



THAI *jùu* AND *kamlan*: WHERE TENSE AND ASPECT MEET

PRANG Thiengburanathum

Payap University

<prangt@gmail.com>

Abstract

This paper discusses the similarities and differences between *kamlan* and *jùu* based on their own internal logic. It shows that *kamlan* does not simply express the ongoing progression of an event, but also indicates a temporal relation between time of situation (T-SIT) and topic time (TT) (Klein 1994). Based on Klein's theory of tense and aspect, *kamlan* serves as a temporal relator indicating that T-SIT coincides with TT. The fact that Thai is not a tensed language does not mean that the concept of reference point should be neglected. Reference time (or topic time) is the key to temporal interpretation even in a 'tenseless' language like Thai.

The so-called continuous marker *jùu*_{3/4} is treated as a locator locating an event in various domains such as time, attribute, quantity, and possession. Continuity is the output of our experience of remaining in the same place through time. It is a secondary function, which can be backgrounded. Like *kamlan*, *jùu*₄ serves as a temporal relator, where T-SIT is situated at TT.

Key words: tense, aspect, reference point, temporal location.

ISO 639-3 language codes: tha.

1. Introduction

Time deixis plays a crucial role in understanding temporal relations. Many languages of the world employ 'tense' in structuring and encoding time. Previous scholars claimed that Thai contains tense markers (Uppakitsinlapasarn 1964, Supanvanich 1973, among others). More recent scholars, however, argue that Thai is in fact tenseless—it lacks a grammatical means to express tenses. This tenseless language, it is said, encodes time by means of pragmatic context and temporal expressions.

Current studies of temporality in Thai have refused tense-based accounts (Boonyapatipark 1983, Muansuwan 2002, Srioutai 2006, among others). Thai scholars turn to aspect, which is another linguistic category pertaining to temporality. Aspect has become a dominant field of linguistic investigation of the study of temporality in Thai. Even though, there is no uniform and generally accepted theory of aspect, most Thai scholars share at least two perspectives on what aspect is—1) aspect is not relational; rather, it expresses the internal temporal contour of the event; 2) the most basic aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective (Comrie 1976). These western characteristics of aspect have become the foundation to the studies of aspect in Thai. The main explanation of these studies is to determine whether the word in question is, say, perfective or imperfective.

If Thai is tenseless (in the traditional sense), it still is equipped with some devices to deal with time, in addition to relying on context for determining the temporal setting of a state of affairs.

Like other languages, Thai employs temporal adverbial phrases¹ to assign temporal locations. Temporal expressions (e.g. *miawaan* 'yesterday', *p'rûnnii* 'tomorrow') establish a temporal relation with respect to the absolute locus, which is always the speech time (i.e., the here-and-now).

¹ These include both calendric expressions (e.g. *síp moon* '10 o'clock', *pîi t'îi léew* 'last year', *kump^haap^han* 'February') and non-calendric expressions.

- (1) *mîawaan* *Dɛɛŋ* *paj* *talàat* | *tɔɔn* *fǒn* *kamlaj* *tòk*
 yesterday Daeng go market | when rain PROG fall
 ‘Yesterday, Daeng went to the market when it was raining.’

The word *mîawaan* ‘yesterday’ in (1) signals that both events (‘Daeng’s going to the market’ and ‘raining’) precede the time of utterance (TU). And if the speaker continues talking about Daeng, the listener will infer that all the events occur one day before the time of speaking without repeating the word ‘yesterday’.

It is, nevertheless, inadequate for a language to merely situate all events in time with respect to a fixed reference point (TU), due to complexity of time. Any language must be equipped with various tools to cope with this complexity.

One of the facets of time in language is the internal composition of an event. This internal facet is where aspect comes into play. The two clauses in (1) have different internal temporal contours. The main clause ‘Daeng went to the market’ implies that the event is a completed act. The other clause ‘it was raining’ expresses that the event is extended into a progressive event.

The question is, are these devices (i.e., temporal expressions and aspectual markers) sufficient for communication? What about temporal relations between events (i.e., ‘Daeng’s going to the market’ and ‘raining’), then? How is one event temporally related to another? One might say that conjunctions (e.g. *tɔɔn* ‘when’) could do the work. However, there can be something else, which is succinct enough to express such a ubiquitous experience as time without invoking another clause as *tɔɔn* does. I suggest that *jùu* and *kamlaj* do this job in Thai.

This paper aims to show that *jùu* and *kamlaj* are not ‘pure’ aspect markers. That is, they do not simply specify the internal contour of an event like *râam* ‘start’, or *sèt* ‘finish’ do, but also signal how events are temporally related. That is, they serve as ‘**temporal relators**’, i.e., signaling **the way the event in question is distributed in relation to another event**, which is the topic time (TT) in Klein’s terminology (1994). TT is “the time span to which the speaker’s claim on this occasion is confined” (1994: 4). TT span can be relatively long or short.

The main purpose of this paper is to offer a new account on the TAM markers *jùu* and *kamlaj*. Thai is tenseless in the sense that it does not have grammatical means to express a temporal relation between utterance time (TU) and topic time (TT). But it has grammatical devices (such as *jùu* and *kamlaj*) to express a relation between time of situation (T-SIT) and topic time (TT). This paper also presents some of the semantic and pragmatic subtleties of *jùu* and *kamlaj* and shows how these affect their grammatical behaviors.

Jùu will be discussed first in Section 3.1, and then *kamlaj* in Section 3.2. In Section 4, temporal relation the notion relevant to *jùu* and *kamlaj* will be discussed in more details. The analysis of Section 4 is based on Klein’s model of tense and aspect, which will be reviewed in the beginning of the section. The co-occurrence *jùu* and *kamlaj* will be discussed in Section 5. The following section gives a brief overview of previous treatments of *jùu* and *kamlaj*.

2. Previous studies of *jùu* and *kamlaj*

In recent years, Thai scholars have agreed that *jùu* and *kamlaj* should not be treated as present tense markers. There is general consensus that *jùu* and *kamlaj* are aspect markers (Boonyapatipark 1983; Kullavanijaya and Bisang 2007; Tansiri 2005; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005; among others).

Following the framework of the viewpoint approach (Comrie 1976), Boonyapatipark (1983) proposes that the *kamlaj* marker is employed to indicate an on-going situation at a particular time; and that the *jùu* marker causes a situation to be viewed as accumulating through time.

She examines co-occurrence restrictions between the aspect markers and her proposed verb classes. It is suggested that *kamlaj* should be considered a progressive marker since it can combine with dynamic verbs. The progressive marker disfavors achievement verbs. It does not frequently occur with state verbs, especially permanent states.

As for *jùu*, it is treated as a continuative marker which expresses “the continuance of a situation at the reference time” (1983: 99). Like *kamlaj*, *jùu* does not appear with achievement verbs. It is compatible with temporary states, but it is usually incompatible with permanent states due to its property of temporariness.

Kullavanijaya and Bisang (2007) analyse *jùu* and *kamlaj* in the framework of Selection Theory.² They study all possible co-occurrences of the aspect markers with the five proposed states of affairs: totally stative, action, gradually terminative, totally terminative, and inceptive-stative.

They find that the progressive is incompatible with the totally terminative state³. The marker crucially relies on a potential time span on which it operates. As such, it does not prefer generic statements of totally stative.

They disagree with Boonyapatipark’s treatment of *jùu*. In their view, accumulating through time is not necessarily part of *jùu*. The marker *jùu* describes that “a situation is continuous through time or along time without reference to boundaries” (2007: 74). For this reason, *jùu* does not appear with inceptive-stative and terminative states of affairs. Since the continuity of *jùu* does not imply permanence, it is incompatible with generic states (or permanent states [Boonyapatipark 1983]).

The no boundaries concept of *jùu* is supported by Tansiri (2005), who refers to *jùu* as a stative imperfective aspect marker. The *jùu* marker is compatible with both dynamic and static situations. When occurring with the static situation, it causes the situation to be construed as the state persisting at the reference time. When occurring with the dynamic situation, the progressive situation is referred to, being construed as static. He observes that the locative meaning still remains in the aspect marker.

As for *kamlaj*, its treatment agrees with the other scholars’ analyses—*kamlaj*, “a dynamic imperfective aspect marker”, highlights the dynamic phase of the situation and construes it as the on-going situation. As such, it is incompatible with static and punctual ones.

Like the other scholars, Tansiri puts an emphasis on the interactions between *jùu* and *kamlaj* and lexical aspect (transitory state, inherent state, activity, accomplishment, achievement and semelfactive). The analysis focuses on the lexical aspect of the situations denoted by alternating intransitive constructions.

Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005) also analyse *jùu* as a continuous aspect, but treat *kamlaj* as a preverbal adverb. No detailed explanations are given. They simply point out that *kamlaj* and *jùu* can co-occur [*kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*] and emphasizes a continuous situation.

The previous studies have tended to impose linguistic labels such as ‘progressive’ and ‘continuous’ uncritically as a reflex of an Indo-European bias. This paper attempts to show that the category of aspect in Thai may not be maintained rigidly. It will argue that the concept of reference (or topic time) is required in understanding the nature of *kamlaj* and *jùu*.

3. Proposed treatment of *jùu* and *kamlaj*

In addition to *leew*, *jùu* and *kamlaj* are probably the most studied expressions in the Thai literature on aspect. They are considered as imperfective aspect markers. Both are often translated as ‘-ing’ in English. This translation is problematic since in some contexts, the markers can be used interchangeably, but in some other contexts they have different meanings. They also have different grammatical behaviors. Consider the following sentences, where *jùu* can be used, but *kamlaj* cannot:

(2)

- a. *Pitì kʰít jùu samǎə*
Piti think **stay** always
‘Piti always thinks (about it).’

- b. **Pitì kamlaj kʰít samǎə*
Piti **PROG** think always
‘Piti is always thinking (about it).’

² It is the combination of the viewpoint approach and the time-schema approach.

³ Initial and terminal boundary collapse into one/no situation.

(3)

a. *Pìtì jaŋ tʰamɲaan jùu*
Piti still work **stay**
'Piti still worked.'

b. **Pìtì jaŋ kamlaj tʰamɲaan*
Piti still **PROG** work
'Piti is still working.'

The sentences in (2) show that *jùu* can occur with the frequency adverbial *samǎə* 'always' (2a), but *kamlaj* cannot (2b). In (3), *jùu* can occur with *jaŋ* 'still' (3a), but *kamlaj* cannot (3b).⁴ Indeed, *jùu* and *kamlaj* behave differently syntactically. However, to arrive at a more insightful explanation of their grammatical behaviors, it is important to understand their semantic and pragmatic natures. The aim of this section is to present and explicate some of the semantic and pragmatic subtleties of *jùu* and *kamlaj* and to show how these affect their grammatical behaviors.

3.1 Proposed treatment of *jùu*

The word *jùu* can be considered to have (at least) four senses (lexical and grammaticalized senses), which are differentiated by subscript numbers in the following discussion.

(4) *Pìtì jùu₁ bâan*
Piti **stay** home
'Piti stayed home.'

Lexical sense: *jùu₁*

Semantically, the main verb *jùu₁* 'be at, live, stay' takes two arguments: a located entity and a location. The relation between the predicate and its arguments is a 'locator relation', which can be formalized as LOCATOR (locatum, location). The verb *jùu₁* serves the function of 'locator', *having an effect of locating a locatum in a location* (i.e., 'locator effect'). This relation is sketched in Figure 1.

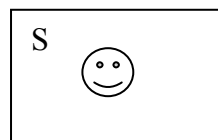


Figure 1: Entity in Physical Space

The box labelled S represents the space (i.e., location), while the face represents the locatum. The prototypical *locatum* of *jùu₁* is an entity, either animate or inanimate, and its prototypical location is a space. In (4), it denotes a relation between 'Piti' and 'house' such that 'Piti' is located at the house—LOCATOR (*participant, space*).

The Thai locative verb *jùu₁*, however, does not specifically convey how the entity is spatially related with the location. Frawley (1992: 254) describes that there are two kinds of spatial relations: topological and projective. Topological relations are constant under any change of the object—*coincidence* (on), *interiority* (in), and *exteriority* (out of). Projective relations are affected by viewpoint and thus variant—*inferiority*

⁴ However, when *jùu* and *kamlaj* co-occur, the addition of *jaŋ* is possible, even though it is not frequently found: *jaŋ + kamlaj + VP + jùu*. Some speakers find this unacceptable.

(i) (hi5.com)

sǒŋsǎj jaŋ kamlaj kin jùu
suspect still **PROG** eat stay
'(He) probably is still eating.'

(below), *superiority* (above), *anteriority* (in front of), *posteriority* (behind), and *laterality* (between). **Table 1:** shows a list of common locative prepositions in Thai.

Table 1: *Locative markers*

<i>bon</i>	‘on top of’
<i>lâaŋ</i>	‘at the bottom of’
<i>nâa</i>	‘in front of’
<i>lăŋ</i>	‘behind’
<i>naj</i>	‘inside’
<i>nôk</i>	‘outside’
<i>tʰi</i>	‘at’

The verb *jùu*₁ requires the occurrence of locative prepositions to complete spatial scenery, as exemplified in (5). Sentence (5b) illustrates that the deletion of the preposition *bon* ‘on top of’ results in an ill-formed sentence.

(5) (www.trekkingthai.com)

a. *nók jùu₁ bon tôn máaj*
bird stay on tree
‘Piti drew a picture/pictures at home.’

b. **nók jùu₁ tôn máaj*
bird stay tree
‘Birds stay the tree.’

There are some exceptions to this restriction. There are certain locations which *jùu*₁ can take without the need of these prepositions, for example, house, school, university, hospital, city names (e.g. Chiang Mai), country names (e.g. Thailand). This might be because the typical way a person is spatially in relation with these places is to be at the location. The preposition *tʰi* ‘at’ thus can be omitted.

Note that there is a slight difference between, for example, *jùu₁ roonpʰayaabaan* ‘stay hospital’⁵ and *jùu₁ tʰi roonpʰayaabaan* ‘stay at hospital’. The former can be interpreted in two ways: 1) the participant is hospitalized and 2) the participant is physically located at the hospital. As for the latter, the preposition *tʰi* ‘at’ places an emphasis on spatial relation—it does not imply the purpose of being there or the function of the hospital (although we can guess based on our encyclopedic knowledge). Table 2 shows the difference between *jùu₁ + LOC* and *jùu₁ + tʰi + LOC*.

Table 2: *The difference between jùu₁ + LOC and jùu₁ + tʰi + LOC*

	<i>jùu₁ + location</i>	Meaning	<i>jùu₁ + tʰi + location</i>	Meaning
Location	university	to study at the university level	university	to be located at the university
	Chiang Mai	to dwell in Chiang Mai	Chiang Mai	to be located at Chiang Mai
	house	to stay home	house	to be at the house

Grammaticalized sense: *jùu*₂ (spatial locator)

As a grammaticalized verb, *jùu*₂ only occurs after a main verb or verb complex. The locatum can be semantically extended, from an entity to an event, as in (6), where the event is a ‘drawing picture’ kind of event, which is performed by Piti.

⁵ This pattern of *jùu* (*jùu* + LOC) can only be used with human (or human-like) subjects.

(6)

Pìtì wâat rûup jùu₂ t^hîi bâan
 Piti draw picture **stay** at home
 ‘Piti drew a picture/pictures at home.’

What *jùu₂* does is to locate the event (i.e., drawing pictures) in a designated space (i.e., house), as shown in **Figure 2**. The circle labeled E represents the event.

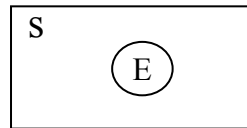


Figure 2: *Event in Physical Space*

The omission of *jùu₂* is possible⁶, although it results in a different conceptualization—it appears to be ‘generic’—less temporal and grounded.⁷ It is also found in a different pragmatic and linguistic context (for example, an advertisement *ráp wâat rûup t^hîi bâan* ‘teach drawing at home’).

The preposition phrase (e.g. *t^hîi bâan* ‘at home’) designates a location, while the *jùu₂*-constituent (e.g. *jùu₂ t^hîi bâan* ‘stay at home’) designates a situation, specifically, a situation that obtains in a particular place. In (6), the noun expresses the spatial setting ‘house’ of ‘Piti’s drawing’. Here, *jùu₂* functions as a **spatial locator**—locating an event in space, LOCATOR (*event, space*).

Grammaticalized sense: *jùu₃* (temporal locator)

Time⁸ can be construed in terms of space. The spatial location word ‘house’ can be replaced by a temporal expression, for example, ‘all day’, as in (7). The *jùu₃*-constituent in (7) expresses the temporal setting of the event.

(7)

Pìtì wâat rûup jùu₃ t^háy wan
 Piti draw picture **stay** all day
 ‘Piti drew a picture/pictures for the whole day.’
 (Piti’s drawing holds all day.)

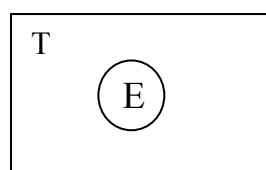


Figure 3: *Event in Temporal Space*

In Figure 3, the box labelled T represents a temporal space. The drawing event of (7) is located at a designated temporal location (i.e., *t^háywan* ‘all day’). This use of *jùu₃* functions as a **temporal locator**—the locator effect extends from space to time, LOCATOR (*event, time*).

⁶ The locative preposition is also predicative, as such it could occur without *jùu₂*.

⁷ The most equivalent English examples would be a) ‘the picture above the sofa’ vs. b) ‘the picture was above the sofa’.

⁸ In addition to TIME, it is possible to have other target domains to locate the event, for example DANGER.

(ii)

k^hăw tòk jùu naj ʔantaraaj
 3S fall **stay** in **danger**
 ‘He is in danger.’

The expression in (7) specifies that the drawing event is anchored in time for the whole day. The word *jùu* indicates the all-day continuity of the event. Omitting *jùu*₃ is possible, but then (7) would simply mean Piti drew a picture/pictures all day. It does not profile on the relation between the located event and the temporal space. Additionally, it does not put much emphasis on the unchanging property which implies that Piti did not do anything else, but drew pictures all day. This semantic property will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.1.2.

Note that since space and time are logically parallel, it is not surprising to have a situation, as exemplified in (8a), where the same event is simultaneously located in time ('all day') and space ('house'). As such, it is possible to have $[[jùu_2 + LOC] + [\# + TEMP]]$ ⁹ as a frame where the order of location and temporal constituents cannot be switched, as shown in (8b). The omission might be due to redundancy, since *jùu* can do double duty as a locative-temporal locator $[jùu_{2,3} + LOC + TEMP]$.

(8)

a. *Pìtì tʰamɲaan jùu_{2,3} bâan tʰáŋ wan*
 Piti work **stay** house all day
 'Piti worked at home for the whole day.'

b. **Pìtì tʰamɲaan jùu_{2,3} tʰáŋ wan bâan*
 Piti work **stay** all day house
 'Piti worked at home for the whole day.'

It is also possible to find contexts in which both *jùu*₂ and *jùu*₃ co-occur, although this co-occurrence is not frequently found. Sentence (9) demonstrates the structure of $[[jùu_2 + LOC] + [jùu_3 + TEMP]]$. TEMP of (9) refers to 'all the time'. The use of *jùu*₃ puts an emphasis on the whole period of time the speaker got to remain in the room.

(9) (my.dek-d.com)

<i>cʰǎn</i>	<i>mâj</i>	<i>cʰâj</i>	<i>náktʰôot</i>	<i>náʔ</i>		<i>tʰǎŋ</i>	<i>càʔ</i>	<i>hâj</i>	<i>cʰǎn</i>	<i>nâŋ</i>
1S	NEG	be	prisoner	Pt		CONJ	IRR	give	1S	sit

jùu₂ naj hôŋ jùu₃ talòot weelaa bèɛp níi
stay in room **stay** all time like this

'I am not a prisoner; (you could not tell) me to stay in the room all the time like this.'

More examples of *jùu*₃ are given in (10) and (11). Its occurrence is preferred for establishing the locational relation—locate an event in the temporal location.

(10) (www.santidham.com)

<i>tʰân</i>	<i>pen</i>	<i>sǎammáneen</i>	<i>jùu₃</i>	<i>sǎam</i>	<i>píi</i>
3S	COP	novice	stay	three	year

'He was a novice for three years.'

(11) (pijitra.bloggang.com)

<i>pʰǒm</i>	<i>nɔɔn</i>	<i>cèp</i>	<i>jùu₃</i>	<i>lǎaj</i>	<i>cʰuâmoon</i>
1S.M	lie	hurt	stay	many	hour

'I was sick and lay down for many hours.'

Grammaticalized sense: *jùu*₄ (time-discourse locator)

As mentioned, the concept *jùu* inherently involves a location. Even in *jùu*₄, this facet of *jùu* is not lost. It is just extended to **temporal-discourse** use—the temporal location is contextually determined. The fourth

⁹ # refers to *jùu*₃.

sense of *jùu* involves locating (a phase of) an event in reference time. To be more specific, it is LOCATOR (T-SIT, TT). That is to say, *jùu*₃ and *jùu*₄ (in the domain of time) indicate different kinds of time information. The temporal locator *jùu*₃ deals with *how long/how often an event lasts* (duration/frequency), while *jùu*₄ deals with *at what time (TT) an event is located*. As such, their locator effects are distinct. The locator *jùu*₃ locates an event ‘in’ a time frame, entailing that an event keeps going on or occurs in succession within the time frame. The locator *jùu*₄, on the other hand, locates a phase of an event ‘at’ a TT. Due to their difference, it is useful to make a terminological distinction. The term ‘time frame’ is employed to refer to the temporal location of *jùu*₃, while the topic time is for the temporal location of *jùu*₄.

Typically, TT is the moment of speaking encoded by temporal deixis. It can also be the moment another event is taking place as encoded by another clause. The temporal location of (12) is the time of speaking, which can be explicitly encoded by *tɔ̀ɔ̀nníi* ‘now’.

(12)

- a. *Pìtì wâat rûup jùu₄ tɔ̀ɔ̀nníi*
 Piti draw picture stay now
 ‘Piti is drawing a picture, now.’
- b. *tɔ̀ɔ̀nníi Pìtì wâat rûup jùu₄*
 now Piti draw picture stay
 ‘Now, Piti is drawing a picture.’

The locator *jùu*₄ does not take any argument within a clause. It loses its verbiness¹⁰ and functions as a grammatical marker establishing a relationship between the locatum and the location. The location or the temporal setting of the event can be represented in different ways. For example, it can be explicitly marked as an adverbial (e.g. ‘now’, ‘when I arrived’), or it can be the time mentioned in the preceding context. More importantly, it does not have to immediately follow *jùu*₄. That is to say, *tɔ̀ɔ̀nníi* ‘can be fronted, as in (12b). This fronting operation is not allowed in the case of *jùu*₃, for instance, (7) and (10).

More examples of *jùu*₄ are given in (13) and (14). The temporal location of *jùu*₄ in (13) is the time the girl walked past Wisanu’s room. In (14), *jùu*₄ locates the event when the hearer is told to end his/her romantic relationship.

(13) (Short Stories [CU Thai Concordance])

<i>dèksǎaw</i>	<i>tòɔp</i>	<i>léew</i>	<i>dǎən</i>	<i>pʰàan</i>	<i>hɔ̀ŋ</i>	<i>kʰɔ̀ɔ̀ŋ</i>	<i>Wítsanú?</i>
girl	answer	CONJ	walk	pass	room	POSS	Wisanu

<i>hě̃n</i>	<i>faj</i>	<i>jaŋ</i>	<i>pàət</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>
see	light	still	open	stay

‘The girl answered. Then, she walked past Wisanu’s room. (She) saw the light still on.’

(14) (<http://www.narak.com>)

<i>kʰít</i>	<i>ʔaraj</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>	<i>tɔ̀ɔ̀n tʰíi</i>	<i>tʰíiuk</i>	<i>bòɔk</i>	<i>lǎək</i>
think	what	stay	when	PASS	tell	cancel

What were (you) thinking, when (you) were told to break up?’

Note that we can insert a polite final particle (e.g. *kʰà*) in between *jùu*₄ and ‘when (you) were told to break up?’ in (14), or in between *jùu*₄ and ‘now’ in (12a). This is not allowed in the case of *jùu*₂ and *jùu*₃ (for example, in (7), we cannot say [draw picture + *jùu*₃ + *kʰà* + all day]).

So far, we have seen examples of a straightforward relationship between locatum and location (i.e., locatum + *jùu* + location). Example (15) shows that the temporal location (TT) can precede *jùu*₄.

¹⁰ Important criteria for determining a verb class include negation and TAM markers.

(15) (Short Stories [CU Thai Concordance])

tɔɔn *tʰi* *pʰɔm* *tɔɔnráp* *lúukkʰáa* ***jùu*₄** |
time that 1S.M welcome customer **stay** |

kʰun *Pʰɔɔncʰaj* *kɔɔ* *jüin* *jùu*₂ *tʰɛɛw* *níi* *duâj*
TA¹¹ Pornchaj CONJ stand stay area this also
‘At the time I was welcoming the customer, Khun Pornchai also stood around here.’

Here, the temporal location of *jùu*₄ is not the time Khun Pornchai stood around. Notice that the temporal adverbial derives from [N_{temp} + *tʰi* + NP + VP + *jùu*₄].¹² The temporal noun *tɔɔn* (lit. ‘part, section’) is the temporal location of *jùu*₄—at the time I was welcoming the customer. Here, *jùu*₄ places an emphasis on that particular moment expressing that Khun Pornchai’s standing around exists at the very time the speaker welcomed customers.

A summary comparison of the different senses of *jùu* is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Comparison of the different senses of *jùu*

		<i>jùu</i> ₁ [Ex. (4)]	<i>jùu</i> ₂ [Ex. (6)]	<i>jùu</i> ₃ [Ex. (7)]	<i>jùu</i> ₄ [Ex. (12)]
grammatical function		matrix verb	subordinate verb ¹³		grammatical marker
‘locator’ effect	locatum	entity	event	event	event
	location	space	space	time and beyond*	time-discourse and beyond*
syntactic construction		NP <i>jùu</i> ₁ LOC	Cl [<i>jùu</i> ₂ LOC]	Cl [<i>jùu</i> ₃ TIME]	Cl [<i>jùu</i> ₄ { Cl ‘now’ etc. }]

Note: the bracket { } indicates that temporal locations are not syntactic arguments of *jùu*₄.

* beyond the domain of time (this will become clearer in the next section)

The grammaticalized forms of *jùu* are far from semantically empty. They still have a clear relationship to the lexical source.

3.1.1 The locator effect of *jùu*

We have seen that the semantic content of *jùu* is molded into a grammaticalized *jùu* yielding the locator effect (for example, spatial locator, temporal locator). This section will show that the locator effect can be extended to more and more domains, especially in non-spatial-temporal domains.

Consider the following example.

(16) (<http://bhudit.diaryis.com>)

tʰĩmɛɛwâa *càʔ* *mâj* *dâaj* *kwâaŋ* *jàj* *mâak*
even_though IRR NEG get large big much

¹¹ Term of address

¹² A similar pattern is also found with *jùu*₂: N_{place} + REL + NP + VP + *jùu*₂. For example:

(iii)

rooŋrian *tʰi* *pʰɔm* *rian* *jùu*₂...
school that 1S.M study stay
‘The school that I study at...’

¹³ A subordinate verb modifies or adds to the meaning of main verbs. It takes a location as its argument forming a constituent.

têe *kôo* *kwâaŋ* ***jùu*** *ná?*
 but CONJ wide **stay** Pt
 ‘Even though it is not very big, it is big enough.’

This example is taken from an online diary. The writer keeps records of her family’s (husband and son) activities. One day, the family went to an aquarium. The mother made a comment on the aquarium size which is sort of big. Here, the state of bigness is not located in time but on the scale of bigness itself—at the level of discourse expectation, as illustrated in Figure 4.

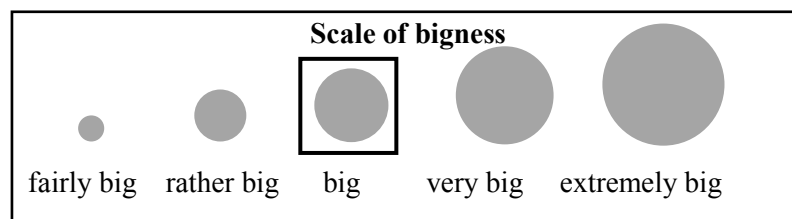


Figure 4: *The scale of bigness*

The square in bold denotes the speaker’s subjective views about typical aquarium size. To assert the sentence is to say the aquarium meets discourse expectations for that property. The level of bigness can vary depending on the tone of the speaker.

(17) (www.meemodel.com)

pʰûujǐŋ *lê?* *pʰûucʰaaŋ* *kʰít* *tàaŋ* *kan* *jǎ?* ***jùu*** *ná?*
 woman and man think differ RECP much **stay** Pt
 ‘Women and men think quite differently from each other.’

This sentence expresses the difference in thinking processes between men and women. The difference in thinking is not construed as the state persisting at the reference time (i.e. at t_1 men and women think a lot differently, and at t_n they still think a lot differently), as suggested in previous studies. In my opinion, (17) has neither a continuous nor a stative imperfective reading. It involves the degree of difference in thinking—from a little to a lot. The locator effect of *jùu* causes the difference in thinking to be located on the scale of quantity. It expresses that the difference in thinking remains in the scope of ‘a lotness’. It is neither a huge amount nor a little. It is somewhere in between. To put it another way, *jùu* does not profile the intermediate temporal phase of an event. Rather, it profiles the intermediate quantity scale. In (16) above, it profiles the intermediate attribute scale.

In order to further investigate the uses of *jùu*, we consider the following actual situation.

Situation: While auntie was taking a picture, my dog came and stood in front of everyone. Auntie said the dog ruined the picture because only its wagging tail could be captured. My uncle did not mind having the dog in the picture. So, he took turns to take pictures. He kneeled down so that he could capture both the people and the dog, although he was not sure if he could include the dog in the picture. Then, he instantly viewed the picture just taken. While doing that, he said:

(18) (Free conversation at grandma’s house)

hěn ***jùu***
 see **stay**
 ‘(I) saw (it_the dog).’

Sentence (18) is concerned with acceptable image quality.

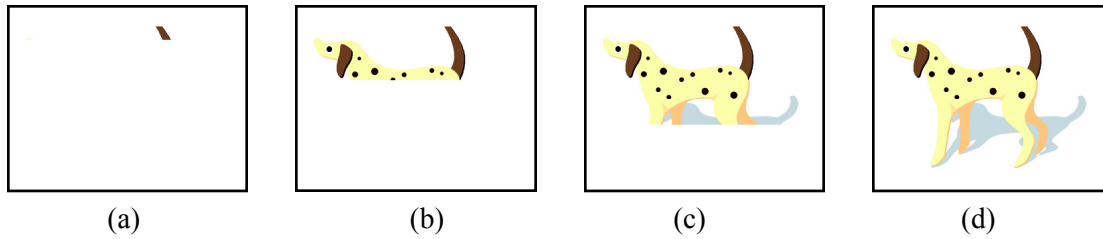


Figure 5: *Acceptable image quality*

The images in Figure 5a-d illustrate a range of perceptible images of the dog referred to in (18). There is the difference between visual perception and acceptable visual information. Our visual perception is the ability to interpret information from visible light reaching the eyes. However, not all visual information is considered acceptable or meaningful. What uncle actually ‘wants to see’ is a good photo of the dog. That is, the face, the whole body or the main part of the dog is captured—not just a tail. As such, only Figure 5c-d are acceptable¹⁴. The word *jùu* is employed to designate that the picture uncle just took is in the range of acceptable perception (i.e., the dog can be perceived).

Let us now turn to temporal use of *jùu*.

(19) (Free conversation at a restaurant)

Lek:

Námon, hěn p^hrácan jím máj
 Namon, see moon smile Q
 ‘Namon, Did you see the smiley moon.’

Namon:

hěn jùu₄
 see stay
 ‘(I) saw (it).’

The smiley moon refers to a rare celestial trifecta of Venus, Jupiter, and the moon, which was witnessed in Thailand (and some other countries) on December 1, 2008. The conversation containing (19) took place on January 2, 2009. Lek had heard that Namon was out of town and might not have witnessed this spectacular event. She thus asked Namon if Namon had a chance to see this special phenomenon.

Unlike (18), (19) is temporally related. Tansiri (2005) suggests that *jùu* causes statives to be construed as persistent. Nevertheless, it would seem that what is focused here is not the persistence effect but the locator effect. Namon did not express that her seeing the smiley moon persisted at the reference time. Rather, (19) says that Namon’s seeing the smiley moon existed at the reference time. She did witness the event when it happened.

Sentence (20) below illustrates the continuous use of *jùu₄* which is given rise to by linguistic context.

(20) (www.songburi.com)

<i>fáa</i>	<i>mít</i>	<i>léew¹⁵</i>		<i>tèe</i>	<i>k^hon</i>	<i>jaŋ</i>	<i>já?</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>
sky	dark	already		but	people	still	a lot	stay

‘The sky is already dark, but there are still quite a lot of people.’

Unlike (17), which also contains the main verb *já?* ‘a lot’, (20) conveys an aspectual meaning. It indicates that the number of people is unchanged. There were a lot of people before and at the reference time (i.e. at dusk). The cue word *jaŋ* activates the domain of time and the continuity value of *jùu₄*. Without *jaŋ*

¹⁴ This is a matter of subjectivity. What is considered ‘*hěn jùu₄*’ thus varies from one speaker to another. The point here is to show that *jùu₄* does not simply function as a continuous marker, as previous studies claimed.

¹⁵ *Léew* is neither a perfect nor perfective marker, as previous studies suggested. It conveys an event transition (Thiengburanathum 2010). To avoid confusion from labelling, it is glossed as ‘already’.

(and the context ‘the sky is already dark’), the sentence is ambiguous (even incomplete). It could be interpreted as having a continuity reading (20) or a quantity reading as in (17).

If *jùu*₄ is a pure continuous marker (Boonyapatipark 1983; Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005), it should be able to produce continuity interpretation regardless of inferential, pragmatic, or linguistic context. These examples show that Thai *jùu*₄ is not simply a grammatical aspect expressing temporal continuity.

Before moving to the next section, a brief discussion of *jùu*₃ is given. Like *jùu*₄, *jùu*₃ can cause an event to be located on a non-spatio-temporal scale.

(21) (www.komchadluek.net)

<i>faj</i>	<i>dàp</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>sǎɔŋ</i>	<i>duaŋ</i>
light	extinguish	stay	two	CLF

‘Two lights were out.’

(22) (Thai National Corpus)

<i>p^hǒm</i>	<i>mii</i>	<i>lûukc^haaŋ</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>hòk</i>	<i>k^hon</i>
1S.M	have	son	stay	six	CLF

‘I have six sons.’

In (21), *jùu*₃ is characterized against the domain of quantity (of concrete nouns). It focuses on the number of lights which went out in Soi Sukhumvit (Soi means ‘a small lane’); the location is inferred from the previous discourse.

In (22), on the other hand, *jùu*₃ is conceptualized in the domain of possession. The occurrence of *jùu* is optional. It is used to place an emphasis on the number of sons existing in his possession.

One could argue that *jùu*₃ in (21) is actually understood against the domain of space (two lights went out at Soi Sukhumvit). A better example would be (23), which focuses on the number of dishes the speaker ate.

(23) (bubeexx.spaces.live.com/blog)

<i>ʔaahǎan</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>tóʔ</i>		<i>têɛ</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>caan</i>	<i>diaw</i>	<i>niâ</i>	<i>lèʔ</i>
food	full	table		but	eat	stay	CLF	only	Pt	Pt

‘There is a lot of food on the table, but (I) kept eating from one dish only.’

These examples show that the concept of location of *jùu*₃ is extended beyond time and space to quantity and possession. In the next section, the continuity effect of *jùu* will be discussed.

3.1.2 The continuity/unchanging effect of *jùu*

We have discussed the locator effect of *jùu*. What about its continuity value? How can the continuity property of *jùu* be accounted for? Let us recapitulate the semantic notion of *jùu*. The verb *jùu*₁ has the semantic effect of locating a participant in space. Moreover, it conveys that the participant remains in the same location without moving away throughout the period of time in focus.

The experience of remaining in the same place through time gives rise to the notion of **continuity**—the unbroken or consistent existence of an event over a period of time.

The notion of continuity has an ‘**unchanging**’ value. To assert *Pìtì t^hamŋaan jùu*₄ ‘Piti is/was working’ is to capture the current state of Piti, the fact that Piti was working rather than doing something else at the reference time. This continuity could be considered as a secondary function, which is not always active (even in the domain of time), as seen in the previous section (e.g. (19)). Together with the locator effect, the continuity effect has an influence on *jùu*’s grammatical behaviour, making it different from *kamlaj* (see the discussion of *kamlaj* in more detail in Section 3.2).

It should be mentioned that the ‘unchanging’ effect is not the same as ‘stative’ (contra to Tansiri 2005). *Jùu*₄ does not cause a dynamic verb to be construed as stative. A dynamic verb which co-occurs with *jùu* still involves action. This can be indicated by the following tests.

Table 4: Criterion for dynamic verbs

Criterion	VP + <i>jùu</i>	Example
Occur with the progressive <i>kamlaj</i>	Yes	(24)
Occur with adverbials like <i>jàaŋkʰěŋkʰǎn</i> ‘actively’, <i>jàaŋkʰamàkkʰamên</i> ‘diligently’	Yes	(25)
Occur with adverbials like <i>jàaŋruâtrew</i> ‘quickly’, <i>jàaŋcʰáacʰáa</i> ‘slowly’	Yes	(26)

(24) (SEAlang Library Thai Corpus)

tɔɔnníi kamlaj kin kʰáawpʰàtpʰrík jùu₃
 now **PROG** eat fried_rice_with_chillies **stay**
 ‘Now, (I) am eating fried rice with chillies.’

(25) (www.club4g.com/index.php?topic=174069.0;wap2)

ʔatʰíbaaj jàaŋkʰamàkkʰamên jùu₃ kiàp cʰuâmoon
 explain diligently **stay** almost hour
 ‘(I) explained diligently for almost an hour.’

(26) (www.dharma-gateway.com)

rûup... kàət kʰín léʔ dàp paj jàaŋruâtrew jùu₃ talòt weelaa
 Rupa appear ascend and disappear go **quickly** **stay** all time
 ‘Rupa... appears and disappears quickly all the time.’

According to Van Valin (2005: 33), dynamic events involve action, as indicated by the fact they can be modified by the progressive marker (test 1) and adverbs like *diligently* (test 2); *quickly* (test 3), as shown in Table 4. The fact that *jùu* can co-occur with these linguistic expressions suggest that *jùu* does not cause a dynamic verb to be construed as stative.

Because of this unchanging value, *jùu₃* can take a manner adverbial such as *jàaŋnîi* ‘like this’, *jàaŋdæm* ‘as previously’ (while *kamlaj* cannot). To illustrate:

(27) (www.jamsai.com/Story/Part.aspx?PartID=125473)

<i>tʰáa</i>	<i>tʰəə</i>	<i>nâŋ</i>	<i>rʰóŋhâj</i>	<i>jùu₃</i>	<i>jàaŋ</i>	<i>nîi</i>
if	2S	sit	cry	stay	like	this

man càʔ dâaj ʔaraj kʰín maa
 3S IRR get what descend come
 ‘If you continue to cry like this, what will you get?’

One might question why the co-occurrence between *jùu* and dynamic verbs is possible, since their nature involves change. For example, ‘walking’ involves lifting and setting down each foot in turn, as shown in **Figure 6**.

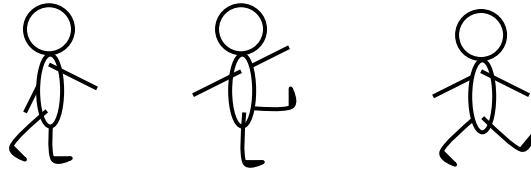


Figure 6: *Walking*

When *jùu* co-occurs with an activity verb, say *dəən* ‘walk’, it does not capture the change or dynamic property of the activity. That is, *jùu* does not track the changing state of walking through processing time. From a cognitive grammar perspective, such real-time observation is described as a sequential scanning (Langacker 2008). A dynamic experience, however, can be apprehended holistically. That is, the changing states are all captured in a single image. This summing capacity is called summary scanning (Langacker 2008). In this way, *jùu* can occur with dynamic verbs. The sentence *Pitì dəən jùu* ‘Piti is walking’, for instance, expresses the fact that Piti is walking rather than doing something else at the moment.

3.1.3 Temporal location of *jùu*

Recall that *jùu*₃ and *jùu*₄ (in the domain of time) indicate different kinds of time information. The locator *jùu*₃ deals with how long/how often an event lasts, while *jùu*₄ deals with at what time (TT) an event is located.

The time frame conceptualization is flexible depending on what type of temporal words occur with *jùu*₃. It should be noted that this time frame is not the same as the notion of temporal boundedness. This time frame is related to a particular period of time where an event exists. It is a set of consecutive time values. The idea of a beginning point and end-point is not necessarily entailed by the concept. As such, it can be either bounded or unbounded. The no boundaries concept assumed in the previous studies thus does not hold true (Tansiri 2005; Kullavanijaya and Bisang 2007).

Prototypically, the time frame of *jùu* is an interval construed as a whole or **bounded**, which can be linguistically further specified by, for instance, *tʰáŋ* (*kʰiɪn*) ‘all (night)’, and *táŋtêe...con* ‘since...until’. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(28) (www.siamrath.co.th)

<i>pʰǽm</i>	<i>kôɔ</i>	<i>rɔɔ</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>tʰáŋ</i>	<i>kʰiɪn</i>	
1S.M	CONJ	wait	stay	all	night	

<i>praakòt</i>	<i>wāa</i>	<i>nóɔŋ</i>	<i>kʰǎw</i>	<i>māj</i>	<i>maa</i>
appear	COMP	3S	3S	NEG	come

‘I waited all night. It turned out that she didn’t come.’

(29) (www.pantown.com)

<i>faj</i>	<i>dàp</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>táŋtêe</i>	<i>sìp</i>	<i>moon</i>	<i>cʰáaw</i>	<i>con</i>	<i>nìŋ</i>	<i>tʰùm</i>
light	extinguish	stay	since	ten	o’clock	morning	until	one	o’clock (night)

‘The light went out from 10 a.m until 7 p.m.’

We can construe time frame as a *series* of consecutive time values. This produces a habitual interpretation (**unbounded**). Examples of temporal words bringing out this reading include *pràcam* ‘regularly’, *samǎə* ‘always’, *bəj bəj* ‘often’, and *tʰúk* (*wan*) ‘every (day)’. Example (30) illustrates a habitual reading.

(30) (www.t-pageant.com)

<i>Təj</i>	<i>kʰít</i>	<i>jùu</i>₃	<i>tʰúk</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wāa</i>	<i>jàak</i>	<i>pəət</i>	<i>ráankʰǎjʔaahǎan</i>
Tei	think	stay	every	day	COMP	want	open	restaurant

‘Tei (I) think every day that (I) want to open a restaurant.’

Note that this habitual reading is distinct from generic habituality (we can say *kʰít tʰúkwán* ‘think everyday’ without *jùu*₃). Sentence (30) means something like ‘I keep thinking about opening a restaurant’, where persistence over a time period is implied. It specifies that the thought rests on the mind every day. The word *jùu*₃ and *tʰúkwán* put a spotlight on the unvarying nature of the event.

The locator *jùu*₄, as mentioned, locates a phase of an event ‘at’ a TT. Tansiri (2005) suggests that *jùu* profiles only the intermediate phase of a situation without referring the boundaries. Consider the following examples.

(31) (<http://diatv5.multiply.com/journal/item/27>)

a. *tɔɔnníi pʰǒm kôɔ râəm kin jùu₄*
 now 1S.M CONJ start eat **stay**
 ‘I start eating it at the moment.’

b. **tɔɔnníi Piti kwàat bāan sèt jùu₄*
 now Piti sweep house finish **stay**
 ‘Now, Piti is finishing sweeping.’

Sentence (31a) refers to the beginning of taking antibiotic pills. The *jùu*₄ marker locates the beginning of taking medicines at the time of utterance—we are in the period of starting the treatment. The pattern [*râəm* + VP + *jùu*₄], although it does not frequently occur, is not impossible. In (31b), on the other hand, the occurrence of *jùu* is not acceptable. This, however, does not exclude my suggestion that *jùu* does not necessarily profile only the intermediate phase. The ungrammaticality of (31b) is partly due to the fact of difference in temporal points. The temporal location of *jùu* is the time of utterance, while the completion of sweeping means it has come to an end, i.e., it occurs before the time of utterance.

Tansiri (2005) further suggests that due to this intermediate profiling of *jùu*, it is incompatible with semelfactives (32), unless semelfactive is construed as iterative (33).

(32) (Tansiri 2005:122)

**faj nāa rôt kapʰríp nìŋ kʰráŋ jùu*
 light front car flash one CLF **stay**
 ‘The front light flashed one time.’

(33) (Tansiri 2005:123)

faj nāa rôt kapʰríp jùu
 light front car flash **stay**
 ‘The front light flashed.’

Nevertheless, it is found that *jùu* is in fact compatible with semelfactives if it occurs before a numeral phrase, as in (34). However, it is *jùu*₃ which is compatible with semelfactives, not *jùu*₄. Recall that it is *jùu*₃ which involves frequency/duration. Here, *jùu*₃ is characterized against the domain of frequency (and time) [*jùu*₃ + NUM CLF].

(34) (www.bnetshop.com)

faj sīi kʰǎw kapʰríp jùu₃ nìŋ kʰráŋ
 light colour green flash **stay** one CLF
 ‘The green light (of a Canon printer) flashed one time.’

Example (34) describes that at a particular period of time, the flashing occurred once. Note that *jùu* can be omitted here. Although its occurrence is not obligatory, it causes the sentence to be grounded in the timeframe (without *jùu*, it sounds like a factual statement irrelevant to the speech event).

It should be noted that this usage of *jùu* is not only constrained with semelfactives. It can occur with other kinds of states of affairs which can be repeated. The number of occurrences can be either specific (35)

or non-specific (36). Notice that the classifier *kʰráŋ* quantifies events in a similar way to the English ‘times’. This differs from the noun classifier *duaŋ* in (21) which is used for counting lights (as well as stars, moons etc.).

(35) (www.bloggang.com/mainblog.php?id=g-unit&month=20)

càp cʰalàak kan jùu₃ sǎam kʰráŋ kwàa cà? dâaj pʰûu cʰôokdii
draw label together **stay** three CLF until IRR get person lucky
(We) drew the lotteries three times before we got a winner.’

(36) (www.komchadluek.net)

sòŋ siǎŋ kʰamraam rɔ́ŋ sǎj Cʰuáŋ Cʰuáŋ jùu₃ lǎaj kʰráŋ
send sound growl cry be_toward Chuang Chuang **stay** many time
(Linping) growled at Chuang Chuang (his Panda father) many times.’

These examples show that although *jùu* usually has an intermediate profiling, it is not the only possible phase of conceptualization of *jùu* (it is simply more entrenched) and the concept of intermediate profiling is irrelevant to the case of *jùu₃*.

3.1.4 Statives vs. topic time

It is not surprising if *jùu* cannot occur with all types of statives. Boonyapatipark (1983), together with Tansiri (2005), makes an insightful observation about *jùu*, that it is incompatible with permanent or inherent statives. This value is called “temporariness”. According to Croft (to appear), an inherent state refers to the state which lasts for the entire history of the participant.

Inherent states can be further classified into original and acquired inherent state. Original inherent states are those that exist since the origination of the participant, for example ‘be woman’, and ‘be stone’. Acquired inherent states refer to states which exist some time after the origination. Tall people, for example, were not born tall. But once they become tall, they remain tall for the rest of their life.

If *jùu* refers only to the intermediate phase of an event without referring to the boundaries, why does such a constraint exist? Why cannot *jùu* occur with all types of statives? This is the aim of the following discussion—to further explicate what Boonyapatipark (1983) and Tansiri (2005) have insightfully observed.

Thai *jùu* often occurs in transitory states (or temporary states as called by Boonyapatipark). It disfavours inherent states (Tansiri 2005: 125). To illustrate:

(37)

**Piti pen pʰûucʰaaj jùu₄¹⁶*
Piti COP man **stay**
‘Piti remains a man.’

Recall that *jùu* inherits the value of location. This means a stative verb marked by *jùu* calls for a temporal location. In other words, *jùu* is employed to capture a state at a **topic time**—time under discussion (Klein 1994). This is thus contradictory with inherent states which is irrespective of time.

Complicating this constraint is the fact that an inherent state can be construed as a transitory state if we can establish a reference location where the inherent state can bear some temporal dependency on. Note that this is not possible for all inherent states.

(38) (www.thailife.de)

tɔ́nnán jaŋ pen pʰûucʰaaj jùu₄
then still COP man **stay**
‘(She) was still a man then.’

¹⁶ Note that this sentence is possible if it considered in terms of ‘maleness’. However, the point here is to show temporal function of *jùu₄*, which is incompatible with inherent states.

This is part of an interview with a Thai transsexual posted on the Internet. The deictic time marker *tənnán* ‘then’ refers to the period of time she was a man, establishing a reference which causes the inherent state to be construed as a transitory state. This special circumstance gives rise to temporal location required by *jùu*.

This constraint (inherent vs. transitory state) is also applied to accomplishments and achievements which involve changes of state. Their resulting states can be either inherent or transitory (Tansiri 2005: 126-128). Only the interaction of *jùu* and achievements will be discussed here.

(39)

<i>*kracòk</i>	<i>tèek</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>
mirror	break	stay

‘The mirror is still breaking.’

The verb of destruction in (39) is an example of an achievement with an inherent result state. This result state is irreversible and incompatible with *jùu*.

(40) (anne4seasons.multiply.com/journal/item/2)

<i>faj</i>	<i>dàp</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>	<i>náʔ</i>	<i>niâ</i>
light	extinguish	stay	Pt	Pt

‘The light still went out.’

The achievement in (40), on the other hand, ends in a transitory result state, which is reversible and thus is compatible with *jùu*. Note that *jùu* in (40) is conceptualized against the domain of time; *jùu* in (21) against the domain of quantity.

Interestingly, a verb like *hàk* ‘break’ can be interpreted either way, depending on its argument (‘bone’ vs. ‘tree branch’).

(41) (www.pantown.com)

<i>kradiuk</i>	<i>hàk</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>		<i>tôŋ</i>	<i>kʰâw</i>	<i>fîak</i>		<i>tʰiŋ</i>	<i>Pʰrîtsàpʰaakʰom</i>
bone	break	stay		must	enter	plaster_cast		until	May

‘The bone is still broken. (It) must be in a plaster cast until May.’

(42)

<i>?kìŋmǎaj</i>	<i>hàk</i>	<i>jùu₄</i>
tree stick	break	stay

‘The tree stick is still breaking.’

The fact that we can talk of (41) (as compared to the unnaturalness of talking about (42)) rests on our knowledge of the participants. The knowledge of bone includes the fact that bone can regrow. The state of broken bone is thus not permanent but temporary. A broken tree stick, by contrast, is irreversible. Even so, one can imagine circumstances in which (42) can be viewed as a temporary state, e.g. a magical spell. All we need is a timeframe for (42) to situate providing it is pragmatically possible.

The main idea of this discussion is to point out the importance of topic time (i.e., the concept of location) in understanding the nature of *jùu*. The issue of topic time will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.

3.2 Proposed treatment of *kamlaj*

We have seen that *jùu* and *kamlaj* are two distinct forms. This section will investigate *kamlaj* in more detail in relation to its function and meaning.

Unlike *jùu*, no verbal use of *kamlaj* has been identified—i.e., it never serves as a main verb. What we have is the noun *kamlaj*, which means ‘energy’—a Khmer loanword. This noun might be the lexical source from which the progressive marker *kamlaj* is derived, as exemplified in (43).

(43) (When my grandpa and grandma were young: volume 3: 68)

dèkdèk kamlaj mâj mii pʰɔɔ
 children **energy** NEG have enough
 ‘Children’s energy is not enough.’

This nominal origin might be the reason why the progressive *kamlaj* is positioned before the main verb and where its dynamic property is derived from. The progressive use of *kamlaj* is shown in (44):

(44) (www.oknation.net/blog/print.php?id=254582)

pʰii Bɛɛm kamlaj wâat rûup kʰàʔ
 older_sibling Bam **PROG** draw picture Ppt
 ‘Bam is drawing a picture.’

I suggest that the conceptualization of ‘energy’ is still found in *kamlaj*. Like *jùu*, some loss of meaning is involved (i.e., the physical and mental effort), but its dynamic sense still remains. By dynamic, it means that the process is characterized by constant change. This suggests that it should be considered a progressive marker. It is this very characteristic which motivates *kamlaj*’s grammatical behavior and distinguishes it from *jùu*.

Compare the following sentences:

(45) (Free conversation)

- a. *cʰuâŋ nîi duan kamlaj tòk*
 period this fortune **PROG** fall
 ‘During this time, (my) fortune is falling.’
- b. *cʰuâŋ nîi duan tòk jùu*
 period this fortune fall **stay**
 ‘During this time, (my) fortune is down.’

Sentence (45a) and (45b) yield different interpretations. Sentence (45a) expresses that the speaker’s fortune is moving downward at the reference time, while (45b) designates that his fortune remains at a lower level at the time of reference. They do not say when and how his fortune falls—gradually or instantly. The reference time or topic time is *cʰuâŋ nîi* ‘during this time’ which is represented by TT.

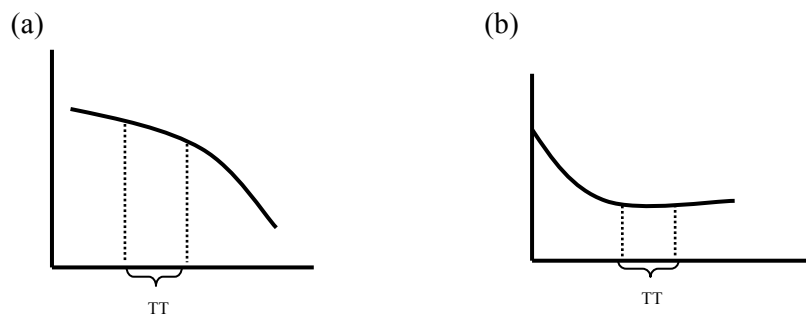


Figure 7: Fortune

The progressive *kamlaj* is preferentially connected to activities and iteratives which require energy for sustained physical and mental activity (i.e., dynamic processes—*run, walk, sweep, eat, cough, bounce*). It expresses the dynamic quality of actions that are in progress. To illustrate:

(46) (The Pear Story [Speaker 2])

kʰon *kêɛ* **kamlaj** *kèp* *lûukpʰɛɛ*
 person old **PROG** pick pear
 ‘An old man was picking pears.’

Sentence (46) expresses the active movement of the old man’s hands—taking hold of and removing pears from the tree.

(47) (www.thaiphone.com/forum)

tɔɔn nîi **kamlaj** *ʔaj* *mâj* *jùt*
 now **PROG** cough NEG stop
 ‘Now, I am coughing non-stop.’

As for (47), *ʔaj* ‘cough’ is a typical example of a punctual process. Nevertheless, it is easy to interpret as an iterative process. As an iterative process, it denotes an extended, dynamic activity which composes of an unidentified number of iterations.

In order to obtain its compatibility with *kamlaj*, the number of instances of *ʔaj* ‘cough’ has to be left open. The end-point of *ʔaj* has to be unbounded. This explains why (48) is ungrammatical.

(48)

cʰǎn* **kamlaj *ʔaj* *sɔ́ɔŋ* *kʰráŋ*
 1S **PROG** cough two time
 ‘I am coughing twice.’

This illustrates that *kamlaj* disfavors punctuality. It therefore cannot occur with achievement verbs such as *tèɛk* ‘break’, *taaj* ‘die’, and *dàp* ‘(light) go out’.

It is interesting to note that the progressive *kamlaj* also occurs with state verbs.

(49) my.dek-d.com

cʰáaw *wannîi* *ʔaakàat* **kamlaj** *dii* *náʔ* ||
 morning today weather **PROG** good Pt

bèɛpwâa *mâj* *rɔ́ɔn* *paj* *mâj* *nǎaw* *paj*
 somewhat NEG hot go NEG cold go
 ‘This morning, the weather is just right. Not too cold, not too hot.’

The verb ‘good’ inherently is a stative process, which involves little or no change—the process simply goes on. By this nature, it should not be able to occur with *kamlaj*, however, it does. If we take the notion of semantic flexibility into consideration, it will be easier to understand why this is possible. Typically, what the word ‘good’ encodes is the state of pleasantness. According to our encyclopaedic knowledge, however, we know that there are degrees of ‘pleasantness’; as such the stative process can change over time, for example, from bad to good. What *kamlaj* does is bring out the potential range of a weather event which undergoes change over time, and it profiles or designates the pleasant state, as symbolized below (the profile indicated by the heavy line [Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008]).

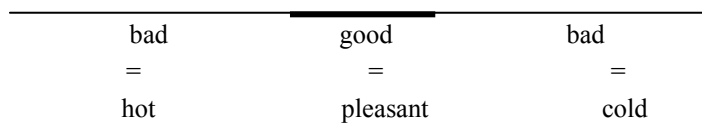


Figure 8: *Weather change*

In **Figure 8**, the line represents the possibility of weather change, while the state of goodness is indicated by the heavy line. In this way the progressive *kamlaj* can occur with a stative process.

Note that when a stative is progressivized, it does not express the same dynamic conception as a progressivized dynamic process. Consider the following sentence.

(50)

dòɔkmáaj kamlaj baan
flower PROG blossom
'Flowers are/a flower is blossoming.'

Sentence (50) can express either the active opening of flowers/petals, or flowers' current state—the fact that flowers are in blossom. The former conveys a dynamic, unfolding movements through time (imagine the time-lapse camera movement). It is progressive since it requires change of flower production—bud, bloom, wither. The latter, on the other hand, illustrates a static-progressive. It is static because it focuses on the blossom state.

Note the pragmatic possibility of the following:

(51) (www.teana-club.com/webboard)

tèŋ bèɛp níi kamlaj suǎj
decorate like this PROG beautiful
'Decorating like this is beautiful.'

(52)

? *Maalii kamlaj suǎj*
Malee PROG beautiful
'Malee is beautiful.'

Without any context, it is acceptable to say Sentence (51), but less acceptable to say (52). The event in (51) is a car decoration situation, which can undergo change—a car can be decorated beautifully or terribly. For example, it is tacky if we decorate the car with too much or too little. But, if we do it just right, it looks attractive. The decoration scenario is construed as dynamic; hence the verb 'beautiful' can take the progressive *kamlaj*. As for (52), although a person's natural beauty can change over time, it is not as dynamic as (51)—it is construed as taking a longer time to change.

The progressive is also found to occur with other state verbs such as *rúu* 'know', *rák* 'love', *lǒŋ* 'lost', *cʰiâmân* 'trust', and *cʰiâ* 'believe'.

(53) (www.11news1.com)

<i>wannii</i>	<i>kʰon</i>	<i>tʰaj</i>	<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>rúu</i>	<i>wâa</i>
today	person	Thai	PROG	know	COMP
<i>cʰâat</i>	<i>tʰaj</i>	<i>kàat</i>	<i>tʰɔrarâat</i>	<i>kʰîn</i>	<i>léew</i>
nation	Thai	occur	tyrant	ascend	already

'Now, Thai people know that their nation has had a tyrant.'

(54) (<http://webboard.mthai.com/5/2006-02-12/197819.html>)

<i>miâ</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>rák</i>	<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>lǒŋ</i>	<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>cʰiâmân</i>
when	1P	PROG	love	PROG	crazy about	PROG	trust

<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>cʰiâ</i>		<i>raw</i>	<i>mák cà?</i>	<i>mɔɔŋ</i>	<i>pʰiaŋ</i>	<i>kʰêe</i>	<i>dâan</i>
PROG	believe		1P	often	look	only	just	side

dii kʰɔɔŋ sɨŋ nán
good POSS thing that

'When we are loving, being crazy about, trusting, believing (something), we are likely to look only at the good side.'

The frequency of occurrence of the progressive with state verbs varies. State verbs which have a high potential to be changeable like *dii* ‘good’, and *ʔarəj* ‘tasty’ are found to occur frequently with *kamlaj*. State verbs which have less potential to be changeable like *ríu* ‘know’, and *c^hiā* ‘believe’ are less frequently found to occur with the progressive. As such, they are not well entrenched and might not be accepted by some speakers. Inherent states like *pen p^húujǐn* ‘be women’, *pen k^hon t^haj* ‘be Thai’ are normally incompatible with *kamlaj*.

It was mentioned in Section 3.1 that *jùu* can occur with a stative verb; however, its implication is different from that of *kamlaj* due to its different semantic value.

(55) (<http://topicstock.pantip.com>)

k^hon ʔaraj suǎj jùu₃ samǎə
 person what beautiful **stay** always
 ‘What a woman, she always stays beautiful.’

To assert (55) is to say that the participant, a famous Thai singer, was beautiful then, and is still beautiful now. Her beauty extends over a period of time, which began in the past, and which obtains at the present. This is the continuity or unchanging effect of *jùu*, which cannot be found in *kamlaj*.

Due to the value of dynamicity, *kamlaj* cannot occur with adverbials of duration. Examples of adverbials incompatible with the progressive *kamlaj* are *t^háj (pii)* ‘all (year)’, *taləət weelaa* ‘all the time’, *sàkk^hríu* ‘for a while’. The progressive is also incompatible with habitual adverbials such as *bəj bəj* ‘often’, and *t^húkwan* ‘everyday’. This dynamic value is opposite to the unchanging nature of *jùu* resulting in distinct syntactic patterns.

(56)

**dək dək kamlaj kin k^hâaw t^húk wan*
 child REDUP **PROG** eat rice every day
 ‘Children are eating rice every day.’

Another difference between *jùu* and *kamlaj* lies in their scope of modification. The different scopes of *jùu* and *kamlaj* are explicitly shown in the following examples.

(57) (www.khaosod.co.th)

kamlaj dəən paj t^hamɲaan
PROG walk go work
 ‘(He) was walking to work.’

(58) (www.bloggang.com)

tənníi jaŋ dəən paj t^hamɲaan jùu ləəj
 now still walk go work **stay** Pt
 ‘Even now, (I) still walk to work.’

The progressive *kamlaj* only takes scope over the first verb—‘walk’, while *jùu* modifies the whole (walk to work). That is to say, *kamlaj* tracks the changing state of walking through processing time (sequential scanning). As for *jùu*, it captures the change states in a single image (summary scanning). Apparently, due to their different scopings, *kamlaj* and *jùu* are compatible—i.e., they can co-occur. Examples of their co-occurrence will be discussed in Section 5.

4. Temporal relation

Based on Klein’s model of tense and aspect (1994), the analysis of time involves three times, namely, time of situation (T-SIT), time of utterance (TU), and topic time (TT) (or ‘reference time’ according to the

Reichenbach (1947, reprinted in 2003) model). The TT is the time under discussion (Klein 1994, Klein et al. 2000). In conversation, it is typically the TU, but it is not compulsory. For instance, it is common to speak on the phone as (*kamlan*) *tʰam ʔaraj jùu* ‘what are you doing?’ In this situation, the TT does not refer to the TU, but the time before the telephone conversation. The TT can be linguistically explicit, but it is usually implicit and inferred from the context. To illustrate:

TT is explicit

- (i) At 4 p.m., my son was doing his homework. (TT = 4 p.m.)
 (ii) What did you do when you saw him? (TT = the time of seeing)

TT is implicit

- (i) *I forgot to turn off the oven!* (TT = the time before leaving the house)
 (ii) (I smell smoke) *Were you smoking?* (TT = the time within the recent past)

According to Klein (1994), aspect indicates a temporal relation between the TT and the time of situation (T-SIT), while tense signals a temporal relation between the TT and the time of utterance (TU). The notion of temporal relation between TT and T-SIT is adopted in this study. It is argued that *jùu* and *kamlan* serve as ‘temporal relators’, i.e., signaling the way an event in question (T-SIT) is distributed in relation to another event (TT).

4.1 Temporal relation of *jùu*₄

Recall the nature of *jùu*: LOCATOR (locatum, location). The concept *jùu* needs a spatial, attribute, or temporal location either explicitly or implicitly mentioned. Phrases like *tʰúkwan* ‘every day’, and *tʰəŋkʰiɪn* ‘all night’ can be considered as examples of temporal locations of *jùu*₃.

What are the temporal locations of *jùu*₄ then? They are contextually determined. The moment of speech is such an example. Even though *jùu*₄ concerns contextual properties, it does so intrinsically. In spite of having discourse force, *jùu*₄ is not external to semantics; it also has the semantic nature of ‘location’ in that it requires a place for an event to be located. This is taken as the frame of reference.

The semantic structure of *jùu*₄ is thus a dependency between a locatum and a reference location. That is to say, *jùu*₄ is a **temporal relator**, which requires a temporal relation between time spans—the time of the situation (T-SIT) (locatum) and the topic time (TT) (reference location). It indicates that **T-SIT is situated at TT**. Apparently, this function of *jùu*₄ is inherited from its lexical source—‘locator’ nature. In the previous discussion (Section 3.1), this function is referred to as a time-discourse locator. That is, it relies on discourse context to determine the topic time.

(59) (Free conservation)

*míākī hěn mēe tʰi (krapǎw) jùu*₄
 then see mother carry bag **stay**
 ‘(I) saw mother carry the purse just now.’

For example, the topic time of (59) is the time of witness which is the reference where the event mother’s holding her purse is hooked on.

(60) (Short stories [CU Thai Concordance])

*mǎa hǎa tua tʰi nǎn kan jùu*₄ *tɔɔn níi*
 dog five CLF REL sit together **stay** time this

mii cʰi Túttùu Deesii Ben Bǎənàat lě? ʔétdi
 have name Tuttoo Daisy Ben Bernard and Eddie
 ‘Five dogs which are sitting together are Tuttoo, Daisy, Ben, Bernard, and Eddie

Here, the topic time is the time of speaking. Temporal deixis expressions like *tɔɔnníi* ‘now’, and *tɔɔnnán* ‘then’ are often found to occur with *jùu*.

4.2 Temporal relation of *kamlaj*

In addition to allowing an event to be construed as an event in progress, *kamlaj* also indicates the **coincidence** of the on-going event (T-SIT) and the contextual event performed at the time of the on-going event (TT)—**T-SIT coincides with TT**.

(61) (www.bloggang.com)

fǒn *kamlaj* *tòk*
rain **PROG** fall
‘It is raining.’

The on-going event in (61) is a raining event. What is the contextual event of (61) then? Apparently, it is not linguistically expressed in this example.

In a given speech event, there would be at least two states of affairs: the speaker’s utterance, and the utterance event. The utterance event is the on-going event, while the speaker’s utterance is the contextual event, which is a precondition for the event in progress to emerge. In this particular example, it serves as the topic time (TT = TU) for purposes of establishing the relationship with the on-going event (T-SIT). This is a type of simultaneous relationship.

According to Grice’s maxims of conversation¹⁷ (1975), the speaker does not supply more information than is required (maxim of quantity). In a real time situation, as in (61), it is not necessary to assert that ‘it is raining when the speaker is speaking’. When there is enough information, the contextual event is not linguistically encoded. It is grammatically and communicably sufficient to have only the on-going event in the independent clause, as in (61). Such an independent clause is often found in conversational discourse where there is enough contextual information.

When the contextual event is not the default time of speaking or cannot be inferred, the contextual event must be explicitly mentioned (following Grice’s quantity maxim). Consider Sentence (62):

(62) (The Pear Story [Speaker 3])

mii *dèk* *p’hûuc’aaaj* *k’hon* *nìj* ||
there is child male CLF one

k’hanà t’hîi *kɛɛ* *kamlaj* *kèp* *lûukp’hɛɛ* *k’hèj* *t’hîi* *săam* |
while 3S **PROG** pick pear basket NuM three

man *k’hîi* *rót càkkrajaan* *maa*
3S ride bicycle come

‘There was a boy. While the old man was picking the third basket of pears, he rode a bike towards the old man.’

In (62), the old man was picking pears when a boy came by on a bicycle. This type of sentence is often found in a narrated story. The old man’s picking pears is hooked up to the topic time—the time the boy biked. The temporal linker *kamlaj* makes a reference to accommodate another simultaneous event.

The omission of *kamlaj* will result in a vagueness of meaning, for example, [*fǒn tòk*] can be interpreted as ‘it is raining now’ or ‘it rained’. Moreover, there are different ways in which the event [*fǒn tòk*] can be distributed in relation to another event: simultaneity, posteriority, and anteriority. To illustrate:

¹⁷ There are four main maxims of conversation: quantity, quality, relation and manner.

(63)

cʰǎn *ʔàapnáam* *tɔɔn/kɔɔn/lǎŋ* *fǒn* *tòk*
 1S take_a_bath when/before/after rain fall
 'It took a bath, when/before/after it rained.'

However, there is only one way in which [*fǒn kamlaj tòk*] can be distributed to another event, that is, simultaneity. This simultaneity licenses the types of conjunctions *kamlaj* can occur with. In this example, only *tɔɔn* 'when' is allowed. This shows that the simultaneous relationship of *kamlaj* is not contextually derived.

Because of the coincidence nature of *kamlaj*, it tends to occur with temporal deictic expressions, (for example, *tɔɔnníi* 'at this time', *kʰanàʔníi* 'at this time', *tɔɔnnán* 'at that time', and *kʰanàʔnán* 'at that time',) and not with duration expressions (e.g. *tâŋnaaŋ* 'for a long time, *talɔɔt weelaa* 'all the time', *sàkkʰrúu* 'for a while', *pépniŋ* 'for a second'), or two-time point expressions (e.g. *tâŋtèe* 'since', *con* 'until', *jaŋ* 'still' or 'up to and including the present or the time mentioned or an unspecified time'). To illustrate:

(64) (<http://bbznet.com>)

a. *ník* *jùu₃* *tâŋ* *naaŋ* *kʰraj* *wàa* *maa* *tʰák* *raw*
 think **stay** much long who Pt come greet 1S
 '(I) thought for a long time. Who came to greet me?'

b. **kamlaj* *ník* *tâŋ* *naaŋ* *kʰraj* *wàa* *maa* *tʰák* *raw*
PROG think much long who Pt come greet 1S
 '(I) was thinking for a long time. Who came to greet me?'

(65)

a. **kʰáw* *kamlaj* *rɔɔ* *tâŋtèe* *cʰáaw*
 1S **PROG** wait since morning
 'I am waiting since morning.'

(forums.popcornfor2.com)

b. *kʰáw* *rɔɔ* *jùu₃* *tâŋtèe* *cʰáaw*
 1S wait **stay** since morning
 'I stay waiting since morning.'

Situation: A man would like to get a betel nut which was chewed by a famous monk to worship. The monk answered to his request that:

(66) (board.palungjit.com)

a. *rɔɔ* *dǎw* *jaŋ* *kʰiáw* *jùu₄*
 wait in_a_moment still chew **stay**
 'Just a moment. (I) still chew (betel nut).'

b. *rɔɔ* *dǎw* *jaŋ* *kamlaj* *kʰiáw*
 wait in_a_moment still **PROG** chew
 'Just a moment. (I) am still chewing (betel nut).'

In the event coded by (66), *jaŋ* presupposes that the time frame of chewing a betel nut started some time in the past up to the moment of the request (i.e., TT). It is not simply a two-time point expression. It designates that the act of chewing remains unchanged at the TT. This is incompatible with *kamlaj*, which not only indicates the simultaneous connection between 'chew' (T-SIT) and 'request' (TT), but also dynamicity. It is acceptable for *jùu* which expresses continuity. The TT serves as a temporal location for the act of chewing to remain unchanged.

This property of *kamlaj* allows the speech participants to specify that the event in progress does not precede or follow the contextual event but at some point coincides with it. This is *kamlaj*'s grammatical requirement. Omitting the contextual event would result in an ungrammatical/incommunicable sentence, as in (67).

(67)

??*miâwaannli* *p^hõm* ***kamlaj*** *k^hàp* *mɔɔtəəsaj* *klàp* *bâan*
 yesterday 1S.M **PROG** drive motorcycle return home
 'Yesterday, I was riding a motorcycle back home.'

The difference between *kamlaj* and *jùu₄*, thus, is also found in the way they are distributed with respect to the topic time (TT), as in **Figure 9**. The dynamic property of *kamlaj* is represented by the wavy line, while the unchanging property of *jùu₄* is symbolized by the straight line.

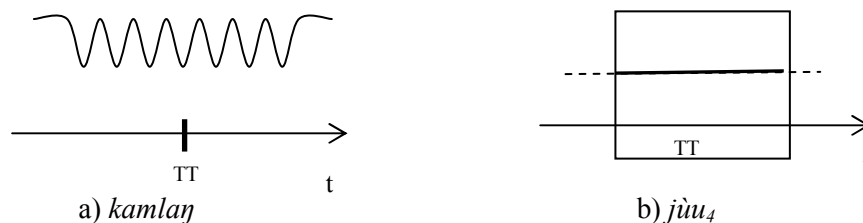


Figure 9: Distribution of *kamlaj* and *jùu₄* with respect to their topic time

The temporal linker *kamlaj* specifies that an event in progress coincides with TT. The temporal locator *jùu₄*, on the other hand, anchors a phase of an event (which typically but not necessary is the intermediate phase) in the temporal location (TT). The square represents the temporal location of *jùu₄*. The distinct distribution in relation to TT entails different temporal scopes, and thus requires different temporal modifiers, as seen above.

The foundation has now been laid to enable discussion of the extent of interchangeability between *kamlaj* and *jùu₄*. Although the temporal scopes of *kamlaj* and *jùu₄* are distinct from each other, they both refer to the topic time. The temporal location is expandable from a point to a larger interval. When the time interval is precise (i.e., the event has started in close proximity to the reference point), the focus is on the locator effect. The continuity of *jùu₄* is thus not active—the event is not presented as persisting over a significant amount of time. In this kind of context, *jùu₄* is apparently similar to *kamlaj*, and thus *kamlaj* and *jùu₄* can be used interchangeably.¹⁸

Situation: On the phone

Question:

halõo *t^ham* *?araj* ***jùu₄***
 Hello do what **stay?**
 Hello, What are you doing?

Answer:

(68)

a. ***kamlaj*** *t^hamjaan*
 PROG work
 'I am working.'

¹⁸ The interchangeability is possible with activity verbs but not state verbs.

- b. *t^ham^haan* *jùu₄*
work **stay**
'(I) work at the moment.'

The topic time of (68) is not the time of question, but the time prior to the question. Note that the speaker can teasingly adopt the time of question as the topic time. In doing that, he could say 'I am talking on the phone (with you)'.

5. Co-occurrence of *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*

The co-occurrence, in the same clause, of *kamlaj* and *jùu* is possible. The question is how Thai utilizes this co-occurrence. The co-occurrence provides some special properties semantically or grammatically, which are different from the use of *kamlaj* and of *jùu* individually. Consider the following sentences.

Situation A: Conversation

Question: Speaker 1

h^haan t^hîi h^hâj p^haj t^ham rí j^haj
work that give go do or yet
'Did you do the work I gave to you, or not?'

Answer: Speaker 2

(69)

- a. ***kamlaj** t^ham jùu₄* | *mâj h^hên r^hăə*
PROG do **stay** | NEG see Q
'(I am) doing it [at this very moment]. Don't (you) see it?'

- b. ? *t^ham jùu₄* | *mâj h^hên r^hăə*
do **stay** | NEG see Q
'(I am) doing it [at this very moment]. Don't (you) see it?'

- c. ?? ***kamlaj** t^ham* || *mâj h^hên r^hăə*
PROG do || NEG see Q
'(I am) doing it [at the very moment]. Don't (you) see it?'

All three answers are possible, although the co-occurrence (69a) is the most preferred and (69c) is the least likely. What Speaker 2 wants to communicate is not only that the event is in progress but also that S₂ is performing it at the very moment without doing anything else, i.e., *jùu₄* anchors the work in progress which is modified by *kamlaj* at the time of utterance, placing emphasis on the event. In (69b-c), although they are grammatical, they are not perceived as complete and firm, especially (69c)—it seems as if it were 'floating', as commented on by some native Thais.

In order to elucidate the special semantic/syntactic contribution of *kamlaj* and *jùu*, it is necessary to consider what type of *jùu* occurs in the *kamlaj*...*jùu* construction.

All types are possible, and each *jùu* requires a different type of location, as illustrated in **Table 5**:

Table 5: Different types of location

<i>kamlaj</i> + VP + <i>jùu₂</i> + SPACE
<i>kamlaj</i> + VP + <i>jùu₃</i> + TIME (or other abstract domains)
<i>kamlaj</i> + VP + <i>jùu₄</i> + DISCOURSE EVENT/TIME (or other abstract domains)

The *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu₄* construction will be discussed first, which is the focus of this section. The other types of combination will be discussed briefly.

5.1 *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₄ + DISCOURSE EVENT/TIME

Consider the following examples. Note that *e*₁ refers to the event modified by *kamlaj* and/or *jùu*₄ (T-SIT); *e*₂ refers to another event (TT).

(70) (Four Reigns [CU Thai Concordance])

- a. *riâŋ* *ʔaraj* *kʰráp* *kʰunmêe* | *taa* *ʔân* *sîŋ* *lúk* *càak* *tóʔ* |
 story what Pt Mother TA An who rise from table |
léew *tʰăam* *kʰîn* | *e*₂
 then ask ascend

tʰáŋ *kamlaj* *jîn* *jùu*₄ *e*₁
 INCLUSIVE PROG stand stay

‘ “What is it about, Mother?” An who had stood up asked while he was standing.’

- b. *ʔriâŋ* *ʔaraj* *kʰráp* *kʰunmêe* | *taa* *ʔân* *sîŋ* *lúk* *càak* *tóʔ* |
 story what Pt Mother TA An who rise from table |
léew *tʰăam* *kʰîn* | *e*₂
 then ask ascend

tʰáŋ *jîn* *jùu*₄ *e*₁
 INCLUSIVE stand stay

‘ “What is it about, Mother?” An who had stood up asked while he was standing.’

- c. **riâŋ* *ʔaraj* *kʰráp* *kʰunmêe* | *taa* *ʔân* *sîŋ* *lúk* *càak* *tóʔ* |
 story what Pt Mother TA An who rise from table |
léew *tʰăam* *kʰîn* | *e*₂
 then ask ascend

tʰáŋ *kamlaj* *jîn* *e*₁
 INCLUSIVE PROG stand

‘ “What is it about, Mother?” An who had stood up asked while he was standing.’

Sentence (70a) is the most preferred form. The *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₄ construction inherits the semantic values from both words. The semantic effect of *kamlaj* is to convert *e*₁ ‘stand up’ into a dynamic event (represented in **Figure 10** by a wavy line), and to indicate that it coincides with *e*₂ (represented by a line). The two events, however, simply occur simultaneously.

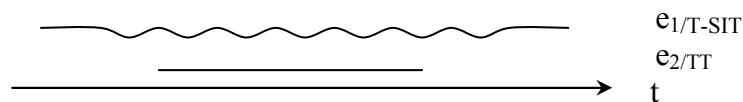


Figure 10: The semantic effect of *kamlaj*

The question is what does *jùu*₄ contribute to the meaning? Is *kamlaj* not sufficient for indicating simultaneity? Since the two events simply co-occur, only *kamlaj* should suffice. However, the two events in

(70) do not simply co-occur. This is signalled by *tʰáj*¹⁹ in the last clause of (70a). Even though, *kamlaj* and *jùu*₄ are both temporal relators, it is *jùu*₄ which inherits ‘locator effect’ from its lexical source. The function of *jùu*₄ is to impose a scope on *e*₁, pinpointing that at the particular moment of *e*₁, *e*₂ occurs (indicated by the heavy line, and a box). It chains *e*₂ to *e*₁, i.e., the events are pooled to form a tighter relation (indicated by dashed lines) with the implication of emphasis. To put it in another way, *jùu*₄ establishes the point in time TT_x (provided by *e*₂) where *e*₂ and a particular portion of *e*₁ occur.

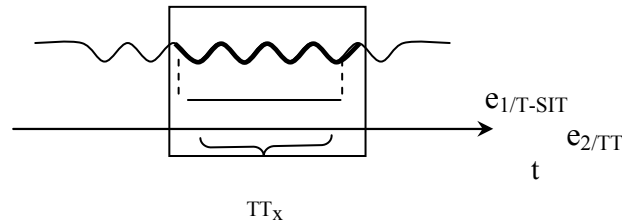


Figure 11: Conceptual combination of *kamlaj* and *jùu*₄

Because of this, Sentence (70b) does not sound natural since *kamlaj*, which marks simultaneity and progressive, is missing. As for Sentence (70c), it is the least acceptable due to the absence of *jùu*₄.

The requirement of this conceptual combination is motivated by several factors, for example, the pragmatic factor, as in (69) where sarcasm is indicated. The co-occurrence is also preferred when there are two events²⁰, and one event suddenly emerges. To illustrate:

(71) (Nick and Pim [2005: 85])

- a. *mǔu* *pàa* *tua* *too* *too* *kamlaj* *wîŋ* *wîŋ* *jùu*₄ | *e*₁
 pig wild CLF big REDUP PROG run REDUP stay
kôɔ *lóm* *taaj* *kʰaa* *tʰi* *e*₂
 CONJ fall die stuck place
 ‘A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.’
- b. ? *mǔu* *pàa* *tua* *too* *too* *wîŋ* *wîŋ* *jùu*₄ | *e*₁
 pig wild CLF big REDUP run REDUP stay
kôɔ *lóm* *taaj* *kʰaa* *tʰi* *e*₂
 CONJ fall die stuck place
 ‘A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.’
- c. * *mǔu* *pàa* *tua* *too* *too* *kamlaj* *wîŋ* *wîŋ* | *e*₁
 pig wild CLF big REDUP PROG run REDUP
kôɔ *lóm* *taaj* *kʰaa* *tʰi* *e*₂
 CONJ fall die stuck place
 ‘A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.’

In (71), the two events are ‘a wild pig was running’ and ‘it died’ (actually there is another event, which is not mentioned here, that is the ‘shooting’ which is the reason causing the pig to die). The nature of the first event is an ongoing event, while the second is an interrupting event. What *jùu*₄ does is to establish a position (a particular moment of *e*₁) for *e*₂ to take place.

¹⁹ This word has different meanings, which can be glossed, for example, ‘all’ or ‘together with’. Its crucial concept is **inclusiveness**, which requires a tight relation given by the co-occurrence of *kamlaj* and *jùu*₄.

²⁰ The reduplication appears to have an influence on the co-occurrence.

Another important factor is how the clauses of a sentence are combined. The *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₄ construction is often found to occur with a conjunction plus a demonstrative, for example *kʰanàʔ tʰi* + VP + *nán*²¹ ‘while...that’ (literally, it means ‘at that time’).

(72) (Thai National Corpus)

- a. *kʰanàʔ tʰi kamlaj rɔ́ɔŋhâaj kʰrâmkʰruan jùu₄ nán* e₁
time at PROG cry lament stay that
- siǎŋ kʰɔ́ɔŋ nákrían cʰaaj sǎam sìi kʰon* e₂
sound POSS student male three four CLF
- kôɔ daŋ kʰín maa naj sòotprasàat*
CONJ loud ascend come in hearing
- b. *? kʰanàʔ tʰi rɔ́ɔŋhâaj kʰrâmkʰruan jùu₄ nán* e₁
time at cry lament stay that
- c. ** kʰanàʔ tʰi kamlaj rɔ́ɔŋhâaj kʰrâmkʰruan nán* e₁
time at PROG cry lament that

This conjunction structure prefers the co-occurrence of *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₄. The word *kʰanàʔ tʰi* calls for an ongoing event which is given by *kamlaj*. It also serves as a temporal location. As for *nán*, it points to a specific moment of thinking, which in turn needs *jùu* to establish a path for it to refer to the thinking event.

These are not hard and fast rules. They are tendencies associated with the *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₄ construction.

5.2 *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₃ + TIME (or other abstract domains)

In contrast to *jùu*₄, *jùu*₃ locates an event in non-topic time or other abstract domains. Sentence (73) illustrates an example of *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₃.

(73)

lók kamlaj tòk jùu₃ naj júk náamkʰěŋ
world PROG fall stay in era ice
‘The world is being in the ice age.’

The temporal location is the ice age. Besides the time domain, examples of other abstract domains include *pʰaway* ‘trance’, *monsakòt* ‘spell’, and *kʰwaamrák* ‘love’.

5.3 *kamlaj* + VP + *jùu*₂ + SPACE

Although the focus is on the temporal use of *jùu*, it is worthwhile to briefly discuss its spatial use. In contrast to other uses of *jùu*, *jùu*₂ locates an event in space. As a spatial locator, *jùu*₂ takes a spatial location, for example, ‘in front of the cashier counter’ as shown in (74).

²¹ The word *nán* is a demonstrative designating an identifiable instance located away from the vicinity of the speaker. It occurs after the noun followed by the classifier: N + CLF + DEM, for example, *krapǎw baj nán* ‘bag CLF that’ (that bag). It can also occur without head noun, with or without a preceding classifier. Prototypically, it is used to denote that the position of the located object is away from the speaker. This demonstrative use can be extended to function like the English definite article *the*. It designates an instance that the speaker has pointed out for attention (anaphoric and exophoric). In doing this, the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the instance. That identification is possible may be due to various factors, one of which is the context of previous discourse. In order to state, ‘that bag’, it is likely that previous discourse between speaker and hearer has already established a unique referent for it (the bag). With respect to discourse structure, *nán* tends to refer backwards (anaphorically) to an event recently introduced by a narrator.

(74) (Four Reigns [CU Thai Concordance])

miâ mɔɔŋ paj tʰi ráan | *kʰǎw hěn man kamlaj jîn jùu₂*
 when look go at store | 3S see 3S **PROG** stand **stay**

tʰi nâa kʰáwtâa kʰítjən
 at front counter cashier

‘When (he) looked at the store, he saw it was standing in front of the cashier counter.’

6. Conclusions

We have seen that *kamlaj* corresponds closely to the notion progressive expressing the dynamic quality of ongoing actions. It also has the potential to bring out a stative verb’s dynamic range, if it is pragmatically possible and acceptable. However, rather than simply describing the internal temporal contour of an event, it indicates simultaneity—T-SIT coincides with TT.

The grammaticalized *jùu*_{3/4} has two semantic effects: locator effect and unchanging/continuity effect. The locator effect is a primary function. It locates an event in various domains such as time, attribute, quantity, and possession. Continuity is the output of our experience of remaining in the same place through time. It is a secondary function, which can be backgrounded. This ‘unchanging’ effect is not the same as ‘stative’ (contra to Tansiri 2005). This is evident by the fact that *jùu*₄ does not cause a dynamic verb to be construed as stative. Like *kamlaj*, *jùu*₄ serves as a temporal relator—T-SIT is situated at TT.

The notion of TT, together with other temporal concepts, is important to understand temporality, even in a ‘tenseless’ language like Thai. Unlike tense which conveys temporal information directly, TT is pragmatically inferred.

The properties of *jùu*_{3/4} and *kamlaj* can be summarized as follows.

Table 6: Summary of *jùu*_{3/4} and *kamlaj*

	<i>kamlaj</i>	<i>jùu</i> ₃	<i>jùu</i> ₄
Can occur as main verb	No	Yes	
Position in syntax	Pre verb	Post verb (subordinate verb)	Post verb (grammatical marker)
Aspectual value	Changing/Dynamic	Continuity/unchanging	
Temporal relation	T-SIT coincides with TT	N/A	T-SIT is situated at TT
Compatibility with durative adverbials	No	Yes	N/A
Compatibility with temporal deictic expressions	Yes	N/A	Yes
Compatibility with two- time point expressions	No	Yes	Yes

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