

## Chapter 3

### Spatial Relations

This chapter investigates the Thai subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 which express spatial relations. First, past analyses of the spatial meanings inherent in pay1 and maa1 will be reviewed. Next, the different and similar semantic properties of pay1 and maa1 will be investigated. Then, I will semantically classify the main verbs which can be modified by subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 expressing spatial relations. Lastly, some conclusions will be drawn as to the spatial meanings of pay1 and maa1.

#### Previous studies

This section is to review the past studies of subsidiary verbs pay1 'go' and maa1 'come' in Thai with respect to spatial relations.

The subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 have been discussed by some linguists but usually only with respect to their syntactic characteristics while their semantic characteristics have not been seriously studied.

One fairly recent significant study of these two verbs is that of Thepkanjana (1986). In her study of serial verb constructions in Thai, the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 (which she calls "serial verbs") are considered directional verbs modifying the first verb in the string in terms of direction of motion. The interpretation of these two verbs depends on the point of reference (or the center of attention) of the speech act participant.

Although the interpretation of a construction with pay1 and maa1 depends upon knowing the speech act participant's point of reference, it is not yet known what the conditions are for using pay1 or maa1. Therefore, in this thesis we also aim to investigate the usage of pay1 or maa1 in the spatial context.

#### Spatial relations denoted by pay1 and maa1

The objective of this section is to investigate what kind of spatial relations the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 denote.

As reviewed in Chapter 2, there are two types of spatial relations--static and dynamic. Static relations in space, mean relations between a thing and a place. That is, in static relations a thing is viewed in relation to a place, which is defined as the space occupied by a thing. As an example, the book on the table expresses static relations between the book (conceptualized as a thing) and the table (conceptualized as the space occupied by the thing table). The relation between the book, as a thing, and the table, as a place, is on. That is, the book is viewed as contiguous

with the surface of the table.

Dynamic relations in space mean relations between a thing and a path. In dynamic relations, a thing is viewed in relation to a path. The path consists of at least two places which are conceptually related to each other. For example, The boy walked from the house to school expresses the dynamic relations between the boy (as a thing) and a path. The path consists of two related places, the house and school. The house and school are related to each other in the mind of the speaker. These two conceptually related places give rise to a conceptual path. One place (the house) represents the original endpoint; the other (the school) is the terminal endpoint. In the example above, the boy is in motion. His motion is viewed in relation to the path whose original endpoint is the house and whose terminal endpoint is the school.

In investigating motional events, I will explore in this section whether pay1 and maa1 denote static or dynamic relations in space. Consider the following examples:

- (1)      ʔuan1   dəən1   pay1   hɔɔŋ3nam4  
           ฮวน    เดิน    ไป    ห้องน้ำ  
           Uan    walk   go    restroom

'Uan walked to the restroom (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (2)      ʔia3    dəən1    maa1    thii3    raibiaŋ1  
           เอ้า    เดิน    มา    ที่    ระเบียง  
           Uea    walk   come   at    balcony

'Uea walked to the balcony (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (3) ʔuan1 wiŋ3 maa1 khaaŋ3 nɔɔk3  
 อวต วิ่ง มา ข้าง นอก  
 Uan run come side out

'Uan ran to the outside (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (4) man1 tɔɔŋ3 khaam3 pay1 kheet1 ʔin2  
 มัน ต้อง ข้าม ไป เขต อื่น  
 it must cross go area other

'It must go across to the other area (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

Sentences (1) to (4) represent motion from some linguistically unspecified original endpoints to the linguistically specified terminal endpoints, which are hɔɔŋ3nam4 'restroom', raɪbiaŋ1 'balcony', khaaŋ3 nɔɔk3 'outside', and kheet1 ʔin2 'other area' respectively. This means that these sentences convey the concept of path, of which the terminal endpoints are explicitly spelled out in the sentences while the original endpoints are not. However, it should be noted that although we may specify only one of the two endpoints, the unspecified one still exists, though it is covert. That is to say, the motions in (1) to (4) are found to occur in relation to a path whose original endpoint is linguistically covert and whose terminal endpoint is linguistically overt.

Consider the following examples:

- (5) ʔuan1 dæən1 caak2 hɔɔŋ3nɔɔn1 pay1 hɔɔŋ3nam4  
 อวต เดิน จาก ห้องนอน ไป ห้องน้ำ  
 Uan walk from bedroom go restroom

'Uan walked from the bedroom to the restroom (in the

direction away from the speaker's point of reference).

(6) ʔuan1 dæən1 pay1

ฮวน เดิน ไป

Uan walk go

'Uan walked away (from the speaker's point of reference).'

Both sentences (5) and (6) denote motions through a path but they are different in that in sentence (5) the original and terminal endpoints are linguistically overt while in sentence (6) they are linguistically covert (not explicitly specified). In contrast, the sentence ʔuan1 dæən1 'Uan walked' represents only motion but does not represent any path at all.

To summarize, sentences (1) to (6) given above represent spatial relations of the dynamic type because they express the notion of a path which characterizes dynamic relations in space.

As subsidiary verbs denoting dynamic relations in space, pay1 and maa1 can be followed by linguistic expressions indicating different kinds of path. As reviewed in Chapter 2, paths can be classified as bounded paths, directions, and routes. The following will provide examples in which the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 are followed by linguistic expressions indicating different kinds of path.

1) Bounded paths

The original and/or terminal endpoints (the boundary) of the path can be located.

## (1) Terminal endpoint

- (7) ʔuan1 dəən1 pay1 yaŋ1 rot4 khan1 suay5  
 อวน เดิน ไป ยัง รถ คัน สวย  
 Uan walk go to car clas. beautiful

'Uan walked to the beautiful car (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (8) naaŋ17ia3 dəən1 maa1 yaŋ1 rim1 praituu1  
 นางเอื้อ เดิน มา ยัง ริม ประตู  
 Mrs. Uia walk come to edge door

'Mrs. Uia walked to the edge of the door (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (9) loon2 dəən1 pay1 thii3 thuŋ5 sia3phaa3  
 หล่อน เดิน ไป ที่ กง เสื้อผ้า  
 she walk go at bag clothes

'She walked to the bag of clothes (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (10) naaŋ17ia3 dəən1 maa1 thii3 raibiaŋ1  
 นางเอื้อ เดิน มา ที่ ระเบียง  
 Mrs. Uia walk come at balcony

'Mrs. Uia walked to the balcony (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (11) loon2 troŋ1 pay1 tallaat2  
 หล่อน ตรง ไป ตลาด  
 she move straight go market

'She went straight to the market (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (12) man1 ʔaat2caʔ2 klap2 maa1 tham3 koo3daay3  
 มัน อาจจะ กลับ มา ถ้ำ ก็ได้  
 it may return come cave maybe

'It may come back to the cave (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentences (7) to (12), the underlined expressions denote the terminal endpoints of the path indicated by pay1 or maal. They are rot4 khan1 suay5 'a beautiful car' in (7), rim1 praituu1 'the edge of the door' in (8), thuŋ5 sia3phaa3 'the bag of clothes' in (9), raibiaŋ1 'the place of balcony' in (10), tallaat2 'the market' in (11), and tham3 'the cave' in (12).

(2) Original endpoint

- (13) ʔook2 pay1 caak2 hooŋ3 chan5 daay3 rii5 yaŋ1  
 ออก ไป จาก ห้อง ฉัน ได้ หรือ ยัง  
 exit go from room I able ques. still

'Will you get out of my room (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (14) khuu3 nan4 ʔook2 maa1 caak2 tik2 lek4  
 คู่ นั้น ออก มา จาก ตึก เล็ก  
 couple that exit come from building small

'That couple came out of the small building (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentences (13) and (14) the underlined expression denotes the original endpoint of the path indicated by pay1 or maal. They are hooŋ3 chan5 'my room' in (13) and tik2 lek4 'the small building' in (14).

## 2) Direction

In this kind of path, the original and/or terminal endpoint is not specified and the place referred to in the sentence is seen in relation to a reference point.

- (15) khaw5 liaw4 pay1 thaaŋ1 hɔɔŋ3 luuk3saaw5  
 เขา เลี้ยว ไป ทาง ห้อง ลูกสาว  
 he turn go toward room daughter

'He turned toward his daughter's room (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (16) khaw5 kamllaŋ1 dɛən1 maa1 thaaŋ1 raibiaŋ1  
 เขา กำลัง เดิน มา ทาง ระเบียง  
 he prog. walk come toward balcony

'He is walking toward the balcony (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentences (15) and (16) the underlined expressions denote the places relative to the actual terminal endpoints which are not specified in the sentence. They are hɔɔŋ3 luuk3saaw5 'the daughter's room' in (15) and raibiaŋ1 'the balcony' in (16).

## 3) Route

As for this kind of path, the terminal and original endpoints are not referred to but intermediate points between these two endpoints are.

- (17) ʔuan1 dɛən1 pay1 taam1 thalnon5 siilmen1  
 อวน เดิน ไป ตาม ถนน ซีเมนต์  
 Uan walk go along road cement

'Uan walked along the cement road (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'



- (18) rot4 khan1 niŋ2 læn3 maa1  
รถ คัน หนึ่ง แล่น มา  
car clas. one move come  
taam1 thainon5 khɔɔn1kriit2  
ตาม ถนน คอนกรีต  
along road concrete

'One car moved along the road (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentences (17) and (18) the underlined expressions denote the places which are extended between the two unspecified endpoints of the path indicated by pay1 and maa1. They are thainon5 siilmen1 'the cement road' in (17) and thainon5 khɔɔn1kriit2 'the concrete road' in (18).

### Syntactic Realizations of Moving Things

This section investigates the syntactic realizations of pay1 and maa1 in Thai sentences.

In a sentence with the subsidiary verbs pay1 or maa1 there is at least one thing in motion. In this section we will examine how the moving thing is linguistically realized in the sentence.

First of all, consider the following examples:

- (19) khɔɔŋ5khwan5 nii3 soŋ2 maa1 caak2  
ของขวัญ นี้ ส่ง มา จาก  
gift this send come from

baan3 ʔaa1tham1roŋ1 kha3

บ้าน อาจารย์ ค่ะ

house Uncle Thamrong prt.

'This gift was sent from Uncle Thamrong's house (in the direction toward the speaker point of reference).'

(20) naay1bun1soŋ2 han5 pay1 thaŋ1 dek2saaw5

นายบุญส่ง หัน ไป ทาง เด็กสาว

Mr. Bunsong turn go toward young lady

'Mr. Bunsong turned toward the young lady (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(21) yaa2 thoo1ra1sap2 pay1 thii3 tham1ŋaan1 leey1

อย่า โทรศัพท์ ไป ที่ ที่ทำงาน เลย

don't telephone go at office at all

'Don't call the office (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(22) siaŋ5 ʔet2 daŋ1 maa1 caak2 muŋ4 non4

เสียง เอ็ด ดัง มา จาก มุ้ง โนน

sound scold loud come from mosquito net that

'The sound of scolding comes from that mosquito net (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

We can see that sentences (19) to (22) denote motional events of some kind. But what exactly it is that is moving in these events is not clear. This section will examine what are the moving things in the motional events where pay1 and maa1 are used as subsidiary verbs denoting dynamic relations in space.

The moving thing in a motional event (denoted by the construction in which pay1 or maa1 are subsidiary verbs) can be expressed in a sentence in four ways; 1) as a subject 2) as an object 3) as both a subject and an object 4) omitted or 5) incorporated in the main verb. We will examine each of these five types of realization in turn.

### 1. Subject of the Main Verb

The moving things can be linguistically realized as subjects of main verbs. Examples of sentences, where the subjects of main verbs denote moving things, are underlined as below:

- (23) ʔuan1 dæŋ1 pay1 ʔiap3ʔiap3  
ฮวน เดิน ไป เงียบๆ  
Uan walk go silently

'Uan walked silently (away from the speaker's location or point of reference).'

- (24) than1yaa1 dæŋ1 maa1 duay3  
ขัณฑ์ เดิน มา ด้วย  
Thanyaa walk come also

'Thanyaa also walked (toward the the speaker's point of reference).'

- (25) khaw5 ʔook2 pay1 ray3 thuk4wan1  
เขา ออก ไป ไร่ ทุกวัน  
he exit go farm everyday

'He goes out to the farm everyday (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(26) tham1may1 khaw5 may3 ʔɔɔk2 maa1

ท่าม            เขา        ไม่        ออก        มา

why            he        neg.    exit        come

'Why doesn't he come out (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference)?'

From the sentences (23) and (26), we see that subjects of main verbs express the moving things in the motional events.

Thus, ʔuan1 'Uan' in (23) (as the subject of the main verb dəən1 'walk'), than1yaa1 'Thanyaa' in (24) (as the subject of the main verb dəən1 'walk'), khaw5 'he' in (25) (as the subject of the main verb ʔɔɔk2 'exit'), and khaw5 'he' in (26) (as the subject of the main verb ʔɔɔk2 'exit') are the moving things.

Note that the above main verbs are intransitive so the only noun phrases in the sentence, which are the subjects, necessarily represents the moving things. However, some transitive main verbs require that the subjects represent the things in motion.

(27) khaw5 lop2 ruŋ4ruʔ2caa1 pay1

เขา        หลบ        รุ่งรุจา            ไป

he        flee    Rungrucaa        go

'He fled Rungrucaa (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(28) khaw5 nii5        ban1daa1    cau3nii3    maa1

เขา       หนี        บรรดา        เจ้าหนี้        มา

he       escape    those        creditor    come

daay3 yaaŋ2wut2wit2

ได้        อย่างหวุดหวิด

able        almost    impossibly

'He was almost impossibly able to escape those creditors (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In the sentences (27) and (28), the moving things are expressed by the subjects of the transitive verbs. Thus, khaw5 'he' in (27) (as the subject of the main verb lop2 'flee') and khaw5 'he' in (28) (as the subject of the main verb nii5 'escape') are the moving things. The objects of the main verbs, ruŋ4ru74caa1 'Rungrucaa' in (27) and naaŋ17εεp2 'Mrs. Aaep' in (28) are not moving.

## 2. Object of the Main Verb

Consider the following sentences:

- (29)    loon2    diŋ1    phaa3chet4tua1    maa1  
          หล่อน    ดึง    ผ้าเช็ดตัว            มา  
          she    pull    towel                come

'She pulled the towel (away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (30)    sia2            soŋ2    nuu5    pay1    thii3    7in2    the72  
          เสีย            ส่ง    ฉัน    ไป    ที่    อื่น    เหนะ  
          rich man    send    I    go    place    other    prt.

'Master, send me to another, please (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

In the sentences (29) and (30), we see that objects of the main verbs express the moving things in the motional events. Thus, phaa3chet4tua1 'towel' in (29) (as the object of the main verb diŋ1 'seize'), nuu5 'I' in (30) (as the object of the main verb soŋ2 'send') are moving things.

### 3. Subject and Object of the Main Verb

There are cases in which moving things are linguistically realized as the subjects and objects. Examples are:

- (31) thammay (khun) may3 phaa1 la74kaan1 maa1 duay3 la3  
 ทำไม (คุณ) ไม่ พา ลากาาน มา ด้วย ละ  
 why (you) Neg. bring Lakaan come together prt.

'Why don't you bring Lakaan with you (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference)?'

- (32) khaw5 taam1 ruŋ4ru74caa1 pay1  
 เขา ตาม รุ่งรุจาา ไป  
 he follow Rungrucaa go

'He walked after Rungrucaa (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentences (31) and (32), we see that both the subjects and the objects of the main verbs, namely, khun1 'you' and la74kaan1 'Lakaan' in (31) and khaw5 'he' and ruŋ4ru74caa1 'Rungrucaa' in (32) are the moving things in the motional events. Thus, the moving things expressed by the subjects and objects of the main verbs are in motion simultaneously.

### 4. Omitted from the Sentence

There are two cases in which the moving things can be omitted from the sentence. First, when the moving things can be recovered from the context, they may be omitted from the sentences. Secondly, when the moving things can be predicted from the main verb, it may be omitted.

4.1 Recoverble Moving Things

In some sentences the objects which express the moving things are deleted. This is because they have already been stated somewhere in the preceding contexts. Therefore, although in some sentences there are not any realizations of the moving things, we can recover them from the preceding sentences. For example,

(33) kuʔ2laap2 suay5 caŋ1.

กุหลาบ สวย จัง.

rose nice very.

laan5 ʔau1 \_\_\_ maa1 caak2 nay5

หลาน เา มา จาก ไหน

niece bring \_\_\_ come from where

'The rose is very nice. Where did you bring it from (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

(34) A: luŋ1 kee1 chɔɔp3 dek2 mi11 kaan1sik2saa5

ลุง แก ชอบ เด็ก มี การศึกษา

uncle he like child have education

'He likes children who are educated.'

B: lɛɛw4 phom5 caʔ2 haa5 \_\_\_ maa1 caak2 nay5 la3

แล้ว ผม จะ หา \_\_\_ มา จาก ไหน ละ

then I fut. find \_\_\_ come from where prt.

'So then, where will I be able to fetch one (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference)?'

From sentences (33) and (34), the moving things kuʔ2laap2 'the rose' and dek2 'children' are absent in these constructions with pay1 and maa1, but they can be recovered from the preceding contexts where that noun phrases are stated. This phenomenon is

called noun phrase deletion.

#### 4.2 Predictable Moving Things

Some moving things can be either expressed or explicitly omitted. The choice to express or omit the moving things rests with the speakers. If they are omitted, it is still understood what moving things the speaker are referring to.

Examples are:

(35) loon2 han5 naa3 maa1 than1thiii1

หล่อน หัน หน้า มา หันที่

she turn face come abruptly

'She turned her face abruptly (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

(36) la?kaan1 han5 pay1 yaŋ1 ʔat2

ลาگان หัน ไป ยัง อรรถน์

Lakaan turn go to At

'Lakaan turned to At (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

In (35), the moving thing is naa3 'the face'. In (36), although 'the face' is not mentioned, it is understood to be the moving thing as in sentence (35). Unlike those recoverable moving things which can be recovered from the preceding context, moving things of this type have not been mentioned earlier (they are completely omitted from the context).

Note that moving things which can be omitted, and yet are still predictable, are those denoting body parts. Also, each body part will co-occur with a particular bodily action. Thus when that body part (which is the moving thing in that event) is omitted we



still are able to understand what the speaker is referring to.

### 5. Incorporated in the Main Verb

Moving things of this type are incorporated in the main verbs. Therefore, what are moving never appear as the surface subjects or objects.

- (37)    nam4khaaŋ4    keɛ1    book2    maa1    diaw5nii4    naʔ4  
           น้ำค้าง            แก    บอก    มา    เดี่ยวนี้    นะ  
           Namkhaang    you    tell    come now            prt.  
           phoo3    keɛ1    maa1    chay3may4  
           พ่อ            แก    มา    ใ้มีช  
           father    you    come    ques.

'Namkhaang, tell me right now. (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference). Your father came, didn't he?'

- (38)    yaa2    thoo1ra1sap2    pay1    ləəy1    naʔ4  
           อย่า    โทรศัพท์            ไป    เลย    นะ  
           don't    telephone    go    at all    prt.

'Please don't call me up (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

From sentence (37), it is obvious that the moving thing is not 'Namkhaang' and that nothing is omitted from these sentences. In (38) no noun phrase appears at all. What is moving in these two sentences is the message which is inherent in the meaning of the main verb (book2 'tell' and thoo1ra74sap2 'telephone').

To sum up, the moving things are expressed in sentences with the subsidiary verbs pay1 or maa1, in four ways, 1) as the subject 2) as the object 3) as both the subject and the object 4) omitted or 5) incorporated in the main verb.

The Choice of Pay1 or Maa1

This section is to investigate when pay1 and maa1 could be used. In the preceding section it has been shown that both pay1 and maa1 indicate dynamic relations in space. Now we will see in what way they are different from each other in denoting such spatial relations.

Consider the following examples:

(39)

Niece: nuu5 khaw3 pay1 nay1 hooŋ3 daay3 may4 khaʔ4  
 หนู เข้า ไป ใน ห้อง ได้ มี ค่ะ  
 I enter go in room able ques. prt.

'Can I get into the room (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference herself)?'

(40)

Aunt: khaw3 maa1 siʔ2 laan5  
 เข้า มา สิ หลาน  
 enter come prt. niece

'Come in, niece (toward the speaker's location).'

Sentences (39) and (40) constitute a dialogue between 'the niece' and 'the aunt'. In both sentences the moving things are 'the niece'; the motions are 'entering', and the reference paths, are 'into the room'. In sentence (39) the speaker asks the addressee if she can enter the room which is not the same place as the speaker's location (at the time of speaking). In sentence (40) the speaker gives permission to the addressee to enter the room where she is also located. In other words, in (39) the motion is oriented

away from the speaker's location so she uses pay1. In (40) the motion is oriented toward the speaker's location herself so she uses maa1. This means that pay1 is used to denote spatial relations between the reference path and the speaker's location in such a way that the motion is oriented away from the speaker's location.

On the other hand maa1 is used to denote spatial relations between the reference path and the speaker's location in such a way that the motion is oriented toward the speaker's location.

In short, when the speaker is the moving thing himself as in sentence (39), he is obliged to use pay1 to express a motion oriented away from the speaker. When the listener is the moving thing as in (40), he is obliged to use maa1 to express a motion oriented toward the speaker.

However, in some cases the speaker is able to choose where to focus his point of reference. Consider the following examples:

- (41)    naaŋ17ia3    dɔɔn1    maa1    thii3    ra74biaŋ1  
           นางเฝ้า      เดิน    มา      ที่      ระเบียง  
           Mrs. Uea    walk    come    at      balcony

'Mrs. Uea walked to the balcony (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

- (42)    naaŋ17ia3    dɔɔn1    pay1    thii3    ra74biaŋ1  
           นางเฝ้า      เดิน    ไป      ที่      ระเบียง  
           Mrs. Uea    walk    go      at      balcony

'Mrs. Uea walked to the balcony (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

In both sentence (41) and (42) the moving things are 'Mrs. Uea', the motions are 'walking', and the reference paths are 'to

the balcony'. In sentence (41) the speaker specified his point of reference at the balcony, and the motion is oriented toward the speaker so maa1 is used. In sentence (42) the speaker specified his point of reference at any location other than the balcony, and the motion is oriented away from the speaker so pay1 is used. Sentences (41) and (42) can be illustrated by the following figures.

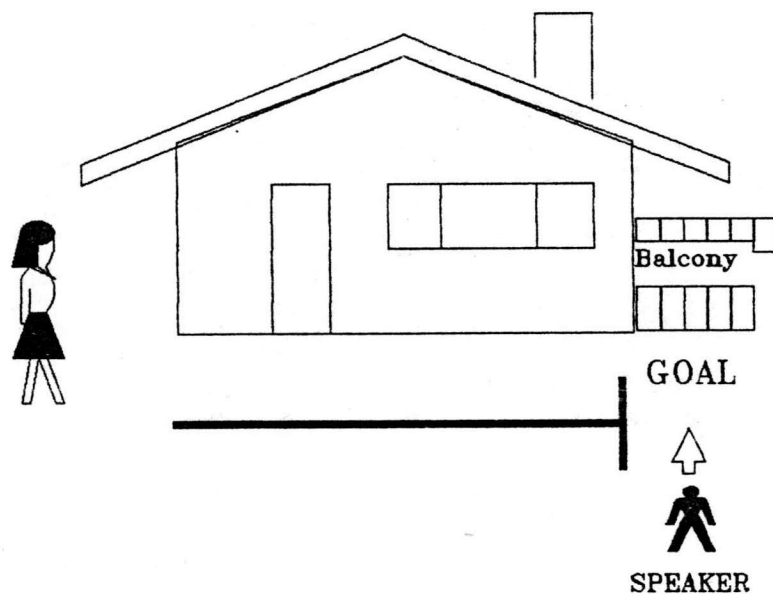


Figure 7

The use of maa1 in sentence (41)

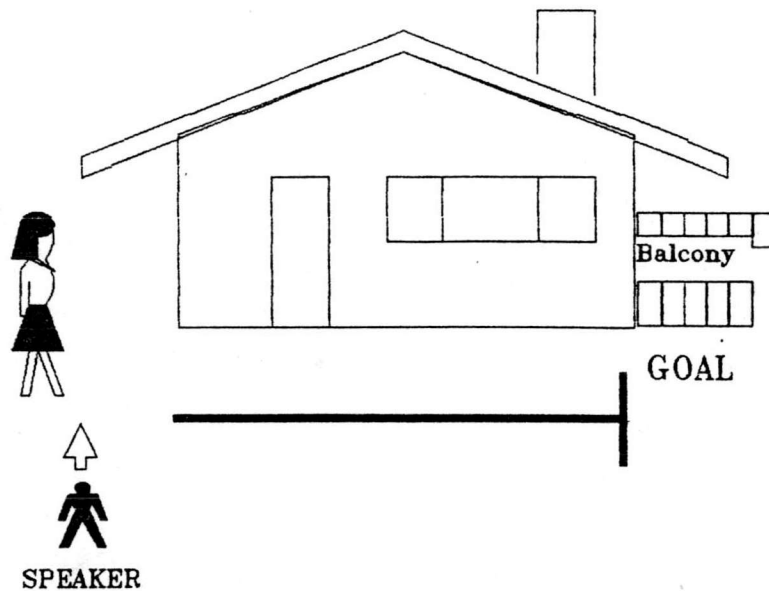


Figure 8

The use of pay1 in sentence (42)

Both Figure 7 and Figure 8 show that a thing (Mrs. Uea) is moving (walking) to a terminal endpoint (the balcony). In Figure 7 the speaker specified his point of reference at the balcony and the motion of walking is oriented away from the speaker while in Figure 8 the speaker specified his point of reference to be at a place other than the balcony and the motion of walking is oriented toward the speaker.

To summarize, if the moving thing is identical to either the speaker or the addressee, it is impossible for him to freely choose to use either pay1 or maa1. But if the moving thing is neither the speaker nor the addressee, he is allowed to freely specify his preferred point of reference.

### Classification of Main Verbs Occurring with pay1 and maa1

This section will semantically classify the verbs which can be modified by the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1. First of all, it is found that there are two main groups of verbs which can be modified by pay1 and maa1. They are verbs which have motional sense and verbs which have evaluative meaning. Thus we will firstly classify verbs into two main groups--motion verbs and evaluation verbs. Then, motion verbs will be further classified according to types of motion reviewed in Chapter 2. Then, they will be subclassified into different groups according to their meaning.

#### 1. Motion Verbs

Verbs in this group are those which denote some kind of motion. As reviewed in Chapter 2, motion can be classified into translation, rotation and deformation. It is found that pay1 and maa1 can be used to modify those verbs expressing only translation and rotation<sup>1</sup>, not deformation. Thus there are two main groups of verbs: verbs of translation and verbs of rotation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Verbs which seem to be used to modify verbs of deformation are such directional verbs as khin3 and loq1. For example, yay2 khin3 'get bigger' and lek4 loq1 'get smaller'.

## 1.1 Verbs of Translation

As reviewed in Chapter 2, translation is a kind of motion which involves the displacements of things from one location to another location. Verbs in this group can be further subclassified as verbs of displacement.

### 1.1.1 Verbs of displacement

This group of verbs seems to be the most transparent for motion indicated by pay1 and maa1. These verbs are subclassified into the types verbs that indicate causative and non-causative motion.

#### 1.1.1.1 Verbs indicating causative motion

In this group, the moving thing is realized as the direct object of the main verb. The subject of the main verb causes the direct object to move or in some cases it moves simultaneously with the object. We can further classify verbs in this group as verbs whose agents only initiate the motions and verbs whose agents participate throughout the motions.

In the group of verbs indicating agent initiating motion, the agent acts only as an initiator. After the inception of the event, the moving thing takes its course without the agent's further intervention (Jackendoff 1983: 179).

- (43)    chan5    soŋ2    ɲən1    pay1    thuk4    dian1  
          ฉัน      ส่ง      เงิน    ไป      ทุก      เดือน  
          I        send    money    go      every    month

'I send the money every month (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference)

In sentence (43) a thing ('the money') was caused to move to some unspecified place. The speaker (as an agent) is only an initiator of the motion, i.e., he does not have to participate throughout the whole course of motion.

In the group of verbs indicating agent participating motion, the agent participates throughout the whole motion (Jackendoff 1983: 179). Consequently, moving things are realized as both subjects and objects.

(44)    naaŋ17ia3    cuuŋ1    ʔoolraɪnop4    maa1    khaaŋ3    nook3  
           นางใจ        จูง        ออรานอป        มา        ข้าง        ออก  
           Mrs. Uea    lead        Aoranop        come    side        out

'Mrs. Uea led Aoranop to the outside (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentence (44) 'Aoranop' (as one moving thing) was caused to move 'outside' (the reference path) by 'Mrs. Uea', who also moves in the action of 'leading'. For this kind of action it is necessary that the agent participate throughout the whole motion. Thus we see here that the moving things can be realized linguistically as both subjects and objects.

#### 1.1.1.2 Verbs indicating non-causative motion

This group of verbs do not imply the cause of the motion. This group of verbs have only one argument which express the moving thing. The moving things are realized as subjects of main verbs and can be either animate as in (43) or inanimate as in (44).



- (45) man1 may3 yoom1 khlaan1 maa1  
 มัน ไม่ ยอม คลาน มา  
 it neg. allow crawl come

'It did not want to crawl (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (46) bay1maay4 looy1 maa1  
 ใบไม้ ลอย มา  
 leaf drift come

'The leaf drifted (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentence (45) the moving thing (man1 'it') moves to some unspecified goal. Also in sentence (46) the moving thing (bay1maay4 'leaf') moves to some unspecified goal. In these two examples, the only arguments of the verbs are the moving things but what causes them to move are not taken into consideration.

Linguistically, the main verbs in the above sentences are intransitive. However, there are also transitive verbs whose the objects are not caused to traverse the path. With these types of main verbs, only the subjects are in motion as shown in (47).

- (47) tee1la74 khon1 nii5 mia1 maa1 thay4nan4  
 แต่ละ คนหนีเมีย มาทั้งหมด  
 each people escape wife come all

'Each escaped his wife (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentence (47) the moving thing 'each one' (subject) moves to some unspecified goal. The 'wife' expressed by the object does not move.

## 1.1.2 Verbs of possession

Verbs of possession are those verbs which involve the transfer of things together with some kind of possession. These verbs are used to describe a scene between an agent and a patient. Following Fillmore (1977 cited in Delancey 1982: 169), these verbs select the subject according to the point of reference taken by the speaker. In the same scene, if an agent is taken as a point of reference, it would be selected as the subject. If a patient is taken as a point of reference, it would be selected as the subject. The following sentences show the subject selection.

- (48)    thaw3kɛɛ2    hay3    ʋəən1dian1    son5    maa1  
           แก่นัก        ใต้        เงินเดือน        ส่น        มา  
           boss         give    salary         Son        come

'The boss gave the salary to Son (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

- (49)    son5    daay3    ʋəən1dian1    maa1    caak2    thaw3kɛɛ2  
           ส่น    ได้        เงินเดือน        มา        จาก        แก่นัก  
           Son    get        salary         come    from       boss

'Son got the salary from the boss (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In sentence (48) the agent 'the boss' is selected as the subject. In sentence (49) which describes the same scene the patient 'Son' is selected as the subject.

Therefore, verbs of possession allow the speaker to take either an agent or a patient as a point of reference. That is, in the same event of a transfer of possession, the speaker may take

an agent as a point of reference so the agent is in the subject position as shown in (48). But if he take a patient as a point of reference, the patient is in the subject position as shown in (49).

With respect to pay1 and maa1, they are used to denote a relation between a patient and a speaker's point of reference. When the speaker focuses his point of reference at the patient (either as a subject or an indirect object), he uses maa1. When the speaker focuses on the agent, he uses pay1.

In sentence (48) the patient 'Son' is selected to be indirect object while in sentence (49) 'Son' is selected to be subject; however, maa1 is still used in both sentences. This is because in both sentences the speaker focuses his point of reference at the patient; so the direction of a transfer of possession is oriented toward the speaker's point of reference.

Now we will replace maa1 in (48) with pay1 to show the difference between focusing on the patient and the agent.

(50)    thaw3kɛɛ2    hay3    ʔəən1dian1    son5    maa1  
           แก่นก            ให้        เงินเดือน        สน        มา  
           boss            give    salary            Son        come

'The boss gave the salary to Son (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

(51)    thaw3kɛɛ2    hay3    ʔəən1dian1    son5    pay1  
           แก่นก            ให้        เงินเดือน        สน        ไป  
           boss            give    salary            Son        go

'The boss gave the salary to Son (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

Sentences (50) and (51) can be represented as in Figure 9 and Figure 10 respectively.

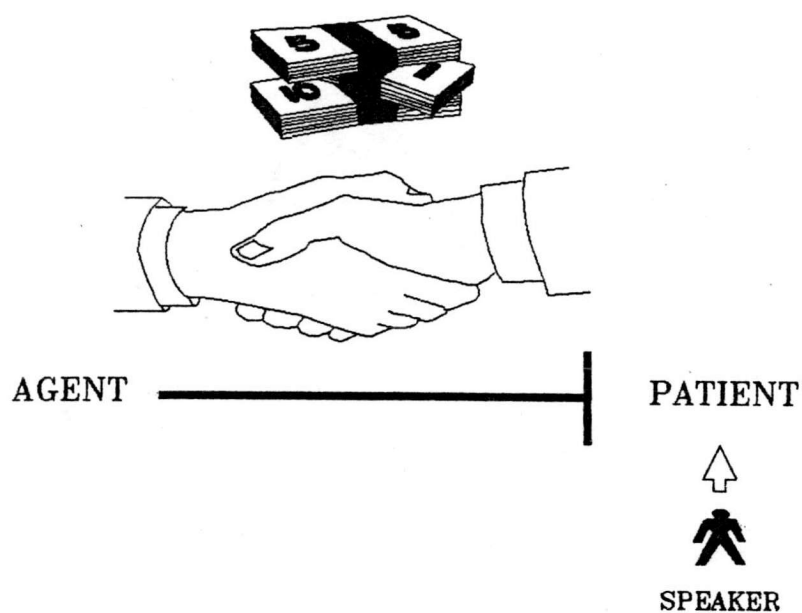


Figure 9

The use of maa1 with verbs of possession

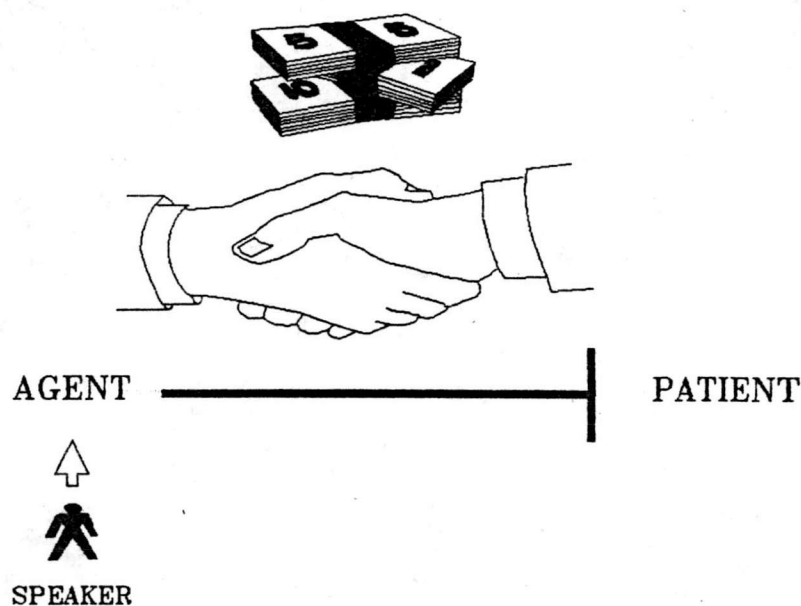


Figure 10

### The use of pay1 with verbs of possession

Figure 9 and Figure 10 represent the use of pay1 and maa1 in sentences (50) and (51). In Figure 9 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the agent 'the boss' so he uses pay1. In Figure 10 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the patient so he uses maa1.

#### 1.1.3 Verbs of communication

Verbs of communication here mean those verbs which denote some communicative acts (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 646). These are the acts of passing on information from the sender to the receiver through a medium. Therefore, the moving thing for this group of verbs is the information or message which is passed through the medium of communication. The sender is comparable to the original endpoint and the receiver is comparable to the terminal endpoint.

Linguistically, the moving thing is incorporated into these communication verbs.

Consider the following examples.

(52) book2 mee3 maa1 na74 waa3 khray1

บอก แม่ มา นะ ว่า ใคร

tell mother come prt. rel. who

'Tell me (mother) who he is (in the direction toward the speaker as the receiver of information).'

(53) book2 mee3 pay1 si72 nam4khaang4

บอก แม่ ไป ลี น้าข้าง

tell mother go prt. Namkhaang

'Tell Mom, Namkhaang (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

Sentences (52) and (53) are imperative sentences. In (52) the subject 'you' is asked to tell the speaker the information about the identity of 'he'. The speaker 'me' chooses to use maa1 here because she herself is an intended receiver of this communicative act. In (53) the speaker orders the addressee to 'tell' or to send the message to 'Mom' (as a receiver). He focuses his point of reference on the addressee 'Namkhaang' (as a sender) so he uses pay1 to denote the motion of sending information away from the speaker.

The illustration of the choice of pay1 or maa1 can be seen in Figure 11 and Figure 12 respectively.

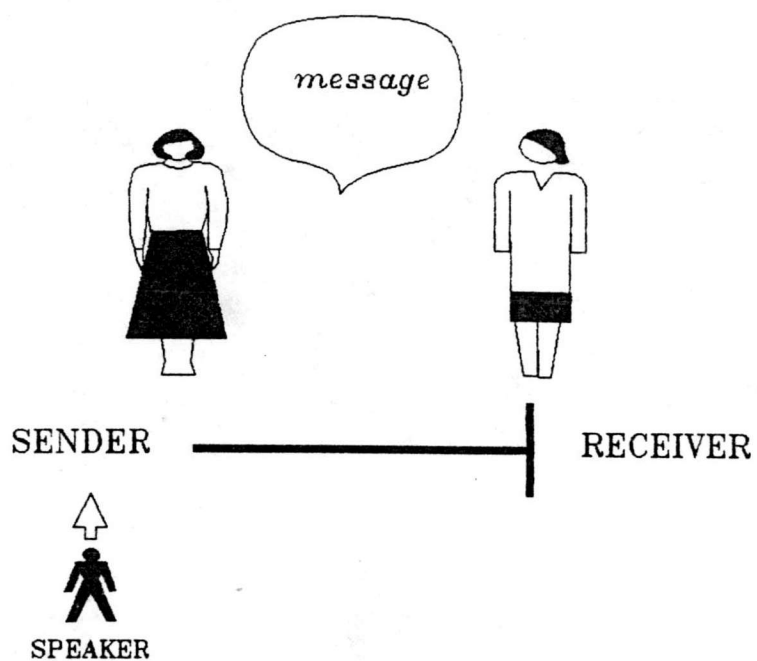


Figure 11

The use of pay1 with verbs of communication

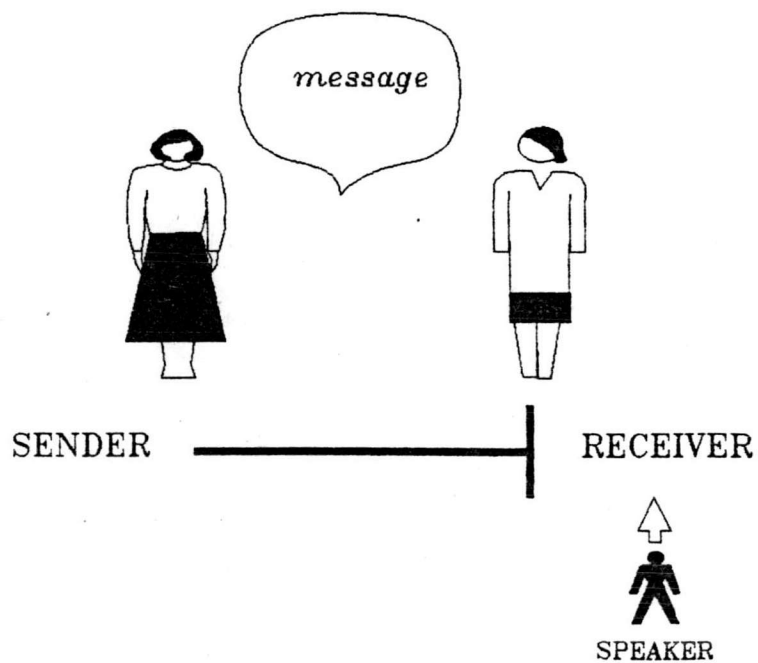


Figure 12

The use of maa1 with verbs of communication

Figure 11 and Figure 12 show a transfer of message from a sender to a receiver. In Figure 11 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the sender (an original endpoint) so he uses pay1. In Figure 12 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the receiver (a terminal endpoint) so he uses maa1.

## 1.2 Verbs of Rotation

As reviewed in Chapter 2, rotation is a kind of motion which involves changes of orientation. Within this group, there are two subclasses of verbs--verbs of bodily actions and verbs of vision.

### 1.2.1 Verbs of direct bodily actions

According to Wierzbicka (1988), the term 'direct bodily action' means an action in which no instrument is needed (for example, head-lifting and eye-opening), while 'indirect bodily action' means an action in which an instrument is needed (for example, hand-scrubbing and head-washing).

Objects of main verbs denoting direct bodily actions indicate specific body parts. To illustrate,

- (54)    ʔɔɔ1ra1nop4    ʔiam3    (mii3)    pay1    chiik2    lot4tə1rii3  
           อรานอพ                    เอี่ยม    (มือ)    ไป    ฉีก            ลีตเตอริ้  
           Aoranop            reach (hand)    go    tear    lottery ticket  
           'Aoranop reached out (his hand) to tear the lottery ticket  
           (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'
- (55)    dek2chaay1ʔiit4    ʔiam3    (mii3)    maa1    diŋ1    thuŋ5phaa3  
           เด็กชายอิ๊ด                    เอี่ยม    (มือ)    มา    ดึง            กุงผ้า  
           Iit                                    reach (hand)    come    seize    fabric bag  
           'Iit reached out (his hand) to pull away the fabric bag



(in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

In both sentences (54) and (55) the moving thing 'hand' is caused to move to an implied goals 'the lottery ticket' in (54) and 'the fabric bag' in (55). The action 'reaching' is a direct bodily action in that the actor does not need any instrument to do this action. Also, the action 'reaching' expressed by ʔiam3 requires a specific body part 'hand' as an object so that when we omit this object, we still understand what body part is moving.

It should be noted that a direct bodily action expressed by a construction with the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 denotes rotation which is a kind of motion. This is quite natural in that we cannot remove 'the hand' and change its location. We just orient the hand in the horizontal or vertical dimension. To illustrate, Figure 13 shows the characteristic of an orientation of the hand in the action of pointing.

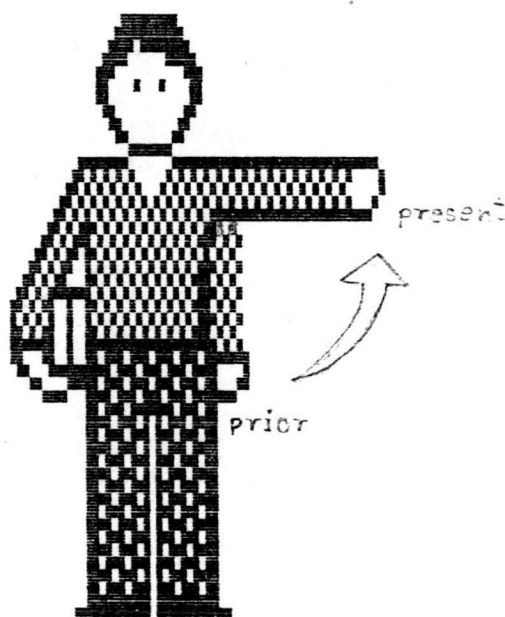


Figure 13

An orientation of body parts

Figure 13 shows how the actor moves his hand. A line of discrete dots shows the position of the hand which is prior to the present position which is represented by a thick line. The arrow shows the direction of orienting his hand.

With respect to the choice of pay1 or maa1, if the orientation of the bodily action is toward the speaker's location or point of reference, the speaker uses maa1. If the orientation of the bodily action is away from the speaker's location or point of reference, the speaker uses pay1. Figure 14 and Figure 15 represent the choice of the subsidiary verbs pay1 or maa1 in an action of 'pointing (a finger or a hand)' which is one kind of direct bodily action.

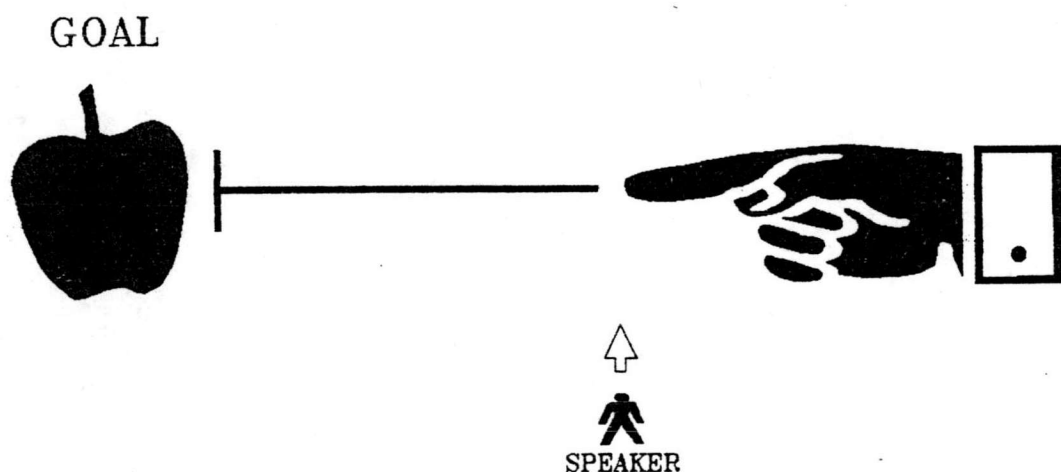


Figure 14

The use of pay1 with verbs of bodily actions



Figure 15

The use of maa1 with verbs of bodily actions

Figure 14 and 15 represent the use of pay1 and maa1 in the sentence expressing a bodily action of 'pointing'. In Figure 14 the speaker focuses his point of reference at a location different from the goal 'an apple' so he uses pay1. In Figure 15 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the same location as the goal 'an apple' so he uses maa1.

Examples of verbs in this group together with their particular body parts are kaaw3 'step' (khaa5 'leg', thaaw4 'foot'), kra71thəp2 (tua1) 'move (body)', etc. (See more examples in Appendix I.)

1.2.2 Verbs of vision

Another type of verb which denotes some kind of motion is that of vision. There are many different verbs of vision, but only moʔoʔ can co-occur with these two subsidiary verbs. To illustrate,

(56) sia2 mɔɔŋ1 paŋ1 yaŋ1 rooŋ1sɪi5

เสี่ย มอง ไป ยัง โรงสี

boss look go to mill

'The boss gave a look at the mill (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(57) maŋ1 mɔɔŋ1 maŋ1 yaŋ1 ʔay3tua1lek4

มัน มอง มา ยัง ไอ้ตัวเล็ก

it look come to the Boy

'It gave a look at the Boy (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

It should be noted that this kind of verb denotes a change in the orientation of the gaze. To illustrate, Figure 16 shows the orientation of the gaze in the action of looking.

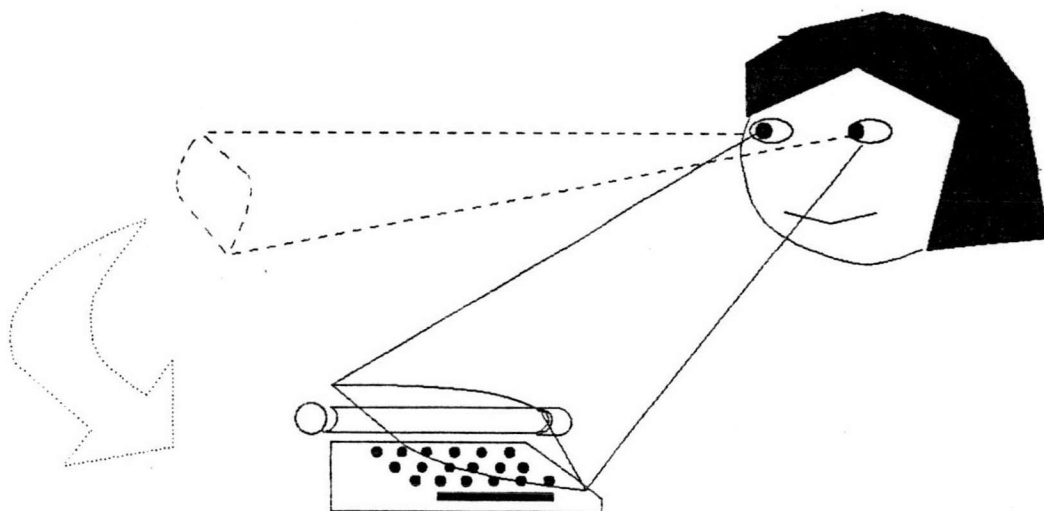


Figure 16

An orientation of the gaze

Figure 16 shows how the actor moves his gaze. A cone of discrete dots shows the position of the gaze which is prior to the present position which is represented by a cone of thick lines. The arrow shows the direction of orienting his gaze.

With respect to the choice of pay1 or maa1, if the orientation of the vision is toward the speaker's location or point of reference, the speaker uses maa1. If the orientation of the vision is away from the speaker's location or point of reference, the speaker uses pay1. To illustrate, sentence (58) with pay1 can be represented by Figure 17. Sentence (59) in which pay1 is replaced by maa1 is represented by Figure 18.

(58)    lon2    mawj1    pay1    yaŋ1    neew1    ton3maay4  
          หล่อน    มอง    ไป    ัง    แนว    ต้นไม้  
          she    look    go    to    line    tree

'She looked toward the line of trees (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference).'

(59)    lon2    mawj1    maa1    yaŋ1    neew1    ton3maay4  
          หล่อน    มอง    มา    ัง    แนว    ต้นไม้  
          she    look    come    to    line    tree

'She looked to the line of trees (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference).'

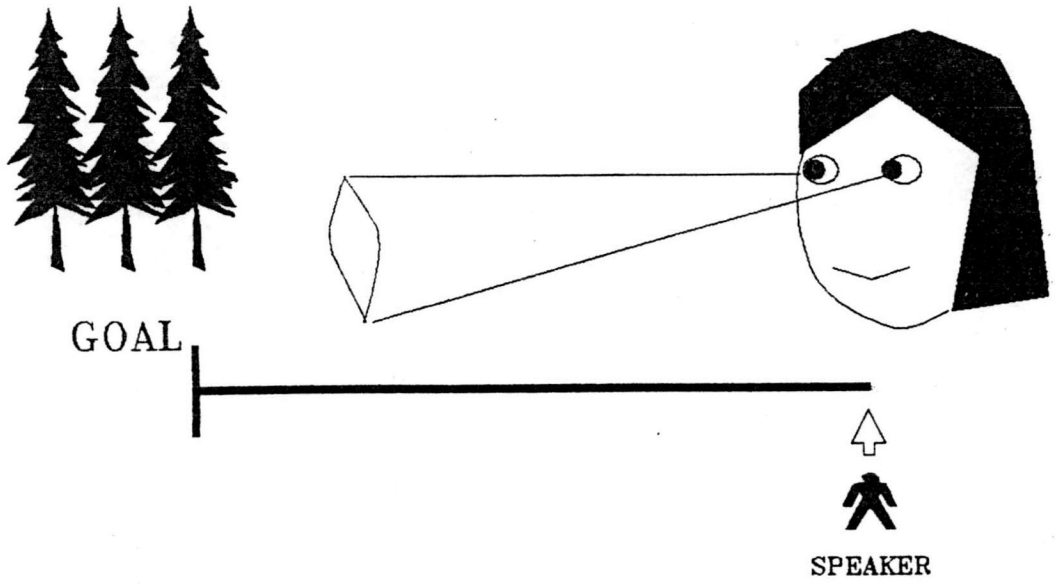


Figure 17

The use of pay1 with verbs of vision

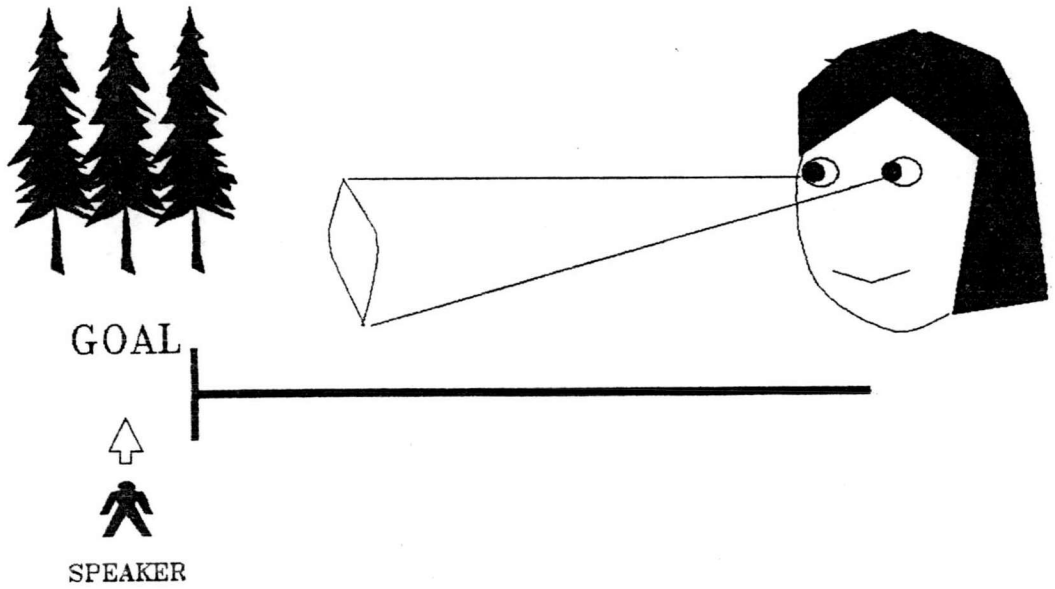


Figure 18

The use of maa1 with verbs of vision

Figure 17 and 18 represent the use of pay1 and maa1 in sentence (67) and (68) respectively. In Figure 17 the speaker focuses his point of reference on a location different from the target 'the line of trees' so he uses pay1. In Figure 18 the speaker focuses his point of reference on the target so he uses maa1. The former represents an orientation of vision away from the speaker's point of reference while the latter represents an orientation of vision toward the speaker's point of reference.

## 2. Evaluation Verbs

In the group of motion verbs, all the verbs concern a physically and abstractly perceived motion of moving things. This group of verbs are different in that they do not involve any motion but are concerned with the quality and quantity of things.

It is found that pay1 and maa1 can be used to modify verbs of quality or quantity to denote an evaluative viewpoint.

Consider the following examples:

(60) man1 chaa4 pay1

มัน ช้า ไป

it late go

'It's too late.'

(61) man1 ciit2 pay1 nit4

มัน จืด ไป นิด

it tasteless go a little

'It's too tasteless.'

(62) saam5 khon1 man1 maak3 pay1

สาม คน มัน มาก ไป

three clas. it much go

'Three peolple are too many.'

Sentences (60) to (62) can be interpreted to mean that according to the speaker's opinion, the state of 'being late' as in (60), 'being tasteless' as in (61) and 'being abundant' as in (62) are excessive.

Pay1 in the above sentences is used to evaluate qualities and quantities of things in a negative way, i.e., they are too much in degree (according to the speaker's opinion). That is to say, the degree of a quality or quantity is negatively different than the desired state. Figure 19 represents the evaluative view expressed by pay1.

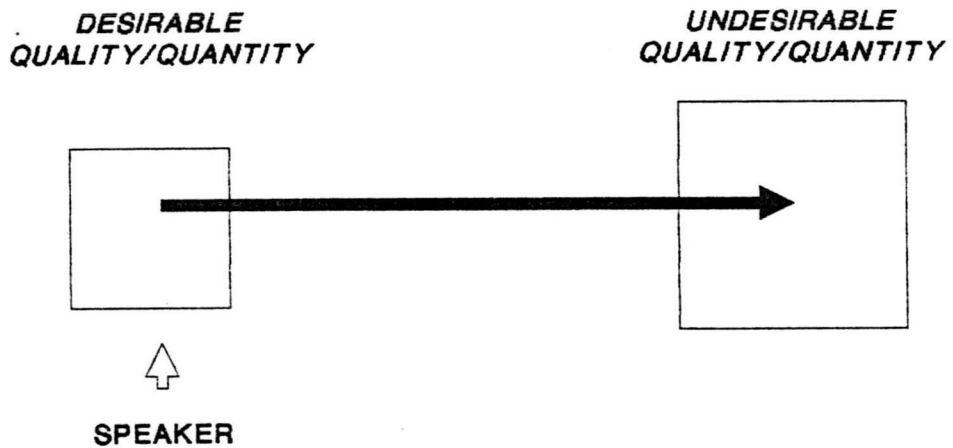


Figure 19

Pay1 with evaluation verbs

In Figure 19, two boxes (which are different in size) represent two different states of quality or quantity. An arrow represents the departure from a proper state to an improper state. It shows that the speaker evaluates his state to be appropriate.



According to Clark (1974), 'go' and 'come' can be used to suggest evaluative viewpoint. 'Come' carries a positive connotation while 'go' carries a neutral, or occasionally negative, connotation (Clark 1974: 326).

In Thai, only the subsidiary verb pay1 is used to express the speaker's evaluative viewpoint. Sentences where main verbs, indicating qualities or quantities, are modified by pay1 can be interpreted in such a way that the speaker views those qualities or quantities as more excessive than it should be.

Such use of pay1 is metaphorically extended from the use of pay1 occurring with spatial verbs in which they denote the spatial relation between the terminal endpoint and the speaker's location or the speaker's point of reference. With spatial verbs (as shown in Chapter 2) pay1 is used when the speaker views a terminal endpoint as being far away from his location. With verbs of qualities or quantities the speaker uses pay1 when he evaluates the degree of such qualities or quantities as inappropriate (thus in a sense far away from the location of "appropriateness").

### Conclusion

It can be concluded that pay1 and maa1 are used to denote spatial dynamic relations which are represented as a path of a motion.

In a motional event denoted by the construction in which pay1 or maa1 are subsidiary verbs, the moving things can be expressed in a sentence in four ways; 1) as a subject, 2) as an

object, 3) as both a subject and an object, 4) omitted, or 5) incorporated in the main verb.

There exists some constraint in choosing pay1 and maa1 in sentences. When the speaker is the moving thing himself, he is obliged to use pay1 to express a motion oriented away from the speaker. When the addressee is the moving thing, he is obliged to use maa1 to express a motion oriented toward the speaker.

However, in case that the moving thing is neither the speaker nor the addressee, the speaker may choose to focus his point of reference either on a source or a goal. In other words, he may view such a motion as oriented toward or away from him. If he focuses his point of reference on the source, that means he views a motion as oriented away from him. In this case pay1 is selected. If he focuses his point of reference on the goal, that means he views a motion as oriented toward him, and thus maa1 is appropriate.

Then, those verbs which can be modified by the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1 are semantically classified into two major categories, namely, motion verbs and evaluative verbs. Motion verbs are further classified into subgroups. In the next chapter, I will investigate the temporal relations denoted by the subsidiary verbs pay1 and maa1.