

Comitatives and Instrumentals in Thai: A Diachronic Typological Perspective

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Abstract

Languages can be divided into three types with respect to the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals: *identity*, *differentiation* and *mixed* (Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013). Diachronic data from Thai dating from 13th to 21st centuries CE suggests that these three language types correspond to the three stages of development of the relation between the two categories in Thai, which progress as follows. Between the 13th and the mid-18th centuries, Thai employed the pattern of *identity*. In general, the preposition *dûaj* ‘with’ was the relator for the two categories. Later, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, Thai displayed *mixed* structures. While the preposition *dûaj* was preserved to encode both categories, the preposition *kàp* ‘and/with’ was also the relator for the comitative. Still later, from the mid-19th century to the present, Thai favored *differentiation*. The preposition *dûaj* remains in its function as an instrumental relator, while the preposition *kàp* has been employed as a comitative relator.

Keywords

comitative – instrumental – diachronic typology – grammatical change – Thai

1 Introduction

Throughout the languages of the world, a particular type of grammatical unit is used to indicate that the attached noun phrase is acting as a companion to other nouns present within an event. In linguistics, the noun phrase with this role is referred to as the *comitative* and the grammatical unit is referred to as a comitative (case) marker. An example is English *with*, as in (1a).

(1a) He went for a walk *with* my friend.

In (1a), the preposition *with* is a relator morpheme or a grammatical unit that indicates that *my friend* is a companion carrying out the action *went for a walk* with the subject *He*, the accompanee. Another type of grammatical unit indicates that the attached noun phrase is an instrument used by the agent in carrying out an action. In linguistics, such a noun phrase is referred to as the *instrumental* and the grammatical unit is referred to as an instrumental (case) marker. Again, an example is English *with*:

(1b) He wrote *with* a pen.

In (1b), the preposition *with* is a relator morpheme, indicating that the noun phrase *a pen* is the instrument which the subject *He* uses to carry out the action of writing.

Notice that the same relator morpheme is used for each function above, a phenomenon that exists in many languages. Linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003, 134–135) explain that in human cognition, the *instrument* is metaphorically conceptualized as a *companion* to an event. Thus, many languages make use of the same morpheme as both a comitative marker and an instrumental marker.

However, this is not the case for all languages. From their analysis of a sample of 322 world languages, Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2013) determined that languages can be divided into three types with respect to the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals. The first type is the *identity* type in which the relators for comitatives and instrumentals are the same, as is the case with the preposition *with* in English (see (1a-b) above). This type is relatively frequent in Europe, making up about 24 percent of the entire sample. The second type is the *differentiation* type in which the relators for comitatives and instrumentals are different, as is the case in Finnish (see (2a-b)). Languages of this type are most common, accounting for about 66 percent of the sample. The third type is the *mixed* type (i.e., a mixture of features of the two aforementioned

types). In this case, there is a marker for both the comitative and instrumental in addition to others for either of the two categories. Languages of this type, such as Hungarian (see (3a-c)), are relatively rare, amounting roughly to a mere 10 percent of the sample.

- (2) Finnish (Karlsson 1978 cited in Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013, emphasis mine)

- a. Instrument: *-llä*

Hän	kirjoittaa	kynä-llä.
s/he	write.3SG	pen-WITH
'S/he is writing with a pen.'		

- b. Accompaniment: *-ine*

Läsnä	oli	V. V.	vaimo-ine-en.
near	be.PST.3SG	V. V.	wife-WITH-POSS.3
'V. V. was present with his wife.'			

As stated, an example of a *differentiation* type language is Finnish. In (2a), the third person subject is the agent, the noun phrase *kynä* 'pen' is an instrument the agent uses to carry out the action of writing, and the affix *-llä* 'with' serves as the instrumental marker. In (2b), the subject noun phrase *V. V.* is the accompanee, the noun phrase *vaimo* 'wife' is the companion, and the affix *-ine* 'with' is used to mark the noun phrase *vaimo* 'wife' as a companion.

- (3) Hungarian (Bánhidi et al. 1975 cited in Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013, emphasis mine)

- a. Instrument: *-lal*

tol-lal	ír-ok.
pen-WITH	write-1SG
'I am writing with a pen.'	

- b. Accompaniment: *-val*

Jan	is	megjelenik	barát-já-val.
Jan	also	appear.3SG	friend-POSS.3SG-WITH
'Jan too shows up with his friend.'			

- c. Accompaniment: *-ostul/-estül*
- | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------|
| csónak-ház-ak | sport-és | játszóter-ek | vár-ják |
| boat-house-PL | sport-ADJ | playground-PL | wait-3PL |
| család- <i>ostul</i> | gyerek- <i>estül</i> | az | ember-ek-et. |
| family-WITH | child-WITH | DEF | man-PL-ACC |
- ‘Boathouses and sports grounds are waiting for the people with family and children.’

Hungarian, as shown in Example (3a-c), instantiates the *mixed* type; that is, both the instrumental marker and the comitative marker in this language, namely affix *-val* or *-lal* (two allomorphs of the same morpheme), are identical. At the same time, this language makes use of the suffix *-estül* or *-ostul* (two allomorphs of the same morpheme) to mark accompaniment. This type is quite rare, applying to only 33 out of 322 languages (about 10 percent) in the sample. See Figure 1 below for the distribution of the three language types in the world’s languages.

Thai, according to Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2013), is classified as a *differentiation* type language, with accompaniment and instrumentality using different markers. Accompaniment is marked by the preposition *kàp* ‘with’; whereas, instrumentality is marked by the preposition *dûaj* ‘with’ (see (4a-b)).

(4) Thai

a. Accompaniment: *kàp*

chăn	paj	tàlàat	<i>kàp</i>	phûan
1SG	go	market	WITH	friend

‘I went to the market with my friend.’

b. Instrument: *dûaj*

chăn	ʔùn	ʔaahăan	<i>dûaj</i>	majkhroowéep
1SG	warm.up	food	WITH	microwave

‘I warmed up the food with a microwave.’

However, upon consideration of the Thai language as used in the King Ram Khamhaeng Inscription (1292) and the Wat Si Chum Inscription (1341–1367) of the Sukhothai period (13th to 15th centuries), it is likely that the two categories

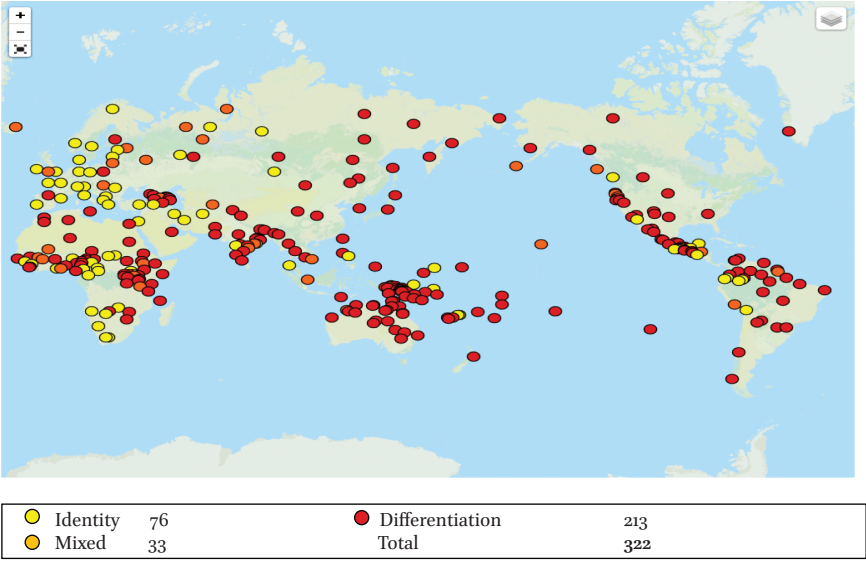


FIGURE 1 Distribution of the relations between comitatives and instrumentals in the world's languages (adapted from Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013)

of this period reflected the *identity* type. More specifically, the preposition *dûaj* ‘with’ served as both a comitative marker and an instrumental marker, as in (5).

- (5) Sukhothai (13th to 15th centuries)
- a. Accompaniment: *dûaj*
- kuu tòocháaŋ *dûaj* khǔn sǎamchon
- 1SG fight.elephant WITH TL Samchon.
- ‘I had an elephant duel with King Samchon.’
- (The King Ram Khamhaeng Inscription 1292)
- b. Instrument: *dûaj*
- chák maa *dûaj* lóo *dûaj* kwian
- pull come WITH wheel WITH cart
- ‘(The Buddha Images were) pulled with wheels and carts.’
- (The Wat Si Chum Inscription 1341–1367)

Crucially, the difference between these older uses and the present use begs the question of whether Thai has undergone a typological change in the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals. If so, what is the nature of the development of the relations between the two categories and theoretical implications would follow?

2 Data

2.1 Corpora

The current study employed diachronic data of non-regional dialects, written in prose only. The data is divided into seven periods of around 100–120 years each, dating back to the earliest known written document in Thai, the King Ram Khamhaeng Inscription (1292) of the Sukhothai period, and extending to the present (2020). As documents dated from the Sukhothai period (13th to 15th centuries) until the end of the Thonburi period (18th century) are scarce, the researcher collected data from all documents available. The documents from these periods mainly describe religious and historical events (the chronicles, for example). From the Early Rattanakosin period (19th century) to the present, there are additional types or genres of documents, such as law, pharmacopoeia, diaries, novels and journals. In this case, the researcher has selected a list of documents, covering different historical periods and genres, totaling twenty pages each. Note that not all the documents in the corpora contain the relators for comitatives and instrumentals. See Table 1 for the number of documents collected and the number of documents for each period in which the relators were detected.

2.2 Data Collection Criteria

The researcher collected data on comitative markers and instrumental markers, applying the criteria of Stolz (1996, 123) and Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006, 25–27; 2013) who classified languages into the aforementioned three types based on *prototypical* instances of comitatives and instrumentals. Beginning with comitative markers, the marked noun phrase must be a *human* companion to a *human* accompanee (see (4a), repeated as (6a)), while for instrumental markers, the marked noun phrase must be an *inanimate* instrument used by the agent (see (4b), repeated as (6b)).

- (6) Thai
- a. Accompaniment: *kàp*

chǎn	paj	tàlàat	<i>kàp</i>	phûan
1SG	go	market	WITH	friend

‘I went to the market with my friend.’
- b. Instrument: *dûaj*

chǎn	ʔùn	ʔaahǎan	<i>dûaj</i>	majkhroowéep
1SG	warm.up	food	WITH	microwave

‘I warmed up the food with a microwave.’

TABLE 1 The use of comitative and instrumental relators in Thai, 1292– 2020

Periods	Documents collected	Documents in which relators are available	Comitatives		Instrumentals	
			dúaj instances (%)	kàp instances (%)	dúaj instances (%)	kàp instances (%)
C.13th-14th (1292–1400)	22	10	14 (100 %)	0 (0 %)	13 (100 %)	0 (0 %)
C.15th (1401–1500)	33	6	9 (82 %)	2 (18 %)	0 (0 %)	0 (0 %)
C.16th (1501–1600)	12	2	3 (100 %)	0 (0 %)	1 (100 %)	0 (0 %)
C.17th (1601–1700)	12	5	20 (95 %)	1 (5 %)	24 (100 %)	0 (0 %)
C.18th (1701–1800)	31	13	29 (60 %)	19 (40 %)	7 (100 %)	0 (0 %)
C.19th (1801–1900)	11	7	16 (38%)	26 (62 %)	7 (100 %)	0 (0 %)
C.20th -21st (1901–2020)	24	18	1 (1 %)	104 (99 %)	20 (91 %)	2 (9 %)

In (6a), the preposition *kàp* ‘with’ is a comitative marker used to mark a noun phrase *phûan* ‘friend’ as a companion. In (6b), the preposition *dúaj* ‘with’ is an instrumental marker used to mark the noun phrase *majkhroowéep* ‘micro-wave’ as a tool. In addition, both markers are neutral in terms of usage; in other words, they appear in general documents or in general use.

3 Findings

The results of the analysis of comitative and instrumental relator use in Thai are summarized as follows:

The diachronic analysis shown in Table 1 above reveals that, overall, the development of the relations that hold between comitatives and instrumentals in Thai can be divided into three stages corresponding to the three language types mentioned in Stolz, Stroh and Urdze (2006, 2013). These stages, *identity* > *mixed* > *differentiation*, may be broken down by period as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Typological change in the relationships between comitative and instrumental
relators in Thai from Sukhothai to the present

Period	Language types
1) Sukhothai-Thonburi (13th to mid-18th centuries)	<i>Identity</i>
2) Early Rattanakosin (late 18th to early 19th centuries; Rama I-Rama II)	<i>Mixed</i>
3) Rama III-Present (mid-19th to 21st centuries)	<i>Differentiation</i>

3.1 *Identity*

From the 13th to the mid-18th centuries (Sukhothai-Thonburi periods), Thai was primarily an *identity* language; that is, the language mostly used a single relator, the preposition *dûaj* ‘with’, as a comitative marker as well as an instrumental marker, as shown in Examples 7–10. It should also be noted that in the 15th century, the comitative *kàp* was also attested, though relatively infrequently. (See Section 3.4.1 for discussion of non-prototypical use of *kàp* as a comitative marker in the early periods.)

(7) Sukhothai (13th to 15th centuries)

a. Accompaniment: *dûaj*

kuu tòcháaŋ *dûaj* khǔn sǎamchon
1SG fight.elephant WITH TL Samchon.
‘I had an elephant duel with King Samchon.’
(The King Ram Khamhaeng Inscription 1292)

b. Instrument: *dûaj*

chák maa *dûaj* lǝ *dûaj* kwian
pull come WITH wheel WITH cart
‘(the Buddha Images were) pulled with wheels and carts.’
(The Wat Si Chum Inscription 1341–1367)

(8) Middle Ayutthaya (15th to 17th centuries)

a. Accompaniment: *dûaj*

òok kin khâawthîaŋ *dûaj* khâaphácâw
 leave eat lunch WITH 1SG
 ‘(The honorable man) went out to have lunch with me.’
 (The Diary of Kosa Pan 1686)

b. Instrument: *dûaj*

faràŋsèet REL maa *dûaj* kapàn
 French who come WITH ship
 ‘The French who travelled by ship.’
 (The Franco-Siamese Treaty 1687)

(9) Thonburi (18th century)

a. Accompaniment: *dûaj*

phrácâaw hǒŋsǎa khít *dûaj* phrámaháathammáraachaathíráatcâaw
 TL Hongsa think WITH Maha Thammaracha
 ‘King Hongsa consulted with King Maha Thammaracha.’
 (The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, written in the Thonburi period 1774)

b. Instrument: *dûaj*

Phrámaháathammáraachaathíráatcâaw kǒo sadèt *dûaj*
 Maha Thammaracha then proceed WITH
 phráráatchájaan
 royal.vehicle
 ‘King Maha Thammaracha proceeded on the royal vehicle.’
 (The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, written in the Thonburi period 1774)

3.2 *Mixed*

During the late 18th and the early 19th centuries (Early Rattanakosin period; Rama I and Rama II), the preposition *kàp* ‘and/with’, previously used mostly as a noun phrase conjunction (NP *kàp* NP) indicating accompaniment, took on a comitative function. Irrespective of this ongoing change, the ability of the preposition *dûaj* to encode comitatives as well as instrumentals had been preserved. Numerous instances of both relators being used as comitatives are readily seen in the corpora dating to reign of King Rama I (1782–1809). Accordingly, the Thai language during this period displayed the *mixed* pattern; that is, two main comitative relators (even within the same document) and one instrumental relator are attested in this period, as in (10) below.

- (10) Early Rattanakosin (late 18th to early 19th centuries)
- a. Accompaniment: *kàp*
 cuŋ khít *kàp* bàawphrâj khonsànit wâa [...]

then think WITH servant person.close that [...]

'then (he) consulted with a close servant that [...]'

(Rajadhiraj 1785)
- b. Accompaniment: *dùaj*
 cuŋ khâw paj ʔaasǎj jùu *dùaj* naajcháaŋ

then enter go live live WITH elephant.caretaker

'then (he) went to live with the elephant caretaker'

(Rajadhiraj 1785)
- c. Instrument: *dùaj*
 leŋ duu *dùaj* thíppháyácàksùjaan

aim look WITH divine.insight

'(God/Buddha) looked with divine insight (upon someone)'

(Rajadhiraj 1785)

The preposition *kàp*, functioning as a comitative marker, as in (10a), became more frequent beginning in the late 18th century (concurrent with the reign of King Rama I). By the principle of economy in language evolution (i.e., two forms are unlikely to coexist with exactly the same function), the comitative *dùaj* has since gradually given way to the alternative, the comitative *kàp*.

3.3 *Differentiation*

Around the mid-19th century (concurrent with the reign of King Rama III), the comitative *dùaj* was clearly losing its place, while the comitative *kàp* was growing in use. It should be noted that, in this period, some verbs, such as *khâw* 'take side', which had been used with the preposition *dùaj* in earlier periods, were then used together with the preposition *kàp*. For example:

- (11) Early Rattanakosin (late 18th to early 19th centuries)
- khŕôpkhrua thîi khâw *dùaj* *kàp* phûak khàbòt muaŋ saj

family that take.side WITH WITH group rebel Mueang (city) Sai

'a family that sided with a group of Mueang Sai rebels'

(The Dispatches of Luang Udom Sombat 1839)

Later, prescribed use of *kàp* was explicitly delineated in a proclamation of King Rama IV (1804–1868) regarding use of Thai prepositions as partially quoted below.

“It is to be declared to all the persons of writing that [...] two, three, or more people carrying out the same action, such as *phǔa nɔɔn kàp mia* [husband-sleep-with-wife] ‘the husband sleeps with his wife’, and *khǎw jùu kàp mia* [he-live-with-wife] ‘he lives with his wife.’ ...and so on with these persons being named together, must be used with the preposition *kàp*” (Collected Proclamations of King Rama IV; Volume 5) (translated by the researcher)

Since the mid-19th century, the preposition *kàp* has been used exclusively to encode a comitative function, while the preposition *dùaj* has been used exclusively to encode an instrumental function. Again, Thai underwent another typological change from *mixed* to *differentiation*. For example:

(12) King Rama III–Present-day Thai (mid-19th to 21st centuries)

a. Accompaniment: *kàp*

thâa sùuróp kàp tháp ʔaŋkrít khon pháe khǎw nâe
if fight WITH troop English seem lose 3PL certainly
‘If (we) fight with the English troops, it seems we may lose.’
(Departure unto Angkor Wat 1925)

b. Instrument: *dùaj*

cháj wíthii wát muankràdùuk dùaj khruaŋ dii-ʔéks-ʔee
use method measure bone-mass WITH machine DXA
‘Bone Density Scan (DXA) is used to measure bone mass.’
(AtRama 2014)

In Present-day Thai, the preposition *dùaj* has continued as an instrumental marker as well as in other grammatical functions (e.g., adverbial *dùaj* ‘as well, too’) but not as a comitative marker. However, sporadic traces of the comitative *dùaj* remain in a few lexicalized adverbs (e.g., *dùajkan* ‘together’), as in (13).

(13) Present-day Thai

nít kàp nój paj tàlàat dùajkan
Nid and Noi go market together
‘Nid and Noi went to the market together.’

3.4 *Non-prototypical Instances of Comitatives and Instrumentals*

The findings of typological change as shown above may spark interest in the reader. However, considering the non-prototypical cases as well, the researcher

has found that the situation is not very straightforward. Crucially, it should be noted that, in each stage, other relators may also be attested, though with some limitations, resulting in a complicated situation that may be explained as follows.

3.4.1 Comitative *kàp*

Although the prototypical comitative preposition *kàp* was found as of the late 18th centuries, use of the comitative *kàp* has, in fact, been detected in corpora dating back to the Sukhothai period, as in (14). However, such use is relatively rare and is often restricted to the noun phrase conjunction “NP *kàp* NP”. The comitative *kàp* in this syntactic position can be interpreted as ‘with/and’. Additionally, *non-prototypical kàp* was also found, for example, in utterances in which the noun phrase refers not to humans, but objects. The instances as in (15) are therefore disregarded.

(14) Sukhothai (13th to 15th centuries)

Accompaniment: *kàp*

thân	cun	lamdàp	pidòktraj	thân	sámrap	<i>kàp</i>	thammákàthuuk
3SG	then	arrange	tripitaka	complete	CL	WITH	preacher
sǝɯŋ	ʔoŋ						
two	CL						

‘She then arranged the complete set of tripitakan (Buddhist scriptures) with the two preachers.’

(The Wat Asokaram Inscription 1399)

(15) Sukhothai (13th to 15th centuries)

Accompaniment: *kàp*

hâj	lûuksăw	chûuu	naaŋ	sùkhǝɯnmáhăatheewii	<i>kàp</i>
give	daughter	name	TL	Sukhornmahathewee	AND/WITH
khăŋchajsi	[...]	kàe	phôɯkhũn	phăamuaŋ	
sword.of.victory	[...]	DAT	TL	Phaamueang	

‘(The Khmer king) gave his daughter named Sukhornmahathewee and/with the Sword of Victory to King Phaamueang.’

(The Wat Si Chum Inscription 1341–1367)

Note that the word *kàp* in the Sukhothai period was also used for other functions, including as a benefactive marker, a locative marker, etc. However, the current paper only attempted to find the words from each language period used to express comitatives and instrumentals. Also, for the present purposes, the researcher looked only at *prototypical* instances of comitatives and

instrumentals (refer to Section 2.2 ‘Data collection criteria’). In the Sukhothai period, the prototypical use of the comitative *kàp* was extremely rare; on the contrary, it was found that the preposition *dùaj* was nearly the only preposition used both as a comitative marker and an instrumental marker. Although the preposition *kàp* already might have been used as a comitative or even as the more grammaticalized roles (such as a benefactive or locative marker), multi-functional use of *kàp* in the early period does not affect the generalization conjectured in this paper. Further research is needed to determine the overall picture of the historical development of *kàp*.

As texts from the 15th to 18th centuries are scarce, one might wonder whether the preposition *kàp* as a comitative marker was actually used during the periods leading up to the 17th or 18th centuries. Following the frequency of the comitative *kàp* during the periods shown in Table 1, it makes sense to conjecture that the comitative *kàp* might have been attested during those times. However, there is no clear evidence supporting such a conclusion. It is evidenced that the preposition *dùaj* was the comitative marker generally employed. In addition, the researcher restricted the analysis to the *prototypical* instances of comitatives and instrumentals (refer to Section 2.2 ‘Data collection criteria’), thereby excluding non-prototypical use of comitative *kàp* which may have bolstered the frequencies of these periods.

In the Rattanakosin period, through the grammaticalization process with metaphorical extension (see Section 4.1), the preposition *kàp* extended its function as an instrumental marker in certain contexts, especially in spoken language. For example, the utterance *kin kàp tàkɿap* [eat-with-chopstick] ‘eat with chopsticks’ is attested. It is worth noting that the preposition *kàp* as an instrumental marker is also used to mark a bodily organ, such as the eyes and hands, as tools used by the agent, for example, *chǎn tham kàp muuu* [1SG-make-with-hand] ‘I made it with my own hands’. Note that the preposition *kàp* followed by an agent’s organ conveys a special meaning to emphasize that it is the agent’s own organ, not another’s or not by any other devices, as in (16).

(16) Present-day Thai

Instrument: *kàp*

nâatàaŋ phâamâan thîi lòn jép ?eeŋ kàp muuu
 window curtain that she sew by.one.self WITH hand
 ‘the window curtain that she made with her own hands.’

(Bride in the Wind 2018)

3.4.2 Comitative *dûaj*

Although use of the comitative *dûaj* ‘with’ has waned in Present-day Thai, the researcher found that *dûaj* as a comitative relator is still in use by some elderly people in the southern part of Thailand, though such use is very rare. For example:

- (17) Southern Thai (Phang-Nga province)

Comitative: *dûaj*

paj làat *dûaj* mâe
go market WITH mom

‘(He) went to the market with his mom.’

(Rampha Danprasertkul, a native speaker of Southern Thai, 86 years old, p.c.)

3.4.3 Comitative *kàpdûaj*

Use of the compound preposition *kàpdûaj* [with.with] as a comitative marker has been found in corpora dating from the Sukhothai to the Early Rattanakosin periods. However, as indicated by Poolrak (2019, 14–17, 31), the preposition *kàpdûaj* is likely to have been derived from a loan translation or calque from the Pali language and was mostly confined to translated Buddhist literature and religious documents. Because the preposition *kàpdûaj* was limited in use, it is therefore disregarded.

3.4.4 Instrumental *dooj*

Use of the preposition *dooj* ‘by’ as an instrumental marker has been evidenced since the Early Rattanakosin period. However, in this function, it applies only to vehicles, for example, *raw dænthaaŋ dooj rôtjon* [we-travel-by-car] ‘We travelled by car’. The preposition *dooj* is considered non-prototypical as it is used only for certain nouns and is therefore disregarded.

4 Theoretical Implications

4.1 Grammaticalization of *kàp*

Grammaticalization refers to the linguistic process involving the origin and development of a grammatical word. According to Kuteva et al. (2019, 113–114), there is a general tendency for comitative relators to grammaticalize into instrumental relators. However, in the case of the preposition *dûaj* ‘with’, it already had two functions (i.e., as a comitative relator and as an instrumental relator) when it first appeared in the Sukhothai period, as shown in Examples

(5) or (7) (see also Snaha 2013, 85–89 for more examples). Thus, it is difficult to state, based on empirical evidence gained from inscriptions, whether the comitative *dùaj* grammaticalized into instrumental *dùaj* is in keeping with the general tendency proposed by Kuteva et al. (2019, 113–114). We merely know that, since the mid-19th century, the comitative *dùaj* has lost its place to the comitative *kàp*. Although the word *dùaj* does not provide clear evidence for the grammaticalization path from a comitative relator to an instrumental relator, the preposition *kàp* does show a fairly clear path. According to the data, *kàp* was first used as a comitative relator in the Sukhothai period (see (14)), though relatively rarely. This use then gained traction in the Early Rattanakosin period. Later, by around the 20th century, use of *kàp* as an instrumental relator in certain limited contexts also emerged, as shown in Example (18) below. In Present-day Thai, *kàp* as an instrumental relator can be found relatively more frequently, though with specific meanings or in particular contexts as mentioned earlier (see (16)). As such, the preposition *kàp* may be used as supporting evidence for the general tendency of comitatives to grammaticalize into instrumentals, with metaphorical extension (i.e., an instrument is conceptually mapped to a companion (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003, 134–135)) playing an important role.

(18) Rattanakosin (King Rama VIII) (20th century)

Instrument: *kàp*

paj	sòŋsàdèt	<i>kàp</i>	ruaphráthhûinân	càkkrii
go	bid.farewell	WITH	royal.barge	Chakri

‘[...] went to bid farewell to His Royal Highness by the Chakri Royal Barge.’

(What I Encountered 1943)

In (18), the preposition *kàp* is used to indicate that *ruaphráthhûinângcàkkrii* ‘the Chakri Royal Barge’ is a vehicle, or instrument, for travel.

4.2 Lexicalization of *dùaj*

Lexicalization, the linguistic process in which new words are added to the lexicon, can be seen in the development of the comitative *dùaj* from a preposition into an adverb and fixed phrase or new compound. Here, two types of lexicalization are present. The first involves “an increase in autonomy” (cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005, 32) in which the comitative preposition *dùaj* has developed into the *more lexical* adverb meaning ‘as well, too’ (e.g., *khǎw paj tàlàat dùaj* [3SG-go-market-too] ‘He went to the market too’). This finding agrees with the findings of Sanah (2013, 13) who claims that the adverb *dùaj* was first evidenced

Comitative/Preposition: <i>dûaj</i>		>	reanalyzed	>	Adverb: <i>dûaj</i>	
NP ₁	VP <i>dûaj</i> NP ₂		NP ₁ VP <i>dûaj</i> (NP ₂ : omitted)		NP ₁ VP <i>dûaj</i>	

FIGURE 2 A reanalysis of the preposition *dûaj* as the adverb *dûaj*

in the Ayutthaya-Thonburi period, thereby coming after the preposition *dûaj* which first appeared in the Sukhothai period. Such a shift is possible because of the omission of the noun phrase after the preposition *dûaj*. That is to say, when the noun phrase after the preposition *dûaj* is omitted, the preposition *dûaj* may be reanalyzed as the prepositional adverb modifying the preceding verb (see Figure 2). The Example (19) illustrates the two functions of *dûaj* used in the same context. The first is a preposition and the second is an adverb.

- (19) Late Ayutthaya (17th to 18th centuries)
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------|------------|-----|-----------|
| ʔanwâa | jùu | <i>dûaj</i> | bùthákhon | phuûu | sàppàbùrùt | nán | kôo |
| TOP | stay | WITH | person | REL | good | TOP | then |
| pen | sùk | naj | kaan | thúk | muaa | lae | jàawâa |
| be | happy | in | time | every | CL | FP | let.alone |
| jùu | <i>dûaj</i> | ləəj | [...] | | | | |
| stay | WITH | EMPH | [...] | | | | |
- ‘Staying with decent people made us happy. [Actually, even seeing them could make us happy,] let alone staying with them.’
(King Phetracha’s Questions 1690)

The second type of lexicalization deals with “lexicalization as fusion” (cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005, 32). The preposition *dûaj* is incorporated into the words that it frequently co-occurs with, for example, *kan* ‘each other’, thereby becoming the adverb *dûajkan* ‘together’.

- (20) Present-day Thai
- | | | |
|------|-----|----------------|
| khăw | paj | <i>dûajkan</i> |
| 3PL | go | together |
- ‘They went together.’

4.3 Duration of the Mixed Type

It is further hypothesized that the *mixed* type may span the shortest duration of the three types, as demonstrated in the Thai diachronic data in which this type was clearly evident only in the reigns of King Rama I (1782–1809) and King Rama II (1809–1824). This is likely due to its being uneconomical for a language

to have more than one linguistic form for a single function (i.e., the Thai prepositions *kàp* and *dùaj* both being used as comitatives). As such, the *mixed* type seems likely unfavorable in terms of language evolution. Interestingly, in terms of typology, the *mixed* type applies to the fewest languages or a mere 10 per cent of those in the world (Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013) (see Figure 1). One might question why a language would employ the *mixed* pattern. It is perhaps because the language is in transition from the *identity* type to the *differentiation* type, or vice versa. The Thai language, for example, realized the *mixed* type during a transition from *identity* to *differentiation*.

4.4 *Language Types and Language Evolution*

This study serves as an example of the notion within historical linguistics that various language types are rungs on a ladder of language evolution, as Croft (2003, 233) observes:

“Instead of viewing language types as states that languages are in, in the diachronic view language types are viewed as stages that languages pass through”

With respect to the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals, the world’s languages are divided into three types: *identity*, *differentiation* and *mixed* (Stolz, Stroh and Urdze 2013). From the results described above, it was found that these three language types correspond to the three stages of development of the relationship between the two categories in Thai, which progress as *identity* > *mixed* > *differentiation*. Moreover, this study also shows that the typological change scenarios of comitative and instrumental *kàp* vs. *dùaj* are perhaps examples of a hypothetical cyclic evolutionary scenario as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 indicates that the language begins with the *identity* type and then changes into other types before revolving back to the starting point once again. Although it is not yet obvious with the comitatives and instrumentals of Thai, recent sporadic use of the preposition *kàp* as an instrumental relator, found especially in spoken language, may in the future, once again lead to a shift of the Thai language to the *mixed* type in which there is one relator morpheme (i.e., *kàp*) used as a comitative relator and two relator morphemes (i.e., *kàp* and *dùaj*) used as instrumental relators. Further, it could be conjectured that,

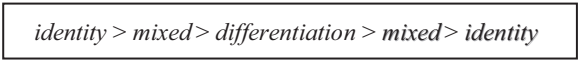


FIGURE 3 Hypothetical cyclic evolutionary scenario
(Remark: the shadow fonts represent hypothetical stages)

in the future, if instrumental *dûaj* were to be completely replaced by *kàp*, the Thai language would reach the *identity* type once again in which the preposition *kàp* will serve as the single relator playing the roles of both the comitative and instrumental relator. It is important to emphasize here, however, that the evolutionary scenario from the third stage to the fifth stage is just a conjecture for the future scenario. It is yet to be proven.

5 Conclusion

The two categories, the comitative and instrumental, are conceptually linked through grammaticalization and metaphorical extension from a comitative function to an instrumental function. The development of comitatives and instrumentals within the history of Thai demonstrates an evolutionary ladder between the three language types: *identity* (13th to mid-18th centuries) > *mixed* (late 18th to early 19th centuries) > *differentiation* (mid-19th to 21st centuries). In sum, this article hopes to have provided an example of applying typology to the field of historical linguistics and to have contributed to the study of typological change in the encoding of comitatives and instrumentals.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

ACC	accusative	REL	relative marker
ADJ	adjective	SG	singular
CL	classifier	TOP	topical
DAT	dative	TL	title
DEF	definite	VP	verb phrase
EMPH	emphasizer	3	third person
FP	final particle	PL	plural
NP	noun phrase	>	becomes
POSS	possessive	-	morpheme boundary
PST	past tense	.	portmanteau morpheme boundary

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