	kamlaŋ	*jùu*
Can occur as main verb	No	Yes
Can occur as noun	Yes	No
Position in syntax	Pre verb	Post verb (Subordinate verb)
Function	Aspectual operator	Locator
Aspectual value	Changing/Dynamic	Continuity
Compatibility with durative adverbs etc.	No	Yes
Compatibility with adverbs of temporal deixis	Yes	Yes
Reference point	Coincide	Move toward

Table 2. Summary of *jùu* and *kamlaŋ* properties

5. Combination of kamlaŋ, jùu, and lɛ́ɛw₂

There are three possible ways in which these words can co-occur, as shown below.

kamlaŋ	*jùu*	*lɛ́ɛw₂*
√	√	
	√	√
√		√

Table 3. The combination of *kamlaŋ* *jùu* and *lɛ́ɛw₂*

The combination of *kamlaŋ* and *jùu* will be discussed first.

5.1 Co-occurrence of kamlaŋ and jùu

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

Situation: Conversation
Q: Speaker 1
ŋaan   tʰîi   hâj   paj   tʰam   rɯ̌   jaŋ
work   that   give   go   do   or   not
'Did you do the work I gave to you, or not?'

A: Speaker 2
(57a)   **kamlaŋ**   tʰam   **jùu**   mâj   hɛ̌n   rɯ̌
        PROG   do   **stay**   NEG   see   or
        'I am doing it [at this very moment]. Don't you see?'

(57b) #*tʰam*   ***jùu***   *mâj*   *hěn*   *rɯ̌*
      do   **stay**   NEG   see   or
      'I am doing it [at this very moment]. Don't you see?'

(57c) ##***kamlaŋ***   *tʰam*   *jùu*   *hěn*   *rɯ̌*
      PROG   do   **stay** see   or
      'I am doing it at the very moment. Don't you see?'

All three answers are possible, although the co-occurrence (57a) is the most preferred and (57c) is the least likely. What Speaker 2 wants to communicate is not only that the event is in progress but also that S_2 is continuously performing it at the very moment without doing anything else, i.e., *jùu* anchors the work in progress which is modified by *kamlaŋ* at the time of utterance, placing emphasis on the event. In (57b-c), although they are grammatical, they are not perceived as complete and firm, especially (57c) – it seems as if it were 'floating', as commented on by some native Thais.

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

All types are possible, and each *jùu* requires a different type of location, as illustrated in Table 4:

kamlaŋ...jùu₂ + SPACE
kamlaŋ...jùu₃ + TIME (or other abstract domains)
kamlaŋ...jùu₄ + DISCOURSE EVENT/TIME

Table 4. Different types of location

The *kamlaŋ...jùu₄* construction is discussed first. Note that *jùu₁* does not co-occur with *kamlaŋ*.

5.1.1 kamlaŋ...jùu₄ + DISCOURSE EVENT/TIME

Consider the following examples. Note that e_1 refers to the event modified by *kamlaŋ* and/or *jùu₄*; e_2 refers to another event.

Ref: *Four Reigns* (CU Thai concordance)

(58a) *rîaŋ* *ʔaraj* *kʰráp* *kʰunmɛ̂ɛ* *taaʔân* *sîŋ* *lúk* *tɕàak* *tóʔ*
      story what Pt   mother Aun   who raise from table

      lɛ́ɛw *tʰǎam* *kʰɯ̂n* (e_2)
      then   ask   up

      tʰáŋ   **kamlaŋ** *jɯɯn* ***jùu*** (e_1)
      in the time **PROG**   stand **stay**
      ' "What is it about, mother?" Aun who had stood up asked while he was standing.'

(58b) #*rîaŋ* *ʔaraj* *kʰráp* *kʰunmɛ̂ɛ* *taaʔân* *sîŋ* *lúk* *tɕàak* *tóʔ*
      story what Pt   mother Aun   who raise from table

lέεw	*tʰăam*	*kʰîn*	(e₂)
then	ask	up	

tʰáŋ	**kamlaŋ**	*jɨɨn*	(e₁)
in the time	**PROG**	stand	

' "What is it about, mother#" Aun who had stood up asked while he was standing.'

(58c)

## *rîaŋ*	*ʔaraj*	*kʰráp*	*kʰunmêε*	*taaʔân*	*sîŋ*	*lúk*	*tεàak*	*tóʔ*
story	what	Pt	mother	Aun	who	raise	from	table

lέεw	*tʰăam*	*kʰîn*	(e₂)
then	ask	up	

tʰáŋ	*jɨɨn*	**jùu**	(e₁)
in the time	stand	**stay**	

' "What is it about, mother?" Aun who had stood up asked while he was standing.'

Sentence (58a) is the most preferred form[18]. The *kamlaŋ...jùu₄* construction inherits the semantic values from both words. The semantic effect of *kamlaŋ* is to convert e_1 into a dynamic event (represented in Figure 20. by a wavy line), and to indicate that it coincides with e_2 (represented by a line). The two events, however, simply occur simultaneously.
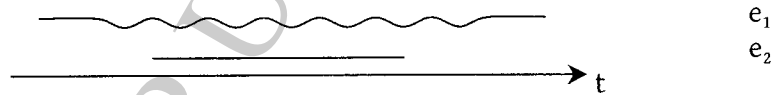
Figure 20. The semantic effect of *kamlaŋ*

The question is 'what does *jùu₄* contribute to the meaning? Is *kamlaŋ* not sufficient for indicating simultaneity?' Since the two events simply co-occur, only *kamlaŋ* should suffice. However, the two events in (58) do not simply co-occur. This is signaled by *tʰáŋ*[19] in the last clause of (58a). Even though, *kamlaŋ* and *jùu₄* are both temporal linkers, it is *jùu₄* which inherits 'locator effect' from its lexical source. The function of *jùu₄* 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

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[18] Sentence (58a) is the construction that actually appears in the novel. (58b-c) are variations on (58a) constructed to test acceptability. So is Sentence (59a). As such, (59b-c) are variations on (59a) constructed to test acceptability.

[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 *kamlaŋ* and *jùu*.

implication of emphasis. To put it in another way, $j\grave{u}u_4$ establishes the point in time t_x (provided by e_2) where e_2 and a particular portion of e_1 occurs.
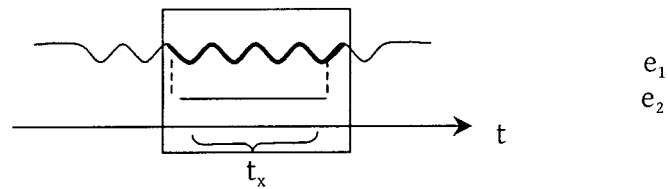

Figure 21. Conceptual combination of *kamlaŋ* and *jùu₄*

Because of this, Sentence (58b) does not sound natural. As for Sentence (58c), it is the least natural since *kamlaŋ,* which marks simultaneity, is missing.

The requirement of this conceptual combination is motivated by several factors, for example, the pragmatic factor, as in (57) where sarcasm is indicated. The co-occurrence is also preferred when there are two events, and one event suddenly emerges.

Ref: *Nick and Pim* (W. N. Pramuanmark (2005: 85))

(59a)
mǔupàa	*tua*	*to*	*to*	***kamlaŋ***	*wîŋ*	*wîŋ*	***jùu***	e_1
wild pig	CLF	big	REDP	**PROG**	run	REDP	**stay**	

kô	*lóm*	*taaj*	*kʰaa*	*tʰîi*	e_2
CONJ	fall	die	stuck	place	

'A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.'

(59b)
* *mǔupàa*	*tua*	*to*	*to*	***kamlaŋ***	*wîŋ*	*wîŋ*		e_1
wild pig	CLF	big	REDP	**PROG**	run	REDP		

kô	*lóm*	*taaj*	*kʰaa*	*tʰîi*	e_2
CONJ	fall	die	stuck	place	

'A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.'

(59c)
* *mǔupàa*	*tua*	*to*	*to*	*wîŋ*	*wîŋ*	***jùu***	e_1
wild pig	CLF	big	REDP	run	REDP	**stay**	

kô	*lóm*	*taaj*	*kʰaa*	*tʰîi*	e_2
CONJ	fall	die	stuck	place	

'A big wild pig was running, and suddenly dropped dead.'

In (59), 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 dies). The nature of the first event is an ongoing event, while the second is an interrupting event. What *jùu₄* does is to establish a position (a particular moment of e_1) for e_2 to take place.

Another important factor is how the clauses of a sentence are combined. The *kamlaŋ...jùu₄* construction is often found to occur with a conjunction plus a demonstrative, for example *kʰanà?...nán*[20] 'while...that'.

(60a)

naj	*kʰanaʔ*	*tʰíi*	*tʰɕăn*	*kamlaŋ*	*kʰít*	*jùu*	*nán*	e₁
in	while	which	I	PROG	think	stay	that	

pìtǐ	*kô*	*pɔ̀ət*	*pràtuu*	*dəən*	*kʰâw*	*maa*		e₂
Piti	CONJ	open	door	walk	enter	come		

'At the very time I was thinking, Piti opened the door and entered (the room).'

(60b)

* *naj*	*kʰanaʔ*	*tʰíi*	*tʰɕăn*	*kʰít*	*jùu*	*nán*		e₁
in	while	which	I	think	stay	that		

pìtǐ	*kô*	*pɔ̀ət*	*pràtuu*	*dəən*	*kʰâw*	*maa*		e₂
Piti	CONJ	open	door	walk	enter	come		

'At the very time I was thinking, Piti opened the door and entered (the room).'

(60c)

* *naj*	*kʰanaʔ*	*tʰíi*	*tʰɕăn*	*kamlaŋ*	*kʰít*	*nán*		e₁
in	while	which	I	PROG	think	that		

pìtǐ	*kô*	*pɔ̀ət*	*pràtuu*	*dəən*	*kʰâw*	*maa*		e₂
Piti	CONJ	open	door	walk	enter	come		

'At the very time I was thinking, Piti opened the door and entered (the room).'

This conjunction structure requires the co-occurrence of *kamlaŋ...jùu₄*. The word *kʰanà* calls for an ongoing event which is given by *kamlaŋ*. 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 *kamlaŋ...jùu₄* construction.

5.1.2 kamlaŋ...jùu₃ + TIME (+ other abstract domains)

In contrast to *jùu₄*, *jùu₃* locates an event in non-deictic time or other abstract domains, as discussed in Section 5.1.2.

Sentence (61) illustrates an example of *kamlaŋ...jùu₃*.

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[20] 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, *krâpăw baj nán* 'bag CLF that' (*that bag*). It can also occur without head noun. 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. 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.

Manee added, 'Look, it is drizzling now. It is not raining heavily. What you saw was the rainwater off the roof. It thus looked as if it was now raining heavily'.

Sentence (63) is stated since Manee wants to tell Chucaj that the raining event had been reached and continued for a certain period of time. It did not just happen as Chucaj thought. The combination of *jùu* and *lɛ́ɛw₂* provides such a meaning.

Take a look at another example.

Situation D: Manee gives Chucaj a piece of cake. Chucaj refuses to eat it because she is afraid it will make her fat. In reply, Manee says:

(64) *ʔûan* **jùu** **lɛ́ɛw₂** *mâj* *tôŋ* *klua* *rɔ̀ɔk*
fat **stay** **already** not must afraid Pt
'(You) are already fat. Don't worry.'

What *lɛ́ɛw₂* does is establish a change of state (i.e., indicating that there is arrival at the state of fatness). As for *jùu*, it marks the continuity of fatness. Without *jùu*, the sentence would simply express the change of state from being 'not fat' to 'fat'. The *jùu* + *lɛ́ɛw₂* construction is used here to express that the existence of being fat has been arrived at over a period of time. That is, Chucaj is not just fat. She has been fat for a while.

The existence of an event for a period of time metaphorically provides the sense of certainty – a fact that an event is definitely going to take place. In other words, the value of certainty is attached to the combination of *jùu* + *lɛ́ɛw₂*, as shown in (65).

(65) *pʰûakraaw* *sûu* **jùu** **lɛ́ɛw₂**
we fight **stay** **already**
mâj *mii* *tʰaaŋ* *jɔɔmpʰɛ́ɛ* *rɔ̀ɔk*
not have way give up Pt
'Of course, we will fight. We will never give up.'

This sense of certainty has become stronger and gained a conventionalized formula status. That is, it can be used by itself as a fixed expression of coding the speaker's certainty of doing something in an informal/casual way. For example, (66) can be a response to a question '*Do you want to go to see a movie with us?*'

(66) **jùu** **lɛ́ɛw₂**
stay already
'Sure!'

5.3 Co-occurrence of kamlaŋ and lɛ́ɛw₂

The co-occurrence of *kamlaŋ* and *lɛ́ɛw₂* is possible but much less frequent than the first two. According to Kullavanijaya and Bisang (2007: 80), *kamlaŋ* and *lɛ́ɛw* can only occur with inceptive-stative states of affiars (initial boundary + situation), as exemplifed in (67).

Ref: Kullavanijaya and Bisang (2007:80)

(67) *náam* **kamlaŋ** *rɔ́ɔn* *kʰɨ̂n* **lɛ́ɛw₂**
water **PROG** hot up **already**
'The water is becoming hot already.'

It is true that *kamlaŋ* and *lɛ́ɛw₂* can only occur with certain kind of states of affairs, but do they only occur with this kind of state of affairs? Moreover, is it appropriate to consider (67) as an inceptive-stative state of affairs?

Consider the following example:

Ref: Alloon & Hown (http://www.icygang.com)

(67) p^hîisǎaw   **kamlaŋ**   dəən paj   **lɛ́ɛw₂**
elder sister   **PROG**   walk go   **already**
'My sister is going away already.'
(The arrival of the event 'going away' is in progress.)

It is acceptable to say (68) which is clearly not an inceptive-stative. What is crucial for the grammaticality of (68) is its dynamic change. This property is important for the use of *kamlaŋ*.

The matter becomes still more complex, however, in that it is ungrammatical to say (69).

(69) *p^hîisǎaw   **kamlaŋ** dəən **lɛ́ɛw₂**
elder sister   **PROG**   walk **already**
'My sister is going already.'

The ungrammaticality of (69) would seem to contradict with the suggestion above since *dəən* is an activity verb which is inherently dynamic. However, one should bear in mind that whether *dəən* is dynamic or not is a matter of construal. Its semantic property can be modified depending on the environment in which it occurs. Recall that the effect of *lɛ́ɛw₂* is to specify that there is an arrival at a new event. What happens is that the marker *lɛ́ɛw₂* causes the event *dəən* to be viewed as happening at a point of time rather than happening in a period of time. In doing this, the dynamic change is deactiviated. Without the property of dynamicity, *dəən* is incompatible with *kamlaŋ*.

The grammaticality of (68) is due to the addition of the word *paj* 'go'. It causes the event 'walking' to be construed as extended – walk from A to B. It should be noted here that although *dəən* is a kind of motion verb, it does not convey the concept of path, as *paj* does. According to Rangkupan (1992: 33-36), *paj* and *maa* denote motions through a path, while *dəən* does not convey any path at all. The notion of path allows the event 'walking' to be conceptualized as an ongoing process. In this way, it takes on the character of dynamicity, and thus is compatible with *kamlaŋ*.

As for (67), *k^hîn* adds the meaning of change in degree of quality and quantity. As such, it is compatible *kamlaŋ*.

Events which have potential to be compatible with *kamlaŋ* and *lɛ́ɛw₂* include motions with path (e.g. *wîŋ maa* 'run come'; *wîŋ paj* 'run go') and dynamic statives (e.g. *rɔ́ɔn k^hîn* 'hot up'; *jen loŋ* 'cold down'). As always, this is determined by pragmatic constraints. There is, for example, a difference between change in degree of beauty and change in degree of heat. Although beauty can change over time, it is not as dynamic or as ongoing as temperature (e.g. The temperature of water can increase from the melting point (0 °C) to the boiling point (100 °C).). As such, it is not acceptable to say *kamlaŋ sǔaj k^hîn lɛ́ɛw* 'more beautiful already'.