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

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

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

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

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

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

(27) *Lǐsì* *gěi* *Zhāngsān* *kànjiàn-le* (Haspelmath, 1990, p.48)
Lisi give Zhangsan see-ASP
'Lisi let Zhangsan see (him).'
'Lisi was seen by Zhangsan.'

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

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

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

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

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

5.1.2. Ditransitive-marking.

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

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

Ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction

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

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

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

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

The syntactic structure of this construction is thus [NP_{giver} V*gěi* $NP_{recipient}$ NP_{thing}]. One might wonder, at this point, what motivates the language to have this ditransitive *gěi*-marked construction in addition to the semantically and formally similar construction, i.e. the dative construction, which is one of the extended uses of GIVE discussed above as commonly existing in Mandarin Chinese and Thai. The dative

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

Dative construction

(32)	*wǒ*	*bān*	*yí*	*ge*	*zhuōzi*	*gěi*	*tā*
	I	move	one	CL	table	to	3sg
	'I moved a table over to him/her.'						
(33)	*wǒ*	*shū*	*yí*	*kuài*	*qían*	*gěi*	*tā*
	I	lose	one	dollar	money	to	3sg
	'I lost one dollar to him/her.'						

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2 Uses of hây which are missing in gěi

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

(a) Malefactive use

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

These two uses are investigated below.

5.2.1 The malefactive use.

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

(34) *dĭaw chăn kɔ̂ɔ tè? hây rɔ̀k*
Shortly I then kick give final particle
'I might kick you in a moment.'

(35) *rawaŋ khăw cà? dàa hây*
be careful he will scold give
'Be careful. He might scold you.'

(36) *chăn klua wâa khăw cà? klæ̂æŋ hây*
I fear complementizer he will bully give
'I am afraid that he might bully me/you.'

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

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

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

(From Humphreys, 1999, p.399)

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

(38) *My patient died on me.*

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

(40) My colleagues went sick on me.

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2 The connective use.

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

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

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

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

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.35)

(42) *nuan* *phlàk* *jŭm* *hây* *tòk* *nám*

Nuan push Jum give fall water

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

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

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

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.36)

(43) *nuan phlàk kæ̂æw hây klîŋ pay rûay rûay*
Nuan push glass give roll go continually
'Nuan pushed the glass in order for it to keep rolling.'

(44) *nuan thúp kæ̂æw hây tæ̀æk*
Nuan hit glass give be broken
'Nuan hit the glass in order for it to be broken.'

(45) *nuan khon námtaan hây lalaay*
Nuan stir sugar give melt
'Nuan stirred the sugar in order for it to melt.'

(46) *nuan lâak tɕhûak tháŋ sɔ̌ɔŋ sên hây bantɕòp kan*
Nuan pull rope both two CL give meet each other
'Nuan pulled both ropes in order for them to meet.'

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

GIVE > BENEFACTIVE > PURPOSIVE > MANNER

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

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

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

(47) *khăw khĭan còtmăay hây khun tòop*
he write letter give you answer
'He wrote a letter so that you would answer.'

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

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

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

lexical *hây* ⇒ dative ⇒ ⟨ benefactive
purposive ⇒ causative

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

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

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

(48) *sŏmsàk* *thɔ̂ɔt* *nɯ́a* *mây* *hây* *sùk* *kəənpay*
Somsak fry beef not give cooked too
'Somsak fried the beef with the intention that it be not too well-done.'
'Somsak fried the beef not having it be too well-done.' (literal translation)

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

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

(49) *chăn* *cà?* *khàt* *phtúun* *hây* *man*

I will wax floor give glossy

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

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

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

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

(50) *wǒ* *chàng* *gē* *gěi* *nǐ* *tīng*

I sing song GIVE you hear

'I'll sing for you to hear.'

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

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lexical status, it becomes less likely to.

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

(51) *sŏmsàk* *bɔ̀ɔk* *hây* *sŏmchaay* *maa*
Somsak tell give Somchaay come
'Somsak told Somchaay to come.'

(52) *sŏmsàk* *sàŋ* *hây* *sŏmchaay* *klàp* *bâan*
Somsak tell give Somchaay return home
'Somsak told Somchaay to go home.'

(53) *sŏmsàk* *khayánkhayɔɔ* *hây* *sŏmchaay* *kin*
Somsak urge give Somchaay eat
'Somsak urged Somchaay to eat.'

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

(54) *sŏmsàk* *bòɔk* *sŏmchaay* *hây* *maa*
Somsak tell Somchaay give come
'Somsak told Somchaay to come.'

(55) *sŏmsàk* *sàŋ* *sŏmchaay* *hây* *klàp* *bâan*
Somsak tell Somchaay give return home
'Somsak told Somchaay to go home.'

(56) *sŏmsàk* *khayánkhayɔɔ* *sŏmchaay* *hây* *kin*
Somsak urge Somchaay give eat
'Somsak urged Somchaay to eat.'

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

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

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

(From Rangkupan, 1997, p.27)

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

Nuan give glass roll DIR continually

'Nuan let the glass keep rolling.'

(58) **nuan* *bɔ̀ɔk* *hây* *kæ̂æw* *klîŋ* *pay* *rûay rûay*

Nuan tell give glass roll DIR continually

'Nuan told the glass to keep rolling.'

It is apparent that *hây* in the jussive construction does not have a full lexical meaning[9], unlike *hây* in the causative one. *Hây* in the former apparently functions as a connector between the matrix clause and the subordinate one. Can we conclude at this point that *hây* in the jussive construction is a connector which is grammaticalized from the causative *hây*? Well, we have found one behavioral property of *hây* in the

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

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

(59) *sŏmsàk khɔ̌ɔ mây hây chăn pay*
Somsak ask not give I go
'Somsak asked me not to go.'

(60) *sŏmsàk sàŋ mày hây chăn pay*
Somsak order not give I go
'Somsak ordered me not to go.'

(61) *sŏmsàk ɔ̂ɔnwɔɔn mây hây chăn pay*
Somsak urge not give I go
'Somsak urged me not to go.'

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

Enfield (2002) discusses the verb of giving in Lao which appears in the jussive construction in our terms. He observes that *hàj* 'give' in Lao may mark other causative verbs, by being the secondary verb or V_2, in what appears to be a V-V compound as in (62) and (63) below.

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

Lao (Enfield, 2002, p.33-34)[10]

(62) *khɔ̀ɔy* *sāng-hàj* *khǎw* *paj*

I order-give 3rd person go

'I order them to go.'

(63) *láaw* *khɔ̌ɔ-hàj* *khɔ̀ɔy* *kin-khàw*

3rd person request-give I eat-rice

'S/he requested that I eat.'

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

5.2.2.3. Hây in a complementation construction. Hây can also appear in the complementation construction in which it links the matrix clause with the subordinate one. This construction with *hây* is characterized as follows. The subject noun phrase of the matrix clause is a human noun phrase and it is followed by a specific type of verb, i.e. a verb of desire, such as *yàak* 'want', *tôŋkaan* 'want' or *pràatthanăa* 'want (formal)'. It is noted that there is no restriction to the semantic type of NP_2 and VP which follows NP_2. The NP_2 can be a human or nonhuman NP. The VP which follows

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

NP_2 can express an activity, state, achievement, or accomplishment. The structural pattern of the complementation in which *hây* appears is described below.

(64) $NP_{[human}$ $V_{verb\ of\ desire}$ *hây* NP_2 VP

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

(65) *sŏmsàk* *yàak* *hây* *sŏmchaay* *maa* *hăa*
Somsak want give Somchaay come see
'Somsak wanted Somchaay to come to see him.' *ææ*

(66) *sŏmsàk* *tôŋkaan* *hây* *lûuk* *rian* *phâæt*
Somsak want give child study doctor
'Somsak wanted his child to study medicine.'

(67) *sŏmsàk* *yàak* *hây* *fŏn* *tòk*
Somsak want give rain fall
'Somsak wanted it to rain.'

(68) *sŏmsàk* *tôŋkaan* *hây* *sŏmchaay* *lôək* *sùup* *bùrìi*
Somsak want give Somchaay quit smoke cigarette
'Somsak wanted Somchaay to quit smoking.'

Rangkupan (1997) analyzes *hây* in this use as a linkage marker[11] which links two clauses in propositional attitude constructions. Propositional attitude constructions in Rangkupan's terms express a participant's attitude, judgement or opinion regarding a state of affairs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Insert Figure 1)

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

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

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

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

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

6. Conclusion

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

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

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

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SEMANTIC EXTENSION OF THE VERB OF BREAKING IN THAI AND JAPANESE[1]

Kingkarn Thepkanjana[2]
Satoshi Uehara[3]

Abstract

The fact that a lexical item has semantic variations when combined with other linguistic elements is a central issue in lexical semantics. A number of researchers claim that a lexical item has one basic meaning, and that other extended meanings are triggered in context by a process whereby the semantic structure of the lexical item is adjusted in certain details so that it is semantically compatible with its neighboring lexical items. This paper aims to examine how this process actually works as it applies to a transitive verb occurring with subject and object arguments. A study of the Thai transitive verb HAK "break" and its corresponding verb ORU in Japanese is presented. Arguably, all seemingly discrete meanings of HAK are interrelated and so are those of ORU. The basic meaning of each verb corresponds to the most concrete event and is the most cognitively salient. It consists of a number of "facets", which represent different physical resulting states of an entity undergoing an action denoted by either HAK or ORU. Two mechanisms are found to derive the extended meanings. First, only some facets of HAK and ORU are promoted. Second, HAK and ORU are figuratively interpreted. The other objective of this study is to show semantic differences between HAK and ORU. It is demonstrated in this paper that so-called "corresponding" words in different languages, especially verbs, hardly have exactly the same meaning.

Introduction

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

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Pustejovsky (1995) and as "accommodation" by Langacker (1987). This paper aims to examine in detail how the process of co-composition or accommodation actually works as it applies to a transitive verb occurring in combination with its subject and object arguments. A corpus-based semantic investigation of the Thai transitive verb *hàk* 'break' and its corresponding verb *oru* in Japanese is presented in this paper as a case study. This paper will demonstrate that the semantic extension by means of the same mechanism occurs across languages even in typologically different languages such as Thai and Japanese[4]. This paper also aims at confirming the hypothesis that the so-called "corresponding verbs" in different languages, even the ones which express an action as basic as to disjoin something with force, do not have the same range of meanings. This paper shows that the glosses, which are usually represented in English, do not always reflect the accurate meanings of words in languages. In the next section, we will review some theoretical issues that are usually associated with the studying of the relationships between word forms and their meanings.

2. Ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness

The phenomenon in which a word form is associated with more than one meaning often leads to the question of how to categorize the word form in question. The task of categorizing a word form is tantamount to that of characterizing the relationship between the phonological shape of a word and the meaning(s) it is associated with. This task involves such notions as "ambiguity", "polysemy" and "vagueness". These three notions will be examined in detail in this section.

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

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

Several cognitively oriented linguists who study the relationships between word forms and meanings come to the same conclusion regarding the demarcation between ambiguity, polysemy and vagueness. For example, Geeraerts (1993) argues that the distinction between vagueness and polysemy is not clear-cut in that "what appear to be distinct meanings from one point of view turn out to be instances of vagueness from another". Tuggy (1993) comes to the same conclusion as Geeraerts regarding the demarcation between these notions. He studies them within the Cognitive Grammar framework (Langacker 1987) and argues that ambiguity and vagueness are located at the opposite ends of a continuum with polysemy located in the middle. In discussing linguistic categorization, Taylor (1995) also states that there is a fuzzy boundary between polysemy and ambiguity, which he refers to as homonymy, because relatedness of meaning is both a gradient and subjective notion. Thus, according to these linguists, the notions of ambiguity, polysemy, and vagueness are no longer seen as classical categories with fixed boundaries. Rather, they are regarded as more or less unfixed points located on a continuum. Lakoff (1987) provides a slightly different definition of the term polysemy. According to Lakoff, all instances of sense variations are a case of polysemy even though some of them are so close that we cannot notice the difference in meaning. Lakoff points out a number of weaknesses of the Classical Theory of categorization and proposes the radial approach [5] to categorization.

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

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

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

3.1 Semantic variations of a word form in context

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

[5] The prototype approach to categorization postulates two types of category, namely, the prototype and radial categories. The prototype is the most central or typical instance of a category. Radial categories are extensions of the prototype. They are less typical and may differ from the prototype in one or more features.

father's firm built this school (*school* here refers to the building) and *John's school won the Football Charity Shield last year* (*school* here refers to the people in the school), to hard-to-distinguished variations, as in *Alice can walk already and she's only 11 months old* and *I usually walk to work* (Cruse 2000: 105). In the case of *bank*, there is a sharp semantic boundary between the readings. In the case of *walk*, a semantic boundary between the readings is hardly perceptible. The case of *school* lies in the middle. The sharper a semantic boundary between two readings is, the more discrete or distinct the readings will be. According to Cruse (2000), the highest degree of distinctness coincides with antagonism. Antagonistic readings of a word form compete with one another in the speaker's mind. It is impossible for the speaker to focus his/her attention on antagonistic readings at once. Antagonistic readings are therefore fully discrete, such as the two readings of *bank* in the examples above. It is always the case that all word forms have semantic variations which can be gross or subtle to varying degrees when they co-occur with other word forms in sentences. According to Cruse (2000), of all meanings of a word form, the meaning which would come to mind in the absence of any context is called "the default meaning". Some meanings are "established" because they have a high degree of entrenchment[6] in the speaker's mind whereas some others are non-established. The meaning of *walk* as standing up and walking unaided in *Alice can walk already and she's only 11 months old* exemplifies the non-established meaning (Cruse 2000: 105). The meanings of a word form can be semantically related or arbitrary. The latter case is the case of ambiguity, such as the meanings of *bank* in the examples above. As for the former case, it has been pointed out that there are varying degrees of semantic relatedness. Furthermore, individual speakers differ in their judgements of relatedness.

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

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

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

The three types of semantic variations postulated by Cruse (2000) are not full senses of words nor subtle variations within a single sense resulting from modulation[7]. Full senses of words are both fully antagonistic and fully discrete whereas subtle variations within a single sense are neither. An example of the subtle variations within a single sense is *baby* which can refer to either a babyboy or a babygirl. It is obvious that facets, perspectives and subsenses lie between the two extremes of full senses and subtle variations. In the next section, we will identify meanings of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese when it occurs in combination with other words in sentences. It should be noted that the three types of semantic variations postulated by Cruse are not distinguished from one another in many cases. Even his example of *house* is debatable because it can be argued to display facets, not perspectives. Therefore, the distinctions between these three types of semantic variations are dubious. In this paper, we aim at identifying semantic variations of the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese by using the criteria that they display a certain degree of discreteness and relatedness with one another. It is therefore possible that some postulated readings are intuitively felt to be full senses whereas some others are not. However, all readings are arguably not subtle variations of the word arising from modulation. It should be noted that most examples given by Cruse to illustrate his three types of semantic variations are nouns. This paper is an attempt to apply his notions of semantic variations to verbs across languages.

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

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

[7] See the definition of "modulation" in the next section on relatedness between semantic variations.

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

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

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

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

Example:

(1) *khăw* *hàk* *kìŋmáy* *pen*
sɔ̌ɔŋ *thôɔn*
he HÀK branch as
two piece

'He broke the branch into two pieces.'

2.For X to deduct money, expenses, tax

Example:

(2) *phŏm* *dây* *kamray* *nɔ́y*
mâak *lăŋ* *hàk* *khâachâycàay*
lɛ́ɛw
I get profit little
very after HÀK expenses
already

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

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

Example:

(3) *nít* *ɔ̀ɔk* *pay* *hàk*
khâawphôot *thîi* *râi* *tɛ̀ɛchâw*
Nit exit go HÀK
corn at field early

'Nit went out to harvest corn very early.'

4.For X to take away marks in an examination

Example:

(4) *khruu* *hàk* *khanɛɛn*
mâak *kəənpay*
teacher HÀK marks
many too

'The teacher took away too many marks.'

5.For X to turn away the steering wheel

Example:

(5) *khonkhàp yàaŋkràthanhăn*	*hàk*	*phuaŋmalay*	
driver abruptly	HÀK	steering wheel	

'The driver abruptly turned the steering wheel.'

6.For X to crack the knuckles

Example:

(6) *dèkphûuchaay chôɔp*	*khon hàk*	*níi níw*	
boy like	classifier HÀK	this finger	

'This boy likes to crack the knuckles.'

7.For X to cut prices

Example:

(7) *ráan sĭnkháa*	*níi loŋ*	*hàk yâaŋmâynâachɯ̂a*	*raakhaa*	
shop products	this descend	HÀK	price unbelievably	

'This shop reduced the prices of its products unbelievably.

8.For X to conquer a town

Example:

(8) *khâasɯ̀k maa dɯan*	*hàk dâay*	*mɯaŋ phaaynay*	*khâw nɯ̀ŋ*
enemy come month	HÀK can	town within	enter one

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

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

Example:

(9) *lenkæ̂æẁtaa hàk mâak*	*thiam sæ̌æŋ*	*khɔ̌ɔŋ dâay*	*khăw dii*	
eye lens HÀK very	artificial light	of can	his good	

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

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

Example:

(10) *kæ̀æ chăn*	*klâa rɯ̌ɯ*	*hàk*	*liam*
you I	dare question particle	HÀK	corner, angle

'Don't you dare belittle me!'

11.For X to betray someone, to doublecross someone

Example:

(11) *khăw hàk*	*pen lăŋ*	*khon phɯ̂an*	*chôɔp*
he HÀK	be back	person friend	like

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

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

Example:

(12)	*khăw*	*tàt*	*rák*
	hàk	*sawàat*	*thəə*
	yàaŋmâypraníi		
	he	cut	love
	HÀK	romantic love	she
	without sympathy		

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

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

Example:

(13)	*thəə*	*tɔ̂ŋ*	*hàk*	*cay*
	yàakhàat	*càak*	*săamii*	
	she	must	HÀK	heart
	divorce	from	husband	

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

14.For X to force someone

Example:

(14)	*khăw*	*hàk*	*khɔɔ*	*sɯ̀ɯ*
	wæ̌æn	*nay*	*raakhaa*	*thùuk*
	càak	*chăn*		
	he	HÀK	neck	buy
	ring	in	price	cheap
	from	I		

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

15.For X to embarrass someone

Example:

(15)	*khăw*	*hàk*	*nâa*	*phŏm*
	klaaŋ	*thîipràchum*		
	he	HÀK	face	I
	middle	meeting		

'He made me lose face in the meeting.'

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

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

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

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

Examples :

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

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

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

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

2.For X to count (by bending fingers)

Example:

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

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

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

Examples:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example:

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

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

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

Example:

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

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

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

Example:

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

'He plucked and collected beautiful flowers.'

7.For X to destroy, make something dysfunctional

Example:

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

'He broke the matchsticks and threw them away.'

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

Example:

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

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

9.For X to make efforts

Example:

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

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

10.For X to return (a phone call)

Example:

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

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

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

Example:

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

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

12.For X to create (folded paper)

Example:

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

'She folds (origami) crane very well.'

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

4. Relatedness between semantic variations

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

Examples from Cruse (2000: 121-122)

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

(32) *The **coffee** burnt my tongue.*

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

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

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

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

It is now evident that semantic variations of a word form does not occur in isolation from its syntagmatic context. In addition to Cruse, two other major linguists also discuss the effects of syntagmatic context on the meaning of a word form, namely, Langacker (1987) and Pustejovsky (1995). Langacker (1987) claims that a composite structure or, in other words, a complex category, not only requires a simple syntagmatic combination of linguistic components, but also a process whereby a semantic structure is adjusted in certain details to make it semantically compatible with its context. An example given by Langacker is the verb *run*. The meaning of *run* must be adjusted in certain respects as it occurs in combination with humans as its subject, and then extends to four-legged animals such as horses, dogs, and cats. This process is called "accommodation" by Langacker. The other linguist who discusses the effects of context on the meaning of a word form is Pustejovsky (1995). In discussing the theory of Generative Lexicon, Pustejovsky (1995) aims at creating a computational system which can capture the generative nature of lexical creativity and sense extension. According to Pustejovsky, the phenomenon in which the meaning of a word form varies in different syntagmatic contexts results from a generative mechanism called "co-composition". It is thus the co-composition which operates on the basic meaning of a word form by making reference to the semantics of the co-occurring nouns to produce contextualized meanings of a word form. We can see that Cruse, Langacker and Pustejovsky, have the same opinion that the meaning of a word form can vary as it is combined with different arguments even though all of them use different terms to refer to the same phenomenon. It is noted that the terms "accommodation" as defined by by Langacker (1987) and "co-composition" as defined by Pustejovsky (1995) each cover the three types of contextual variability of word meaning postulated by Cruse, namely, modulation, selection and coercion. However, none of them discusses in detail the exact process of meaning extension. We will examine this process further by using the verb of breaking in Thai and Japanese as a case study.

4.1 Relatedness between semantic variations of *hàk*

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

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

1. *The first type of extended meaning*

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

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

Example: *hàk khâachâycàay* 'HÀK expenses.'

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

Example: *hàk khanœœn* 'HÀK marks.'

(c) The seventh meaning :
to cut prices.

Example : *hàk rakhaa* 'HÀK prices.'

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

Example : *hàk mɯaŋ* 'HÀK a town'

(e) The ninth meaning :
to refract light.

Example: *hàk sæœŋ* 'HÀK light.'

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

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

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

Example : *hàk cay* 'HÀK the heart.'

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

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

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

2. *The second type of extended meaning*

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

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

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

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

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

(c) The fourteenth meaning :
to force someone.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. *The third type of extended meaning*

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

(a) The third meaning :
to harvest, to collect (ears of corn).

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

(b) The fifth meaning :
to turn the steering wheel.

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

(c) The sixth meaning :
to crack the knuckles.

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

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

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

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

4.2 Relatedness between semantic variations of *oru*

The first meaning of *oru* is obviously the most basic because it is the first meaning which comes to mind in isolation of context. It also corresponds to a concrete event. The physical action of applying force to a straight line or a flat object at a point or a line and making two or more lines or flat objects brings about a number of consequences as follows. An affected linear object may become destroyed or dysfunctional. In addition, a path formed by the affected object becomes deviated. These consequences are likely to take place. There may be other consequences which probably take place. The affected entity may become separated into two or more pieces. In addition, a new entity such as a paper crane may result from the action of folding (paper). All of these consequences called "semantic traits" in this paper are incorporated in the basic meaning of *oru*. In order for the basic meaning of *oru* to obtain, the noun functioning as its direct object must have certain properties. That is, it must be either linear or flat. In addition, it must not be too hard to modify its shape with one's hands. The other meanings of *oru* are argued to extend from the basic meaning in some way. The ten extended meanings of *oru* can be classified into subtypes as follows.

1.*The first type of extended meaning*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(d) The fifth meaning:
to interrupt.

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

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

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

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

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

This type of extended meaning is expressed by *oru* occurring with the direct object argument expressing a body part or the body except the tenth meaning. The body parts expressed by the direct object arguments of *oru* either have the linear shape, which forms a path, or are parts of the body parts which have the linear shape, such as the knees or the waist. When these nouns occur in combination with *oru*, they promote the semantic trait that the paths formed by the linear body parts are deviated after they were bent. Inferencing is then performed on the literal meanings of *oru* in combination with its object arguments in order to obtain the intended meanings. It requires some real-world and cultural knowledge to infer on the functions of bending fingers, bending one's legs at the knees, bending oneself, bending oneself at the waist. As for the second meaning, inferencing enables us to interpret *yubi-o oru*, glossed as 'finger-ACC ORU' as 'to count' because counting is done in Japan by bending fingers one by one. The third meaning is derived by inferencing on the literal meaning of *hiza-o oru*, which is to bend the legs at the knees. When one bends one's legs at one's knees, it implies that one sits down, or stops moving. Furthermore, the meaning 'stop' can be metaphorically understood as 'give up'. The verb phrase *kosi-o oru*, which exemplifies the fourth meaning, literally means 'to bend one's body at the waist'. In the Japanese culture, bending one's body at the waist is taken to be bowing, which is an expression of paying respect. The meaning of surrendering is an implicature of paying respect. On the other hand, the verb phrase *keiki-kaihuku-no kosi-o oru* literally means 'to bend the waist of the economic recovery'. In this case, 'to bend the waist of something' is tantamount to 'to bend the path of something right in the middle while it is in motion', which is metaphorically interpreted as 'to interrupt'. As for the eleventh meaning, the literal meaning of *ga-o oru*, which exemplifies this meaning, is 'to bend oneself'. Our real world knowledge suggests that bending oneself can be an expression of giving in/opening one's ears to somebody's opinion.

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

2.*The second type of extended meaning*

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

(a) The seventh one:
to destroy, to make something dysfunctional.

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

(b) The eighth one:

to end one's literary career.

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

(c) The ninth one:
to make efforts:

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

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

3.*The third type of extended meaning*

There is only one meaning which falls into this type of extended meaning, i.e. to pluck, to break off, to pick up (flower), which is the sixth meaning. This meaning is exemplified by *hana-o (ta-) oru* 'flower-ACC (hand-) ORU'. This type of extended meaning is expressed by *oru* occurring with the direct object argument expressing a PART of an affected entity. This extended meaning of *oru* has the focus on the part separated from the whole after undergoing a physical action expressed by *oru*. This suggests that semantic trait of separation is promoted.

4.*The fourth type of extended meaning*

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

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

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

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

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

MacWhinney also discusses the mechanism which gives rise to polysemy. In sentences, some words are in constructions with some others and these constructions force words to be polysemous. He emphasizes that not every word in a sentence can impinge on every other word. In order for one word to push another word around, the two words have to be involved in a meaningful relation. This type of polysemy, which stems from some words impinging on some others in a sentence is called "pushy polysemy". Polysemic pushing occurs only across what MacWhinney calls "valence bridges". We will use the Thai data in this paper as an illustration. In the sentence *thəə hàk khâachâycàay rɯ̌ɯyaŋ* 'Have you deducted expenses?', a valence bridge exists between *hàk* 'break' and *khâachâycàay* 'expenses'. The word *khâachâycàay* pushes or impinges on the verb *hàk* so that the latter will take on the meaning of deducting. A valence bridge will not be formed unless the verb *hàk* assumes this reading. In this example, we can say that the noun *khâachâycàay* pushes the verb *hàk* into a particular polysemic pathway.

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

6. Conclusion

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

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

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May 29, 2007

Dear Professor Thepkanjana,

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

Yours sincerely,

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

Prof. Dr habil. Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk

Verb Serialization as a Means of Expressing Complex Events in Thai

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Abstract

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

1. Introduction *

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

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

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

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

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

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

(3) *khăw* *yàak* *pay* *tàaŋpràthêet*
he want go abroad
'He wants to go abroad.'

(4) *khăw* *wăŋ* *tæ̀ŋŋ aan* *kàp* *thəə*

he hope marry with you

'He hopes to marry you.'

(5) *khăw* *phimdîit* *khlɔ̂ŋ*

he type skilful

'He types skilfully.'

(6) *khăw* *tɔ̀ɔp* *thùuk*

he answer correct

'He answered correctly.'

2. Relations between Events Expressed by Verbs in Basic SVCs

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

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

1. Event classifier: A verb stem denoting a kind of event, which can be conceptually simple or complex, such as *hit, kill, eat, lie.*

2. Conceptual event: The meaning of a clause containing a single event classifier, and denoting a bounded activity. It is usually placed in a particular time and place.

3. Event sequence: Two or more conceptual events, each of which is expressed by a separate clause.

4. Episodic event: A conceptual event which denotes a sequence of more or less separate acts or events. All of the events expressed by (7) constitute an episode or an episodic event.

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

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

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

(8) *Bill released the rope.*

(9) *John winked.*

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

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

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

(12) *Fido is fetching his stick.*

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

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

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

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

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

1. Primary action verb + Non-primary action verb

(14) *khăw takoon tɔ̀ɔp*

he shout answer

'He answered by shouting.'

(15) *khăw bòok mɯɯ laa*

he wave hand bid farewell

'He bade farewell by waving his hand.'

(16) *khăw kwàk mɯɯ rîak chăn*

he wave hand call I

'He called me by waving his hand.'

(17) *khăw phayâknâa hĕndûay*

he nod agree

'He agreed by nodding.'

(18) *khăw wây khɔ̀ɔpkhun*

he raise the hands pressed together thank you

'He thanked you by raising his hands to his chest and pressing.'

(19) *khăw khàp rót fàa faydææŋ*

he drive car violate red traffic light

'He violated the red traffic light by driving.'

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

manner of carrying out the actions indicated by them. Primary action verbs are classified by Chuwicha (1993) into five subclasses: (1) physical displacement verbs, such as *dəən* 'walk', *wîŋ* 'run', *bin* 'fly', *khlaan* 'crawl', (2) body part motion verbs, such as *phaŋòk (hŭa)* 'lower (head)', *pròp (mɯɯ)* 'clap (hands)', *phayák (nâa)* 'nod (face)', *hăn (nâa)* 'turn (face)', (3) posture verbs, such as *nâŋ* 'sit', *yɯɯn* 'stand', *nɔɔn* 'sleep', (4) auditorily and visually physical action verbs, such as *faŋ* 'listen', *mɔɔŋ* 'look at', *?àan* 'read', *phêŋ* 'gaze', and (5) other action verbs which express physical actions carried out by means of more than one body part, such as *kin* 'eat', *phûut* 'say', *khayàw* 'shake', *chìik* 'tear', *takoon* 'shout', *láaŋ* 'wash', *pîŋ* 'grill'. In contrast, nonprimary action verbs are vague as to the means and manner of carrying out the actions expressed by them. In other words, it is not known how the actions expressed by nonprimary action verbs are exactly carried out. Nonprimary action verbs can be subclassified into physical action verbs such as *pay* 'go', *maa* 'come', *khâw* 'enter', *ɔ̀ɔk* 'exit', *rîip* 'hurry', *fùùk* 'practise', *klæ̂æŋ* 'pretend', *laa* 'bid farewell', *tɔ̀ɔp* 'answer', and mental action verbs such as *khít* 'think', *wikhrɔ́?* 'analyze'.

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

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

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

2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs

(20) *khǎw* *thɔ̂ɔt* *plaa* *kin*
he fry fish eat
'He fried fish to eat.'

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

(22) *khăw yók mɯɯ wây*

he raise hands pay respect by pressing the hands together

'He raised his hands to pay respect.'

(23) *khăw rîit sûa sày*

he iron shirt put on

'He ironed the shirt to wear.'

(24) *khăw yìp khanŏmpaŋ kin*

he grab, pick up bread eat

'He picked up a piece of bread to eat.'

(25) *khăw ŋăæn mɔɔŋ thɔ́ɔŋfáa*

he raise one's head see sky

'He raised his head to see the sky.'

(26) *khăw hăn lăŋ phiŋ phanák kâw?ii*

he turn back lean against backrest chair

'He turned around to lean against the back of a chair.'

The SVCs in this pattern express two physical actions which are performed by the same agent but which occur in close sequence without a noticeable time span in between. The two verbs in this type of SVC are not vague as to the means and manner of carrying out the actions indicated by the verbs. The order of the verbs in this type of SVC is obviously iconic. The second actions are typically interpreted as the purpose of carrying out

the first actions. Therefore, it is not necessary that the second events denoted by the second verbs, which are the purposes of performing the first actions, really took place. Since the two actions expressed by each SVC in this pattern are performed by the same agent, are interpreted as an action-purpose sequence of events, and are conceptualized as occurring at more or less the same time and place if the purpose event does take place, they can be easily thought of as constituting a single objective event. However, they constitute a complex conceptual event because they comprise two conceptual actions expressed by two verbs or two event classifiers which are closely related to each other.

3. { Primary action verbs / Physical action verbs } + Physical process (inchoative) verbs

(27) *khăw* *paa* *kêæw* *tèæk*
he throw glass broken
'He threw a glass and it was broken.'

(28) *khăw* *yìap* *klɔ̀ŋ* *bææn*
he step on box flat
'He stepped on a box and it became flat.'

(29) *khăw* *thúp* *kêæw* *tèæk*
he hit, pound glass broken

'He hit a glass and it was broken.'

(30) *khăw* *khâa* *phûuráay* *taay*

he kill criminal dead

'He killed the criminal.'

(31) *khăw* *sák* *sûa* *sà?àat*

he wash shirt clean

'He washed a shirt and it became clean.'

(32) *khăw* *chìik* *phâa* *khàat*

he tear cloth torn

'He tore a piece of cloth.'

(33) *khăw* *rîit* *sûa* *rîap*

he iron shirt smooth

'He ironed the shirt and it became smooth.'

The two verbs in each SVC in the third pattern express two events occurring in close sequence. Like the second pattern of SVC, there is hardly any noticeable time span between the two events. The first event is an action whereas the second one can be interpreted as either a process or the resulting state of an entity indicated by the direct object argument of the first verb. It is noted that stative verbs in Thai are ambiguous in that they can express either processes or states. In short, the two verbs in this type of SVC express a physical action carried out on a patient entity and a

physical resulting state occurring to the patient entity, respectively. Like the second pattern of SVC, the order of this pattern of SVC is iconic. Since this type of SVC is interpreted as a cause-result sequence of events occurring right after each other at the same place, they can readily be considered as constituting a single objective event like the second pattern of SVC. This pattern of SVC expresses a complex conceptual event in that it comprises two conceptual events corresponding to the cause and result which occur at the same place without any noticeable time span. Notice that this pattern of SVC is complex in a different way from the second one.

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

(34) *khăw nâŋ àan nâŋsŭŭ*
he sit read book
'He sat reading a book.'

(35) *khăw yuuun rɔ́ɔŋphleeŋ*
he stand sing
'He stood singing.'

(36) *khăw nɔɔn rɔ́ɔŋhây*
he lie cry
'He lay crying.'

This type of SVC expresses the meaning that the subject entity performs an action denoted by the second verb while being in a certain posture denoted by the first verb. The two verbs in this pattern of SVC denote one single objective event because they express an action performed by the same agent at the same time and place. Like the first pattern, this pattern of SVC expresses multiple event-facets which provide a detailed description of an objective event. Therefore, it expresses a complex conceptual event like the first pattern of SVC.

One might wonder whether we can analyze the verb types of each pattern of SVC above in terms of their lexical aspect, which is also called Aktionsart, or not. Lexical aspect is the inherent temporal structure of a situation. Most semantic analyses of the lexical aspect are presented in terms of Vendler's event types (Vendler 1967). Vendler distinguishes four types of event based on three semantic features, namely, stative/dynamic, durative/punctual, and bounded/unbounded (or telic/atelic). The four event types are states, activities, achievements and accomplishments. States describe situations that do not change over time, that are extended in time and that do not have an inherent endpoint, such as *love* and *be beautiful.* Activities describe situations that involve change over time, but are unbounded and durative, such as *run* and *eat*. Achievements also describe dynamic situations but involve a change of state that is instantaneous or

punctual. The punctual change of state ends in a resulting state. Two examples of achievements are *reach the summit* and *shatter.* Accomplishments are processes that are durative and lead to a natural endpoint, such as *kill* and *read the book.* Using Vendler's terminology, the first pattern of SVC consists of two activity verbs; the second one also consists of two activity verbs, the third one consists of an activity verb followed by an accomplishment or a state verb; the fourth one consists of two activity verbs. It is obvious that Vendler's classification of event types is too coarse for our purpose. We need a classification of event types that is more fine-grained than that of Vendler.

To summarize, the four patterns of SVCs above can be classified into two types according to the temporal relationship between the events expressed by the verbs in the SVCs. The first and the fourth patterns fall into the first type in which the two events expressed by the two verbs are performed by the same agent and occur simultaneously. The second and the third patterns fall into the second type in which the two events expressed by the two verbs have different subject arguments and occur in close sequence without a noticeable time span. However, it is argued that each of the four patterns of SVCs expresses one complex conceptual event.

3. Constraints on the Serializability of Verbs

In this section, I will examine the factors which constrain the ability of verbs to co-occur in such a way that they result in well-formed SVCs. It is argued in this paper that there are two constraints on serializability, namely, the schematic constraint and the lexical constraint. The schematic constraint involves the syntactico-semantic verb types which co-occur as the first and the second verbs in basic SVCs. This constraint is therefore realized in terms of the two specific verb types which co-occur with each other in the patterns of SVC described in section 2. This constraint operates at the schematic level in a taxonomic hierarchy in that the verb types in question are superordinate structures of lexical verbs. Such superordinate structures are termed "schemas", in Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1987: 68). Thus, this constraint is called the schematic constraint. To recapitulate, there are four patterns of SVCs under investigation as below. These patterns can be viewed as the schematic constraint on the serializability or co-occurrence of verb types in SVCs within the scope of study.

1. Primary action verbs + Non-primary action verbs
2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs
3. { Primary action verbs / Physical action verbs } + Physical process (inchoative) verbs

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

The schematic constraint is not sufficient for the well-formedness of SVCs in Thai. It is not the case that any verbs which instantiate the schemas appearing in the four patterns of SVC above can co-occur with each other in SVCs. It is found that only certain verbs which instantiate their respective schemas can co-occur. The examples below illustrate this point.

1. Primary action verbs + Non-primary action verbs

(37) * *khăw* *yók* *mɯɯ* *khɔ̀ɔpkhun*
he raise hands thank

(38) * *khăw* *kwàk* *mɯɯ* *fàa* *faydææŋ*
he wave hands violate red light

(39) * *khăw* *khàp* *rót* *rîak*
he drive car call

(40) * *khăw* *phayák nâa* *laa*
he nod bid farewell

2. Primary action verbs + Primary action verbs

(41) * *khăw* *pîŋ* *plaa* *klɯɯn*

	he	grill	fish	swallow
(42)	* *khăw*	*sák*	*phâa*	*rîit*
	he	wash	clothes	iron
(43)	* *khăw*	*yép*	*sûa*	*hâyɯɯm*
	he	sew	shirt	lend
(44)	* *khăw*	*cùt*	*bùrìi*	*thíŋ*
	he	light	cigarette	throw away

3. { Primary action verbs / Physical action verbs } + physical process (inchoative) verbs

(45)	* *khăw*	*hŭŋ*	*khâaw*	*dɯ̀at*
	he	cook	rice	boil
(46)	* *khăw*	*chìik*	*kràdàat*	*yáp*
	he	tear	paper	wrinkled
(47)	* *khăw*	*thúp*	*kæ̂æw*	*bææn*
	he	hit strongly	glass	flat
(48)	* *khăw*	*khâa*	*phûuráay*	*cèp*
	he	kill	thief	hurt

4. Posture verbs + Action verbs

(49) * *khăw* *dəən* *làp*

he walk fall asleep

(50) * *khăw* *nɔɔn* *khîi* *càkkayaan*

he sleep ride bicycle

(51) * *khăw* *nɔɔn* *?ɔ̀kkamlaŋkaay*

he sleep exercise

(52) * *khăw* *yuuun* *khàp* *rót*

he stand drive car

The SVCs in sentences (37)-(52) obey the schematic constraint as the two verbs in each sentence fall into the two verb classes in each pattern of SVC. However, these sentences are not well-formed. This fact shows that the schematic constraint is not sufficient to produce well-formed SVCs. I argue that SVCs must also obey another constraint, namely, the lexical constraint. The lexical constraint requires that verbs which have a potential to be serialized express commonly associated events. The lexical constraint can be viewed as a pragmatic constraint since it requires real-world knowledge to determine whether two events are associated in the real world or not.

Sentences (37)-(40) are not acceptable because of two reasons. In (37) and (40), the first verbs in these sentences do not express conventional means and manner in performing the actions indicated by the

second verbs. In Thai culture, it is not customary to express appreciation by raising one's hand as expressed in (37) and to bid farewell by nodding as expressed in (40). On the other hand, in (38)-(39), it is not conceivable that one can perform the actions indicated by the first verbs while performing those indicated by the second verbs. In other words, it is practically not possible to perform the actions expressed by the first verbs and the second verbs simultaneously.

Sentences (41)-(44) are not well-formed for two reasons. Sentences (41)-(42) express plausible sequences of events; however, they are ill-formed because our real-world knowledge suggests that such sequences of events do not occur right after each other. There is a span of time between the two events in each sequence of events. As for sentences (43)-(44), they do not express conventionalized scenes or prototypical sequences of events in the real world. We can conclude that, in order for this type of SVC to be well-formed, it must express a conventionalized sequence of actions occurring right after each other without a time span.

Sentences (45)-(48) are ill-formed because they do not express conventionalized sequences of causing and resulting events. All sequences of events expressed in (45)-(48) are practically impossible. In order for this type of SVC to be well-formed, it must express a conventionalized sequence of causing and resulting events occurring without an intervening time span such as below.

(53) *khăw* *hŭŋ* *khâaw* *sùk*

he cook rice cooked

'He cooked rice (and it was cooked.)'

(54) *khăw* *chìik* *kràdàat* *khàat*

he tear paper torn

'He tore paper (and it became torn).'

(55) *khăw* *thúp* *kêæw* *tàæk*

he hit strongly glass broken

'He hit a glass and it broke.'

(56) *khăw* *khâa* *phûuráay* *taay*

he kill thief dead

'He killed the thief (and he died.)'

Sentences (47)-(52) are ill-formed because the sequences of events expressed by them are practically impossible for the same persons to perform simultaneously. In other words, their ill-formedness arises from the impossibility of the two events denoted by the first and the second verbs to take place simultaneously in the real world.

In summary, the lexical constraint requires that SVCs consist of verbs which are semantically and pragmatically associated in the following ways. Firstly, they must express scenes which have the

possibility of taking place in the real world. Secondly, the possible scenes must also be prototypical or conventionalized in the real world. There are two types of conventionalized scenes exhibited by SVCs, namely, (i) the scenes in which actions are performed by conventionalized means and in conventionalized manners, and (ii) the scenes in which conventionalized sequences of actions take place without an intervening time span. It is noted that these SVCs do not have a high degree of productivity. Rather, they exhibit word-like features in that they express scenes which are highly conventionalized. This corresponds with Bruce (1988)'s claim that SVCs in Alamblak exhibit a high degree of lexicalization and therefore form part of a structural continuum between syntactic units and lexical items.

Notice that the four patterns of SVC under investigation have some properties in common with the coordinate construction. Stassen (1985) classifies conjunct clauses in the coordinate constructions into two types based on the temporal relationship between them, namely, "consecutive chains" or "C-chains" and "simultaneous chains" or "S-chains". The C-chains are clauses which express events which take place in temporal sequence. The clauses which are C-chains are iconic in that the linear order of the conjoined clauses reflects the temporal order of the events denoted by the clauses. The S-chains are clauses which represent simultaneous events. Since the two events expressed by the two verbs in

the SVCs being investigated can occur sequentially and simultaneously, Stassen's notions of C-chains and S-chains can be applied to the SVCs too. This is the first similarity between SVCs and coordinate constructions.

Wierzbicka (1980) argues that joining two sentences with a conjunction is possible only when a speaker can conceive of the two events as a single whole. The single whole corresponds to the Gestalt notion of a single, unified figure. According to Wierzbicka (1980), the conceptualization of two events as a single whole requires finding a common denominator between the conjoined elements. In other words, the speaker must conceptualize the two events as a single whole having something in common. According to Croft (2001), the requirement to find a common denominator between conjoined elements explains why some coordinate constructions are acceptable such as (57) whereas some others sound odd such as (58).

(57) *The sun was shining and the birds were singing.*

(58) *?? John kissed Mary on the nose and kangaroos are mammals.*

(Croft 2001: 336)

The requirement for SVCs to obey the lexical constraint, which depends to a large extent on real-world knowledge, suggests that SVCs must express a single, unified figure as does the coordinate construction.

In order for a basic SVC to be well-formed, the speaker and hearer must be able to conceptualize of two events expressed by the two verbs in the basic SVC as a single, complex conceptual event which is a single, unified but complex figure in Gestalt terms. In coordinate constructions, not everything can be naturally conjoined. In the same vein, not everything can be naturally serialized in SVCs.

4. An Account of the Constraints on Serializability in terms of Valence Relations

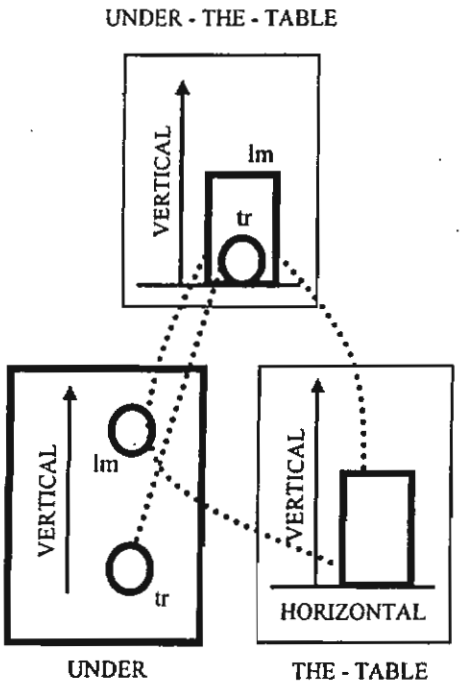
The term "valence", which is better known as "valency", is a theoretical construct used in various syntactic theories such as valency grammar, dependency theory and some kinds of functional grammar. It refers to a kind of dependency property of lexical items especially verbs. It is seen as the capacity a lexical item has for combining with other sentence constituents, in a similar way to that of the valency of a chemical element which refers to its capacity for combining with a fixed number of atoms of another element. The term "valency" is typically used to describe the capacity of verbs to combine with other constituents which are typically nouns.

4.1 Valence relations in Cognitive Grammar

Langacker (1987) postulates the term "valence relations" in his Cognitive Grammar. Valence relations exist between two component structures which combine to form a composite structure, which is a more elaborate expression. Valence relations are based on the sharing of elements between component structures in the same way as those between atoms which are based on the sharing of electrons. "It is only by virtue of having certain substructures in common that two component expressions can be integrated to form a coherent composite expression (Langacker 1987: 278)." In other words, two symbolic structures are combined by virtue of a set of "correspondences" which link shared substructures within the two structures (Langacker 1999: 66). Correspondences can hold between facets of two component structures, which are called "horizontal correspondences", and can hold between facets of the component and composite structures, which are called "vertical correspondences." Horizontal correspondences constitute the one invariant feature of valence relations. Moreover, there are both semantic as well as phonological correspondences. The type of correspondence which is relevant to this study is the semantic one. For example, the two semantic components [UNDER] and [THE TABLE] are integrated into [UNDER THE TABLE] (Langacker 1987:279). The predication [UNDER] profiles a stative spatial

relationship whereas [UNDER THE TABLE] profiles an entity which has a shape specification in three-dimensional space. The integration of the two predications above depends on a correspondence between the landmark of [UNDER] and the profile of [THE-TABLE]. These are substructures which are construed as identical. A composite structure is formed by superimposing corresponding entities and merging their specifications. The component predications are integrated by virtue of their overlapping substructures. Identifying correspondences is therefore crucial to the full description of a construction. Figure 1 illustrates the horizontal and vertical valence relations of the composite structure [UNDER THE TABLE]. The correspondences are represented by dotted lines.

Figure 1. Valence relations of [UNDER THE TABLE] (Langacker 1989: 280)



Linguists who work on valency or valence relations have focused their attention on verbs and their capacity to take nominal arguments. Consequently, there is a tendency to assume that only relational predications especially verbs are capable of having valence relations. According to Langacker (1987:284), valence relations holding between verbs and nouns are considered prototypical. There are nonprototypical valence relations holding between some elements other than verbs and nouns. An example of nonprototypical valence relations given by Langacker are those holding between nouns and nouns in noun compounds such as *puppy dog* and *killer bee* and in appositional expressions such as *Jack the Ripper* (Langacker 1987: 285). Another case of nonprototypical valence relations which I will introduce here is those holding between verbs in SVCs. In section 4.2, I will discuss valence relations in SVCs and how the notion of valence relation can be employed in accounting for the potentiality of verbs to be serialized.

4.2 Correspondences between verbs in SVCs

In accounting for constraints on serializability in terms of valence relations or correspondences, I will set out by discussing one of the basic assumptions of Cognitive Grammar concerning linguistic semantics.

According to Cognitive Grammar, most lexical items have a considerable array of related meanings, which are represented in network form. The meaning of a lexical item, which is called the semantic structure, must be equated with the entire network. The semantic structures of lexical items are characterized relative to "cognitive domains," which are cognitive entities such as mental experiences, representational spaces, concepts or conceptual complexes (Langacker 1987: 147). Linguistic semantics in Cognitive Grammar is held to be encyclopedic and open-ended in nature.

This paper is concerned with verbs which co-occur in strings. Verbs are known to be relational in nature; they are not semantically complete in themselves. They must take some arguments in order to be semantically complete. According to Langacker (1987: 215), a relational predication puts interconnections in profile. Relations are conceptually dependent in nature. One cannot conceptualize interconnections without also conceptualizing the entities they interconnect. However, the verbs or verb phrases occurring in the SVCs under investigation are semantically complete in themselves. Serial verbs are apparently interconnected relational predications. An important question is what factor integrates two semantically complete verbs or verb phrases, which result in the composite structure called SVC. As discussed in section 4.1, valence relations involve the integration of two or more component structures to form a composite structure. They depend on correspondences established between

substructures within the component elements. We might wonder what correspondences hold between two semantically complete verbs and verb phrases in our case. To account for such an integration requires that we have an encyclopedic conception of the semantics of verbs, which takes into consideration both the so-called linguistic and extralinguistic knowledge of the lexical items in question.

In the first type of SVC in which primary action verbs co-occur with non-primary action ones exemplified in (14)-(19), the first verbs express the conventional means and manner of carrying out the actions indicated by the second verbs. The actions expressed by the second verbs are at the same time viewed as the objective in carrying out the actions expressed by the first verbs.

Notice that the correspondences between the first and second verbs in the SVCs in (14)-(19) are not as prominent as those between verbs and nominal arguments, which constitute the prototypical valence relations. It requires extralinguistic knowledge to know that some actions can be seen as the means and manner of carrying out other actions whereas some actions are implemented by means of other actions. For example, only an inclusive semantic characterization of the first verb *phayâknâa* 'nod' in (17) can bring into the picture the action of *hěndûay* 'agree' which can be placed in correspondence with *phayâknâa* 'nod,' thereby permitting the integration of the two verbs to form a coherent composite structure.

In the second type of SVC exemplified in (20)-(26), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the prerequisite actions in carrying out those expressed by the second ones. The latter actions are also regarded as the agents' objectives in carrying out and completing the former ones. As in the first type of SVC, it requires encyclopedic knowledge to detect such nonprototypical correspondences between the two verbs in each SVC.

In the third type of SVC shown in (27)-(33), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the causing actions which give rise to the events expressed by the second verbs. An encyclopedic knowledge of verbs is necessary in identifying such correspondences between the verbs in each SVC.

In the fourth type of SVC shown in (34)-(36), the actions expressed by the first verbs are seen as the agents' postures while performing the actions denoted by the second verbs in the constructions. It requires some extralinguistic knowledge to identify the semantic relatedness or the correspondences between the two verbs in the SVCs. Such correspondences allow the integration of the two verbs into a coherent composite unit.

In summary, the correspondences between the two verbs or verb phrases in the SVCs under investigation are not of the prominent type. The substructures of the component semantic structures overlap, not at the

core, but at the periphery. This fact explains why the verbs in these SVCs are felt to be semantically complete to a large degree. It takes encyclopedic knowledge to detect such nonprominent correspondences between the two verbs in these SVCs. Now we can account for the ill-formedness of sentences (37)-(52) in terms of correspondences. Sentences (37)-(52) are ill-formed as long as we cannot find correspondences between the semantic structures of the two verbs in each sentence.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined the following aspects of the basic nongrammaticalized type of SVC in Thai: (i) characteristics of events expressed by SVCs, (ii) relationships between verbs in SVCs, and (iii) constraints on the serializability of verbs. The events expressed by SVCs are accounted for in terms of the Gestalt Principle, which essentially states that the whole is more than the sum of its parts. It is argued that each SVC expresses a single whole, complex event. An event can be complex in two ways. Firstly, it may consist of separate events which occur sequentially without any intervening time span, and which expresses a unitary, complex event with an additional purposive, causal or resultative meaning. Secondly, an event may consist of multiple event-facets which are not

separable from one another in constituting a complete event. This paper represents another attempt which examines the nature of the event expressed by SVCs in Thai. However, it provides an in-depth analysis of the kinds of event expressed by SVCs in Thai, which will hopefully shed light on the investigation of the nature of events expressed by SVCs across languages. It is also found in this paper that verbs cannot be serialized freely. Verbs which can be serialized must have a common denominator in Wierzbicka's terms, which corresponds to the notion of "correspondences" in Cognitive Grammar. This paper accounts for the serializability of verbs by analyzing semantic correspondences between verbs in SVCs. The correspondences between verbs in SVCs are considered nonprototypical valence relations. Discerning the nonprototypical valence relations requires encyclopedic knowledge. However, the analysis of the valence relations between serial verbs in SVCs is considered preliminary at this stage. Hopefully, the phenomenon of verb serialization will provide some insight into the further study of valence relations in Cognitive Grammar.

Notes

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July 3, 2007

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Dear Associate Professor Kingkarn Thepkanjana,

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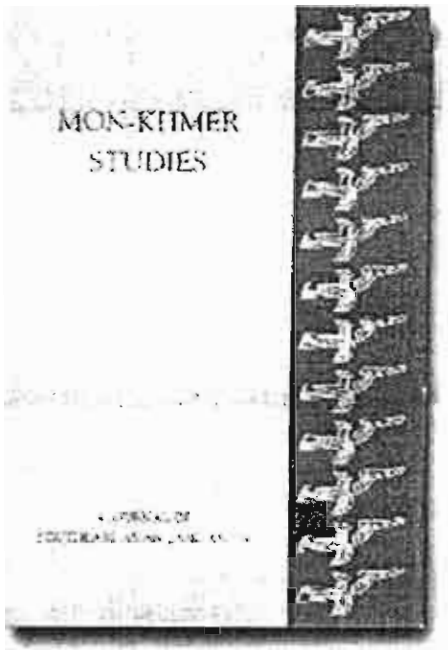

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Semantic Extension of the Verb of Giving in Vietnamese[1]

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1. Introduction

The verb of giving has been extensively examined across languages as evidenced by a large amount of research works such as Huang and Ahrens (1999), Bisang (1996), Iwasaki (1997), Newman (1993, 1996), Rangkupan (1997), Song (1997), Thepkanjana and Uehara (In press), Viberg (2002), Xu (1994), and Yap and Iwasaki (1998). The verb of giving in Vietmanese, namely, *cho*, is worth examining in depth because it has semantic properties which are not found in the verb of giving in other languages as documented in the previous studies. This paper aims at investigating (1) the extended

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meanings of the verb of giving in Vietnamese and (2) the processes of semantic extension of this verb. This paper is divided into five sections. Section two introduces the typological characteristics of Vietnamese and examines the basic meaning of the verb *cho* in detail. Section three examines the extended meanings of *cho* as found in the verb of giving in other languages. Section four examines the extended meanings of *cho* as found in Vietnamese only. The processes of semantic extension are also investigated in sections three and four. Section five concludes the paper.

2. Background

Vietnamese is a language in the Viet-Muang branch in the Mon-Khmer sub-family, which is in turn in the Austro-Asiatic family. It is an official language of the Republic of Vietnam and is spoken by about 85 million people all over the world. It has three dialects: the northern Hanoi dialect, the central Hue dialect and the Southern Saigon dialect. The writing system in use today is an adapted version of the Latin alphabet with additional diacritics for tones and certain letters. Vietnamese is an isolating language with the SVO word order.

The basic meaning of *cho* in Vietnamese is to volitionally transfer the possession or control of a thing from an animate giver to an animate recipient. According to Newman (1997), although the verb of giving in its basic sense

is easily understood, it has a complex structure of semantic components. The cognitively salient components of the basic sense of this verb are described below.

- There are three salient participants: the giver, the recipient and the "gift" or the thing given.
- The action named by the verb is the transfer of possession or control of a thing.
- There is a motion of the thing given.
- The transfer of possession or control must be volitional.
- There are physical interactions between the giver, the thing given and the recipient
- The recipient is the goal of the transfer of possession or control.
- The recipient benefits in some way from the transfer of possession or control.

The verb *cho* occurring in its basic sense must appear in the following syntactic pattern.

(1) [Agent *cho* Recipient Theme]

Example:

(2) *Tôi* *cho* *nó* *hai* *cuốn* *sách*
I give he two classifier book
'I gave him two books.'

The verb *cho* occurring in its basic sense must be followed by the nouns expressing the recipient and the theme respectively as seen in (2). If the theme precedes the recipient, the sentence will be ungrammatical as in (3).

(3) **Tôi* *cho* *hai* *cuốn* *sách* *nó*

I give two classifier book he

It is found that the basic meaning of *cho* extends to a diversity of meanings. Some of the extended meanings are lexical and some others are grammatical. In order to show how the Vietnamese verb of giving is semantically interesting from a crosslinguistic perspective, we will discuss the extended meanings of *cho* in terms of two types of meanings, i.e. the meanings that are found in the verb of giving in other languages as documented in the linguistic literature on this verb and the ones that seem to be characteristic of the verb of giving in Vietnamese only.

3. The extended meanings of *cho* as found in the verb of giving in other languages

It is noted that the extended meanings of *cho* that are also found in the corresponding verb in other languages are mostly grammatical meanings. Grammatical meanings are usually characterized as the meanings which are semantically incomplete in themselves. They must be combined with other lexical meanings in order to express complete thoughts. They express

grammatical functions of words in sentences. According to Sapir (1921), grammatical meanings can be classified into two types: derivational concepts and relational concepts. Derivational concepts express additional concepts of the lexical meanings and are expressed by either bound morphemes or modifiers. Relational concepts indicate relationships among words in sentences and are also expressed by bound morphemes or by function words in closed word classes such as prepositions, conjunctions and discourse markers. The grammatical meanings which are found to be expressed by *cho* are discussed below.

3.1 Dative-marking. The word *cho* can function as the dative marker indicating the recipient of a given thing. The dative-marking *cho* is usually categorized as a preposition and appears with two semantic types of verb, namely, the manually manipulative verb type and the communicative verb type. The former type of verb includes *gửi* 'to send', *trả* 'to return', *bán* 'to sell', *ném* 'to throw', *đưa* 'to hand in' and *giao* 'to present'. Sentence (4) illustrates the dative-marking *cho* occurring with the first type of verb.

(4) *Hoa* *gửi* *thư* *cho* *Lan*

Hoa send letter give Lan

'Hoa sent a letter to Lan.'

The latter type of verb includes such verb as *gọi điện thoại* 'to telephone', *đánh điện* 'to telegram' and *nhắn* 'to leave (a message)'. Sentence (5) illustrates the dative-marking *cho* occurring with this type of verb.

(5) *Tớ* *gọi điện thoại* *cho* *cậu* *ngay,*
I telephone give you immediately
nhưng *máy* *bận*
but machine busy
'I called her immediately but the line was busy.'

The dative-marking function extends from the basic meaning of *cho* by means of metonymy. Metonymy traditionally refers to a figure of speech used in rhetoric and literature. Metonymy is currently playing a crucial in modern linguistics especially in cognitive linguistics. Metonymy as defined by cognitive linguists refers to a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model (Kövecses 2002). Metonymy is therefore an important cognitive process consisting in the transfer of meaning based on associations between contiguous ideas in the same cognitive domain. Viewed from the cognitive perspective, metonymy can give rise to a new primary meaning of a word which used to be a covert element in the original meaning of the word. In the case under discussion, the recipient which is one of the backgrounded concepts contiguous to the basic meaning of *cho* is highlighted or promoted by the metonymic process as a

new primary meaning of *cho*. This semantic extension is supported by the crosslinguistic grammaticalization path of GIVE postulated by Heine and Kuteva (2002), on which the dative-marking function of GIVE is grammaticalized from the basic action of possession transfer.

3.2 Benefactive-marking and malefactive-marking. Some actions can bring about either a good or bad effect to an animate entity involved in the action. In the case under investigation, the action of transferring the possession of an entity typically brings about a good effect to the recipient. This situation can be regarded a prototypical one of the action of giving. In this case, the fact that the animate entity benefits in some way from the act of giving, which is one of the backgrounded meanings in the basic sense of the verb of giving, is promoted as a new primary meaning of the word in the same way as the recipient is as discussed above. The new primary meaning in this case is generally known as the benefactive-marking function. Sentences (6) and (7) illustrate the benefactive-marking function of *cho*.

(6) *Hoa* *lái* *xe* *cho* *bố*

Hoa drive car give father

'Hoa drove the car for this father.'

(7) *Liên* *xây* *nhà* *cho* *Lan*

Lien build house give Lan

'Lien built a house for Lan.'

The benefactive participant across languages is typically an animate entity especially a human being. This fact is understandable because the entity who can benefit from an action is naturally an animate entity. However, the notion of benefactive in Vietnamese can extend to cover inanimate entities, which can be considered a peripheral case of the benefactive as shown in (8) and (9).

(8) *Bố* *mua* *lốp* *mới* *cho* *chiếc* *xe* *cũ*
father buy tyre new give classifier car old
'Father bought a new tyre for the old car.'

(9) *Anh ấy* *để dành* *tiền* *cho* *tương lai*
He save money give future
'He saved money for the future.'

In (8) and (9), the noun phrases *xe cũ* 'old car' and *tương lai* 'future' are figuratively viewed as the entities benefiting from the actions of buying a new tyre and saving money, respectively. In other words, they are personified as the benefactors. This case constitutes the first peripheral case of the benefactive *cho*.

There are two other peripheral cases of the benefactive *cho*. The second peripheral case is the case in which *cho* appears in sentences with non-action verbs as described in (9) and shown in (10) and (11).

(9) [NP1 stative verb (NP2) *cho* NP3]

(10) *Quyển* *sách* *này* *là* *để* *cho* *trẻ em* *từ*

classifier book this be for give child from

bảy *đến* *mười hai* *tuổi*

six to twelve year

'This book is for children whose ages are between 6-12 years old.'

(11) *Vi tính* *có* *ích* *cho* *nhiều* *người*

Computer have benefit give plural people

'Computers are useful for a large number of people.'

The last peripheral case of the benefactive *cho* is the one in which *cho* appears in isolated noun phrases, or in other words, non-sentences. The prototypical case of the benefactive *cho* is the one in which it appears with an action verb in a sentence. The case in which the benefactive *cho* co-occurs with an action verb is prototypical because the fact that a person gets a benefit entails that an action has been carried out in such a way that it yields a positive effect to that person. The peripheral case in which the benefactive *cho* appears in isolated noun phrases is described schematically in (12) and exemplified in (13).

(12) [NP1 *cho* NP2]

(13) *Tiếng* *Việt* *cho* *người* *nước* *ngoài*

language Vietnam give people country outside

'Vietnamese for foreigners.'

We might want to argue that the semantic role of the noun phrases marked by *cho* in the three peripheral cases is target rather than benefactive. Since the target and beneafactive roles are semantically similar and are hard to distinguish, we put them in the same semantic category with a remark about their prototypical and peripheral statuses as the benefactive entity.

The Vietnamese case is interesting because *cho* can mark the animate entity receiving not only a good effect of an action but also a bad effect. The former case is called the benefactive as discussed above whereas the latter case is called the malefactive. The malefactive *cho* typically co-occurs with verbs which inherently express "harming" actions, such as *thoi / đấm* 'to punch', *tát* 'to slap', *chửi* 'to attack verbally', *mắng* 'to scold', *đánh* 'to beat, hit' and *cắn* 'to bite'. Sentences (14) and (15) exemplify the malefactive *cho*.

(14) *Đừng chọc con chó. Nó cắn cho dấy*
do not bully classifier dog it bite give particle
'Do not bully the dog. It might bite you (and have a bad effect on you.)

(15) *Anh ấy thoi cho thằng Pháp một quả*
he punch give French person one classifier
'He gave a punch to a French person (and yielded a bad effect on him.)'

As in the case of the dative-marking *cho*, the benefactive-marking and malefactive-marking *cho*'s are derived by means of metonymy. The person or entity which receives an effect from an action carried out by an agent, which

is a backgrounded meaning in the basic sense of the act of giving, is mentally accessed by the metonymic process and subsequently promoted as a new primary meaning of *cho*. If the effect is positive, *cho* will be benefactive-marking. If the effect is undesirable, *cho* will be malefactive-marking.

3.3 Causative-marking. Cho can function as a causative verb marking indirect causation in the analytic causative construction. In indirect causation, the causer lets, or does not prevent, the causer from accomplishing the caused event; the causer does not bring about the caused event directly. Sentences (16) and (17) exemplify the causative-marking function of *cho*.

(16) *Chị* *cho* *tôi* *mượn* *cái* *kéo*

you (f) give I borrow classifier scissors

'You(f) let me borrow the scissors.'

(17) *Công nhân* *cho* *máy* *chạy*

worker give machine run, work

'The worker let the machine work.'

The causative verb *cho* in Vietnamese constitutes an interesting case from a typological perspective because it can co-occur with the verbs *biết* 'to know', *thấy* 'to see' and *đến* or *tới* 'to arrive' in the causative construction to express the concepts which are realized by single verbs in other languages such as Thai and English as discussed below.

The combination of the causative *cho* and the verb *biết* 'to know' in the causative construction literally expresses the indirect causative meaning of letting somebody know something as exemplified in (18) and (19). This meaning is realized as single verbs in other languages such as *bɔ̀ɔk* 'to tell' and *cɛ̂ɛŋ* 'to inform' in Thai. It is found that the causee is optional in the causative construction of *cho biết* 'let know'.

(18) *Tôi* <u>*cho*</u> *anh Nam biết ngày mai tôi cưới vợ*
I give brother Nam know tomorrow I get married
'I told Brother Nam (let Brother Nam know) that I will get married tomorrow.'

(19) *Anh ấy* <u>*cho*</u> *biết ngày mai không đi học*
he give know tomorrow not go study
'He told (let know) that he would not go to study tomorrow.'

The combination of the causative *cho* and *thấy* 'to see' in the causative construction literally expresses the meaning of letting someone see something as in (20). This meaning is realized by single verbs in other languages such as *sədæŋ* 'to show'. It is common that the causee is not present in the causative construction of *cho thấy* 'let see'.

(20) *Điều này* <u>*cho*</u> *thấy tiếng Anh rất quan trọng*
thing this give see language English much important
'This thing shows (lets see) that English is very important.'

The causative construction consisting of the causative verb *cho* and *đến* or *tới* 'to arrive' literally means to let (time) proceed until a certain point of time. The causing event is to let time proceed and the caused event is that time has reached a certain point. This causative meaning is equivalent to the preposition *conkrathâŋ* in Thai or *until* in English. Sentence (21) illustrates this causative construction.

(21) *Khu* *nhà* *chúng tôi* *sống* *hết sức* *êm đềm,*

surrounding area house we live extremely peaceful

hầu như *chưa* *xảy ra* *sự cố* *gì* *cho* *tới* *hôm nay*

almost not yet happen problem what give arrive day this

'The surrounding area of the house where we live is very peaceful.

There has never been any problems up until now.'

The causative construction consisting of the causative verb *cho* and another verb indicating the caused event as described above can in principle allow the noun phrase expressing the causee to intervene between *cho* and the verb naming the caused event. However, it is found that the causee is not present in most instances of the causative sentences of this type. We should therefore note that the constant absence of the causee paves the way for the causative constructions to be lexicalized and to express single concepts of telling, showing and until. We suspect that the causative constructions consisting of *cho* and the verbs *biết* 'to know', *thấy* 'to see' and *đến* or *tới* 'to

arrive' are now on the way to become lexicalized phrases. The causative constructions will cease to exhibit semantic transparency by the time they become lexicalized.

The causative-marking function of *cho* is derived from the basic sense of the act of giving by means of the metaphoric process. The transfer of possession or control of an entity from the giver to the recipient, which is the basic sense of the act of giving, metaphorically extends to the transfer of control of an action from the causer to the causee. The situation in which the causer lets the causee perform an action is equivalent to the transfer of control of an action from the causer to the cause, which is in turn metaphorically viewed as the transfer of possession or control of an entity.

3.4 Purposive-marking. Cho can function as the connector indicating a purpose in carrying out an action. Newman (1996:180) claims that the purpose-marking GIVE connects two clauses with each other. The agent performs an action expressed by the first clause in order that a certain event expressed by the second clause takes place. However, the second event does not necessarily take place because it merely represents the purpose of the agent in the first clause in performing the action. The purposive-marking function of *cho* is exemplified in (22) and (23).

(22) *Thủ tướng* *ra* *lệnh* *cho* *quân đội* *sẵn sàng chiến đấu*
Prime Minister issue order give army be ready fight

'The Prime Minister ordered that the army be ready to fight.'

(23) *Em* *sẽ* *hát* *cho* *anh* *nghe*

I will sing give you listen

'I will sing for you to listen.'

When the purposive-marking *cho* co-occurs with a stative verb, it expresses a manner of performing an action as shown in (24).

(24) *Dao* *cùn* *phải* *mài* *đi* *cho* *sắc*

knife blunt must sharpen go give sharp

'A blunt knife must be sharpened in such a way that it is sharp.'

In (24), the verb *sắc* 'be sharp' represents the purpose of performing the action of sharpening the blunt knife. However, in order to accomplish this goal, the agent must sharpen the knife in such a way or manner that it becomes sharp. It is apparent that the manner meaning is closely associated with the purposive one. The semantic closeness between the two meanings lends the purposive *cho* to be interpreted as the manner-marking *cho* in some contexts as shown above.

The purposive-marking function of *cho* extends from the causative-marking one by means of metonomy. The semantic component in the causative meaning which is mentally accessed by the metonymic process and promoted as the primary meaning of the purposive one is the volition of the causer in doing something to the causee so that the causee will perform another event.

4. The extended meanings of *cho* as found in Vietnamese only

In this section, we will discuss the extended meanings of *cho* which are not found in the linguistic literature of the verb of giving in other languages. The two extended meanings of *cho* to be examined in this section are incidentally lexical meanings. Sapir (1921:102) defines lexical meanings as the meanings which are complete in themselves. The words which express lexical meanings are content words such as nouns, verbs and adjectives.

4.1 To supply or to put something in a container. Cho can function as a verb meaning to supply or to put something in a container as shown below.

(25) *Mẹ* *cho* *than* *vào* *lò*

mother give charcoal enter stove

'Mother put the charcoal in the stove.'

In sentence (25), the main verb *cho* is followed by two noun phrases indicating the entity in motion and the container respectively. In this case, the action of moving something and putting it in a container is derived metonymically from the basic action of giving in that the backgrounded meaning of displacement of a given entity is mentally accessed and promoted as a primary meaning. The new primary meaning of *cho* thus focuses on the motion of the theme. The notion of recipient in a giving action extends to that of container in a moving action. The recipient and the container notions share

a semantic property in that both function as the goal of the giving and the moving actions. It is noted that the verb *cho* in this sense must co-occur with the word *vào* 'enter'. However, the noun phrase indicating the container may be omitted if it can be recovered from context. In this case, the word *vào* 'enter' does not appear in the sentence as in (26).

(26) *Khi ăn phở tôi thường cho hai thìa ớt*
when eat noodles I usually give two spoon chili
'When I eat noodles, I usually put two spoonfuls of chili (in the noodles.)'

4.2 To give an opinion. The verb *cho* meaning to give an opinion occurs in combination with *rằng* or *là* which functions as a complementizer and is followed by a clause. These two complementizers are functionally equivalent with the complementizer *wâa* in Thai. The verb *cho* with this meaning is characterized by the facts that its subject must be human and that there must not be a direct object noun phrase following it as shown in (27).

(27) *Tôi cho rằng quyển sách này sẽ bán rất chạy*
I give COMP classifier book this will sell much run
'I suppose that this book will sell very well.'

The meaning of giving an opinion is derived metaphorically from the basic sense of GIVE. The transfer of possession or control of an entity is metaphorically mapped to the action of transferring an opinion from the

which are characteristic of isolating languages such as verb serialization, grammaticalization, polyfunctionality of words and polysemy.

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