



รายงานวิจัยฉบับสมบูรณ์

โครงการ “การศึกษาหน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผลในเชิง
แบบลักษณะภาษา”

(A Typological Study of Resultative Constructions)

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บทคัดย่อ (ภาษาไทย)

โครงการวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะศึกษาหน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อนหรือเรียกสั้นๆว่า หน่วยสร้างก่อนผลในเชิงแบบลักษณ์ภาษา หน่วยสร้างก่อนผลมักถูกนิยามว่าเป็นหน่วยสร้างที่ประกอบด้วยภาคแสดงสองส่วน คือภาคแสดงหลักและภาคแสดงรอง ภาคแสดงรองซึ่งมีชื่อเรียกว่าภาคแสดงก่อนผลหรือวลีก่อนผลจะแสดงสภาพที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปของคำนามในประโยคที่เป็นผล จากการกระทำที่แสดงโดยคำกริยาในภาคแสดงหลัก ภาษาที่อยู่ในขอบเขตการศึกษาในโครงการวิจัยนี้ได้แก่ภาษาไทย ภาษาอังกฤษและภาษาอื่นๆที่สำคัญในทวีปเอเชียได้แก่ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น ภาษาเกาหลี ซึ่งภาษาไทย ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น และภาษาเกาหลีรวมเรียกว่าภาษาแปซิฟิกริมเอเชีย 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

การมองเห็นความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเหตุการณ์ต่างๆ ในโลกว่าบางเหตุการณ์เป็นเหตุการณ์เหตุ และบางเหตุการณ์เป็นเหตุการณ์ผลนั้นเป็นกระบวนการทางปริชานในระดับพื้นฐานของมนุษย์ มนุษย์มีแนวโน้มที่จะมองสิ่งต่างๆ ที่เกิดขึ้นรอบตัวในรูปของเหตุที่นำไปสู่ผล ภาษาทุกภาษาจึงมีกลไกที่แสดงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างเหตุการณ์ในเชิงเหตุและผลดังกล่าว หน่วยสร้าง (construction) ประเภทหนึ่งที่แสดงความสัมพันธ์ดังกล่าวได้แก่หน่วยสร้างแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผล หรือที่เรียกสั้นๆ ว่าเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative construction) หน่วยสร้างก่อผลมักถูกนิยามว่า เป็นหน่วยสร้างที่ประกอบด้วยภาคแสดงสองส่วน คือภาคแสดงหลักและภาคแสดงรอง ภาคแสดงรอง ซึ่งมีชื่อ 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 เช่น ภาษา ญี่ปุ่นและภาษาเกาหลี อย่างไรก็ตาม ถ้ามองในภาพรวม งานวิจัยที่เกี่ยวกับหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาเอเชีย นับว่ายังมีน้อยอยู่ และงานวิจัยส่วนใหญ่เท่าที่ปรากฏมักเป็นงานที่ทำในแนวภาษาศาสตร์รูปแบบ เนื่องจากเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลมีความสำคัญในเชิงภาษาศาสตร์และในเชิงจิตวิทยาสูงแต่ปรากฏว่ายังมีการวิจัยเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาต่างๆ ไม่มากนัก ดังนั้น ขณะนี้จึงเป็นโอกาสอันดีที่จะทำวิจัยเรื่องหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาไทย ภาษาอังกฤษ และภาษาอื่นๆ ที่สำคัญในเอเชีย ได้แก่ ภาษาจีน ภาษา ญี่ปุ่น และภาษาเกาหลี ซึ่งภาษาไทย จีน ญี่ปุ่น และเกาหลี รวมเรียกว่าภาษาแปซิฟิกริมเอเชีย (languages of the Pacific Rim Asia) งานวิจัยนี้จะทำในแนวแบบลักษณ์ภาษา (linguistic typology) และแนวภาษาศาสตร์ปริชาน (cognitive linguistics) ซึ่งยังมีงานวิจัยหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในแนว

ดังกล่าวค่อนข้างน้อย

2.วัตถุประสงค์

2.1 วิเคราะห์คำจำกัดความของหน่วยสร้างก่อผล (resultative construction) ซึ่งใช้กันอย่างหลากหลายในงานวิจัยหัวข้อนี้ในภาษาต่างๆและเสนอคำจำกัดความซึ่งจะใช้ในงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

2.2 ระบุรูปของหน่วยสร้างก่อผลในภาษาที่อยู่ในขอบเขตของงานวิจัยชิ้นนี้

2.3 วิเคราะห์คุณสมบัติทางอรรถศาสตร์ (semantic properties) และวัจนปฏิบัติ (pragmatic) ของรูปของหน่วยสร้างก่อผลต่างๆที่ได้ในข้อ 2.2

2.4 วิเคราะห์เงื่อนไขที่ทำให้หน่วยสร้างก่อผลในแต่ละภาษามีคุณสมบัติถูกไววยกรณ์ (well-formed) และเปรียบเทียบเงื่อนไขที่พบในภาษาต่างๆ

2.5 ศึกษาว่ารูปแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผลในแต่ละภาษามีความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆนอกจากการแสดงผลก่อผลหรือไม่ ถ้ามี ก็จะระบุความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆเหล่านั้น และจะศึกษาว่าความหมายเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative meaning) มีความสัมพันธ์อย่างไรหรือไม่กับความหมายหรือหน้าที่อื่นๆเหล่านั้น ถ้าพบมีความสัมพันธ์กัน 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 เหตุการณ์ซับซ้อนแบบที่หนึ่งมักจะมีความหมายของวัตถุประสงค์ในการกระทำอาการ (purposive meaning) การทำให้เกิดอีกเหตุการณ์หนึ่ง (causative meaning) และการแสดงเหตุการณ์ก่อผล (resultative meaning) เชื่อมกันอยู่ด้วย 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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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* *pŭan* *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.

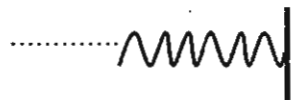
Activities as defined by Vendler (1967) refer to processes going on in time in a homogeneous way, consisting of successive phases following one another in time, such as *run, walk, swim, push a cart, drive a car*. Activities are thus durative and unbounded, and can be schematically illustrated as a zigzag 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)’, *khàt (rɔɔŋtháw)* ‘polish (shoes), shoeshine’, *kwàat (phúuun)* ‘sweep (floor)’, *tàak (sǔa)* ‘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. sǒmchaay sák sũa tææ sũa mây sà?aat

Somchaay wash shirt but shirt not clean

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

b. sǒmchaay thũu phũuun tææ phũuun mây sà?aat

Somchaay wipe floor but floor not clean

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

c. sǒmchaay rĩit sũa tææ sũa mây rĩap

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. *sǒmchaay khâa malææŋ tææ malææŋ mây taay

Somchaay kill bug but bug not die/dead

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

b. *sǒmchaay tât kràdàat tææ kràdàat mây khàat

Somchaay cut paper but paper not be torn

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

- c. *sǝmchaay hək kǝŋmáj tææ kǝŋmáj 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. ?sǝmchaay khāa malææŋ læ? malææŋ kōo taay
 Somchaay kill bug and bug topic marker die/dead

'Somchaay killed some bugs and they died.'

b. ?sǝmchaay 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. ?sǝmchaay hək kǝŋmáj læ? kǝŋmáj 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?aat

Somchaay wash shirt clean

‘Somchaay washed his shirt clean.’

b. sǒmchaay thũu phúuun sà?aat

Somchaay wipe floor clean

‘Somchaay wiped the floor clean.’

c. sǒmchaay rĩit sũa rĩap

Somchaay iron shirt smooth

‘Somchaay ironed his shirt smooth.’

d. sǒmchaay láan rót sà?aat

Somchaay wash car clean

‘Somchaay washed his car clean.’

e. sǒmchaay kwàat phúuun sà?aat

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 sǔua mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wash shirt not clean

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

b. sǒmchaay thǔu phǔutun mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wipe floor not clean

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

c. sǒmchaay rǐit sǔua mây rǐap

Somchaay iron shirt not smooth

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

d. sǒmchaay láan rót mây sàʔaat

Somchaay wash car not clean

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

e. sǒmchaay kwàat phǔutun 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

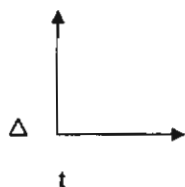
In this section, we will propose a new perspective of analyzing constraints on co-occurrences between causative and resultative predicates in Thai and English. We will account for such constraints in terms of aspectual profile shift, which is the notion postulated by Croft (In preparation). Before we 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)

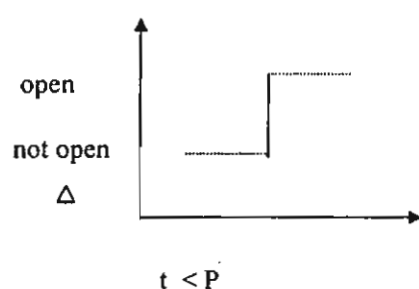


A situation is represented as a contour in the two-dimensional diagram above. This contour is called the "aspectual contour." The aspectual contour describes the course of a situation from its beginning to its end and represents a speaker's encyclopedic knowledge about the course of an event. The aspectual 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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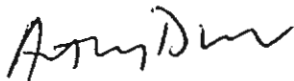
Dear Dr Kingkarn,

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.



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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 khuuñ*
 I beat egg not ascend
 'I tried to beat the eggs fluffy but was not successful.'

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

- (9) *chǎn thuup 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 tōŋmāy 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? phūān 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 khǎn 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 khonrapchay 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) *khaŋ pɨd pratuu (mā) loŋ* (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) *kəɔt 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 klɔ̌ŋ mǎy khǔn*
 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.

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

(46) a. *chăñ* *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. *khăw* *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. *chăñ* *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. *khăw* *cɔ?* *kamphææŋ* *mây* *khăw*
he pierce wall not enter
'He tried to pierce the wall but was not successful.'

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

(50) a. *chăñ* *hàn* *nuá* *mây* *khăw* *phrɔ?* *niăw* *mâak*
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* *khăw*
knife not enter

(51) a. *khăw* *láoŋ* *khraap* *sòkkaprók* *mây* *?ðək*
he wash stain dirty not exit
'He tried to wash the stain out but was not successful.'

b. *khraap* *sòkkaprók* *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 sǔu pay læ̌æw*
 he send book go already
 'He already sent the book away.'

- (58) *no'k bin khǔm yàaŋrúatrew*
 bird fly ascend quickly
 'The bird flew up very quickly.'

- (59) *hǎaycay khǎw lùk lùk*
 breathe enter deep
 'Breathe in deep!'

- (60) *khǎw lóm loŋ 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 læ̌æw*
 he be sick come three day already
 ‘He has been sick for three days already.’
- (64) *khǎw tham̐aan dii khut̐n 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) *tham̐aan rewrew khǎw*
 work quick enter
 ‘Hurry up with your work!’
- (67) *mùak bay nǐ suây ʔə̌ə̌k*
 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.

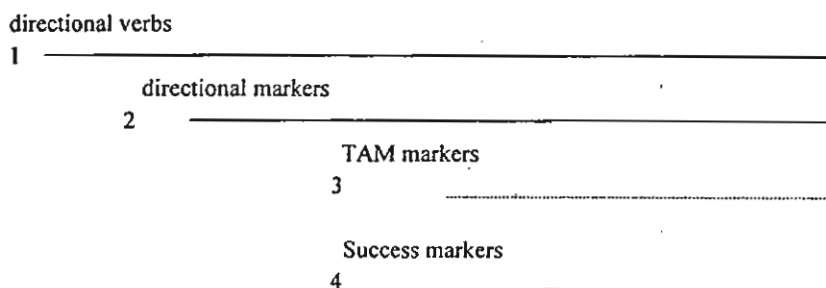


FIGURE 1 GRAMMATICALIZATION PATH OF DIRECTIONAL VERBS IN THAI

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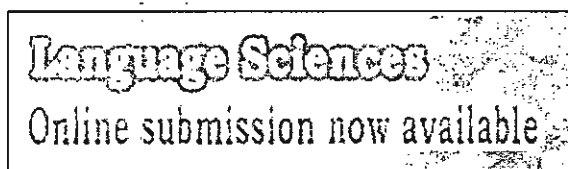
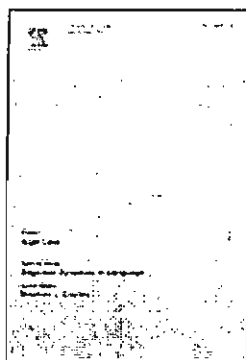
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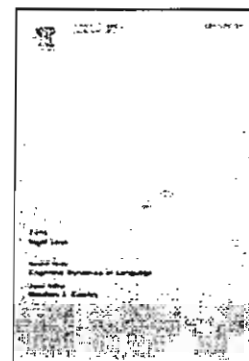
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The verb of giving in Thai and Mandarin Chinese as a case of polysemy:

A comparative study

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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

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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 *khăay* 'sell'. The context of a situation is needed for disambiguation. Examples (14)-(16) illustrate such ambiguity.

(14) *sǒmsàk sòŋ còtmăay 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 năjsúu 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 dæ̀n hầy sǒmchaay*

Somsak walk give Somchaay

(17) **sǒmsàk nɔ̀nlàp hầy sǒmchaay*

Somsak fall asleep give Somchaay

(c) Causative-marking

Examples

Thai

(18) *sǒmsàk hầy sǒmchaay ɔ̀k 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 nǎjsǔu hây sǒmchaay àan*
 Somsak buy book give Somchaay read

'Somsak bought a book for Somchaay to read.'

- (24) *sǒmsàk hây sǒmchaay àan nǎjsǔu*
 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.’