

The state-achievement-accomplishment class of verbs in Lao
 N. J. Enfield, University of Melbourne, 1997.

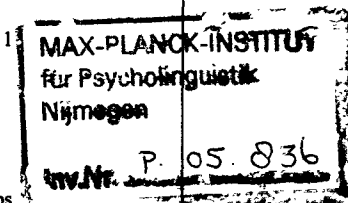
In this paper, I would like to explore the possibility that there is a major class of verbs in Lao, which may be called Dynamic-Statives. In terms of the logical structure of the verbs, as well as the aspectual structure, in terms of ongoing situations and the borders between them, it seems that Lao grammatically treats in the same way the full range of verbal concepts which would in other languages fall into the three separate classes of state, achievement, and accomplishment. Thus, 'red' may mean 'be.red' or 'go.red', 'build' may mean 'get.built' or 'be.built'. I will explore these verbs in terms of their logical and aspectual structure, and compare how they behave grammatically.

Based on an analysis of both logical structure and aspectual structure, two major classes of predicates can be established in Lao. These are ACTIVITIES (e.g. walk, play guitar, live.somewhere, work) and DYNAMIC-STATIVES, (covering all of Dowty's state, achievement, and accomplishment).

Lao verbs tend to be versatile, with many performing "grammatical" functions, such as marking non-core arguments (i.e. as "prepositions") as well as making aspect and modality distinctions. Many verbs show ambitransitivity, and many may have a number of different aspectual interpretations. Cf. *dèeng* 'red', 'be red', 'go red'; *mii* 'have', 'accumulate'; *taaj* 'die', 'be dead'; *saang* 'get built', 'be built', 'build'. Members of the whole range of 'predicates' - including 'live', 'have', 'give', 'break', 'die', 'hoist', 'red', 'play (guitar)', 'talk', 'ill', 'expensive', 'disappear', 'demolish', 'build houses', 'build that house' - all take the same array of morphosyntactic modification (mainly TAM marking, e.g. 'perf', 'exp', 'prog', 'retro', as well as temporal expressions), with only a couple of restrictions here and there (e.g. reduplication).
 The bases for sub-classification are largely covert.

Verb Class	Logical Structure
State	predicate' (x) e.g. 'John has a mansion': have' (John, a mansion)
Achievement	BECOME predicate' (x) e.g. 'John got a mansion': BECOME have' (John, a mansion)
Activity	DO (x, [predicate' (x)]) e.g. 'John builds mansions': DO (John, [mansion-build' (John)])
Accomplishment	f CAUSE y e.g. 'John built a mansion': [do' (John, something)] CAUSE [BECOME built' (mansion)]

Table 1 Verb Classes and Logical Structures (Foley and Van Valin 1984:39)



Should activities include HAPPEN rather than DO? The latter subsumes the former.

Sasse's "cognitive model" is "related to human perception and the processing of states of affairs. The basic idea is that states of affairs may or may not be conceived of as having boundaries." (Sasse 1990:33):

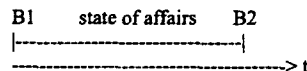


Figure 1

States of affairs ('people doing things', 'things happening', 'things being the case') are situations (S), and the borders around them are situation changes (SC). Thus,

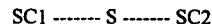


Figure 2

Breu/Sasse		Dowty/Vendler
TSTA	SC1 [S] SC2	(states)
ISTA	[SC1 S] SC2	
ACTI	[SC1 S SC2]	(activities)
GTER	SC1 [S SC2]	(accomplishments)
TTER	SC1 S [SC2]	(achievements)

Figure 3

I propose the following, to capture the fact that we are concerned at times with the situations on either side of an SC:

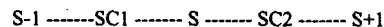
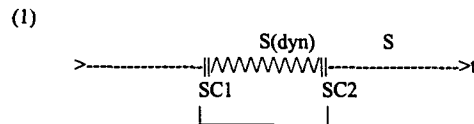


Figure 4

The structure of Lao "activities" (e.g. *lin kitaa* 'play the guitar'; *juu* 'be.at'; *het.viak* 'do.work', 'work') is as follows:



(2) *kamlang* V - dynamic situation S started before t, is happening at t, and will finish after t

- (3) (a) dèèng kamlang 'aap nam
D. prog bathe water
'Dang is having a bath.'
- (b) phet hen dèèng tòon khaw kamlang het.viak
P. see D. time 3p prog do.work
'Phet saw Dang when he was working.'

Another reading is a simple extension of this, the "transient present" (quasi-iterative) reading, where kamlang V means 'V happens these days, lately':

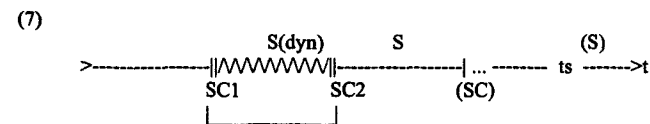
- (4) dèèng kamlang tèèng-kin phet-phet
D. prog prepare-eat spicy-rdp
'Dang is cooking hot (food) these days.'

Activity verbs can allow ambiguity in expressions with the experiential marker khøj (sense (ii) by implicature, Grice 1975):

- (5) (a) dèèng khøj khap lot ciip
D. exp drive vehicle jeep
i. 'Dang has "ever" driven a jeep.'
ii. 'Dang is accustomed to driving jeeps.'
- (b) malii khøj kin sin dip
M. exp eat meat raw
i. 'Mali has "ever" eaten raw meat.'
ii. 'Mali is accustomed to eating raw meat.'
- (c) dèèng khøj juu viangcan
D. exp be.at V.
i. 'Dang has "ever" lived in Vientiane.'
ii. 'Dang is accustomed to living in Vientiane.'

(6) khøj - 'experiential'; V has been the situation, 'at least once', and the resulting state of that situation is not the case now.

The (i) readings in (5) are the default readings, illustrated as follows:



A postposed temporal phrase, for example nùng sua.mong 'one hour', is construed as being the length of time between SC1 and SC2 (in (1)), i.e. the duration of the activity's progression:

- (8) (a) dèèng khap lot sua.mong nùng
D. drive car hour one
'Dang drove the car for one hour.'

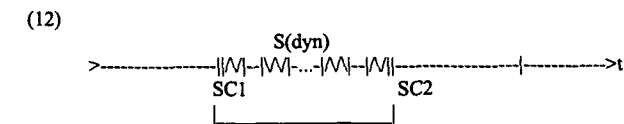
- (b) malii juu savan sòong 'aathit
M. be.at S. two week
'Mali was in Savan for two weeks.'
- (9) (a) dèèng saj sua.mong nùng khap lot
D. use hour one drive car
'Dang used up an hour driving the car.'
- (b) *dèèng saj sua.mong nùng cep thòong
D. use hour one sore belly
'*Dang used up an hour having an upset stomach.'

Note that cep thòong 'to have an upset stomach' behaves in all other respects like an activity verb. The difference is that its dynamicity is due to 'things happening' rather than anyone 'doing' anything. Thus, a sub-distinction of activities is based on presence of do' vs. happen' in the logical structure of the verb. A further distinction between do' vs. happen' activities emerges from the use of saw 'to cease' in a phase complement construction:

- (10) (a) dèèng saw het.viak
D. cease do.work
i. 'Dang has given up working (i.e. will not work again).'
ii. '?Dang has stopped working (e.g. for today).'
- (b) dèèng saw cep thòong
D. cease sore belly
i. '?Dang has given up having an upset stomach.'
ii. 'Dang's (condition of having an) upset stomach has ceased.'

(11) saw V - V stops, prematurely (you would think there would be more V-ing than this).

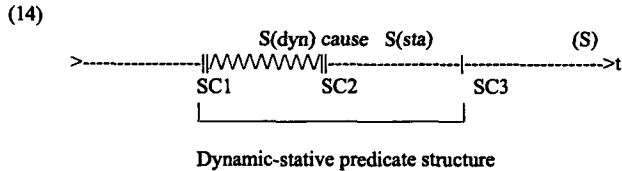
Situation S can be dynamic by virtue of repeated habitual occurrence of a sub-situation (quasi-iterative, cf. (4), above):



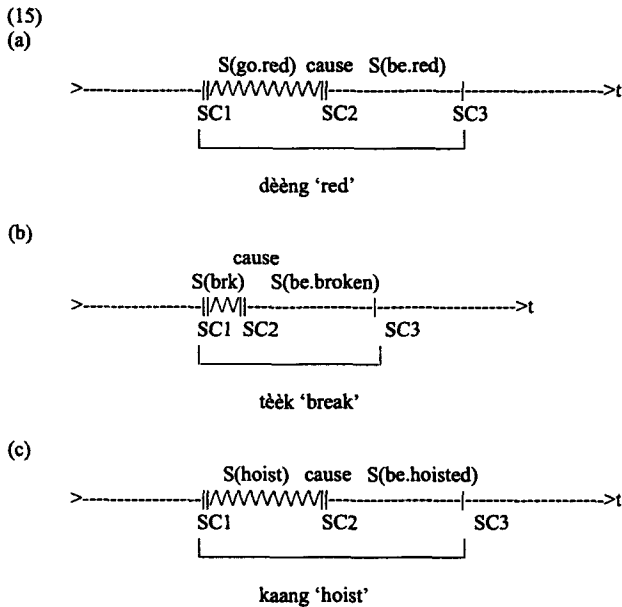
Finally, the preverbal retrospective marker haakòò puts SC1 into the immediate (relevant) past.

- (13) (a) dèèng haakòò het.viak
D. retro do.work
'Dang just started working(, when...)'
- (b) malii haakòò khian
M. retro write
'Mali just started writing(, when...)'

The rest of the Lao predicates (including translation equivalents of English "states", "achievements" and "accomplishments" as well as a class of "passive accomplishments") have the following structure:



These verbs (including *mii* 'have', *thaw* 'old', *dèèng* 'red', *taaj* 'die', *kaang* 'be hoisted', *tèèk* 'break', and certain activity verbs with referential objects (i.e. non-incorporated objects, as in *saang huan lang nan* 'build that house') basically behave in the same way. Specific differences in semantic effect (i.e. from combination with various morphosyntactic marking) are due to specific differences in relative salience, and relative "shape" of the subparts of the structure in (14):



"Passive accomplishments" are so-called for the convenient reference to English. These are telic predicates, with S=O ambitransitivity (note the surface problem in (c) where zero anaphora of postverbal nominal produces actor-undergoer ambiguity):

- (16) (a) *dèèng kaang mung lèèw*
D. hoist mosquito.net finish
'Dang has hoisted the mosquito net.'
- (b) *mung kaang lèèw*
mosquito.net hoist finish
'The mosquito net has been hoisted.'
- (c) *dèèng kaang lèèw*
D. hoist finish
'Dang has hoisted (it).'
- (17) (a) *paa too nii taaj*
fish body this die
i. 'This fish (has) died.'
ii. 'This fish is dead.'

Since *kamlang* specifies that the profiled situation be dynamic, it picks out *Sdyn*, with inchoative the result:

- (18) (a) *dèèng kamlang taaj*
D. prog die
'Dang is dying/about to die.'
- (b) *cia kamlang dèèng*
paper prog red
'The paper is going red.'
- (c) *huan lang nii nang kamlang saang*
house clf this still prog build
'This house is still being built.'

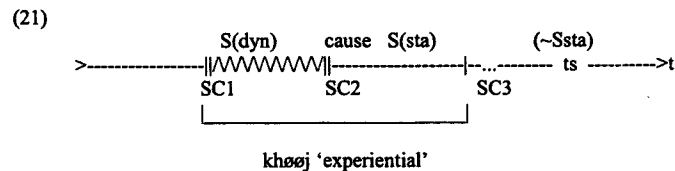
"Achievement" verbs often have more momentary dynamic situation *Sdyn*, as, for example, with *break*. Thus, *break+prog* may be prospective, inchoative (e.g. if breakage is in slow-motion film, or slow cracking from earthquake, etc), or iterative, according to the context:

- (19) (a) *còok nuaj nii kamlang tèèk*
glass clf this prog break
i. 'This glass is about to break.' (e.g. toppling)
ii. 'This glass is breaking.' (e.g. cracking before our eyes)
iii. 'This glass is continually breaking.'

All these construals are simply alternatives for extending *Sdyn* across the time of speech, according to the meaning of *kamlang* 'prog'.

- (20) (a) *khòp.khua dèèng kamlang mii ngøn*
family D. prog have money
'Dang's family is beginning to have money.'
- (b) *laakhaa kamlang phèèng*
price prog expensive
'The prices are going up/beginning to get expensive.'
- (c) *phò kamlang thaw*
father prog old
'Father is getting old.'

For some of these verbs, SC2 is not at all salient (e.g. old), while for others it is (e.g. have). For the latter, the SC2 is separately lexicalised (as in English), as get. Thus, the dynamicity of Sdyn is profiled whenever kamlang is used, and according to the "shape" of the particular verb's structure, the available construals differ. The D-S verbs remain the same in their basic internal structure.



- (22) (a) dèng khøj mii ngøn
D. exp have money
'Dang once had money.'
- (b) dèng khøj taaj
D. exp die
'Dang has "ever" died.' (but was resuscitated)

The accomplishment verbs tend not to work with the experiential, but this is not a broad rule due to general logical or aspectual structure of the class:

- (23) (a) haw khøj maang hùn nii
I exp demolish house this
'I have "ever" demolished this house.' (it has since been rebuilt)
- (b) *haw khøj saang hùn nii
I exp build house this
'*I have "ever" built this house.'

As shown above, V sua-mong nùng 'V (for) one hour' profiles SC-SC. With D-S verbs it gets a choice, and so different verbs behave quite differently. Here we can separate accomplishments from states, where the preferred profile is over SC1-SC2 (Sdyn) and SC2 - SC3 (Ssta), respectively. Achievements may go either way:

- (24) (a) khòj huu sua-mong nùng
I know hour one
'I knew it (have known it) for an hour.'
- (b) 'an nii dèng sua-mong nùng
thing this red hour one
i. 'This thing was red for an hour.'
ii. 'This thing went red for an hour.'
- (c) ?phò khòj thaw pii nùng
father I old year one
i. ?'My father was old for a year.'
ii. ?'My father went old for a year.'
(latter perhaps OK in science fiction context)

- (d) maak nii suk 'aathit nùng
fruit this ripe week one
i. 'This fruit has been ripening for a week.'
ii. 'This fruit took (takes) a week to ripen.'
iii. 'This fruit has been ripe for a week.'

Problem with (d) is due to different concepts of correlation between 'stage-of-ripeness' and 'readiness-for-eating' for various fruits. Cf. durian (concern is with SCsta) vs. pawpaw (concern is with SCdyn).

D-S verbs cannot get a 'retire' reading for saw 'cease'. They only get the 'stop, unfinished' reading, applied to Sdyn (as for activities). The clearest examples are the accomplishment verbs:

- (25) (a) hùn lang nii saw saang
house clf this cease build
'This house has (been) stopped being built.'
'They've stopped building this house.'
- (b) sin phèen nii malii saw tam
skirt clf this M. cease weave
'Mali has stopped weaving this (unfinished) skirt.'

Here, Sdyn is 'interrupted' before its natural conclusion.

Compare typically momentaneous 'achievements', where saw greatly prefers an iterative reading, either where one thing can repeatedly go through SC2, (or) where participants are multiplied:

- (26) (a) còk saw tèk
glass cease break
i. 'The glass has stopped breaking (over and over).'
ii. 'The glasses have stopped breaking.'
- (b) man saw taaj
it cease die
'*It has stopped dying (over and over).'
'They have stopped dropping dead (e.g. frogs in a tub).'

Stative verbs are similar, in that Sdyn is profiled:

- (27) (a) khaw saw mii ngøn
3p cease have money
'She has stopped accumulating money.'
- (b) man saw dèng
it cease red
'It has stopped going red (and one couldn't say it is "red" now).'

In conclusion:

The various verbal operators and modifiers examined here have had pretty consistent semantic values, and in their interaction with the internal structure of the verbs, have produced different semantic results. Separate class membership is quite distinct at the higher level, between ACTIVITY verbs and DYNAMIC-STATIVE verbs. Below that, the basic template of the D-S verb structure is consistent, with variation in template shape having semantic consequences. Comparing statives, accomplishments, and achievements, the differences are partly due to relative salience of components, for reasons of usage and presumably cultural familiarity. A classic D-S verb is 'die', since the central components Sdyn, SC, and Ssta are all important, and conceptually salient. Huu 'know' seems more oriented toward Ssta, while saang 'be.built' is more oriented toward Sdyn.

The broad range of D-S verbs in Lao basically share the same logical structure (in Dowty's sense), and aspectual structure (in Sasse's sense). Slight modifications can be made to these schemas, and the two can be successfully integrated, in complementary fashion. The differences between various D-S verbs in their behaviour and interpretation are not particularly clear-cut, and they basically fall out as a result of the specific shape of their instantiation of the general D-S schema.

Note

This paper was written with the extensive input of Latsamay Sylavong. I would like to thank Tony Diller, Bob Dixon, Matthew Dryer, Dominique Estival, Nick Evans, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, and Anna Wierzbicka for helpful comments and suggestions in response to earlier presentations of this work. Faults remain my own.

References**Dowty**

Foley, W and R.D. Van Valin, 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge University Press.

Grice, H. Paul 1975. "Logic and Conversation". In Cole, Peter and Jerry L. Morgan (eds), 1975. *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press.

Rosen?

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1990, "Aspect and Aktionsart: a Reconciliation" in Carl Vetters and Willy Vendeweghe (eds) *Perspectives on Aspects and Aktionsarts*. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 6.

The state-achievement-accomplishment class of verbs in Lao
 N. J. Enfield, University of Melbourne, 1997.

In this paper, I would like to explore the possibility that there is a major class of verbs in Lao, which may be called Dynamic-Statives. In terms of the logical structure of the verbs, as well as the aspectual structure, in terms of ongoing situations and the borders between them, it seems that Lao grammatically treats in the same way the full range of verbal concepts which would in other languages fall into the three separate classes of state, achievement, and accomplishment. Thus, 'red' may mean 'be.red' or 'go.red', 'build' may mean 'get.built' or 'be.built'. I will explore these verbs in terms of their logical and aspectual structure, and compare how they behave grammatically.

Based on an analysis of both logical structure and aspectual structure, two major classes of predicates can be established in Lao. These are ACTIVITIES (e.g. walk, play guitar, live.somewhere, work) and DYNAMIC-STATIVES, (covering all of Dowty's state, achievement, and accomplishment).

Lao verbs tend to be versatile, with many performing "grammatical" functions, such as marking non-core arguments (i.e. as "prepositions") as well as making aspect and modality distinctions. Many verbs show ambitransitivity, and many may have a number of different aspectual interpretations. Cf. dèng 'red', 'be red', 'go red'; mii 'have', 'accumulate'; taaj 'die', 'be dead'; saang 'get built', 'be built', 'build'. Members of the whole range of 'predicates' - including 'live', 'have', 'give', 'break', 'die', 'hoist', 'red', 'play (guitar)', 'talk', 'ill', 'expensive', 'disappear', 'demolish', 'build houses', 'build that house' - all take the same array of morphosyntactic modification (mainly TAM marking, e.g. 'perf', 'exp', 'prog', 'retro', as well as temporal expressions), with only a couple of restrictions here and there (e.g. reduplication).

The bases for sub-classification are largely covert.

Verb Class	Logical Structure
State	predicate' (x) e.g. 'John has a mansion': have' (John, a mansion)
Achievement	BECOME predicate' (x) e.g. 'John got a mansion': BECOME have' (John, a mansion)
Activity	DO (x, [predicate' (x)]) e.g. 'John builds mansions': DO (John, [mansion-build' (John)])
Accomplishment	f CAUSE y e.g. 'John built a mansion': [do' (John, something)] CAUSE [BECOME built' (mansion)]

Table 1 Verb Classes and Logical Structures (Foley and Van Valin 1984:39)

Should activities include HAPPEN rather than DO? The latter subsumes the former.

Sasse's "cognitive model" is "related to human perception and the processing of states of affairs. The basic idea is that states of affairs may or may not be conceived of as having boundaries." (Sasse 1990:33):

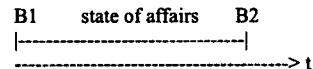


Figure 1

States of affairs ('people doing things', 'things happening', 'things being the case') are situations (S), and the borders around them are situation changes (SC). Thus,

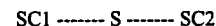


Figure 2

Breu/Sasse		Dowty/Vendler
TSTA	SC1 [S] SC2	(states)
ISTA	[SC1 S] SC2	(activities)
ACTI	[SC1 S SC2]	(accomplishments)
GTER	SC1 [S SC2]	(achievements)
TTER	SC1 S [SC2]	

Figure 3

I propose the following, to capture the fact that we are concerned at times with the situations on either side of an SC:

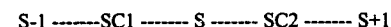
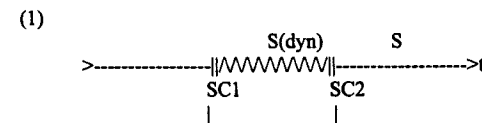


Figure 4

The structure of Lao "activities" (e.g. lin kitaa 'play the guitar'; juu 'be.at'; het.viak 'do.work', 'work') is as follows:



(2) kamlang V - dynamic situation S started before t, is happening at t, and will finish after t

- (3) (a) dèèng kamlang 'aap nam
D. prog bathe water
'Dang is having a bath.'
- (b) phet hen dèèng tòòn khaw kamlang het.viak
P. see D. time 3p prog do.work
'Phet saw Dang when he was working.'

Another reading is a simple extension of this, the "transient present" (quasi-iterative) reading, where kamlang V means 'V happens these days, lately':

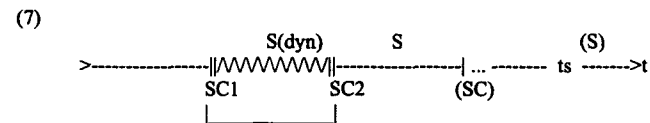
- (4) dèèng kamlang tèèng-kin phet-phet
D. prog prepare-eat spicy-rdp
'Dang is cooking hot (food) these days.'

Activity verbs can allow ambiguity in expressions with the experiential marker khøj (sense (ii) by implicature, Grice 1975):

- (5) (a) dèèng khøj khap lot ciip
D. exp drive vehicle jeep
i. 'Dang has "ever" driven a jeep.'
ii. 'Dang is accustomed to driving jeeps.'
- (b) malii khøj kin sin dip
M. exp eat meat raw
i. 'Mali has "ever" eaten raw meat.'
ii. 'Mali is accustomed to eating raw meat.'
- (c) dèèng khøj juu viangcan
D. exp be.at V.
i. 'Dang has "ever" lived in Vientiane.'
ii. 'Dang is accustomed to living in Vientiane.'

(6) khøj - 'experiential'; V has been the situation, 'at least once', and the resulting state of that situation is not the case now.

The (i) readings in (5) are the default readings, illustrated as follows:



A postposed temporal phrase, for example nùng sua.mong 'one hour', is construed as being the length of time between SC1 and SC2 (in (1)), i.e. the duration of the activity's progression:

- (8) (a) dèèng khap lot sua.mong nùng
D. drive car hour one
'Dang drove the car for one hour.'

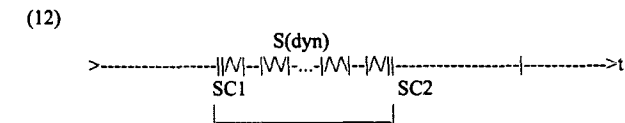
- (b) malii juu savan sòòng 'aathit
M. be.at S. two week
'Mali was in Savan for two weeks.'
- (9) (a) dèèng saj sua.mong nùng khap lot
D. use hour one drive car
'Dang used up an hour driving the car.'
- (b) *dèèng saj sua.mong nùng cep thòòng
D. use hour one sore belly
*'Dang used up an hour having an upset stomach.'

Note that cep thòòng 'to have an upset stomach' behaves in all other respects like an activity verb. The difference is that its dynamicity is due to 'things happening' rather than anyone 'doing' anything. Thus, a sub-distinction of activities is based on presence of do' vs. happen' in the logical structure of the verb. A further distinction between do' vs. happen' activities emerges from the use of saw 'to cease' in a phase complement construction:

- (10) (a) dèèng saw het.viak
D. cease do.work
i. 'Dang has given up working (i.e. will not work again).'
ii. ?'Dang has stopped working (e.g. for today).'
- (b) dèèng saw cep thòòng
D. cease sore belly
i. ?'Dang has given up having an upset stomach.'
ii. 'Dang's (condition of having an) upset stomach has ceased.'

(11) saw V - V stops, prematurely (you would think there would be more V-ing than this).

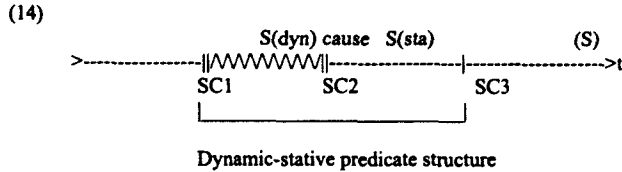
Situation S can be dynamic by virtue of repeated habitual occurrence of a sub-situation (quasi-iterative, cf. (4), above):



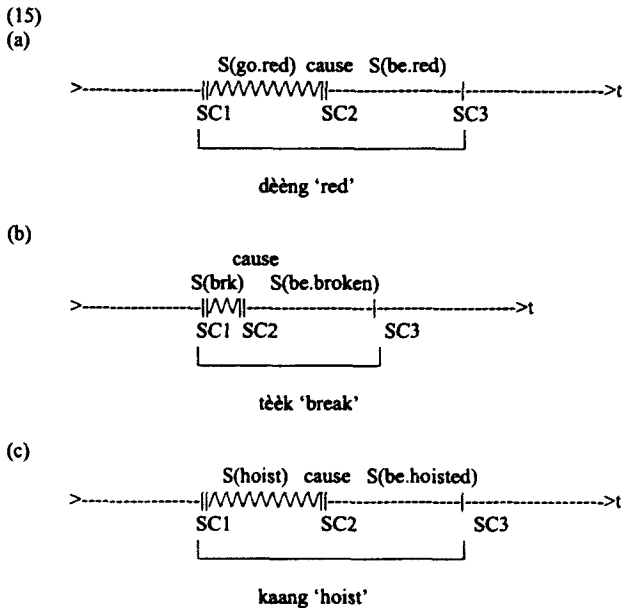
Finally, the preverbal retrospective marker haakòò puts SC1 into the immediate (relevant) past.

- (13) (a) dèèng haakòò het.viak
D. retro do.work
'Dang just started working(, when...).'
- (b) malii haakòò khian
M. retro write
'Mali just started writing(, when...).'

The rest of the Lao predicates (including translation equivalents of English "states", "achievements" and "accomplishments" as well as a class of "passive accomplishments") have the following structure:



These verbs (including *mii* 'have', *thaw* 'old', *dèèng* 'red', *taaj* 'die', *kaang* 'be hoisted', *tèèk* 'break', and certain activity verbs with referential objects (i.e. non-incorporated objects, as in *saang huan lang nan* 'build that house') basically behave in the same way. Specific differences in semantic effect (i.e. from combination with various morphosyntactic marking) are due to specific differences in relative salience, and relative "shape" of the subparts of the structure in (14):



"Passive accomplishments" are so-called for the convenient reference to English. These are telic predicates, with S=O ambitransitivity (note the surface problem in (c) where zero anaphora of postverbal nominal produces actor-undergoer ambiguity):

- (16) (a) *dèèng kaang mung lèèw*
D. hoist mosquito.net finish
'Dang has hoisted the mosquito net.'
- (b) *mung kaang lèèw*
mosquito.net hoist finish
'The mosquito net has been hoisted.'
- (c) *dèèng kaang lèèw*
D. hoist finish
'Dang has hoisted (it).'
- (17) (a) *paa too nii taaj*
fish body this die
i. 'This fish (has) died.'
ii. 'This fish is dead.'

Since *kamlang* specifies that the profiled situation be dynamic, it picks out *Sdyn*, with inchoative the result:

- (18) (a) *dèèng kamlang taaj*
D. prog die
'Dang is dying/about to die.'
- (b) *cia kamlang dèèng*
paper prog red
'The paper is going red.'
- (c) *huan lang nii nang kamlang saang*
house clf this still prog build
'This house is still being built.'

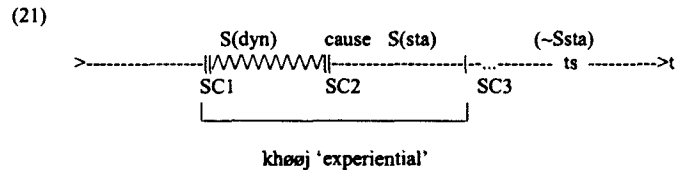
"Achievement" verbs often have more momentary dynamic situation *Sdyn*, as, for example, with *break*. Thus, *break+prog* may be prospective, inchoative (e.g. if breakage is in slow-motion film, or slow cracking from earthquake, etc), or iterative, according to the context:

- (19) (a) *còòk nuaj nii kamlang tèèk*
glass clf this prog break
i. 'This glass is about to break.' (e.g. toppling)
ii. 'This glass is breaking.' (e.g. cracking before our eyes)
iii. 'This glass is continually breaking.'

All these construals are simply alternatives for extending *Sdyn* across the time of speech, according to the meaning of *kamlang* 'prog'.

- (20) (a) *khòòp.khua dèèng kamlang mii ngøn*
family D. prog have money
'Dang's family is beginning to have money.'
- (b) *laakhaa kamlang phèèng*
price prog expensive
'The prices are going up/beginning to get expensive.'
- (c) *phòò kamlang thaw*
father prog old
'Father is getting old.'

For some of these verbs, SC2 is not at all salient (e.g. old), while for others it is (e.g. have). For the latter, the SC2 is separately lexicalised (as in English), as get. Thus, the dynamicity of Sdyn is profiled whenever kamlang is used, and according to the "shape" of the particular verb's structure, the available construals differ. The D-S verbs remain the same in their basic internal structure.



- (22) (a) dèng khøj mii ngøn
D. exp have money
'Dang once had money.'
- (b) dèng khøj taaj
D. exp die
'Dang has "ever" died.' (but was resuscitated)

The accomplishment verbs tend not to work with the experiential, but this is not a broad rule due to general logical or aspectual structure of the class:

- (23) (a) haw khøj maang hùn nii
I exp demolish house this
'I have "ever" demolished this house.' (it has since been rebuilt)
- (b) *haw khøj saang hùn nii
I exp build house this
'*I have "ever" built this house.'

As shown above, V sua-mong nùng 'V (for) one hour' profiles SC-SC. With D-S verbs it gets a choice, and so different verbs behave quite differently. Here we can separate accomplishments from states, where the preferred profile is over SC1-SC2 (Sdyn) and SC2 - SC3 (Ssta), respectively. Achievements may go either way:

- (24) (a) khòj huu sua-mong nùng
I know hour one
'I knew it (have known it) for an hour.'
- (b) 'an nii dèng sua-mong nùng
thing this red hour one
i. 'This thing was red for an hour.'
ii. 'This thing went red for an hour.'
- (c) ?phò khòj thaw pii nùng
father I old year one
i. ?'My father was old for a year.'
ii. ?'My father went old for a year.'
(latter perhaps OK in science fiction context)

- (d) maak nii suk 'aathit nùng
fruit this ripe week one
i. 'This fruit has been ripening for a week.'
ii. 'This fruit took (takes) a week to ripen.'
iii. 'This fruit has been ripe for a week.'

Problem with (d) is due to different concepts of correlation between 'stage-of-ripeness' and 'readiness-for-eating' for various fruits. Cf. durian (concern is with SCsta) vs. pawpaw (concern is with SCdyn).

D-S verbs cannot get: a 'retire' reading for saw 'cease'. They only get the 'stop, unfinished' reading, applied to Sdyn (as for activities). The clearest examples are the accomplishment verbs:

- (25) (a) hùn lang nii saw saang
house clf this cease build
'This house has (been) stopped being built.'
'They've stopped building this house.'
- (b) sin phèn nii malii saw tam
skirt clf this M. cease weave
'Mali has stopped weaving this (unfinished) skirt.'

Here, Sdyn is 'interrupted' before its natural conclusion.

Compare typically momentaneous 'achievements', where saw greatly prefers an iterative reading, either where one thing can repeatedly go through SC2, (or) where participants are multiplied:

- (26) (a) còk saw tèk
glass cease break
i. 'The glass has stopped breaking (over and over).'
ii. 'The glasses have stopped breaking.'
- (b) man saw taaj
it cease die
'*It has stopped dying (over and over).'
'They have stopped dropping dead (e.g. frogs in a tub).'

Stative verbs are similar, in that Sdyn is profiled:

- (27) (a) khaw saw mii ngøn
3p cease have money
'She has stopped accumulating money.'
- (b) man saw dèng
it cease red
'It has stopped going red (and one couldn't say it is "red" now).'

In conclusion:

The various verbal operators and modifiers examined here have had pretty consistent semantic values, and in their interaction with the internal structure of the verbs, have produced different semantic results. Separate class membership is quite distinct at the higher level, between ACTIVITY verbs and DYNAMIC-STATIVE verbs. Below that, the basic template of the D-S verb structure is consistent, with variation in template shape having semantic consequences. Comparing statives, accomplishments, and achievements, the differences are partly due to relative salience of components, for reasons of usage and presumably cultural familiarity. A classic D-S verb is 'die', since the central components Sdyn, SC, and Ssta are all important, and conceptually salient. Huu 'know' seems more oriented toward Ssta, while saang 'be.built' is more oriented toward Sdyn.

The broad range of D-S verbs in Lao basically share the same logical structure (in Dowty's sense), and aspectual structure (in Sasse's sense). Slight modifications can be made to these schemas, and the two can be successfully integrated, in complementary fashion. The differences between various D-S verbs in their behaviour and interpretation are not particularly clear-cut, and they basically fall out as a result of the specific shape of their instantiation of the general D-S schema.

Note

This paper was written with the extensive input of Latsamay Sylavong. I would like to thank Tony Diller, Bob Dixon, Matthew Dryer, Dominique Estival, Nick Evans, Hans-Jeurgem Sasse, and Anna Wierzbicka for helpful comments and suggestions in response to earlier presentations of this work. Faults remain my own.

References**Dowty**

Foley, W and R.D. Van Valin, 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge University Press.

Grice, H. Paul 1975. "Logic and Conversation". In Cole, Peter and Jerry L. Morgan (eds), 1975. *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press.

Rosen?

Sasse, Hans-Jürgen 1990, "Aspect and Aktionsart: a Reconciliation" in Carl Vetters and Willy Vendeweghe (eds) *Perspectives on Aspects and Aktionsarts*. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 6.