

## A THAI DISCOURSE PATTERN

Howard Hatton

United Bible Societies and University of Pennsylvania

### Introduction

In recent years more and more attention has been paid by linguists to the analysis of units of discourse larger than the sentence; for it has been found that analysis of sentences in isolation misses many important meaningful relationships that exist between sentences--that sentences are not thrown together indiscriminately, but there is selection (conscious or unconscious by the speaker) and ordering. Therefore, no matter what the "difference in theory, terminology ... all this can be said to have a common concern--the isolation of linguistic features that differentiate a coherent (connected) sequence of sentences (a text) from an agglomerate of sentences."<sup>1</sup> But preoccupation with merely surface structure features such as sentence connectivity or equivalence chain recursions as was attempted by Harris (1952, 1963) can also be misleading and unrewarding unless *meaning* is brought into the analysis. This latter Harris was not willing to allow for.

Many linguists, therefore, are beginning to probe beneath the surface phenomena of language to ascertain the *meaningful* relationships that reside at the more abstract levels of language. Thus, the notion that all that linguists need to study and analyze are well-formed sentences in isolation, which are the product of an homogeneous speech community (Chomsky, 1965), or that one must be confined to sentence boundaries, is becoming increasingly suspect as more and more investigation is being pursued to ascertain the true status of *deep structure* and the relation of semantic configurations to syntactic structures. The Chomskyan notion of deep structure as being composed of "lexical items each with its complement of grammatical features" which are transformed into surface structures,<sup>2</sup> and that the semantic component is, as it were, off to one side and available to both the deep structure and surface structure for picking meanings through rules of semantic interpretation, has been seriously questioned by linguists such as McCawley (1968, 1971) Chafe (1970) and, recently, Lakoff (1971). McCawley insists that it is in the deepest structure of deep semantics that the plot, setting, participant identification and other information resides. For instance, in reference to the choice of pronoun morphemes in Japanese, McCawley says, "I believe that what is going on here is that the choice of pronouns and verbs is dependent on features attached to the entire discourse rather than to individual lexical items and that the politeness morpheme *mas* is attached by a transformation to the appropriate verb if the relevant discourse features are present."<sup>3</sup> In this same vein he says, "In the case of non-anaphoric (that is, deictic) pronouns, the choice of gender is always made on the basis of presuppositions concerning the intended referent."<sup>4</sup>

In Standard Thai, before using a first person pronoun, the

speaker employs certain sociolinguistic rules (rules internalized since childhood) that determine which pronouns, out of a grid of over twenty, will be used (Cooke 1968; Palakornkul 1972; Hatton 1973). "A choice of pronominal variants is not made arbitrarily. On the contrary, there are systematic rules to guide and govern the speaker's choice."<sup>5</sup> Of course, in most instances, the factors of sex, age, social status, etc., are well-known by the speaker, but in other instances there is a conscious selection on the part of the speaker. In both cases there is first a cognitive decision affected by the rules mentioned above and then there is a selection of a linearized lexical item which verbalizes the speaker's intention.

Chafe (1970) equates the deep structure of language with *semantics* and insists that these semantic configurations are linearized in post-semantic processes, and then are realized in the surface structure through various transformations. Further processes take place before the realization of these configurations on the phonological stratum.<sup>6</sup>

One of the more serious attempts at discourse analysis on a deeper and more abstract level has been attempted recently by Grimes and Glock (1970) in their analysis of Saramaccan narrative patterns. They note several interesting things:

1. Verb Phrase Strings. They observe first of all the difficulty of dealing with verb phrase strings where there are "referential restrictions that involve partial ordering of events by time, so that no verb in a string denotes action that takes place before the action of a verb that comes earlier in the string. There are also restrictions on the place of occurrence of certain verbs relative to others. These restrictions are hard to manage in terms of surface grammars alone; but in terms of the relation of deep structures to grammar ..."<sup>7</sup>

It seems, though, that the relationships of these verbs described by Grimes and Glock could take the form of types or roles and case relations (Fillmore 1968). Some work on this aspect has been done by Taber (1966), Nida (1973) and recently by Grimes (1972). The work of the latter two is of special interest for the theoretical working out of this present paper and will be discussed in more detail later (cf. Method of Analysis, p. 7).

2. Old and New Information. There is also the problem of *new* and *old* information which is vital to an analysis of discourse structure (Halliday 1967). Grimes and Glock note in their article that often because of the constraints of *old information*, sentences can carry very little new semantic material. So that in a sentence such as a-bai sopu 'he-bought soap,' both the subject a- 'he' and the verb bai 'buy' are old information carried over from preceding sentences. Only sopu 'soap,' being *new* information, is added by the semantic deep structure.

3. Semantic Redundancy. These linguists also trace the use of

'motion verbs' which recur regularly in the narration of a trip, and how these are cycled through the discourse. They note that in one discourse unit, semantic information (motion verbs) which is spelled out in four sentences, uses only two sentences later on to state a similar amount of information. They conclude, "It is evidence of the kind just given that makes sentence oriented grammars seem less complete than they once did. It is also one reason why sentences are treated as part of the surface grammar and not as part of the deep structure."<sup>8</sup>

4. Directional Verbs. Grimes and Glock were also able to deduce that a certain Saramaccan text, which they elicited, must have been uttered in the area of Paramaibo. They based this conclusion on an analysis of the patterns of distribution of the verbs 'come' and 'go'.<sup>9</sup> This phenomenon appears in Thai discourse also, and will be discussed later in this paper.

There is one further factor which needs consideration, for it has loomed large in recent discussions by linguists--and that is the matter of *language competence* and the related notion of *well-formed* and *ill-formed* sentences. The idea that all linguists need to do is to analyze well-formed sentences in isolation is becoming increasingly suspect as more and more work is being done on the true role of deep structure and its relationship to semantics. The notion of *well-formedness* needs to be widened to take in the discourse unit as a whole, for a sentence that might be considered ill-formed in isolation might actually be well-formed when taken in relation to the whole discourse. Conversely, a so-called well-formed sentence in isolation might be ill-formed when placed in the context of extended discourse and in the light of socio-cultural rules. For instance, there might be a noun or a noun phrase in the subject position when a pronoun would be adequate, as the noun or noun phrase has become old information. But a supposedly ill-formed sentence might have ellipsis where a pronoun does not appear in the surface structure at all, and yet when the sentence is considered in the light of the discourse context, the pronoun which represents old information is obviously present at some deeper level, and is certainly present as a semantic unit.

Palakornkul in her discussion of Thai pronominal strategy says, "... in dyadic speech communication in Thai which involves one sender, one receiver and one referent, all nouns and pronouns can be deleted and the sentence remain perfectly grammatical."<sup>10</sup> The point here, though, is that deleted nouns or pronouns which appeared as linearized lexical items in the surface structure are still present as semantic units even though surface ellipsis has occurred.

Linguists are still grappling with the problem of determining on which level of the grammar these pronominalized forms are realized. Chafe reasons that "... if linear order is relevant to the determination of what can be pronominalized, then pronominalization must take place after linearization."<sup>11</sup> But in extended discourse, as long as the noun or noun phrase is old information, whether it appears in pronominalized form or not, in the surface structure, it still continues on as seman-

tic 'stuff' or information in a deep level of abstraction. This also will be discussed in more detail later in this paper.

A sentence in well-formed discourse will have such features as anaphora in the form of third person pronouns or articles ('the' in English) which have the intra-textual function of pointing back to old information, or there may be ellipsis such as in a one-word answer given to a question composed of several words. This one-word answer is a well-formed sentence when considered in the light of previous discourse.

Furthermore, the notion of *linguistic competence* must go beyond the purely grammatical rules of language (Hymes 1968) and take in the socio-cultural rules of language use. Chomsky admits that "grammaticalness is only one of the many factors that interact to determine acceptability."<sup>12</sup> But he nowhere allows for socio-cultural factors that will mold the meaningful relationships between elements in sentences or elements across sentence boundaries. Because of this lack in Generative Transformational theory, Hymes argues for a theory of competence where "socio-cultural factors have an explicit and constitutive role."<sup>13</sup> In the same vein Chafe says, "... a theory of competence must bear a relationship to language use, and there is no reason that it is a virtue for this relationship to be as obscure as possible ... a theory of competence which is more closely related to performance is preferable to one which is more distantly related."<sup>14</sup> Fortunately, many linguists are taking this avenue of linguistic research seriously and are presently carrying on research in many languages. This present paper is a modest attempt to deal with a feature which plays an important role in Thai discourse, namely, *directional verbs*.

### Method of Analysis

General. The following analysis of Thai discourse will attempt to use some of the notions advanced by scholars who were mentioned in the introduction to this paper, in order to find the *meaningful* relations in the deep semantics of Thai discourse. I will take a short unit of Standard Thai discourse (a paragraph of narrative) which has appeared in a novel called *The Four Kingdoms* by Kukrit Pramoj, a famous Thai novelist and newspaperman.<sup>15</sup> particular attention will be paid to the sentence S<sub>6</sub> (cf. Thai text, p. 10) which will be used as a sample sentence. I will not rigorously define the notion 'sentence' because throughout this analysis I will be dealing with the manner in which the elements that form these surface sentences relate to other elements in the discourse unit in terms of their deep semantic components. I will attempt to show that such sentences as S<sub>6</sub> are ambiguous when analyzed in isolation and considered in their surface form only. In other words, S<sub>6</sub> can be *translated* cross-culturally (in this paper into English) only when the semantic structure of this sentence and surrounding sentences has been analyzed.



I will pay particular attention to the matters of *old* and *new* information, anaphora, socio-linguistic presuppositions<sup>16</sup> and directionality of *events* in time and space. These are all vital to an understanding of what is happening in Thai discourse.

Specific. I will attempt to develop the insights of Grimes and Nida concerning role and case relations in discourse structure. Nida (1973) develops the notion of *Nuclear Structures* "which consist of an event nucleus and various types of satellites in case relation to the event ... case relations may be indicated only by the order and selection of particular classes of constituents. As a basis for analysis what counts is not the formal structure but the semantic relations."<sup>17</sup> Nida would say that a sentence such as the following,

(1) Tom saw her coming

has two underlying nuclear structures, namely:

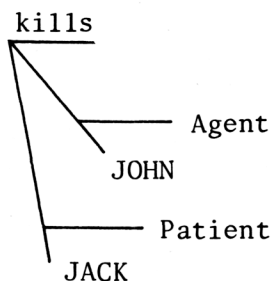
- a. Tom saw her
- b. She comes

These are formalized on a deep level of abstraction in a way similar to these formulations:

(2) Object<sub>1</sub>(Agent) Event<sub>1</sub>(action) Object<sub>2</sub>(Patient)<sup>18</sup>

(3) Object<sub>2</sub>(Agent) Event<sub>2</sub>(stative)

Grimes' approach to this is similar to Nida's except that he uses different terminology. He calls "nuclear structures" *propositions*. These propositions are composed of *arguments* and *predicates*, where the predicate has the logical function of expressing a semantic relationship between two or more items (Nida's *objects*) which are called *arguments*.<sup>19</sup> This expression, consisting of the predicate and its arguments, is a *proposition*. So the English sentence 'Jack kills John' is a proposition which has two arguments that are related by the predicate 'kill'. Grimes, like Nida takes into consideration role relationships, so that the proposition above would diagram as follows:



On the other hand, Nida's linearized formulation of this sentence would be something like the following:

(4) John kills Jack - Object<sub>1</sub>(Agent) Event(Action) Object<sub>2</sub>(Patient)

Part of the Thai discourse unit which will be analyzed in this paper will be reduced to nuclear structures in a similar fashion to Nida's model in order to find the true relationships between the various surface structure sentences so as to be able to translate  $S_6$  and the rest of the unit of discourse successfully. I will also note the various relationships between nuclear structures, such as additive, disjunctive, unfolding and if necessary will show any logical relationships which will affect the choice of surface structure lexical items.

### Translation

Translation is not a surface phenomenon in language. This has become evident in the experience of linguists who have engaged in cross-cultural translation. The process of translation, especially between non-cognate languages, involves the redistribution of semantic components through the selection of different transformations, or in the case of a discourse unit, for the reordering of the sentences to better fit the textual order of the receptor language. So, it is held that the sentences  $S_6$  in the following unit of Thai discourse is ambiguous and thus untranslatable, until a rigorous analysis has been made of the semantic components of the sentence and then its relationship to other sentences in the discourse has been analyzed carefully.

### The Text<sup>20</sup>

		1	2	3	4 - 5	6				
S <sub>1</sub>	-	phlɔɔj N	dæən walk	khâam across	laan-bâan lawn	cháa-cháa ... <sup>21</sup> very slowly				
		7	8	9	10	11				
S <sub>2</sub>	-	phlɔɔj N	dæən walk	phàan DIR	tôn-khǎaw-kràdææ tree - kradææ	...				
		12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
S <sub>3</sub>	-	thúg jàaŋ every-thing	rɤag call	phlɔɔj N	háj to	jùd stop	háj to	líaw turn	mɔɔŋ look	
		21	22	23	24 - 25	26	27	28	29	30
S <sub>4</sub>	-	tææ but	phlɔɔj N	kôʔ CNJ	kâaw-khǎa step-out	dæən walk	paj DIR	con up	thǎyŋ to	bandaj stairs
		31	32							
		lǎŋ behind	tỳg house							

	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
S <sub>5</sub>	- phɔɔ	thỹ	chàliǎŋ	phlɔɔj	kôʔ	lɔŋ	khlaan
	as soon as	AUX	verandah	N	CNJ	get down	crawl

	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47
S <sub>6</sub>	- phɔɔ	khâw	paj	klâj	câw-khun-phôɔ	kôʔ	lɔŋ	
	as soon as	enter	go	near	T father	CNJ	get down	
		DIR	DIR					

48  
kràab  
prostrate oneself (to show reverence)

	49	50	51	52 - 53	54	55	56	57
S <sub>7</sub>	- lǎaw	kôʔ	nâŋ	kôm-nâa	ʔaw	myy	kháʔ	kràdaan
	then	CNJ	sit	bow-head	take	hand	pick at	floor

58	59
kææ	khúaj
cover	embarrassment

	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67
S <sub>8</sub>	- rɔɔ	faŋ	wâa	thân	càʔ	phûud	wâa	jàaŋraj
	wait	hear	RLTV	PRN	AUX	say	RLTV	what

	68	69	70	71
S <sub>9</sub>	- (a)	mýa	nâŋ	jùu
		when	sit	AUX
				sàg-khrûu-nyŋ
				a moment

	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79
S <sub>10</sub>	- mǎj	mii	sǎŋ	ʔàraj	càag	câw-khun-phôɔ	lǎej	
	NEG	have	sound	any	from	T father	at all	

	80	81	82	83	84	85	86
	nôog-càag	sǎŋ	kràʔæm	lǎʔ	sǎŋ	bûan	náam-màag
	aside from	sound	clearing	CNJ	sound	spit	betel-nut juice
			throat				

	87	88	89	90	91
S <sub>9</sub>	- (b)	phlɔɔj	kôʔ	lɔŋ	kràab
		N	CNJ	get down	prostrate
					ʔlig-khráŋ-nyŋ
					once more

		92	93	94	95	96	97
S <sub>11</sub>	-	lǎaw	khlaan	thǎɔj	paj	thaan	bandaj
		then	crawl	DIR	DIR	towards	stairs

## Analysis

1. Zero Anaphora. Standard Thai has a very complex pronominal reference system (especially in the area of first and second person pronouns), because of the necessity in dyadic situations of establishing the socio-linguistic factors of age, sex, social status, etc. Despite this, however, narrative discourse is full of *zero anaphora* in the surface structure, as in the sample sentence S<sub>6</sub> and other sentences in the discourse unit under discussion. In fact, the employment of a third person pronoun in S<sub>6</sub> would not only be poor style but would sound redundant and queer to a Thai. English would have required two instances of the word *she* in this sentence--once before the word khǎw and the second time before the word lon.<sup>22</sup> This phenomenon of zero anaphora is found right through the whole unit of discourse. In fact, in the surface structure after S<sub>5</sub> there is *no* explicit anaphoric reference to phlǎɔj again until S<sub>9(b)</sub> where phlǎɔj comes into focus again, since the embedded material concerning the actions of her father has intervened between S<sub>6</sub> and S<sub>9(b)</sub>.

2. Directional Forms. These words are variously called Post-Position verbs (Noss, 1964), Post Verbals (Panupong, 1970), Secondary Verbs (Haas, 1964), Verboids (Edward, 1964) and Auxiliary Verbs (Mundhenk, 1967). However, all these linguists agree that the directional forms do not function grammatically as real verbs in their position following the main verb of a clause, but are auxiliaries which shape the meaning of the predication as to its direction in time and space. "The class meaning is orientation of action with respect to space and time relationships and the forms together constitute a kind of aspectual system for the verb."<sup>23</sup>

This set of directional forms can be divided into three sub-sets. The first one is composed of the lexical items khǎw, ʔǎɔg, khŷn and lon, which in this analysis will be labelled DIR<sub>1</sub>. These have very complex internal relationships and exclude each other entirely. The second sub-set includes the forms paj and maa, which will be labelled DIR<sub>2(a)</sub> and DIR<sub>2(b)</sub>, respectively. This sub-set has the main function of showing directionality in reference to a participant who is the focus of attention in the discourse.<sup>24</sup> For instance, in a sentence such as the following (5),

- (5) naaj    dam    ʔǎɔg    maa    càag    hǎɔn  
       Mr.    N    leave DIR<sub>2(b)</sub> from    room

the maa indicates that the focus of attention lies with a participant outside the room. So the translation would be (6):

- (6) Mr. Dam *came* out of the room.

In (6) we get the impression that someone other than Mr. Dam is the participant in focus because of the use of the word *came*. But the translation of a slightly different Thai sentence (7),

- (7) naaj     dam     dæen     ʔɔ̀ɔŋ     maa     càag     hɔ̀ɔŋ  
       Mr.     N     walk     DIR<sub>1</sub>     DIR<sub>2</sub>(b)     from     room

would be as the following (8):

- (8) Mr. Dam *walked* out of the room.

This English translation cannot clearly represent the directionality regarding participants that is present in the Thai unless we add, for instance, the preposition *towards* in English, resulting in the following sentence (9):

- (9) Mr. Dam walked out of the room *towards* us.

A final remark concerning this sub-set is that all the members can co-occur with the members of sub-set I.

The third sub-set contains such words as phàan and thɔ̀ɔj, which will be labelled DIR<sub>3</sub>. This sub-set can co-occur with both sub-set I and II, but always follows either immediately after the main verb or after the noun or noun phrase immediately following the main verb.<sup>25</sup> The following sentence is an example (10):

- (10) khǎw     dæen     thɔ̀ɔj     paj     thaan     bandaj  
       PRN     walk     DIR<sub>3</sub>     DIR<sub>2</sub>(a)     toward     stair

All these directional forms that we have been discussing can function as main verbs in the surface structure of the language, and thus one would be tempted structurally to call them homonyms. Semantically, they still contain the component of directionality, but where they are main verbs, the component of an event or action becomes foremost, with the presupposition of an *agent* being involved and also the option of a *goal* (Fillmore, 1971). For instance, in the following sentence (11):

- (11) mǎa-waan-níi     phǔm     paj     krunthêeb  
       yesterday     PRN     go     Bangkok

the paj now has more than a semantic component of directionality; for it has become the main *event* word in the sentence, carrying with it the component of action directed towards Bangkok. But in (12),

- (12) mǎa-waan-níi     phǔm     khàb     ród     paj     krunthêeb  
       yesterday     PRN     drive     car     DIR<sub>2</sub>(a)     Bangkok

the main semantic component of paj is now directionality.

## Analysis of Sample Sentence S<sub>6</sub>

In sample sentence S<sub>6</sub>, the problem is whether the form khâw is semantically an *event* or is merely showing the component of directionality. Syntactically it is the main verb of a clause in the surface structure; but we need to investigate the surrounding context to ascertain its real function semantically. Taking this sentence in isolation, there would be no way of knowing which of the two English Translations (13) or (14) is essentially the correct one.

(13) As soon as (she) *went in* (to the verandah) close to ...<sup>26</sup>

(14) As soon as (she) *got* close to ...

(13) indicates that she (phlɔɔj) is *entering* an enclosed area and approaching her father; but (14) shows that she is already *in* the enclosed area and has got near to her father. Here the notion of 'physical space' becomes important.<sup>27</sup> phlɔɔj is entering the physical space envelope around her father. Of course the narrator could have made this information more explicit in the surface structure by saying (15):

(15) phɔɔ      khlaan      khâw      paj      klâj ...  
          as soon as crawl      DIR<sub>1</sub>      DIR<sub>2</sub>(a)      near to ...

Where the insertion of the verb khlaan would have clearly shown what *event* was going on, and also revealed that khâw is functioning as a directional form. But that would have been redundant, for the previous context already shows the meaning of this sentence clearly. A similar example of this phenomenon is in a sentence such as the following (16):

(16) naaj      dam      dæen      khâw      paj      hãa      cãw-naaj      khãw  
          Mr.      N      walk      DIR<sub>1</sub>      DIR<sub>2</sub>(a)      see      boss      PRN

if Mr. Dam is outside the boss' office and someone has come out and told him to go in and see his boss. Then the sentence (16) would translate as in (17):

(17) Mr. Dam walked *in* to see his boss.

for he is outside the room and walking into an enclosed space. But if the man is already in the office and his boss calls over to him

(18) Dam, will you come over here a minute, please?

then (16) would translate as (19):

(19) Mr. Dam walked *over* to his boss.

The point here is that in order to pinpoint the exact semantic components of khâw in this sentence we must be aware of the presuppositions that Mr. Dam is either outside or inside the office. In (16), of course, Dam is the focus of attention, which is shown by the use of

the form paj. "Focus of attention" here, of course, refers to the *viewpoint* of the speaker or writer.

So, we are forced to look at the immediate context preceding  $S_6$  to find out the real meaning of this sentence. In this case, the pre-supposition in the mind of the reader would be that  $ph\phi\phi j$  is crawling through the verandah and that this *event* of crawling is still going on in  $S_6$ . The context then shows quite plainly that khâw in  $S_6$  must be understood not as an *event* but as a relational form indicating directionality. Or to use the analogy of a nuclear structure, khâw is a satellite of the nucleus event khlaan 'crawl'. Notice that this same argument holds for the auxiliary form thÿŋ in  $S_5$ . This word shows the completeness of the action of the event dæen 'walk' in  $S_4$ , so that the translation would be as in (20):

(20) As soon as (she) (*walked*) up to...

or in better English style (21):

(21) As soon as (she) reached...

With the form lon in  $S_6$  the author has put it before the verb kràab in the surface structure, thus indicating that it has not only the semantic component of directionality downwards but it has also taken on the semantic component of a bodily action in a downwards direction, preceding the second action of *prostration*. So in a translation we would have to insert the words '*got down* and prostrated herself' rather than just 'prostrated herself'.<sup>28</sup> If the author was intending only the action of prostration to be stressed he would word the sentence as follows (22):

(22) ... kô?      kràab      lon  
         CNJ    prostrate    DIR<sub>1</sub>

Therefore, when these directional forms appear before another verb not included in the set of directional forms, the form takes on the function of a full *event* semantically.

Another observation which I would like to make is that this analysis reveals how syntax and semantics are combined. The position of the directional form in the surface structure reveals whether we will treat it as a main verb or an auxiliary (that is if it is explicitly preceding another verb); but in order to find out the exact semantic components involved we have to analyze the preceding context in the discourse structure. Here presuppositions both semantic and socio-cultural enter in to guide our analysis. But if the directional form appears to be the main verb and is not followed by other verbs except directional auxiliaries, we still have to go beyond syntax and find what semantic constraints are operating at a deeper level which will mold the meaning of this surface structure form.



## Focus

phlɔɔj, in the previous paragraphs before this discourse unit, has been the focus of attention. So, in S<sub>6</sub> she remains in focus until the end of this discourse unit. The meaning of câw-khun-phôɔ 'Lord father's' actions in S<sub>10</sub> are peripheral to the narrative and don't take phlɔɔj out of focus. If, however, the form maa had been used in S<sub>6</sub> instead of paj, this would have showed that phlɔɔj's father was now the participant considered in focus by the author. This would have been revealed in the English translation as in (23):

(23) As soon as (she) *came* close to her father...

## Semantic Structure of the First Three Sentences

We still have to investigate the semantic relationships between the three clauses in S<sub>6</sub> and also the relationship of S<sub>6</sub> to the context immediately preceding, in order to translate S<sub>6</sub> adequately. In this section I will be using the model employed by Nida (1973) referred to earlier in this paper, where the discourse is reduced to *nuclear structures* composed of an *event* nucleus and other forms in case relationships to this event.<sup>29</sup>

### 1. List of nuclear structures (Nuc)

S <sub>3</sub>	Nuc <sub>1</sub> - Object <sub>1</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>1</sub>	Object <sub>2</sub> (Experiencer)	(X) <sup>30</sup>
	thúg jāan	rīag	phlɔɔj	
	Nuc <sub>2</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>2</sub>		
	(phlɔɔj)	júd		
	Nuc <sub>3</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>3</sub>		
	(phlɔɔj)	līaw mɔɔn		
S <sub>4</sub>	Nuc <sub>4</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>4</sub>	- DIR <sub>2</sub> (a)	Object <sub>3</sub> (Goal)
	phlɔɔj	kāaw-khāa dɛən	paj	cɔnthỳn bandaj lān tỳg
S <sub>5</sub>	Nuc <sub>5</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>5</sub> - DIR <sub>2</sub> (a)	Object <sub>4</sub> (Goal)	
	(phlɔɔj)	(dɛən - paj)	thỳn chālān	
	Nuc <sub>6</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>6</sub>		
	(phlɔɔj)	lon		
	Nuc <sub>7</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>7</sub>		
	(phlɔɔj)	khlaan		
S <sub>6</sub>	Nuc <sub>8</sub> - Object <sub>2</sub> (Agent)	Event <sub>7</sub> - DIR <sub>1</sub> - DIR <sub>2</sub> (a)	Object <sub>5</sub> (Goal)	
	(phlɔɔj)	(khlaan) - khāw - paj	klāj câw-khun-phôɔ	



Analysis of anaphora, directional forms, focus, etc., in Standard Thai has pointed up the necessity of resolving seeming ambiguity of meaning in isolated sentences through the study of connected discourse. This in turn has forced the analysis to proceed at a deeper level than surface structure.

I have also pointed out that the study of directional forms both in the syntax and in their semantics, forces one to tentatively admit that linguists such as McCawley, Lakoff and Chafe have a point when they insist that semantics and syntax should not have such a clear dividing line in a grammar.

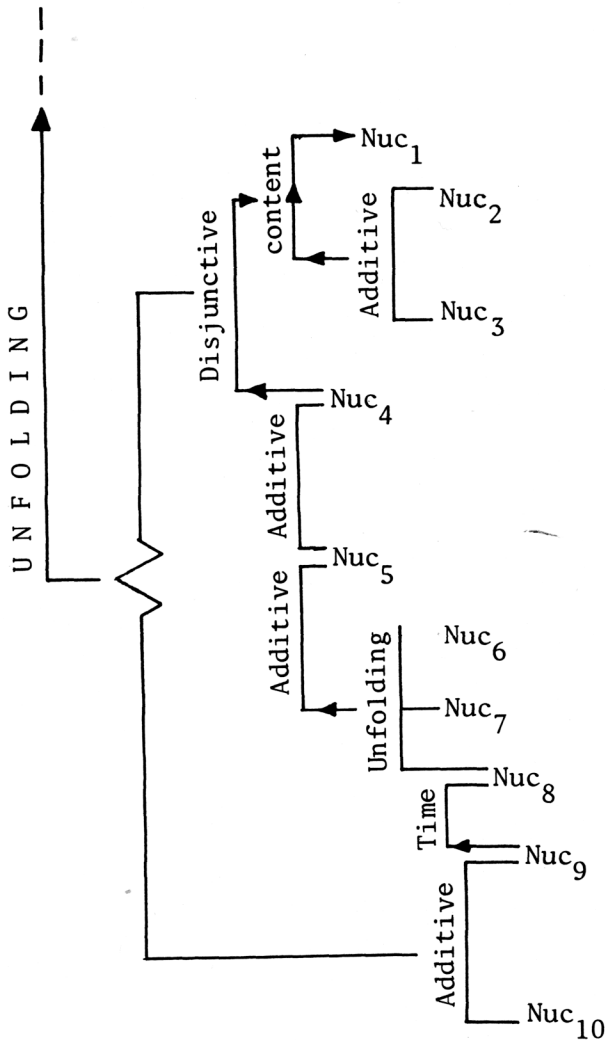


Fig. 1

English Gloss of Directional Forms

## a. Sub-set I.

khÿn 'upwards or newly arrived on the scene'

(24) khǎw jǐb nǎŋsǎy khÿn maa  
PRN pick book DIR<sub>1</sub>(up) DIR<sub>2</sub>(b)

(25) man kÿyd - khÿn mÿa-rew-rew-níi  
PRN came - DIR<sub>1</sub> just recently  
(happened)

lon 'direction downward, departing from the scene'

(26) khǎw phaa-kan thǐŋ kōon-hǐn lon paj naj khuu  
PRN AUX throw stone DIR<sub>1</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(a) in moat

(27) khǎw mōon lon paj naj hǎw lǐg  
PRN look DIR<sub>1</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(a) in chasm deep

khǎw 'direction toward another participant or into an enclosed space'

(28) sǎa ráaj wǐŋ khǎw paj naj pàa  
tiger fierce run DIR<sub>1</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(a) into forest

(29) khǎw dǎen khǎw maa klâj phōm thúg-thii thúg-thii  
PRN walk DIR<sub>1</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(b) near PRN every second

ʔōōg 'direction away from participant (not necessarily the one who is in focus or the center of attention), or out of an enclosed space'

(30) khǎw dǎen ʔōōg maa càag hōōŋ  
PRN walk DIR<sub>1</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(b) from room

## b. Sub-set II.

paj 'action away from the participant who is the center of attraction or focus'

(31) khǎw dǎen ʔōōg càag hōōŋ paj  
PRN walk DIR<sub>1</sub> from room DIR<sub>2</sub>(a)

maa 'action toward the participant who is the center of attraction or focus'

- (32) khǎw ʔòɔŋ maa càag hōɔŋ  
 PRN leave DIR<sub>2</sub>(b) from room

c. Sub-set III.

phàan 'direction through an enclosed space or past a stationary object'

- (33) khǎw dǎən phàan nǎa-bǎan phǒm thúg wan  
 PRN walk DIR<sub>3</sub> front-house PRN every day

- (34) khǎw wǎŋ phàan laan-bǎan jǎaŋ rûad-rew  
 PRN run DIR<sub>3</sub> lawn house very quickly

thǒɔj 'action away from another participant, etc., but facing the other participant'

- (35) khǎw dǎən thǒɔj paj thaan bandaj  
 PRN walk DIR<sub>3</sub> DIR<sub>2</sub>(a) towards stair

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> William O. Hendricks, "Current Trends in Discourse Analysis", *Current Trends in Stylistics*. (Eds.) Braj B. Kachru and Herbert F. W. Stahlke, 1972, p. 83.
- <sup>2</sup> Noam Chomsky, "Deep Structure, Surface Structure and Semantic Interpretation", *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology*. (Eds.) Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits, p. 185.
- <sup>3</sup> James D. McCawley, "The Role of Semantics in a Grammar", *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, (Eds.) Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, 1968, p. 136.
- <sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 142.
- <sup>5</sup> Angkab Palakornkul, *A Socio-Linguistic Study of Pronominal Strategy in Spoken Bangkok Thai*, Ph. D. dissertation, The University of Texas, Austin, 1972, p. 81.
- <sup>6</sup> Chomsky (1971) dismisses Chafe's argument in one sentence (footnote on p. 187) insisting that Chafe's attempt to get rid of the distinction between syntax and semantics is merely a terminological one. This is of course Chomsky's argument against other critics such as McCawley and Lakoff. But the argument of his critics is more cogent than Chomsky is willing to admit. If one is dealing with sentences in isolation then it might be argued that Chomsky's notion that a "theory which generates quadruples (P,s,d,S) shows no empirical difference between the 'syntactically based' standard



18 This analysis is similar to Nida's work with the translation model where he posited underlying *kernels* composed of *objects* and *events*, *abstracts* and *relationals*. This notion (cf. Nida 1952, 1964: 59-69; Nida and Taber 1969:41-55; Nida 1973) helped translators to avoid the mistake of confusing surface structure verbs with objects in the deep structure and vice-versa, where often the surface structure verb was a portmanteau realization of both an event and an object in the deep structure. Or as in Greek, a surface structure noun could be a portmanteau representation of an event and object in the deep structure. Nida's treatment of *nuclear structures* in his latest work carries the idea of *kernels* deeper to include case relationships and roles. He has also included his notion of *abstracts* under the heading of *events*, following Chafe (1970).

19 Labov (1972) in an article called *Rules for Ritual Insults* makes a good case for the need to analyze these deep structure propositions in order to understand the meaning of surface structure configurations. He analyzes the dialogue sequence in American English

A: Are you going to work tomorrow?

B: I'm on jury duty.

Where the answer means "no" or "I'm not going to work tomorrow," for the presupposition underlying the answer is that jury duty is not considered work. Labov then formulates a rule of discourse "If  $S_2$  then (E)  $S_1$  where (E) is an existential operator, and from this proposition there is inferred an answer to A's request, (E)  $S_1$ ."

20 The phonemic transcription used in this paper is basically that found in Noss' *Thai Reference Grammar*. The capitalized symbols used in the text gloss as follows:

N - name  
CNJ - conjunction  
T - title  
PRN - pronoun  
RLTV - form introducing a relative clause  
NEG - negative

21 The three dots ... indicate that there is considerable discourse between this sentence and the following sentence  $S_2$ , as the author digresses and describes the various things which phlɔɔj sees in the garden. This information is not vital to the following analysis.

22 Most Thai names are unmarked for sex, so that if some other name beside phlɔɔj had been used in this sentence we would have had further ambiguity. However, phlɔɔj, which means 'gem', and other such names referring to jewels of various kinds, are usually reserved for *females*; but the name phéd 'diamond', for instance, is



reserved for *males*, as it has the connotation of great *hardness*.

- 23 Richard Noss, *Thai Reference Grammar*, 1964, p. 184.
- 24 One of the interesting examples of the use of these words in Thai is in letters and telephone conversations. In a letter one says 'I will come to see you' (PRN cà? maa-hǎa PRN); but in a telephone conversation one says, 'I will go to see you' (PRN cà? paj-hǎa PRN). In the first case the recipient of the letter is considered the focus of attention; but in the case of the telephone conversation the speaker is in focus.
- 25 It is not necessary for the development of this paper to rigorously define the notion *main verb*.
- 26 The ( ) mean that the word enclosed does not appear explicitly in the Thai surface structure, but must be included in an English translation.
- 27 Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language*, Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1959.
- 28 Here the socio-cultural presuppositions in the minds of the Thai readers are important. The word kràab is extremely difficult to translate successfully into English without some embellishments. phlɔɔj's father is of noble birth and therefore his daughter must show extreme respect when coming close to him. kràab is the action of lowering oneself to the floor with legs drawn up and to one side, then bowing the face to the hands which are held in prayerful position against the floor. As soon as the person has done this he or she may return to sitting position, but with head down still showing respect.
- 29 In this analysis I will only note the *case* relationships explicitly; such as agent, patient, etc. But all the *events* will be lumped under that one title.
- 30 The (X) signals that the following nuclear structure is the *content* of the previous - what someone or something did or said.
- 31 In Thai the forms paj and maa can also appear in sentences such as these at the end of the sentence or following the main verb.

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