

GRAMMATICALIZATION OF DEVERBAL MARKERS: TOWARD A CROSS-LINGUISTIC STUDY IN THE SEMANTIC EXTENSION OF MOTION VERBS¹

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0 Introduction

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

1 Background and Proposed Patterns

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

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|-----|
| (1) | | | --> | TAM | --> | CONJV | |
| | (XXI) V | --> | RES | --> | Vd | --> | TAM |
| | (XXII) V | --> | CV | --> | CONJV | | |
| | | --> | COV | --> | CONIV | | |

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

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

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

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

2 Two Directions of Grammaticalization

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

2.1 Type I: V --> Vd --> TAM --> COV --> CONJV --> CONV --> LEX

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

Table1: *The Chains of Polyfunctionality with paj and maa*

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

² The two Thai narrative stories are:

(a) ‘taam sadèt klaj bâan’ or Retour the route to Europe as visited by King Rama V, Amporn Jirattikorn, Bangkok, Matichon Publisher, 2540 (1997)

(b) ‘phûuan’ or Friends, prabhatsorn sewikun, Bangkok, dōok-yaa Publisher, 4th edition, 2540 (1997)

| | | |
|-------------------|---|-----------------------------|
| | reached or approached | |
| CONJV | purposive sequential | the same as <i>paj</i> |
| CONV ³ | V <i>paj</i> indicating two on-going actions | V <i>paj</i> not applicable |
| LEX | V <i>paj</i> V <i>maa</i> --> indicating repetition of the action --> shifting to a particular meaning which denotes the eventuality and functions as an eventual marker (showing adverb-like function) | |

(3) *paj*V

- a. khòpkhun mâak phôm paj kòòn
 thank you very much I (MASC) GO:V before
 ná? kráp
 SFM POLITE
 ‘Thank you very much. I have to go now.’

Vd

- b. pingu khó? pràtuu hōwṇáam léew pèəd dān
 Pingu knock door toilet CONJ open walk
 khâw paj
 enter GO:Vd
 ‘Pingu knocked on the door, opened it and walked into the toilet.’

TAM

- c. pingu kô? nōn kòot túkkata thîi mēe
 Pingu CONJ lie hold teddy bear REL M mother
 hâj maa con lăp paj
 give come CONJ sleep GONE:pass away
 ‘Pingu held the teddy bear that his mother had prepared for him until he fell asleep.’
 d. léew lôok pengûin kô? dān paj dān
 then child penguin CONJ walk go walk
paj rûuway rûuway
GO:progeSSION continuously
 ‘Then little penguin (Pingu) kept on walking continuously.’
 e. paj raw klàp kanthè nawa
let’s we return together Nawa
 ‘Nawa, let’s go back.’
 f. paj khâw hōwṇáam dâj léew
direction enter toilet possibility now
 ‘Go to the toilet now.’

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

COV

g. wanníi pen wan thîi pingu cà dǎnthaaŋ
 today COPULA day REL M Pingu will travel
 paj bâan p̄aa khondiiaw
 TO:COV house aunt alone
 ‘Today is the day that Pingu will travel to his aunt’s house alone.’

CONJV

h. pingu dǎn paj cǎo bâan lǎŋ nùŋ
 Pingu walk GO:CONJV find house CLF one
 ‘Pingu walked and then found a house.’ (sequential)
 i. phrǎŋ? wan nîi pingu cà dǎnthaaŋ paj hǎa khun p̄aa
 because day this Pingu will travel GO:CONJV see HO aunt
 ‘Because Pingu will go to see his aunt today.’ (purposive)

CONV

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

LEX

k. pingu tham taa klîŋ klîŋ paj maa
 Pingu make eyes roll roll GO COME
 ‘Pingu rolled his eyes round repetitively.’
 l. tǎe kǎn mǎe kǎŋ mǎjdâj sǎncai
 from before mother CONJ NEG be interested in
 duon̄daaw rǎok tǎe... (omitted) kruu hâj⁴
 stars PRT but teacher give
 tham raayŋaan... (omitted) paj paj maa maa
 do report GO GO COME COME
 kǎŋlǎej hǎn maa chǎp duu daaw paj dūay
 CONJ turn come like look star go too
 ‘I hadn’t been interested in the stars before, but after my teacher ordered me to
 write a report (about the astronomer), at last I began to like the star too.’

(4) *maa*V

a. kháw maa roon̄rian sǎay thúk wan
 s/he COME:V school late every day
 ‘S/he comes to school late everyday.’

Vd

b. mii rót khǎn khǎŋ khǎp phàn maa
 there is car carry thing drive pass COME:Vd
 ‘There is a freight car coming by.’

TAM

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

- c. maa wâaj câawthîi câawthaaj kan kòon
COME:TAM to pay respect the guardian spirit of one's land together before
 'Let's make the sacrifice to the guardian spirit first.'
- d. maa kin aahăan khǝŋ paa kòon
COME:TAM eat food POSSESSIVE aunt before
 'Come on and try my dish first.'

COV

- e. khaw cà bin maa jîipùn aathít năa
 s/he will fly TO:COV Japan week next
 'S/he will fly to Japan next week.'

CONJV

- f. pingu pît pràtuu sǝŋ daŋ nǝŋ kǝlǝj tùum
 Pingu close door noise loud brother CONJ awake
 khûn maa rǝŋhâj
 ascend COME:CONJV cry (sequential)
 'As Pingu closed the door loudly, his brother awoke and cried.'
- g. súu khǝŋ maa fâak dūay ná
 buy thing COME:CONJV make gift too PRT
 khráp phîi
 POLITE elder brother/sister
 'Please buy a souvenir for me too.'

The examples in (3) and (4) above illustrate various functions of the two motion verbs. Although the surface forms of these verbs are the same, their functions differ according to the environment in which they occur. Let us take *paj* for instance. We can see that the positions of *paj* in the serial verb constructions (henceforth SVCs) are different. That is, the verb can develop into a Vd when modifying the preceding verb as path or direction markers (cf. (3 and 4b)). In (3 and 4g), it can take a prepositional argument and function as a COV. Further, it functions as a CONJV, i.e. it links the following action to the preceding one, expressing such relations as purpose and temporal sequence, while converbs express the simultaneity of two actions. Moreover, we can see that both *paj* and *maa* can denote the sense of repetition that leads to a particular meaning, functioning as a near-lexicalized eventual marker.

2.2. Type II: V --> COV --> CLM (LEX)

This type of grammaticalization pattern has three typical examples, namely *càak* 'to leave', *thǝŋ* 'to arrive', and *lǝj* 'to pass, exceed'. These tend to be natural choices, since there are corresponding usages of motion verbs in other languages, for example, Vietnamese (cf. *đến* 'to arrive').⁵

⁵ The similar phenomenon can be seen in Vietnamese too. The examples of *đến* 'to arrive' are cited below (based on Nguyen 1979):

COV --> ALLATIVE: Xe chạy đến ga mới đỗ khách.

'The bus will not discharge its passengers until it arrives at the station'

TEMPORAL: đọc báo đến hai giờ sáng

'to read newspaper until 2 am.'

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| <u>Categories</u> | <i>càak</i> ‘to leave’ |
| V | to depart from a reference point |
| COV | ablative |
| | ‘since’ |
| | agent |
| | instrument |
| | (tool, force, material, means) |
| CLM (LEX) | cause and reason |
| | <i>nûtaay càak</i> ‘because’ |
| | <i>nôok càak</i> ‘except for’ |
| | <i>lăy càak</i> ‘after’ |
| | <i>càak nán</i> ‘after that’ |

V

COV

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| FOCUS PARTICLE: | tiêu đến 20 đồng 'to spend as much as twenty dong' |
| DEGREE MARKER: | đọc đến rức đầu 'to read so much as to have a headache' |
| EVEN: | đến (cả) ông, nó cũng không sợ. 'He is not afraid even of you.' |
| TERMINAL: | biết đến 'to know about/of'; nghĩ đến 'to think about/of'; nói đến 'to remember' |

- f. lûuk súu khǒŋ phûuak ní cǎak ɣəən sɪnsòt
 I buy thing NUMBER this INSTRUMENT:COV money betrothal
 ‘I bought these things with the betrothal money.’
- g. phrǒʔ nùuay cǎak kaan dǎnthaaŋ
 because be tired CAUSE:COV NOM travel
 ‘Because (Pingu) is tired due to his travelling.’

CLM

- c. nûaŋ cǎak sòŋ sǎaŋ daŋ kôʔləəj tham hâj
 BECAUSE (OF) send noise loud CONJ make/do give
 nǒŋ tûuun
 brother awake
 ‘Because of a loud noise, his brother was awoken.’

Next, we will list up the interconnection between various functions of *thǔŋ* ‘to arrive’ as shown below.

Table 3: *The Chain of Polyfunctionality with thǔŋ*

| Categories | <i>thǔŋ</i> ‘to arrive’ |
|---------------|---|
| V | to get to a place |
| COMPLEMENT V | indicating the achievement |
| COV | allative ‘until’ recipient terminal |
| FOCUS MARKER | to emphasize the amount |
| DEGREE MARKER | to indicate degree of an action or state by preceding the modification phrase <i>thǔŋ kâp; thǔŋ khanàat</i> |
| PREVERB | a colloquialism of <i>cun</i> , introducing the resultant statement. It can be used as a clause-linkage marker, too. |
| CLM (LEX) | ‘even’ ⁶ concessive <i>thǔŋ méé wâa; thǔŋ jàaŋ raj</i> <i>thǔŋ krànáŋkôʔ taam</i> |

(6) *thǔŋ*

⁶ The difference between EVEN and CONCESSIVE of *thǔŋ* can be briefed as follows:

| | Subordinate clause | Main clause |
|-------------|---------------------------|---|
| EVEN: | <i>thǔŋ</i> (pen) [NORM] | won’t do what one is expected to do. |
| CONCESSIVE: | <i>thǔŋ</i> [EXPECTATION] | will do what one is not expected to do. |

V

- a. pingu tron paj rûuayrûuay naj thîsùt kô?
 Pingu walk-straight go keep on in the end CONJ
thûn bân khun pâa
ARRIVE:V house HO aunt
 ‘Pingu kept on going straight ahead, and at last (he) arrived at his aunt’s house.’

COMPLEMENT V

- b. lôn ùthaan jàan khít māj thûn
 she exclaim like think NEG ARRIVE:COMP
 ‘She exclaimed surprisingly.’

COV

- c. khun lun khàp maa thûn thaaj yêek
 HO uncle drive come ALLATIVE:COV way separate
 ‘The uncle drove along until the crossroad.’
 d. thúk thii hên yùu thûn hâathûm sǝŋyaam
 every time see be UNTIL:COV 11 pm 12 pm
 ‘I usually see him here until 11 or 12 pm.’
 e. fâak khwaam khítthûn thûn khun pâa dâaj
 deposit NOM regards RECIPIENT:COV HO aunt too
 ‘(Please) give my regards to your aunt.’
 f. mûuua thorasàp paj thûn bân léew
 when telephone go TERMINAL:COV house finish
 ‘When (Pingu’s aunt) telephoned (Pingu’s) house,...’

FOCUS MARKER

- g. kaan dǝŋthaan kin weelaa thûn cèt duuan
 NOM travel eat time EMPHASIS 7 months
 ‘The travel took times as much as 7 months.’

DEGREE MARKER

- h. kháw kròot mâak thûnkàp phûut māj òk
 he be angry much DEGREE speak NEG come out
 ‘He was so angry that he could not speak.’

PREVERB

- i. thammaj thûn dâj khít wâa phûuak phîi
 why PREVERB possibility think say NUMBER this
 pen nákmua y lâ? khráp
 be boxer particle POLITE
 ‘Why do you think we are the boxers?’
 j. phôm paj thîi borisàt kǝŋn léew thûn
 I (MASC) go to company first then PREVERB
 maa thîinîi
 come here
 ‘I went to the company first, then came here.’

CLM

- k. thûn pen khon kèe kháw kô? māj lúk

EVEN IF:CLM be person old s/he CONJ NEG get up
hâj nâŋ ('even')

give sit

'He never offer the seat to anyone, even to old people.'

l. thũŋ jaŋ dèk kháw kô? mii khwaam

THOUGH:CLM still child s/he CONJ have NOM

ráp-phìtchôp (concessive)

responsibility

'Though he is still a child, he has a sense of responsibility.'

The last member of this type is *ləj* 'to pass, exceed'. This item also shows its polyfunctionality in line with the other two items illustrated above.

Table 4: *The Chain of Polyfunctionality with *ləj**

| <u>Categories</u> | <i>ləj</i> 'to pass, exceed' |
|-------------------|---|
| V | to pass or exceed the reference point |
| Vd | past, through |
| COV | excessive past the reference time |
| POSTVERB | manner adverbial 'immediately' |
| EMPHASIS MARKER | to emphasize the degree of an action or state determined by the speaker's attitude. |
| CLM | showing the resultant state or the following action |

(7) *ləj*

V

a. thaa ləj baŋpuu paj léew cà hăa

if PASS:V Bangpuu go PERFECT will find

răan aahăan jâak dūay

shop food difficult too

'If (we) go beyond Bangpuu, it 's difficult to find the food shop.'

Vd

b. phôm mɔɔŋ ləj paj thîi koosôn

I (MASC) look PAST:Vd go at Koson

'I looked at Koson.'

COV

c. rôtmeé léen ləj pâaj

bus run PAST:COV bus stop
 ‘The bus ran past the bus stop.’

POSTVERB

d. paa bə̀ək pingu waa “kin lə̀əj cā”
 aunt tell Pingu say eat IMMEDIATELY POLITE
 ‘His aunt told Pingu that “Please have it (at once).”’

EMPHASIS MARKER

e. Hūh! jaŋ cháaw yūu lə̀əj
 interjection still morning be EMPHASIS MARKER
 ‘Huh! It’s too early to get up.’

CLM

f. pingu thán nūuway lé? hīw lə̀əj kin mət
 Pingu both be tired and be hungry PASS:CLM eat all
 ‘Pingu was tired and hungry, so he ate everything.’
 g. pingu kō? ləp paj léəw paa lə̀əj pīt
 Pingu CONJ sleep go PERFECT aunt THEN:CLM switch off
 faj hāj nōon há?
 light give lie POLITE
 ‘After Pingu went asleep, his aunt then switched off the light for him.’

Considering examples (5) to (7) together with (3) to (4) exemplified earlier, we can safely state that these verbs have extended their semantics from lexical words to grammatical words and developed polyfunctionality following the course of extension as in other serial verb languages.

In the next section, we try to explicate differences in the functions of these verbs as lexical verbs and grammatical markers by looking at their syntactic properties based on the analysis of *càak* and *thūŋ*.

3 Some Evidence from the Syntactic Side

The grammaticalized verbs exemplified in the preceding section do not appear with agent-oriented adverbials and take neither an obligation marker nor a negation marker, whereas fully lexical verbs do. These points are borne out by the following tests. First let us start with an obligation marker.

- (8) a. khaw tōŋ càak baan kə̀ət
 s/he OBLIG LEAVE:V home to be born
 ‘S/he had to leave her/his hometown.’
 b. *pingu dājrāp khanōmpan tōŋ càak khon khāan thaan
 Pingu receive bread OBLIG FROM:COV person wayside
 ‘Pingu received some bread *must from the wayside people.’
 c. *tōŋ càak kaan thīi khaw khajǎn
 OBLIG BECAUSE NOM REL M s/he diligent

kháw cuŋ sòp dâj
 s/he CONJ test POSSIBILITY
 ‘*Must because of his/her diligence, s/he can pass the exam.’

Second, the contrast can be attested by using the subject-oriented adverbials such as *rew* (early; quickly; fast) and the postverbal NP ellipsis rule.

- (9) a. kháw thũŋ bâan rew
 s/he ARRIVE:V house early
 ‘S/he arrived her/his house early.’
 b. *fâak khwaam khítthũŋ thũŋ khun paa rew
 deposit NOM regards TO:COV HO aunt quickly
 ‘Please give my regards to your aunt *quickly.’
 c. *thũŋ rew jaŋ dèk kháw kô? mii khwaam
 THOUGH quickly still child s/he CONJ have NOM
 rápphitchôp
 responsibility
 ‘Though *early/quickly s/he is still a child, s/he has the sense of responsibility.’

These examples show a clear-cut distinction in the words *càak* and *thũŋ* between lexical uses as in (8a) and (9a) and deverbal uses as in (8b, c) and (9b, c). Third, the same point can be made with regard to the negative marker *mâj*.

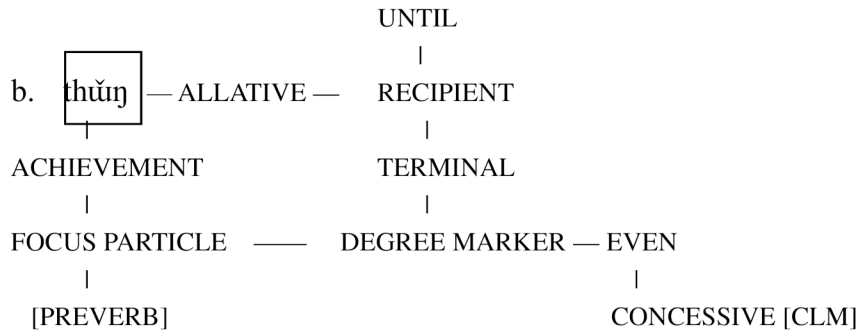
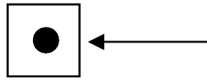
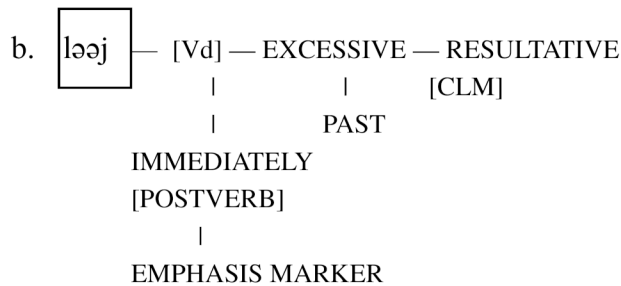
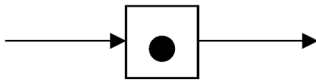
- (10) a. kháw jaŋ mâj thũŋ (bâan)
 s/he yet NEG ARRIVE:V (house)
 ‘S/he has not arrived yet.’
 b. *kháw thoorasàp mâj thũŋ phûuuan
 s/he phone NEG TO:COV friend
 ‘S/he phoned *not to her/his friend.’
 c. *mâj thũŋ jaŋ dèk kháw kô? mii khwaam
 NEG THOUGH still child s/he CONJ have NOM
 rápphitchôp
 responsibility
 ‘*Not though s/he is a child, s/he has the sense of responsibility.’

From these pieces of evidence, we may assume that the two patterns of grammaticalization of motion verbs which we proposed earlier are well-established.

4 Crosslinguistic Validity of Image Schemas

The motivation for these motion verbs to develop polyfunctionality can be attributed to the similarity of schematic meanings. That is, this phenomenon can be understood in terms of the ‘gestalt preserving’ nature of semantic extension (cf. Ohori 1995: 703, who discusses Japanese *kara* ‘from/since’ and other case marker-clause linkage marker parallels; see Talmy 1988; Sweetser 1988).⁷ For a recent argument that image schematic meanings are

⁷ The word ‘polyfunctionality’ adopted here is used to mean that a lexical word in the isolating languages, such as Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian etc., commonly has a versatile usage without

(14) a. *thǔŋ* ‘to arrive’(15) a. *lǎj* ‘to pass, exceed’

5 General Remarks

Based on the above schemas, a number of interesting observations arise, some of which are given below.

First, does the same happen in other languages as well? Given the generality of image schemas, we would say that may be true in a lot of cases, but there are certain language-specific differences. For example, the use of the source marker to encode agents is limited in Thai. In a well-developed case marking language such as Japanese, it is possible to mark the agent of speech event verbs with *kara* ‘from’, but this is not the case in Thai.

(16) *watasi-kara kodomo-ni chuui si-masu*
 I-FROM kid-DATIVE complain do-POLITE
 ‘I will advise the kids.’

(17) **càak chán cà dùu dèk*
 FROM I will scold kid

It would be interesting to see how broad the coverage of the adpositional uses of motion verbs can be in non-case marking languages.

Secondly, the concessive use of *thǔ̃n* ‘to arrive’ seems at first surprising. One may expect, for example, that it would mark result. We are not yet certain why this is the case, but one possibility is that a concessive interpretation implicitly assumes some scale. The form *thǔ̃n* in its deverbal use may mark an intermediate goal, and there may be a further, implicit goal which is the true endpoint. See the schema in (18).

- (18) X does something or is at state Y with a further reference point of Y’
 X ----- Y -----> Y’

In this connection, it seems interesting to see origins of concessive markers in typologically similar languages.

Finally, the present study is expected to promote our understanding of serial verbs (cf. Lefebvre 1991) and contribute to the typology of event integration (cf. Talmy 1991). According to Talmy’s study, there are two basic types of language, namely verb-framed languages, where the notion of path is incorporated in the verb (as Spanish), and satellite-framed languages, where path is realized as a satellite, the verb incorporated manner (as in English). Talmy also notes that Japanese is a verb-framed language while Chinese a satellite-framed language. Then, what about other East Asian languages? Kessakul (1998) shows that Thai has both properties, though it is perhaps closer to a verb-framed language. In fact, this distinction seems best understood as a typological continuum. Li (1997) has argued that Modern-Day Chinese has changed from a verb-framed language into a satellite-framed language over the past millennium (and maybe more), showing that the verb-complement constructions encode path, state change, and realization. Although verbs we have taken up retain lexicality in Thai, this may not always be the case in other languages. For example, Chinese *shàng*, ‘to go up’ is used as a main lexical verb less frequently than its counterpart in Thai. Further inquiry into the details of event integration from the viewpoint of areal typology, including the study of serial verbs as a site of typological change, is expected in the near future.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| CLF | classifier |
| CLM | clause-linkage marker |
| COMP | complement |
| CONJ | conjunction |
| CONJV | conjunctive verb |
| CONV | converb |
| COV | coverb |
| CV | causative verb |
| HO | honorific |
| LEX | lexicalization |
| MASC | masculine |
| NEG | negative |
| NOM | nominalizer |

| | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| OBLIG | obligation |
| PRT | particle |
| REL M | relative marker |
| RES | resultative verb |
| SFM | sentence-final marker |
| TAM | tense-aspect-modality |
| Vd | directional verb |
| 1SG/PL | 1st person singular/plural |
| 2SG/PL | 2nd person singular/plural |

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