ON THE DEICTIC USE OF "COMING" AND "GOING" IN THAI

I declare that this thesis is my own work and all sources used have been acknowledged.

by

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements iii
List of Abbreviations vii

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. PAY and MA: Homonymy or polysemy 1
1.2. PAY and MA: Semantic diversity 4
1.3. PAY and MA: and the concept of favoured decontextualized interpretation 6
1.4. Come and go and the theory of deixis 10
1.5. Transcription 16

2 SPATIAL DEIXIS OF PAY AND MA:

2.1. Introduction 18
2.2. Speaker-addressee deixis 19
  2.2.1. Lexical description of PAY 22
  2.2.2. Lexical description of MA: 27
2.3. Third-person narrative 38
2.4. Conclusion 42

3 TEMPORAL MEANINGS OF PAY AND MA:

3.1. Temporal meanings of "come" and "go" across languages 44
3.2. Temporal meanings of PAY and MA: in Thai 47
3.3. Temporal uses of PAY as an unrestricted lexical item 54
  3.3.1. Different temporal functions of PAY 54
  3.3.2. Irrevocable past events 55
  3.3.3. Previous past 57
  3.3.4. Prospective continuity 59
  3.3.5. Sequencing 61
3.4. Temporal uses of MA: as an unrestricted lexical item

3.4.1. MA: and the notion of prospective interpretation

3.4.2. MA: and the notion of retrospective continuity

3.4.3. MA: and the notion of current relevant state

3.5. PAY and MA: in contrast

3.6. PAY and MA: as paired expressions

3.6.1. To'):-pay versus to'):-ma:

3.6.2. To'):-pay and prospective continuity

3.6.3. To'):-pay and futurity

3.6.4. To'):-pay and sequencing

3.6.5. To'):-ma: and sequencing

3.6.6. Pha:n-pay versus pha:n-ma:

3.7. Fixed constructions

3.7.1. V1 PAY V1 PAY

3.7.2. V1 PAY V1 MA:

3.7.3. V1 PAY V2 PAY

3.8. Conclusion

4 THE FIGURATIVE USES OF PAY AND MA:

4.1. Introduction

4.2. PAY and MA: and the notion of existence

4.3. PAY and MA: and the state of mind

4.4. Evaluative standard

4.4.1. Stative standard

4.4.2. Experiential standard

4.4.3. Social standard
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION


1.1. PAY AND MA: Homonymy and Polysemy

It seems to be an area of agreement among linguists working on the lack of morphological properties of the language. difficulties in handling characteristic items which possess multiple meanings and multiple functions. The question of identity, which are homonymous or polysemic, is often raised. But no generally agreed-on conclusion has been possible. Many linguists have ignored the issue altogether and concentrated merely on descriptive phenomena. Noo (1984), for example, separates PAY and MA into three categories: main verb, modal and postpositional without making any claim whether the PAY and MA of these
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this study we aim to show explicitly the importance of context to the understanding of meaning of utterances by investigating linguistic behavior of two deictic terms PAY(go) and MA:(come) in Thai in three different areas: spatial, temporal and figurative. In this chapter we discuss linguistic complexity relevant to the study of PAY and MA: under the following aspects:

(a). PAY-MA: and the issue of homonymy and polysemy
(b). PAY-MA: and semantic diversity
(c). PAY-MA: and the concept of favoured decontextualized interpretation
(d). PAY-MA: and contextual determination of semantic difference

1.1. PAY AND MA: HOMONYMY OR POLYSEMY

There seems to be at least one area of agreement among linguists working on Thai: the lack of morphological properties of the language creates difficulties in handling and characterizing a lexical item which possesses multiple meanings and displays multiple functions. The question whether identical surface forms are homonymous or polysemic is often raised. But no generally agreed-on conclusion has been possible. Many linguists have ignored the issue altogether and concentrated merely on descriptive phenomena. Noss (1964), for example, separates PAY and MA: into three categories: main verb, modal and postpositional without making any claim whether the PAY and MA: of these

1. It is customary in Thai to begin the pair with the term "go" first and followed by "come".
distinct categories are in fact derived from the same lexeme or are merely homophones. Vis, on the other hand, makes an explicit claim that "as Thai is a non-inflecting language, the virtual absence of morphological variation suggests that all sets of phonological forms with more than one syntactic functions deserve to be labelled homonyms" (1978:43). She also argues further that "derived forms vary in an unpredictable and idiosyncratic manner so that independent entries are preferable to a single base form with a specification that attributes the semantic variation to distinct structural environments" (p.45). From this homonymous standpoint, Vis views the word "khû'n" meaning "direction up" in the following sentences as different lexical items:

- (1) khâw khû'n banday láé:w
  he go up stairs aspect
  He has climbed the stairs.

- (2) khâw yâp nângsû': khû'n
  he lift book up
  He lifted the book up. (Vis, 1978:50, transcription standardized)

Vis bases her reasoning that "khû'n" in these two sentences belongs to a different lexical category on syntactic evidence: "khû'n" in the first sentence is a main verb by virtue of its ability to be directly followed by the future tense marker "cà" while "khû'n" in the latter sentence lacks such ability. With regard to strong feelings of native speakers that these two cases of "khû'n" are actually the same word, Vis argues that this is predictable since the average native speaker lacks
awareness of the syntactic tests that would discriminate between the two forms (p. 51).

The situation with PAY and MA: is parallel to what is discussed above and is directly concerned with the same issue: homonym or polysemy. The uses and meanings of these two words are enormously variable. As an overview, consider:

PAY and MA: indicating an actual motion

(3) no' : ng pay rongrian
   sister go school

Sister went to school.

(4) mae : ma: su ' : kho' : ng thi ' : talat
    mother go buy thing at market

Mother went shopping at the market.

PAY and MA: indicating direction

(5) phoeng song cotma : y pay hay pho ' : wanni:
    just send letter go give father today

(I) just sent a letter to my father today.

(6) siang ro : ng hay dang ma : ca : k kho : ng ba : n
    noise crying loud come from neighbour

The crying noise comes from neighbour.

PAY and MA: indicating temporal meaning

(7) nga : n chi : n ni than pay daiy sam wan ko' bu'a
    work clf. this do go get three days Part. bore

(I) have done this job for three days and it's boring.

(8) khaw tae : ng nga : n ma : ha : pi : tae : may mi : lu : k
    he marry come five year but not have child

He's been married for five years but has no children.
"PAY" indicating loss

(9) khaw may khawcay wa: thammay khun pho': thu'ng
he not understand Comp. why Resp. father how

day ha:y tua pay ya:nng may mi: ro':ngro'y
get disappear body go Adv. not have trace

He doesn't understand why his father has disappeared without any trace.

"PAY" indicates non-standard state

(10) su'a thi: su': ma: hay tua lek pay say may day
dress that buy come give body small go wear notable

The dress that you bought (me) is too small; I can't wear it."

On a superficial investigation, one may be convinced that these different uses and meanings of PAY and MA: are not in any way related and are not derived from the same root lexeme. However, I shall argue here-against the homonym theory—that they are derived from the same lexeme and their seemingly unpredictable and idiosyncratic nature is in fact governed by a single principle. Such a principle is closely associated, on pragmatic grounds, with the notion of deictic center which plays a vital role in forming the meaning of these two words. The aim of this study is to show that the variation in meaning of PAY and MA: can be principally explained and captured by a consideration of deixis. We will come back later to the discussion of how deictic center determines the use of PAY and MA:.

1.2. PAY AND MA: : SEMANTIC DIVERSITY

Very often, PAY and MA: occur in series with other verbs and the semantic content of these verbs plays an
important role in determining the actual interpretation of PAY and MA:. Different types of verbs give rise to different meanings. To illustrate this point, consider the following three superficially similar sentences:

(11) dêk khon ní: doe:n pay
child Clf. this walk go

This child walked away.
*This child walked too much.

(12) dêk khon ní: salòp pay
child Clf. this faint go

This child fainted.
*This child fainted and went.

(13) dêk khon ní: lék pay
child Clf. this small go

This child is too small.
*This child is small and went.

It is clear that these contrasting meanings arising from sentences, analogous in superficial phrase structure, have to be explained in terms of the semantic content of the verbs adjacent to PAY. By this I mean that the semantic property of these co-constituents is so essential that it may retain or alter the core meaning of PAY and MA:. This depends on the semantic compatibility between the motion verbs and their co-constituent. For example, as for PAY when occurring in series with the motion verb "doe:n" (to walk), the literal sense of PAY (going) is kept by virtue of this motional compatibility. In contrast, the meaning of "lék" (small), which belongs to a different semantic class and has different semantic properties from the verb "doe:n", cannot be, in any way, agreeable with the motional sense of PAY. On the other hand, the peripheral meaning or, one could say,
metaphorical meaning of PAY which expresses something akin to "away from standard (deictic center)" is chosen instead to match the adjectival property of "lek" (small).

However, it is worth pointing out that other linguistic units such as locative noun phrase, temporal adverbial phrase also play an important role in determining the intended meaning of PAY and MA:. Consider:

(14) khaw doe:n ma:
he walk come

He walked toward me.

(15) khaw doe:n ma: sɔ'ng wan
he walk come two day

He has been walking for two days.
*He walked toward me for two days.

In (14) it is clear MA:'s motional sense is intended. It specifies the direction of walking toward the speaker. However, when the temporal phrase sɔ'ng wan (two days) is added the situation is completely altered: MA: no longer specifies motional direction; instead, it marks temporality. With the addition of a temporal phrase the spatial meaning of MA: has been suppressed and the temporal meaning wins out. In other words, the favoured interpretation of (14) is spatial while the favoured interpretation of (15) is temporal.

1.3. PAY AND MA: AND THE CONCEPT OF FAVOURED DECONTEXTUALIZED INTERPRETATION

It is often the case that the same string of lexical items can give rise to a number of interpretations in various contexts. Among these different interpretations, one may override others. This means that some interpretations would gain an immediate recognition while
others may need an extra clue to reach the recognizable interpretation e.g., be given in the right context. Take the combination of the verb khit (to think) and pay (to go) as an illustration; this combination can be projected into at least five contexts with five different meanings:

A. think back in time

(16) A. khit aray yu;
    think what Prog.Marker

What are you thinking?"

B. phom kamlang khit pay thu'ng samay thi: raw
    I Prog. think go when time that we
pen dek khun kap phom mi:ru':ang chokt:j:y
be child you and I have matter fight
kan ru'ay
together always
I am thinking back when we were kids; we always had fights.

B. think from a different perspective

(17) khit pay i:\k thi: khaw ko' pen khon may le:w
    think go again Clf. be person not bad
leo:ythi:diaw
at all

To consider another way, he's not too bad at all."
E. think for a substantial period of time

There's no hurry to answer my questions; take your time to think."

The cooccurrence semantics of khít and pay appearing in these five examples seems equally legitimate when contexts are spelled out. However, it is the fact that there is ranking of interpretation within these five examples, which means some interpretations are felt to be more favoured than others. So the favoured decontextualized interpretation of the string khít+pay would be "think something counterfactual or imagine" as this meaning would emerge as the first picture when asked to construct a sentence. The meaning appears in No. (19), "think again and again" is less obvious in a decontextualized situation, but given the right context, the reiterative temporal reading is, e.g., (20) undoubtedly, acceptable.

We have seen that a combination of two lexical items could give rise to various interpretations with different ranking. In linguistics a great deal of attention is paid to the discussion of the semantic "ambiguity" of the same surface structure. However, we wish to emphasize the point that what is considered ambiguous is in fact almost never ambiguous in natural settings of human communication.

Utterances become ambiguous only when they appear in isolation; and when we look at an utterance with ambiguous readings, it is usually the case that some readings appear to be more salient, more distinct and gain an immediate
recognition than others. Consider the following as an illustrative example:

(21) Dae:ng khap rót chon khwa:y ta:y
Daeng drive car collide buffalo die

a. Daeng drove the car, collided with a buffalo and it (the buffalo) died.

b. Daeng drove the car, collided with a buffalo and it (the car) stalled.

c. Daeng drove the car, collided with a buffalo and he (Daeng) died.

d. Daeng drove the car and collided with a dead buffalo.

Example (21) is four ways ambiguous when context is discarded. Foley and Van Valin (1984) explained this ambiguity in terms of a pragmatically controlled "co-reference constraint". It is interesting to see that these possible readings, however, are not equally recognized. When context is not provided, the most favoured decontextualized reading would be a. The question of what determines which reading is more or less favoured is a complicated one as it may involve other paralinguistic factors. However, for this particular example, I would argue that "knowledge of the world" plays a key role in selecting reading a. For further exposition, compare:

(22) Dae:ng khap rót chon tònmây ta:y
Daeng drive car collide tree die

a. Daeng drove the car, collided with a tree and it (the tree) died.

2. This was discussed, but in different aspect, in Foley and Van Valin (1984), p.194-5 following Warotamasikkhadit (1963). However, the reading d. is an addition.

3. This "co-reference constraint" determines which reading is intended e.g., if the subject of ta:y "die" is co-referential with the object of chon "collide" which is the buffalo, then the reading a. is intended.
b. Daeng drove the car, collided with a tree and it (the car) stalled.

c. Daeng drove the car, collided with a tree and he (Daeng) died.

d. Daeng drove the car and collided with a dead tree.

In (22) a buffalo is replaced by a tree; theoretically this should give similar readings to (21). However, it is a fact that the favoured decontextualized interpretation for (22) is c. This means that the reading c. is considered most appropriate to represent our experience and knowledge of the world expressed in this particular sentence. In (21) when a car collides with an animal we tend to be more concerned with the safety of the animal for there is usually very little (or no) damage done on our part. However, when a car runs into a solid object such as a tree, in this situation human life becomes our main concern and what happens to the car is secondary and what happens to the tree seems even less important.

So far we have brought out three major issues that are significant to the discussion of PAY and MA: in this study. We wish to emphasize that these issues - homonymy and polysemy, semantic diversity of a lexical item and the favoured decontextualized interpretation- are not specific to PAY and MA: or any particular lexicon. We believe that these issues are fundamental to the analysis of Thai linguistics in general.

1.4. COME AND GO AND THE THEORY OF DEIXIS

The study of deixis has recently gained wider theoretical recognition in linguistic discussions especially within the field of pragmatics.
Essentially, deixis concerns "the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event, and thus also concerns way in which the interpretation of utterances depends on the analysis of that context of utterance" (Levinson, 1983: p.54). The following English example may best illustrate the important of deictic information for the interpretation of utterances:

A note is left on the door saying:

(23) I'll be back in an hour (Levinson, 1983: p.54)

Unless we know who wrote this sentence and when it was written, the message may not be correctly interpreted and successfully conveyed to the receiver.

It should be pointed out that deictic systems in natural language are not arbitrarily organized but essentially based on the assumption of face-to-face human communication, as Lyons (1977a: 637-8) has put it:

The grammaticalization and lexicalization of deixis is best understood in relation to what may be termed the canonical situation of utterance: this involves one-one, or one-many, signalling in the phonic medium along the vocal-auditory channel, with all the participants present in the same actual situation able to see one another and to perceive the associated non-vocal paralinguistic features of their utterances, and each assuming the role of sender and receiver in turn... There is much in the structure of languages that can only be explained on the assumption that they have developed for communication in face-to-face interaction. This is clearly so as far as deixis is concerned.

Fillmore (1971) classified deictic information into five categories: person, place, time, discourse and social deixis.
Person deixis is involved with the identification or role of participants in speech event. Person deixis is typically encoded in the grammatical feature of person: first, second or third.

Place deixis specifies the spatial location of participants involved in the speech event. Languages generally encode the spatial specification in the feature known as "demonstrative pronoun" (as in English this, that) and "adverb of place" such as here, there.

Time deixis concerns the time of speech event (coding time) in relation to the time of utterance (receiving time). This temporal deixis is commonly grammaticalized in tense and in deictic adverbs of time such as now, then, yesterday, next year etc.

Discourse deixis concerns the lexical or grammatical elements that indicate aspect or portion of on-going discourse. Typical discourse deixis is found in words such as the former, the latter where the understanding of what they are referring to depends on the understanding of a previous portion of the discourse.

Social deixis is an aspect of language structure that encodes the social identities of participants. It indicates the social status and rank of a participant (normally the speaker) in relation to others. The features under the term honorifics are perhaps good examples of the category of social deixis.

It is generally true that deixis is organized in an egocentric way where deictic expression is thought of as anchored to specific point in the speech event. The
unmarked anchorage point is generally known as the deictic center. The deictic center is typically assumed to be as follows: (Levinson, 1983:64)

(a) the central person in the communicative event is the speaker.
(b) the central time is the time at which the speaker produces the utterance. This is generally known as "coding time" (CT).
(c) the central place is the speaker's location at coding time.
(d) the discourse center is the point in which the speaker is at in the process of speech event.
(e) the social center is the social status and rank of the speaker relative to social status and rank of other participants in that speech event.

The deictic information expressed in the verbs "come" and "go" is typically captured within the domain of spatial deixis as they involve motion in space with the specification of speaker-addressee's location, hence speaker-addressee deixis. Come and go are generally defined as movement toward and away from the speaker respectively. However, as demonstrated in Fillmore's work (1966,1971,1972), this definition is far from satisfactory; their meanings are much more elaborated and seemingly underexplored. For example the frequently heard utterances:

(24) May I come in ?
(25) I am coming.

in fact do not conform to the above definition. Come in these examples does not specify the movement toward the
speaker but rather it designates the motion toward the addressee. This phenomenon is known as deictic projection in which the deictic center, instead of the speaker's location, is shifted to other participant's location (Lyons, 1977a:579). The speaker projects himself into his addressee's location. As noted by Levinson: "this usage may have diachronically arisen from a polite deictic shift to the addressee's point of view" (1983:83).

The usage of PAY and MA: in the speaker-addressee deixis will be our main concern in chapter one. In this chapter we also examine the role of these words in third-person narrative discourse with an aim of showing that the notion of deictic center could usually be applied.

It is important to note that spatial deictic reference tends to serve as a basis for a variety of metaphorical extensions into other domains. For instance in the temporal domain, as many cross-linguistic studies have revealed, natural language exhibits a close link between space and time. Spatial terms such as near, on, in etc., are found extensively used in temporal concepts e.g., near future, on March 18th, in the morning. The motion verbs come and go are no exception and, interestingly, they bear close resemblance in functions and meanings across languages (cf. Givon, 1973, 1982; Traugott, 1975, 1978). Both are capable of representing the temporal meanings of past and future as in English periphrastic auxiliary "be going to" expressing futurity and the expression "gone by" denoting past.
Similarly, PAY and MA: in Thai can denote the temporal concepts showing future and past as well as aspect:

(26) ต่อ:pay นิ: Ni: นิต คา pen เดก di: connect go this นิต will be ชาตด good

From now on นิต will be a good child.

(27) ฆ่า kap phoon ru: cãk kan ma: น้า n sip pi: he and I know each other come long ten year

He and I, we have known each other for ten years.

In addition to temporal domain, the motion verbs "come and "go" also find their ways into the figurative domain in many languages:

English

(28) He has gone mad/crazy/nuts etc.

(29) He went out of his mind.

(30) He came back to his senses. (Clark,1974:320-1)

Hindi

(31) Uska larka [lãyak] nikal ãyã (come)

widwãn

nidar

His son turned out to be {able.

{able.

a scholar.

fearless.

(32) Uska larka [bewkãf] nikal gayã (go)

badmaã

xarãb

His son turned out to be {a fool.

{a fool.

a rascal.

bad. (Sinha,1972:354)

Thai

(33) ฆ่า pen บา: pay he be crazy go

He has gone crazy.

(34) ฆ่า phoon fu:n ma: he just gain conscious come

He has just regained consciousness.
Both Clark (1974) and Sinha (1972) share a similar view that the meaning of "come" found in idiomatic usage in English and Hindi seems to indicate something desirable and often carries positive connotation. The meaning of "go", on the other hand, expresses a somewhat undesirable state of affairs and therefore carries with it non-positive connotations. This hypothesis is formulated primarily based on Fillmore's speaker-addressee deixis centering around the notion of deictic center. We shall test the hypothesis to see if it is applicable to Thai data in chapter four.

The semantic accessibility of the verbs "come" and "go" over the spatial, temporal and figurative domains cannot be viewed in any way as coincident or idiosyncratic; especially when the concepts they express bear such distinct similarities. The question is, then, can one find any predictable universal principle to explain this semantic resemblance? To find a satisfactory answer to this question is not an easy task, particularly, when the cross-linguistic study of the verbs in question has not yet been thoroughly attempted. However, this thesis will attempt to answer the question specifically for Thai data.

1.5. TRANSCRIPTION

Standard Thai, a dialect spoken in Bangkok and the official language of Thailand, is used in this study. The transcription follows the official Thai Royal-Institute system of Romanization with slight modifications as shown below.
### Consonants

**bilabial** labio-alveolar palatal velar glottal dental

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Liquids</th>
<th>Semi-Vowels</th>
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<tr>
<td>vd. b</td>
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<td>f</td>
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### Vowels

front central back

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>i, i:</th>
<th>u', u':</th>
<th>u, u:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e, e:</td>
<td>oe, oe:</td>
<td>o, o:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ae, ae:</td>
<td>a, a:</td>
<td>o', o':</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Diphthongs

ia, u'a, ua

### 5 Tones

Mid = unmarked low = \ falling = ^ high = / rising = V

In third-person narrative discourse, we will examine how **PAY** and **MA** operate; can the same deictic principle used in the speaker-addressee deixis be applied in the third-person narrative?

One important feature of **PAY** and **MA**: that will not be treated in the discussion of spatial domain but is worth mentioning here is their contrastive feature of known and unknown destination. The destination of **MA**: is known as its motion is toward the speaker or the deictic center itself. The destination of **PAY**, on the other hand, may or
CHAPTER 2
SPATIAL DEIXIS OF PAY AND MA:

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will look at the spatial orientation associated with the use of PAY(go) and MA:(come) appearing in two types of discourse: in face-to-face communication where the speaker and the addressee are key participants and in written third-person narrative.

In the speaker-addressee axis, both conventional and unconventional uses of PAY and MA: will be examined and discussed in depth with an attempt to derive a predictive, applicable definition. Special attention is given to certain unconventional uses with the aim of showing that the traditional belief that only the speaker is the reference point to which PAY(go) and MA:(come) are anchored is misleading. Various other factors could affect the choice of these two words such as the involvement of coding time and reference time, the shift of deictic viewpoint etc.

In third-person narrative discourse, we will examine how PAY and MA: operate: can the same deictic principle used in the speaker-addressee deixis be applied in the third-person narrative?

One important feature of PAY and MA: that will not be treated in the discussion of spatial domain but is worth mentioning here is their contrastive feature of known and unknown destination. The destination of MA: is known as its motion is toward the speaker or the deictic center itself. The destination of PAY, on the other hand, may or
may not be known. This means that the lexical specification of MA: includes more information than PAY about the locative goal of the motion. It is usually the case that the locative goal of MA: is where the deictic center is situated and this is made known in its lexical semantics. In contrast, the locative goal of PAY, if it is known, cannot be deduced from the lexical semantics alone. It must depend on discourse factors such as immediate context of speech or the introduction of a specific noun-phrase in the overt syntax e.g., pay ro:ng-rian (go to school). The unknown feature of PAY is evident in the interrogative sentence such as: pay nāy (where are you going?). The parallel question with MA: -*ma: nāy (*where are you coming?)-however, is absurd and impossible simply because the destination of MA: is already known. The known and unknown property will prove immensely important in other domains, particularly the temporal domain.

2.2. SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE DEIXIS

Gandour (1978:383) in his study of "On the deictic use of verbs of motion Come and Go in Thai" concludes that the destination of the motion of PAY "go" is "somewhere other than where the speaker is at the time of utterance" and the destination of MA: "come" "may only be the speaker's location at either the time of the utterance or the time referred to in it". This conclusion arose from what he claimed to be "ungrammaticality" of sentence (1b) and (1d) below:1

1. Gandour's definition of PAY and MA: is intended to be a Thai version of come and go proposed by Fillmore (1975) by
The starred sentences do sound absurd if they refer to the (unmarked) situation where PAY and thi:nân involve the location where the speaker is not identified; whereas MA: and thi:nî: refer to places where the speaker is identified with. So it appears that there is linguistic incompatibility when PAY is adjacent to thi:nî: and MA: to thi:nân. However, if we put the sentences into some other context, say, the speaker is pointing to a place on a map and says to his addressee:

(2)  phôm cà pay thi:nî:  i:k sip na:thi: khun kho: y  
I will go here again ten minute you then

You are at father's house, aren't you? Just wait here. Can you wait there? I'll get someone to bring you what you are (and give the thing to you.)

When the context is provided, the so-called "ungrammatical" sentences in a decontextualized situation (1b) become perfectly acceptable. Though the ungrammaticality in (1b) is eliminated, this should not, in any way, invalidate the hypothesis that PAY (go) designates observing the constraint in the following English counterpart sentences:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. phôm cà pay thi:nân</td>
<td>&quot;I will go there.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will go there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. *phôm cà pay thi:nî:</td>
<td>&quot;I will go here.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will go here</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. phôm cà ma: thi:nî:</td>
<td>&quot;I will come here.&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>I will come here</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. *phôm cà ma: thi:nân</td>
<td>&quot;I will come there.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I will come there</td>
</tr>
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(1) a. phôm cà pay thi:nân
   I will go there
b. *phôm cà pay thi:nî:
   I will go here
c. phôm cà ma: thi:nî:
   I will come here
d. *phôm cà ma: thi:nân
   I will come there

(Gandour, 1978:382)
There is no constraint in the use of come and there together. The belief that this is the case in Thai leads Gandour to the conclusion he proposed and this has been taken up by Bickner (1989).
the motion away from the speaker's location since \textit{th\textsc{in}i}: "here", in this context \textit{(2)}, does not refer to the speaker's location at the time of speaking but to the point (place) he is focusing on (i.e. on the map). These two places are seen as close together, but do not coincide.

Also, when we come to Gandour's claim about MA:, we find that his version of a source starred English's "come" remains deficient as he was misled by the seeming incompatibility of \textit{ma: th\textsc{in}n\textsc{a}n} "come there" in \textit{(1d)}. In fact, large numbers of examples show that the destination of MA: "come" can be somewhere other than the speaker's location, either at the coding time or at the reference time:

\textit{(3)}

\texttt{khun ro'\textsc{y}: yu: th\textsc{in}n\textsc{a}n n\acute{a} di\textsc{aw} phom c\acute{a} hay}

\texttt{you wait stay there Part. moment I will give}

\texttt{khon aw kho'\textsc{ng} ma: hay}

\texttt{people get thing come give}

Could you wait there? I'll get someone to bring you the thing (you want)
(Lit. I will ask someone to get the thing and come (to where you are) and give the thing to you.)

\textit{(4)}

\texttt{to'\textsc{n}ni: yu: b\acute{a}n khun pho'\textsc{y}: cha\textsc{m}\acute{a}y yu:}

\texttt{this time stay house Resp.father Q.Part. stay}

\texttt{th\textsc{in}n\textsc{a}n n\acute{a} set th\acute{u}r\acute{a} lae:w c\acute{a} ma:}

\texttt{there Part. finish business already will come}

\texttt{r\acute{a}p receive}

You are at Father's house, aren't you. Just wait there; I'll come and pick you up when I've finished my errands.

Though it may sound unacceptable to put \textit{ma: th\textsc{in}nan}: "come there" together, this, as we see in \textit{(3)} and \textit{(4)}, does not prove sufficient to claim that the destination of MA: may only be the speaker's location as we shall see later.
that MA: is capable of specifying motion toward other participants that thî:nân could be identified with.

The speaker-addressee deixis of PAY and MA: in Thai shows similar intricacies to what is found in English especially in the case of MA:. In what follows we shall propose lexical descriptions for PAY and MA: in relation to the speaker-addressee deixis and examine the conditions under which the description could apply.

2.2.1. LEXICAL DESCRIPTION OF PAY

We propose that:

PAY DESIGNATES MOTION AWAY FROM THE DEICTIC CENTER SPECIFIED WITH THE CODING TIME.

The term "deictic center", in my view, is essential for the description of both motion terms PAY and MA:. It serves as a cover term for conventional and unconventional uses of the terms. When PAY and MA: are used prototypically the deictic center is at the speaker's location. However, as shown earlier, the "deictic center" is not always situated at the speaker's location. For example in the case of deictic projection where MA: can specify motion toward and PAY away from the addressee's location. There also are situations where MA: could refer to motion toward other locations where neither the speaker nor the addressee is located. In such instances neither the speaker's nor the addressee's location is regarded as the deictic center. Therefore, using only "speaker's location" or "addressee's location" in the lexical descriptions of PAY and MA: does not adequately capture the
information contained in the words and the range of situations they may be used.

With regard to the temporal notions coding time and reference time, Fillmore (1975) points out the necessity to explicitly specify these terms in his formulation of come and go in English. The same requirement is also apparent in Thai. In the case of PAY only the coding time is seen as essential to designate the motion away from the deictic center. However, the matter is somewhat more complicated than that of go in English when there is a reference time involved. For example:

(i) Where there is no reference time overtly stated:

(5) (to’nni:) ñay ya:k pay tala:t loe:y

now not want go market Part.

(1) don't feel like going to the market (now).

As Thai does not mark verbs for tense, temporal interpretation is done by means of temporal adverbs and very often this has to be clarified by context in the case where a temporal adverb is not provided.

(ii) Where there is reference time involved:

The speaker is in his addressee' office and talks about yesterday’s event when the addressee came to see him.

(6) mu’a:nni: to’n-thi: khun pay ha: phôm phôm kho’y

yesterday when you go find 1 1 wait

yu: thi:nan lae:w sip na:thi:

stay there already ten minute

Yesterday when you came/*went to see me, I had been waiting for ten minutes. (Lit. when you go to me)

If PAY in example (6) is defined with respect to the reference time then the definition we propose above would be contradictory: PAY refers to motion toward the speaker
where his location is the deictic center. This, fortunately, is not the case since PAY is identified with respect to the location of the speaker at the time of utterance: thi:nan indicates that where I was yesterday is not where I am now. So the speaker's location yesterday becomes "there" from the speaker's point of view today. This could be represented in figure 1.

YESTERDAY

ADDRESSEE -> SPEAKER'S LOCATION

NOW

ADDRESSEE+SPEAKER'S LOCATION

Figure 1

It should be pointed out that when the destination of PAY is not made explicit, coding time and reference time may determine where the departure point and arrival point are:

(7) to:n khun pay citcay phom may di: lo:ey
when you go mind I not good at all

When the destination of motion PAY and the location of the speaker are unspecified. PAY can be interpreted as leave or arrive depending on the time reference that PAY is identified with:

a. When you arrived, I felt rather uneasy and worried.

b. When you left, I felt rather uneasy and worried.

If the speaker uses PAY from coding time's point of view, then he has in mind the reading a.: the motion is viewed as movement away from his location at the moment of speaking (as represented in figure 1). If the speaker, on the other hand, codes PAY with respect to the reference
time (the time of the background event) the speaker then intends the b. reading: you went away from me. In example (7) if one wishes to make explicit that the arrival point is meant, one could simply add thu'ng "reach" after PAY to specify the goal. This would eliminate the ambiguity above

(8) to'n khun pay thu'ng citcay phom may di: loei:y when you go reach mind I not good at all

a. When you arrived, I felt rather uneasy and worried.

* b. When you left, I felt rather uneasy and worried.

It may be asked since reference time affects the meaning of propositions, should we include it in our definition of PAY? This is not necessary as the motion away from the speaker in reference time is also perceived as the motion away from the speaker in coding time: if you went away from my location yesterday, the destination of the motion "go" yesterday is regarded as somewhere distant from my location at this moment. This means that the speaker uses his location of the speech situation (the coding time) as the base or deictic center for the specification of "go". To further clarify the point, consider the following situation:

Daeng and Dam had been at a party at the next-door neighbour's house the night before, Dam (elder sister) left early, before Daeng did. Next day, Daeng says to Dam:

(9) mae: mu'akhu':n ni: nga:n chák cà sanuk to'n Part. last night party begin will fun when
du'kdu'k siada:y phi: Dam klap pay ko'n dark pity elder Dam return go before

It's shame that last night you returned home early because late at night the party was getting more and more interesting.
The question is: can this utterance be said at Daeng and Dam's home? (Lit. You return go here). If this can happen then we encounter a conflict between speech-act situation and imagined (or "reference") situation. The speech-act situation (Daeng and Dam's home) will normally require the lexical selection of MA: (come to here where we are at now) and the reference situation of PAY (we suppose we are at the party). To answer the question more objectively, a number of native speakers have been asked to locate the place where this utterance is said. They were given three choices (a) the neighbour's house where the party took place (b) Daeng and Dam's home and (c) elsewhere. The result is that (a) and (c) are their preference while they feel rather uneasy with (b). On the other hand (b) is preferred if PAY is replaced by MA:.

This indicates that speakers prefer the location of the speech situation to be the deictic center; for this reason the goal of PAY cannot be the same place as the place of the speech event.

A less common use of PAY appears in the phenomenon known as deictic projection: the deictic center, instead of the speaker's location, is shifted to the addressee's location. As a result, spatial modification is reversed from an ordinary use; that is PAY specifying movement toward and MA: away from the speaker. This will be dealt with in detail in 2.2.2. under the section of the deictic projection.

Apart from the shift of the deictic viewpoint in relation to time reference and in deictic projection, PAY
seems to follow its conventional use, that is, to specify motion away from the speaker's location:

(10) ō'k pay cà:k hō':ng chăn diawní: ná
     out go from room I now Part.

Get out of my room now!

(11) cà pay tala:t pay máy
     will go market go Q.Part

I'm going to the market. Will you come along?

2.2.2. LEXICAL DESCRIPTION OF MA:

As for the lexical description of MA:, we propose that:

MA: DESIGNATES MOTION TOWARD THE DEICTIC CENTER SPECIFIED WITH EITHER THE CODING TIME OR THE REFERENCE TIME

Not only "coding time" is seen as essential, "reference time" is also crucial in the description proposed for MA:. This arises from the fact that its destination (the deictic center) could be located in different places with different time frames. Imagine a situation where the addressee visited the speaker at home some days ago and now they are talking in the speaker's office referring back to the addressee's visit:

(12) wan nán wan thî: khun ma: hă: chăn thî: bâ:n
day that day that you come find I at home
to:n khun ma: chăn phoeng ō':k pay day hă: na:thî:
when you come I just out go get five minute

The day that you came to see me at my house when you arrived it was five minutes after I left.

In this example the speaker uses spatial movement in an ordinary sense specified with the reference time: that day you came to me, when you came, I had gone. In such a circumstance the destination of MA: in the reference time
(that day, my house) is distinct from the destination of MA: in the coding time (now, my office). It would result in a false proposition if the reference time and the coding time were not made explicit in the description. It is usually the case that the destination of MA: specified with the reference time is the speaker's location in the narrated event, whereas the destination of MA: at the coding time is the speaker's location at the moment of speaking.

For exposition of how the notion of coding time and reference time interact with the spatial deictic function of PAY and MA:, compare (12) and (13):

(13) wan nán wan thî: khun ma: ū: čhân thî: bâ:n
day that day that you find I at home
to' on khun pay (thû'ng) čhân phôeng o':k pay day ū:
when you come (reach) I just out go get five
na:thî:
minute

The day that you came to see me at my house when you arrived it was five minutes after I left.

The directional reverse found in (13)(to' on khun pay) gives the same interpretation as in (12). As discussed above, this results from the shift of the point of view of time reference. Example (12) exhibits a consistent use of time reference and the deictic center: the speaker's location in the reference time (the day you came to me and when you came). However in (13) the shift in time reference viewpoint takes effect within the same discourse. The destination of ma: ū: čhân (come to me) and pay thû'ng (arrive at (me)) is evidently identical. This opposite direction of motion applied to the same
destination is possible because there is a shift in deictic center and time reference as discussed earlier. MA: is used from the background event and reference time point of view: the deictic center in (13) is me at my house on that day. When PAY takes MA:'s place, the deictic center is shifted to the speaker's location at coding time (at my office now). So "my house" is seen as distance and no longer the deictic center. As a result motion away from the (new) deictic center is specified by PAY. The overt time reference (wan nán "that day") cannot guarantee that the same temporal reference point of view will be employed throughout the same discourse.

The speaker's location is generally seen as the conventional deictic center: the speaker sees himself and his location as the center of the speech event; all spatial movement toward his location should be designated by come. However, it is rather common in languages that the speaker may project the deictic center into his addressee's location. The speaker may also employ places other than his and his addressee's location as the destination of come; this is known as home-base (cf Fillmore, 1975:60; Levinson, 1983:84).

In what follows we will characterize, with examples, the conditions under which MA: is found appropriate.

1. When the speaker and the addressee are in different locations and the deictic center is at the speaker's location:

A mother may say to her child

\[(14)\] ma: nǐ: sī ma: du: aray
come here Part. come look what

Come here. Look! there is something to see here.
(15) yîp khâ:w bon tô laé:w ma: nâng kin thi:nil: 
pick rice on table then come sit eat here

Take that plate on the table then come and eat here.

2. When the speaker and the addressee are in the same location.

today happen what so come here able

What brings you here today?

B: khitthô':ng loe:y wae ma: yâm mi: kho':ng
miss so drop-by come visit have thing

ma: fà:k khun dûy
come give you also

I was missing you so I just dropped by. I also have something for you.

A: mae: ma: tuaplâw kô'dây
Part. come body-free Part.

No need to bring anything.

3. Deictic projection: When the speaker and the addressee are located in different places and the addressee's location is viewed as the deictic center.

The conditions under which deictic projection is permitted, as pointed out earlier, are cultural-specific and could vary from person to person\(^2\). Typical deictic projection in Thai is found in three areas: certain conditions in face-to-face communication; in telephone communication and in letter correspondence.

We may also find the deictic projection operate in many other face-to-face communication acts. For example:

2. Examples of coming and going in Fillmore (1975) show that the deictic projection "come" in English is relatively flexible. In most cases "come" and "go" can be used interchangeably. For example:

Are you going to the party tonight?

or

Are you coming to the party tonight?

She'll come there to meet you.

She'll go there to meet you.
A. In face-to-face communication

Many languages place certain restrictions on where the deictic projection could operate. For example in English "I am coming" is uttered when the speaker intends to move toward the addressee's location, whereas "I am going" is less acceptable or more restricted. A similar restriction is also found in Chinese. One would say lay le, lay le "coming, coming" but not gu le "going". Thai, however, does not permit MA: to be used in this circumstance; only PAY is felt appropriate. Nevertheless, in the situation, say, where someone is having a birthday party and Sudaa is responsible for preparing the birthday cake, the moment Sudaa brings out the cake, while moving toward her addressee, she could say:

(17) ma: laé:w  cǎ: come already Part.

Here you are. (Lit. I am coming (with the cake))

but not:

(18) *pay  laé:w  cǎ: go already Part.

Example (19) is also commonly used by street vendors when selling their food door-to-door:


Grilled chicken, grilled-pork is coming.

We may also find the deictic projection operates in many other face-to-face communication acts. For instance
the speaker asks the addressee to wait outside and he will come to him afterwards:

(20) khun ro': yu: thi:nan dia:w phom ca o':k ma: phop
     you wait stay there moment I will come meet

You just wait there; I'll come out to you in a minute.

The speaker could ask his addressee whether she wants him to come and pick her up after work or not:

(21) loe:k nga:n lae:w ca hay phom ma: rap
     finish work already will give I come receive
     ru':plaw Q.part

Do you want me to come to pick you up after work?

Note that PAY can substitute for MA: in both (20) and (21) depending on the speaker's preferred deictic viewpoint.

It seems, however, that the deictic projection in Thai cannot be used as freely as in English. For example when asking to join a trip, in English one could say to his addressee either:

(22) Can I come along?
or
(23) Can I go along?

Such usage in Thai in this circumstance is found restricted to PAY; MA: is not acceptable:

(24) phom kho': pay/*ma: duay khon na
     I ask go /*come with person Part.

Can I go/*come along?

B. In telephone communication

The speaker and the addressee are normally in the same spatiotemporal location. Problems of spatiotemporal reference could arise when the participants are separated in time and space. Imagine a conversation on a phone when
both participants are in different parts of the world. Several strategies could be adopted to solve the problems: the speaker can either use his own spatiotemporal reference or use his addressee's spatiotemporal co-ordinates. For example the speaker, calling from Great Britain to New York, could say to his addressee "We are coming here next week" with "here" referring to New York (Lyons, 1977:578-9).

It is observable that, in Thai, both strategies are adopted in one single telephone conversation but in rather an inconsistent way. There seems to be a shift backward and forward between where the deictic center is situated. To illustrate the point, consider the following conversation:

(25) A: hanlô: kho': phû:t kâp Daeng nò': y
   Hello ask speak with Daeng PARTICULAR.

   Hello, could I speak to Daeng ?

B: Daeng kamlang phû:t
   Daeng Prog. speak

   Daeng is speaking.

A: (1) tho: ma:/?pay tâng lâ:y khoâng mây coe:
   phone come/go Emphatic many Clf. not quite free have business what particular.

   I've phoned(to you) so many times and never caught you.

B: mây kho': y wâ:n g mi: tûrä aray rû'phlûw
   not quite free have business what particular.

   I've been very busy. What's on your mind ?

A: Lék khâw hây (2) tho: ma:/?pay thâ:m wâ: Daeng
   lek he give phone come/go ask say Daeng

   wâ:n g mây thâ: wâ:n g raw sô': ng khon yâ:k
   free particular. if free we two person want

   câ (3) ma:/pay hâ: Daeng thî: bâ:n
   will come/go find Daeng at house

   Lek, he asked me to phone you and ask if you have time. We two would like to come/go to your house.
B: ma: si come Part.

Please come.

Notice that A uses both PAY and MA: to specify motion and direction toward his addressee B. It is agreed (by all native speakers I spoke to) that the deictic projection MA: appearing in (1) and (2) is much more favourable than that of PAY. However, both PAY and MA: in (3) are equally appropriate. At this stage I have no explanation for such shift of deictic viewpoint. Consider another short telephone conversation:

(26) A: wan ko':n khun tho: ma: lae fà:k khô':khwa:m day before you phone come and leave words
wa: ya:k cà háy phom (1)ma:/pay hâ: say want will give I come/go find

You phoned me the other day and left the message saying that you wanted to see me. (Lit. you want me to come/go to see you.)

B: chây khun cà ma: dây mu'arây yes you will come able when

Yes. When will you be available (when will you be able to come)?

A: khun tô':ngka:n háy phom (2)ma:/pay phôp mu'arây you want give I come/go meet when

When would you want me to come?

The choice to which deictics to choose is left open; both PAY and MA: are equally acceptable in (1) and (2).

C. In letter correspondence

In letters among intimate friends we have examined starting with phrases like:

(27) na:n laé:w háy mi: còtmâ:y ma: khuy dây long-time already not have letter come talk with

I haven't written to you for long time.
Today I've got some free time, so I thought I had better write you to ask about your well-being.

I meant to write to you for a long time but I was really busy.

Although the use of PAY in these examples is possible, it is somewhat marginal and less preferable. It should be noted that, similar to what we have seen in telephone communication, deictic projection strategy is not consistently adopted. It appears that MA: indicating motion (or direction) toward the addressee is preferred in some particular usages. Such as:

- tho: ma: ha:/khuy phone to talk to you
- titto': ma: contact you
- khian/chotma:y ma: write a letter to you
- wae ma: khuy/yiam drop by to have a chat
- wae ma: khuy/yiam drop by to visit you

So far we have dealt with the deictic projection MA:. Let us now turn to the use of deictic projection PAY: the speaker specifies the motion or direction toward himself with the deictics PAY:

- nangsu': thi: ca song pay hay phom khuan book that will send go give I should
- ri:p song hurry send

You better hurry about the book you are going to send to me.
Son, let me know if there is anything you want.

Such usage of PAY is not restricted to personal letter correspondence; it appears also in formal correspondences e.g. business, newspaper etc.:

Please inform us if the goods are received.

We will do our best to answer all letters sent to us as quickly as possible.

It should be pointed out that the deictic projection PAY, as seen above, is by no means obligatory. It can be comfortably replaced by MA:. This is a matter of preference which may be influenced by speaker's level of education. This means that higher educated speakers may be more conscious in using both deictic projections (where they are applicable) in a rather symmetrical manner in order to keep a balance in the deictic center of the speaker-addressee deixis. On the other hand, the deictic projection may be ignored altogether by less educated speakers. The social deixis of formality vs. informality or intimacy may also be a relevant factor of such deictic projections. However, this should leave to further sociolinguistic researches to come up with an explicit explanation.

4. I was informed by many educated speakers that their parents who are also educated have taught them to use the deictic projection PAY-MA:, especially when writing a letter particularly to the elders as it shows respect and good manners.
Another source of the deictic projection PAY lies in the speech genres of broadcasting in which a T.V. spokesman or radio DJ places the deictic center at his listeners' location; therefore the motion or direction toward his location can be signalled by PAY:

(34)  pro\'t song kham ti\'-chom kho\':ng thâ:n pay thi:\n please send word criticism Poss. you go at

34 sukhumwit krunthe:p
34 Sukhumwit Bangkok

Please send your criticism to 34 Sukhumwit Bangkok.

The address can be the speaker's location at the time of speech act.

4. Home-base: the destination of MA: is neither the location of the speaker nor the addressee at the coding time or the reference time.

There are cases where "the destination of "come" is not a place where the participant is at the coding time or was at the reference time, but is understood as the home base of one of them"(Fillmore,1975:60). The parallel condition is also found in Thai:

(35)  to\':n khun \'v: ho\':phâk phom ma: ha: la\':y khrâng
when you stay dormitory I come find many Clf.

\tae: khun may-khoe:y yu:\nbut you never stay

When you lived in dormitory, I came over many times but you were never there.

The dormitory is understood as the addressee's former home-base. The place was tied to the addressee during the time of the event referred to. When this home-base is seen as the deictic center, it is then legitimate for it to be the destination of MA: regardless of where the addressee's actual location was.
The notion of deictic center is seen as indispensable to the analysis of PAY and MA: not only in the speaker-addressee matrix but also in third-person narrative discourse. As we shall see in the following section, in written discourse where the role of speaker and addressee is discarded PAY and MA: are still found in extensive use and deictic center plays a key role in determining which of these two deictics will be selected.

2.3. THIRD-PERSON NARRATIVE

In third-person narrative discourse the speaker-addressee deixis between the narrator as the speaker on one hand and the reader as the addressee on the other hand does not exist. The spatial orientation is expressed, very often, in relation to the narrator's own manipulated central character. Bickner (1989) has studied how PAY/MA: can refer to the selection of one particular "temporary" main character in a segment of narrative; later, a different character may be selected as "temporary central character."

In story telling when the narrator does not appear as a character in the story but as an incorporeal presence, he is able to select and change spatial orientation among the characters at will. Such manipulation is used to create perspectives for the reader. However, it should be noted that the spatial orientation signalled by PAY and MA: in third-person narrative is, by no means, arbitrary. The choice of which orientation is selected is governed by which location the narrator chooses to be the deictic center.
Consider the following scene from a play as an illustrated example (the play is my own adaptation from a Chinese play entitled "if you are genuine"): 

Malee : "a film?"
Thanit: "I heard that this film was quite good."

Malee : du: nang roe: see film Q. Part.
Thanit: dây-yin wa: pen hear say be nang di: film good

Malee : mây-dây ni: chan ae:p cannot this I hide phô': ma: (1) father come
Thanit: thoe: câ mây pay(2) you will not go pen phû'an chân roe: be friend I Q. Part.

Malee : chan klua phô': rú: I afraid father know
Thanit: ngan ta:m cay Part. follow heart

(Malee tham-thâ: langle: tæ: Malee act hesitate but nay-thi:-sût ko' câ:k pay(3) at last Conj depart go
Thanit wing ta:m Malee pay(4)

Thanit run follow Malee go tae: thu:k rot-ke:ng si: kha:w but Pass. car colour white

su'ng wing ma:(5) duay khwa:m that run come with Nom. rew phro':m siang trae: thi: fast with sound horn that dang ma:(6) tæ: klay co':t loun come from far park khwa:ng way mu'a: rot yut bar keep when car stop siang trae: dang khû'n i:k sound horn loud up again mi: khon wing ma:(7) to':nrap have people run come welcome phû: thi: kamlang ka:w long person that Prog. step down câ:k rôt Thanit yut du: duay from car Thanit stop look with khwa:m sönccay ) Nom. interest

(Malee hesitated but finally she left(3pay). As Thanit ran after her(4pay), a white car, coming(5ma:) at high speed and with a screaming horn(6ma:), approached from the distance, when the car stopped, the horn sounded again, A man came(7ma:) to welcome the person who was stepping down. Thanit halted and stared with curiosity.)
Note that the movement and actions of the character are viewed and described from some point in front of the performance. So the reader somewhat resembles an audience watching the play being performed on stage.

The use of MA: and PAY in No.(1), (2) respectively follows the ordinary rule of spatial reference: MA: indicates motion toward the speaker (Maalee) and PAY designates the motion away from the speaker (Thanit). PAY and MA: in No.(3) to (7) represent the playwright's own spatial perspective. It is quite clear that the choice of these two deictics is largely determined by the choice of deictic center decided by the playwright. This may be where the central character is located or where the audience, which the playwright is seen as part of, is located.

PAY in No.(3) and (4) modifies the movement away from the deictic center where the central character Thanit is situated (Maalee moves away from Thanit and Thanit runs after her in the direction away from his location). However, in No.(5) MA: must replace PAY when a car is introduced into the scene in a direction moving toward the central character Thanit. The choice of MA: in No.(6) is seen as indispensable in order to maintain the spatial coherence. It would be rather eccentric for the car and its part not to share the same spatial modification toward the same deictic center. The destination of running modified by MA: in No. (7) indicates that the deictic center is shifted to the car as the focus now is moved to the person inside the car.
We have seen that in third-person narrative, though it looks as if the narrator could manipulate the spatial modification at will, in fact his manipulation is by no means arbitrary. For the spatial orientation to be coherently organized, the narrator is not allowed to violate but is required to follow the deictic principle which governs the spatial operation of the deictics PAY and MA:--the same principle which operates in the speaker-addressee deixis.

It is perhaps not overstated to say that, as far as spatial orientation is concerned, Thai provides deictic perspective to its speakers whereas English equips its speakers with bird-eye perspective. This means that spatial modification in Thai is viewed as anchorage to a certain reference point. For example when we describe an object’s movement, in most cases, we are required to specify in which direction with regard to the reference point the object moves away from or toward that reference point. Take the motion "turn" appearing in (35) as an example:

(36) He turned to her.

With English’s bird-eye perspective the action is seen in a single dimension without anchoring to any reference point. English does not require the specific directionality to be specified. As for Thai, it is absolutely essential to be explicit whether "he turned to go or to come to me".

(37) khâw ḥân pay/ma: ḥa: tho:\he turn go/come find her

He turned to her (in the direction away from me or toward me (if I am the deictic center)).
Without PAY or MA: this would result in unacceptability:

\[(38) *\text{khaw han ha: thoe: turn find her}\]

2.4. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have shown that the anchorage point or the deictic center of PAY and MA: is not necessarily the speaker's location. The addressee's location can be another reference point of these deictics as seen in the phenomena of deictic projection. The notion of deictic center then plays an immensely important role as a cover term for any anchorage point that PAY and MA: can be addressed to; both in the speaker-addressee deixis and; in the third-person narrative.

We also have shown that coding time and reference time can affect speakers' choice of which deictic is to be chosen. We have encountered the situation where PAY and MA: can be used interchangeably due to the shift of deictic viewpoint. It appears to be the case that the deictic center is not always consistently established. Within the same discourse, the speaker may prefer his addressee's location as the deictic center in one particular type of usage and may prefer his own location as the deictic center in another type. However, it is not entirely clear what factors contribute to such a shift of deictic viewpoint.

In the third-person narrative, we have also shown that, though the operation of spatial modification is not constrained by the speaker-addressee orientation, the principle of deictic center still plays a key role in the selection of the deictics PAY and MA:. Where the narrator
is not present in the narrative, the deictic center is usually established around the central character. Such spatial manipulation is seen as an essential tool to create perspectives for the reader.

Spatial and temporal. Spatial terms are found extensively used in temporal concepts. Terms denoting spatial orientation such as "near", "far", "behind", "after", "before" etc., all find their way into the temporal semantics. We have temporal expressions such as:

(1) I'll see you before/after noon.

(2) In the near future.

(3) I left behind the past.

"Come" and "go" are no exception. Linguists have long noticed the presence of these motion words and their roles in the temporal system of natural languages in various forms: lexical, clitics, and periphrastic (cf. Jespersen, 1924; Hymes, 1978; Traugott, 1975, 1978; Givon, 1973,1982; Fleischman, 1982). Evidence from several languages is illustrated below:

**English**

(4) the year gone by; the coming year

(5) I am going to do it tomorrow.

**French**

(6) Il va rentrer dans la quinzaine (go) "He'll be back within two weeks;"
CHAPTER 3
TEMPORAL MEANINGS OF PAY AND MA:

3.1. TEMPORAL MEANINGS OF "COME" AND "GO" ACROSS LANGUAGES

Cross-linguistic studies have shown that natural language often exhibits close linguistic links between spatial and temporal. Spatial terms are found extensively used in temporal concepts. Terms denoting spatial orientation such as "near", "far", "behind", "after", "before" etc., all find their way into the temporal semantics. We have temporal expressions such as:

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"Come" and "go" are no exception. Linguists have long noticed the presence of these motion words and their roles in the temporal system of natural languages in various forms: lexical, clitics, and periphrastic (cf. Jespersen, 1924; Hymes, 1975; Traugott, 1975, 1978; Givon, 1973, 1982; Fleischman, 1982). Evidence from several languages is illustrated below:

**English**

(4) the year gone by; the coming year
(5) I am going to do it tomorrow.

**French**

: the verb "go" may indicate future tense while "come" seems to give rise to past tense.

(6) Il va rentrer dans la quinzaine (go)

"He'll be back within two weeks."
(7) Il vient de partir (come)
"he(has) just left." (Fleischman, 1982:323)

Hebrew: "go" can indicate future tense.

(8) ani holex laasot et ze maxar
I'll do it tomorrow. (Givon, 1973:918)

Swahili: the negative past marker is derived from "come".

(9) ha-wa-ja-end
"They did not go." (Givon, 1973:918)

As illustrated above the equivalents for "come" and "go" are found in a large number of languages in temporal expressions relating to past and future. Citing examples of "come", "go" for "tense-aspect" from various languages, Givon (1973) points to the predominance of "come" for past and "go" for future. He relates this fact to what he considers a metaphorical extension of the spatial deixis to temporal. He proposes the extension of the prototype as the equivalence of:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{COME} & \quad \text{SPEAKER'S} & \quad \text{GO} \\
\text{PAST} & \quad \text{SPEAKER'S} & \quad \text{FUTURE}
\end{align*}
\]

It is argued, however, that "this representation is but one of two alternative, and seemingly equally valid, models for conceptualizing man's relationship to the physical world or to time." (Fleischman, 1982:322). These two models are conventionally known as MOVING EGO and MOVING WORLD or MOVING TIME (cf. H. Clark, 1973; Fillmore, 1975; Traugott, 1975; Fleischman, 1982; Keenan and Anderson, 1985).
These two representational models are defined with respect to the canonical encounter of man's face-to-face interaction with other humans or confrontation with objects in his field of vision (Clark, 1973:35). From this perspective, in the MOVING EGO model, man is seen as moving passing through stationary objects. The objects which he comes into contact with or passes by are considered the past and he is going toward the future. To put it in simple words: he comes from the past and goes toward the future. According to the MOVING WORLD or MOVING TIME model, man is seen as standing still and objects come into and depart from his field of vision. With this perception what is coming is in the future and what is gone by is in the past (cf. Fillmore, 1975:29; Fleischman, 1982:324). These two models may be represented in figure 2.

MOVING EGO MODEL

COME -------------------> HERE ---------------> GO
PAST NOW FUTURE

MOVING WORLD OR MOVING TIME MODEL

GO HERE COME
PAST NOW FUTURE

Figure 2

Different languages arrange the models differently for different uses and sometimes, as in English, the same language uses both models in related expressions, e.g., the future auxiliary "going to" reflects the MOVING EGO model.
while the expressions such as "in days to come" and "in days gone by" reflect the MOVING WORLD model.

3.2. TEMPORAL MEANINGS OF PAY AND MA: IN THAI

There is relatively little work done on the analysis of PAY and MA: in general and even less on their temporal uses. Most of the analyses were limited by structural or syntactic-based frameworks in which some of the questions raised here did not arise (see Scovel, 1971; Sripen, 1982; Nitaya, 1978).

As Scovel's work on "A Grammar of Time in Thai" (1971) has most to contribute to the temporal structure concerning PAY and MA:, we proceed to summarize and evaluate main points of Scovel's analysis.

Though Scovel's account on temporal structure in Thai has given us a better understanding of how time is captured linguistically in the grammar of Thai, the analysis has not yet proved satisfactory as many important features concerning the temporal uses of PAY and MA: remain undisclosed and many questions remain unanswered.

Scovel classifies the temporal PAY and MA: into two categories: Aspect Postverb and Time/Aspect Postverb (the Aspect Postverb is marked by the symbol #)

Scovel proposes that the Aspect Postverbs PAY and MA: are both used to mark completion, PAY with events and MA: with activities, never vice versa; Time/Aspect Postverbs PAY and MA:, on the other hand, both are used to mark continuation or progression. The examples are from Scovel (1971):
he forgot Aspect Postverb

"he forgot (completely)"

he has read three books.

Scovell fails to notice other similar uses of PAY which run counter to his claim:

I am about to forget that you are with us.

I will gradually forget you.

In example (13) the auxiliary kamlang ca is used to express an immediate future event i.e. something is about to happen. This clearly shows that the event of forgetting is not completed as it does not yet happen. It may even more obvious in (14) that the event is not completed but still in progress by virtue of the temporal adverbial ko':y-ko':y(gradually) marking the graduation or continuation of event.

The "completion" interpretation may be acquired, in some cases, through the addition of lae:w the so-called "completion marker" as in:

He forgot.

In fact lae:w is used as an important criterion to distinguish the Aspect Postverb from Time/Aspect Postverb PAY and MA: as Scovell points out: "the use of /pay/# and /maa/# as Aspect postverbs appears to be restricted. They
both usually co-occur with the postverb /laew/ "to be finished," unlike the Time/Aspect Postverbs which do not usually co-occur with /laew/"(1971:97). Example is from Scovel(1971):

(16) khāw taay pay# laēw
         he    die       Asp.Pst Postverb
"He has died (away)."

Scovel did notice the use of PAY with ca which gives the future interpretation as he states,"/pay/# can be used in the future, but it still refers to the notion of completion, not to the notion of continuation or progression."

(17) khāw ca taay pay#
         he    will die       Asp.Pstvb.
He will die. (P.97)

The example below may prove contradictory to his claim:

(18) khāw kamlang ca ta:y pay
         he Prog. will die go
He is dying.

It is out of question that the dying has not completed yet. The statement, enforced by the progressive marker kamlang, clearly indicates that the dying is still in progress; yet PAY proves eligible in such a context. The question of why the verbs such as luːm "forget" and taːy "die" are frequently found with PAY will be extensively dealt with in the next chapter.

Another question arising concerning Scovel’s analysis is: since the Aspect Postverbs PAY and MA: are capable of marking completion, then why do they still need the...
accompanying of another completion marker (\textit{laeːw} "to be finished")?

It is true that PAY and MA: are frequently found with \textit{laeːw} but this is not as obligatory, as claimed by Scovel. He also fails to realize the difference between the sentences contrasted with \textit{laeːw} and \textit{pay laeːw} or \textit{ma: laeːw}. In fact the contrastive analysis of such sentences helps us to learn a great deal about the temporal meaning of PAY and MA:. Compare following sentences.

(19) \begin{quote} Phom toʾ:p-ráp \textit{laeːw} \\
I agree already \\
I have already agreed.
\end{quote}

(20) \begin{quote} Phom toʾ:p-ráp \textit{pay laeːw} \\
I agree go already \\
I (have) already agreed.
\end{quote}

For many native speakers, these two sentences at first seem basically identical in meaning. They find it difficult to point out the difference. However when the context is provided, the distinction becomes transparent. There are contexts where (19) is obligatory while (20) is inappropriate and vice versa. For example, a writer who has been invited to give a speech at a conference, when asked whether he accepts the invitation, could say: "Yes, I have accepted the invitation." This answer is equivalent to (19) hardly to (20), as it concerns the present result. However, suppose his secretary informs him that he has got another appointment at the same time and date and suggests that he cancel the invitation. He would reply: "I have already accepted the invitation (it is impossible for me to change)." This would be equivalent to (20) whereas (19)
would sound out of place. The implication in brackets has to do with the presence of PAY. PAY gives an extra force of remoteness to the utterance and brings out the implication that the action or event, as far as the speaker is concerned, is closed or cut off from the present time.

When PAY cooccurs with laé:w, "pay laé:w" seems to suggest that "what is done is done and it is not possible to change or should not be altered". Consider another situation: a couple intended to see a movie and the husband had already got the tickets. But the wife later received an invitation to a fashion show in the same evening. She really wanted to go to the show. This is a conversation between the husband and wife:

(21)

Wife : khun su': tua du:nang laé:w yang khá
Resp.Pro.buy ticket see film already yet Pol.Part.

Have you brought the tickets yet?

Husband: su': laé:w thammay
buy already why

Yes, I've bought them. Why?

??su': pay laé:w thammay
buy go already why

Wife : aw tua pay khu':n dáy máy dáy ráp
take ticket go return able Ques.Part get receive
choe:n hay pay du: fae:chân cho: ya:k pay
invite give go see fashion show want go
du: fae:chân cho: mà:k-kwa:
see fashion show much more

Is it possible to return the tickets? It's just that I've got an invitation to see a fashion show and I prefer the show to the movie.

Husband: su': pay laé:w cā khu':n dáy yang-ngay
buy go already will return get how

(I) have already got them (the tickets). How could
we return them? (it's impossible or we shouldn't)

Su': laë:w concerns the present result of having bought the tickets. Laë:w emphasizes on the fact that the action is completed. Su': pay laë:w, on the other hand, serves to distance the completed action further into the past in order to illuminate the fact that the present situation, in the speaker's view, is not possible to be changed.

As for the analysis of Time/aspect Postverb PAY and MA:, Scovel claimed that they are used to mark activities as continuing or progressing. Only one example of MA: is provided:

(22) khâw a:n nangšu': ma: sa:m lem laëw
he read book Tm./Asp 3 Clf. Postverb

He has been reading three books. (P.100)

No example of PAY showing continuing is provided and there is no supportive explanation of what is the exact nature of PAY and MA: in this function or of whether they reveal any differences in this continuation category.

What is captured in Scovel's analysis is merely one of many complicated aspects of PAY and MA:. It is our aim here to unfold their temporal complexities by using a rather different approach, namely pragmatically-based deictic approach. This approach hypothesizes that the primary nature of spatial deixis inherited in PAY and MA: is transferred into their temporal configuration. Importantly, the deictic center gets reinterpreted as a reference time that most temporal expressions with PAY and
MA: seen to be related to. The unmarked reference time is the speaker's time or the speech-event time. The semantic contrast of known and unknown destination between PAY and MA: is also evident in their temporal behavior.

An investigation of PAY and MA: 's temporal characteristics in everyday language use shows that they play a great role in conveying the ideas of past and futurity represented in both models mentioned above. For example there are temporal expressions such as:

(23) adːt thiː phəːn maː: "the bygone past"
    past Rel. pass come

(24) tːɔː' pay nay anaːkot "in the future"
    continue go in future

(25) laːw pay laːw "something that is gone by"
    bygone go bygone

It is not always easy or feasible to characterize the temporal use of PAY and MA: within the tense-aspect system described on the basis of Indo-European languages. For one thing there is no morphological marker to show their temporal distinctions and the actual temporal interpretation in Thai is largely context-dependent. To avoid potentially misleading analysis, we, therefore, will not attempt to determine the temporal uses of PAY and MA: based merely on a simple notion of tense-aspect as is generally held. But rather we will try to give as full accounts as possible of their functions and how they are used temporally.

To do so, we will divide PAY and MA: into three groups according to their structural components:

(1) When they appear as unrestricted lexical items
(2) When they appear in paired expressions
(3) When they appear in fixed constructions PAY and MA: appearing as unrestricted lexical items mean that they can occur with a wide range of verbs and predicates from various semantic classes such as kin(eat) tham(do) phu:t(speak) etc., and the absence of PAY-MA: does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence. The temporal value of PAY and MA: may also be found in paired expressions. This is concerned with the cooccurrence of certain lexical items (some are basically verbs and some are adverbs) with PAY and MA:. The combinations are often seen in an opposite lexical pair e.g., to`:pay (connect-go) versus to`:ma:(connect come), pha:n-pay (pass-go) versus pha:n-ma:(pass-come). However, their temporal semantics are not necessarily opposite. Lastly, we will focus the temporal uses of PAY-MA: as appearing in fixed constructions. The construction V1 PAY V1 PAY(e.g.tham(do) pay(go) tham(do) pay(go)), V1 PAY V1 MA:(tham(do) pay(go) tham(do) ma:(come)) and V1 PAY V2 PAY (tham(do) pay(go) rian(study) pay(go)) will be our main concern in this section.

In each section, PAY and MA: will be dealt with separately, where possible, a contrastive analysis showing their semantic distinctions will be provided.

3.3. TEMPORAL USES OF PAY AS AN UNRESTRICTED LEXICAL ITEM

3.3.1. DIFFERENT TEMPORAL FUNCTIONS OF PAY

Even when consideration is confined to temporal uses, PAY occurs with a number of rather distinct (or even conflicting) meanings. It could denote what we would call "the retrospective temporal concept" in which the
occurrence of events, actions or situations is viewed
with respect to a temporal deictic center, namely the
moment of speech. The event, action and situation, when
marked with PAY, could be said to be retrospective because
the time of occurrence is anterior to the time of the
speech event.

This retrospective temporal concept can be further
subdivided into (a) irrevocable past events and (b) events
that started in the remote past. The former involves
events that took place in the past and are viewed as
closed or finished, or as something thought about as being
taken away (remote) from the present moment. They present
no significant potential for further action or change at
the coding time; the event is represented as over and done
with. The focus of the event is one starting in the remote
past, hence it is retrospect from a reference point in the
past.

PAY is also capable of showing prospective continuity.
This means that the states or actions in question will
continue to take place with respect to the time of speech
moment. PAY in this function may be equivalent to the
continuity expressed by "go on, keep on" in English.

Lastly we will deal with PAY showing sequencing.

3.3.2. IRREVOCABLE PAST EVENTS

Thai is, generally, considered to be a tenseless
language for there is no particular marker to show tenses.
The temporal orientation is very much context-dependent.
However, apart from temporal adverbials meaning
"yesterday", "last week", "last year" etc. the language
offers certain lexical items such as day "to get" to be used when speakers want to stress that an event or action took place in the past. PAY is another item that can serve similar purposes. Compare the sentences:

(26) nó'ng kin nom to'in sì: mo:ng 
      sister eat milk when four o'clock

The baby drank/drinks/will drink milk at four o'clock.

(27) nó'ng kin nom pay to'in sì: mo:ng 
      sister eat milk go when four o'clock

The baby drank/*drinks/*will drink milk at four o'clock.

The exact interpretation of the sentence No.(26) cannot be told from the surface. We need context to determine the temporal interpretation of the action, feeding the baby. There are several possible interpretations: the action could have already taken place in the past or is going to take place in the future or it may be merely habitual. However, for the sentence No.(27), there is no question whatsoever that the action already took place at four o'clock prior to the moment of speaking. The speaker views the event as something finished, closed or cut off from the present concern. Though the occurrence of the event is realized, it is thought of as being something unchangeable. This "irrevocable" past event may be taken from the metaphor of something moving away from the speaker's field of vision. When this is projected into the speaker's time axis, thus, it is gone-by past. This usage of PAY reflects the Moving World model where the speaker is stationary and he projects a moving event into his time-line. The coming event is perceived as future
event while the going event is seen as past event. Consider more examples:

(28) tham aray pay ru:tua ru'plaw
do what go realize Q. Part.

Do you realize what you have done?

(29) su'a tau ni: sak pay mu'a wan kon
shirt Cltf. this wash go when day before
mu'a cha:w ni:
when morning this
*phrung-ni:
tomorrow
*wan-ni:
today

This shirt was cleaned the other day.
this morning
*tomorrow
*today

Example (29) shows that, as we may expect, the retrospective PAY selects compatible temporal adverbials. With the absence of PAY, the temporal interpretations would be based on which adverbial was selected. However, once the temporal value of pastness is chosen by virtue of PAY, those adverbials whose meanings are contradictory will automatically become illegitimate.

3.3.3. PREVIOUS PAST

We have talked about PAY showing past events, in which "now" is covertly presumed as the reference point. Next we turn to look at PAY showing retrospective past events. That is the event is viewed in retrospect from a point in the past, instead of "now":

(30) khaw di:cay mâ:k thi: day phom ma: nång kâlyklây
he glad very that get I come sit close

lâe du:mu'an ca thu': aw phom pen phu'a:n
and seem will hold take I be friend

pay riâprô':y lae:w
go proper already
He was very glad that I happened to sit near him and it looked as if he considered that I had been a good friend of his.

This event took place in the past at a formal dinner where the speaker met and happened to sit near "he". The event in the clause containing PAY is relatively remote as it has started prior to the other event—the good relationship between the speaker and "he" which had been in effect for some time and this, for some reason, led to the speaker's feeling of gladness. Also in this case, the friendship is not over and PAY clearly does not mark completion.

Notice that the sentences with retrospective PAY in both categories usually have been expressed in English by using three tenses: past, present perfect and past perfect (these terms here follow the notion used in the traditional grammar) which are traditionally understood as carrying the semantic notion of completion. For this reason it is not surprising that PAY has also been syntactically analysed as a completion marker and its semantic realization is somewhat associated with "completed action" (Scovel, 1971; Nitaya, 1978; Sripen, 1982). This may be seen as a direct evidence of the influence of the western analysis on Thai grammar. In fact, as we have seen, PAY indicating past events does not necessarily mark completion, though the completion reading may sometimes be obtained. PAY serves to emphasize the fact that the event described occurs before "now" or another understood reference time in the past; therefore, it is perceived as
being at a temporal distance from the speaker, from the present moment.

3.3.4. PROSPECTIVE CONTINUITY

It is this aspect of PAY that Scovel has categorized as a Time/Aspect Postverb showing continuation or progression when occurring with activities (p. 117). The treatment of PAY in this respect also appears in other works such as Nitaya's (1978) where both PAY and MA: are viewed as capable of marking continuation. However, very little attention is paid to the difference of the type of continuation marked by PAY and MA:.

We wish to suggest that PAY expresses "prospective continuity" whereas MA: shows "retrospective continuity". If we have the time of the speech event or the moment of speaking as the reference point, PAY will indicate the continuation of the action or event in a prospective direction: starting from now and moving toward the future. On the other hand, an on-going action or event indicated by MA: moves from the past to where the speaker is located presently (the moment of speaking). This may be represented in the following time axis:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{MA:} & \quad \text{PAY} \\
\text{retrospective continuity} & \quad \text{prospective continuity} \\
\text{the moment of speaking}
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 3

From this representation, the starting point of PAY is at the deictic center or where the speaker is located temporally; the event or action described with PAY will
continue to take place. The temporal destination associated with PAY may be known or unknown depending on context or other indicators. The retrospective continuation represented by MA:, however, is seen as moving from an known or unknown starting point to a known destination (where the speaker is located). This aspect of MA: will be extensively dealt with in 3.4.2.

Examples of prospective continuity PAY:

(31) Chai tō'ng ráp phaːrá liá ngdu: thoeː pay  
chaí must receive duty look after she go  
conkwaː cà taːy until will die  
Chai has to take the responsibility for looking after her until the end of her life.

(32) ph Holmes cā rák khun pay yaːngniː  
I will love you go like this  
I will love you just like this (indefinitely).

(33) tham pay ru'ayru'ay  
do go continually  
We'll just keep on doing it.

The prospective continuity PAY does not concern whether, up to the moment of speaking, the action or event described has already begun or not; what it mainly concerns is that from this moment on, the action or event will take place continually. For example in No. (31) there is no implication whatsoever that prior to this speech event Chai had been looking after the woman and will continue to do so after the time of the speech act. In fact the sentence does imply that the responsibility for looking after the woman will start at the moment of the speech event and will continue until the end of her life. As for No. (32) the action described may or may not have begun (but our
experience tends to make us believe that the relationship has already started and the speaker wants it to progress. However it is not the preceding but rather the succeeding action that receives the focus.

3.3.5. SEQUENCING

The term "sequencing" is briefly defined as "the system whereby events or situations E₁, E₂...Eₙ are ordered with respect to each other (Traugott, 1978:379). Sequencing can be regarded as a subsystem of the spatio-temporal category of language. Unlike tense, sequencing is not usually considered a deictic issue as it involves the sequential relationship among events themselves as Traugott (1975:218) points out: "Given two events, A and B, the earlier event is always "before", "preceding" or "in front of", while the later event is "after", "following", or "behind", whether the tense is past or future."

Nevertheless sequencing and tense deixis are hardly separate; the cooccurrence of both systems in the same linguistic expression can be noted. This may be because they involved the direct participation of the speaker in the sequence of events. It is highly plausible that sequencing is interpreted as involving an idea of motion and the motion is seen as directly related to the speaker (Traugott, 1975:220-221). Such an analogy of the prototype may, therefore, give rise to the come-go terms showing sequencing ².

2. Traugott (1978:383) provides substantial data cited from various sources showing come-go terms used in sequencing. For example in Ewe he can mean "and then, go away, distance oneself; in Swahili consecutive tense ka is from the verb ka "go"; in Kafir ukusuka means "stand up and
Traugott further points out that the use of deictic expressions such as come-go in this respect is secondary as it is not speaker-deictic but rather discourse-deictic. That is it is a discourse strategy which "allows events to be made into deictic centers, irrespective of the speaker, but always in consistent relation to each other" (1978:383).

In other words, the sequence of E2 is seen as moving away, not from E1 but from unspecfic point in the discourse. Nonetheless, it is arguable that if the assumption of discourse-deictic as the motivation of come-go in sequencing is correct, it should be sufficient for either of these terms that is more neutral to represent the sequencing. Within the discourse-deictic assumption there seems to be no obvious explanation for why the come-go terms in languages like Thai are both equally valid to show sequencing.

It is very likely that the direct involvement of speaker is the source of the come-go terms in sequencing in that the series of events is seen as moving away, not from each other, but from the speaker's imaginary vantage point. The events are metaphorically seen as coming to and then going away from the speaker or from a temporal point manipulated by the speaker.

PAY and MA: both are used to perform the task of sequencing in at least two characteristics: the sequencing with and without reference to the speaker's time. The former will be dealt with in section 3.6.1 when we discuss "go" and also "then immediately afterward"; it is related to Bantu vuka "go away".
PAY and MA: as appearing in paired expressions. It is the latter that concerns us here.

Sequencing described by a single PAY may be made without reference to the speaker's time of speaking. This means that a series of events or "temporal objects" A, B, C is perceived as coming toward and going away from the speaker's imaginary point without specifying whether the ordering precedes or succeeds the present moment. In other words the sequencing of this kind does not directly involve tense deixis. It may, therefore, appear in the temporal context of past or future, realis or irrealis.

The following sentences exhibit a typical use of the single PAY showing sequencing without reference to the present time:

(34) ru'ang thi: raw cà phica:rana: nay wanni: mi:
      matter that we will consider in today have

 lá:y praden tae: raw cà phica:rana hây còp pen
      many clf. but we will consider give finish be

 praden praden pay
 clf. clf. go

There are many subject matters to be considered today, but we will talk it over one by one.

(35) cà tham aray kó' khuan tham pen và:ng và:ng pay
      will do what Subj. should do be clf. clf. go

 Things should be dealt with one by one.

(36) ru'ang thi: khaw tham riapró:y mà:k phró' khaw
      matter that he do neat very because he

 tham pen ru'ang ru'ang pay
 do be clf. clf. go

 He did a good job because he did it one by one.

The presence of repeated noun classifiers in the structure "pen Clf. Clf. pay" clearly shows that what we basically deal with here is a series of events or nominal
objects rather than events or situations as a whole. Each of these nominal objects is not sequenced in terms of the ordering among themselves (first, second, third, etc.) but in terms of how they come into contact with the speaker conceptually. In other words, the series of objects is seen as coming into and going from the speaker's imaginary spatial point one by one.

In relation to the discussion of the sequencing of events, which is a prominent characteristic of narrative discourse, it is felt necessary to point out an important fact that in a narrative discourse a temporal deictic center could be created or manipulated by the narrator. This could be done in the way parallel to the spatial deictic center being extended from the speaker-addressee deixis to the narrative third-person discourse as discussed in chapter 2. This means that in a temporal context of a narrative discourse, the narrator is allowed to transfer the deictic value of PAY-MA: used in spatial deixis to the temporal deixis to create a temporal perspective to the reader.

Instead of using the speech-event time as the deictic reference point, in a narrative temporal context, the narrator could use the time of event in the narrative as the deictic center. We could talk about the relationship of this spatial and temporal deixis in terms of "default" and "special" value. The unmarked or default value of spatial deixis is the speaker's location and the special narrative value concerns the location of the central character chosen by the narrator. Likewise, in temporal deixis, the default
deictic center of PAY-MA: would be at the speaker's
time (time of the speech event) and the special narrative
time is the time of event in the story being told. Such a
parallel relationship may be represented in figure 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>spatial deixis</th>
<th>temporal deixis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>default value</td>
<td>speaker's location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special narrative value</td>
<td>character X's location</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4**

This "default" value is a "normal" value which is assumed where there is no other factor at work. If another factor is at work, the "default value" can be overridden.

For example two identical sentences with PAY could be either "speaker-oriented" in deictic center or have a different special center, e.g. reader-oriented in a narrative discourse.

Consider the following examples:

(37) thoe: sia-cay thi: ko:hok mae: pay wa: thoe: she sorry that lie mother go say she

She was sorry to lie to her mother that she passed the exam.

If this statement is put in a narrative context where the temporal structure of the event has been previously established, the default value of PAY in (37) then is overridden and gives way to the temporal deictic center created in the narrative event. In other words, PAY will not refer to the "irrevocable" or past event with respect to the time of speaking or more specific "time of writing"; but it refers to past event (the lying) with
respect to the time described in the story (the moment that she was sorry).

(31) Chai to'ng râp pha:râ liângdu: thoe: pay  
    cha: must receive duty look after she go  
    conkwâ: Cà ta:y  
    until will die  

Chai has to take the responsibility for looking after her until the end of her life.

This sentence is cited again to illustrate the fact that the same principle of default and special value could be applied with PAY–MA: in other categories. For example, the default value of the prospective continuity PAY as in (31) would refer to the continuity of the action "looking after her" with respect to the time of speaking. However, if (31) is put in a narrative context where the temporal structure of the event has been established, then the ongoing action identified by pay is prospective with respect to the temporal deixis of the event e.g. that day, the day her husband died.

3.4. TEMPORAL USES OF MA: AS AN UNRESTRICTED LEXICAL ITEM

Similar to PAY, we find MA: appearing in various temporal configurations including aspect. Whatever temporal characteristics it marks, MA: reflects the canonical models of Moving Ego and Moving World introduced above.

In this section we will concentrate on MA: in the following features: MA: showing prospective, retrospective continuity and expressing what is to be called "current relevance".
3.4.1. MA: AND THE NOTION OF PROSPECTIVE INTERPRETATION

What we refer to as the prospective aspect of MA: is in opposition to the retrospective use of PAY. In other words where PAY indicates events took place in the past, within the same model of Moving World, MA: indicates what is to come in the future:

(38) we:la: thi: raw ro': kho': y kamlang cã ma: thu'ng time that we wait Prog. will come reach

The moment that we are waiting is coming.

(39) he:tka:n an tu':nte:n kamlang cã ma: thu'ng i:k event that excite Prog. will come reach more

may ki:- wan khâ:ng-nâ: not many day ahead

The exciting event is going (coming) to take place in the next few days.

It seems that the speaker metaphorically perceives time (38) or an event (39) as a moving objects comparable to an automobile and he himself is stationary. This moving object is coming closer and closer toward him. However, time (or events) differs from a moving vehicle in that the former has to be arranged into the speaker’s time-axis i.e., past-present-future whereas the latter need not. In the time-axis what the speaker is facing is in the future; and what is passing through him is in the past.

From such a representation MA:, therefore, specifies prospective temporal relation. In other words, the speaker is facing the moving time or event in a prospective direction.
3.4.2. MA: AND THE NOTION OF RETROSPECTIVE CONTINUITY

So far the temporal PAY and MA: have been discussed within the conceptual models of Moving Time and Moving Ego. Different models produce different conceptualization of the temporal deixis. PAY and MA: behave, to some extent, symmetrically in such a way that the association of PAY with the notion of "retrospect" and MA: with "prospect" emerge from the model of Moving World. However, it is rather difficult to make an absolute claim that the prospective continuity PAY and retrospective continuity MA: (discussed below) arise from application of alternative interpretations following the Moving Ego model. Rather it appears that linguistic expressions concerning these two notions can be interpreted under either of the models. For example, consider the frequently heard expressions:

(40) tângtâe: nán ma: "from then on" from that come (lit.: from that point coming to where I am)

(41) tângtâe: ni: pay "from now on" from this go (lit.: from this point going away)

These expressions involve two sets of deictic terms: this, that and come, go. It appears that that is associated with come, this with go. This relationship may be represented in figure 5:

```
that
|
|
come -------------->I --------------> go
past moment future
of speaking
```

Figure 5
Both expressions conceptualize the Moving World model in which the speaker is stationary and time is moving. They indicate the progression of time with respect to the speaker's time comparable to the progressive movement of objects to the speaker's location—that thing comes to here and from here it goes away. Under the same notion of prospective and retrospective continuity we also have expressions that reflect the Moving Ego model:

(42) raw phè:n he:tka:n ni: ma: hâ: khrâng
    we pass incident this come five Clf.

We have encountered this incident for five times.

If each incident is represented by a single dot placed on the speaker's time-axis, we would expect five dots on the left hand side of the axis. This means that starting from some time in the past up to the moment of speaking the speaker as a traveller has passed through five incidents.

The same analogy is found in (43).

(43) raw phè:n nga:n ni: ma: hâ: pi:
    we pass work this come five year

We have been doing this job for five years.

If this sentence is projected onto the speaker's time-line, then, the speaker is seen as a traveller and time is stationary, composed of several fixed point along that time-axis comparable to bus stops on a street. By saying "raw phè:n nga:n ni: ma: hâ: pi:" (literally: "come to where we are now, we pass this work five years"), we metaphorically project ourself, as though passing five bus stops and at the fifth, where now we are standing, we look back and see how far we have gone.
3.4.3. **MA: AND THE NOTION OF CURRENT RELEVANT STATE**

Following Li and Thompson (1982:22), we can say that a current relevant state refers to a state of affairs having special current relevance to some particular Reference Time or state. Certain usages of MA: do not indicate any specific temporal relationship between two points of time but focus on past events, situations or things being talked about bearing some relevance to the "current time": the time of the speech event in which the speaker and the addressee are participating as interlocutors. In many cases MA: serves to relate the previous affairs to the current affairs or the current affairs are seen as having a cause-effect relationship with the previous affairs. Consider a situation where A. is asked to join a meal and he rejects by saying:

(44)  

\[
\text{phøeng kin ma: just eat come}
\]

\[(I) \text{ have just eaten.}\]

The MA: says that his having eaten is "current" and bears some relevance to the present state of his being full and therefore rejecting the invitation.

Perhaps, it is not difficult to see why MA: is capable of relating the previous state to the current state. This function, we would suggest, emerges significantly from the basic deictic nature of MA: itself whereby the movement (both physical and mental or conceptual) moves toward the deictic center. In other words the past events or previous affairs are seen as bearing certain relationship with the deictic center in which the current state is interpreted as a relevant factor. Consider further examples:
A young girl, wanting to join a discussion in a newspaper, sends her comments to the editor and ends the letter with a question:

(45)  mây sâ:p  sîng  thî:  nú:  khôn  mâ:  thû:k  mây  
not know thing that I search come correct Q. Part.

Do you think what I have found is correct?

What is being discussed in the newspaper is seen as the center of the discourse (the deictic center) and the comment of the girl is perceived as something outside the deictic center. MA: in the sentence serves to relate what the girl has found to the discussion.

A mother who is curious about what has happened to her son asks:

(46)  tham array mâ:  thammay nà:ta:  thû'ng  pen  ba:pnî:  
do what come why face-eye reach be like-this

What have you been doing? How come you look so awful?

This example again manifests the relevance of the previous affairs (the child's having done something) to the current state (the concern of the mother upon the look of the child). This linkage is expressed through the deictic term MA:.

3.5. PAY AND MA: IN CONTRAST

We have discussed what is considered to be characteristic features of PAY and MA: under the conceptual models of Moving Ego and Moving Time separately so that each important feature can be properly and adequately presented. However, there remain hidden semantic distinctions between PAY and MA: that cannot be easily seen when they appear on their own. It proves fruitful, if one wishes to discover the hidden meanings, to
look at them in contrast. When PAY and MA: are examined in contrast, certain features involving their basic deictic natures become evident. In spatial deixis, the semantic value of PAY involves an unspecific or unknown destination whereas MA: involves a specific or known destination. This feature also shows up in temporal contexts.

Compare following sentences:

(47) nga:n ni: tham pay day sō':ng wan kó' mây
work this do go get two day Conj. not
yà:k tham lae:w
want do already

This work, just do it for two days;(you) wouldn't want to do it again.

(48) nga:n ni: tham ma: day sō':ng wan kó' mây
work this do come get two day Conj. not
yà:k tham lae:w
want do already

This work, I've been doing it for two days, and I don't want to do it again.

These two sentences are structurally identical except for PAY and MA: which are in contrast. However, the covert messages in terms of time reference are quite distinct. In the sentence with PAY (47), unspecific time reference is implied while the time reference in the sentence with MA: (48) is, implicitly, stated. This means that, in (47), we do not know where the starting point and ending point of the "two days" would be. It can refer to any day but what is of concern here is that the period of the work is two days. So the time span of two days can be located on any point of the time-axis-past or future. On the other hand, in (48) with MA:, we can easily determine the time reference more specifically—where the starting point and ending point
of that "two days" would be. Since the spatial deictic center of "come" is where the speaker is located, the temporal "come", therefore, has its deictic center at the time of speaking. The "two days", then, refer to "yesterday" and "today".

Another feature that distinguishes PAY from MA: involves implied "pronominal reference". Notice that the sentences above have no surface pronominal reference. However, with the appearance of PAY and MA:, in this case, we have no trouble figuring out whom the sentences are referring to. As seen from the English translation, the sentence with MA: is normally applied only to the speaker: he expresses his own boredom and does not intend to include others. By using MA:, where the speaker is the deictic center, he refers only to himself. However, the nominal reference carried by PAY is left open; it may or may not include the speaker. It can refer to a general feeling that "this work is so boring that no one could stand it more than two days. To substantiate that MA:, where pronominal reference is intended, typically includes "the speaker", consider more examples:

(49) phoeng kin pay nǐ: cā kin aray i: k
just eat go Part. will eat what again

(You) have just eaten! No more food!
(lit. what do you want to eat again?)

(50) phoeng kin ma: nǐ: cā kin aray i: k
just eat come Part. will eat what again

(I/We) have just eaten-no more food.

Sentence No. (49) is typically found in the situation where a mother does not let her greedy child be unruly about food. By using kin pay (eat go), she specifically
refers to the child. However, within the same sort of situation, if kin ma: (eat come) was used, then this would give the interpretation that "we have just eaten, (I am full and I expect you are too) so no more food".

PAY and MA:, as we have seen, possess many temporal facets. So far we have noted their association with the notion of prospect (continuity) and retrospect (continuity) under the canonical models of Moving World and Moving Ego. These two models serve as the explanatory models. PAY further shows its ability of marking sequencing while MA: can be used to show relevancy between a previous affair and the current state. When they are analyzed contrastively, further semantic distinctions, derived from their spatial differences, are revealed, namely the distinction between specific and unspecific reference time; the inclusion and exclusion of the speaker as unmarked pronominal reference.

In what follows we will turn our attention to the temporal usage of PAY and MA: as occurring in paired expressions. We hope to show that the principle of deictic center and associated notions such as prospect and retrospect again play a significant role in conveying temporal interpretations.

3.6. PAY AND MA: AS PAIRED EXPRESSIONS

In this section we will concentrate on two widely-used pairs of temporal expressions in PAY and MA:, namely to'':-pay versus to'':-ma:; pha:n-pay versus pha:n-ma:.

3.6.1. To'':-PAY VERSUS To'':-MA:

Literally to'':-pay and to'':-ma: mean connect-go, connect-come respectively. To'':-pay is capable of
expressing prospective continuity, futurity and sequencing. The use of \textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-ma:} is found to be more limited; it only indicates sequencing. Syntactically, these expressions are adverbial in function and are used in association with other main verbs. Sometimes, especially clause-initially, they have a conjunctive function in discourse, as discussed below.

3.6.2. \textit{To'\textasciitilde{}-pay} AND PROSPECTIVE CONTINUITY

\textit{To'\textasciitilde{}-pay} serves to express the continuation of action, event in the prospective direction as in:

\begin{align*}
\text{(51)} & \quad \text{langc`ak thi: raw ph`ak h`a: na:thi: lae:wi raw after that we stop five minute already we} \\
& \quad \text{ca rian \textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-pay} will study connect-go} \\
\text{After five minutes break, we will continue to study.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(52)} & \quad \text{ph`u:t \textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-pay} khun yang ph`u:t m`ay cop speak connect-go you yet speak not finish} \\
\text{Keep on speaking; you haven't finished yet.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(53)} & \quad \text{yu:\textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-pay} th`oe y`a: kh`it ya:y loe:y stay connect-go Part. do-not think move Part.} \\
\text{Keep on staying(here). Please do not think of moving out.}
\end{align*}

There may be a misconception that the single \textit{PAY} in prospective continuity is in fact a reduction of \textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-pay} of the same function as it appears that these two forms are interchangeable and indistinguishable in some contexts. For instance:

\begin{align*}
\text{(54)} & \quad \text{tham pay m`ay t`o'\textasciitilde{}:ng ph`u:t do go not must speak} \\
\text{Keep going. Don't talk.}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(55)} & \quad \text{tham \textit{t`o'\textasciitilde{}-pay} m`ay t`o'\textasciitilde{}:ng ph`u:t do connect-go not must speak}
\end{align*}
Keep going. Don’t talk.

Nevertheless, this proves not to be the case as the single pay and the paired expression tò’:-pay carry different "presuppositions". As has been pointed out earlier, the prospective continuity PAY does not necessarily presuppose any on-going action prior to the time of the speech event. It merely concerns the progression of such an action taking place after the time of the speech event (though it may have started before that). However, it is clear that the presupposition of the on-going action taking place prior to the moment of the speech event is instilled and clearly spelled out in the semantic of tò’:-pay. There is also a pause in between before the action is continued (examples No.(51),(52),(53) all imply such a pause). Following are contrastive examples that would bring out transparent distinction between the two:

(56) liáng-du: thoe: pay hàng di:
take-care she go give good

You will take good care of her (from this moment on), won’t you?

(57) liáng-du: thoe: tò’:-pay hàng di:
take-care she connect-go give good

You will continue to take good care of her, won’t you?

The former does not presuppose that, prior to this speech event, the addressee has been responsible for taking care of the woman; rather, it is after the speech event that the addressee has to take such a responsibility (perhaps due to changed circumstances, e.g., her husband
died, she becomes disabled etc.). However, the latter sentence distinguishably presupposes that the addressee has been taking care of the woman up to the moment of the speech event. The sentence expresses the desire for him to continue the task.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, the single PAY carries different meanings with different semantic types. This means that semantics of certain words will suppress the prospective continuity reading of the single PAY. The combination of such words and PAY will give rise to the most contextually appropriate reading instead, e.g., the retrospective (past) reading. In these cases, when the semantic notion of "continuity" is intended, it is required that to':-pay be used. Compare:

(58) mu'a khāw phū:t bā:e:p-nān phōm loe:y ko:hok pay
    when he speak like that I Conj. lie go
    wa: phōm pen khon hāy ngoen thoe: e:ng
    say I be person give money she self

Since he spoke like that, I, therefore, lied that I was the one who gave the money to her.

(59) mu'a khāw phū:t bā:e:p-nān phōm loe:y
    when he speak like that I Conj.
    ko:hok to':-pay wa: phōm pen khon hāy ngoen
    lie connect-go say I be person give money
    thoe: e:ng she self

Since he spoke like that, I, therefore, continued to lie that I was the one who gave the money to her.

3.6.3. TO':PAY AND FUTURITY

Apart from indicating the "prospective continuity" to':-pay also widely appears in the context associated with "futurity" such as propositions concerning the intention to
do or not to do something in future or the expectation of what would happen in future:

(60) phom hay sanya: wa: to'):-pay ca may tham i:k
     I give promise say connect-go will not do again
I give my word that I will never do it again.

(61) to'):-pay ca tham aray ko' hay ramat-râwang
     connect-go will do what Conj.give careful
     tua mâ:k kwa: ni:
     body much beyond this
Whatever you do in the future, you must be more careful than this.

(62) sing ni: may chay sing samkhan i:k
     thing this not be thing important again
     to'):-pay
     connect-go
This thing is not considered important anymore.

(63) ru'ang thi: ca rian wanni: ca pen prayo:t
     story that will study today will be useful
     to'):-pay
     connect-go
     nay ana:khot
     in the future
The lesson we are going to learn today will prove fruitful in future.

Notice that the "futurity" to'):-pay functions syntactically different from the "prospective continuity" of the preceding section. To'):-pay in futurity functions as either conjunction (e.g. clause-initial as appearing in (60), (61)) or be a part of temporal-adverbial phrase as in (62), (63) while the prospective to'):-pay appears in close connection with the verb phrase. However, semantic consideration is also important to distinguish whether to'):-pay belongs to the first or the second type as there are cases where to'):-pay occurs adjacent to the verb phrase and, semantically, it does not show the "prospective continuity" but "futurity":
(64) ya: phêng sú': kho'':y sú': to'':-pay
do not yet buy Aux. buy connect-go

wan-nâ: cà thù:k-kwa: in the future will cheaper

Don't buy it yet. It could get cheaper later.
The sentence comprises three clauses:
1. ya: phêng sú': Don't buy it yet.
2. kho':y sú': tò':-pay wan-nâ: Buy it in the future.
3. cà thù:k kwa: (It) will get cheaper.

Semantically, tò':-pay is a part of temporal adverbial phrase wan-nâ: (in the future) in the second clause and is not associated with the verb sú': (to buy) in the first clause. The auxiliary kho':y does also indicate that action buying does not yet happen at the moment of the speech act. For example:

(65) kho':y tham tò':-pay wan-nâ:

It is better to do it in the future (not now).

3.6.4. TÒ':-PAY AND SEQUENCING

In the earlier discussion of sequencing we have noted that the single PAY is mainly used for indicating the arrangement of events or subject matters with respect to the speaker's imaginary point (coming toward and going away from the speaker one by one) but it makes no reference to the speaker's time. The sequencing indicated by tò':-pay, however, takes into account certain reference time as a departure point for the sequencing. This may be the time of the speech event (default value) or the time understood in the context (e.g. the time established or referred to in a narrative context). In other words, it takes the present concern for the serialization of events or objects to be related to. Consider examples:

(66) prò:t títta:m nay to'':n tò':-pay
please follow in episode connect-go
To be continued in the next episode.

(67)  
`bot to`:-pay thi: ca rian nay wan chapter connect-go that will study in day

phúngni: böt thi: hâm: tomorrow be chapter order five

The next chapter that we are going to study tomorrow is chapter five.

(68)  
không mi: lem sa:m pen lem to`:-pay probably have Clf. three be Clf. connect-go

(I hope) the third volume will be the next one.

To`:-pay found in these examples is used as a noun-phrase modifier after a noun or a classifier. It's interpretation is equivalent to "next" in English. However, the sequencing exhibited in "next" carries no correlation between the speaker and serializing objects; it expresses the sequential order in its pure sense irrespective of a time reference, i.e., it can occur in either past or in future tenses. To`:-pay, on the other hand, may be best described as marking "prospective sequencing": we divide events or objects into portions and each portion is represented by a single dot placed on the speaker's time-axis (where the moment of speaking as the unmarked deictic center is assumed). From this representation, the portion marked with to`:-pay is adjacent to the deictic center on the right hand side of the axis. This may be represented in figure 6:

---|---
PAST | FUTURE

TO`:-MA: | TO`:-PAY

Figure 6
3.6.5. โตร-'-แม: AND SEQUENCING

The notion of sequencing marked by โตร-'-มา: takes certain temporal deixis as the reference point of the sequencing. The movement of the sequential order is forward or prospective. โตร-'-มา:, on the other hand, indicates the sequence of events with the retrospective movement. This means that โตร-'-มา: is associated mainly with the series of events in the past and the ordering of such events in seen as moving toward the deictic center.

With this characteristic of โตร-'-มา:, we, therefore, find it is used mostly in storytelling. For example:

(69) แมย นาน โตร-'-มา: ทอย: โก้: ยา:ย โตร-'-ก บาง: นง ลอง คอนเนค-โคม the Conj. ออก จมืด บ้าน
Later on not very long, she moved out from the house. (69) suggests that her moving out from the house occurred after a certain event. The event marked by โตร-'-มา: is seen as chronologically closer to the speaker than other preceding events.

(70) ขามิล้าง ทุก: ผ่อ:ต-พอย:ย นิ:ก สิป พี:
 ซิป พี:
 ซิป พี:
 ซิป พี:
The secret was revealed ten years later.

We seems to have "later" as the English equivalence of โตร-'-มา: . However, we may say that "later" is similar to "next"; it indicates sequencing without reference to tense deixis. In other words โตร-'-มา: presupposes sequencing in past events with respect to the speaker's time (the moment of speech) whereas "later" shows sequential order of events
irrespective to the speaker's time. So we find it appearing in both past and future:

(71) He moved to New York. Later he got a well-paid job.

(72) I will go shopping first and buy tickets later.

As expected, tö'':-ma: could be use in situations equivalent to (71) but not to (72). It may also correspond to "next" if the sequence of events to be described is in the past:

(73) ru'ang tö'':-ma: thi: thoe: su'ksâ: khu': ru'ang
    topic connect-come that she study be topic
    botba:t satri:
    role woman

The next topic that she studied was the role of women.

The retrospective ordering of tö'':-ma: compelled the past tense form in the English translation.

3.6.6. PHÀ:N-PAY VERSUS PHÀ:N-MA:

Phà:n literally means pass. Syntactically, phà:n-pay "pass-go" and phà:n-ma: "pass-come" function as main verb phrase in their clause, although the clause is often a "minor clause" in a longer discourse. Both can be used to describe actions or events occurring in the past, or situations that we experienced in the past (either directly or indirectly). The fact that both expressions phà:n-pay "pass-go" and phà:n-ma: "pass-come" can be used for past events makes their semantic distinctions more difficult to tackle. However, when they appear in contrast their dissimilarities become distinguishable:

(74) we:la: phà:n-pay sip pi: khâw cu'ng ru': kha:m-cing
    time pass-go ten year he Conj. khow truth

It took him ten years to realize the fact.
It has taken him ten years to realize the fact.

This contrast brings out the difference of known and unknown destination into focus. Both sentences involve length of time in a past event. Time focal in the sentence with phaːn-pay is left unspecific; we do not know when the starting and ending points of that "ten years" are. In (75), however, we can assume that the ending point of the event—he came to realize the fact—is close to the point where the speaker is at temporarily. So the implication is that he has recently come to know the fact.

With the characteristic of unspecific, unattached to any reference point, phaːn-pay is often found in conditional, irrealis propositions:

(76) phom cá máy yoːm hay weːla: phaːn-pay doːy
  I will not allow give time pass-go with
  phaw-prayːɔːt
give useless

I will not let time pass by uselessly.

(77) ʰaːk khun plɔː'y hay man phaːn-pay khun cá
  if you let give it pass-go you will
  siacay phaːylɔŋ
  regret afterward

If you let it (the matter) go, you will regret it eventually.

The same narrated event may be viewed from different perspectives and this could affect the speaker's choice of the temporal configuration used to describe that event. This may be seen in the case of phaːn-pay and phaːn-maː cooccurring with the same event marked by the same time adverbial:
This program was broadcasted on last Friday.

This program has been broadcasted recently (on last Friday).

In No.(78), the speaker views the event as something not especially relevant to the present concern. The by-gone program on last Friday, therefore, bears no significant relationship to the present and is seen closed or finished. The program stated in No.(79), however, is seen as having some relevance to the present, e.g., it may be connected to the program to be shown today.

The relationship of current irrelevance with pha:n-pay and current relevance with pha:n-ma: may be further seen in (80) and (81):

(80) aw ru'ang thi: pha:n-ma: pen botrian so':n raw take matter that pass-come be lesson teach us

Let the past be our teacher.

(81) man pha:n-pay lae:w ko' kho':-hay man it pass-go already Conj. let it pha:n-pay ya: hay kha:ng yu: nay khwa:mkhit loe:y pass-go do not give remain stay in thought Part.

Let by-gone be by-gone. Don't let it bother you.

The past experience marked by pha:n-ma: in (80) has great impact on the present in that it is perceived as something valuable, as a lesson for us to learn from.
Sentence in (81), on the other hand, is an urge to forget the past experience. The speaker, by using phaːn-pay, emphasizes the fact that the incident is finished, nothing is worth remembering; therefore, it is rather unwise to keep wandering about the matter.

When a past event or experience still concerns us, it is appropriate to use phaːn-maː and inappropriate to use phaːn-pay:

(82) thuk-khon yang-khong tuːːntèːn kàp heː:tkaːn
     every person still excite with incident
     thīː phaːn-maː/*phaːn-pay
     that pass-come/ pass-go

Everyone has still been excited about the incident.

Only phaːn-maː proves appropriate in such a circumstance. Everyone is still talking about the past incident which means it still concerns the people involved and is seen as relevant to the present state.

3.7. FIXED CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section we will deal with the temporal PAY and MA: appearing in fixed constructions. Three constructions will be investigated: V1 PAY V1 PAY; V1 PAY V1 MA: and V1 PAY V2 PAY. It should be noted that V1 and V2 here means a verb phrase, not necessarily a single lexical verb.

3.7.1. V1 PAY V1 PAY

This construction expresses the continuity and accumulation of the action. The action takes place continually and repeatedly with the implication that it leads to certain developments. Examples:
The more I study the more I feel bored/enjoy.

The more I do the more I start to feel something is wrong.

The more I think about it the more I feel depressed.

These examples are the typical usage of the construction V1 PAY V1 PAY. As pointed out previously, PAY is capable of indicating the continuity of action. Double PAY appearing in this construction not only retains that function; it also adds the idea of accumulating or repeating to that action. These examples illustrate the expressive use of the construction. They express certain feelings both positive and negative arising from the repeating and accumulating of the action. We also find V1 PAY V1 PAY used for stating facts:

If (you) keep losing (in a gamble) like this, (you) will be penniless eventually.

(86) states the fact that if one is involved in gambling and repeatedly loses, it is certain that one will eventually reach the point of poverty. Further, (86) can be interpreted as complaint about one's losses in gambling as the sentence could imply that the speaker is not at all pleased with what has happened to his addressee and wants him to stop gambling by pointing out the fact that...
if the same situation is continued, he will inevitably become penniless.

(87) pha:sa: angkrït na fang pay fang pay ko' language English Top. listen go listen go Part.

ru'ru'ang e:ng lae understand self Part.

As for English you just have to listen, listen and listen. At some point you will automatically understand it.

Similarly, (87) points out the way to gain competence in comprehension in English is by repeated listening. This could be interpreted as a statement about a fact or a suggestion.

Note that the use of Vi PAY V1 PAY is quite common in a "conditional" (if-like) sentence as found in (86) and (87). The conjunction ko' in the second clause is typically found in such a sentence:

(88) tham pay tham pay ko' di: e:ng lae do go go go Conj. good self Part.

If you continue to do it, it will prove fruitful.

3.7.2. Vi PAY V1 MA:

This construction requires the same action verb in which the action occurs repeatedly within a certain period of time. However, the temporal meaning inherited in the construction does not seem as important as its pragmatic implications. This means that the Vi PAY V2 MA: construction is not primarily used to express the temporal structure of an action but it is used more as a means to express certain feelings, attitudes or consequences resulting from that action:

(89) yo':k pay yo':k ma: theoe: ko' loe:y kro:t tease go tease come she Part. so angry
She became angry because of that playful tease.

\[(90)\] phù:t pay phù:t ma: loe:y mây ru: cā aw yangray
talk go talk come so not know will take how

After we talked, talked and talked; we still did not know how it would end up.

Both examples imply disordered or undisciplined (uncontrolled) actions metaphorically imposed by PAY and MA:. Perceptually, if something comes and goes all the time, it tends to be harder to handle or control and this usually results in disordering and very often in bringing about unexpected consequences, usually negative ones. This is precisely the context in which the construction Vi PAY Vi MA: is commonly found. In fact Vi PAY Vi MA: by itself is hardly a well-formed semantic unit; it normally serves as an introductory phrase linked to ideas coming after which, pragmatically, are considered more important. It is found to play a richer role in discourse than being merely a tense of aspect marker. Consider more example:

\[(91)\] tham pay tham ma: mây hën mi: aray di: khû’n loe:y
do go do come not see have what good up Part.

Nothing is improving after doing it many times.

This is a complaint on the outcome of something that the speaker has been doing for some time. Tham pay tham ma: by itself does not tell us the internal structure of the action; it merely gives the information that the speaker has been doing something for some time. However by using tham pay tham ma: the speaker is implicitly telling us that the outcome is not what he expected.

\[(92)\] tham pay tham ma: khûw hën wâ: di:
do go do come he see tell good

He kept trying it this way and that way and
(finally) thought it was all right.

Again (92) implies that the doer did not place any expectation on the task he was doing. But after having done it several times, he was pleased with the result. So in this case the outcome is more than he had expected.

They kept arguing over this and that and finally came to blows.

(95) sounds awkward as the implication given by *khít pay khít ma:* does not fit the context. (95) is merely a statement describing a person who decided to do something after careful thought. However the idea of "careful thought" (think repeatedly) in this situation is not appropriate with the "disorderly" implication imposed by *khít pay khít ma:.*

Contrast the construction V₁ PAY V₁ PAY with V₁ PAY V₂ MA:

(96) a. *fang pay fang pay phom roé:m khâwcay*

listen go listen go I begin understand

The more I listen the more I start to understand.

b. *fang pay fang ma: phom roé:m khâwcay*

listen go listen come I begin understand

c. *fang pay fang ma: phom yang may khâwcay*

listen go listen come I still not understand

I still do not understand after repeated listening.
(96a) shows the semantic coherent of "fang pay fang pay" and what is coming after in that the repeated action described by the construction $V_1$ PAY $V_1$ PAY is done in an orderly and controlled manner. As a result, we should expect a positive consequence.

The oddity of (96b), on the other hand, derives from an illogical combination of two linguistic units that is "fang pay fang ma:" and the rest of the sentence. The former implies the circularity and disorder of what being talked about. This should result in a confusion rather than a better understanding in the latter part.

The disorderly implication, which is an iconic "clash" of deictic opposites carried in the construction $V_1$ PAY $V_1$ MA:, makes (96c) pragmatically better than (96b).

3.7.3. $V_1$ PAY $V_2$ PAY

This construction, in which the $V_1$ and $V_2$ are different verbs, indicates that the two actions happen simultaneously or commitatively. Its major function is to express the simultaneous occurrence of the two actions stated in the construction. It is found in a wide range of speech acts: informative, expressive, suggestive etc.

(97) $ba:\text{ng} \text{khon} \text{chô'}p \text{kin pay lê\text{ng} pay}$

Some people like eating and playing at the same time.

(97) informs us that it is some people's habit to eat and play at the same time.

(98) $\text{kin pay lê\text{ng} pay baè:p ni: mây di:}$

To eat and play at the same time like this is not good.
(98) expresses a negative feeling about eating and playing at the same time. It can be negated to show that such simultaneous actions are not desirable:

\[
\text{may aw \ may kin pay len pay} \\
\text{not take not eat go play go}
\]

it’ no good to eat and play at the same time.

The construction \( V_1 \text{PAY} \ V_2 \text{PAY} \) may be found in an utterance showing positive feeling as in (100) and (101):

\[
\text{du: nangs \ pay fang phle:ng pay sanuk di:} \\
\text{look book go listen song go fun good}
\]

It’s fun to read a book and listen to music at the same time.

\[
\text{Sudaa: ni ke:ng rian pay tham-nga:n pay} \\
\text{Sudaa this skillful study go work go}
\]

Sudaa is extraordinary. She can study and work at the same time.

It should be pointed out that the construction \( V_1 \text{PAY} \ V_2 \text{PAY} \) is not the only form available for stating simultaneity of two actions. Certain serializing forms of verbs can also serve the function. For example the serialization of verbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
(102) \quad & \text{no':n fang phle:ng lie down and listen to} \\
& \text{lie down listen music music}
\\
(103) \quad & \text{nang kin kha:w sit and eat rice} \\
& \text{sit eat rice}
\\
(104) \quad & \text{yu':n phu:t stand and talk} \\
& \text{stand talk}
\\
(105) \quad & \text{doe:n kin khanom walk and eat snack} \\
& \text{walk eat snack}
\end{align*}
\]

However, the above serialization expressing simultaneity of actions apparently has semantic and syntactic restrictions. Semantically only limited actions involving basic bodily activities, e.g. lie down, walk, stand, sit, run, kneel down, are allowed in such serialized
constructions. Syntactically, such bodily-activity verbs have to precede the simultaneous-action verbs. So the following forms are not acceptable:

\*kin khanom nang
  eat snack sit
\*ram phu:t
dance speak
\*khian nangsu':
yu':n
write book stand

Such restrictions, nevertheless, are not found in the V1 PAY V2 PAY construction. This means that the construction allows simultaneous actions to be expressed rather freely. V1 and V2 can be any controlled actions, e.g., eat, look, listen, stand, speak etc. Moreover, the ordering of the verbs is not fixed. Therefore, the expressions: du: pay kin pay and kin pay du: pay look go eat go eat go look go are both acceptable and semantically identical.

3.8. CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have shown that the spatial terms PAY and MA: play a vital role in the temporal system in Thai. We hope to have shown that many facets of their spatial features are carried over to their temporal domain. Importantly, the unmarked deictic center(speaker's location:here) is reinterpreted as the reference point (now) for most of the temporal expressions containing PAY and MA:. The deictic center is used to divide the speaker's imaginary time axis into the retrospective(past) and prospective (future) domain. We have noted the association of PAY and MA: with the notion of prospect and
retrospect defined under the canonical model of Moving Ego and Moving World.

In the Moving Ego model PAY is seen to mark prospective continuity and MA: retrospective continuity. The prospective continuity concerns the progression of an event starting at the deictic center (now where the default value is assumed) though it may have begun earlier than that. This aspect of single PAY may be contrasted with the paired expression to'-pay under the same notion whereby the latter presupposes that the event has started some time prior to the temporal deixis described. The retrospective continuity marked by MA: concerns an on-going event within a time span from some point in the past up to the present moment.

In the Moving World model PAY serves to put away an event into the retrospect dimension (past). The event is usually seen, from the present moment, as closed or finished (irrevocable). PAY can also mark an event starting in the remote past. Within the same model, MA: is associated with coming or future events.

The spatial feature of known and unknown destination is also apparent in this temporal structure of PAY and MA:. The destination of "come" is always known as it involves movement toward the speaker's location. The destination of PAY, on the other hand, is usually unknown as its motion could be defined as out of the speaker's field of vision.

In the temporal domain, MA: is generally associated with a time span that has the ending point at the deictic center that is the moment of speaking. PAY, however, is usually
related to an unspecified length of time. The starting and ending point may not be determined. The known feature of MA: very often implies the involvement of the speaker in the event it describes. PAY, on the other hand, may be used to specify statements understood generally not individually.

PAY and MA: have proved to show an intimate relation with the notion of sequencing, however not sequencing in its pure sense. The sequential order relevant to the use of PAY and MA: is seen as directly involving the participation of the speaker. In other words, a series of events or objects is not sequenced with respect to each other but to the speaker. We have shown also that the sequencing described by the single PAY is made without reference to the speaker's time. Given a series of "temporal" objects A, B, C each of these objects is sequenced with respect to the speaker's imaginary point-they are perceived as coming toward and going away from the speaker one by one-without specifying whether each of these objects is sequenced precedingly or succeeding to the present moment. However, this is clearly expressed in the sequencing marked by the paired expressions to'-pay and to'-ma:. As we have shown, to'-pay indicates the sequential order succeeding and to'-ma: preceding the present moment.

The fixed constructions we have looked at mainly concern accumulation, continuation and simultaneity of actions described in the constructions. The construction V1 PAY V1 PAY expresses the repeated occurrence of the
action in such a way that it mounts up and brings about certain developments as a consequence. The fixed construction $V_1 \PAY V_1 \MA$: is, significantly, seen as playing an "iconic-pragmatic" role rather than a strictly semantic one. That is, the construction is normally used to "complain" that the action $V_1$ was disorderly or poorly controlled. The construction typically introduces a second clause that states unexpected or undesired consequences of the disorganized action. By contrast, the construction $V_1 \PAY V_2 \PAY$ purely indicates the simultaneity of two actions. Its pragmatic implication relies on other linguistic units that make up the sentence.

The hypothesis elaborates the notion of DEIXIS, specifically SPEAKER-ADDRESSER deixis discussed considerably in Fillmore's works (e.g. 1968, 1971, 1972). Clark argues that since the destination of "come" is the deictic center itself, the idioms with "come" should always signify entry into the normal state and "go" should indicate a departure from normal state. Some examples from Clark:

1. He went/*come/* out of his mind (become sad).
2. He went/*come/* insane.
3. He came/*went/* round very slowly.
4. They quickly came/*went/* back to their (right mind).

As for the evaluative viewpoint, this also concerns the normal state in the sense that "the evaluative use of come implies that the person or event described has ended up in some speaker-approved or public-approved state. The
CHAPTER 4
THE FIGURATIVE USES OF PAY AND MA:

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I shall test Clark's hypothesis on "normal state and evaluative viewpoint" (1974) for the study of figurative uses of PAY and MA: in Thai.

The hypothesis claims that the idiomatic uses of English "come" and "go" such as "come to one's senses, go mad etc., are determined by the fact that "the deictic center is a NORMAL STATE of being. In such states one is regarded as behaving "normally", being sane and conscious, doing what one is expected." (p.316) The hypothesis elaborates the notion of DEIXIS, specifically SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE deixis discussed considerably in Fillmore's works (e.g. 1966, 1971, 1972). Clark argues that since the destination of "come" is the deictic center itself, the idioms with "come" should always signify entry into the normal state and "go" should indicate a departure from normal state. Some examples from Clark:

(1) He went/*came/ out of his mind(become mad).
(2) He went/*came/ \{ insane. mad. berserk. \}
(3) He came/*went/ round very slowly
(4) They quickly came/*went/ back to their \{ senses. right mind. \}

As for the evaluative viewpoint, this also concerns the normal state in the sense that "the evaluative use of come implies that the person or event described has ended up in some speaker-approved or public-approved state." The
evaluative use of go, however, is either neutral or negative in connotation: there is no particular approval attached to the final state" (p.317). The following sentences are offered as examples: (p.326)

(5) Look at all he came through.
(6) Look at all he went through.

The two differ, according to Clark, in that the first would be used by one who approves of the outcome described, and the second by one who is neutral about it and seems to be interested in the ordeal rather than the outcome.

(7) Piers had overcome a good deal to win that race.
(8) Cuillaume had undergone a good deal to win that race.

Clark argues further that the addition of the prefix over- serves to emphasize the positive nature of No. (7) while the prefix under- adds a negative tone to No. (8).

It is my intention to show that Clark's hypothesis on "normal state and evaluative viewpoint" of "come" and "go" can be substantially supported by the use of PAY and MA: in Thai. However, it must be pointed out that there is an unbalanced functional load of PAY and MA: in this figurative domain in the sense that they do not function in a symmetrical manner. The use of MA: is much more restricted than that of PAY. For example, we find an extensive use of PAY in certain areas in which MA: never occurs. We also find that where both PAY and MA: are used, MA: may occur in more limited numbers than PAY. We may say that the role of MA: in this figurative domain is less important, receives less linguistic emphasis than that of PAY. At this stage we have no explanation for such an
unbalanced functional load. Perhaps it is culturally-specific in the sense that for Thai culture it is more interesting or more crucial to talk about departure from the norm(something undesirable, unexpected) rather than the norm(something desirable and expected).

The figurative use of PAY and MA: can be classified in the following areas:

(a) Existence
(b) State of mind
(c) Evaluative standard

4.2. PAY AND MA: AND THE NOTION OF EXISTENCE

PAY, by itself, when used figuratively bears several interpretations depending on context. But all the interpretations seem to point in one direction, especially those referring to change of state, that is a state of some kind of non-existence such as death, loss, failure etc. We take the existence of both the physical and non-physical(e.g. birth, return, succeed) as a form of normal state, in which the deictic center is located; PAY, then, indicates a departure from this normal state. For example:

(9) thā: khun yang bo'rihäuserng ga:n bae:p ni' phom wa:
    if you still manage work way this I say
    bo'risat khun pay nāe:
    company you go surely

If you still use the same policy in managing your company, I bet you will go bankrupt sooner or later.

(10) du:tha:thang khun ta: khong pay ko'n
    look like Resp. grandpa probably go before
    khun ya:y phrō' khun ya:y yang khae:ngrae:n
    Resp. grandma because Resp. grandma still healthy

It seems grandma will live longer than grandpa as
she is still healthy. (lit. grandpa will go (die) before grandma)

We'll soon see who will lose and who will win.

This usage of "go", by itself, in referring to a negative state, is not restricted to Thai; English, for example, also offers similar metaphorical extension of change into such states of non-existence:

(12) The clutch is going.

(13) His hearing is beginning to go.

(14) He has gone (he has died).

With this figurative capability to show negative change from normal state, it is not surprising to find PAY cooccurring with terms expressing similar states of being. PAY is found closely associated with terms showing a state of non-existence such as:

Death: ta:y "die"; dàp, mò: t "die, extinguish"

Disappearing: há:y "disappear"; sìn, sù:n "lose"

mòt "be used up"

These are illustrated below:

(15) ngoen thi phô: há:y mây na:n kô' mòt pay
money that father give not long Conj. use up go

Not for long, he used up all money he got from his father.

(16) fay yu: yu: kô' dàp pay
power without any cause Conj extinguish go

The power went out without any reason.

(17) khaw ta:y pay và:ng ray yâ:t mít
he die go Conj without relative friend

He died without any friends and relatives.
money will vanish go how Neg. say
kh'o': hay day lu:k khu':n ma:
ask give get child return come

If only I get my child back, I don't care how the money is spent.

PAY is also frequently found coupled with expressions relating to a natural process when objects are passing into the state of non-existence: going bad, declining or deteriorating from their original well-being. For example colour can fade away; memory can deteriorate; prosperity can decline. All words expressing these concepts such as su'am "decline"; sut "deteriorated"; su'k, so:m "worn out" lóplu'an "fade(memory)"; có':tca:ng "fade(colour)"; ruàng-ro:y "fade(flower)" etc. are consistently found with PAY:

Why did you let thing go off like this?

When we get old, our memory will gradually deteriorate.

The colour that we painted this house five years ago is now fading away. We may have to repaint it.

Anything that has been used for long time will naturally be worn out.
Apart from modifying the expressions concerning the state of death, loss, decline; PAY is also associated with the events or states that, perceptionally, may be regarded as a state of non-existence i.e. become non-existent; such as plans or proposals dismissed or rejected; buildings pulled down; business going bankrupt; machines malfunctioning:

(23) haːk khoː' sanoeː niː tok pay phom ca siacay maːk
if proposal this reject go I will sad very

I will be very unhappy if this proposal is rejected.

(24) khroːngkaːn niː to'ng yokloēː:k/phap/yut pay
project this has to dismiss/fold/stop go
phroː' ratthabaːn maːy miː ngoen
because government no have money

This project has to be dismissed/stopped as the government has no money.

(25) siadaː:y thiː raw to'ng rúːː tu'k niː pay
pity that we must pull building this go

It's pity that we have to pull this building down.

(26) khāw to'ng phāk/loēː:k/yut kitcakaːn pay
he must rest/give-up/stop business go
phroː' maːy miː kamray
because no have profit

He has to give up the business because it doesn't make any profits.

(27) kaːn chāy khru'ang yaːng maːy rāmatrawang ca
Nom. use machine Adv. no careful will

thamhāy khru'ang sia pay day ngaːy
cause machine malfunction go able easy

Negligence and carelessness will easily cause malfunction of machinery.

Further evidence to substantiate the association of PAY with non-normal states lies in the area of speechlessness. PAY is found comfortably occurring with
terms denoting speechlessness such as *ning, ngiap "silent, quiet"; *ng "speechless"; cha-ngák "sudden pause" etc. Apart from modifying the change of state into speechlessness, PAY also gives the implication that such a change happens rather suddenly and due to unknown, unexpected or undesirable causes:

we talk together Asp. sudden she then quiet
pay
go

We were talking suddenly she became silent (with no reason).

(29) thoe: ngiap/ning pay may phu:t may ca: pen aray 
you quiet/silent go no speak no speech be what

What is happening ? why suddenly do you become speechless ?

The word cha-ngák "sudden pause" can be used in many situations not only in speech. In fact it means "discontinue, halt" due to unplanned or unexpected interruptions. This usually brings about undesirable outcomes. With such an inherent meaning of non-normal state, it is not surprising to find cha-ngák is so compatible with PAY in all situations including situation concerning speech:

(30) panha: ngoen thamhay thukya:ng to':ng cha-ngák pay 
problem money cause everything must halt go

The shortage of money causes everything to stop.

(31) phró' khwa:m may náe:cay nay saphá:p se:ttthakit 
because Nom. no confident in condition economy

kho':ng Thai thamhay ka:n longthun ca:k tâ:ngchá:t 
Poss. Thai cause Nom. invest from overseas

to':ng yut cha-ngák pay 
must stop halt go

The lack of confidence in the Thai economy causes the cessation of investment from overseas.
His sarcastic and scornful utterances made her stop retorting right away.

We have tried to show that the figurative use of PAY is extensively concerned with a change to non-existing state involving death, loss, deterioration, decline, malfunction; and in speech PAY is capable of indicating the state of speechlessness. Such states are not generally regarded as normal states and hence it may be interpreted as a departure from the deictic center where the deictic center is some kind of normal state.

It is worthwhile pointing out that the lexical items expressing ideas discussed above are so frequently paired with PAY that the cooccurrence has become semi-lexicalized. It would sound more natural for these words to be coupled with PAY when they are used to indicate the state of non-existence. This also means that the cooccurrence of the pairs will gain an immediate recognition even in the most decontextualized situations e.g. the pair occurs in phrases not in sentences. With this semi-lexicalized nature, the sole utterance of the following pairs will make perfect sense to all native speakers of Thai:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dāp} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{mōt} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{sūːn} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{hāːy} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{tāːy} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{sūːmām} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{rūngroːy} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{cūːdācːn̥̂ːng} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{lōpluːan} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{tōk} & + \text{PAY} \\
\text{pīt} & + \text{PAY}
\end{align*}
\]

"distinguish", "go out" "be vanished" "disappear" "disappear" "die" "deteriorated" "degenerated" "fade away" "dim" "be dismissed" "closed down"
MA:, on the other hand, does not cooccur with any of the terms listed above with a figurative meaning:

\[(33) \quad \text{ngoén mot pay/*ma: phrò' chà y mài pen} \]
\[\text{money vanish go/come because use not able} \]

All (his) money is gone because (he) doesn't know how to use it.

*All (his) money comes because (he) doesn't know how to use it.

MA: is, in fact, allowed to cooccur with these nonexistent terms but, as a result, the interpretation will only be temporal:

\[(34) \quad \text{ngoén mot ma: hà: wan} \]
\[\text{money vanish come five day} \]

(1) I have had no money for five days.

This may show that PAY and MA: are in "lexical opposition" but not in strict "semantic opposition". The apparent symmetry between PAY and MA: often breaks down under close examination. Sometimes, as in (34), a counterpart expression receives a different type of semantic interpretation (e.g. temporal instead of evaluative). In other cases, substitution of MA: for PAY may be completely unacceptable. Truly evaluative uses of MA: denoting entry to normal state are much less frequent than corresponding evaluative expressions with PAY.

As far as the concept of existence is concerned, MA: is most frequently found coupled with terms denoting birth, return or repossession:
Every new-born baby should receive the best care.

The chaotic state has gradually return into normal.

4.3. PAY AND MA: AND THE STATE OF MIND

Another area that the figurative meaning of PAY and MA: is closely associated with is the state of mind concerning consciousness, wakefulness, sanity and some other cognitive states. One would expect that the state of being conscious, wakeful and sane is the normal state and, therefore, is the deictic center whereas the opposite states are to be thought of as non-normal states, somewhere other than the deictic center.

We find that PAY can be used to modify non-normal states of mind: the state of being unconscious or not fully conscious such as sleeping, imagining, forgetting and being insane.

Thai offers many lexical items to show such states and, as predicted, all these words are compatible with PAY.

thanthi: thi: ru: wa: pho': ta:y tho: thu'ng immediate that know say father die she arrive
kup salop with unconscious
pen lom faint
mot sati lose conscious
na: mu':t dizzy
nae:ning unconscious

She became unconscious/fainted/dizzy as she heard that her father had passed away.

Some words have other meanings in other contexts which may not be necessarily found with PAY. However, when the meaning of unconsciousness is in force; PAY is required to complement such a meaning. For example in an ordinary context the word naê:nìng means "static or motionless" used to state the physical fact in which PAY is not required. But when the word is used metaphorically to refer to state of unconsciousness, then PAY comes to play its role:

(38) khaw co':ng sing thi: no':n naê:nìng yu: bon tó' he stare object that lie motionless Asp.on table *naê:nìng pay motionless go

He was staring at the motionless object lying on the table.

*He was staring at the unconscious object lying on the table.

(39) langca:k thi: thon phít ba:tphlae: mài way khaw after that endure poison wound no able he ko' löm long naê:nìng pay

As he could not stand the wound he fell down and became unconscious.

PAY is also found in the situations where the mind is perceived in some way as absent or not fully awake:

(40) thoe: lâp pay duay khwa:m o':nphlia: she sleep go with Nom. exhaust

She went into deep sleep with exhaustion.

(41) phró' phítkhây thoe: cu'ng phôe: pay because virulence she Conj. delirious go of fever ta:n'gtâ:nghna:na: all sorts

Because the temperature went up, she became delirious and talked wildly.
Where am I? Am I dreaming?

Forgive me, I forgot that you didn’t bring your car.

Oh dear! I’ve carelessly taken the wrong book.

PAY is also found to indicate a departure from normality into a state of insanity:

He grieved over his son’s death so intensely that he went out of his mind.

MA: does not occur as frequently as PAY in the area of states of mind but when it occurs, as the hypothesis has predicted, it plays a contrastive role in indicating the entry to the normal state of mind. So it is not possible for MA: to be found in the examples above where the non-normal states of mind are in force. However, the occurrence of MA: is more restricted; it is found specifically with the returning of consciousness and the state of being awake after sleep:

ra:ylo’m khaw yu:

surround he Asp.
As he came back to his sense he found that he was surrounded by people.

(47) khaw tu:n ma:/*pay da:y citcay thi: ca:e:msay
  he awake come/*go with mind that glow

He woke up feeling bright.

PAY, as shown in the examples (46) and (47), cannot be used to indicate the state of normality of mind as the semantic of non-normal state that PAY is associated with makes that impossible.

4.4. EVALUATIVE STANDARD

Evaluative standard here refers to viewpoints that the speaker has or evaluation of persons or events based on certain standards. In her hypothesis, Clark shows that the evaluative use of "come" is associated with the speaker-approved or public-approved states. "Go", on the other hand, shows either neutral or negative connotation (p.317). As pointed out earlier, PAY and MA: play a rather asymmetrical role: PAY is used more extensively and widely than MA:. In the area of evaluative standard we find that, unlike English, Thai neglects the use of MA: altogether and puts emphasis solely on the use of PAY. This means that we do not at all find MA: used in this figurative sense while expressions associated with the evaluative viewpoint are solely found with PAY and its evaluative use does strongly support Clark's hypothesis.

In what follows we will explore the evaluative standard of PAY in three aspects: stative, experiential and social.
4.4.1. STATIVE STANDARD

The stative standard used here is referring to the speaker's negative feeling: disapproval, dissatisfaction towards a state described by stative verb e.g. small, big, white, young, etc. When PAY follows these stative verbs, it denotes similar connotation expressed by the word "too" in English e.g.too big, too small, too white, too young etc:

(48) su'a tua ní: lek pay say may day
    shirt Clf. this small go wear not able
    this shirt is too small; I can't wear it.

(49) kae:ngcú':t khem pay ru': plaw
    soup salty go Q.Part.
    Is the soup too salty?

(50) phom kin mā:k pay loe:y uān
    I eat much go so fat
    I eat too much so I am fat.

In evaluating such "stative predicates", the speaker clearly uses "personal preference" as a standard. When we say something is khem pay (too salty), we use our individual taste as a norm. Something is "too salty" for one person may not be too salty for another. PAY used here indicates that the taste is not what the speaker likes or expects. The form STATIVE VERB + PAY, therefore, enables the speaker to express his complaints or disapproval rather freely:

mā:k "a lot"   "too much, too many"
nó'i:y "little" "too little"
cú':t "tasteless" "too plain"
khem "salty" "too salty"
khā:w "white" "too white"
dam "black" "too black"
yā:w "long" "too long"
sān "short" "too short"
ūan "fat" "too fat"
phō':m "skinny" "too skinny"

etc.
4.4.2. EXPERIENTIAL STANDARD

Experiential standard here refers to the standard set by previous experiences, mainly visual experiences, that the speaker has had about known objects and people. The speaker uses these previous experiences to compare with the new experience just encountered and makes an evaluation on what has changed. The most frequently heard expressions indicating this experiential standard are:

(51) pen aray pay "what's wrong?"
     be what go

(52) phit hu: phit ta: pay "different from what had been familiar with before"
     wrong ear wrong eye go

(53) phit pla:ek pay "different and changed in a suspicious way."
     wrong stage go

(54) phit ru:p phit ra:ng pay "misshapen"
     wrong shap wrong shape go

It must be pointed out that these expressions presuppose a negative evaluation: the change has gone, in the speaker's view, in an undesirable direction. Such assumption is best seen when the newly-encountered experience of a familiar thing and person is described with a stative verb and the verb has to indicate a state of deterioration or unpleasantness, in other words a negative development:

(55) A. mu:nı: du: pho:m pay ma:y saba:y ru'
lately look skinny go not well Q.Part.

(You) look skinny lately. Aren't you feeling well?

B. chay ma:y saba:y ma: pen a:thıt lae:w
yes not well come be week already

Yes, (I)'ve been sick for weeks.

However, if one wants to make a comment on the increasing weight of his or her acquaintance without...
adding any viewpoint; PAY is not possible in that situation. We use khu'n (ascend) instead:

\[(56)\] a. \(\text{mu:ni: du: uan khu'n tham aray ma:} \)
   \(\text{lately look fat ascend do what come}\)

b. \(\text{*mu:ni: du: uan pay tham aray ma:} \)
   \(\text{lately look fat go do what come}\)

You've gained weight, what have you done?

(The meaning of MA: in (56) is temporal; its treatment is found in chapter 3)

Although Thai's concept of appearance and figure is starting to change due to western influence, being "uan" is still very much associated with wealth and healthiness as seen from the expression \(\text{uan thuan sombu:n} \) "strong and healthy". In contrast, being skinny is associated with poverty and unhealthiness as heard in the expression \(\text{pho':m hae:ng rae:ng no':y} \) "skinny and strengthless".

Being fat, therefore, still has positive connotation in the Thai context. Another element that makes No.\(\text{(56b)}\) sound impossible is the temporal adverbial \(\text{mu:ni:} \) (lately) which presupposes, in this context, the familiarity between the interlocutors.

We can make a negative evaluation on a familiar house:

\[(57)\] \(\text{bain lang ni: du: so:m pay} \)
   \(\text{house Cliff. this look worn out go}\)

This house looks worse (than I last saw).

\[(58)\] \(\text{bain lang ni: du: di: pay} \)
   \(\text{house Cliff. this look good go}\)

This house looks too good.
*This house looks better (than I last saw).

\[(59)\] \(\text{bain langni: du: di: khu'n} \)
   \(\text{house Cliff. look good ascend}\)
This house looks better (than I last saw).

The word "di:" (good) which carries a positive connotation when occurring with PAY will automatically give the interpretation of stative standard discussed in the previous section and leave the interpretation of experiential standard unattainable. The sentence No. 58 is usually uttered in the situation when the speaker first encounters the house (e.g., looking for a house to rent or stay in) and makes a comment that the condition of the house exceeds the expected standard or is "too good". On the other hand, the sentence No. (57) would be found in the context when the speaker, who has seen or known the house, makes the evaluation on the deterioration of the house on the present visit. The evaluation is based on his previous experience or knowledge about the house.

However, there are situations in which a STATIVE VERB + PAY can give rise to the interpretation of both stative standard and experiential standard:

(60) \[ \hat{\phi}: \text{suntho'}:n \ kae: \text{pay} \ \hat{n} \text{á} \]
\[ \text{elder Sunthorn} \ is \ \text{too old. Don't you think?} \]
\[ \text{Brother Sunthorn is older (than I last saw).} \]

The question of which interpretation is meant has to be accounted for on discourse level as the motivation of these utterances is largely context-dependent. To illustrate the point, consider the following conversation from two different scenarios:

I A. and B. is talking and making comments about the looks of an actress:
(61) A. chan may chò:p da:ra: khon ní: loe:y
I not like actress Clf. this at all

I don't like this actress at all.

B. thammay la

Why Part.

Why?

A. sadae:ng may ke:nг thae:m may suay chan wa:
act not skillful also not beautiful I say

She is a terrible actress and ugly also. I think she is too skinny

II. A. and B. are friends and have not seen each other for sometime. One day A. ran into B. and noticed that B. had lost weight (even though B. would still be considered "overweight" by general standard).

(62) A. may coe: tangna:n saba:yi: roe:
not see long time well Q. part.

We haven't met for long time. How are you? You've lost weight, right?

B. may kho':y saba:y phöeng phà:tät sàytìng ma:
not so well just cut appendix come

Not so good. I just had my appendix removed.

As we can see the identical expression PHO':M + PAY in both conversations carries different interpretations. The first involves a STATIVE STANDARD and is determined by the fact that the speaker uses "personal preference" in setting the standard of what should be considered good appearance. The latter interpretation, however, involves EXPERIENTIAL STANDARD and is determined by the previous experience the speaker has of the addressee's looks and
this experience is being used in evaluating newly-encountered experience.

The following terms denoting negative development are among those found most frequently with PAY and show the experiential standard:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pho':m} & \quad \text{"skinny"} \\
\text{kae:} & \quad \text{"old"} \\
\text{so:m} & \quad \text{"worn out"} \\
\text{khl'am} & \quad \text{"glum"} \\
\text{dam} & \quad \text{"black"} \\
\text{nu'ay} & \quad \text{"sluggish"} \\
\text{chu'ay} & \quad \text{"slack"} \\
\text{si'tsiaw} & \quad \text{"pale"}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4.3. SOCIAL STANDARD

The evaluative use of PAY does not restrict itself to the areas of personal norm of preference and experience discussed above; PAY is capable of showing the deviation from group or social norms. These norms may be seen in the form of behavior, attitude, value or belief generally held by the society or by the group that one belongs to.

To show how PAY could indicate the deviation from the social norms, I would like to start with a discussion of the expression "mi: an pen pay". The expression has no very specific meaning but is used to describe a state of being punished or done for by supernatural power as a result of having intentionally been involved in bad karma or wrong-doings. When we say a person "mi: an pen pay", it means that the person may have died (not in an usual way e.g. car accident, being murdered etc.) or is in the state of suffering intensely either physically or emotionally. It is interesting to see that no single part of the expression carries such an "ill" meaning. However, I wish
to argue that the underlying semantic association of the non-positive connotation of PAY coupled with the social value and belief gives rise to such an "unpleasant" interpretation.

The expression "mi: an pen pay" ties in closely with a Buddhist belief that

"tham di: day di: tham chua day chua"  
do good get good do evil get evil

It means "to deserve what one has done"; if one engages in good deeds one would expect good returns. On the contrary; if one has done evil, one would expect to meet bad consequences sooner or later. What is considered as bad deeds is culturally specific; so are the misfortunes as the consequences of such deeds. For example, having committed adultery; telling lies, being the cause of someone else's family break-up are considered wrong-doing in Thai society. The bad consequences that one who has committed these wrong-doings may meet at some later stage of life will be considered by the public to be the punishment as the result of those "crimes". So when someone is described as "mi: an pen pay", it carries a strongly public or social disapproval of his acts and at the same time the public expresses no sympathy for his misfortune.

The following examples are the actual use of "mi: an pen pay":

(63)  phro' ba:p/bun thi: tham way thamhay khaw  
because sin/merit that do before cause he

to':ng mi: an pen pay  
must have Rel. be go

He died (or is facing a misfortune) because of the
This indicates that the accepted good manner is to speak politely. However, PAY may be found incompatible with bad manners. In example (65), the politeness is not considered as part of the group in which the politeness is conveyed. The next example is dealing with what is polite and impolite:

May God punish me if I do not keep the vow.

Sa:ba:n implies a vow made towards the Lord Buddha or a sacred thing and is meant to be strictly kept. Breaking the vow, therefore, is regarded as lying to the sacred thing, in other words, committing the social crime which ultimately deserves a punishment.

However, PAY appearing in this social evaluative aspect does not always imply such a strong social condemnation. It may be used to show a deviation of the Thai customs as shown in example No. (65).

To sit by putting your knee up is the way Chinese sit (not we Thai people).

This gives the idea that the way Thais sit differs from the way Chinese sit. The sentence also gives the impression that such behavior is not appropriate in the Thai context especially for women since women are required to wear skirts and it will look rather impolite in skirts.

The next example is dealing with what is polite and impolite:

Speak politely otherwise it will be considered bad manners.
This indicates that the accepted good manner is to speak politely. However, PAY may be found compatible with bad manners if such manners are regarded as norms. For example within some peer group in which the politeness is not considered as the norm of the group:

(67)  may to:ng datcar it phu: t khā-khā: dia w
no must affected speak Polite Part. otherwise

cā kla:y pen phu:di: pay thī:ni: may to:ngka:n
will change be nobleman go here no want

phu:di: nobleman

No need to affectedly speak "kha kha:" (polite particle for women) here. It sounds too noble. We don't want any nobleman here.

4.5. CONCLUSION

I have attempted to show how the figurative use of PAY and MA: conforms to the hypothesis proposed by Clark based on the SPEAKER-ADDRESSEE deixis. When PAY is used figuratively it always indicates some kind of non-normal states. Explicitly, PAY may show a state of non-existence both physical and non-physical (perception): loss, death, deterioration, speechlessness etc. When PAY is used in relation to mind, it modifies the states involving unconsciousness, the imaginary, sleep, forgetfulness and insanity which are regarded as non-normal states of mind. Ma:, on the other hand, shows the opposite tendencies; it indicates a reentry to the normal states. Specifically, MA: is found to couple with the terms showing birth, repossession, regaining of consciousness and the state of being awake from sleep. However, it is the fact that MA:'s occurrence is less wide and more restricted than PAY's. The
two words appear, in the domain of this figurative meaning, rather asymmetrically. When it comes to the evaluative aspect we find that PAY plays an exclusive role in showing negative viewpoints where MA: is not at all found. In the stative standard, PAY is coupled with stative terms to hint the speaker's complaints and disapproval based on "personal preference", found similarly expressed by "too" in English. In the experiential standard, as the term suggests, the speaker uses his or her previous knowledge or experience of a familiar person or object as the standard of evaluation and states what has changed. In addition to this, PAY is also used to express the speaker's viewpoint of the change that has gone in an undesirable direction. The last aspect that PAY is found to be associated with is social standard where socially accepted behaviors, customs, values and beliefs are set as the norm of evaluation. Again we use PAY to show a deviation from such social norms; as a result, it is not likely for the deviant behavior to gain social or public approval.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

This study of PAY and MA: attempts to show that their seemingly unpredictable and idiosyncratic nature is in fact governed and can be substantially explained by the principle of "deictic center". The deictic center is a reference point (either physical, factual, imaginative or figurative) that PAY-MA: are, in some way, seen to be anchored to. We hope to have shown that the notion of deictic center and its interpretation are essential to the understanding of linguistic behavior of PAY-MA: over spatial, temporal and figurative uses.

In chapter two we dealt with the spatial aspects of PAY-MA: both in the speaker-addressee axis and in third person narrative discourse with the aim to show that the same principle of deictic center could be applied.

We argued further that the traditional belief that "the speaker" is the only prime concern of PAY-MA: proves inadequate to characterize the whole range of their occurrences and uses even on just the speaker-addressee axis itself. Substantial evidence shows that the use of PAY-MA:, though often related to speaker's location, is not necessarily so: it may also relate to some other location thought of as deictic center. So we see the necessity to include the notion of the deictic center in the lexical descriptions of the spatial PAY-MA: and propose that:
PAY DESIGNATES MOTION AWAY FROM THE DEICTIC CENTER SPECIFIED WITH THE CODING TIME

MA: DESIGNATES MOTION TOWARD THE DEICTIC CENTER SPECIFIED WITH EITHER THE CODING TIME OR THE REFERENCE TIME

We have shown that the reference time could affect the interpretation of "goal" or destination of PAY and it is often the case that the speaker uses his location of the speech situation (the coding time) as the deictic center for the specification of PAY. It would seem that the notion of the reference time is unnecessary in the lexical description of PAY; i.e. the temporal features can be considered predictable.

Special treatment is given to developing a notion called deictic projection. Deictic projection MA: is found in three areas: certain situations in face-to-face communication, in telephone conversation and in letter correspondence. We have noted the inconsistent use of the deictic projection and pointed out the restricted situations under which it would operate are cultural-specific. In some cases, in Thai, this may be affected by sociolinguistic factors such as education.

We have also noted the shift of deictic viewpoint where PAY and MA: could refer to the same destination in the same discourse. This would be the result of the speaker's changing the location of the deictic center. The question of why this could happen is left for further study.

The notion of deictic center proves even more vital when we examine the linguistic behavior of PAY-MA: in
third-person narrative discourse. It is clear that in such discourse we are not dealing with the spatial orientation with respect to the speaker's location but rather with respect to the central character's location created by the narrator. Although the narrator is able to select and change the spatial orientation at will, his manipulation is by no means arbitrary but is basically governed by the principle of the deictic center.

We have brought out a parallel relationship between spatial deixis and temporal deixis by showing that in third-person narrative discourse, a temporal deictic interpretation may be created and manipulated in the way parallel to the creation and manipulation of a spatial deictic relationship. We have put forward an idea of default and special value of deictic center and suggested that the default value is a "normal" value represented by the speaker's location in the narrative and speech-event time. However, if there are some other factors involved, the "default value" can be overridden and replaced by a "special value" e.g. in a temporal context the speech-event time is replaced by the time of the event in a story being told.

In dealing with the temporal uses of PAY-MA: in chapter three, we hope to have shown that spatial features of PAY-MA: are carried over to their temporal domain. The notion of spatial deictic center (here) is transformed to a temporal deictic center (now). This temporal deictic center is used to divide the imaginary time axis into the retrospective and prospective domain defined under the
canonical models of Moving World and Moving Ego. In such a representation, "now" is assumed to be an unmarked reference time.

PAY, under the Moving World model, expresses the notion of irrevocable past in which events are viewed as something finished, closed and cut off from the present concern. It also serves to show that some events are relatively more remote than others.

PAY can be used to indicate prospective continuity: continuation of an action or event in a prospective direction.

We further see the importance of PAY in showing the notion of sequencing. Conceptually, a series of nominal objects represented by PAY is seen as coming and going from the speaker's imaginary vantage point one by one.

In our imagined temporal axis where the time line is divided into two domains, we would expect that if PAY takes the function of retrospective interpretation then we would anticipate a similar prospective role from MA: (showing what is to come). Likewise if PAY could signify prospective continuation; within the same model, we would expect to see MA: in the role of retrospective continuation: the continuation of action, events, situations from the past to the moment of the speech event.

MA: has also been found in the role indicating current relevant state where events, situations or things being talked about are seen as bearing some relevance to the current time—the time of the speech event.
We have looked at three fixed constructions: \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_1 \) PAY, \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_1 \) MA: and \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_2 \) PAY. These three fixed constructions mainly concern the temporal aspects of accumulation, continuation and simultaneity of actions described in the constructions. The first two constructions are seen as playing a certain discourse-sensitive role: the accumulation of action described in the \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_1 \) PAY construction brings with it an assumption that the action leads to certain developments as a consequence. An "iconic-pragmatic" interpretation is even more obvious in \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_1 \) MA: as the construction is used to express an indirect "complaint" of the disorderly and poorly-controlled action. The construction \( V_1 \) PAY \( V_2 \) PAY purely indicates the simultaneity of two actions; its pragmatic implication relies on other linguistic units in the sentence.

In chapter four we tested Clark's hypothesis on "normal state and evaluative viewpoint" (1974) where she claimed that English's "come" is taken to signify entry into the normal or desirable state and to carry a positive connotation whereas "go" indicates a departure from normal state and contains either neutral or negative connotations. We found that PAY-MA: in the figurative function generally supports the hypothesis. PAY is extensively found in the area of non-existence and closely associated with concepts such as loss, death, deterioration, silence etc. As far as the state of mind is concerned, again PAY is found to be heavily involved with non-normal states: imaginary visions, sleep, forgetfulness, insanity. MA:, on the other hand,
shows the opposite state, involved with existence involving birth, repossession, regaining of consciousness. However, MA: appears to be more restricted and less frequent in use. especially, when it concerns the evaluative viewpoint, MA: is not at all found.

In association with the evaluative standard, PAY is coupled with stative terms to show the speaker's disapproval based on a judging from "personal preference". PAY can also be used to state what has been changed from the past experience of previous knowledge. We label this kind of evaluation as "experiential standard". Last but not least, we found PAY to be associated with "social standard" where socially approved behavior, customs, value and beliefs are set as the norm of evaluation and PAY expresses deviation from such norms, which consequently may not gain public approval.

FURTHER STUDY OF PAY AND MA: : RESIDUAL CASES

The study of PAY-MA: in this thesis, while attempting to be extensive, cannot be seen as thorough and complete. Certain usages are beyond the scope of this work and need further investigation. For example, PAY and MA: in some usages appear not to specify any spatial orientation, and do not indicate any temporal meaning, change of state or carry certain evaluative viewpoint. Rather they seem to express certain attitudes the speaker may hold, especially feelings toward or assumptions about the addressee or situations spoken about. They appear to carry certain illocutionary force in the discourse and semantically function similar to modals or particles. A brief
examination suggests that PAY-MA: appearing in such usage is distributed in three positions with respect to the sentence's verb or predicate:

1. Preposition, i.e. preverbal
2. Postposition, i.e. postverbal
3. Sentential final

1. Preposition

The following are the examples:

(1) ya: ma: tham pen cay-di: don't come do be heart-good

Don't pretend to be nice (to me).

(2) yang ca ` ma: thiâng i:`k still will come argue again

How dare you talk back to me !

(3) ca: pay ru: da` yang-ngay will go know able how

How did I ever know ?

(4) tham ba`p-ni: ca: pay da` ary like-this will go get what

What will you gain for doing this ? (I don't think you will gain anything)

These utterances are common in colloquial interactive language. The spatial orientation of PAY-MA: may or may not be specified depending on the adjacent predicate, however, this is not what is intended of the message. The deletion of PAY-MA: seems to change the underlying message altogether. The absence of PAY-MA: will result in how the utterance is articulated or in its "tone of voice," strongly suggesting illocutionary-force factors.
2. Postposition

Asymmetrical functions of PAY-MA: appear again in these postpositional and sentential final positions: PAY is omnipresent whereas MA: is not at all found. For example:

(5) ru: pay thammay
    know go why

Why do you want to know? (It's no use)

(6) tham pay thammay
do go why

Why do you do it? (It's no use to do such a thing)

(7) ca khae: pay yay
    will care go why

(1) don't see why I have to care.

3. Sentential final

There is a group of set phrases where PAY appears finally with a certain distinctive illocutionary meaning:

(8) yoeyae pay
    a lot go

It is plenty.

thomthe: pay
    a lot go

It is a lot, everywhere.

suay pay
    unlucky go

It is bad luck!

cho:kdri: pay
    lucky go

It is good luck!

etc.

It would be interesting to examine cases like these further and answer the following questions:

1. Are PAY-MA: of this category related to the PAY-MA: discussed in this study?

2. What linguistic roles do they play?

3. How can one explicate or explain their discourse functions?
4. Can they be defined under the principle of deictic center?

5. What is behind the linguistic preference of PAY over MA: in Thai?

It is hoped that these issues will be taken up in a future study.

References:


