the agent in the first clause in performing the action. The purposive-marking function of *cho* is exemplified in (22) and (23).

(22) *Thủ tướng ra lệnh cho quân đội sẵn sàng chiến đấu*
 Prime Minister issue order give army be ready fight

'The Prime Minister ordered that the army be ready to fight.'

(23) *Em sẽ hát cho anh nghe*

I will sing give you listen

'I will sing for you to listen.'

When the purposive-marking *cho* co-occurs with a stative verb, it expresses a manner of performing an action as shown in (24).

(24) *Dao cùn phải mài đi cho sắc*

knife blunt must sharpen go give sharp

'A blunt knife must be sharpened in such a way that it is sharp.'

In (24), the verb *sắc* 'be sharp' represents the purpose of performing the action of sharpening the blunt knife. However, in order to accomplish this goal, the agent must sharpen the knife in such a way or manner that it becomes sharp. It is apparent that the manner meaning is closely associated with the purposive one. The semantic closeness between the two meanings lends the purposive *cho* to be interpreted as the manner-marking *cho* in some contexts as shown above.

The purposive-marking function of *cho* extends from the causative-marking one by means of metonymy. The semantic component in the causative meaning which is mentally accessed by the metonymic process and promoted as the primary meaning of the purposive one is the volition of the causer in doing something to the causee so that the causee will perform another event.

4. The extended meanings of *cho* as found in Vietnamese only

In this section, we will discuss the extended meanings of *cho* which are not found in the linguistic literature of the verb of giving in other languages. The two extended meanings of *cho* to be examined in this section are incidentally lexical meanings. Sapir (1921:102) defines lexical meanings as the meanings which are complete in themselves. The words which express lexical meanings are content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives.

4.1 *To supply or to put something in a container.* *Cho* can function as a verb meaning to supply or to put something in a container as shown below.

(25) *Mẹ cho than vào lò*
mother give charcoal enter stove

‘Mother put the charcoal in the stove.’

In sentence (25), the main verb *cho* is followed by two noun phrases indicating the entity in motion and the container respectively. In this case, the action of moving something and putting it in a container is derived metonymically from the basic action of giving in that the backgrounded meaning of displacement of a given entity is mentally accessed and promoted as a primary meaning. The new primary meaning of *cho* thus focuses on the motion of the theme. The notion of recipient in a giving action extends to that of container in a moving action. The recipient and the container notions share

a semantic property in that both function as the goal of the giving and the moving actions. It is noted that the verb *cho* in this sense must co-occur with the word *vào* 'enter'. However, the noun phrase indicating the container may be omitted if it can be recovered from context. In this case, the word *vào* 'enter' does not appear in the sentence as in (26).

- (26) *Khi ăn phở tôi thường cho hai thìa ớt*
 when eat noodles I usually give two spoon chili
 'When I eat noodles, I usually put two spoonfuls of chili (in the noodles.)'

4.2 *To give an opinion.* The verb *cho* meaning to give an opinion occurs in combination with *rằng* or *là* which functions as a complementizer and is followed by a clause. These two complementizers are functionally equivalent with the complementizer *wáa* in Thai. The verb *cho* with this meaning is characterized by the facts that its subject must be human and that there must not be a direct object noun phrase following it as shown in (27).

- (27) *Tôi cho rằng quyển sách này sẽ bán rất chạy*
 I give COMP classifier book this will sell much run
 'I suppose that this book will sell very well.'

The meaning of giving an opinion is derived metaphorically from the basic sense of GIVE. The transfer of possession or control of an entity is metaphorically mapped to the action of transferring an opinion from the

which are characteristic of isolating languages such as verb serialization, grammaticalization, polyfunctionality of words and polysemy.

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