

# The Grammatical Function of "hây" in Thai<sup>1</sup>

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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 | síI | khanǎm | hây  | dEEng |
|     | Puk | buy | sweets | give | Dang  |

a) 'Puk bought sweets for Dang.'

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

- |     |       |       |      |      |
|-----|-------|-------|------|------|
| (2) | dEEng | yím   | hây  | chǎn |
|     | 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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Dejthamrong (1970) looks into the grammatical function of the word hây and found that hây in (1) and (2) fit in Panupong's preposition test frame:

- 1) N      V<sub>i</sub>      N      —      N  
 2) N      V<sub>t</sub>      —      N

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

In her study of verb serialization in the Government and Binding framework, Thepkarnjana (1986) claims that hây 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.    khăw      d@@n      khâam      saphaan      pay  
          he        walk        cross        bridge        go

'He walked across the bridgeway.'

- b.    khăw      khâam      saphaan      pay  
       he        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)        khăw      kradoot      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', thîng '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. chă<sup>h</sup>n sĭĭ nĭa maa khăay  
 I buy meat come sell  
 'I bought meat to sell.'

- b.\* chă<sup>h</sup>n sĭĭ nĭa maa mây khăay  
 I buy meat come not sell  
 'I bought meat not to sell.'

- (6) \* nĭdaa tham kaanbân mây hây wiinaa  
 Nida do homework not for Weenaa  
 'Nidaa did not do homework for Weena.'

- (7) \* nĭdaa mŏOp dŏOkmăy mây 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) mĒE yép sĭa 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) mĒE yép sĭa hây kâp 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 hây were considered to be a case marker, there would be two case markers: hâ as a benefactive case marker and kàp as a dative case marker. The question would be what case is assigned to the following noun lûuk. If hây is analyzed as a verb one does not encounter this problem and lûuk would receive, as expected, an ordinary dative case.

In this paper, I will employ the topicalization of the NP after hây's, the PP topicalization, the main verb test, the lEEw insertion before the word hây and the number of action test to investigate the grammatical function of hây's. Like Kullavanijaya's analysis, I consider hây in (1b) to be a ditransitive verb. I will, however, show that the benefactive hâ and the hây 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 hây.

- (10) nídaa thĭĭ krapǎw hây wiinaa  
 Nida carry bag for Weenaa  
 'Nida carried a bag for Weenaa.'
- (11) nídaa sŏŏn kaanbâan hây dEEng  
 Nida teach homework to Dang  
 'Nida taught homework to Dang.'
- (12) nídaa mŏŏp dŏŏkmáy hây khruu  
 Nida hand flower to teacher  
 'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.'
- (13) nídaa yĭp nǎngsĭĭ hây khruu  
 Nida pick up book give teacher  
 'Nida picked up books (and) gave (them)  
 to the teacher.'

While hây in (10) is interpreted as 'substitution for', hây in (11) and (12) shows direction toward the goal and it can be interpreted as 'to'. (11) and (12) differ only in that hây in (11) appears after a non-physical transfer verb sŏŏn 'to teach', while hây in (12) occurs after a physical transfer verb mŏŏp 'to

hand'. In (13) hây is interpreted literally as 'to give'. In the following section, I apply different tests to see how many categories of hây's there are and what grammatical functions they have.

### III. Tests for the grammatical function of hay's

In this section, different criteria are applied to determine the grammatical function of hay in (10) - (13). The topicalization of the NP after hay and the topicalization of hây and the following noun determine whether hây's are prepositions. The main verb test, the lEEw insertion test and the number of actions test explore the possibility that hây is a verb. If hây is a preposition, then either the whole phrase or the NP after hây should be topicalizable. If hây 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.

	TOP of NP	PP TOP	Main Verb	lEEw Insertion	Number Action
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(10)	Y	N	N	N	1
(11)	Y	N	N	N	1
(12)	Y	N	?	N	1
(13)	Y	N	Y	Y	2

Let us now look at how each test works with sentences (10) - (13). The topicalization of the NP after hay and the PP topicalization test whether hây 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. dEEng khuy kàp lék bòoybòoy  
 Dang talk with Lek often  
 'Dang talked with Lek often.'

b.\* lék nà? dEEng khuy kàp bòoybòoy  
 Lek TOP Dang talk with often  
 'As for Lek, Dang talked with often.'

- (15) a. dEEng sII khanǒm cÈEk dèkdèk  
 Dang buy sweets distribute child  
 'Dang bought sweets to distribute to children.'

- b. dèkdèk dEEng sII khanǒm cÈEk  
 children Dang buy sweets distribute  
 'children, Dang bought sweets to distribute.'

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

- (16) wiinaa nà? nídaa thǐI krapǎw hây  
 Weena TOP Nida carry bag for  
 'As for Weena, Nida carried the bag for.'

- (17) dEEng nà? nídaa sŏOn kaanbâan hây  
 Dang TOP Nida teach homework to  
 'As for Dang, Nida taught homework to.'

- (18) khruu nà? nídaa mŏOp dŏOkmáY hây  
 teacher TOP Nida hand flower to  
 'As for the teacher, Nida handed flowers to.'

- (19) khruu nà? nídaa yìp nǎngsŏI hây  
 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 hây may be topicalized like the NP after a verb in Thai. The PP topicalization confirms that hây 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 chŏOp khuy  
 with Dang Lek like talk  
 'With Dang, Lek likes to talk.'

- (21) \* cÈEk dèkdèk DEEng sÍI khanǒm  
 distribute children Dang buy sweets  
 'To distribute (to) children, Dang bought sweets.'

The topicalization of hây's and the following NP in (22) - (25) shows that hây's in (10) - (13) do not share the same characteristics with a preposition in Thai.

- (22) \* hây Wiinaa nídaa thǎI krapǎw  
 for Weena Nida carry bag  
 'For Weena, Nida carried bag.'
- (23) \* hây dEEng nídaa sǒOn kaanbǎan  
 to Dang Nida teach homework  
 'To Dang, Nida taught homework.'
- (24) \* hây khruu nídaa mǒOp dǒOkmǎy  
 to teacher Nida hand flower  
 'To the teacher, Nida handed flowers.'
- (25) \* hây khruu nídaa yǐp nǎngsǎI  
 give teacher Nida pick up book  
 'Give (to) the teacher, Nida picked up a book.'

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

- (26) \* nídaa hây wiinaa  
 Nida for Weena  
 'Nida for Weena.'
- (27) \* nídaa hây kaanbǎan dEEng  
 Nida to homework Dang  
 'Nida to Dang homework.'
- (28) ? nídaa hây dǒOkmǎy khruu  
 Nida to flower teacher  
 'Nida gave flowers to the teacher.'

- (29)      nídaa    hây      năngsǎI    khruu  
             Nida    give      book          teacher  
             'Nida gave books to the teacher.'

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

To clarify the grammatical function of hây in (12) the lEEw insertion test is used. The coordinative conjunction lEEw 'and then' is a criterion to test clause boundary. If lEEw may occur before hây which is the initial element of the next clause and there are other verbs in the second clause, hây must be the verb of the next clause. (30) - (33) illustrate the grammaticality of sentences (10) - (13) after inserting lEEw before hây's.

- (30) \*      nídaa    thǎI      krapǎw    lEEw    hây    wiinaa  
             Nida    carry      bag          then    for    Weena  
             'Nida carried a bag and then for Weena.'
- (31) \*      nídaa    sǒOn      kaanbâan    lEEw    hây    dEEng  
             Nida    teach      homework    then    to    Dang  
             'Nida taught homework and then to Dang.'
- (32) \*      nídaa    môOp      dǒOkmáy    lEEw    hây    khruu  
             Nida    hand      flower      then    to    teacher  
             'Nida handed flowers and then to the teacher.'
- (33)      nídaa    yǐp          năngsǎI    lEEw    hây    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 hây 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 verbs 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 hây in (13) is a verb.

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

#### IV. Lexicase Analysis

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

The verb hây '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 yip 'to pick up', sII 'to buy', hăa 'to look for', and tham 'to do, make' to appear as matrix verb as in (35a). The ditransitive verb hây may not appear with transfer ditransitive verbs like sOOn 'to teach' in (35b).

- (34) a. khăw sII khomphyut@@ hây chăn  
           he     buy     computer     give I  
           'He bought a computer (and) gave (it)  
           (to) me.'

- b.\* khăw sOOn khomphyut@@ hây chăn  
       he     teach     computer     give I  
       'He bought a computer (and) gave (it)  
       (to)me.'

Since sŏŏn 'teach' may not appear with the embedded ditransitive verb hây, it suggests that the embedded clause is a complement clause. Sentence (35b) would be acceptable if hây is interpreted as a direction toward a goal or 'for'. While sŏŏn which appears with a direction toward a goal hây is a transfer ditransitive verb, sŏŏn which appears with the benefactive hây 'for' is a benefactive ditransitive verb.

Certain non-transfer verbs such as daa 'to scold' tè? 'to kick' may not appear with hây unless it occurs with the coordination lĒEw 'and then', for example,

- (35) a. \* khăw tè? lûuk takrŏŏ hây chăn  
 he kick ball Takraw give I  
 'He kicked the Trakraw and gave (it) (to)  
 me.'

- b. khăw tè? lûuk takrŏŏ lĒEw hây 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 yĭp 'to pick up', sĭI 'to buy' which are directional transfer verbs. The latter may appear with hây without lĒEw. lĒEw, however, disambiguates the interpretation of ditransitive hây 'to give' from the benefactive hây 'for' and the adverb hây indicating a goal. For example,

- (36) a. khăw sĭI khanŏm hây chăn  
 he buy sweets give I

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

- (36) b. khăw sĭI khanŏm lĒEw hây chăn  
 he buy sweets and then give I

On the other hand, lĒEw 'and then' shows that transfer ditransitive verbs like khăay 'sell' may not appear with the embedded verb hây 'to give'.

- (37) \*      khắw    khắay    khanốm    lẾEw      hắy    chắn  
              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-finite 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).

- (38)
- |         |  |            |          |              |
|---------|--|------------|----------|--------------|
| +V      |  |            | +V       | <sup>2</sup> |
| +trns   |  | -> m[+PAT] | +trns    |              |
| -fint   |  |            | n[+trns] |              |
| ?[+PAT] |  |            | n[-fint] |              |
| nindex  |  |            | m[+PAT]  |              |
|         |  |            | -trfr    |              |

- (39)
- |        |          |         |          |         |
|--------|----------|---------|----------|---------|
| nídaa  | yìp      | nắngsII | hắy      | khruu   |
| Nida   | pick up  | book    | give     | teacher |
| 1index | 2index   | 3index  | 4index   | 5index  |
| AGT    | +trns    | PAT     | +trns    | COR     |
|        | -trfr    |         | -fint    |         |
|        | 3[+Acc]  |         | 5[+Acc]  |         |
|        | 3[+PAT]  |         | 5[+COR]  |         |
|        | 4[-fint] |         | 3[+PAT]  |         |
|        | 4[+trns] |         | +crsp    |         |
|        | 1[+actr] |         | 1[+actr] |         |

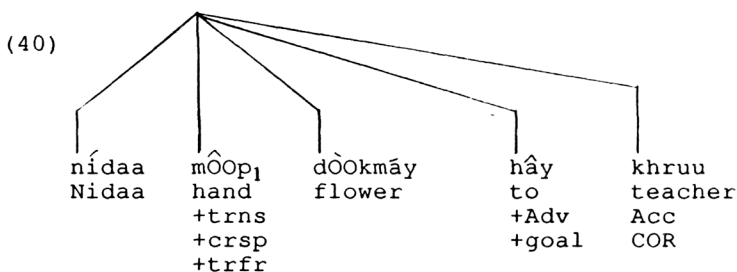
'Nida picked up a book (and) gave (it) to the teacher.'

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

<sup>2</sup> The followings are explanations for abbreviations:

trns	=	transitive	PAT	=	patient
fint	=	finite	COR	=	correspondent
trfr	=	transfer	Acc	=	Accusative
			actr	=	actr

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 lĒEW 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 mÔOp 'hand'. The tree structure of (12) can be shown below as (40).



'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 mÔOp₁ 'hand' as shown in the ungrammatical (41) and (42).

- (41) \*    nídaa    mÔOp₁    dÒOkmây    khruu  
           Nidaa    hand    flower    teacher

'Nida handed the teacher flowers.'

- (42) \*    nídaa    mÔOp₁    dÒOkmây  
           Nida    hand    flower

'Nida handed flowers.'

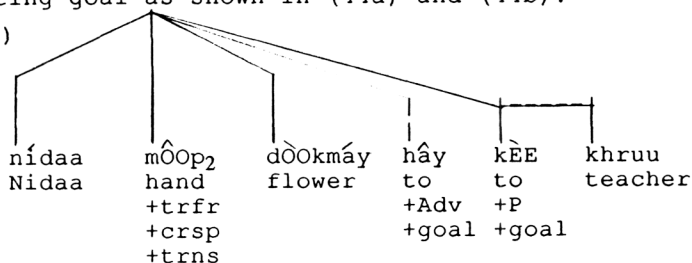
The obligatoriness of both hây and khruu 'teacher' shows that they are complements. Further support for claiming that the adverb hây indicating goal is a complement can be seen in (43).

- (43) \* dEEng sII khanǎm hây chǎn  
Dang buy sweets to I

'Dang bought sweets to me.'

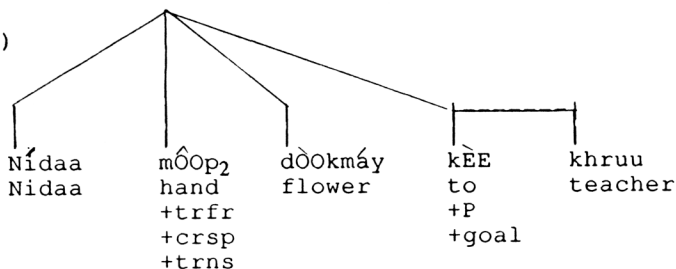
in which hây indicating goal may not appear with non-transfer verbs such as sII 'buy'. mŌOp<sub>1</sub> is then a ditransitive verb which cooccurs with the adverb hây indicating goal and requires three arguments. There is another ditransitive mŌOp<sub>2</sub> which cooccurs with the preposition kĒE 'to' and an optional adverb hây indicating goal as shown in (44a) and (44b).

(44a)



'Nida handed flowers to the teacher.'

(44b)



'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 thII<sub>2</sub> krapǎw hây  
Dang carry bag hay

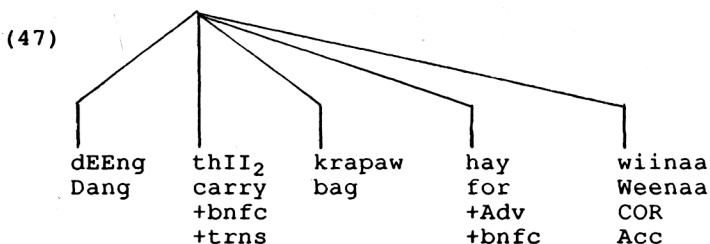
'Dang carried a bag for.'

Further, the benefactive hây is obligatory and is therefore a complement as the ungrammatical (46) shows.

- (46) \*      dEEng thII<sub>2</sub>    krapaw    wiinaa  
              Dang    carry    bag            Weena  
                               +bnfc

'Dang carries a bag for Weena.'

When hay is absent, the sentence no longer expresses the benefactive meaning. For the sentence (46) to be acceptable, the verb in (46) must be thII<sub>1</sub>, 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 thII<sub>2</sub> in (10) to be a benefactive ditransitive verb which requires three arguments and the benefactive hay. The tree structure of (10) in which both hay and Weena are dependents of the ditransitive verb thII<sub>2</sub> is shown in (47).



'Dang carries a bag for Weena.'

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

## V. Conclusions

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

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