# CHAPTER II

# LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, the previous studies relevant to SVCs in Thai and translation equivalence are mainly presented. The chapter is divided into two major sections with several sub-sections for detailed reviews. Section 2.1 reviews Thai SVCs with DVs starting with a presentation of general theories of SVCs in sub-section 2.1.1. Then, SVCs in Thai are discussed in both syntactic and semantic characteristics in sub-section 2.1.2. After that, six Thai DVs will be focused in these two dimensions in sub-section 2.1.3. And Section 2.2 presents the issue of translation and its equivalence.

## 2.1    Thai serial verb constructions with directional verbs

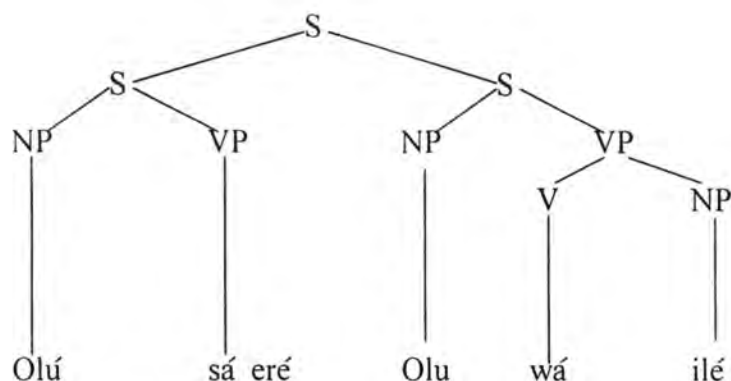### 2.1.1    General theories of serial verb constructions

SVCs have been extensively examined in many languages and are known to be widely studied in West African languages (Stewart, 1963; Ansre, 1966; Stahlke, 1970; Williams, 1971; Bamgbose, 1974; Givon, 1975; Sebba, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991). They are also widespread in Creoles (Jansen, Koopman and Muysken, 1978), Asian e.g. Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson, 1973), Thai (Filbeck, 1975; Thepkanjana, 1986; Muansuwan, 2002), Oceania (Crowley, 1987) and New Guinea (Foley and Valin, 1984). Since each language is unique, when linguists talk about serial verbs in those languages, it is possible that they are referring to SVCs in different ways e.g. syntactic, semantic, lexical or morphological phenomena, or sometimes a combination of these several phenomena (Sebba, 1987). Each perception of any such phenomena is treated based on different theories that the linguists have used in an attempt to analyze SVCs. With these issues in mind, later in this part are the interesting discussions and analyses of SVCs in those serial verb languages, which linguists have contributed to by applying two main different criteria, i.e., syntactic and semantic-based ones.

### 2.1.1.1 Syntactic-based criterion

With its distinguished feature, SVC is usually defined broadly based on its surface form in which two or more verbs happen in a series. Previous analyses of serialization primarily concern with syntactic source or component of SVCs. According to Sebba (1987: 5), Christaller (1875 cited in Sebba, 1987) is claimed to be the earliest reference of serial verb phenomena as he mentions the occurrence of two or more verbs sharing the same subject and tense, and joining with each other without any conjunction in sentences of Twi, a Niger-Congo language. Although Christaller did not work within a theory where sentences were expected to have exactly one main verb, he probably was the one who introduced the idea of coordinated and subordinated co-occurrences of verbs in the series to other linguists.

Following Christaller (1875), the syntactic analyses of SVCs are based on two major theories, 'Transformational Rule' and 'Phrase Structure Rule'. Linguists who studied African languages have syntactically viewed SVC as a construction that derived from underlying multi-sentence structures via transformations theory (Thepkanjana, 1986). That is, there are certain rules of deletion involved in the process of surfacing the constructions e.g. deletion of subject, conjunction, or equi-NP. For instance, there will be the deletion of the subject of non-initial verbs when it is under identity with the subject of the initial verb (Stewart, 1963; Bamgbose, 1974). Or these multi-sentence structures may involve the embedding of one sentence as an argument within another when there is a subordination relation between these two. Or if these underlying sentences are coordinated or subordinated in relation, there may be a conjunction reduction in the surface form (Li and Thompson, 1973).

Based on the transformation theory, Bamgbose (1974) has classified SVCs for Yoruba into two types, 'linking type' and 'modifying type'. The linking type is derived from two underlying sentences. Bamgbose presents following sentences to account for the underlying multi-sentences of SVCs in the linking type in sentence (a) transformed through the subject deletion rule to surface in sentence (b) (Sebba, 1987: 12).

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                              S
            S                          S
      NP         VP             NP          VP
                                         V       NP

      Olú        sá eré         Olu      wá       ilé
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(1) a. Olu run race  Olu come home

    b. Olu ran and come home.

Another type of SVCs is the modifying type, which contains a string of verbs sharing a common subject in surface structure. In this type of SVC, one verb is the element which is modified and the other verb is the modifier (Thepkanjana, 1986). Bamgbose (1974) names this modifier as 'modifying verbs', which behaves differently from adverbs as he claims that the latter can be topicalized while the former cannot be. His example sentence of modifying type of SVC is shown below:

(2) obe  náà  dùn  tó      (tó is a modifying verb)

    stew the  sweet  enough

However, Bamgbose's analyses of these two types of SVC receive criticism from other linguists like Stahlke (1970), who argues that some of the multi-verb constructions included in Bamgbose's linking type of SVC are merely co-ordinate structures, not true SVCs. Moreover, Awobuluyi (1973 cited in Sebba, 1987)'s analysis rejects altogether Bamgbose's analysis of modifying type of SVC because he argues that it is not derived from one underlying sentence and some of his modifying verbs are in fact adverbs.

While the above linguists put their consideration on the underlying sentences in SVCs and debate about the deletion of either subject or conjunction for example, several linguists argue to this transformational analysis and view SVC as a mono-clausal structure (Williams, 1971; Schachter, 1974; Filbeck, 1975; Jansen et al., 1978). According to Schachter (1974), SVC is a single-clausal structure in which its deep structure is identical to its surface structure. That is, there is no multi-clausal underlying structure, so that there is no need for a deletion transformation. Instead,

Schachter proposes that serial verbs be produced by Phrase Structure Rules from a base rule schema of the form

S -> NP Aux VP VP*  (VP* stands for zero or more VPs)

From this structure analysis, Schachter points out that the single-clausal underlying structure can provide a logical explanation to many facts, for instance, the same tense and aspect of all component verbs in the SVC, and the absence of overt signs of conjunction or embedding in the surface form (Thepkanjana, 1986).

Williams (1971) is another linguist who rejects the underlying coordinated structures for SVCs. Williams adopts a Phrase Structure Analysis, which treats the whole verbal series as a constituent, which is an advantage over Schachter's proposal, as criticized by Sebba (1987). Williams proposes the Phrase Structure Rule with the following example sentence of SVC in Krio:

VP -> V (NP) (PP) (VP)

(3) Mòdúpɛ dè        wákà gó nà     mákìt

Modupe PROGR   walk  go  LOC  market

"Modupe is walking to the market"

Williams's Phrase Structure Rule is supported by Jansen et al. (1978) who study serial verbs in Sranan. However, Thepkanjana (1986) thinks that Williams does not pay attention to the problem of how to generate SVCs in the Phrase Structure Rule or in the surface forms. Sebba (1987) also has a comment on William's rule that produces many strings which cannot occur in surface structure, and would therefore have to be excluded by rules from some other components such as lexical rule.

By applying the syntactic criterion to analyze SVCs, it can be evidently seen the existence of controversy over SVCs. Therefore, if the other dimension, i.e., the semantic properties of SVCs, is taken into consideration, they would help to explain or eradicate these debatable points of SVCs.

### 2.1.1.2 Semantic-based criterion

Beside the attempts to analyze SVCs syntactically, a number of linguists also investigate them in respect to their semantic characteristics. Having been the first reference of SVCs in terms of their syntactic properties, Christaller (1875 cited in Sebba, 1987) also provides the semantic aspects of SVCs from his classification of two main types of 'verbal combination', i.e., 'essential combination' and 'accidental combination'. These two types of 'verbal combination' suggest the

distinction between semantically functional "serial verbs" and those in which the temporal and pragmatic relations exist. This statement could be perceived in the definitions of these two verbal combinations. "'Essential combinations' are constructions in which one verb is the principal, and another is an auxiliary verb, supplying, as it were, an adverb of time or manner... The actions expressed by both verbs are simultaneous and in an internal or inseparable relation or connection... In 'accidental combinations', two or more predicates express different successive actions, or a state simultaneous with another state or action..."

Similarly to Christaller, Westermann (1930 cited in Sebba, 1987) also studies on "verbal combinations" but in Ewa, another Niger-Congo language. What is different from Christaller is that Westermann compares Ewa verbs with English. He found that very often several Ewa verbs may be expressed by a single verb in English. And when every detail of an action in Ewa has to be expressed by a verb, in English the leading event is expressed by a verb, while subordinate events are either not considered or are rendered by means of a preposition, adverb, conjunction, or a prefix on the verb. This comparison of serial verbs with other grammatical devices in a non-serial verb language like English is consistent with several linguists such as Masica (1976) and Thepkanjana (1986). Aikhenvald (2006: 3) also mentions SVCs in relation to the semantic aspect by comparing to other non-serializing languages that "SVCs are a grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions. They do not constitute a single grammatical category. They show semantic and functional similarities to multi-clausal and subordinating constructions in non-serializing languages."

Other linguists whose investigation of SVCs seems to rely on functionalism are such as Voorhoeve (1975), Jansen et al. (1978), Masica (1976). Voorhoeve (1975) studies serial verbs in Sranan, a Creole language, and lists a total of twenty different types on the basis of their semantic function e.g. comparative, instrumental, directional, etc. He points out that the object of V1 often seems to function as the subject of V2, at least intuitively. Following Voorhoeve's study, Jansen et al. (1978) restrict their consideration to "serial verbs" which appear to have a semantic function which is carried out by a category other than verb in English. They classify "serial verbs" in various Creoles and African languages into seventeen different semantic types according to their functions, e.g. marking direction,

benefactive, dative, instrumental, perfective, etc. They also claim that there is typically a semantic relationship of some sort between the two verbs in such constructions.

In addition to the above, Matisoff (1969: 71 cited in Aikhenvald, 2006), Masica (1976) and Thepkanjana (1986) all share the common idea that SVCs provide some types of information and functions. Matisoff states that "SVCs serve to provide in a uniform way the sort of information that in the surface grammar of languages like English is handled by a formally disparate array of subordinating devices: complementary infinitives, *-ing* complements, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, prepositional phrases, even whole subordinate clauses." Besides, Masica (1976) and Thepkanjana (1986) view that SVCs serve a variety of functions e.g. directional, purposive, aspectual, etc. that is handled by different devices in non-serial verb languages e.g. adverb, preposition, inflection and conjunction. Thepkanjana, who studies SVCs in Thai, also claims that those functions rendered by SVCs determine the types of SVCs occurring in the series. In other words, there are the relationships existing between the verbs in the series.

While the above semantic analyses are mainly related to the functions of SVCs, other studies describe them as a single event (Lord, 1973; Filbeck, 1975; Hale, 1991; Sebba, 1987). Lord, who studies Yoruba, states that "the verbs in the construction all refer to sub-parts or aspects of a single overall event. And the action or state denoted by the second verb phrase is an outgrowth of the action denoted by the action of the first verb phrase; the second verb phrase represents a further development, a consequence, result, goal, or culmination of the action named by the first verb." This explanation is similar to what Filbeck (1975), as stated in Thepkanjana (1986), has on SVCs in terms of the semantic analysis. He thinks that all verbs including the initial verb (phrase) in a SVC refer to a single proposition, or a single event in which the initial verb carries the true predicate meaning of the proposition and any subsequent or serial verb (phrase) indicates a functional meaning which is related to the meaning of the initial verb (which can be considered the main verb). Or all verbs (phrases) occurring after the initial verb (phrase) are merely functional extensions of the initial verb.

The study conducted by Hale (1991) on SVCs in Misumalpan languages also follows the same path as those two linguists that verb serialized

construction in which the various verbs jointly together designates a single composite event. Hale proposes an interesting term of 'cohesion of events' to represent the perception that verbs in the series do not convey a separate event but instead a single event in which those verbs are cohesive in their notions. Following are sentences exemplified by Hale:

(4) Baha    usus-ka        pal-i        wa-n.

     Yaka    kus-ka-ma    limd-i      yawa-da.

     That     vulture-CNSTR   fly-PROX   go-PAST:3

     "That buzzard flew away."

(5) Usus    pal-i       bal-an.

     Kusma   limd-i     waa-da.

     Buzzard  fly-PROX   come-PAST:3

     "The buzzard came flying."

In the above sentences of two Misumalpan languages, direction verbs 'go' and 'come' combine with verbs of "manner of motion" 'fly' to render the composite notions of 'flying thither' and 'flying hither'. Neither verb in the series corresponds to a distinct event. And the verbs of direction serve merely to express just direction.

However, the notion of 'single event' is not easy to define or answer to these following questions: "What is a single event?", "How is it constituted, perceived, and conceptualized?", and "How does one define the certain notion of a single event?" (Yangklang, 2003).

To sum up, SVC phenomenon is treated via different criteria because of various questionable areas perceived by linguists. Syntactically, some view SVCs as a multi-sentence structure while others view them as a mono-clausal construction. Semantically, SVCs are referred to a single event and serve to provide some sorts of information and a variety of functions. However, applying either syntactic or semantic criterion would be perhaps inadequate for discussing this distinctive linguistic phenomenon. Thus, the combination of these two aspects is likely to be more preferable in discussing SVCs. This statement can be supported by the following clarification of SVCs definition (cf. Chuwicha, 1993; Durie, 1997).

-   Verbs which appear in the series are able to occur as a main verb outside the string.

- Each verb in the series shares the same subject in the surface form.

- Each verb in the series shares the same tense, aspect, and modality.

- No allowance is made for negation words or conjunctions between verbs. This means that SVCs must be mono-clausal.

- Verbs in the series express what is conceptualized as a single event.

There is also another attempt trying to study SVCs by using combined semantic and syntactic criteria. This performance brings about the definition of SVC as 'a construction which consists of two or more verbs happen in a series with or without any words occurring in between. And the incorporation of these whole verbs creates a variety of semantic concepts and grammatical meaning, i.e., directional, causative, resultative, purposive, sequential, mental state, manner, postural, aspectual, and passive' (Yangklang, 2003). Such definition is stipulated in studying SVCs in Thai, another serial verb language, which is going to be discussed thoroughly next in this chapter.

### 2.1.2    Serial verb constructions in Thai

There are a certain number of studies in the past which investigates Thai SVCs (Filbeck, 1975; Thepkanjana, 1986; Chuwicha, 1993; Wilawan, 1993; Muansuwan, 2002; Yangklang, 2003). These studies are conducted in analyses of both the semantic and syntactic aspects. However, since SVC is firstly noted on its surface appearance, the sub-section will start with the syntactic characteristics first and then the semantic ones.

2.1.2.1 Syntactic characteristics of Thai SVCs

A few studies on the syntactic aspect of SVCs are found in Thai (Filbeck, 1975; Chuwicha, 1993; Wilawan, 1993; Muansuwan, 2002). Wilawan (1993) suggests that the so-called SVCs in Thai should be analyzed as subordination constructions, not real serial verb constructions. She considers the second verb as an adverb, not a lexical verb. Muansuwan (2002) also talks about Thai SVCs in general in the perspective of its definition based on Sebba (1987) i.e.,

- V1 and V2 must be lexical verbs.

- If it is possible to conceive of V1 and V2 as denoting separate action at all, then V1 and V2 must have the same tense and aspect.

- V1 and V2 must be within the same clause.

- No conjunction should separate the verbs in sequence.

Filbeck (1975), based upon the Phrase Structure Rules for Thai syntax, proposes that verb serialization has a recursive property. That is, the grammar may produce one or any number of verb phrases independently, and eleven verbs is the maximal number of verbs that may occur in a series.

Among the above linguists, Chuwicha (1993) is found to emphasize primarily on the syntactic investigation of Thai SVCs which is relevant to this research. According to Chuwicha, Thai SVC refers to a construction which comprises of more than two verbs appearing in a row with no word or space occurring in between those verbs except a noun which is an object of the preceding verb. She appears to be the one who classifies SVCs in Thai into two main groups, i.e., 'basic SVC' with many sub-patterns provided therein, and 'complex SVC'. These two groups of SVCs can be explained as follows:

1) <u>Basic SVC</u> consists of only two verbs in a construction. It can be formed into twelve patterns based on the semantic properties of the kinds of verbs that appear in the first and second positions of the SVC.

<u>Pattern 1</u>: Primary action verb + Non-primary action verb

(1)    wîŋ    lòp

       run    avoid

       'run and avoid something or somebody at the same time'

<u>Pattern 2</u>: Body posture verb + Action verb

(2)    nâŋ    duu    năŋsɯ̌ɯ

       sit    look    book

       'sit looking at book'

<u>Pattern 3</u>: Motion verb + Directional verb

(3)    wîŋ    khâw    bâan

       run    enter    house

       'run and enter a house at the same time'

<u>Pattern 4</u>: Action verb using a sense organ + Perception verb

(4)    mɔɔŋ    hĕn

       look    see

'look at something and see it'

Pattern 5: Modality or Cognition verb + Action or Stative or
Process verb

(5)  klua  hòklóm

    fear  fall

    'be afraid to fall down'

Pattern 6: Manner verb + Action verb

(6)  rêŋ  kèp  khɔ̀ɔmuun

    hurry  gather  data

    'gather data in a hurry'

Pattern 7: Action verb + Equative verb

(7)  rian  pen  khruu

    study  be characterized  teacher

    'study to be a teacher'

Pattern 8: Primary action verb + Primary action verb

(8)  pîŋ  plaa  kin

    grill  fish  eat

    'grill fish to eat'

Pattern 9: Deictic directional verb + Action verb

(9)  pay  thamŋaan

    go  work

    'go to work'

Pattern 10: Primary action verb + Process verb

(10)  paa  kɛ̂ɛw  tɛ̀ɛk

    throw  glass  break

    'throw a glass and the glass breaks'

Pattern 11: Stative verb + Equative verb

(11)  nîŋ  pen  rûuppân

    still  be characterized  sculpture

    'be still like a sculpture'

Pattern 12: Verb of change + Equative verb

(12)  ʔaayú  <u>phə̂m</u>      <u>pen</u>              cèdsìp   pii

      age   increase    be characterized   seventy   year

      'It is increased to be seventy years old.'

    2) <u>Complex SVC</u> consists of more than two verbs occurring in a series. It can be a basic SVC combining with a verb, or a basic SVC combining with another basic SVC. Such combinations result in the layering (represented by an underline) of SVCs as following examples:

(1)  rîip  <u>pay  thamŋaan</u>            (Verb + Basic SVC)

      hurry  go  work

      'hurry to go to work'

(2)  <u>lúk   khɯ̂n   jɯɯn   tɔ̂ɔnráp</u>      (Basic SVC + Basic SVC)

      rise   ascent  stand  welcome

      'stand up to welcome'

From the above, it is apparent that although Chuwicha focuses her study on the syntactic characteristics of SVCs, it is inevitable to have the involvement of the semantic aspect in her analysis. That is, to form up each pattern of SVC, the semantic notion of lexical verbs is also taken into consideration. This suggests that the inter-relationship between the semantic and syntactic aspects be existent and need to be noted when analyzing Thai SVCs in this dissertation. And since this research deals with translation, it is the meaning which is most important to obtain in the translation process. Thus, the semantic aspect of SVCs is needed to be explored in the following sub-section.

### 2.1.2.2 Semantic characteristics of Thai SVCs

When lexical verbs in Thai are serialized in a construction, the whole series of verbs can convey certain semantic notions. Among those studies of Thai SVCs mentioned earlier, two noticeable works of Thepkanjana (1986) and Yangklang (2003) are found to mainly focus on the study of the semantic aspect of Thai SVCs.

Thepkanjana (1986) refers to SVC as a linguistic mechanism in which lexical verbs are used to express different semantic concepts. She investigates the functions of SVCs to discover the relationships existing between initial verb (phrase) and serial verbs (phrases). She found that the semantic properties of the initial verb in

the string play a crucial role in signaling the relationship among the verbs. She proposes the following four functions of SVCs:

    i) Complementing the initial verb, resulting in the semantic implications of causative, passive, and resultative.

    ii) Indicating direction and aspect.

    iii) Acting as grammatical markers and/or case markers. These markers were called 'coverb'.

    iv) Indicating purposive and simultaneous actions.

Thepkanjana also claims that the functions of SVCs determine the types of SVCs in Thai; a particular function determines the distribution and co-occurrence restrictions on verbs in an SVC of a particular type. So, SVCs can be classified into ten types as follows:

### 1) Causative SVCs

The causative SVCs refer to the SVC whose initial verb brings about the action denoted in the second verb. The verbs that appear to occur in the initial position in this type of SVC are /tham/ 'make', /hây/ 'give', /thamhây/ 'make'.

(1)    sùrii  <u>tham</u>  kææ̂w  <u>tææ̀k</u>

        Suri  do,make  glass  break

        "Suri broke a glass."

### 2) Resultative SVCs

The resultative SVCs refer to the SVCs in which the second verb expresses the change of state resulting from the action denoted by the initial verb.

(2)    sùrii  <u>yiŋ</u>  nók  <u>taay</u>

        Suri  shoot  bird  die

        "Suri shot a bird dead."

### 3) Passive SVCs

Passive SVCs refer to the constructions that express the concept of passivity. The initial verb of these constructions generally are /thùuk/ 'come into contact with', /doon/ 'undergo', /dâyráp/ 'receive' etc.

(3)    sùrii    <u>thùuk</u>        (khruu)  <u>wâa</u>

        Suri  come into contact with  teacher  blame

        "Suri was scolded (by her teacher).

4) <u>Directional SVCs</u>

This construction refers to the SVCs in which the meaning is related to motion and direction. When the verbs are serialized, the second verb modifies the first verb in terms of path, direction of motion or action.

    (4)     sùrii  <u>dəən</u>  <u>pay</u>

             Suri   walk  go

             "Suri walked away (from the speaker's center of attention)."

5) <u>Aspectual SVCs</u>

The construction refers to the SVCs in which either the first or the second verb expresses the aspectual meaning of the action denoted by the other verb. Aspectual meaning can be classified into two main groups, i.e., 'perfective' and 'imperfective' aspects of actions (Comrie, 1976). Based on Comrie (1976), Thepkanjana (1986) intuitively proposes certain verbs in Thai that express perfective and imperfective values together with their collocation in a series. Some of those verbs are listed below:

        *Perfective aspect*:    verb + /sĭa/ 'lose, waste'

                            destruction verb   ⎤  + /pay/ 'go'

                            disappearance verb ⎦

                            destruction verb + /loŋ/ 'descend'

                            creation verb + /khŭn/ 'ascend'

    (5a)    kɛ̂ɛw    <u>tɛ̀ɛk</u>    <u>pay</u>

             glass    break    go

             "A glass has broken."

In the example, /tɛ̀ɛk/ 'break' is the initial verb which denotes the main action. This verb is followed by verb /pay/ 'go', which indicates perfective aspect of the main action.

        *Imperfective aspect:*  verb + /pay/ 'go'

                           verb + /khâw/ 'enter'

                           verb + /ləəy/ 'pass'

(5b) sùrii <u>kin</u> ?aahăan <u>yùu</u>

      Suri   eat    food    stay

      "Suri is/was eating."

In this example, /kin/ 'eat' is the initial verb which denotes the main action. This verb is followed by the verb /yùu/ 'stay', which expresses imperfective aspect of the main action.

### 6) Complements of modality verb and cognition verb SVCs

These constructions refer to the SVCs in which the initial verb is either modality verb such as /tôŋkaan/ 'want', /wăŋ/ 'hope', or cognition verb such as /lɯɯm/ 'forget', /sŏŋsăy/ 'doubt', etc.

(6a) dææŋ <u>tôŋkaan</u> <u>pay</u> <u>duu</u> năŋ

      Dang   want    go    look    movie

      "Dang wanted to go to see the movie."

(6b) sùrii <u>lɯɯm</u> <u>tham</u> kaanbâan

      Suri   forget   do,make   homework

      "Suri forgot to do homework."

### 7) Complements of perception verb SVCs

This construction refers to the SVCs in which the initial verb is a verb of perception such as /hĕn/ 'see', /dâyyin/ 'hear', /phóp/ 'meet', /cəə/ 'found', etc.

(7) sùrii <u>dâyyin</u> sùdaa <u>rɔ́ɔŋhây</u>

      Suri   hear   Suda   cry

      "Suri heard Suda cry."

### 8) Coverbs

Coverbs usually refer to verbs like /càak/ 'from', /thŭŋ/ 'reach', /hây/ 'give', /yùu/ 'stay', /wâa/ 'say', etc. Whereas many linguists refer to these as coverbs, Thepkanjana (1986) argues that they are true verbs as these verbs have a potential to occur as a main verb outside of the string.

(8) khăw <u>dəən</u> <u>maa</u> <u>caàk</u> bâan

      he   walk   come   leave   house

      "He walked from home (toward the speaker's center of attention)."

9) <u>Purposive SVCs</u>

This SVC refers to the constructions in which the second verb denotes the goal or purpose of the action expressed by the initial verb. However, the success or completion of the goal expressed by the second verb is not necessarily implied.

(9a)  sùrii  <u>maa</u>  <u>khuy</u>  kàp  chǎn

   Suri  come  talk  with  I

   "Suri came to talk to me."

(9b)  sùrii  <u>pay</u>  <u>sɨɨ</u>  khɔ̌ɔŋ

   Suri  go  buy  things

   "Suri went to buy things."

In example (9a), verb /maa/ 'come' is the initial verb, which expresses the movement of the agent, Suri. The second verb followed the first verb is /khuy/ 'talk', which contributes the purpose of the movement of the agent. In example (9b), the initial verb is /pay/ 'go' also expressing the movement of the agent, Suri. And the second verb is /sɨɨ/ 'buy' denoting the purpose of the movement of the agent.

10) <u>Simultaneous action SVCs</u>

This construction refers to the SVCs in which the initial verb denotes the gesture or the position of the body at the time of the action denoted by the second verb. Such verbs of body posture indicate that the action presumably lasts for a while during which time another action is carried out.

(10)  sùrii  <u>nâŋ</u>  <u>ʔàan</u>  nǎŋsɨɨ

   Suri  sit  read  books

   "Suri sat reading."

Following Thepkanjana (1986), Yangklang (2003) is another piece of works which is an empirical research work investigating the semantics of Thai SVCs in children's narratives. Although his study's framework is mainly relied on Thepkanjana, he comments on some of her concepts, i.e., 'complements of modality verb and cognition verb SVCs' and 'compements of perception verb SVCs', which were classified by the syntactic criteria rather than the semantic one. Since his research is emphasized on the cognitive development of children in their uses of SVCs, it is necessary to classify SVCs mainly by the semantic criteria. So, he suggests replacing those two SVCs with 'mental state SVCs', and 'simultaneous

action SVCs' with 'postural SVCs'. Yangklang also proposes his term 'postural SVCs' to replace 'simultaneous SVCs' as the original name implicates the temporal meaning rather than the semantic concept. In addition to those SVCs proposed by Thepkanjana (1986), he presents two new semantic concepts found in his study, i.e., 'sequential SVCs' and 'manner SVCs'. Following is explanation with examples of the concepts renamed and added up by Yangklang (2003):

### 1) Mental state SVCs

Mental state SVCs refer to SVCs which concern mental state or activities. The initial verb of the series is known as a complement-taking verb, which functions as a modality marker or evidential marker.

(1)    câw              fénfaay     rúusừk   plæ̀ækcay  mâak

        definite pronoun French-fry  feel     shock      much

        "French-fry was so shocked."

### 2) Postural SVCs

Postural SVCs refer to SVCs in which the first verb denotes the gesture or the position of the body at the time of the action denoted by the second verb.

(2)    kháw  nâŋ  cɔ̂ŋ  khuùat  àray  kan   ná

        he/she  sit   watch bottle  what  together participle

        "What bottle were they watching?"

### 3) Sequential SVCs

Sequential SVCs refer to the SVCs which expresses the chronological actions. The second verb denotes an action, which is a subsequence of the action denoted by the initial verb.

(3)    dèk  pay  cɔɔ  kòp

        child  go   find  frog.

        "The child went out, and found the frog."

### 4) Manner SVCs

Manner SVCs refer to SVCs in which the initial verb denotes the manner of action denoted by the second verb.

(4)    kháw  kɔ̂ɔ  rîip  sày  sừꞷɔphâa

        he/she  then  hurry  put on  clothes

        "He then hurriedly put on his clothes."

Apart from the semantic notion expressed through the functions of each type of SVCs, there appears to be other important semantic features inherent in these SVCs co-occurrences, i.e., the 'spatial' and 'temporal meanings'. The spatial meaning deals with the perception of interaction between an object or persons and space such as location and movement. Yangklang considers directional SVCs as the spatially inter-related actions as the actions are treated as translocative, where the 'trajector' changes its location in relation to a landmark, or some other reference point. He also states briefly on the temporal aspect of SVCs that purposive SVCs, causative SVCs, resultative SVCs, and sequential SVCs are the actions denoting the temporal aspect since they express a series of actions in the series that are temporally ordered. Furthermore, he found that between these two meanings children acquire the spatial concept, which is more concrete and noticeable, before the temporal concept, which is more abstract.

As presented above, it is obviously seen that SVCs denote many semantic concepts. These different concepts are all interesting for their lexical verb structures and meaning, for example, what type and which position of lexical verbs can be combined or can occur in a series to represent a certain concept in a construction. Moreover, if those verbs in serial constructions are carefully paid attention to, it can be noticed that /paj0/ 'go', a directional verb (DV), occurs most frequently in different positions with different meanings provided to the whole construction. With this reason, it sounds sensible if /paj0/ 'go' and its pair /maa0/ 'come' and other two pairs of DVs, i.e., /khaw2/ 'enter' and /?@@k1/ 'exit', /khvn2/ 'ascend' and /long0/ 'descend' are to be emphasized as key components of SVCs in this research. Therefore, in the next part, the characteristics of DVs are going to be presented in order to see whether this kind of verbs has any semantic or syntactic effect on the constructions of serial verbs to which it is attached.

### 2.1.3   Directional verbs in Thai

In Thai, there are many verbs considered as directional verbs but the common ones are /paj0/ 'go', /maa0/ 'come', /khaw2/ 'enter', /?@@k/ 'exit', /khvn2/ 'ascend' and /long0/ 'descend'. These DVs are referred to as lexical verbs whose semantics are inherently related to motion and direction (Thepkanjana, 1986). They have been both

semantically and syntactically examined especially when they co-occur with other verbs in a construction. It is found that in such co-occurrence DVs denote some information being added to the main action. The previous studies which conducted the investigation of DVs characteristics are Supanwanit (1972), Panupong (1977 cited in Saengchai, 1994; 1981 cited in Saralamba, 1995), Phandhumetha (1982), Sereechareonsatit (1984), Thepkanjana (1986), Luksaneeyanawin (1986), Rangkupan (1992), Wilawan (1993), Saengchai (1994), Saralamba (1995), and Wongsri (2004). Some of them explore all those six DVs. Some study a few while some are interested in a particular DV inspection. The crucial details of those studies on DVs conducted in relation to this research are only presented in pair as follows:

2.1.3.1 /paj0/ 'go' and /maa0/ 'come'

According to Supanwanit (1972), /paj0/ and /maa0/ denote the temporal meaning when they co-occur with other verbs. These two verbs are analyzed as time markers, /paj0/ is a past tense marker and /maa0/ is a past tense and a present continuous tense marker. This aspect can be seen in the following examples:

(1)  din0s@@4  chan4  haaj4  paj0      (Past Tense Marker)
     pencil      I      lose    go
     "My pencil was lost."

(2)  dxxng0 paj0 chiiang0maj1 maa0  mvva2 ?aa0thit3 k@@n1
     (Past Tense Marker)
     Daeng  go   Chiangmai   come  when   week     before
     "Daeng went to Chiangmai last week."

(3)  dxxng0 juu1 thii2nii2 maa0 tang2txx1 pii0  k@@n1
     (Present Continuous Tense)
     Daeng  live  here   come  since   year  before
     "Daeng has lived here since last year."

In the case of /maa0/ which denotes both past tense and present continuous tense, Rangkupan (1992) comments that Supanwanit does not explain in what context this DV will denote past tense or when it will denote present continuous tense. Regarding sentence (3), she argues that /maa0/ in fact does not convey only the time that the action is happening at the time of speaking, but also the time that the action started some time in the past and continues until the time of speaking.

Thepkanjana (1986) primarily studies the semantic aspect of many DVs including /paj0/ and /maa0/. She considers these two verbs as directional and aspectual verbs because they denote both directional and aspectual concepts. Regarding the directional concept, she said that /paj0/ and /maa0/ individually denote the characteristics of the path with respect to the speaker's point of reference. However, when two or more than two DVs are serialized, the whole SVC denotes only one action but with additional information relating to movement direction. To denote this movement direction, those DVs must conform to constraints on linear order which can be illustrated in the table below:

Table 2.1: Directional verbs and their specific linear order in SVCs

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Initial verb (verbs that entail motion) | Geometric shape of the path | Direction with respect to the previous path | Direction with respect to the outside world | | Direction with respect to speech act participants (Deictic verbs) |
| | | | a) Direction with respect to an object located in the outside world | b) Direction resulting from interaction between the path and the outside world | |
| wîŋ - run dɔɔn - walk | won - circle | yɔ́ɔn- reverse | phàan ⌐- pass lǝǝy ⌐ | khŭn - ascend loŋ - descent | pay - go maa - come |
| | troŋ - go straight | thɔ̌y - retreat | klàp - return khâam - cross | khâw - enter ʔɔ̀ɔk - exit | |

However, it is not obligatory that a verb of every slot be presented in a string. Beside serialization of the DVs, she proposes that /paj0/ and /maa0/ can be serialized with following types of verb in the succeeding position to indicate the directional meaning overtly and covertly:

- Locomotion verbs such as /dqqn0/ 'walk', /wing2/ 'run', /laj4/ 'flow', /khap1/ 'drive', /bin0/ 'fly', /kra1doot1/ 'jump', etc.

- Travel verbs such as /th@ng2thiaw2/ 'wander for fun', /r@n2ree2/ 'roam', and /dqqn0thaang0/ 'travel'.

- Take verbs such as /ʔaw0/ 'take', /chuuaj4/ 'grasp', /yxxng2/ 'take forcibly', etc.

- Communication verbs such as /b@@k1/ 'tell', /thoo0ra1sap1/ 'call', /khiian4/ 'write', /tit1t@@1/ 'communicate, contact', etc.

- Transactional verbs such as /svv3/ 'buy', /khaaj4/ 'sell', etc.

- Verbs of change such as /pliian1/ 'change'.

- Destruction verbs such as /tham0laaj0/ 'destroy', /txxk1/ 'break', /taaj0/ 'die', etc.

- Disappearance verbs such as /haaj4/ 'lost', /mot1/ 'be all gone', /lap1/ 'fall asleep', etc.

She states that when /paj0/ or /maa0/ comes after the above verbs, its original meaning still retains in the constructions. For example, in /khaaj4+paj0/ 'sell+go' or /svv3+maa0/ 'buy+come', /paj0/ indicates the transaction path where the speaker fixes his center of attention at the destination location while /maa0/ indicates the path where the speaker fixes his center of attention at the original point.

With respect to the aspectual concept, Thepkanjana proposes that /paj0/ denotes both 'perfective' and 'imperfective' aspects but in a different context, and /maa0/ denotes 'perfect' aspect. This classification of perfective and imperfective is based on Comrie (1976) who views aspect as a situation in terms of its internal temporal constituency. Perfective aspect indicates the view of action or event as a single whole while imperfective aspect deals with the internal structure of a situation. Following sentences (4) and (5) express perfective and imperfective aspects of /paj0/ respectively:

(4)     naam3man0 __mot1__  __paj0__           (Perfective)

         oil              be gone   go

         "The oil is all gone."

(5)     su1rii0 __tham0__ kaan0baan2 __paj0__   (Imperfective)

         Suri    make    homework    go

         "Suri, keep doing your homework."

To denote perfective aspect, /paj0/ has to co-occur with disappearance verbs as in (4) or destruction verbs as these verbs imply some kind of change in condition, location or existence and /paj0/ implies a departure from a normal state (Thepkanjana, 1986: 172). For imperfective aspect in (5), /paj0/ implies that the agent 'Suri' has already started doing her homework, and kept doing it while time is passing by or while someone else is doing something else (Thepkanjana, 1986: 175).

Beyond perfective and imperfective aspects, Thepkanjana suggests /maa0/ indicating 'perfect' aspect or an ambiguous situation which can be classified

into neither perfective nor imperfective. She provides the following example of /maa0/ displaying its dubious meaning:

(6)  su1rii0  tat1  phom4  maa0
     Suri     cut   hair   come
     "Suri has just cut her hair."

In the above sentence, /maa0/ is used to suggest the temporal relationship of one state to a preceding situation, i.e., a current state of continuing having short hair after having a haircut at some time in the past. Moreover, /maa0/ here still implies direction from the place of the prior action to the place where the speaker is at the time of utterance made by the speaker.

Rangkupan (1992) restricts her study on only /paj0/ and /maa0/ which occur as subsidiary verbs in constructions. Based on previous analyses of 'go' and 'come' in English (Fillmore, 1971; Givon, 1973; Traugott, 1978; Levinson, 1983 cited in Rangkupan 1992) and /paj0/ and /maa0/ in Thai (Thepkanjana, 1986), Rangkupan found that these two verbs denote a cognitive concept related to spatial and temporal. For spatial meaning, she states that deictic verbs /paj0/ denotes a motion away from the speaker's point of reference, whereas /maa0/ denotes a motion toward the speaker's point of reference. See the following examples:

(7)  uuan0  dqqn0  paj0  h@ng2naam3
     Uan    walk   go    restroom
     "Uan walked to the restroom (in the direction away from the speaker's point of reference)."

(8)  vva2  dqqn0  maa0  thii2  ra1biiang0
     Uea   walk   come  at     balcony
     "Uea walked to the balcony (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference)."

(9)  khaw4 kam0lang0 dqqn0  maa0  thaang0  ra1biiang0
     he          prog.  walk   come  toward   balcony
     "He is walking toward the balcony (in the direction toward the speaker's point of reference)."

(10) uuan0  dqqn0  paj0  taam0  tha1non4  sii0men0
     Uan    walk   go    along  road      cement

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

Both /maa0/ and /paj0/ are used to denote the spatial dynamic relation in which a thing is viewed in relation to a path which can be classified as bounded, directions and routes. The path involves at least two places, original (source) and terminal endpoints (goal), which are conceptually related to each other and may be linguistically overt or covert in sentences. In the above examples (7) and (8), the terminal endpoint can be located as /h@ng2naam3/ and /ra1biiang0/ so it is linguistically overt. However, in sentence (9) and (10), both original and terminal endpoints are not explicitly specified, but (9) shows the path which is in relation to a reference point and (10) shows the intermediate points between the unspecified endpoints. Moreover, if /paj0/ occurs after evaluation verbs which are concerned with the quality and quantity of things such as /chaa3/ 'slow', /maak2/ 'much', this directional verb denotes a point of excessive degree, which is considered to be far away from the speaker's appropriate point.

For temporal meaning, Rangkupan presents that /paj0/ denotes that the speaker focuses his view on a point other than the ending point of a situation. /maa0/ is used to express that the speaker focuses his view on the ending point of the situation. These temporal relations are explored through situations of process and state. In a situation of the process type, /paj0/ and /maa0/ are used with verbs of process as shown examples below.

(11) rung3ru3caa0  <u>thaan0</u>  ?aa0haan4  <u>paj0</u>  rvvaj2rvvaj2

Rungrucaa  eat  food  go  continually

"Ruangrucaa went on eating food."

(12) khaw4  <u>liiang3</u>  kxx0  <u>maa0</u>  txx1  khl@@t2  thuk3  khon0

he  take care  him  come since  born  every people

"She has taken care of all of you since you were born."

If /paj0/ occurs with the process verbs as in sentence (11), it will denote that the speaker focuses his view of the situation on the intermediate point. On the other hand, if /maa0/ occurs with the process verbs in sentence (12), it will denote that the speaker focuses his view of the situation on the utterance time; the situation may either end at the utterance time or proceed further after the utterance time.

In the case of a stative situation, /paj0/ is used to denote a change from one state (original) to another state (new) in such a way that the speaker focuses his view on the original state and the new state reflects a change away from the speaker's point of reference. And /maa0/ is used to denote that the speaker views that the state has existed through time toward his temporal point of reference. This can be seen in the following sentences.

(13)  raaj0daaj2 thii2 khqqj0 mii0   ca1   <u>khaat1</u>   <u>paj0</u>
      earning     that  used to have future  be in short  go
      "Those earnings which used to have will become in short in supply."

(14)  naaj0  <u>pen0</u>  phvvn2  chan4  <u>maa0</u>  naan0
      you    be      friend   I      come     long time
      "You have been my friend for a long time."

Two states are shown in sentence (13). One state is the present state expressed by the stative verb /khaat1/ 'be in short in supply'; the other state is the prior state of 'having a lot of earnings'. In this case, /paj0/ is used to denote that the speaker focuses his view of the situation on the prior state so that the present state is viewed as departing from his focuses state. In (14), the state of 'being friends' is presented and viewed beginning in the past and continuing until the utterance time of the speaker.

Moreover, if /maa0/ is used to modify the verb /paj0/ as /paj0+maa0/ 'go+come', these serialized verbs will denote the both spatial meaning and temporal extension of the past event 'going' to the utterance time.

2.1.3.2 <u>/khvn2/ 'ascend' and /long0/ 'descend'</u>

Thepkanjana (1986) considers that /khvn2/ and /long0/ also express both directional and aspectual concepts as same as /paj0/ and /maa0/. Regarding the directional concept, each /khvn2/ and /long0/ denotes the direction resulting from interaction between the path and the outside world of which the movement involves gravity of the earth. This meaning is still maintained in a construction if either /khvn2/ or /long0/ occurs after locomotion verbs, stative verbs or communicational verbs. These two verbs are not much mentioned in relation to directional concept, but more discussed in terms of the aspectual concept in which two sub-types, 'perfective' and 'perfect', are found.

Apart from /paj0/ which can denote perfective, this aspect is also inherited in /khvn2/ and /long0/ as an action is viewed as a completed whole. However, the type of verbs which co-occurs with this pair is different from that occurring with /paj0/.

(15)  puu1    kh@@ng4 chan4 saang2 baan2 nii3 khvn2
      Grandfather of    I    build  house this ascend
      "My grandfather built this house."

(16)  khon0 cam0nuuan0 maak2 taaj0 long0 ra3waang1
      phxn1din0waj4
      people number  a lot  die  descend during
      earthquake
      "A lot of people died during an earthquake."

In sentence (15), /khvn2/ co-occurs with a creation verb /saang2/ 'build' while /long0/ in (16) co-occurs with a destruction verb /taaj0/ 'die'. The co-occurrence of /khvn2/ and /long0/ with those verbs provides the implication of the contrast between the current state and the previous state. In other words, /khvn2/ implies the contrast between the current state of a created act and its prior state of non-existence, and /long0/ implies the contrast between the destruction and its prior state of existence (1986: 172-173). As stated above that /paj0/ can occur with destruction verbs, Thepkanjana also suggests that the choice in using either /paj0/ or /long0/ with these verbs depends on the speaker's perception of destruction. If the speaker perceives that destruction as a departure from a normal state, /paj0/ is used. But if he or she perceives it as a collapse down to the ground, /long0/ is used instead.

Moreover, /khvn2/ and /long0/ can be viewed as 'perfect' aspect (either imperfective or perfective) when they follow stative verbs such as /?uan2/ 'fat', /dii0/ 'good', /leew0/ 'bad', /khom4/ 'bitter', etc. as in the following sentences:

(17)  su1rii0 ?uan2  khvn2
      Suri   be fat ascend
      "Suri is fatter than before."

(18)  ?aa0kaat1 leew0  long0
      weather  be bad descend
      "The weather is worse than before."

The above serialization of verbs in (17) and (18) denotes a change in quality of a certain thing. That is, /khvn2/ in (17) denotes a change to a better or larger state, and /long0/ in (18) denotes a change to a more unfavorable state than before. However, these two verbs also still retain the directional implication in terms of figuratively interpretation of human intuition that a change for the better in (17) is an upward movement, and a change for the worse in (18) is a downward movement.

Luksaneeyanawin (1986) explains /khvn2/ and /long0/ in terms of opposition characteristics, i.e., these two verbs denote motion in a vertical opposite direction. According to real world knowledge, when /khvn2/ and /long0/ are main verbs, they explicitly denote motion of upward or northward direction for the former, and motion of downward or southward direction for the latter. However, when they occur as post verbs or follow other verbs especially 'gradable oppositions' or antonym, they provide the semantic implication of a change from one state (quality or quantity) to another state and the relationship between the two states. Generally, it is instinctively understood that /khvn2/ is considered to use with a positive event and /long0/ with a negative one. Luksaneeyanawin points out an interesting implication inherited in the use of /khvn2/ with a negative word of the gradable oppositions like /dam0/ 'black' and /khaaw4/ 'white'. She explains that if the speaker said someone is /dam0+khvn2/ 'black+ascend', it indicates that the speaker covertly suggests the original negative state of that person that he/she is originally black. On the contrary, when /long0/ is used with the same word as /dam0+long0/, the speaker does not indicate the original state of that person because he/she does not know whether that person is originally either black or white or neither. Moreover, she interestingly shows that /long0/ can be used with the negative type of verb because the verb has its boundary whereas /khvn2/ can only be used with the positive type of word because the negative typed will turn into positive once it has changed the stage beyond the limit of the negative boundary. The positive verb does not have a positive boundary.

In addition, she proposes that /khvn2/ and /long0/ imply the attitude of the speaker toward the change. The speaker uses /khvn2/ when he/she has good attitude toward it, and uses /long0/ for the opposite attitude e.g.

(19)    ?aw0 tiiang0 waj3 klaang0 h@ng2 lxxw3 h@ng2 lek3  khvn2
        (Positive Attitude)

        take  bed  store middle room     then room small ascend

"Putting the bed in the middle of the room makes the room smaller."

(20)  ?aw tiiang0 waj3 klaang0 h@ng2 lxxw3 h@ng2 <u>lek3</u>  <u>long0</u>

(Negative Attitude)

take bed  store middle  room  then  room small descend

"Putting the bed in the middle of the room makes the room smaller."

From the above, sentence (19) implies the attitude of the speaker that he/she positively views the smaller space of the room as an appropriate size after putting the bed in the room. On the other hand, sentence (20) implies the speaker's negative attitude that the room has insufficient space after the bed was put in or the speaker views the size of the room as an unpleasant size. With this reason, /khvn2/ and /long0/ are found to use with gradable oppositions to denote positive or negative attitude depending on the speaker's point of view.

Saengchai (1994) restricted her studies on the meaning of the subsidiary verbs /khvn2/ and /long0/ and their semantic relationship with the main verbs in verb phrases. Her studies reveal that /khvn2/ and /long0/ denote three meanings of path and vertical direction, change of level of quantity and the coming into existence or destruction, which all correlate with the type of verbs preceding those two verbs. However, what these three have in common is the vertical path and direction meaning which is the prototype meaning of /khvn2/ and /long0/ that is transferred through metaphorization into the other two meanings.

For the meaning of vertical path and direction, Saengchai states that both /khvn2/ and /long0/ denote vertical direction to the motion which is similar to those studies mentioned earlier. This meaning can be obviously seen when they follow locomotion verbs which are inherited with the movement meaning such as /kra1doot1+khvn2/ 'jump+ascend', /wing2+long0/ 'run+descend', etc. But when /khvn2/ and /long0/ follow verbs of vision such as /m@@ng0+khvn2/ 'look+ascend', or verbs of communication such as /thoo0ra1sap1+long0+maa0/ 'call+descend+ come', the vertical direction is more difficult to perceive as the moving things are 'sight' and 'message', which are abstract objects.

Another meaning of /khvn2/ and /long0/ added to the main verb is the changes of quantity and quality level of things which is corresponding to both

Thepkanjana (1986) and Luksaneeyanawin (1986). The choice of using /khvn2/ or /long0/ based on the speaker's view, i.e., he/she uses /khvn2/ to denote a change of which level is over than his/her assumed level, and uses /long0/ to denote the opposite. Based on Lakoff and Johnson (1980, cited in Saengchai, 1994), Saengchai states that /khvn2/ and /long0/ denote a connotative meaning. /khvn2/ implies good things but /long0/ implies bad things. With this concept, /khvn2/ is used with the words like /dii0+khvn2/ 'good+ascend', /maak2+khvn2/ 'much+ascend' while /long0/ is found in /chaa3+long0/ 'slow+descend', /n@@j3+long0/ 'little+descend' etc. From these examples, it is clearly seen that /khvn2/ and /long0/ have to follow either verbs of quantity like /maak2/ and /n@@j3/ or stative verbs like /dii0/, /sa1duuak1/ and /hxxng2/ in order to denote the changes of level of quantity and quality respectively. Following Thepkanjana (1986), Saengchai also found that the meaning of quality change which /khvn2/ or /long0/ co-occurs with a stative verb in a construction implies an ambiguous aspect. That means it can be interpreted as either perfective or imperfect aspect depending on at which point of the change the speaker focuses on. If the speaker views the change occurring at the ending point, that event denotes perfective aspect. But if the speaker views the change occurring at any point between the starting and ending point, the event denotes imperfective.

Besides those two meanings, Saengchai proposes that /khvn2/ and /long0/ indicate the meanings of coming into existence and disappearance to the verb series which at the same time imply perfective aspect. /khvn2/ denotes coming into existence only after verbs of creation e.g. /saang2/ 'build', /pha1lit1/ 'produce', verbs of thought e.g. /khit3/ 'think', /song4saj4/ 'wonder', and verbs of consciousness e.g. /tvvn1/ 'wake', /fvvn3/ 'regain'. /long0/ denotes disappearance when it occurs after verbs of destruction e.g. /jut1/ 'stop', /sin2sut1/ 'end', and verbs of record e.g. /ban0tvk3/ 'record', /kep1/ 'keep' of which the latter type of verbs implies temporarily disappearance or preservation. All of these various types of verbs co-occurring with /khvn2/ and /long0/ are regarded as sub-categories of process verbs.

### 2.1.3.3 /khaw2/ 'enter' and /?@@k1/ 'exit'

/khaw2/ and /?@@k1/ are another pair of verbs which indicates direction and aspectual meanings. According to Thepkanjana (1986), /khaw2/ and /?@@k1/ denote direction resulting from the interaction between the path and the outside world. This motion involves the crossing of a line whether the movement is

oriented toward an enclosed space or away from it. Similarly to the other two pairs of DVs, /khaw2/ and /?@@k1/ indicate directional meanings when they occur after some types of verbs, i.e., motion verbs e.g. /kra1doot1+khaw2+h@ng2/ 'jump+enter+room', and communicational verbs e.g. /thoo0ra1sap1+?@@k1/ 'phone+exit'. /khaw2/ and /?@@k1/ here denotes the path where the moving objects which are an animate object in the former example and a message in the latter move toward or away from enclosed spaces which are room and phone respectively.

Like /paj0/, /khaw2/ is another DV which also denotes imperfective aspect to verb serialization as illustrated in the following sentence:

> (21)   su1rii0   th@ng2   nang4svv4   khaw2
>
> Suri   study   book   enter
>
> 'Suri! Study more and more.'

The appearance of /khaw2/ in this verb sequence implies the consequence of the intense degree of performing the action denoted by the main verb. That is, if Suri studies more and more intensely, she would be able to pass an exam which is metaphorically interpreted as a place where Suri goes further and further into.

Saralamba (1995) investigates only /khaw2/ 'enter' in terms of its conceptual meaning and contextual meaning. She proposes that /khaw2/ denotes the conceptual meaning of motion of a thing moving into the enclosed landmark. She also states that this conceptual meaning is maintained in the contextual meaning, which is referred to the meaning that is varied to different contexts. Her studies reveal that /khaw2/ can denote eleven contextual meanings depending on its two different syntactic constructions, i.e., constructions in which /khaw2/ occurs as a single (main) verb and as a part of serial verbs. Some meanings found are similar to those proposed by Phanupong (1981 cited in Saralamba1995) that /khaw2/ denotes e.g. acceleration of an action, an unexpected event, etc.

As a part of verb serialization, /khaw2/ denotes several meanings for example:

1) Motion which moves into the enclosed landmark for purposes of doing some actions e.g. /khaw2+rap3chaj3/ 'enter+serve'. To denote such meaning, /khaw2/ can be followed by any action verbs except DVs /paj0/ and /maa0/.

2) Motion which moves into the enclosed landmark, and has a direction of movement in reference to the speaker's position e.g. /khaw2+paj0/ 'enter+go'. It is

found that only directional verbs /paj0/ and /maa0/, not /khvn2/ and /long0/, can occur after /khaw2/ to denote this meaning.

3) A change from one state to another state. There are three different types of verb which can precede /khaw2/ in order to derive this meaning. They are verbs of process, perception and verbs that show physical contact both intentionally and unintentionally between any part of body and the other object e.g. /maa0+phop3+khaw2/ 'come+see+enter'.

4) An increase of any state such as quantity, feeling, time, etc. In this case, /khaw2/ follows stative verbs e.g. /naan0+khaw2/ 'long+enter'.

5) Success of action of the preceding verb. This type of verb concerns the meaning of an assault and occurs in front of /khaw2/ e.g. /jing0+maj2+khaw2/ 'shoot+not+enter', /fan0+maj2+khaw2/ 'cut+not+enter'.

Based on the cognitive approach, Wongsri (2004), who studies /?@@k1/, found that this DV contains ten senses which are related to one another like a network. However, if considering /?@@k1/ only in serial constructions, it can denote following senses:

1) To move from the interior to the exterior e.g. /l@@j0+?@@k1+maa0/ 'float+exit+come', /dqqn0+?@@k1/ 'walk+exit', etc.

2) To initiate actions e.g. /?@@k1+ron0na1rong0/ 'exit+campaign', /?@@k1+haa4kin0/ 'exit+go hunting', etc.

3) To disconnect from membership e.g. /?@@k1+caak1+phak3/ 'exit+leave+party'.

4) To change status e.g. /?@@k1+caak1+wi3krit1/ 'exit+leave+crisis', /?@@k1+caak1+kaan0mvvang0/ 'exit+leave+politics', etc.

5) Success e.g. /duu0+?@@k1/ 'see+exit', /phuut2+maj2+?@@k1/ 'speak+not+exit', /khit3+maj2+?@@k1/ 'think+not+exit', etc.

6) Obvious e.g. /kxx0+dii0+?@@k1/ 'he+good+exit', etc.

Among these, it is the first sense - moving from the interior to the exterior - that is the basic sense which is extended to the derivation of other senses. However, in my opinion, senses (3) and (4) can be grouped together as their meanings are similar to each other.

Having discussed the characteristics of all six DVs above, their semantic aspects when occurring in SVCs can be summarized in the following table:

Table 2.2: Summary of semantic characteristics of DVs in SVCs

| | /paj0/ | /maa0/ | /khaw2/ | /?@@k1/ | /khvn2/ | /long0/ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Supanwanit (1972) | 1. Past tense | 1. Past tense<br>2. Present continuous | | | | |
| Phanupong (1981) | | | 1. Motion<br>2. Acceleration<br>3. Unexpectation | | | |
| Thepkanjana (1986) | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect (perfective and imperfective) | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect (perfect) | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect (imperfective) | 1. Direction | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect (perfective and perfect) | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect (perfective and perfect) |
| Luksaneeyanawin (1986) | | | | | 1. Direction<br>2. Change of state<br>3. Attitude (positive) | 1. Direction<br>2. Change of state<br>3. Attitude (negative) |
| Rangkupan (1992) | 1. Spatial<br>2. Temporal | 1. Spatial<br>2. Temporal | | | | |
| Saengchai (1994) | | | | | 1. Direction<br>2. Change of state<br>3. Existence/Destruction<br>4. Aspect (perfect) | 1. Direction<br>2. Change of state<br>3. Existence/Destruction<br>4. Aspect (perfect) |
| Saralamba (1995) | | | 1. Motion for purpose<br>2. Direction<br>3. Change of state<br>4. Increase of state<br>5. Success | | | |
| Yangklang (2003) | 1. Direction<br>2. Purpose<br>3. Sequence<br>4. Aspect | 1. Direction<br>2. Purpose<br>3. Sequence<br>4. Aspect | 1. Direction<br>2. Purpose | 1. Direction<br>2. Purpose | 1. Direction<br>2. Aspect | 1. Direction |
| Wongsri (2004) | | | | 1. Motion<br>2. Initiation<br>3. Change of state<br>4. Success<br>5. Obvious | | |

Overtly, each DV of /paj0/ 'go', /maa0/ 'come', /khaw2/ 'enter', /?@@k/ 'exit', /khvn2/ 'ascend', and /long0/ 'descend', denotes the semantic concepts of direction and motion to SVCs. However, these concepts are less perceived when they co-occur with other non-directional verbs. Instead, these DVs denote other additional meanings which vary according to the contextual verbs with which they co-occur under the condition that the properties of those contextual verbs have to be in line with those of DVs. So, types of verbs co-occurring with DVs are considered as an important constituent, which will have an effect on the categorization of SVCs concepts. With this reason, different types of verbs studied earlier especially in Thai are needed to be presented here in brief. A number of researchers who work on verb classification have categorized verbs into different types to conform to their studies. Based on certain criteria, some classify verbs into major groups with sub-types of verbs therein. This kind of classification helps to illustrate a clear picture of the types of verbs as a whole. The classification of verbs is shown in Table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3: Classification of verbs in previous studies (particularly in Thai)

| | Types of Verbs |
|---|---|
| Chafe (1970) | 1. Action Verbs<br>1.1 Motion Verbs 1.2 Non-Motion Verbs<br>2. Process Verbs<br>3. Stative Verbs |
| Kanchanawan (1978) | 1. Activity Verbs<br>2. State Verbs<br>3. Achievement Verbs |
| Thepkanjana (1986) | Directional Verbs, Locomotion Verbs, Travel Verbs, Communication Verbs, Take Verbs, Transactional Verbs, Verbs of Change, Destruction Verbs, Stative Verbs, Creation Verbs, Verbs of Cognition, Verbs of Utterance, Passive Verbs, Aspectual verbs, Causative verbs |
| Rangkupan (1992) | 1. Motion Verbs<br>1.1 Verbs of Translation – Verbs of Displacement, Verbs of Possession, Verbs of Communication<br>1.2 Verbs of Rotation – Verbs of Direct Bodily Actions, Verbs of Vision<br>1.3 Verbs of Deformation<br>2. Evaluation Verbs<br>2.1 Verbs of Quality 2.2 Verbs of Quantity |
| Chuwicha (1993) | 1. Action Verbs<br>1.1 Primary Action Verbs – Verbs of Bodily movement, Posture Verbs, Action verbs using a sense organ, etc.<br>1.2 Non-Primary Action Verbs – Directional Verbs, Manner Verbs, Modality or Cognition Verbs<br>2. Stative Verbs – Emotion Verbs, Equative Verb, State Verbs<br>3. Perception Verbs<br>4. Process Verbs<br>5. Verbs of Change<br>6. Verbs of Motion of Objects |

Table 2.3: (Continued)

| | Types of Verbs |
|---|---|
| Saengchai (1994) | 1. Action Verbs<br>　1.1 Locomotion verbs – Verbs of Displacement, Verbs of Transfer,<br>　　　Verbs of Orientation, Verbs of Vision, Verbs of Communication<br>2. Stative Verbs<br>　2.1 Verbs of Quantity  2.2 Stative Verbs<br>3. Process Verbs<br>　3.1 Verbs of Creation  3.2 Verbs of Thought  3.3.<br>　3.3  Verbs of Consciousness  3.4 Verbs of Destruction<br>　3.5 Verbs of Record |
| Saralamba (1995) | Action Verbs, Motion Verbs, Verbs of Bodily Movement, Verbs of Communication, Verbs of Consumption, Verbs of Orientation, Verbs of Process, Verbs of Perception, Stative Verbs, Verbs of Assault |
| Wongsri (2004) | Motion Verbs, Perception Verbs, Verbs of Distance, Verbs of Scatter, Verbs of Communication, Verbs of Bodily Performance, Verbs of Emotion, Verbs of Creation, Verbs of Appearance, Verbs of Difference, Verbs of Destruction, Verbs of Separation, Verbs of Thought and Stative Verbs |

In conclusion, SVC is a distinctive feature occurring in Thai and other languages such as Chinese, some Southeast Asian languages, some African languages, etc. Correlating with others, Thai SVCs denote various semantic concepts. This fact, however, is more interesting when certain DVs are learnt to be one of serializing verbs that carry some concepts or additional information to the whole SVCs. It is even more thought-provoking when the cross-linguistic study between serializing languages and non-serializing ones especially English is taken into account. Previous studies state that SVC is rendered in English via grammatical devices e.g. adverbs, preposition, conjunction, modal auxiliaries, inflection, or a clause, etc. Some examples of SVCs in different languages along with their English expressions illustrated in this chapter can be partly noticed that in which device SVCs conform to according to the aforesaid statement. However, in a real piece of translation of Thai SVCs into English, it might be different or same to what researchers have presented since translation deals with not only the meaning of an individual word but also the meaning of a word in connection with others or above word levels. Another concern is whether there are equivalence between English translations and those Thai SVCs. Consequently, to be able to clear any doubt relating to the above, it is truly necessary to survey what people say about translation and its equivalence in the next section.

## 2.2 Translation and equivalence

### 2.2.1 Definitions of translation

By dictionary definition, translation generally means giving the meaning of something said or written in another language (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 1974). Another definition given by The Merriam-Webster Dictionary (1974 cited in Larson, 1998) is that translation consists of changing from one state or form to another, to turn into one's own or another's language. It is obvious that the translations from both dictionaries are defined in different ways; the former focuses on the meaning while the latter focuses on the form of a language. Linguists in the field of translation also have their own definitions of translation as follows:

Based upon the linguistic theory, Catford (1965: 20) defines translation as 'the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)'. He uses the terms 'source language' (SL) and 'target language' (TL) because he thinks that translation is always conducted in the direction from the SL to the TL.

Nida (1964), whose translation theory is based upon sociolinguistic approach, refers to translation with an emphasis on the involvement of communication within the context of interpersonal relations, which is far beyond the boundaries of general linguistics proposed by Catford. He explains that when a message is transferred from a SL to a TL, the translator is in fact dealing with two different cultures at the same time. That means in order to translate one must not only know a language, but also be familiar with the customs and civilization of those who speak it (Delisle and Creery, 1988). This Nida's (1964) translation concept has been influential on other succeeding theorists whose definitions base on communication or semantic approach in which context is taken into a major consideration when doing translation.

Newmark (1981), based on communication theory, defines translation as a craft consisting in the attempt to replace a written message and/or statement in one language by the same message and/or statement in another language with the recognition of three dimensions involved in communication – speaker (or author), message, and audience.

Larson (1998), a meaning-based approach theorist, states that translation consists of transferring the meaning of SL into the receptor language. This is done by going from the form of the first language to the form of the second language by way of semantic structure. It is the meaning, which is being transferred and must be held constant. Only the form changes. Larson also explains the characteristics of languages that one form will be used to represent several alternative meanings. For example, the word 'run' in English possesses different meanings in following sentences:

(1) The boy runs. (using the primary meaning of 'run')

(2) His nose runs. (using the secondary meaning of 'run')

On the other hand, a single meaning may be expressed in a variety of form. For instance, the meaning "the cat is black" may be expressed by the following:

(1) The black cat. or

(2) The cat, which is black,

Larson points out that even within a single language there are a great variety of ways in which form expresses meaning. That means the diversity or the lack of one-to-one correlation between form and meaning can be basically claimed as a complicated task in translation. This is because of the fact that a language is a complex set of skewed relationships between meaning (semantics) and form (lexicon and grammar). Each language has its own distinctive forms for representing the meaning. Therefore, in translating the same meaning, translations may be expressed in another language by a very different form. Probably, these linguistic forms between the two languages are not found as a one-to-one correspondence as stated by Ekniyom (1985) who studies the linguistic realization of yes-no questions in English-Thai translation.

Having noted those ideas of translation, it could be said in short here that translation is a process of transferring the meaning of texts in the SL to the TL in the appropriate forms. But what does the process actually mean or how does it occur? Its explanation is to be provided in the following section.

### 2.2.2 Translation process

Translation is a complex dichotomous and cumulative process. But it can be simply said that it is an explanation of how translating occurs. Catford (1965), based

on the comparative linguistics, considers the process of translation in relation to the comparison between two languages. Relations between languages can generally be regarded as directional, though not always symmetrical (1965: 20). However, the translation process in his point of view is always uni-directional, i.e., it is always performed in a given direction from the SL to the TL. Problems can then be predicted.

In more details, Nida (1975) explains his process of translation which consists of three phrases as follows:

1) analyze the message (meaning) of the text in question into its simplest and structurally clearest forms in the SL,

2) transfer the message (meaning) to the receptor language[1], then

3) restructure it at the simple level to the receptor language which is most appropriate for the particular type of audience in mind.

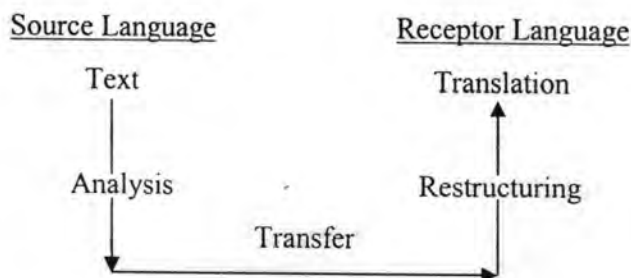Such procedure can be represented diagrammatically as in the below figure.



Figure 2.1: Translation process of Nida (1975)

To illustrate, the **analysis** of text in the SL above involves three different sets of major features, i.e., grammatical analysis, semantic analysis of referential meaning, and the connotative meaning of syntactic and semantic structures.

i) Grammatical analysis is the process of back-transforming expressions from the surface structure to the underlying kernel structure. This kernel sentence helps translators to view the linguistic units clearer.

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[1] In stead of 'target language', the term 'receptor' is used to emphasize the fact that the message must be decoded by those who receive it.

ii) Semantic analysis of referential meaning is the way to analyze the meaning of language in relation to discourse, not isolated words or sentences. The context of discourse can resolve many difficulties or ambiguities arising from the analysis of those units in isolation.

iii) The connotative meaning of syntactic and semantic structures is essentially an analysis that treats the emotive values of the formal structure of the communication.

After all those analyses, the next process is to **transfer** the message to the receptor language. The message is not counted on just words but bundles of componential features which can be redistributed in three different types – *a complete redistribution* (the componential structures in the SL is completely redistributed), *an analytical redistribution of the components* (one lexical word in the SL is translated into several terms in the receptor language), and a *synthesis of components* (two lexical words in the SL are translated into one term in the receptor language). And it is in this stage that the message is inevitably possible to be modified with some degree of loss. The last process is **restructuring** which deals with the structures of each particular receptor language to which the message has to be carried over. Also, the restructuring has to be based on the two principles of formal and functional or dynamic effect on the intended receptor.

Similar to Nida, Newmark (1981: 144) also mentions three basic steps for his translation process, i.e.,

1) the interpretation and analysis of the SL text;

2) the translation procedure; which may be direct, or on the basis of the SL and TL corresponding syntactic structure, or through an underlying logical 'interlanguage';

3) the reformulation of the text in relation to the writer's intention, the readers' expectation, the appropriate norms of the TL.

It is noted that the last step regarding the reformulation of the text or the restructuring as proposed by Nida earlier is the process which leads to the different types of translation such as free translation, literal translation, or word-to-word translation, etc. To use a specific type of translation depends on which type will produce more natural language in the TL and simultaneously have more effect on its readers. Again, it is also possible that some information might be lost or gained in

the meaning from the application of a specific translation type. And in using any type, perhaps it can be noticed of any correspondence or non-correspondence of linguistic or formal features between the SL and the TL. These issues especially about the semantics in translation are a translator's real burden in achieving the ideal translations in order to portray the equal meaning and possible consistent form as those in the SL. With this importance, such grammatical equivalence in translation will be the next discussion.

### 2.2.3   Translation equivalence

A major concern for the translator is to produce translation equivalence between the SL and the TL. But the concept of equivalence has been one of the key words in translation studies and has been discussed in various dichotomous ways such as 'formal and textual equivalence' (Catford, 1965), 'formal and dynamic equivalence' (Nida, 1964), 'word and above word, grammatical, textual and pragmatic equivalence (Baker, 1992), and so on. Even though the terms are given differently, what they have in common is the focus on 'meaning' and 'form' between the SL and the TL. So, the semantic and syntactic dimensions happen to be the major aspects of equivalence in translation which deserve to be explained in the following.

2.2.3.1 <u>Semantic equivalence</u>

It is said that even if each language is different, the semantic concept can be rendered interlingually (Jacobson, 1959/2000) or it is more universal than the syntactic aspect (Larson, 1998). Semantic aspect is linguistically about meaning or interpretation of words and sentences in a language (O'Grady and Dobrovolsky, 1992). In translation, the general term 'meaning' is used and agreed to be the most exclusive concern that a translator has to grasp from the SL and transfer the same to the TL.

In preference of meaning to form, Nida (1964) proposes two different types of translation equivalence, namely *formal equivalence* (correspondence) and *dynamic equivalence*. The aspect of the semantic equivalence is included in both types. That is, the formal equivalence refers to the translation consisting of a TL item which represents the closest equivalent of a SL word or phrase. Or it can be said that formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself.   However, Nida

emphasizes the dynamic equivalence as effective translation. The term is defined as a translation principle that the translator seeks to translate the meaning of the original in such a way that the TL wording will trigger the same impact on the TL audience. Nida (1959 cited in Hatim and Mason, 1990) states that non-correspondence of grammatical and lexical categories is the main source of information loss and gain in translation.

Baker (1992) explores the translation equivalence and proposes the notion of equivalence at four different levels. The semantic aspect related is in *the equivalence at word level and above word level*. She explains that equivalence at word level is the first element that the translator sees as single units in order to find a direct 'equivalent' term in the TL. To find this term equivalence, it means the meaning of words has to be acquired. Another upper level of semantic equivalence is *the textual equivalence* which accounts on the information and cohesion between the SL text and the TL text. She views that texture is very important in translation as it helps translators to comprehend the texts in the SL.

According to Larson (1998), *lexical equivalents* are what translators look for when they conduct translation although they often find that there is no exact equivalent between the words of one language and the words of another. But there will be words which have some of the same meaning components combined in that match a questionable word. So, the translators need to be able to analyze the lexical items of the SL text before attempting to translate them into the TL text.

It can be seen that the semantic equivalence explained by those linguists jointly involves the meaning equivalence of a single word up to words in contexts between the SL and the TL. Also, loss and gain of information may happen in translations due to different linguistic systems between the two languages.

### 2.2.3.2 Syntactic equivalence

In translation, the syntactic aspect and its equivalence between the texts in the SL and the TL is treated less importantly than the semantic aspect. This is because the major goal of any translator is to transfer the original message in the SL to the TL, not the form that is carried over. The other reason is that different languages have different grammatical systems. So, it is regarded as an impossible task to accomplish the equivalent syntactic forms. For example, English has an inflectional morpheme –s to express number and tense but not in other languages like

Thai. To translate these grammatical features from English into Thai, the form in the latter will be different. But some may argue that there are morphological markers that correspond to those features. The problem here relies on the concept of equivalence which can be examined as follows:

Nida (1964) also mentions the syntactic aspect of equivalence that is 'formal equivalence'. This term is referred to a way that the translators seek to use the same grammatical and syntactical forms as the SL whenever possible. Unlike Nida, Catford (1965), a more linguistic-based approach preference, defines his translation equivalence in favor to the form, i.e., 'textual equivalence' and 'formal correspondence'. A textual equivalent is any target language form (text or portion of text) which is observed on a particular occasion... to be the equivalent of a given source language form (text or portion of text) e.g. translating an adjective by an adverbial phrase. A formal correspondent, on the other hand, is any target language category (unit, class, structure, element of structure, etc.) which can be said to occupy, as nearly as possible, the 'same' place in the 'economy' of the target language as the given source language category occupies in the source language (1965: 27) e.g. translating an adjective by an adjective. Since each language is unique, it is clear that formal correspondence is nearly always approximate. With this reason, the textual equivalence is created for and consequently leads to the notion of 'translation shift'.

With reference to Baker (1992), she discusses the syntactic aspect at the level of 'grammatical equivalence'. She notes that grammatical rules vary across languages and may cause remarkable changes in the way the information or message is carried across in translation. Also, this may pose some problems to the translators in finding a direct correspondence or form equivalence in the TL. The attempts to solve the problem may subsequently induce an effect on the semantic equivalence. She/he may either add or omit information in the target text because of the lack of particular grammatical devices e.g. number, tense and aspects, voice, person and gender in the TL itself.

From the above, it is possible to say that the syntactic equivalence between the original texts in the SL and the translated texts in the TL can happen. But this event may interrelate the equivalence of semantic aspect in terms of information gain and loss in the TL texts.

In summary, linguists describe the definition and process of translation based on the different theories that they rely on. But the core concept they all have in common regarding translation is the transfer of the original meaning or message in the SL texts to the TL texts in the appropriate forms. In addition, the transferred messages shown in the TL have to be equal to those in the SL texts in terms of translation equivalence. In translation, the semantic and syntactic aspects are considered to be major grammatical equivalence with which translators have to be concerned since these two are found to be interrelated. It is for this reason that these two major aspects of grammatical equivalence are to be examined in this dissertation.