

functions. Then, *jùu* is discussed in Section 3, and *kamlaŋ* in Section 4. Section 5 illustrates the possible combinations of *léew*, *kamlaŋ*, and *jùu*. Section 6 is the conclusion of the paper.

## 2. *léew*

Like many other words, *léew* has been under the process of grammaticalization, a process by which a content word changes into a function word. The Thai Royal Institute (1999: 1042) defines the verb *léew* as *sèt* 'finish', *sîn* 'end', *tə̀p* 'end', *lûaŋpaj* 'pass'. Generally, the verb<sup>3</sup> *léew*<sub>1</sub> is understood as to mean *sèt* 'finish', as illustrated in the following example where it is used as a full verb.

(Uppakitsinlapasarn, 1964 p.86): my transcription

- (2) *ŋaan kʰǎŋ tɛ̃n léew<sub>1</sub> tɛ̃ wan*  
 work of I finish since early morning  
 'My work has been finished since this morning.'

It is recognized that the verb has come to take on several grammatical functions, namely aspect marker and conjunction, as shown in (3) and (4) respectively.

- (3) *kʰǎw tʰa m léew<sub>2</sub>*  
 he do already  
 'He has done (it).'
- (4) *kʰǎw kin léew<sub>3</sub> nǝn*  
 he eat then sleep  
 'He ate and then slept.'

It is *léew*<sub>2</sub>, as an aspect marker, which has the most attraction for linguists and will be discussed first in Section 2.1. *léew*<sub>3</sub> will be discussed in Section 2.2 to show that the so-called aspect maker and conjunction are not two separate grammatical markers. Rather, they are conceptually related by the notion 'temporal linker'.

### 2.1 *léew*<sub>2</sub> - dual function

As suggested, *léew*<sub>2</sub> has a dual function: aspect marker and temporal linker. Its aspectual role will be discussed first.

Given that *léew*<sub>2</sub> as an aspect marker has the most attraction for linguists, the aspectual role it has adopted is still debated among linguists: perfect marker<sup>4</sup> or perfective marker<sup>5</sup>? (Tansiri 2005)

<sup>3</sup> The lexical use of *léew* is not very common in Standard Thai – especially when compared to its usage in Northern and Northeastern Thai. *léew*<sub>1</sub> refers to the main verb; *léew*<sub>2</sub> the aspect marker; *léew*<sub>3</sub> the conjunction.

<sup>4</sup> The perfect aspect is a grammatical aspect that refers to a state resulting from a previous action. It is also described as a previous action with relevance to a particular time (Comrie 1976: 56).

<sup>5</sup> The perfective aspect refers to an event viewed as single whole (Comrie 1976: 52).

- (5) Piti maa léew<sub>2</sub> | tənnii jùu naj hðəŋ  
 Piti come **already** | now stay in room  
 'Piti has come. He is now in his room.'

The events in (5) give a typical example of perfect because the perfect means 'the continuing relevance of a previous situation' (Comrie 1976: 56), and in (5) 'Piti's staying in his room' seems like a state resulting from the previous action 'Piti's coming'. This treatment of léew<sub>2</sub>, however, is said not to be the best explanation of the meaning and function of léew<sub>2</sub> (Boonyapatipark 1983: 162).

- (6) Piti maa léew<sub>2</sub>, tɛɛ ʔðək paj ʔik  
 Piti come **already** but out go again  
 \* 'Piti has come, but he went out again.'

Boonyapatipark suggests that léew<sub>2</sub> should be analyzed as a perfective marker, as evidenced in (6) where it is impossible to use the present perfect in the English translation. It is impossible because (6) means 'Piti came back but he went out again' which cannot be expressed by the English perfect. Although there are some scholars who comment that léew<sub>2</sub> can be considered as either a perfect or perfective marker (Tansiri 2005), it is apparently the perfective analysis which has gained general acceptance (Chiravate 2004; Sriprasit 2003). However, some issues still remain. The notion of perfectivity is very broad. Most definitions of 'perfective' state that the perfective refers to an event which is conceptualized as a single unit. A perfective process is temporally bounded, that is, it includes its beginning and ending (Taylor 2005: 397). According to this definition, the following example expresses perfectivity.

- (7) mîawaan p<sup>h</sup>ôm paj tàlàat  
 yesterday I go market  
 'Yesterday, I went to the market.'

Sentence (7) expresses a perfective, in that the process terminates when the going to the market is finished. The question is, if léew is treated as a perfective marker, in what way it differs from the perfective reading in (7) above.

The notion of perfectivity is important and useful. This aspect is found in many languages. However, it will not have exactly the same range of uses in one language as it does in another. This paper attempts to understand the grammaticalized léew<sub>2</sub> on its own terms before labeling it as 'perfective'. To avoid confusion from labeling, léew<sub>2</sub> will be glossed as 'already'.

What is interesting about the grammaticalized léew<sub>2</sub> is its various interpretations when it occurs with activities (Boonyapatipark 1983: 157, Kullavanijaya and Bisang 2007: 73-74). All of the interpretations in (8a-d) are possible with the sentence in (8). However, without any context it is less likely to be interpreted as (8c) and especially as (8d).

- (8) Pìtì kin kʰâaw léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 Piti eat rice **already**  
 a (inchoative) 'Piti has (started) eating.'  
 b (completive) 'Piti has (finished) eating.'  
 c (change of state) 'Piti eats rice (but not desserts).'  
 d (imminent future) 'Piti is about to eat.'

The question is where all these different readings come from. Kullavanijaya and Bisang (2007: 72) suggest that these different interpretations are owing to the presence of initial and terminal boundaries. Chiravate (2004: 95) proposes that *léɛw* has the effect of creating temporal boundaries marking the beginning or the end of a situation. These explanations, although they are insightful, leave us one question to consider: what induces *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>'s initial and terminal boundaries?

In order to elucidate these different interpretations we should first understand the conceptual properties of *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>. These properties are language specific and distinguish *léɛw*<sub>2</sub> from the typical perfective reading in (7).

### 2.1.1 Conceptual properties of *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>.

In this section, I propose two main conceptual properties of *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>, namely event relations and reference point.

#### a. Event relations

Let us consider the following situations.

**Situation A1:** After having lunch, Malee went to Piti's house. She *knew* that Piti had planned to go to the market some time in the afternoon. Even though she knew this, she thought that Piti might have just finished his lunch and would still be at home. When she arrived at his house, she told his mother that she had come by to see Piti. His mother told her that Piti had gone to the market. In this kind of situation, her response would be (9a), where *léɛw*<sub>2</sub> is preferred. Omitting *léɛw* would result in a grammatical but inappropriate expression as in (9b).

- (9a) Pìtì paj talàt léɛw<sub>2</sub> rǎi kʰá  
 Piti go market **already** or Pt  
 'Piti has gone to the market?'

- (9b) Pìtì paj talàt rǎi kʰá  
 Piti go market or Pt  
 'Piti went to the market?'

Now compare Situation A1 with Situation A2 below.

**Situation A2:** After having lunch, Malee went to Piti's house. She *did not* know that Piti had planned to go to the market some time in the afternoon. When she arrived at his house, she told his mother that she had come by to see Piti. His mother told her that Piti has gone to the market. In this kind of situation, her response would be (9b), where *léɛw* is not present. The presence of *léɛw*<sub>2</sub> in (9a) would result in a well-formed but pragmatically inappropriate utterance.

Let us consider another scenario.

**Situation B1:** Mana and Manee told their mother that they were going to buy some food for her at her favorite restaurant. However, when they got there, it turned out that the shop was closed and there was a notice posted on the door saying 'closed for five days'. With disappointment, they called their mother telling her that the shop was closed. In this circumstance, it is (10b) which is appropriate.

(10a) *mêε, ráan man pít léεw<sub>2</sub>*  
 mom restaurant it close already  
 'Mom, the restaurant is closed.'

(10b) *mêε, ráan man pít*  
 mom restaurant it close  
 'Mom, the restaurant is closed.'

**Situation B2:** Mana and Manee told their mother that they were going to buy some food for her at her favorite restaurant. However, they got there late; the shop was closed already. With disappointment, they called their mother telling her that the shop was closed. In this circumstance, a perfectly reasonable utterance is (10a) where *léεw<sub>2</sub>* is expressed.

These situations illustrate the usage of *léεw<sub>2</sub>* which is motivated by its conceptual feature. There must be a known potential event. If there is no known potential event, then *léεw<sub>2</sub>* is inappropriate.

My assumption is that *léεw<sub>2</sub>* **expresses a relation between events** and specifies that there is an arrival at a new event (i.e., **a transfer from one event to another**).

This conceptual effect of *léεw<sub>2</sub>* can be diagrammed abstractly as in Figure 1. The transfer is represented by the arrow.

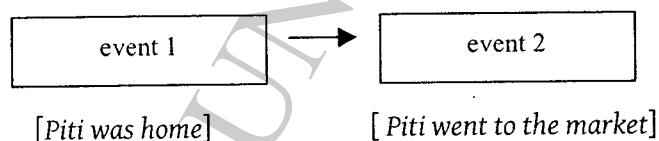


Figure 1. A transfer from one event to another

This is a core property of *léεw* which plays a crucial role in its different grammatical functions (i.e., temporal linker; conjunction). In order to elucidate this property, it is helpful to discuss event relations.

According to Larson<sup>6</sup> (1984: 275-276), events can be related in different ways. Two relations which are important to our discussion are **addition** and **support**. If two events are equal in prominence, they have the relation of addition. One event is added to another constituting a series of events. When two events are not of equal prominence, they have the relation of support, i.e., one event supports the other which is more prominent.

Following these notions, Figure 1 can be adapted as in Figure 2. The event in capital letters identifies the prominent event and the one in lower case and italic letters identifies the event which supports the prominent one. Prominence is represented by the big box in bold.

<sup>6</sup> Larson refers to 'events' as 'propositions'. In this paper, I will use the term 'event'.

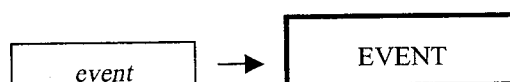


Figure 2. The relation of support

The grammaticalized  $lé\epsilon w_2$  establishes the relation of support between events. This means that the events are not equal in prominence. From a cognitive grammar point of view, the italicized *event* constitutes a base while the large cap EVENT is profiled. It is useful to make a digression and look at the notion of 'base', together with its related notion 'profile' (Langacker 1987, 2000).

Take the word *radius* as an example. The base of *radius* is the concept of a circle with a radius. The profile is the *radius* itself. The word for the radius is only understandable in terms of the concept of the circle. In other words, without this conceptual background there is no radius, only a line. As Taylor puts it, 'the base of an expression is the conceptual content that is inherently, intrinsically and obligatorily invoked by the expression' (2005: 195).

Based on the notion of profile and base, the supporting *event* constitutes a base, while the EVENT is profiled. The two events of (9) are '*Piti was home*' and 'PITI WENT TO THE MARKET'. Although, it is 'PITI WENT TO THE MARKET' which is profiled, if there was no '*Piti was home*', the expression in (9a) would not be possible; we would simply say (9b). This can be represented as in Figure 3.



Figure 3. The relation of *Piti paj talàt lé\epsilon w\_2*

There is a relation only when there are at least two events involved. It means that the supporting *event* is intrinsically and obligatorily invoked by  $lé\epsilon w_2$  itself. What  $lé\epsilon w_2$  does is that it invokes a relation between events and indicates an arrival at the EVENT. It constitutes the *event* (base) against which the EVENT (profile) is characterized.

Although, the presence of a supporting *event* (i.e., base) is inherently and obligatorily invoked by  $lé\epsilon w_2$ , its specification needs to be pooled from **the speech event<sup>7</sup> or our encyclopedic knowledge<sup>8</sup>** triggered by the EVENT in question. The base specification, therefore, is not inherent. Rather, it is contextually determined. The base specification of (9a) is supplied from the knowledge of *Piti planning* to go to the market. This piece of information is important for the usage of  $lé\epsilon w_2$ . In other words, without this knowledge, the marker  $lé\epsilon w_2$  would not be used. As seen in situation A2 where there is no such knowledge, the usage of  $lé\epsilon w_2$  is thus inappropriate. In situation A1, on the other hand, the knowledge of *Piti's plan* provides a logical transfer from *event* to EVENT.

Examples in (10) hold the same explanation. In situation B1, there was no expectation that the restaurant would be closed, we thus would simply say (10a). In

<sup>7</sup> The term speech event includes 'the participants in the event, its time and place, the situational context, previous discourse, shared knowledge of the speech-act participants and such like' (Taylor 2002: 346).

<sup>8</sup> This knowledge includes our community and culture information knowledge. For example, what time the bank is closed; when people have meals; when a university starts or closes. This knowledge is involved with what regular events can change and what cannot change.

situation B2, on the other hand, there was such an expectation. Mana and Manee knew that the restaurant was going to close from their community knowledge. By the time they reached the restaurant it was already closed. They were too late. This fact triggers the use of  $lé\epsilon w_2$ .

Let us see another example in (11).

(11a)  $f\ddot{o}n$   $t\ddot{o}k$   $lé\epsilon w_2$   
 Rain fall **already**  
 'It rained (as expected).'

(11b)  $f\ddot{o}n$   $t\ddot{o}k$   
 Rain fall  
 'It rained.'

Sentence (11a) is uttered when, for example, at some previous point in time there was an expectation estimated from sky conditions (i.e., cloudy, windy) that it would rain. When it does rain, the speaker makes a reference back to his anticipation.

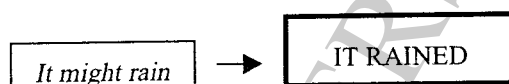


Figure 4. The relation of  $f\ddot{o}n t\ddot{o}k lé\epsilon w_2$

It is  $lé\epsilon w_2$  which establishes this connection. Without this anticipation, we would simply say (11b) to express a raining event at the time of speaking.

The base specification varies in complexity from complex knowledge structures, as in (9-11), to basic logical conceptions, such as (12).

(12)  $p^h\ddot{o}m$   $t\epsilon^h\ddot{i}a$   $k^h\ddot{u}n$   $lé\epsilon w_2$   
 I believe you **already**  
 'I believe you now.'

Take the word  $t\epsilon^h\ddot{i}a$  'believe' as an example. The supporting event of this stative process is 'disbelieve'. This base is invoked by  $lé\epsilon w_2$  and specified by the verb  $t\epsilon^h\ddot{i}a$ . Without this base, there would be no change of state. This so-called change of state is simply an instance of a relation  $lé\epsilon w_2$  invokes.

Negating a verb in a question is a typical way to specify the base of stative processes<sup>9</sup> in the previous literature. However, in uttering (12), the previous state must have the expectation of an imminent change.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the notion of change of state alone is not sufficient to invoke the use of  $lé\epsilon w_2$ . Imagine that you had a friend who was not very attractive. You had not met her for a while. One day, you bumped into her, and, wow, she was gorgeous. In this scenario you could say (i), but not (ii).

i)  $t^h\ddot{a}$   $s\ddot{u}aj$   $k^h\ddot{u}n$   
 I beautiful up  
 'You are more beautiful.'

ii)  $t^h\ddot{a}$   $s\ddot{u}aj$   $lé\epsilon w_2$   
 I beautiful **already**  
 'You have become beautiful.'



Figure 5. Change of state

As such, Sentence (12) carries an implication<sup>10</sup> that the speaker previously did not believe the listener, but now he does. This implication can be stated explicitly as in (13a), but it is inappropriate in (13b) where  $léw_2$  is omitted.

- (13a)  $p^h\ddot{o}m$                        $t\epsilon^h\dot{i}a$                        $k^hun$                        $léw_2$   
 I                                      believe                      you                      **already**
- $t^h\dot{i}i$   $p^h\grave{a}an$   $m\grave{a}$                        $k^h\ddot{o}t^hoot$                        $t^h\dot{i}i$                        $m\grave{a}j$                        $t\epsilon^h\dot{i}a$   
 in the past                      sorry                      that                      not                      believe
- 'I believe you now. I am sorry that I didn't believe you before.'
- (13b) #  $p^h\ddot{o}m$                        $t\epsilon^h\dot{i}a$                        $k^hun$   
 I                                      believe                      you
- $t^h\dot{i}i$   $p^h\grave{a}an$   $m\grave{a}$                        $k^h\ddot{o}t^hoot$                        $t^h\dot{i}i$                        $m\grave{a}j$                        $t\epsilon^h\dot{i}a$   
 in the past                      sorry                      that                      not                      believe
- 'I believe you now. I am sorry that I didn't believe you before.'

All of these examples show that  $léw_2$  requires that there must be the presence of a supporting *event* or **an initiation of change** (i.e., something which can initiate change or make an arrival at the EVENT possible). This initiation of change can be supplied from previous discourse as in (9a), the situational context as in (11a), or shared knowledge between participants as in (12).

This supporting *event* can be pooled from encyclopedic knowledge which includes community knowledge, culture information knowledge and such like. Thai people, for example, know that Seven-Eleven is never closed. If one day it was suddenly closed, we would not say  $p\grave{i}t$   $léw_2$  'close already' but  $p\grave{i}t$  'close' since there was no expectation that it would close.

Our encyclopedic knowledge also includes what events regularly change and what events do not change. For example, each culture has daily patterns of eating, and commonly most eating occurs during two to three meals per day. This knowledge is exploited in communication and it provides the information for the use of  $léw_2$ .

The relational effect of  $léw_2$  allows it to occur with all kinds of verb classes<sup>11</sup> (i.e., states, activities, achievements, accomplishments) which permit transfer from one event to another. States of affairs which do not follow this condition are thus incompatible with  $léw_2$ . They are those having the general truth or the permanent existence of a state of affairs (Tansiri 2005: 149) which does not (normally) change, for example, in (14)-(15).

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In order to say (ii), the speaker must have a transfer from the *event* to the EVENT in his mind. For example, you are a makeup artist. You are making over a plain girl. In doing this, you are expecting to see her transformation. This invokes the use of  $léw_2$ .

<sup>10</sup> Note that this implication is not a conversational implicature.

<sup>11</sup> Vendler's verb classification (from Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 94).

- (14) \*lôok mǔn rđəp tuaʔeeŋ léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 world revolve around itself already  
 'The world revolves around itself already.'
- (15) \*kaa sǐi dam léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 crow color black already  
 'Crows are black already.'

It should be noted here that the verb classes which are incompatible with *léɛw<sub>2</sub>* are actually the same ones as classified by Vendler. The usage of *léɛw<sub>2</sub>* thus is not simply determined by different verb classes. It is motivated by the possibility of changing an event. It is not acceptable, for example, to say (16a). However, (16b) is a perfect sentence, even though both sentences have the same verb *kin* 'eat'.

- (16a) \*k<sup>h</sup>ont<sup>h</sup>ai kin k<sup>h</sup>âaw léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 Thai people eat rice already  
 'Thai people have eaten rice.'
- (16b) pìtì kin k<sup>h</sup>âaw léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 Piti eat rice already  
 'Piti has eaten rice.'

The difference between (16a) and (16b) is at the subject – its meaning determines the generic-specific meaning of the eating event. The generic noun 'Thai people' coerces a general truth reading (i.e., It is a fact that Thai people eat rice.), while the proper name 'Piti' signals that the event holds at a particular point of time expressing a specific event. This event instance opens the specific meaning of the event providing a number of potential instantiations, and determines that the eating event is performed by a particular participant. This signals that it is an event at a particular time.

We have seen the first property of *léɛw<sub>2</sub>*, namely event relations. Now we will turn to the second property which is the reference point.

### b. Reference point

According to Kullavanijaya and Bisang (2007), whether *léɛw<sub>2</sub>* expresses the initial or terminative boundaries depends on its interaction with different types of state of affairs. Given that it is true that the interaction of *léɛw<sub>2</sub>* with different types of processes affects the role of *léɛw<sub>2</sub>*, it is not yet sufficient to explain its behavior. Take the process type activity *wâat* 'draw' in (17) as an example. Although the word *léɛw<sub>2</sub>* occurs with the same verb in the same type of process, it can yield different readings.

- (17) Pìtì wâat rûup léɛw<sub>2</sub>  
 Piti draw picture already  
 a (inchoative) 'Piti has (started) drawing.'  
 b (completive) 'Piti has (finished) drawing.'  
 c (imminent) 'Piti is about to draw.'  
 d (change of state) 'Piti became to draw.'



I suggest that  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$  has a deictic property of establishing a reference point (time locus). This reference point is relative. The concept of reference point is not new. This is mentioned in the previous literature on aspect in Thai (Boonyapatipark 1983; Kullavanijaya and Bisang 2007; Tansiri 2005), but it is not treated as a core property of  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$ . It is, however, crucially significant in this paper, particularly in understanding the role of  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w$ , *kamlaj* and *jùu* as temporal linkers.

A full characterization of  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$  relies on the anchoring of an event in relation to another, which typically is the speech event. This feature plays an important role in how we can account for  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$ 's different readings. It serves to induce  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$ 's aspectual meaning – i.e. if  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$  has an inchoative, completive, imminent, perfective, or perfect meaning.

First of all, let us conceptualize the event of drawing which can be picturized in three sub-events ( $E_1$ ,  $E_2$ , and  $E_3$ ) as in Figure 6.

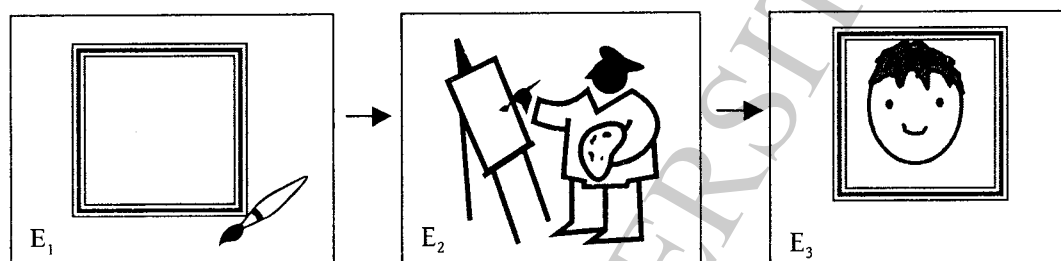


Figure 6. The conceptualization of 'drawing'

The first event ( $E_1$ ) represents the pre-drawing event. The activity of drawing is symbolized by  $E_2$ , and the finished picture is represented by  $E_3$ . This is the basic conceptual content of 'drawing'. Not all events are usually activated at the same time. What events are chosen to be active depends on the location of the reference point or time locus. In (17), the reference point is the speech event.

If the speech event (represented by the wavy box) is at the beginning period of drawing, it means only  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  are activated.  $E_1$ , thus, serves as the *supporting event*, while  $E_2$  is the *EVENT*. The relation between  $E_1$  and  $E_2$  is diagramed abstractly in Figure (7a), where it is construed as 'he has (started) drawing'

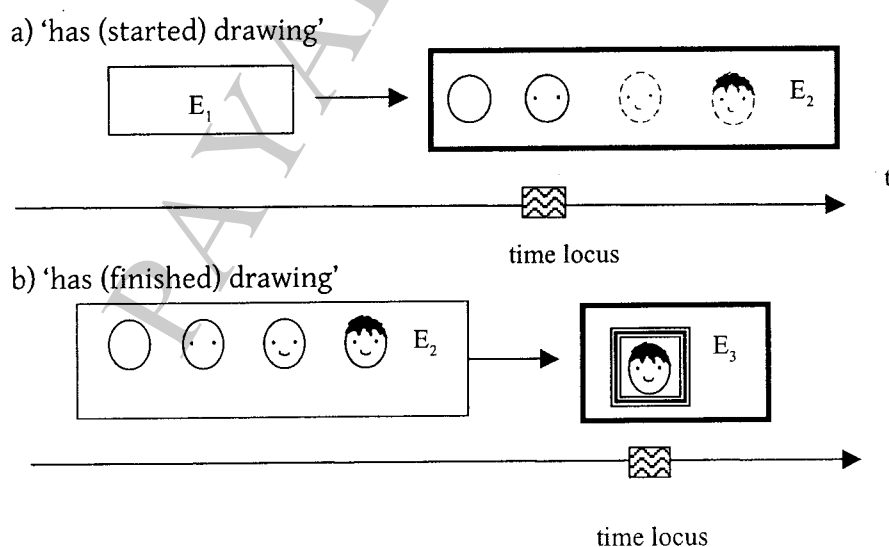


Figure 7. Different readings of Pìtì wáat rûup  $l\acute{e}\epsilon w_2$

However, if the utterance is stated after the drawing event is already finished, it is  $E_2$  and  $E_3$  which are activated, as symbolized in Figure (7b). In this way, the process is interpreted as 'he has (finished) drawing' (16b).

It should be noted here that the readings (17a) and (17b) are not the same as Sentence (18) and (19) respectively. In (18), the word *rââm* 'start' puts emphasis on the beginning of the event, while in (19) the end of the event is emphasized by the word *sèt* 'finish'. There is no emphasis coded in the reading of (17a) and (17b). However, sentences (18) and (19) cannot be said if the speaker does not have previous knowledge that Piti's drawing is going to take place.

(18) *Pitì rââm wâat rûup léew<sub>2</sub>*  
 Piti start draw picture already  
 'Piti has started drawing.'

(19) *Pitì wâat rûup sèt léew<sub>2</sub>*  
 Piti draw picture finish already  
 'Piti has finished drawing.'

It is also possible to have the third interpretation, namely imminent reading – 'Piti is about to draw' (17c). In order to have this reading, there must be some activities leading to the drawing event, for example, paint and paper have been prepared, the painter has sat on the stool pondering what to draw etc. In other words, there must be a supporting event (or a matrix of events) making it possible for the drawing to occur. The EVENT, however, is conceptualized in the speaker's mind. It does not yet happen, but it is seen to occur in the immediate future.

The syntactic structure of *léew<sub>2</sub>* can be given as in Figure 8 below.

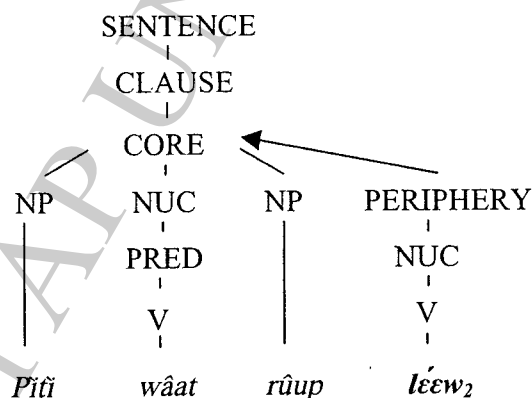


Figure 8. The syntactic structure of *léew<sub>2</sub>*

Following RRG, this is an example of subordination (in RRG<sup>12</sup> notation). Notice that there is no PRED node in the subordinate nucleus because *léew<sub>2</sub>* does not take any argument. It functions as a modifier establishing the temporal setting of the event.

We are now in a position to explain where the different possible interpretations of (8), repeated in (20), come from.

<sup>12</sup> RRG is Role and Reference Grammar as first developed by Robert Van Valin, Jr. and William Foley (1984).

- (20) Pìtì                      kin      k<sup>h</sup>âaw      léew<sub>2</sub>  
 Piti                        eat      rice            already  
 a (inchoative) 'Piti has (started) eating.'  
 b (completive) 'Piti has (finished) eating.'  
 c (change of state) 'Piti has eaten rice (but not dessert).'  
 d (imminent future) 'Piti is about to eat.'

It should be noted here that both conceptual properties, event relation and reference point, play a crucial role in léew<sub>2</sub>'s different readings in all the examples. To simplify matters, only the features which are significant to our understanding of each interpretation will be mentioned.

The readings (20a) 'Piti has (started) eating.' and (20b) 'Piti has (finished) eating' can be accounted for in terms of the reference point, in the same way that (17a) and (17b) are explained above.

In uttering (20d) 'Piti is about to eat', food must have been cooked; the table must have been set already. The situation where Piti is grabbing a spoon ready to eat would be an ideal base for this interpretation.

As for the interpretation (20c) 'Piti eats rice (but not desserts)', our encyclopedic knowledge needs to be taken into consideration. Imagine a meal scenario. Food in Thai culture is eaten from a common dish. Each person has his or her own individual dish of rice, 'main dishes', however are shared. Rice in Thai culture is the staple food. The word k<sup>h</sup>âaw 'rice' tends to refer not only to rice but also to main dishes which are served on rice. It even includes dishes which are not served with rice, for example noodles. It does not include, however, sweets, desserts, or fruit. Our understanding of (20c) rests upon this knowledge. In uttering (20c), it means only main dishes have been eaten. As such, there is an implication that Piti has not yet eaten dessert (or fruit).

The four interpretations, however, are not equal in status. It is the completive reading which has the prototypical preferred status – the basic interpretation which most people would think of. The word léew<sub>2</sub> is thus often understood as a synonym of sèt 'finish', obscuring the other semantic shades of léew<sub>2</sub>.

It should be noted here that these different readings of léew<sub>2</sub> are found in the case of dynamic events but not statives since statives are internally homogeneous. Thus, léew<sub>2</sub>'s interaction with the reference point would not make any difference.

The examples we have seen so far have the moment of utterance as their reference point. The locus, however, can be selected from other than the here-and-now, as exemplified in (21). That is, léew<sub>2</sub> is deictic but it is relative.

- (21) Pìtì                      wâat      rûup              léew<sub>2</sub>  
 Piti                        draw      picture            already  
 tɔ̀ɔnt<sup>h</sup>i                  raw        paj                  t<sup>h</sup>ɨŋ  
 when                    we        Go                    reach  
 a) 'Piti had (started) drawing when we arrived there.'  
 b) 'Piti had (finished) drawing when we arrived there.'

Example (21) involves two reference points. The first one is the absolute locus (i.e. here and now), which applies by default to (21). This absolute locus is represented by the wavy box. It indicates that the whole situation 'Piti had (started/finished) drawing, when we arrived there' is prior to the moment of speaking. As such, all events are on the left side of the wavy box.

- (61) *lôok kamlaj tòk jùu naj júk námkh'ɛɛŋ*  
 world PROG fall stay in era ice  
 'The world is going in the ice age.'

The temporal location is the ice age. Besides the time domain, examples of other abstract domains include *p<sup>h</sup>away* 'trance', *monsakòt* 'spell', and *k<sup>h</sup>waamrák* 'love'.

### 5.1.3 *kamlaj...jùu*<sub>2</sub> + SPACE

In contrast to other uses of *jùu*, *jùu*<sub>2</sub> locates an event in space. As a spatial locator, *jùu*<sub>2</sub> takes a spatial location, for example, 'in front of the cashier counter' as shown in (62).

Ref: *Four Reigns* (CU Thai Concordance)

- (62) *mîa mɔɔŋ paj t<sup>h</sup>i ráan*  
 when look go at store  
*k<sup>h</sup>ǎw hěŋ man kamlaj jün jùu*  
 he see it PROG stand stay  
*t<sup>h</sup>i náa k<sup>h</sup>áutɔ̀ə k<sup>h</sup>tŋen*  
 at front counter cashier  
 'When he looked into the store, he saw it was standing in front of the cashier counter.'

### 5.2 Co-occurrence of *jùu* and *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>

The *jùu* and *léɛw*<sub>2</sub> construction inherits the semantic values from both words. Recall that the semantic effect of *jùu* expresses temporal continuity. It associates the existence of an event with a period of time. As for *léɛw*<sub>2</sub>, it indicates that the event in question (EVENT) has been reached. Their co-occurrence expresses that the event has been reached for a period of time.

Consider the following situation.

**Situation C:** Manee and Chucaj sit near the windows at their office. Manee likes to leave the curtains open to see what is going on outside. Chucaj always closes her curtains and thus does not know about any outdoor situations.

One day, Manee looked out through the window seeing that *it was raining*. Chucaj did not know about this. After a while, they went home. While Chucaj was stepping out of the office she saw the rainwater coming off the roof but misunderstood that it was rain from the sky.

Chucaj said. 'Oh, it is raining heavily'

Manee argued that this was not rainwater. It was actually water coming off the roof. That is why it was heavy.

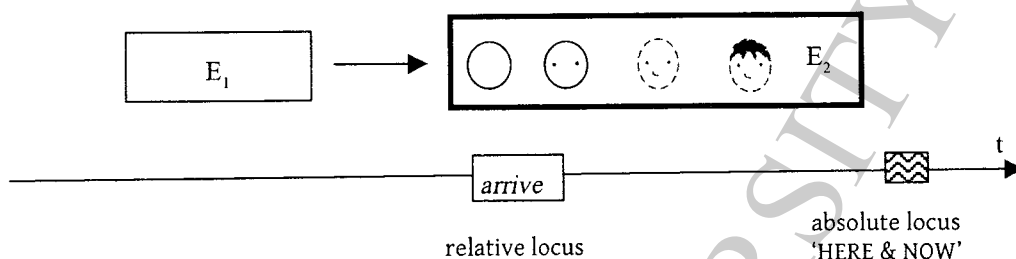
Chucaj said 'What are you talking about? It is raining now. Can't you see?'

Manee then pointed outside the building and said.

- (63) *fõn nà man tòk jùu léɛw*<sub>2</sub>  
 rain Pt it fall stay already  
 'It has already been raining.'

The second one is the relative locus which is inherited from the event 'when we arrived there'. In other words, the event 'when we arrived there' serves as a reference point. This relative locus is represented by the box labeled 'arrive'. It indicates the temporal relation between 'when we arrived' and 'Piti drew'. Their interaction determines which aspectual meaning Sentence (21) would get. If the event 'when we arrived there' is at the beginning period of drawing, the process can easily be construed as 'he has (started) drawing' (21a). However, if 'when we arrived there' occurs after the drawing event is already finished, the process is interpreted as 'he has (finished) drawing' (21b).

a) Piti had (started) drawing, when we arrived there.



b) Piti had (finished) drawing, when we arrived there.

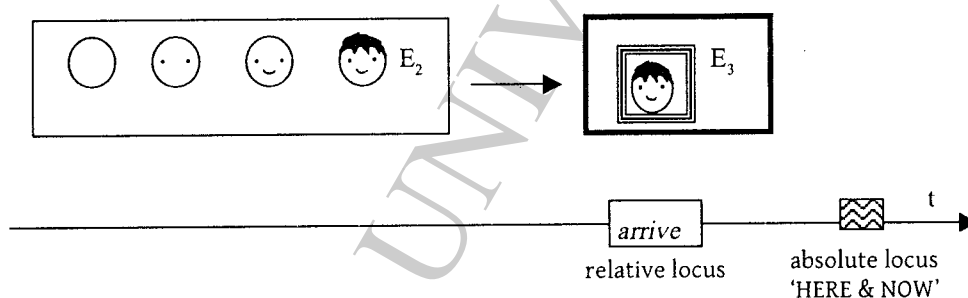


Figure 9. Different readings of *Piti wâat rūup léew<sub>2</sub>*

Take a look at another example taken from the story *Nik and Pim*.

- (22) *r̥iəŋ* *tʰəŋmòt* *kàət* *kʰiŋ* | *pʰrɔʔ* *pìtɕʰət* *pʰóp*  
 story all born up because Pichet meet  
*tʰəə* *kʰâw* *tʰi* *ráan* *sàtliəŋ* *hèŋ* *n̩iŋ*  
 her ASP at shop pet CLF one  
*naj* *miaŋ* *suurik* *sawítsəəlɛən*  
 in city Zurich Switzerland  
 'The story happened because Pichet met her at a pet shop in Zurich, Switzerland.'

*kʰànatʰi* *kʰăw* *kʰâw* *paj* *naj* *ráan* *pʰiə*  
 while he enter go in shop for  
*hăa* *sí* *lúkmaə* *bóksəə* *sí* *námtaan* *pʰiə*  
 find buy puppy boxer color brown for  
*nam* *kləp* *krɔŋtʰəp*  
 bring return Bangkok

When he went into the shop to find a brown boxer puppy to take to Bangkok.

*pìtɕʰət* *dâj* *paj* *tʰiaw* *hăa* *măa* *tɕʰànit*  
 Pichet get go travel look for dog kind  
*nán* *taam* *tʰi* *tàəŋ* *tàəŋ* *lăaj* *hèŋ* *léəw₂*  
 that place various many CLF already  
 Pichet had been looking for this kind of dog in many places:

*tʰâŋ* *naj* *miaŋ* *jəəraman* *ʔitaali* *fárənsɛt* *léʔ*  
 all in city German Italy France and  
*naj* *miaŋ* *sawít*  
 in city Switzerland  
 in German, Italy, France, and Switzerland.

*tée* *kôə* *jaŋ* *hăa* *tʰi* *tʰûuk* *təaj* *mâj*  
 but then still find that favour not  
*dâj* *sək* *tua* *diaw*  
 get even CLF only one  
 But he had not found any dog which he likes,

*teon* *kràtʰâŋ* *kʰâw* *paj* *naj* *ráan* *léʔ*  
 until he go in shop and  
*dâj* *hěn* *tʰəə* *kʰâw*  
 get see her enter  
 Until he went to that shop and met her.'



As such, it disallows specification of a point of time. It is incompatible with temporal adverbs indicating specific time such as *mîawaan* 'yesterday', as illustrated in (26).

- (26) \*Piti maa léew<sub>2</sub> mîawaan  
 Piti come **already** yesterday  
 'Piti has come yesterday.'

It should be noted here that it is possible to have 'yesterday', if there is a pause between 'Piti has come' and 'yesterday'.

An important characteristic of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed event. This means a perfective marker should be compatible with 'yesterday'. Nonetheless, it turns out that *léew<sub>2</sub>* may not be used with specification of the time. This shows that treating *léew<sub>2</sub>* as a perfective marker is not satisfactory.

In sum, the *léew<sub>2</sub>* marker establishes a relation between two events in that the EVENT is conceptualized with reference to the relevant preceding event. It marks that the EVENT has arrived at a reference point. Which point of the EVENT has been reached, however, depends on the speech event. The speech event is crucial for our discussion for two reasons. First, the speech event serves as our base specification resource. Second, it provides the location of the reference point. That is to say, the speech event imparts a full interpretation to the meaning of *léew<sub>2</sub>*.

Thai *léew<sub>2</sub>* is neither a 'perfect' marker nor a 'perfective' marker. It can, however, provide these aspectual readings depending on its interaction with the speech event. In other words, it not only expresses the internal composition of an event, but also the connection between events. It serves the function of temporal linker.

## 2.2 Clause linkage marker

The key function of *léew<sub>2</sub>* is to express a relation between events. As a clause linkage marker, this function is not lost. The relation is simply expressed in a different way. Chiravate (2004: 86) proposes this as a case of homophony due to its unified property – abutment relation<sup>13</sup>. In other words, the *léew<sub>2</sub>* aspectual marker and the *léew<sub>3</sub>* conjunction have the same meaning. She suggests that the latter marks 'the end of the first state or activity and denotes the beginning of the second' (2004: 99). I agree with this. However, this is not the only relation the conjunction *léew* can establish.

Recall that there are two main types of relation: addition and support (Larson 1984: 275-276). It is suggested that *léew<sub>2</sub>* establishes the relation of support. As a clause linkage marker, however, *léew<sub>3</sub>* establishes the relation of addition in that one event adds to another. All events are equal in prominence. This addition relation can be subclassified into chronological and nonchronological relations which will be discussed in turn.

The chronological relation is exemplified in (27), where *léew<sub>3</sub>* is glossed as 'then'. It denotes a sequence of events in that 'Piti sat down' follows 'Piti walked'. These two events are in sequential relation, i.e., one event precedes the other and there is no overlap of time between the events.

<sup>13</sup>  $p_2$  abuts  $p_1$  only if there is no meaningful time between them (summarized from Kamp and Schiehlen (1998: 50)).



- (27) Piti dæn maa léew<sub>3</sub> nây loj  
 Piti walk come **then** sit down  
 'Piti walked and then sat down.'

The core function of léew<sub>3</sub> is to bridge two events in sequence signalling that one event leads to the next. This means that EVENT 2 is contingent on the completion of the EVENT 1. The main burden here is the concept of 'completion' which is still part of the meaning. The clause linkage marker léew<sub>3</sub> has not entirely lost its 'aspectual effect'.

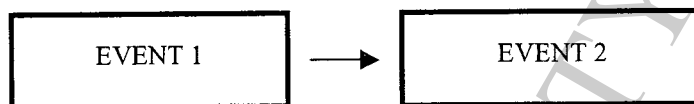


Figure 10. Sequential relation

This relation is really broad. There are several ways in which the events in sequential relation can be linked depending on what types of events are put together. The ones in (27) are related in terms of time.

In (28a), the events are not simply related in terms of time. Rather, they are linked in terms of cause and effect. The events have a **causative relation**. Notice that omitting léew<sub>3</sub> results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (28b). The word léew<sub>3</sub> is required to construct a **relation template**.

Ref: Nick and Pim

- (28a) lom plæ wâa ʔaraj tʰi pʰát léew<sub>3</sub>  
 wind mean that something which blow **then**  
 tʰam hâj tônmáj bajmáj wăj  
 make give tree leave move  
 '“Wind” means something which blows and makes trees and leaves move.'

- (28b) \*lom plæ wâa ʔaraj tʰi pʰát  
 wind mean that what which blow  
 tʰam hâj tônmáj bajmáj wăj  
 make give tree leave move  
 '“Wind” means something which blows and makes trees and leaves move.'

In (29a), events can be described as **resultative**. Note again that léew<sub>3</sub> is obligatory for grammaticality.

Ref: Nick and Pim

- (29a) tɛʰăn dâj klîn léew<sub>3</sub> māj sabaaj  
 I get smell **then** not well  
 'I got a smell (of this) and was not well.'

- (29b) \*tɛʰăn dâj klîn māj sabaaj  
 I get smell not well  
 'I got a smell (of this), was not well.'

It should be noted that the word *léew<sub>3</sub>* does not inherently have a causative or resultative relation. It simply 'sequentializes' the events indicating that one event leads to another. In other words, it builds in goals which events must reach in order to be successfully conceptualized. The type of sequential relation (e.g. chronological, casuative, or resultative) depends on the event types are combined. The key point is that the aspectual effect is still preserved in (27-29).

Example (30), by contrast, shows that there is some loss of aspectual value.

Ref: *Nick and Pim*

- (30) *naj*      *pàa*      *bon*              *p<sup>h</sup>uuk<sup>h</sup>ǎw*      *lék*      *lúk*      *níi*  
 in          forest on              mountain      small      CLF      this  
 'In this small mountain,  
*nðkcàak*    *cà*      *mii*              *tôn máj pàa*      *dðk máj*    *ηótjaam*    *léew<sub>3</sub>*  
 besides will    have              tree forest    flower    beautiful    then  
*jaŋ*      *mii*      *kratàaj pàa*    *lé?*              *kwaŋ*      *ʔik dúaj*  
 but      have      hare              and              deer      also  
 Not only are there trees and beautiful flowers, but also there are wild hares and deer.'

Given that there is such a loss, the relation template still remains. It still has a relationship to its source.

The events in (30) are not chronologically related. With the interaction of *jaŋ...ʔik dúaj* 'but...also', *léew<sub>3</sub>* gives a conjoining relation. One event is added to another nonchronologically.

It appears that in (30) *léew<sub>3</sub>* has lost its aspectual effect and thus seems to be a more grammaticalized clause linkage marker than the one in (27-29) where *léew<sub>3</sub>* expresses the completive meaning, in addition to linking two events.

It is interesting to find that in *Nik and Pim*, of 40 occurrences of *léew*, 11 function as *léew<sub>2</sub>*, 26 as *léew<sub>3</sub>* (with aspectual effect) as in (26-28), and 3 as *léew<sub>3</sub>* (without aspectual effect) as in (30). It is the *léew<sub>3</sub>* with aspectual effect which is used the most.

The structure of *léew<sub>3</sub>* can be represented as in Figure 9.

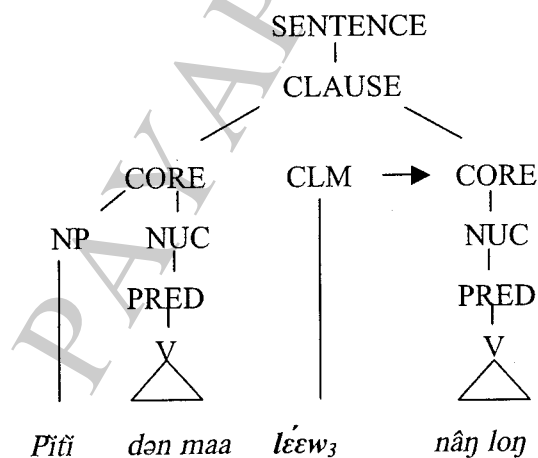


Figure 11. The structure of *léew<sub>3</sub>*

The examples we have seen so far illustrate the function of *léew<sub>3</sub>* as a clause linkage marker (i.e., it connects clauses to form a sentence.). In addition, it can link a