The Grammatical Function of "hây" in Thai

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I. Introduction

The word hây in Thai is basically a ditransitive verb conveying the meaning 'to give'. There are, however, several homophonous hây's. In this paper, within the lexicase dependency framework, I will look into the grammatical function of hây's in constructions such as (1) and (2).

(1) púk sīI khanōm hây dEEeng
Puk buy sweets give Dang

a) 'Puk bought sweets for Dang.'

b) 'Puk bought sweets and gave (them) to Dang.

(2) dEEeng yīm hây chăn
Dang smile give I

'Dang smiled at me.'

In (1) hây has two readings. One is interpreted as 'for, in place of' and the other is interpreted as 'to give'. Hây in (2), on the other hand, is interpreted as a direction toward a goal or 'to' in English. Earlier analyses of hây's are primarily concerned with (1a) in which hây carries a benefactive meaning 'for'. The meaning of hây's in (1b) and (2) have not been commonly addressed. Most analyses have considered the benefactive hây to be a preposition (Kullavanijaya 1974, Clark 1977, and Dejthamrong 1970) while Thepkarnjana (1986) has considered it to be a verb. Kullavanijaya considers hây in (1b) to be a verb and Dejthamrong consider hây in (2) to be a preposition.

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1 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professor Stanley Starosta, Professor Roderick Jacobs and Professor William O'Grady for their suggestions and comments of an earlier version of this paper. I am, however, responsible for any mistakes in the paper.
Dejathamrong (1970) looks into the grammatical function of the word ᵈʰᵃʸ and found that ᵈʰᵃʸ in (1) and (2) fit in Panupong's preposition test frame:

1) \[ N \, V_i \, N \, \_ \, N \]

2) \[ N \, V_t \, \_ \, N \]

Since ᵈʰᵃʸ appears in a position in which a preposition may appear, Dejathamrong (1970:53) concludes that ᵈʰᵃʸ in (1) and (2) belongs to a single word class, namely preposition. She does not consider, however, the semantic difference between ᵈʰᵃʸ in (1a) and (1b). Dejathamrong notes that unlike other prepositions which must be followed by a noun, the preposition ᵈʰᵃʸ may occur without a following noun.

In her study of verb serialization in the Government and Binding framework, Thepkarnjana (1986) claims that ᵈʰᵃʸ and other morphemes which occur in the constructions like (1) and (2) and have corresponding verbs are synchronically verbs, not prepositions. One argument for this claim is that only a morpheme which may appear as a full verb in isolation is a verb. Consider (3a) and (3b).

(3) a. ᵈʰᵃʸ \, dōn \, khâam \, saphaan \, pay
   he \, walk \, cross \, bridge \, go
   'He walked across the bridgeway.'

b. ᵈʰᵃʸ \, khâam \, saphaan \, pay
   cross \, bridge \, go
   'He crossed the bridgeway.'

khâam 'cross' in (3a) may appear as a full verb in (3b) and should be regarded as a verb rather than a preposition. Negation is another criterion for establishing the verbal status of these words.

(4) ᵈʰᵃʸ \, kradōot \, mây \, khâam \, rúa
   he \, jump \, not \, cross \, fence
   'He jumped not go over the fence.'

Since khâam in (4) may be negated, Thepkarnjana concludes that words like khâam 'cross', thing 'reach', which have corresponding verbs have verbal status.

However, not all verbs may be negated. Pragmatic factors may block negation. We can only say that if an element can be negated, it is a verb. If it cannot be negated, it may or may not be a verb as in (5).
(5) a. čän sīI nía maa khāy
   I buy meat come sell
   'I bought meat to sell.'

   b.* čän sīI nía maa mãy khāy
   I buy meat come not sell
   'I bought meat not to sell.'

(6) * nīdaa tham kaanbāan mãy hây wiināa
    Nida do homework not for Weenā
    'Nidaa did not do homework for Weena.'

(7) * nīdaa mÔOp dÔOmkãy mãy hây khruu
    Nida hand flower not give teacher

Since hây cannot be negated as in (6) and (7), the negation test is not the criterion to decide whether hây is a verb.

Kullavanijaya (1974), working in the earlier version of lexicase, argues that there are two hây's: the benefactive hây which is a derived preposition, and the ditransitive verb meaning hây 'to give'. The former is derived from the latter. The preposition hây assigns a benefactive case to the following noun as in (8).

(8) mEE yeP sãa hây lûuk
    mother sew shirt for child
    +P +B
    +AC
    +BEN

    'Mother sewed the dress for her child.'
    (Kullavanijaya 1974:85)

(8) has another reading in which hây is a ditransitive verb. The sentence is interpreted as 'Mother sewed the dress and gave it to the child.' By treating hây as a ditransitive verb, Kullavanijaya can account for sentences like (9) in which hây is followed by the preposition hây.

(9) mEE yeP sãa hây kãp lûuk
    mother sew shirt give to child
    +V +P
    +N
    +AC
    +DAT

    'Mother sewed the dress and gave it to the child.'
    (Kullavanijaya 1974:86)
Kullavanijaya explains that if ᵐdescribe were considered to be a case marker, there would be two case markers: ᵐdescribe as a benefactive case marker and ᵐdescribe as a dative case marker. The question would be what case is assigned to the following noun ᵐdescribe. If ᵐdescribe is analyzed as a verb, one does not encounter this problem and ᵐdescribe would receive, as expected, an ordinary dative case.

In this paper, I will employ the topicalization of the NP after ᵐdescribe's, the PP topicalization, the main verb test, the ᵐdescribe insertion before the word ᵐdescribe and the number of action test to investigate the grammatical function of ᵐdescribe's. Like Kullavanijaya's analysis, I consider ᵐdescribe in (1b) to be a ditransitive verb. I will, however, show that the benefactive ᵐdescribe and the ᵐdescribe indicating goal (cf. (2)) exhibit neither the characteristics of prepositions nor those of verbs contrary to earlier analyses. I conclude instead that they are adverbs.

II. Data

In this paper, I look into the following four sentences containing ᵐdescribe.

(10) nɪ́dɑa tʰɪ́ krapɑ̄w ᵐdescribe wɪínaa
Nida carry bag for Weenaa

'Nida carried a bag for Weena.'

(11) nɪ́dɑa sõõn kɑn̩bɑ̄n ᵐdescribe dEEEng
Nida teach homework to Dang

'Nida taught homework to Dang.'

(12) nɪ́dɑa mɬɔʊp dɔ̃kма́y ᵐdescribe khruu
Nida hand flower to teacher

'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.

(13) nɪ́dɑa yɪ́p nãŋɡsɬɪ́ ᵐdescribe khruu
Nida pick up book give teacher

'Nida picked up books (and) gave (them)
to the teacher.'

While ᵐdescribe in (10) is interpreted as 'substitution for', ᵐdescribe in (11) and (12) shows direction toward the goal and it can be interpreted as 'to'. (11) and (12) differ only in that ᵐdescribe in (11) appears after a non-physical transfer verb sõõn 'to teach', while ᵐdescribe in (12) occurs after a physical transfer verb mɬɔʊp 't
hand'. In (13) hät is interpreted literally as 'to
give'. In the following section, I apply different
tests to see how many categories of hät's there are and
what grammatical functions they have.

III. Tests for the grammatical function of hät's

In this section, different criteria are applied to
determine the grammatical function of hät in (10) -
(13). The topicalization of the NP after hät and the
topicalization of hät and the following noun determine
whether hät's are prepositions. The main verb test, the
lEEw insertion test and the number of actions test
explore the possibility that hät is a verb. If hät is a
preposition, then either the whole phrase or the NP
after hät should be topicalizable. If hät is a verb, it
should be able to occur as a main verb and allow lEEw
insertion. Further, there should be more than one
action in the sentence. A summary of the results is
shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOP of NP</th>
<th>PP TOP</th>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>lEEw Insertion</th>
<th>Number Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us now look at how each test works with
sentences (10) - (13). The topicalization of the NP
after hät and the PP topicalization test whether hät in
(10) - (13) are prepositions. (14) shows that a
preposition in Thai does not allow the following NP to
be topicalized, while an NP after a verb may be
topicalized in (15).

(14) a. dEEEng khuy káp lék bòoybòoy
Dang talk with Lek often
'Dang talked with Lek often.'

b.* lék nà? dEEEng khuy káp bòoybòoy
Lek TOP Dang talk with often
'As for Lek, Dang talked with often.'
(15) a. dEEng sÍI khanôm cÈEk dÈkdÈk
    Dang buy sweets distribute child
    'Dang bought sweets to distribute to children.'

    b. dÈkdÈk dEEng sÍI khanôm cÈEk
    children Dang buy sweets distribute
    'children, Dang bought sweets to distribute.'

Now consider the topicalization of the NP after háy's in (16) - (19). The háy's here correspond to háy's in (10) - (13).

(16) wiïnaa nà? nídâa thÍI kраБw háy
    Weena TOP Nida carry bag for
    'As for Weena, Nida carried the bag for.'

(17) dEEng nà? nídâa sôOn kaanbaân háy
    Dang TOP Nida teach homework to
    'As for Dang, Nida taught homework to.'

(18) khruu nà? nídâa mÔOp dòOkmây háy
    teacher TOP Nida hand flower to
    'As for the teacher, Nida handed flowers to.'

(19) khruu nà? nídâa yîp nãngsÍI háy
    teacher TOP Nida pick up book give
    'As for the teacher, Nida picked up books (and) gave to.'

Unlike the NP after a preposition, the NP after háy may be topicalized like the NP after a verb in Thai. The PP topicalization confirms that háy is not a preposition. Compare the topicalization of a preposition and the following NP in (20) with the topicalization of a verb and its object in (21).

(20) kàp dEEng Lék chÔOp khuy
    with Dang Lék like talk
    With Dang, Lek likes to talk.'
The topicalization of บ่าย's and the following NP in (22) - (25) shows that บ่าย's in (10) - (13) do not share the same characteristics with a preposition in Thai.

(22) * บ่าย Wiinaa nิดaa ทิีิก krāpāw for Weena Nida carry bag

'For Weena, Nida carried bag.'

(23) * บ่าย dEEEng nิดaa sōOn kaānbaān to Dang Nida teach homework

'To Dang, Nida taught homework.'

(24) * บ่าย khruu nิดaa mōOp dōOkmāy to teacher Nida hand flower

'To the teacher, Nida handed flowers.'

(25) * บ่าย khruu nิดaa yīp nāngsīI give teacher Nida pick up book

'Give (to) the teacher, Nida picked up a book.'

To verify whether บ่าย's in (10) - (13) are verbs, I will apply the main verb test and the ลEEEng insertion test. For the main verb test, consider (26) - (29) in which บ่าย's appear as main verbs.

(26) * nīdaa บ่าย wiinaa Nida for Weena

'Nida for Weena.'

(27) * nīdaa บ่าย kaānbaān dEEEng Nida to homework Dang

'Nida to Dang homework.'

(28) * nīdaa บ่าย dōOkmāy khruu Nida to flower teacher

'Nida gave flowers to the teacher.'
(29) nídaa háy nāngsìI khruu
Nida give book teacher

'Nida gave books to the teacher.'

Since háy in (26) and (27) cannot maintain the meaning 'for' and 'to' when appearing as main verbs, the benefactive háy in (10) and the háy indicating goal in (11) are not verbs. Because mōop 'to hand' or háy in (12) has the meaning of transferring something to someone, it is difficult to get the meaning of háy when it appears as a main verb in (28). In (29), háy may appear as a main verb maintaining the meaning 'give'. Therefore, the verb test tells us that only háy in (13) could be a verb while those in (10) and (11) are not.

To clarify the grammatical function of háy in (12), the lEEw insertion test is used. The coordination conjunction lEEw 'and then' is a criterion to test clause boundary. If lEEw may occur before háy which is the initial element of the next clause and there are no other verbs in the second clause, háy must be the verb of the next clause. (30) - (33) illustrate the grammaticality of sentences (10) - (13) after inserting lEEw before háy's.

(30) * nídaa thīI krapāw lEEw háy wiinaa
Nida carry bag then for Weenaa

'Nida carried a bag and then for Weena.'

(31) * nídaa sōOn kaanbāan lEEw háy dEEEng
Nida teach homework then to Dang

'Nida taught homework and then to Dang.'

(32) * nídaa mōop dōokmāy lEEw háy khruu
Nida hand flower then to teacher

'Nida handed flowers and then to the teacher.'

(33) nídaa yīp nāngsìI lEEw háy khruu
Nida pick up book then give teacher

'Nida picked up books and then gave them to the teacher.'
Of (30) – (33), only (33) allows lEEw insertion. This suggests that only hay in (13) is a verb.

The number of actions test, proposed by Li and Thompson (1973) confirms this result. If a sentence represents one action, then there is only one verb in the sentence. If a sentence contains more than one action, then there is more than one verb in the sentence. Although such subjective tests are not always reliable, it is easy to see in these examples that to carry a bag for someone in (10), to teach homework to someone in (11), and to hand something to someone in (12) each involves only one action. (13), on the other hand, expresses two actions: to pick up a book and to give it to the teacher. The application of this semantic test shows us that hay in (13) is a verb.

In sum, the topicalization of the NP after hay's and the PP topicalization shows that hay's in (10) – (13) are not prepositions. The main verb test, the lEEw insertion and the number of actions test agree that only hay in (13) is a verb.

IV. Lexicase Analysis

Within the lexicase framework, I claim that hay in (13) is a ditransitive verb carrying the meaning 'give' and that hay in (10) – (12) are adverbs of two different types: the benefactive adverb hay in (10) and the goal adverb hay in (11) and (12).

The verb hay 'to give' in (13) is a ditransitive verb which is missing one of its objects. The embedded hay allows only non-transfer transitive verbs such as vip 'to pick up', sIII 'to buy', haa 'to look for', and thanm 'to do, make' to appear as matrix verb as in (35a). The ditransitive verb hay may not appear with transfer ditransitive verbs like soOn 'to teach' in (35b).

(34) a. khaw sIII khomphyut@@ hay chan
    he buy computer give I
    'He bought a computer (and) gave (it)
    (to) me.'

b.* khaw soOn khomphyut@@ hay chan
    he teach computer give I
    'He bought a computer (and) gave (it)
    (to) me.'
Since sOOn 'teach' may not appear with the embedded ditransitive verb hāy, it suggests that the embedded clause is a complement clause. Sentence (35b) would be acceptable if hāy is interpreted as a direction toward a goal or 'for'. While sOOn which appears with a direction toward a goal hāy is a transfer ditransitive verb, sOOn which appears with the benefactive hāy 'for' is a benefactive ditransitive verb.

Certain non-transfer verbs such as dāa 'to scold' tē? 'to kick' may not appear with hāy unless it occurs with the coordination lEEw 'and then', for example,

(35) a.* kʰāw tē? lūuk takt̥O hāy chăn he kick ball Takraw give I 'He kicked the Trakraw and gave (it) (to) me.'

b. kʰāw tē? lūuk takt̥O lEEw hāy chăn he kick ball Takraw and then give I 'He kicked the Trakraw and gave (it) (to) me.'

I consider these verbs to be non-directional non-transfer verbs as opposed to yip 'to pick up', sI'I 'to buy' which are directional transfer verbs. The latter may appear with hāy without lEEw. lEEw, however, disambiguates the interpretation of ditransitive hāy 'to give' from the benefactive hāy 'for' and the adverb hāy indicating a goal. For example,

(36) a. kʰāw sI'I khanōm hāy chăn he buy sweets give I

(36a) has two interpretations. One interpretation is 'he bought sweets and gave it to me' in which hāy is a ditransitive verb. The other interpretation is 'he bought sweets for me' in which hāy is interpreted as 'for'. (36b), however, allows only the first interpretation.

(36) b. kʰāw sI'I khanōm lEEw hāy chăn he buy sweets and then give I

On the other hand, lEEw 'and then' shows that transfer ditransitive verbs like kʰāy 'sell' may not appear with the embedded verb hāy 'to give'.
(37) * khāw khāay khanōm lēEw ñay chān
   he sell sweets and then give I
   'He sold sweets and then gave (it) to me.'

Rule (38) shows the lexicase rule accounting for the coreferencing between the missing patient of the non-
finitie embedded verb and the patient of the higher non-
transfer verb. The actor of the verb is the first
available NP to the left (cf. Pagotto 1985:44-45).

(39)

'Nida picked up a book (and) gave (it) to the
teacher.'

Rule (38) tells us that the object of ñay in (40) is
coreferent with the upper object of the non-transfer
transitive verb yīp. The actor of the lower clause is
Nida, the far left NP since nangslII has already been
taken as a patient of ñay.

2 The followings are explanations for abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trns</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fint</td>
<td>finite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trfr</td>
<td>transfer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COR</td>
<td>correspondent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actr</td>
<td>actr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Because prepositions in Thai cannot be stranded, hây's in (10) - (13) which allow the NP following hây to be topicalized cannot be a preposition. Nor can they be verbs as illustrated in the verb test, the presence of the insertion and the number of actions test. Note that hây in (10) which carries the meaning 'for', and hây in (11) and (12) which carries the meaning of 'to' are two separate lexical items. Lexicase considers homophonous words of different meaning to be separate lexical items which may be derivationally related. I claim that hây in (11) - (12) is an adverb indicating goal which cooccurs with transfer ditransitive verbs such as sOOn 'teach' and mûOp 'hand'. The tree structure of (12) can be shown below as (40).

(40)

\[
\text{nîdaa} \quad \text{mûOp}_1 \quad \text{dûOkmây} \quad \text{hây} \quad \text{khruu} \\
\text{Nidaa} \quad \text{hand} \quad \text{flower} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{teacher} \\
\quad \quad +\text{trns} \quad +\text{crsp} \quad +\text{goal} \quad +\text{Adv} \quad +\text{Acc} \quad +\text{COR} \\
\]

'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.'

Our claim that hây in (11) and (12) is an adverb allows us to explain why the NPs after hây may be left out when the context is given, in contrast with the NP after a preposition in Thai which may not be omitted.

Hây 'to' and khruu 'teacher' are obligatory when they cooccur with mûOp$_1$ 'hand' as shown in the ungrammatical (41) and (42).

(41) * nîdaa mûOp$_1$ dûOkmây khruu
    Nidaa hand flower teacher

    'Nida handed the teacher flowers.'

(42) * nîdaa mûOp$_1$ dûOkmây
    Nidaa hand flower

    'Nida handed flowers.'

The obligatoriness of both hây and khruu 'teacher' shows that they are complements. Further support for claiming that the adverb hây indicating goal is a complement can be seen in (43).
(43) * dEEng sÎI khanôm hây chăn
Dang buy sweets to I

'Dang bought sweets to me.'

in which hây indicating goal may not appear with non-transfer verbs such as sÎI 'buy'. mÔOp₁ is then a ditransitive verb which cooccurs with the adverb hây indicating goal and requires three arguments. There is another ditransitive mÔOp₂ which cooccurs with the preposition kÊE 'to' and an optional adverb hây indicating goal as shown in (44a) and (44b).

(44a)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nídaa} & \quad \text{mÔOp₂} & \quad \text{dô0kmây} & \quad \text{hây} & \quad \text{kÊE} & \quad \text{khruu} \\
\text{Nidaa} & \quad \text{hand} & \quad \text{flower} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{teacher} \\
\quad & \quad +trfr & \quad +Adv & \quad +P & \quad +goal & \quad +goal \\
\quad & \quad +crsp & \quad & & & \\
\quad & \quad +trns & \quad & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.'

(44b)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nídaa} & \quad \text{mÔOp₂} & \quad \text{dô0kmây} & \quad \text{kÊE} & \quad \text{khruu} \\
\text{Nidaa} & \quad \text{hand} & \quad \text{flower} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{teacher} \\
\quad & \quad +trfr & \quad & \quad +P & \quad +goal \\
\quad & \quad +crsp & \quad & & \quad +goal \\
\quad & \quad +trns & \quad & & \quad & \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.'

As shown in earlier tests, the benefactive hây 'for', like the adverb hây indicating goal cannot be a preposition or a verb. I maintain that the benefactive hây is an adverb. This may explain why the NP after hây in (10) may be omitted in given context as in (45).

(45) dEEng thÎI₂ krapawns hây
Dang carry bag hây

'Dang carried a bag for.'

Further, the benefactive hây is obligatory and is therefore a complement as the ungrammatical (46) shows.
When হায্য is absent, the sentence no longer expresses the benefactive meaning. For the sentence (46) to be acceptable, the verb in (46) must be ঠিইপুৰ which is a non-benefactive transitive verb looking for two arguments only. (46) would be interpreted as 'Dang carried Weena's bag' in which Weena is a Genitive noun. I consider ঠিইপুৰ in (10) to be a benefactive ditransitive verb which requires three arguments and the benefactive হায্য. The tree structure of (10) in which both হায্য and Weena are dependents of the ditransitive verb ঠিইপুৰ is shown in (47).

In short, হায্য's in (10) - (13) are shown to be of three words. In (10), হায্য is a benefactive adverb which cooccurs with benefactive ditransitive verbs. হায্য in (11) and (12) is a goal adverb cooccurring with transfer ditransitive verbs. In (13), হায্য is a ditransitive verb cooccurring with non-transfer transitive verbs.

V. Conclusions

I have shown by the topicalization of the NP after হায্য and PP topicalization that none of হায্য's in (10), - (13) are prepositions. The main verb test, the lEEw insertion and the number of actions test agree that only হায্য in (13) is a verb. I claim that হায্য in (13) is a ditransitive verb with a missing object. হায্য's in (10) - (12) are adverbs of two types: the benefactive adverb and the goal adverb. By positing the goal হায্য and the benefactive হায্য as adverbs, one has an advantage over the preposition analysis in explaining the absence of the NP after হায্য.
REFERENCES


