DISCOURSE AND COGNITIVE RESOURCES FOR GRAMMATICALIZATION IN THAI

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In this paper, I will discuss some processes of grammaticalization found in Thai. I will do it in three steps. First, I will introduce an emerging theoretical framework for functional linguistics known as the "usage-based model of language." This will properly situate the grammaticalization processes which I will investigate. Second, I will draw our attention to the synchronic grammatical phenomenon which I refer to as the "bi-polar distribution of a word," whereby the same word appears at two opposite positions in a sentence. Third, I will focus on one particular Thai word, *hây* 'give,' to illustrate how grammaticalization proceeds to produce the bipolarization pattern.

1. Usage-based Model of Language

The "Usage-based Model of Language" was first proposed by Langacker in his 1987 book on Cognitive Grammar. This model of language, according to him, gives "substantial importance (...) to the actual use of the linguistic system and a speaker's knowledge of this use." (p.494). More recently Barlow and Kemmer in their edited book published in 2000 extended the range of this model and suggest diverse areas of linguistic research which can be fruitfully examined under this model. According to them "the speaker's linguistic system is fundamentally grounded in 'usage events.'" This means, among others, that the usage events provide the foundation for forming the abstract linguistic systems (or schemas), and that the linguistic structure is highly fluid and is subject to constant restructuring.

The usage-based model of language, thus, provides an ideal theoretical framework for the study of language change and grammaticalization, since it is in the actual use of language where language change takes place. Methodologically, this model allows us to examine the synchronic data to achieve a better understanding of how grammar may change. I will investigate one interesting synchronic grammatical

phenomenon found in Thai, which I refer to as the bipolar distribution of a word, and suggest how it has developed its current pattern.

2. Bipolar distribution of a word

The bipolar distribution of a word, as I already mentioned, refers to a phenomenon whereby the same word appears at the opposite ends of a linguistic unit with different functions. In (1-a) X is a word, and it appears at the beginning of a unit as X1, and at the end of a unit as X2. As shown in (1-b), X1 and X2 may appear at the two poles of the same unit. When X1 and X2 have the identical shape (which is often the case), the different functions ascribed to them are defined exclusively by their positions.

(1-a)   X1 ....
                 ....X2
    -b)   X1 .... X2

I will discuss four words which show the bipolar distribution. They are, *hây, lɛ́ɛw, ləəy*, and *dây*. These words are function words of various sorts when they appear at the periphery, but they may also appear as verbs. Their meaning as verbs are: *hây* = give; *lɛ́ɛw* = finish, *ləəy* = pass, go beyond; and *dây*. = get, obtain. What this means, in light of the general pattern of grammaticalization, is that bipolarization *is a consequence of the process whereby a lexical verb changes into a function word.*

Let's look at some examples of the bipolarization pattern. Most of the examples are from a data set consisting of 38 telephone conversations provided to me by Supa Chotchoey. The telephone conversations were recorded at one household for some period of time, during which one female member of the family was expecting a baby and finally delivered a baby boy. Thus many people called in to check if she had delivered her baby yet. I have supplemented this data with earthquake conversation data which I collected in Los Angeles in 1994.

(2)
hây "give" (TC #114:163)

> **hây** mɔ̌ɔ trùat **hây** chây máy
> CAU doctor examine BEN right Q
> "You had the doctor examine you, right?"

lɛ́ɛw "finish" (TC #57:11)

> **lɛ́ɛw** khʉʉn níi pay **lɛ́ɛw** lɔ̌
> CONJ evening this go ASP Q
> "And, did you already go (there) tonight?"

ləəy "pass" (TC #90:45)

> **ləəy** hây kháw toŋnán **ləəy**
> CONJ give he there D.MOD
> "So, I gave (mangostins) to him there."

dâay "get/obtain"
(TC #105:45)

> kɔ̂-ləəy [may **dâay** fàak phîi nom pay]
> so NEG AUX leave o.sister (name) go
> "So I didn't get to leave it with Sister Nom"

(TC #97:35)

> [fàak phîi nom mây **dâay**] lɔ̌
> leave o.sister (name) NEG POT SFP
> "Can't you leave (it) with Sister Nom?:"

As noted earlier, the words used in the above examples are not lexical verbs. In light of a general tendency of grammaticalization, we can assume that the words appearing here are later developments from full-fledged verbs. What we are encountering is, of course, a common phenomenon of what Hopper (1991) calls the "layering" of older and newer functions of words. But the functions associated with some words are extremely diverse, as we will see shortly, and thus requires us to examine in detail exactly how they have come about.

I will analyze the process of bipolarization with two notions: reanalysis and the layered structure of a language unit. Reanalysis, involved in many cases of grammaticalization in

general, especially at the beginning stage of grammaticalization, is a process which manipulates word boundaries; it may delete, add, or shift boundaries, and, as a consequence, a new word may be formed. It should be emphasized that reanalyses take place during actual usage events.[1]

Our second notion, the layered structure, needs some discussion. I assume that a sentence has several internal layers, represented in (3).

(3)   [[[ ]]]

The most internal layer contains the semantic core of the unit. It may take the simple form consisting of a verb and its associated arguments, or the complex form consisting, for example, of serialized core units. In the mid layer lies sentence modality and discourse salient information, represented by such words as sentence modals and left- and right-dislocated words. With these two layers a sentence expresses a discourse sensitive complete proposition, simple or complex. The most external layer contains elements outside of the proposition. In particular, it hosts discourse markers, speech act related sentence final particles, and other discourse modality expressions.

A reanalysis may take within the most internal layer, or may cross the boundaries between different layers. Sometimes a word falls out of one layer, and acquires an even more grammatical status. For example, *lɛ́ɛw* moved out of the core and settled in the posterior mid layer to become the completive aspect marker, and as it moved to the most external layer it further grammaticalized as a sentence final particle. What is interesting in the case of the conjunctive *lɛ́ɛw* is that it reached the sentence initial position from the sentence final position of the aspectual *lɛ́ɛw* In other words, the conjunctive *lɛ́ɛw* was grammaticalized in the context where two sentences are juxtaposed in discourse, and the final element of the prior sentence is reanalyzed as the initial element of the following sentence. Although *ləəy* also has the conjunctive function, it has arrived at its position from within. This is shown by the fact that *ləəy* appears after the subject and the highlighting particle *kɔ́* as in "*kháw kɔ́ ləəy ...*" This contrasts with the case of *lɛ́ɛw* which appears before the subject "*lɛ́ɛw kháw kɔ́ ....*" As it has moved toward the extreme posterior of a

sentence, *ləəy* has also acquired the discourse modality function, or an emphatic marker. *Dây* also shows bipolarization, but it took different routes from any of the others mentioned above. The anterior *dây* is a consequence of the expansion of the possible constituents that *dây* takes. That is, when it became possible to have a verb phrase instead of a noun phrase after *dây*, it came to mean 'obtaining a situation' rather than 'obtaining an object.' The posterior *dây* is probably a consequence of the resultative construction, but I will not go into details here.

3. The case of *hây*

I will now provide a detailed analysis of how different functions of *hây* have emerged. I have identified eleven different uses of *hây* in the data. Their relationship to each other is summarized in Diagram shown in (5) on the next page. Most of these instances of *hây* appear within the most inner layer, either at the anterior, posterior, or internal position, but two appears in the mid layer.
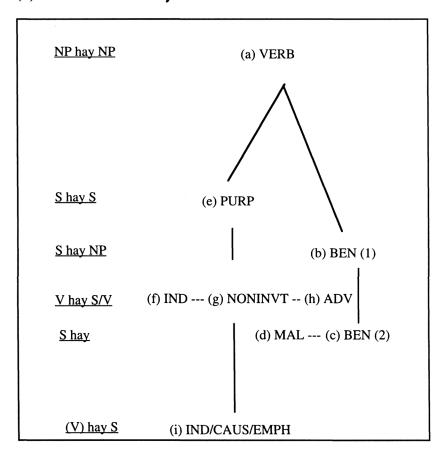
Different functions along the vertical axis have different structural characteristics, as indicated at the left or right side of each horizontal line. Functions lined up on the same horizontal line are identical structurally, but have different semantic characteristics.

Following a very general pattern of grammaticalization, we assume that all grammatical *hây* are derived from the lexical verb *hây*. When it is used as a lexical verb, *hây* is followed by either a Patient or Recipient NP, as shown in (4).

(4) VERB (NP hay NP)

      (**hây** + PAT)   **hây** námklʉa ləəy ná nâ (TC #106:12)
                    give saline.solustion SAdv SFP SFP
                    (They should) give you saline solustion .

      (**hây** + REC)   **hây** chán lɤ̌ə (TC #108:65)
                    give me   Q
                    (Are you going to) give (it) to me.

(5)   Functions of **hây**

NP hay NP   (a) VERB

S hay S   (e) PURP

S hay NP   (b) BEN (1)

V hay S/V   (f) IND --- (g) NONINVT -- (h) ADV

S hay   (d) MAL --- (c) BEN (2)

(V) hay S   (i) IND/CAUS/EMPH

In the development of the functions of *hây*, there are two distinct branches. One is the benefactive branch and the other the causative branch. The benefactive branch will develop the posterior *hây*, while the causative branch will develop the anterior hay via the centrally located *hây*.

The pathway for the benefactive meaning, especially from (a) to (b) is a common development across languages. In Thai, this process can be understood as a consequence of clause serialization, which involves a boundary loss, as schematically shown below.

(6)
(Clause serialization)

    [[[I bought a book] [( ) gave ( ) Sue]]]

(Reanalysis: boundary loss)

    [[[I bought a book gave ( ) Sue]]]

Notice that the position of *hây*, is now closer to the posterior periphery within the inner core. As this process proceeds, two things happen. First, the lexical meaning of *hây*, i.e. object transfer, becomes weakened, leading to a semantic extension of *hây*, for a more abstract situation, as shown in (7).

(7) BENEFACTIVE (1)
(S *hây* NP: *hây* as a "preposition-like" word) (TC #59:31)

    [[[thambun   **hây** khun taa]]]
        make.merit   give grandfather
    (We will) perform merit making for our grandfather..

The other development is ellipsis of the Recipient NP after *hây*, leading to a reanalysis, which pushes *hây*, out of the inner core into the mid layer to become a sentence modal.

(8) BENEFACTIVE (2) (S *hây*: hay as a sentence modal)
(TC #93:38)
    [[dĭaw cà   [bɔ̀ɔk] **hây**] ná]
        soon MOD   tell   give SFP
    (I'll) tell you in a moment.

Incidentally, the structure represented by (8) has also acquired a different function with a malfactive meaning.
    In the causative branch, we first encounter the purposive *hây*, which has developed via the process of amalgamation. Amalgamation is like serialization, but combines two clauses with one common element as a pivot. For example, two clauses "I bought a book for my friend (*phŏm sʉ́ʉ năŋsʉ́ʉ maa hây phʉ̀an*)" and "My friend read it (*phʉ̀an àan*)" will be amalgamated with "my friend" as a pivot to produce "I bought a book for my friend (to) read," or "*phŏm sʉ́ʉ năŋsʉ́ʉ maa hây phʉ̀an àan.*"

(9)

> [[[I bought a book give my friend] [my friend read (it)]]]

(Reanalysis: Boundary loss + Amaglamation)

> [[[I bought a book give **my friend** read (it)]]]

Examine an actual example of purposive *hây* in (10).

(10) PURPOSIVE (S *hây* S)

> (TC #90:169)
> [[fàak thúrian pay **hây** câw ʔûan   kin]] nɔ̀y]
>   leave durian go   give PFX (nick.name) eat   SFE
> May I leave a durian (with you) for the Fat boy to eat?

> (#90:169)
> [[fàak thurian pay **hây** câw ʔûan kin]] nɔ̀y]
>   { V hay NP }
>   {NP   V }

In this example, *câw ʔûan* is the pivot, around which two clauses are amalgamated. *Hây* in this sentence still retains good part of the meaning associated with the lexical verb *hây* 'give,' because this sentence means essentially that "I leave a durian with you for the purpose of giving it to the Fat boy." However, as the grammaticalization process proceeds, the literal sense of giving will be weakened. Examples (11) and (12) are such cases.

(11) PURPOSIVE/INDUCIVE (S *hây* S)

> [[shoo **hây** kháw duu } } } (Earthquake)
>   show give he   see
> "I will show them to see"

(12) PURPOSIVE/INDUCIVE (S *hây* S)

> [mɔ̌ɔ-kháw [lâw **hây** faŋ]]]   (TC #114:170)
>   doctor-he   tell give listen
> 'The doctor told (something for me) to listen.'

In these examples, the first event ('show' and 'tell') is done for the purpose of the second event, and *hây* does not have the

literal sense of giving some object to someone. It should be also noticed that when the lexical meaning of *hây* gets weakened, the purposive meaning also gets weakened, and in some cases *hây* can be also interpreted as the inducive marker. So the examples above may be interpreted in the inducive sense: 'I will show something, and this action will induce an event of your seeing it' and 'the doctor told me something, and this action induced an event of my listening to it.' The next example of *hây* indicates the inducive meaning more strongly.

(13) INDUCIVE (S *hây* S)

(TC #115:48)
[[dîaw phǒm cà pèklíŋ **hây** phîi-cĭt-kháw pèk] hây] ná]
    soon I   MOD phone give PFX-(name)-he phone give SFP
I will call (him) so that Brother Cit will call you, okay?

It is a well known fact that the range of classes of words co-occurring with the target word in grammaticalization will increase over time. Thus in a later development, *hây* can be preceded by a complement taking verb such as *bɔ̀ɔk* 'tell', *nát* 'make an appointment', *yɔɔm* 'allow', *sàŋ* 'order', etc. It is also a well known fact that it is the complement rather than the complement taking verb which is pragmatically more salient in this type of sentence, since complement taking verbs simply classify the type of communication process, while the complement informs the content of communication. In this structure with a complement taking verb, what follows *hây* is no longer a purpose for some other event, but rather a significant event which is, or will be, induced by an inducing event coded by a complement taking verb. In other words, the act of telling something will induce a certain result. Some examp les of complement taking verbs preceding *hây* follow.

(14) INDUCIVE (S *hây* S)

    kháw bɔ̀ɔk **hây** thoo-pay thǎam (TC #117:14)
    he   tell give phone-go ask
    He told me to call and ask.

    cà yɔɔŋ **hây** klàp-pay (Earthquake)
    ASP allow give return-go
    (They) would allow (us) to go back (to our rooms).

mɔ̌ɔ nát **hây** pay ʔik lέεw lǒ   (TC #114:11)
doctor make.appointment give go again ASP Q
Did the doctor make an appointment for you to go (to
see her) again?

There are two minor extensions of the inducive type of *hây*:
non-interventive and adverbial *hây*. With the noninterventive
hây, the second event has a propensity to occur, and the first
event is simply a process leading to the second event, as shown
in (15) below. With the adverbial *hây*, the second part is a
state which will be induced.

(15) NONINTERVENTIVE (S *hây* S)

tɔ̂ŋ rɔɔ **hây** pùat thɔ́ɔŋ   (TC #94:23)
must wait give hurt stomach
"(You) have to wait till you have a contraction."

(16) ADVERBIAL (S *hây* V)

duu **hây** ríaprɔ́ɔy   (TC #58:14)
see give complete
"(After) you finish seeing her, ..."

A more significant development of *hây* is the development of
the causative and emphatic *hây*. Both types of *hây* appears at
the beginning of the inner layer. I will only discuss the
causative *hây* in the remainder of this paper.

(17) CAUSATIVE (NP *hây* S)

hây châŋ kháw thamŋaan   (TC #114:115)
give worker-he work
"(I will) have workers work."

(18) EMPHATIC (NP *hây* S)

hây sòŋ khàaw maa   (TC #114:183)
give send news come
"Send us the news."

The causative meaning of *hây* is already detectable in some
cases of inducive *hây*. I would claim that the importance of
the inducing event becomes substantially weak as the saliency

of the induced event becomes stronger to the extent that it is no longer expressed. In the next excerpt, *hây* appears in two speakers' turns.

(19) INDUCIVE/CAUSATIVE (S *hây* S)
(#TC106:34)

     34 A: kháw bɔ̀ɔk **hây** laa khrûn wan [...]
          she tell give leave half day
          She told me to leave my work early.
--->   35 B: ʔɔ̌ɔ châ*y* **hây** maa yùu ka nɔ́ɔy (#TC106:35)
          oh yes give come stay with (name)
          Oh, yes. So that you can stay with Noy.

Speakers A and B are sisters and they have another sister C. In line 34, A uses the inducive *hây* with the complement taking *bɔ̀ɔk*. This sentence means that C told A to leave her work early so that she can assist Speaker B when she goes to deliver her baby. Now on line 35, Speaker B reports that C also said that if A leaves her work early she can come to take care of a child at home when B goes to the hospital. Notice that line 35 conceptually includes Sister C as the producer of the sentence *maa yùu ka nɔ́ɔy* '(you) can stay with Noy,' but the noun phrase referring to C didn't appear. That is, structurally *hây* appears at the beginning of a sentence, and simply signals that what follows is some event that is induced.

    Another clue for the process of obtaining the causative *hây* may be found in example (20). In this utterence, the inducing event of ordering is first expressed in a separate sentence, *kháw sàŋ ʔaw-wáy* 'he ordered me,' and then the complement headed by *hây* is added as an independent segment. It is possible to analyze this *hây* as the inducive *hây*, or as the causative *hây*. These two possibilities for analysis are important not only for the analysts, but also for the users of the language. This type of ambiguous situation will bring about a change in grammatical structure, and the birth of new functions.

(20) INDUCIVE/CAUSATIVE (S *hây* S) (TC #114:47)
[[[kháw sàŋ] ʔaw-wáy]] [[[**hây** bɔ̀ɔk kàp phayabaan yaŋ ŋíi]]]
   he   order ASP   give tell with nurse   way this
     He ordered me to tell the nurse this way.

I will show a more extended discourse segment to trace the process of developing the causative *hay*.

(21) TC #114

16:B   lέw tɔn-níi pay trùat   thǐi khiinǐk
CON now   go   examine at   clinick

     khaw níi kɔ̂ trùat   ʔík thii nɛ̀ŋ
     time   this HP examine again CLS one

     kháw kɔ̂ ləəy **bɔ̀k wâa** nía dǐaw khʉʉn nía **hây** pay
     he   HP CONJ tell say   DM ADV evening this give go

     sǎam thûm
     three hour

17:A   pay nɔɔn ləəy
     go   sleep SAdv

18:B   sǎam thûm kwà kwàa **hây** pay nɔɔn
     three hour over over give go sleep

     lέw   **hây** bɔ̀k pùat thɔ́ɔŋ pen ʔaray yaŋŋía
     CONJ give tell hurt stomach be   what SFE

     tὲ ciŋ ciŋ ʔem yaŋ mây pùat ləəy
     but real real (name) yet NEG hurt SAdv

     lakhɔɔn lakhɔɔn sǒŋsǎy
     act   act   I.think

19A   hây ... **hây** bɔ̀k pùat thɔ́ɔn
     give   give tell hurt stomach

20:B   ʔəə **hây** bɔ̀k (wâ) pùat thɔ́ɔn ʔaray yaŋŋía
     INJ give tell (say) hurt stomach what SFE

     kháw ca   hây ʔɔ̀ɔk phrûŋ-níi
     he   MOD give deliver tomorrow

21A   kháw ca   hây ʔɔ̀ɔk phrûŋ níi
     he   MOD give deliver tomorrow

22:B   ʔəə
     INJ

23A   kháw ca   ʔaw ʔɔ̀ɔk lǎ
        he   MOD take deliver Q

24:B   ʔəə kháw hây ʔem ʔɔ̀ɔk phrûŋ-níi ŋay
        INJ he   give (name) deliver tomorrow SFP

25A   ʔəə
        INJ

(English translation)
16   Then I went to the clinic to have them check me.
        Now they checked it again.
        So they said I would go there tonight at 9 PM.
17   To stay there.
18   Around 9 PM (they told me) to stay there
        and (they told me) to say I am having contractions, or
        something like that.
        but actually I am not having any contractions yet
        Fake, fake, I think.
19   (They told you) to say that you are having contractions?
20   Yeah.   (They told me) to tell them I am having
        contractions, or something like that.
        They would have me deliver-(the baby) tomorrow.
21   They will make you deliver tomorrow?
22   Yeah.
23   Will they induce the labor?
24   Yes.
25   They will make me deliver the baby tomorrow, you
        see?

In the last line of 16, Speaker B sets up a speech quotation environment with *bɔ̀ɔk* 'tell.' We understand that the doctor's act of 'telling' will induce an event of the speaker's 'going there at 9 PM.' Notice, however, that in the subsequent discourse other induced events are expressed, 'going to sleep there' (line 18) and 'telling the nurse that you are having contractions' (lines 18-20). What needs to be emphasized here in these subsequent cases is that there is no explicit verb indicating an inducing event of 'telling,' making *hây* the first element in the sentence. Conceptually, each event can be understood as an event induced by the doctor's act of telling (i.e. the doctor told me to do ...), but structurally the act of telling is not expressed, and thus takes the form of a causative

sentence. Such ambiguous context is required for the structure to change.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I situated my study of grammaticalization within the framework of the usage-based model of language. I drew our attention to the phenomenon of the bi-polar distribution of a word, and analyzed it with the notions of reanalysis and layered structure of a sentence. Then I examined in detail how different functions of *hây* may have emerged. With no actual examination of texts, my claim remains as a hypothesis. However, the process I proposed is a reasonable one in light of the general pattern of grammaticalization. The most significant aspect of this paper, however, has been an actual examination of a discourse event. It is only through discourse analysis of the sort attempted in this paper that we attain our understanding of the on-going process of grammaticalization. And I hope I was succeeded in explaining that grammaticalization is a synchronic phenomenon as well as a diachronic phenomenon.

Note

1. Langacker (1977:65) mentions that boundary shift is less common than boundary loss (but more common than boundary creation). But many instances of grammaticalization described here are cases of boundary shift.

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