GRAMMATICALIZATION OF DEVERBAL MARKERS: TOWARD A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY IN THE SEMANTIC EXTENSION OF MOTION VERBS

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0 Introduction  
The development of serial verbs into other grammatical categories has been widely studied, e.g. Matisoff (1991), Heine et al. (1991), Lord (1993), Bisang (1996). In this paper we will take a close look at some motion verbs in Thai, namely, pøj ‘to go’, and mua ‘to come’, cãak ‘to leave’, thãy ‘to arrive’, lôy ‘to pass, exceed’, and examine directions of their semantic extensions. The presentation is mainly data-oriented, but the cognitive basis of semantic extension will also be discussed.

1 Background and Proposed Patterns  
Concerning the functions of serial verbs, Thepkanjana (1986) has stated the following characterizations: (a) complementing the initial verb, which results in the semantic implications of causative, passive, or resultative; (b) indicating direction and aspect; (c) acting as grammatical markers and/or case markers, i.e. coverbs; and (d) indicating purposive and simultaneous actions (for the functional extensions of Thai verbs, also cf. Kolver 1984, Areemit 1986, Bilmes 1995). However, she did not fully discuss the pathways of semantic extension of the verbs we are going to discuss. We start from Bisang (1996: 575), who proposes two pathways of grammaticalization in the domain of verb (a list of abbreviations is given at the end of this paper; CV=causative verb).

(1)  

(XXI) V --> RES --> Vd --> TAM  

(XXII) V --> CV --> CONJV  

--> COV --> CONJV

These pathways are found across Mainland Southeast Asian languages, but it is also known that they are not strictly unidirectional processes. Rather, the Thai verbs in question still maintain their original meanings and verbal functions while developing into

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grammatical units. Keeping this in mind, we propose two directions of change in (2), which show mapping from prototypical meanings to extended grammatical meanings. Note that the extended meanings are in the hierarchical relations to each other.

(2) Type I:
V --> Vd --> TAM --> COV --> CONJV --> CONV --> LEX
Type II:
V --> COV --> CLM (LEX)

We divide the five motion verbs we take up into two groups based on our proposed patterns in (2). In the next section, we will illustrate them with examples taken from narrative data. They are natural spoken discourse by Thai native speakers based on the animated film ‘Pingu: The Most Cheerful Penguin in the World’. Also, some examples are taken from two Thai narrative stories as supplementary data.²

2 Two Directions of Grammaticalization
The two directions of grammaticalization in the domain of motion verbs we wish to propose are based on the idea that synchronically observed polyfunctionality patterns should reflect processes of semantic extension (which we call “motivation approach”, cf. Ohori 1998). Below are relevant examples:

2.1 Type I: V --> Vd --> TAM --> COV --> CONJV --> CONV --> LEX
The first array of functional extensions is summarized in Table 1. Type I features various uses of paj and maa where the function of a lexical word extends into a grammatical word with such functions as directional verb, tense-aspect-modality marker, coverb, conjunctive verb, and converb. Then through the process of lexicalization, it shifts into a particular meaning which functions as an eventual marker.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>paj ‘to go’</th>
<th>maa ‘to come’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>to move away from the speaker’s viewpoint</td>
<td>to move towards the speaker’s viewpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vd</td>
<td>away from the speaker’s viewpoint</td>
<td>towards the speaker’s viewpoint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>pass away progression imperative sense 1PL ‘let’s’ 2SG/PL direction</td>
<td>up to the present continuity imperative sense 1PL ‘let’s’ 2SG/PL direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COV(+NP)</td>
<td>‘to’ indicating what is the same as paj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² The two Thai narrative stories are:
(a) ‘taam sadet klaj bāan’ or Retour the route to Europe as visited by King Rama V. Amporn Jirattikorn, Bangkok, Matichon Publisher, 2540 (1997)
(b) ‘phūtuan’ or Friends, prabhatson sewikun, Bangkok, dēk-yaa Publisher, 4th edition, 2540 (1997)
reached or approached
CONJV purposive the same as paj
sequential
CONV\(^3\) \(V \text{ paj}\) \(V \text{ paj}\) not applicable
indicating two on-going actions
LEX \(V \text{ paj}\) \(V \text{ maa}\) -- indicating repetition of the action -- shifting to a
particular meaning which denotes the eventuality and functions as an
eventual marker (showing adverb-like function)

(3) paj

\(V\)

a. khòphkhun màak phôm \text{ paj} kòðn
thank you very much I (MASC) GO:\(V\) before
ná? kráp
SFM POLITE
‘Thank you very much. I have to go now.’

\(Vd\)

b. pingu kho? pràtUU hâŋnâam lééw pàd dàøn
Pingu knock door toilet CONJ open walk
khùw \text{ paj}
enter GO:\(Vd\)
‘Pingu knocked on the door, opened it and walked into the toilet.’

\(TAM\)

c. pingu kò? nòón kòøt tükkata thìi mëe
Pingu CONJ lie hold teddy bear REL M mother
hâj maa con làp \text{ paj}
give come CONJ sleep GONE:pass away
‘Pingu held the teddy bear that his mother had prepared for him until he fell
asleep.’
d. lééw lòøk pengûin kò? dàøn \text{ paj} dàøn
then child penguin CONJ walk go walk
\text{ paj} rûtuay rûtuay
GO:progression continuously
‘Then little penguin (Pingu) kept on walking continuously.’
e. \text{ paj} raw klàp kanthò nawa
let’s we return together Nawa
‘Nawa, let’s go back.’
f. \text{ paj} khùw hâŋnâam dâj lééw
direction enter toilet possibility now
‘Go to the toilet now.’

\(^3\) The Term CONV (converb) is defined here as a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to
mark adverbial subordination (cf. Haspelmath 1995:3).
COV

g. wannī pen wan thii pingu că đọächtaañ
today COPULA day REL M Pingu will travel
paj bāañ pāał khondiaaw
TO:COV house aunt alone
‘Today is the day that Pingu will travel to his aunt’s house alone.’

CONJV

h. pingu đọał paj cāo bāañ lāŋ nūŋ
Pingu walk GO:CONJV find house CLF one
‘Pingu walked and then found a house.’ (sequential)
i. phr̥? wan nǐ pingu că đọächtaañ paj hāa khun pāał
because day this Pingu will travel GO:CONJV see HO aunt
‘Because Pingu will go to see his aunt today.’ (purposive)

CONV

j. raw đọał paj khui paj kanthò
we walk GO talk GO together
‘Let’s walk along and talk together.’

LEX

k. pingu tham taa klin klin paj maa
Pingu make eyes roll roll GO COME
‘Pingu rolled his eyes round repetitively.’
l. tēe kōn mēe kī? mājdaŋ sōncai
from before mother CONJ NEG be interested in
duŋdaaw rōk tēe... (omitted) kruu hāj
stars PRT but teacher give
tham raayñaan... (omitted) paj paj maa maa
do report GO GO COME COME
kāĩbāaj hān maa chōap duu daaw paj dūay
CONJ turn come like look star go too
‘I hadn’t been interested in the stars before, but after my teacher ordered me to
write a report (about the astronomer), at last I began to like the star too.’

(4) maa

V

a. khāw maa roonqian sāay thūk wan
s/he COME:V school late every day
‘S/he comes to school late everyday.’

Vd

b. mii rōt khōŋ khāp phāan maa
there is car carry thing drive pass COME:Vd
‘There is a freight car coming by.’

TAM

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4 rōk is a particle used after a negative statement to make the sense milder.