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10 Deictic motion constructions in Japanese and Thai

1 Introduction

Japanese and Thai, in common, have a pair of deictic motion verbs: *kuru* and *iku* in Japanese (perfect-aspect or past-tense forms *ki-ta* and *it-ta*; gerundive forms *ki-te* and *it-te*); *maa* and *paj* in Thai. The two deictic motion verbs of each language are opposite in meaning. Basically, the former venitive verbs *kuru* and *maa* mean ‘to come; to move toward the speaker’s reference point (viz. the deictic center in the speech situation, which is typically the location of the speaker at the coding time)’, while the latter andative verbs *iku* and *paj* signify ‘to go; to move away from the speaker’s reference point’. It is known that these deictic motion verbs are capable of taking part in a number of constructions which are referred to as “deictic motion constructions” in the present chapter. The existing relevant studies do not thoroughly examine all the types of the constructions in the two languages (for Japanese deictic motion constructions see Hasegawa 1993; Koga and Ohori 2008; Matsumoto 1996: 237–310; Morita 1968; Moriyama 1988: 181–198; Nakatani 2008; Nakazawa 2002; Sakahara 1995; Sawada 2009; Shibatani 2003, 2007; for Thai deictic motion constructions see Bickner 1989; Bilmes 1995; Gandour 1978; Minegishi and Methapisit 2003; Rangkupan 1992; Tiengburanathum 2013; and for comparison of the constructions between the two languages, see Sakamoto 1988, 1991). The present chapter, therefore, aims at comprehensively classifying deictic motion constructions in Japanese and in Thai by their formal and functional properties to clarify commonalities and differences in the uses of deictic motion verbs in the two languages. This contrastive study uncovers intriguing characteristics of deictic motion verbs in the two languages and holds implications for the analysis of deictic motion verbs in other languages.

Before going on to discuss different types of Japanese and Thai deictic motion constructions in the following sections, we will first look at the overall features of the constructions. Whereas Japanese is an agglutinating SOV language employing postpositions for case-marking, Thai is an isolating SVO language which may use prepositions for case-marking.

- (1) a. *Haha ga ki-ta.*
mother NOM come-PST
‘(My) mother came.’ (Japanese SC)
- b. *Titi wa tai ni it-ta.*
father TOP Thailand DAT/ALL go-PST
‘(My) father went to Thailand.’ (Japanese SC)

- (2) a. *Mêe maa.*
mother come
'(My) mother came.' (Thai SC)
- b. *Phôj paj yîipùn.*
father go Japan
'(My) father went to Japan.' (Thai SC)
- c. *Phôj paj yaŋ yîipùn.*
father go ALL Japan
'(My) father went to Japan.' (Thai SC)

A deictic motion verb may be used as a single verb in a clause, as illustrated in (1) and (2). I name this simplex type of deictic motion construction the “single verb construction (in short, SC)” (Sections 2.1 and 3.1). A deictic motion verb in the single verb construction takes the subject noun phrase naming a mover. As seen from the Japanese examples in (1), the subject noun phrase of a deictic motion verb is marked with the nominative postposition *ga* or with the topic marker *wa*, and a dative/allative postpositional phrase (e.g. *tai ni* ‘to Thailand’) indicates the end-point of the relocation route of the mover. In Thai, the subject noun phrase is not marked with any case marker, and the verb’s object noun phrase or an allative prepositional phrase (e.g. *yaŋ yîipùn* ‘to Japan’) represents the end-point, as in (2). Noun phrases as arguments or complements of a Thai verb are not necessarily preceded by a case preposition. In formal writing or speech, however, case prepositions are apt to precede noun phrases accompanying a verb, except for the subject and the object noun phrases. The noun phrases’ specific semantic roles such as ablative (starting-point) and allative (end-point) can be made clear, not only by putting a case preposition in front of the noun phrase, e.g. (2c), but also by means of serial verbs taking the noun phrase as an argument or a complement, e.g. (4b).

A deictic motion verb may form part of a complex predicate such as the Japanese “converb construction (CC)” (Section 2.2), e.g. (3), and the Thai “serial verb construction (SVC)” (Section 3.2), e.g. (4). These constructions may be mono-, bi- or multiclausal. This chapter deals exclusively with the mono-clausal type that denotes a single, albeit complex, event, e.g. the former reading of (3a), (3b), (4a) and (4b). The bi- or multi-clausal type, e.g. the latter reading of (3a), (3c) and (4c), depicts a series of events, and therefore it will not be examined in this chapter.

- (3) a. *Kare ga hasit-te it-ta.*
3.SG NOM run-GER go-PST
Mono-clausal reading: ‘He went running.’ (Japanese CC)
Bi-clausal reading: ‘He ran (for a while and then) went.’

- b. *Kare wa ie kara arui-te syokuba ni it-ta.*
3.SG TOP house ABL walk-GER work.place DAT/ALL go-PST
'He went on foot from home to the work place.' (Japanese CC)
- c. *Kare wa ki-te ason-de kaet-ta.*
3.SG TOP come-GER play-GER return-PST
'He came, played, and went back.'
- (4) a. *Phôc wîŋ paj.*
father run go
'(My) father ran away from the deictic center.' (Thai SVC)
- b. *Phôc (khorŋ) dæŋ càak bâan paj thúŋ thûi tham ŋaan (léew).*
father (probably) walk leave home go arrive work.place (PERF)
'(My) father (has probably) walked, left home, moved away from the deictic center, and arrived at the work place.' (Thai SVC)
- c. *Phôc wîŋ paj (léew) hěn phûan yim hâj.*
father run go (PERF) see friend smile BEN
'(My) father ran away from the deictic center (and then) saw (his) friend smiling for (him).'

The mono-clausality of the Thai serial verb construction (4b), which includes four motion verbs (*dæŋ* 'walk', *càak* 'leave', *paj* 'go' and *thúŋ* 'arrive'), is corroborated by the fact that if we place the epistemic modal marker *khorŋ* 'probably' at the beginning of the predicate or the perfective marker *léew* 'PERF' at the end, then the four-verb predicate as a whole falls under the scope of the modal marker or of the aspectual marker, respectively.

The Japanese converb construction containing a deictic motion verb is a sort of compound verb construction. However, its constituent verbs are not completely integrated to each other but are independent of each other to some extent. To illustrate, look at (3b) and (5). In (3b), the dative/allative postpositional phrase (*syokuba ni* 'to the work place') lies between the two constituent verbs (*arui-te* 'walk-GER' and *it-ta* 'go-PST'). In (5a), the topic marker *wa* is inserted between the two verbs (*de-te* 'exit-GER' and *ki-ta* 'come-PRF'). In (5b), only the first verb is passivized (*okur-are-te* 'send.out-PASS-GER'). These syntactic behaviors would not be seen unless the two constituent verbs are independent of each other at least to some degree.

- (5) a. *Haha wa de-te wa ki-ta ga aruka-nai.*
mother TOP exit-GER TOP come-PRF but walk-NEG
'(My) mother came out but did not walk.'

- b. *Tegami ga okur-are-te ki-ta.*
 letter NOM send.out-PASS-GER come-PRF
 ‘A letter has been sent toward the deictic center.’

Apart from verbal meanings (coming and going), functional (temporal or mental) meanings can be encoded by means of deictic motion verbs in the two languages. I call constructions with a deictic motion verb functioning as a functional morpheme (such as an aspectual marker or a modal marker) “subjectively modified constructions”. Subjectively modified constructions are of two types: (i) “aspect constructions (ACs)” (Sections 2.3 and 3.3) and (ii) “stance constructions (STCs)” (Sections 2.4 and 3.4).

2 Japanese deictic motion constructions

2.1 Single verb construction in Japanese

The main components of the Japanese single verb construction containing *kuru* ‘come’ or *iku* ‘go’ (Japanese SC) are listed in Table 1. (6) gives examples.

Table 1: Japanese SC, e.g. (1) and (6)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Mover
<i>Main verb</i>	Deictic motion: coming, going

- (6) a. *Tomodati wa tai kara kono ruuto de {ki-ta/it-ta}.*
 friend TOP Thailand ABL this route INS {come-PST/go-PST}
 ‘(My) friend {came/went} from Thailand along this route.’
 (Japanese SC, self-motion)
- b. *Tomodati wa {yoji ni/yojikan de} {ki-ta/it-ta}.*
 friend TOP {at.four.o’clock/in.four.hours} {come-PST/go-PST}
 ‘(My) friend {came/went} {at four o’clock/in four hours}.’
 (Japanese SC, self-motion)
- c. *Owari ga kuru.*
 end NOM come
 ‘An end will come; (It) will come to an end.’
 (Japanese SC, metaphorical self-motion)
- d. *Umaku iku.*
 well go
 ‘(It) goes well; (It) proceeds successfully.’

(Japanese SC, metaphorical self-motion)

Example (6a) encompasses adverbials of source (*tai kara* ‘from Thailand’) and of path (*kono ruuto de* ‘along this route’). The ordering of these adverbials is variable. Example (6b) contains an adverbial of arrival or departure time (*yoji ni* ‘at four o’clock’) or of required time (*yojikan de* ‘in four hours’). It is possible for the single verb construction to take locative and temporal adverbials at the same time. In addition, this construction may express metaphorical meanings, e.g. (6c) and (6d). It is noteworthy that the Japanese single verb construction with a deictic motion verb yields a number of idiomatic metaphorical expressions. In contrast, the Thai single verb construction with a deictic motion verb scarcely expresses a metaphorical meaning. Idiomatic expressions with a Thai deictic motion verb generally form serial verb constructions, e.g., *tòɔ* {*maa/paj*} ‘subsequently (< connect + {come/go})’, *thàt* {*maa/paj*} ‘next (< move.in.a.sitting.position + {come/go})’, *thûa paj* ‘throughout, in general (< be.overall + go)’, . . . *paj mòt* ‘all . . . (< go + come.to.an.end)’, and so forth.

Expressions like those in (6c) and (6d) stem from the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE, or more specifically, PASSAGE OF TIME IS MOVEMENT IN SPACE. Examples (6c) and (6d) instantiate two ubiquitous cognitive models of movement metaphors for time: (i) “moving-time” model and (ii) “moving-ego” (or “moving-world” in Fillmore’s terms) model (cf. Evans and Green 2006: 84; Fillmore 1975: 28; Hasegawa 1993: 59–61). In the moving-time metaphor, we think of the world including us as being constant and time passing by it. The event of some conclusion in (6c) (*Owari ga kuru* ‘An end will come’) is conceptualized as a moving entity; it moves towards the experiencer (Ego) (viz. coming to Ego). In the moving-ego metaphor, we regard the world including us as moving through time. In (6d) (*Umaku iku* ‘[It] goes well’), time is taken as a stationary landscape and an implicit event is conceptualized as moving over the landscape; the implicit event in which the experiencer (Ego) is involved moves forward (viz. Ego’s going). Thus, the notion of Ego, which corresponds to the deictic center in deictic motion events, resides in both the moving-time and the moving-ego metaphors. Ego’s relative position in the passage of time is understood by virtue of the deictic senses of *kuru* ‘come’ and *iku* ‘go’.

2.2 Converb construction in Japanese

The Japanese converb construction containing *kuru* ‘come’ or *iku* ‘go’ (Japanese CC) is divided into two types. One type employs a deictic motion verb as the semantically main verb to represent the physical motion of coming/going, while a motion verb in the gerundive form that precedes the deictic motion verb adds some adverbial notion such as the manner, the specific direction, or the causal circumstances of the motion of coming/going. The preceding motion verb may be a manner-of-motion verb (e.g. *hasiru* ‘run’) or a path verb (e.g. *deru* ‘exit’) (Table 2). It may also be an accompanying causation verb (e.g. *tureru* ‘take along’) (Table 3).

Table 2: Japanese CC with manner-of-motion verb or path verb, e.g. (3a) and (7)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Mover
<i>Compounded verbs</i>	(V1) Manner-of-motion or Path (e.g. <i>hasiru</i> 'run', <i>deru</i> 'exit')
	(V2) Deictic motion: coming, going

- (7) *Titi wa de-te {kuru/iku}*.
 father TOP exit-GER {come/go}
 '(My) father {comes/goes} out.' (Japanese CC, self-motion)

Table 3: Japanese CC with accompanying causation verb, e.g. (8)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Causer and Mover at the same time
<i>Compounded verbs</i>	(V1) Accompanying causation (e.g. <i>tureru</i> 'take along')
	(V2) Deictic motion: coming, going
<i>Object NP</i>	Mover

- (8) *Titi wa tomodati o ture-te {kuru/iku}*.
 father TOP friend ACC take.along-GER {come/go}
 '(My) father {comes/goes} accompanied by (his) friend.'
 (Japanese CC, caused motion of accompanying type)

The other type uses *kuru* 'come' as a semantically subsidiary verb to express the direction (toward the deictic center) of a caused motion denoted by an onset causation verb (e.g. *okuru* 'send out') in the gerundive form that precedes *kuru* (Table 4).

Table 4: Japanese CC with onset causation verb, e.g. (9)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Causer
<i>Compounded verbs</i>	(V1) Onset causation (e.g. <i>okuru</i> 'send out')
	(V2) Deictic motion: coming (toward the deictic center)
<i>Object NP</i>	Mover

- (9) *Titi wa tegami o okut-te kuru*.
 father TOP letter ACC send.out-GER come
 '(My) father sends a letter toward the deictic center.'
 (Japanese CC, caused motion of onset type)

In (7) and (8), the semantically main verb is the second verb (*kuru* 'come' or *iku* 'go') and the

semantically subsidiary verb is the first verb (path verb *deru* 'exit' in [7]; accompanying causation verb *tureru* 'take along' in [8]). The semantically subsidiary verbs in (7) and (8) function as an adverbial modifying the deictic motion verb that represents the motion of coming/going of the referent of the subject noun phrase. In (9), on the other hand, the semantically main verb is the first verb (onset causation verb *okuru* 'send out') whose meaning entails a motion of the referent of the object noun phrase (i.e. caused motion) and the semantically subsidiary verb is the second verb (*kuru* 'come') which merely indicates the direction (toward the deictic center) of the caused motion. It is interesting to note that *iku* 'go' cannot encode the direction (away from the deictic center) of a caused motion of the onset type. Moreover, the combination of *kuru* 'come' and an onset causation verb, e.g. (9), is in fact limited, that is, *kuru* cooccurs only with certain onset causation verbs for expressing a caused motion, e.g., *Kare wa denwa o kake-te kuru* 'He makes a call, which comes'; *Kare wa tama o uti-kaesi-te kuru* 'He hits a ball, which comes back'. The combination of *tuki-tobasu* 'thrust away' and *kuru* 'come' (*tuki-tobasi-te kuru*), for instance, is not acceptable for the sense that one thrusts an entity and the entity moves toward the deictic center (though it is acceptable if *kuru* conveys the speaker's feeling of unexpectedness or affectedness; see Section 2.4). By contrast, both *maa* 'come' and *paj* 'go' in Thai follow any verbs of onset causation to express a caused motion (see Section 3.2).

2.3 Aspect construction in Japanese

The Japanese aspect construction containing the aspectual marker *kuru* (< *kuru* 'come') or *iku* (< *iku* 'go') (Japanese AC) expresses either (i) "continuous aspect (CONT)" (static/dynamic situation that continues) or (ii) "beginning aspect (BGN)" (dynamic situation that is beginning). The beginning aspect is an elaboration of the common aspect called "inceptive (or inchoative)". The beginning marker *kuru* characteristically highlights an inceptive "ongoing" current situation, which may be expressed by the English phrase *to be beginning to* . . . What is salient in the conceptualization of the beginning aspect is the ongoing phase of a current situation that has just begun, or in other words, a little development from the beginning of a current situation. The beginning aspect is one of the four aspects organized in terms of "temporal proximity" (Takahashi 2002). By temporal proximity, I mean "conceptual closeness between the realization of a reference situation and a given current time in any time frame". The beginning aspect relates a current dynamic situation to a shortly prior realization of a reference situation. (N.B., The other three types of temporal proximity aspect are: [i] "recent retrospective" type, [ii] "imminent prospective" type, and [iii] "reaching" type. The recent retrospective aspect relates a current static situation to a shortly prior realization of a reference situation, e.g., *He has just got back*. The imminent prospective aspect relates a current static situation to a shortly posterior realization of a reference situation, e.g., *He almost cries*. And the reaching aspect relates a current dynamic situation to a shortly posterior realization of a reference situation, e.g., *He is becoming conscious*.)

The aspectual marker *kuru* is for both of the continuous and the beginning types (Tables 5 and 6), and the aspectual marker *iku* is for the continuous type only (Table 5). The choice between the two continuous markers is made according to the speaker's conceptualization as to whether the described event continues "from a prior time to the current time" (*kuru*) or "from the current time to the subsequent time" (*iku*). On the other hand, the beginning aspect, by definition, means that the described event changes "from a prior time" (*kuru*), and does not mean that it changes "into the subsequent time" (**iku*).

Table 5: Japanese AC of continuous type, e.g. (10)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Theme, Experiencer, Actor
<i>Main verb</i>	Process, Emotion, Action (e.g. <i>taeru</i> 'endure')
<i>Aspect marker</i>	Continuous aspect (<i>kuru</i> , <i>iku</i>)

- (10) *Haha wa tae-te {ki-ta/it-ta}*.
 mother TOP endure-GER CONT(< come-PRF/go-PST)
 '(My) mother {has been/continued} enduring hardships.'
 (Japanese AC, continuous)

Table 6: Japanese AC of beginning (inceptive) type, e.g. (11)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Theme, Experiencer
<i>Main verb</i>	Change of state (e.g. <i>akaruku-naru</i> 'become bright')
<i>Aspect marker</i>	Beginning aspect (<i>kuru</i>)

- (11) *Sora ga akaruku-nat-te ki-ta*.
 sky NOM become.bright-GER BGN(< come-PRF)
 'The sky is beginning to become bright.'
 (Japanese AC, beginning)

Compare (10) and (11). The main verb in the continuous type (10) is a verb of durative aspect (*taeru* 'endure'), while the main verb in the beginning type (11) is a verb of punctual aspect (*akaruku-naru* 'become bright'). The main verb in the continuous type, however, is not always necessarily a durative process/emotion/action verb but possibly a punctual change-of-state or a process/emotion/action verb of any aspect with the iterative- or durative-reading, e.g., *Karera wa nando mo taisen si-te ki-ta*. 'They have competed with each other many times.'

The conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE underlies these aspect constructions. Specifically, the continuous type stems from a moving-ego metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION (cf.

Lakoff 1987: 523); the beginning type comes from a moving-time metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION (cf. Radden 1996: 425).

2.4 Stance construction in Japanese

The Japanese stance construction containing the stance marker *kuru* (< *kuru* 'come') (Japanese STC) is named the "impact (IPC)" construction (Table 7). A clause included in the impact construction expresses an event (typically, an action event) that makes some impact on the speaker's mental state. (12) exemplifies this.

Table 7: Japanese STC of impact type, e.g. (12)

<i>Clause</i>	Clause representing an event that is, as it were, aimed at the speaker
<i>Stance marker</i>	Impact (<i>kuru</i>)

- (12) a. *Kare ga haha o odosi-te kuru.*
3.SG NOM mother ACC threaten-GER IPC(< come)
'He threatens (my) mother (and its impact comes).'
(Japanese STC, impact)
- b. *Karera wa kakaku o sage-te ki-ta.*
3.PL TOP price ACC lower-GER IPC(< come-PRF)
'They have lowered the price (and its impact has come).'
(Japanese STC, impact)

The conceptual metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL STATE IS SPACE is relevant here (cf. Sawada 2009). To be more specific, the metaphor GIVING IMPACT IS APPROACHING is the basis of this construction. This sort of movement metaphor for stance (i.e. the speaker's feeling, attitude, belief, assessment, perspective, and the like) is not found in Thai.

Some researchers (Koga and Ohori 2008, Shibatani 2003 *inter alia*) consider this construction to be incorporated in the Japanese voice system, and they call it the "(neutral or malefactive) inverse construction". In their view, Japanese has a voice system that obligatorily marks for inverse situations where a participant who ranks higher on the person hierarchy (1st > 2nd > 3rd) is affected by an event involving a lower-ranking participant (Shibatani 2006: 247–248). However, I name it the "impact construction", which is a subtype of the stance construction belonging to the subjectively modified construction. This is because I assume that the chief and essential function of this construction is to signal the speaker's stance or mental attitude in viewing the event described. In my view, the speaker uses this construction to highlight his/her feeling of unexpectedness or affectedness with respect to the emergence of the event described by the verb that precedes the

stance marker *kuru*. The feeling may be neutral or negative (malefactive) depending on the actual speech situation. It is neutral if the speaker is merely astonished at the event described, and it is negative (malefactive) if the speaker is affected by the event described. (N.B., The benefactive marker *kureru/morau* indicates the speaker's positive [benefactive] feeling arising from the event described, e.g., *Karera wa kakaku o sagete kureta*. 'They have lowered the price for us/me.')

3 Thai deictic motion constructions

3.1 Single verb construction in Thai

The Thai single verb construction containing *maa* 'come' or *paj* 'go' (Thai SC) (Table 8) and its counterpart in Japanese (Japanese SC) (Table 1) comprise the same main components, namely, a deictic motion verb and its subject noun phrase representing a mover. However, the Thai construction, unlike the Japanese construction, may include an adverbial of the period of stay after coming/going to some place, e.g. *hâa wan* 'for five days' in (13b).

Table 8: Thai SC, e.g. (2) and (13)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Mover
<i>Main verb</i>	Deictic motion: coming, going

- (13) a. *Phûan {maa/paj} càak thîi tham ñaan taam sên thaaj nîi.*
 friend {come/go} from work.place along route this
 '(My) friend {came/went} from (his) work place along this route.'
 (Thai SC, self-motion)
- b. *Phûan maa muaj thaj hâa wan.*
 friend come Thailand for.five.days
 '(My) friend came to Thailand (and stayed in Thailand) for five days.'
 (Thai SC, self-motion)

The two spatial prepositions in (13a) (*càak* 'from' and *taam* 'along') have the same forms as motion verbs (*càak* 'leave' and *taam* 'follow' in [4b] and [15a]). Nonetheless, they are considered to function as prepositions. The difference between prepositions derived from motion verbs (briefly, "verb-like prepositions"; N.B., Thai also has noun-like prepositions such as *bon* 'on' [< *bon* 'upper part']) and the original motion verbs lies in their syntactic positions as well as their meanings. In a single clause expressing a motion event, the prepositions *càak* 'from' and *taam* 'along' must occur after a deictic motion verb and take a noun phrase, while the motion verbs *càak* 'leave' and *taam* 'follow' must appear before a deictic motion verb, if any, and may or may not take a noun phrase (Takahashi

2009). Likewise, the preposition *thǔj* ‘to’ must follow the preposition *càak* ‘from’ and take a noun phrase (e.g., *maa càak yǐpùn thǔj muaj thaj* ‘to come from Japan to Thailand’), while the motion verb *thǔj* ‘arrive’ must not follow the preposition *càak* ‘from’ and may or may not take a noun phrase (Takahashi 2005). Furthermore, a negative marker such as *mâj* and *mǐ?* can appear in front of a verb but not of a preposition. Verb-like prepositions occurring after a deictic motion verb in motion expressions such as (13a) designate static spatial notions of starting-point, relocation route, and endpoint as opposed to dynamic motional notions of leaving, following and arriving that are represented by motion verbs. As mentioned above, Thai has two ways of specifying spatial notions of source (starting-point), path (relocation route) and goal (end-point): using (i) case prepositions, e.g. (2c) and (13a), or (ii) serial verbs, e.g. (4b) and (15a). The description with a single motion verb plus verb-like preposition(s) is less dynamic than that with serial motion verbs.

3.2 Serial verb construction in Thai

The Thai serial verb construction containing *maa* ‘come’ or *paj* ‘go’ (Thai SVC) can be distinguished into action and motion types, the latter of which subsumes self-motion and caused-motion subtypes.

Table 9: Thai SVC of action type, e.g. (14)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Actor
<i>Co-head verbs</i>	Deictic motion: coming, going Action (e.g. <i>khuj</i> ‘chat’)

- (14) *Phǎw {maa/paj} khuj kàp mǎe.*
 father {come/go} chat with mother
 ‘(My) father {came/went} and chatted with (my) mother.’
 (Thai SVC, action)

The action type (Table 9) uses a deictic motion verb as the initial verb preceding an action verb, e.g. (14). The initial deictic motion verb does not simply denote the actor’s movement of coming/going to some place for conducting a certain activity but rather indirectly expresses his/her intention to conduct the activity at the place. As such, the action type involves metonymy. Expressions of the action type, e.g. (14), originate in the metonymic conceptualization that “coming/going to a place” stands for “coming/going to a place FOR THE PURPOSE of conducting an activity at the place”.

The self-motion and the caused-motion types (Tables 10 and 11) may embrace a variety of motion verbs to express a complex motion event, e.g. (15) and (16).

Table 10: Thai SVC of self-motion type, e.g. (4a), (4b) and (15)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Mover
<i>Co-head verbs</i>	(i) Manner of motion (e.g. <i>dəən thaay</i> 'travel') (ii) Punctual path or direction (e.g. <i>càak</i> 'leave') (iii) Durative path (e.g. <i>taam</i> 'follow', <i>ʔəək</i> 'exit') (iv) Deictic motion: coming, going (v) Arrival (e.g. <i>thũy</i> 'arrive')
<i>Object NPs</i>	Source (the object NP of some verbs of [ii] type) Path (the object NP of verbs of [iii] type) Goal (the object NP of some verbs of [iv] and [v] types)

- (15) a. *Phũan dəən thaay càak yĩpùn taam sên thaay nĩ {maa/paj} thũy muaay thaj.*
friend travel leave Japan follow route this {come/go} arrive Thailand
'(My) friend traveled, left Japan, followed this route, moved {toward/away from} the deictic center, and arrived in Thailand.'
(Thai SVC, self-motion)
- b. *Khwaam taay càʔ maa yuan naj māj cháa.*
death IRR come visit soon
'(His) death is approaching.'
(Thai SV, metaphorical self-motion)
- c. *Sĩaŋ daŋ ʔəək {maa/paj} thũy khâŋ nəək.*
sound be.loud exit {come/go} reach outside
'A sound became loud, moved out {toward/away from} the deictic center and reached the outside.'
(Thai SVC, emanation of self-motion type)

Table 11: Thai SVC of caused-motion type, e.g. (16)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Causer
<i>Co-head verbs</i>	(i) Accompanying/Onset/Handling causation (e.g. <i>khôn</i> 'carry', <i>tèʔ</i> 'kick', <i>duay</i> 'pull') (ii) Manner of motion (e.g. <i>klĩy</i> 'roll') (iii) Punctual path or direction (e.g. <i>yəən</i> 'turn back') (iv) Durative path (e.g. <i>khũn</i> 'ascend', <i>phàan</i> 'pass', <i>khâw</i> 'enter', <i>ʔəək</i> 'exit', <i>loy</i> 'descend') (v) Deictic motion: coming, going (vi) Arrival (e.g. <i>yũt</i> 'halt')
<i>Object NPs</i>	Mover (the object NP of verbs of [i] type) Source (the object NP of some verbs of [iii] type)

Path (the object NP of verbs of [iv] type)

Goal (the object NP of some verbs of [v] and [vi] types)

- (16) a. *Phûan khǒn khǒŋ khûn bandaj {maa/paj} chán sǎam.*
 friend carry thing ascend steps {come/go} third.f | oor
 ‘(My) friend carried a thing up along steps and {came/went} to the third f | oor.’
 (Thai SVC, caused motion of accompanying type)
- b. *Phûan tèt lúuk bǒon klîŋ yǒon phàn pratuu khâw {maa/paj} yùt nâa tûu.*
 friend kick ball roll turn.back pass door enter {come/go} halt in.front.of cabinet
 ‘(My) friend kicked the ball (which) rolled, retraced its way, passed the door, moved in
 {toward/away from} the deictic center, and halted in front of the cabinet.’
 (Thai SVC, caused motion of onset type)
- c. *Phûan duŋ phâa ʔǒk {maa/paj}.*
 friend pull cloth exit {come/go}
 ‘(My) friend pulled the cloth out {toward/away from} the deictic center.’
 (Thai SVC, caused motion of handling type)
- d. *Phûan sanǎə {maa/paj}.*
 friend propose {come/go}
 ‘(My) friend proposed (it, which) moved {toward/away from} the deictic center.’
 (Thai SVC, metaphorical caused motion of onset type)
- e. *Phûan mǒŋ loŋ {maa/paj}.*
 friend look descend {come/go}
 ‘(My) friend looked (and stretched the line of sight, which) moved down {toward/away from}
 the deictic center.’
 (Thai SVC, emanation of caused motion type)

None of the co-head verbs listed in Tables 10 and 11 are obligatory, with the exception that an accompanying causation verb (e.g. *khǒn* ‘carry’) or an onset causation verb (e.g. *tèt* ‘kick’) needs to be combined with at least one durative path verb (e.g. *khûn* ‘ascend’) or one deictic motion verb (e.g. *paj* ‘go’) to explicitly encode a caused motion event composed of the preceding event of causation and the following event of motion, e.g. (16a) and (16b). Though a deictic motion verb can be unrestrictedly combined with motion verbs of the other types, it tends to be in combination with one of the four common durative-path verbs: *khûn* ‘ascend’, *loŋ* ‘descend’, *khâw* ‘enter’, or *ʔǒk* ‘exit’, e.g. (15c), (16a) to (16c), and (16e). Except for verbs of the arrival type (e.g. *thûŋ* ‘arrive’, *yùt* ‘halt’), more than one verb from the same type may co-occur in a single clause, e.g., two durative-path verbs *phàn* ‘pass’ and *khâw* ‘enter’ are used in (16b). However, there is a constraint on the linear order of motion verbs

co-occurring in a single clause: (i) accompanying/onset/handling causation verb, (ii) manner-of-motion verb, (iii) punctual path verb, (iv) durative path verb, (v) deictic motion verb, and (vi) arrival verb must be aligned in this order when co-occurring (Takahashi 2009).

The onset and the handling types of caused motion expressions (16b) to (16e) do not have Japanese mono-clausal counterparts. In Japanese the combination of a handling causation verb and a deictic motion verb does not represent a single event of caused motion (e.g., * *Kare wa nuno o hiki-dasi-te {kuru/iku}*. '[intended meaning] He pulls the cloth out {toward/away from} the deictic center.'). though it is acceptable for the bi-clausal reading (e.g., *Kare wa nuno o hiki-dasi-te {kuru/iku}*. 'He pulls the cloth out and then {comes/goes}.').

Notice that Thai deictic motion constructions for complex motion may serve as figurative expressions for events of proposal, transaction, vision, audition, dying, and the like, in which an abstract moving-entity is detectable. The typical metaphorical motion expression (15b) (*Khwaam taay cà? maa yuan naj mâj cháa* 'His death is approaching') is based on the moving-time metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION. Unlike (15b), (16d) (*Phûan sanǎə {maa/paj}* 'My friend proposed [it, which] moved {toward/away from} the deictic center') does not depict a metaphorical motion proper. Rather, the deictic motion verb in (16d) only encodes an abstract direction toward an implicit receiver of the proposal. At any rate, (16d) is a metaphorical motion expression since it involves a moving-ego metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION. On the other hand, (15c) (*Sǐay day ?ǎək {maa/paj} thǔy khây nǎək* 'A sound became loud, moved out {toward/away from} the deictic center and reached the outside') and (16e) (*Phûan mǎəy loy {maa/paj}* 'My friend looked [and stretched the line of sight, which] moved down {toward/away from} the deictic center') are of a different nature. They are "emanation" f ictive motion expressions, or in short, emanation expressions (Talmy 2000: 105–116). Emanation is f ictive motion of an intangible entity which is imagined to emerge from a source entity and steadily move on relative to a reference entity (e.g., *The arrow on the signpost pointed {toward/away from/into/past} the town* [Talmy 2000: 109]; *I quickly looked down into the well* [Talmy 2000: 111]). The function of emanation is to create a conventional setting for the predication of entities around us by spatially connecting them to each other. Emanation expressions are linguistic realizations of such conventional cognitive impositions of emanation. Our motivation to use emanation expressions is the need to spatially and globally relate, by means of the f ictive path of emanation, entities that otherwise are disconnected, and further to convey to others our experiences and ideas about relationships among the entities. While emanation expressions in Japanese do not so often contain a deictic motion verb (e.g., *Yajirusi ga kita o muku* 'The arrow points to the north'; *Tomodati wa mi-age-ta* 'My friend looked [and lifted the line of sight] up'), those in Thai mostly utilize a deictic motion verb to indicate in which direction an intangible entity moves, viewed from the speaker's viewpoint (the deictic center) (e.g., *Lûuk sǎən chíi paj thaay nǔa* 'The arrow points [and the focus of attention] moves away from the deictic center to the north'; *Phûan mǎəy khûn {maa/paj}* 'My friend looked [and stretched the line of sight, which] moved up

{toward/away from} the deictic center’). It follows that Thai speakers largely designate events of emanation in the “relative frame of reference” (Levinson 1996: 142–145). It is the speaker’s conceptualization regarding the self-motion type (15c) that the loud sound moves toward or away from the deictic center. As for the caused-motion type (16e), the speaker conceptualizes that the friend’s line of sight is set in motion toward or away from the deictic center. Such emanation events viewed from the speaker’s vantage point, especially those of sound, of line-of-sight, of odor, of stream-of-air, of light, of shadow, and of focus-of-attention, are frequently and variously verbalized in Thai (Takahashi 2000).

3.3 Aspect construction in Thai

The Thai aspect construction containing the aspectual marker *maa* (< *maa* ‘come’) or *paj* (< *paj* ‘go’) (Thai AC) expresses three types of aspect: (i) “continuous aspect (CONT)” (static/dynamic situation that continues); (ii) “inceptive aspect (INC)” (situation that begins); and (iii) “perfect aspect (PRF)” (past situation that has present relevance). The aspectual marker *maa* encodes all the three types; the aspectual marker *paj* the first two types. (N.B., *Maa* is not a full-fledged perfect marker [Tiengburanathum 2013: 832]. It functions as a perfect marker only in rather limited cases.) Similar to the Japanese cases discussed in Section 2.3, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE is applicable to these aspectual notions. The continuous and the perfect aspects are derived from the moving-ego metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION and the inceptive aspect from the moving-time metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION. Tables 12 to 14 show main components of the construction of each aspect type.

Table 12: Thai AC of continuous type, e.g. (17)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Theme, Experiencer, Actor
<i>Main verb</i>	Process, Emotion, Action (e.g. <i>ʔòt thon</i> ‘endure’)
<i>Aspect marker</i>	Continuous aspect (<i>maa, paj</i>)

- (17) a. *Mêe ʔòt thon maa naan.*
 mother endure CONT(< come) for.a.long.time
 ‘(My) mother has been enduring hardships for a long time.’
 (Thai AC, continuous)
- b. *Mêe càʔ ʔòt thon paj talɔ̀t.*
 mother IRR endure CONT(< go) forever
 ‘(My) mother will continue enduring hardships forever.’
 (Thai AC, continuous)

Table 13: Thai AC of inceptive type, e.g. (18)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Theme, Experiencer, Actor
<i>Main verb</i>	Change of state (e.g. <i>plian</i> ‘change’, <i>phlòo</i> ‘emerge’, <i>hǎaj</i> ‘disappear’)
<i>Aspect marker</i>	Inceptive aspect (<i>maa</i> , <i>paj</i>)

- (18) a. *Man plian {maa/paj}*.
 3.SG change INC(< come/go)
 ‘It changed.’ (Thai AC, inceptive)
- b. *Man phlòo khùn maa*.
 3.SG emerge ascend INC(< come)
 ‘It emerged.’ (Thai AC, inceptive)
- c. *Man hǎaj paj*.
 3.SG disappear INC(< go)
 ‘It disappeared.’ (Thai AC, inceptive)

Table 14: Thai AC of perfect type, e.g. (19)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Actor
<i>Main verb</i>	Action (e.g. <i>kin</i> ‘eat’)
<i>Aspect marker</i>	Perfect aspect (<i>maa</i>)

- (19) *Chán kin khâaw maa*.
 1.SG eat rice PRF(< come)
 ‘I have eaten a meal.’ (Thai AC, perfect)

The main verb of the continuous type denotes an event of process/emotion/action, e.g. (17). That of the inceptive type encodes an event of change of state, e.g. (18a). If the change is a kind of appearance (i.e. to become perceptible and known), only *maa* (< *maa* ‘come’) is available, e.g. (18b). Conversely, if it is a kind of disappearance (i.e. to become imperceptible and unknown), only *paj* (< *paj* ‘go’) is available, e.g. (18c). And the main verb of the perfect type expresses an event of action in general, e.g. (19).

3.4 Stance construction in Thai

The Thai stance construction containing the stance marker *paj* (< *paj* ‘go’) (Thai STC) is called the “evaluation (EVL)” construction. Its main components are shown in Table 15. The speaker uses this construction to describe excessiveness in terms of quantity or quality. In particular, the stance marker *paj* signals the speaker’s negative evaluation of an excessive state or an inappropriate behavior by

the referent of the subject noun phrase. For example, the speaker of (20a) evaluates that the referent of the subject noun phrase is overpriced. Example (20b) implies the speaker's self-evaluation that his/her behavior (doing something because of aversion) was abnormal and/or inadequate. Expressions like those in (20) are based on the conceptual metaphor VALUE SYSTEM IS SPACE, or more specifically, DEVIATION FROM ADEQUACY IS DEPARTURE FROM SOURCE (cf. Clark 1974). Japanese is lacking in this particular movement metaphor for stance.

Table 15: Thai STC of evaluation type, e.g. (20)

<i>Subject NP</i>	Theme
<i>Main verb</i>	State (e.g. <i>phɛɛŋ</i> 'be expensive'); Action (e.g. <i>tham</i> 'do')
<i>Stance marker</i>	Evaluation (<i>paj</i>)

- (20) a. *Man phɛɛŋ (kəən) paj.*
 3.SG be.expensive (exceed) EVL(< go)
 'It is too expensive.' (Thai STC, evaluation)
- b. *Chán tham paj phrǎ? kliat thəə.*
 1.SG do EVL(< go) because hate 2.SG
 'I did (it) because (I) hate you.' (Thai STC, evaluation)

4 Comparison between the uses of deictic motion verbs in Japanese and in Thai

Table 16 summarizes the range of verbal and functional uses of Japanese and Thai deictic motion verbs. The number of the uses of the Japanese verbs (*kuru* 'come' and *iku* 'go') is smaller than that of the Thai verbs (*maa* 'come' and *paj* 'go'). The Japanese verbs have six different uses in total (three verbal and three functional uses); the Thai verbs have nine different uses in total (five verbal and four functional uses). There are four uses common to both languages: (i) the verbal use for self-motion, e.g. (1) and (2); (ii) the verbal use for caused motion of the accompanying type, e.g. (8) and (16a); (iii) the verbal use for caused motion of the onset type, e.g. (9) and (16b); and, (iv) the functional use for continuous aspect, e.g. (10) and (17).

Table 16: The uses of deictic motion verbs in Japanese and in Thai

	<i>kuru</i> 'come' in J.	<i>iku</i> 'go' in J.	<i>maa</i> 'come' in T.	<i>paj</i> 'go' in T.
<Verbal uses>				
a. Self-motion	√ (1a)	√ (1b)	√ (2a)	√ (2b)
b. Caused motion:				
Accompanying	√ (8)		√ (16a)	√ (16a)
Onset	(√) [†] (9)		√ (16b)	√ (16b)
Handling			√ (16c)	√ (16c)
c. Locomotion to a place			√ (14)	√ (14)
for the purpose of				
conducting an				
activity at the place				
<Functional uses>				
a. Aspect:				
Continuous	√ (10)	√ (10)	√ (17a)	√ (17b)
Perfect			√ (19)	
Beginning (Inceptive)	√ (11)			
Inceptive			√ (18a)	√ (18a)
b. Stance:				
Impact	√ (12)			
Evaluation				√ (20)

† The sign "(√)" means that not all causation verbs of the onset type are compatible with the subsidiary verb *kuru* 'come'.

The most significant difference between the deictic motion verbs of the two languages is that the Thai verbs quite frequently express a caused motion of the onset and the handling types, e.g. (16b) to (16e), while the Japanese verbs do not freely encode a caused motion of the onset type and cannot denote a caused motion of the handling type. What is more, the Thai verbs readily represent emanation fictive motions, too, e.g. (15c) and (16e) (see Table 17).

Regarding the aspect constructions, only the continuous type is used in common between the two languages. Japanese does not have the perfect and the inceptive types, whereas Thai lacks for the beginning type which is a subtype of inceptive aspect. Considering that the two languages each have their own means to indicate the types of aspect, this dissimilarity makes sense. On one hand, Japanese has no particular functional morphemes for inceptive and perfect aspects. These two aspects are covertly and ambiguously expressed with the perfect-aspect form of Japanese verbs, e.g., *Sore wa kawat-ta.* '(inceptive aspect reading) It changed.'; *Watasi wa gohan o tabe-ta.* '(perfect aspect reading) I have eaten.' The beginning aspect in Thai, on the other hand, is overtly and specifically

expressed by a particular aspect marker, e.g. *chák (cà?)* . . . ‘to be beginning to . . .’.

The Japanese stance marker *kuru*, which originates from the venitive verb *kuru* ‘come’, indirectly indicates the speaker’s feeling of unexpectedness or affectedness resulting from an occurrence of some event. This modal interpretation of *kuru* is ascribed to the metaphor GIVING IMPACT IS APPROACHING. This metaphor, however, does not hold for Thai expressions of unexpectedness or affectedness. In Thai, a more objective sense of affectedness on the part of an event-participant can be metaphorically expressed. Thai expressions of rather objective affectedness involve either of the following two metaphors: GIVING IMPACT IS PUTTING IN and GIVING IMPACT IS TAKING CONTROL. Hence, metaphorical expressions with the action verb *sàj* ‘put in’, e.g., *Mêε takoon sàj nâa phôε*. ‘(My) mother roared and put the roar into (my) father’s face; (My) mother roared at (my) father’s face.’; those with the action verb *λaw* ‘take, obtain’, e.g., *Mêε dàa λaw*. ‘(My) mother abused (him) and took (control of him, and so he became the target of her severe abusing).’ Unlike the Japanese venitive verb *kuru* ‘come’, the Thai venitive verb *maa* ‘come’ has nothing to do with the subjective sense of unexpectedness or affectedness on the part of the speaker.

The Thai stance marker *paj*, which derives from the andative verb *paj* ‘go’, reflects the speaker’s negative evaluation with regard to an excessive state of something or an inappropriate behavior by someone. The metaphor DEVIATION FROM ADEQUACY IS DEPARTURE FROM SOURCE is involved in the modal interpretation of *paj*. In Japanese, there exists a similar metaphor DEVIATION FROM ADEQUACY IS MOVING BEYOND GOAL, which is expressed by compound verbs that consist of the root of an adjective (or a verb in the adverbial form) and the motion verb *sugiru* ‘pass by, go past’, e.g., *taka-sugiru* ‘to be too expensive’.

Finally, let me give an overview of metaphorical or fictive motions (non-physical motions, exclusive of aspectual notions) that can be expressed by deictic motion verbs in the two languages. Obviously, the verbs’ ability to express metaphorical or fictive motions varies, as shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Metaphorical or fictive motions expressed by Japanese and Thai deictic motion verbs

	<i>kuru</i> ‘come’ in J.	<i>iku</i> ‘go’ in J.	<i>maa</i> ‘come’ in T.	<i>paj</i> ‘go’ in T.
a. Metaphorical motion:				
CHANGE IS MOTION	√ (6c)		√ (15b)	
ACTIVITY IS MOTION		√ (6d)	√ (16d)	√ (16d)
GIVING IMPACT IS APPROACHING	√ (12)			
DEVIATION FROM ADEQUACY IS DEPARTURE FROM SOURCE				√ (20)
b. Fictive motion:				
Emanation of self-motion type			√ (15c)	√ (15c)
Emanation of caused-motion type			√ (16e)	√ (16e)

The Japanese and Thai venitive verbs, *kuru* and *maa*, can appear in expressions of metaphorical motion involving the moving-time metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION, e.g. (6c) and (15b). The Japanese and Thai andative verbs, *iku* and *paj*, and also the Thai venitive verb *maa* can occur in expressions of metaphorical motion involving the moving-ego metaphor ACTIVITY IS MOTION, e.g. (6d) and (16d). As explained earlier, the venitive sense of the Japanese verb *kuru* is related to the psychological metaphor GIVING IMPACT IS APPROACHING, e.g. (12), and the andative sense of the Thai verb *paj* pertains to the value-related metaphor DEVIATION FROM ADEQUACY IS DEPARTURE FROM SOURCE, e.g. (20). Of particular interest is the fact that only the Thai deictic motion verbs, *maa* and *paj*, may manifest themselves in emanation expressions as the indicator of the relative position of the speaker's vantage point, e.g. (15c) and (16e).

5 Concluding remarks

In the present chapter I examined the Japanese and Thai deictic motion constructions of the mono-clausal type. I laid out all the syntactic and semantic types of the constructions. I also elaborated on the different types of metaphors involved in the semantics of the constructions. This chapter has shown that although the functions of deictic motion verbs in Japanese are seemingly similar to those in Thai, actually the uses of the Japanese verbs are less diverse compared to the uses of the corresponding verbs in Thai (cf. Tables 16 and 17 in Section 4). Due to the functional differences between the deictic motion verbs of the two languages, translating a Japanese deictic motion construction into Thai and vice versa is by no means straightforward.

The way of anchoring a motion event to the deictic center is another issue in which we might expect to find other significant differences existing between the two languages. This is, however, an issue for future research.

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