

# THE EXPRESSION OF ASPECT IN SESOTHO

BY

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## DECLARATION

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## ABSTRACT

The expression of aspect in Sesotho within the framework of the principles, properties and mechanisms of three different components of grammar, i.e. the syntactic, morphological and semantic components, has been established in a broader context. The application of the terms *aspect* and *tense* in the existing grammatical descriptions of the Sesotho verbs, however, has proved to be problematic. This is largely owing to the fact that these categories are established in Sesotho on the basis of notional distinctions. This study aims to examine comprehensively, firstly, the morphosyntactic system of Sesotho, in order to determine the range of categories that express grammatical aspect, which includes the Perfective and Imperfective aspects in Sesotho. The perfective-imperfective opposition is a particular area of focus in this study, and comprises the different tenses which are involved in the meaning of the situation types (*activities, achievements, accomplishments* and *states*). In this regard, questions relating to the distinctive properties of tense and aspect in Sesotho, namely: (i) the aspect categories that occur in the full range of tenses in Sesotho, (ii) the aspect categories that occur in deficient verb constructions, and (iii) the theoretical treatment of the relationship between aspect and the aspectual classes of verbs (*activities, achievements, accomplishments* and *states*) in Sesotho, undergo detailed examination and investigation in this study.

Secondly, the study both defines and explores the theoretical frameworks pertaining to the analysis of: (i) the correlation between the Sesotho aspect system and the relationship between situation types and grammatical aspects in Sesotho, (ii) the distribution of aspectual classes of verbs with respect to grammatical aspect and temporal adjunct (*for-* adverbial and *in-* adverbial) categories in Sesotho, and (iii), the effect on telicity of certain complement categories on the inner temporal structure of aspectual verb classes. The study establishes the premise that the syntactic evidence for telic events in Sesotho usually turns on the feature of completion which involves the interaction of duration and a change of state. Therefore, this study aims to demonstrate that the existence and application of the durative adverbial provides syntactic evidence for atelic events. The argument for the causes and dynamics of the telic/atelic dichotomy, as approached in this study, is based on crucial shifts

which are triggered by either completive or durative adverbials when appearing with situation types.

## OPSOMMING

Die wyse waarop aspek in Sesotho tot uitdrukking kom binne die raamwerk van die beginsels, eienskappe en meganismes van drie verskillende komponente van die grammatika, naamlik die sintaktiese, morfologiese en semantiese komponente, is binne 'n breër konteks vasgestel. Die toepassing van die terme **aspek** en **tempus/tydsaanduiding** in die bestaande grammatikabeskrywings van die Sesotho werkwoorde, blyk egter problematies te wees. Dit moet grootliks toegeskryf word aan die feit dat hierdie kategorieë in Sesotho op grond van begripsonderskeidings gevestig geraak het. Die doel van hierdie studie is eerstens om 'n omvattende ondersoek van die morfosintaktiese sisteem van Sesotho te doen ten einde vas te stel wat die omvang van die kategorieë is wat grammatiese aspek uitdruk. Dit sluit die Perfektiewe en Imperfektiewe aspekte van Sesotho in. Die perfektum – imperfektumopposisie is 'n besondere fokus area in hierdie studie en dit behels die verskillende tye van die werkwoord wat betrokke is die betekenis van die situasietipes (aktiwiteite, verrigtinge, afhandeling en toestande). In hierdie verband word vrae wat betrekking het op die distinktiwe eienskappe van tempus en aspek in Sesotho, naamlik (i) die aspekategorieë wat in die volle reeks tye in Sesotho voorkom, (ii) die aspekategorieë wat in gebrekkige/ontoereikende werkwoordkonstruksies en (iii) die teoretiese hantering van die verhouding tussen aspek en die aspektiese klasse werkwoorde (aktiwiteite, verrigtinge, afhandeling en toestande) in Sesotho in hierdie studie in besonderhede ondersoek en nagevors. Tweedens omlin en verken die studie die teoretiese raamwerke wat betrekking het op (i) die korrelasie tussen die Sesotho aspekstelsel en die verband tussen situasietipes en grammatikale aspekte in Sesotho, (ii) die distribusie van aspektiese werkwoordklasse ten opsigte van grammatiese aspek en temporele adjunkategorieë (vir – adverbiale en in – adverbiale) in Sesotho, en (iii) die effek op “*telicity*” telisiteit van sekere komplementkategorieë op die binneste temporele struktuur van die aspektiese werkwoordklasse. Die verhandeling poneer die premis dat die sintaktiese bewys vir “*telic*” telies gebeure in Sesotho gewoonlik die kenmerk van voltooidheid aktiveer wat die interaksie van tydsduur en 'n verandering van toestand betrek. In teenstelling hiermee beoog hierdie tesis om te demonstree dat die bestaan en toepassing van die duratiewe adverbiale aspek sintaktiese bewys verskaf vir “*atelic*”

gebeure. Die argument vir die oorsake en dinamika van die “*telic/atelic*” digotomie, soos in hierdie studie benader, is gebaseer op deurslaggewende verskuiwings wat teweeggebring word deur òf voltooide òf duratiewe adverbiale aspekte wanneer hulle saam met situasionele tipes voorkom.

## KGUTSUFATSO

Tshebediso ya aspekte Sesothong e sibollotswe ka moelelo o pharalletseng ho sebedisitswe moralo wa molawana o bontshang dikarolwana tse tharo tse fapaneng tsa kwaholopuo e leng: kahopolelo/sintheks, kahontswe/mofoloji, moelelo/semantiks. Tshebediso ya *aspekte* le *lekgathe* ke bothata bo teng ditlhalosong tsa kwaholopuo ya dihlopha tsa maetsi Sesothong. Bothata bona bo amana le dikarolo tse latelang: Lebaka ke hobane *aspekte* le *lekgathe* di thehilwe ho latela phapano ya tsona mekgahlelong ya Sesotho. Tabeng ya pele, boithuto bona bo hlahloba ka botlalo tshebediso ya kamano ya mantswe le dipolelo (morphosyntactic system) ho hlalosa lethathama la mekgahlelo e bontshang aspekte kwaholopuong, ho kenyelleditswe diaspkete tse bontshang phethahalo (Perfective) le tse sa bontsheng phethahalo (Imperfective). Phapano pakeng moelelo o bontshang phethahalo (Perfective) le tsa moelelo o sa bontsheng phethahalo (Imperfective) ke e nngwe e toboketswang ka hara boithuto bona e bile e na le mefuta e fapaneng ya lekgathe mmoho le dihlopha tsa maetsi a bontshang (*ketso* (activity), *phihlello e bontshang nako e telele* (accomplishment), *phihlello e etsahalang ka potlako* (achievement) le *boemo* (state)). Ka tsela ena dipotso tse tobaneng le ditshobotsi tsa lekgathe le aspekte Sesothong, e leng (i) mekgahlelo ya aspekte e fumanwang lethathamong la lekgathe Sesothong, (ii) mekgahlelong ya aspekte e fumanwang dipolelong tsa mahaelli/mathusi, le (iii) mohopolo wa tshebediso ya kamano e teng pakeng tsa aspekte le dihlopha tsa maetsi a yona a bontshang (*ketso* (activity), *phihlello e bontshang nako e telele* (accomplishment), *phihlello e etsahalang ka potlako* (achievement) le *boemo* (state)) Sesothong.

Tabeng ya bobedi, boithuto bona bo hlalosa ka bophara moralo wa mohopolo o amanang le manollo ya: (i) kamano e teng pakeng tsa tshebetso ya aspekte Sesothong le dihlopha tsa maetsi le kwaholopuo ya aspekte Sesothong, (ii) kabo ya dihlopha tsa maetsi ho latela aspekte ya teng kwaholopuong le ho mahlalosi a bontshang nako (*hora* ekasitana le *ka hora*) mekgahlelong ya Sesotho, hammoho le (iii) sekgahla sa mekgahlelo ya dipolelwana tsa tlatsetso tse itseng tse bontshang ketso e tswelang pele kapa e phethahatsang ho latela sebopeho se ka hare sa nako sa dihlopha tsa maetsi. Boithuto bona bo fumane bopaki ba dipolelo Sesothong hore

diketso tse totobatsang phethahatso ya ditshobotsi tsa moelelo wa ketso e hlalosang phetelo/qetelo Sesothong di kenyelleditse le tshebedisano pakeng tsa botswelli le phetoho ya boemo. Le ha ho le jwalo boithuto bona bo rerile ho senola boteng le tshebediso ya mahlalosi a nako (*hora le ka hora*) a bontshang botswelli mme a nehelana ka bopaki bo netefatsang ketso e sa phethahalang mme e ka ikemela ka boyona e se na pheletso kapa diphetoho moelelong. Boithutong bona, bo bontshitse mabaka a phapanyetsano tshebedisong a thehilweng hodima ho phethahala le ho se phethahale le ho ritsa ha moelelo ho bakwang ke mahlalosi a bontshang phethahatso le botswelli ha a hlahella hammoho le dipolelo tsa dihlopha tsa maetsi.

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my late sister  
Nono Regina Hlamazane Motsei who passed away on 27 January 2004.

‘Ngwaneso ke lena lengolo lena la bongaka leo kgale o lakatsa hore nka le fumana,  
ke re o robale ka kgotso Motaung wa Mphete wa Thulo’

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### CHAPTER 1: THE EXPRESSION OF ASPECT IN SESOTHO

1.1	INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.2	RESEARCH PROBLEM .....	1
1.3	PRELIMINARY STUDY .....	4
1.4	METHOD AND DESIGN.....	4

### CHAPTER 2: PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASPECTUAL VERB TYPES BY PREVIOUS RESEARCHERS

2.1	INTRODUCTION .....	9
2.2	REVIEW OF THE LINGUISTIC LITERATURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VERB.....	9
2.2.1	Mourelatos (1981)'s view on the development of the verb types .....	9
2.2.2	Dowty's (1979) view on the development of the verb types.....	14
2.2.3	Carlson's (1981) observation on the development of the verb .....	24
2.2.4	Bach's (1986) view on the development of the verb .....	28
2.2.5	Moens and Steedman's (1988) opinion on the aspectual types .....	29
2.2.6	Parsons' (1990) perception of events .....	32
2.2.7	Verkuyl's (1993) observation on the verb classes .....	33
2.2.8	Higginbotham's (1995) perspective on the development of verbs of motion.....	44
2.2.9	Pustejovsky's (1996) view on semantic classes and categorial alternation.....	46
2.2.10	C.S Smith's (1997) observation on situation aspect .....	49
2.2.11	Levin Berth and Malka Rappaport Hovav 2005: The aspectual approach.....	70
2.2.12	Rothstein 2004's argument on the development of the verb .....	75
2.2.13	Carol Tenny and James Pustejovsky (2000) on aspectual structure of verb meaning.....	93
2.2.14	Carol Tenny's perception on core events and adverbial modification .....	108
2.2.15	Thomas Ernst's views on manners and events .....	115

2.2.16	June M. Wickboldt's observations on some effects of manner adverbials on meaning .....	116
2.2.17	Lina Pulkkanen's views on stativity and causation .....	118

### CHAPTER 3: BASIC EVENTS TYPES IN SESOTHO

3.1	INTRODUCTION .....	120
3.2	ACTIVITY .....	120
3.2.1	Verb classes express activity events .....	121
3.3	ACCOMPLISHMENTS .....	180
3.3.1	Verb classes of accomplishment events.....	181
3.3.2	Diagnostics for accomplishment events .....	187
3.3.3	Accomplishment with verbs of time: take+time .....	201
3.4	ACHIEVEMENTS .....	210
3.4.1	Verb classes that expresses Achievement events.....	210
3.4.2	Achievement with progressive aspect <i>sa/sa ntse</i> .....	224
3.4.3	Achievement with inceptive/terminative 'qala/qeta' .....	231
3.5	STATE EVENTS.....	236
3.5.1	Conjecture verbs: <i>tseba</i> (know), <i>lemoha</i> (realize) .....	237
3.5.2	States with with temporal adjunct .....	240
3.5.3	State verbs with inceptive <i>qala</i> (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [ <i>qeta</i> ] .....	245
3.5.4	State verbs with progressive.....	250
3.5.5	Stative verbs with habitual sentences.....	254
3.6	SUMMARY .....	259

### CHAPTER 4: DEFICIENT VERBS CLAUSE MODIFICATION AS DIAGNOSTIC FOR SHIFTS IN BASIC-LEVEL SITUATION TYPES

4.1	INTRODUCTION .....	261
4.2.	DEFICIENT VERB THAT DENOTE TIME: 'After an unspecified time' .....	264
4.2.1	Deficient verb – <i>sala</i> (act eventually, act later) with a basic-level Activity event .....	266

4.2.2	Deficient verb – <i>sala</i> (act eventually, act later) with Accomplishment events.....	277
4.2.3	Deficient verb – <i>sala</i> (act eventually, act later) with Achievement events.....	288
4.2.4	Deficient verb – <i>sala</i> (act eventually, act later) with the basic-level Stative verb.....	300
4.2.5	Summary .....	312
4.3	CONDITIONAL .....	348
4.4	HABITUAL .....	357
4.4.1	Deficient verbs - <i>ye</i> (used to), - <i>be</i> (usually), - <i>hle</i> (usually), - <i>ne</i> (used to) with perfect subjunctive complement.....	358
4.5	CONTRAST .....	374
4.5.1	Activity verbs with deficient verb – <i>mpa</i> -.....	375
4.5.2	Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb - <i>mpa</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) .....	382
4.5.3	Achievement verbs with deficient verb - <i>mpa</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) .....	390
4.5.4	States verbs with deficient verb - <i>mpa</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) .....	399
4.6	ITERATIVE .....	405
4.6.1	Activity verbs with deficient verb <i>boela/pheta</i> -.....	405
4.6.2	Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb <i>boela-/pheta</i> - (do again/repeat) .....	414
4.6.3	Achievement verbs with deficient verb <i>boela-/pheta</i> - (do again/repeat) .....	423
4.6.4	State verbs with deficient verb <i>boela-/pheta</i> - (do again/repeat).....	433
4.7	FREQUENTATIVE .....	442
4.7.1	Activity verbs with deficient verb <i>atisa</i> - (do frequently; act often) ....	442
4.7.2	Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb <i>atisa</i> - (do frequently; act often) .....	445
4.7.3	Achievement verbs with deficient verb <i>atisa</i> - (do frequently; act often) .....	449
4.7.4	State verbs with deficient verbs <i>atisa</i> - (do frequently; act often) .....	452

4.8	REQUEST .....	455
4.8.1	[A ko] with Activity verb.....	455
4.8.2	[A ko] with Accomplishment verb.....	456
4.8.3	[A ko] with Achievement verb .....	457
4.8.4	[A ko] with State verb.....	457
4.9	OBLIGATION.....	458
4.9.1	[tshwanetse] with Activity verb.....	458
4.9.2	[tshwanela] with Accomplishment verb.....	459
4.9.3	[tshwanetse] with Achievement verb .....	459
4.9.4	[tshwanela] with State verb.....	460
4.10	MANNER.....	461
4.11	CONTINUATION .....	477
4.12	SUMMARY .....	485

**CHAPTER 5 DEFICIENT-VERB CLAUSE MODIFICATION BY TEMPORAL  
ADJUNCT PHRASES AS DIAGNOSTICS FOR TEMPORAL  
CONSTITUENCY OF THE SITUATION TYPES**

5.1	INTRODUCTION.....	488
5.2	DEFICIENT VERBS THAT DENOTE TIME.....	488
5.2.1	Present Tense -sala (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause.....	489
5.2.2	Present Tense –sala with Perfect Tense Participial Complement.....	490
5.2.3	Present Tense -ba with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	492
5.2.4	Perfect Tense -bile with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	493
5.2.5	Present Tense –tloha with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	494
5.2.6	Present Tense –tloha with Perfect Tense Participial Complement:.....	496
5.2.7	Present Tense –fihla with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	497

5.2.8	Future Tense – <i>fihla</i> with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	498
5.2.9	Present Tense – <i>tswa</i> with a Participial Complement:.....	499
5.2.10	Future Tense – <i>tswa</i> with a Participial Complement:.....	500
5.2.11	Present Tense <i>tsoha-</i> with a Participial Complement: .....	502
5.2.12	Future Tense – <i>tsoha</i> with a Participial Complement: .....	503
5.3	HABITUAL.....	504
5.3.1	Present Tense <i>hlola-</i> with a Participle: .....	504
5.3.2	Future Tense <i>hlola-</i> with a Participle: .....	505
5.3.3	Perfect Tense <i>hlola-</i> with a Participle: .....	506
5.3.4	Perfect Tense <i>hlola-</i> with a Participle: .....	507
5.4	CONTRAST.....	508
5.4.1	Present Tense <i>mpa-</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial Complement: .....	508
5.4.2	Present Tense <i>-mpa</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial Complement: .....	509
5.4.3	Potential with deficient verb <i>-mpa</i> (do however, act notwith- standing) with Present Tense Participial Complement:.....	510
5.4.4	Perfect Tense <i>-mpa</i> (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial.....	511
5.5	ITERATIVE.....	512
5.5.1	Present Tense <i>-boela/pheta</i> (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial.....	513
5.5.2	Future Tense <i>-boela/pheta</i> (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial.....	514
5.5.3	Future Tense <i>boela-/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive.....	515
5.5.4	Potential <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Consecutive .....	516
5.5.5	Perfect Tense <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial.....	517
5.5.6	Perfect Tense <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial.....	518
5.5.7	Perfect Tense <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Consecutive .....	519

5.5.8	Infinitive <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial.....	520
5.5.9	Subjunctive <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive .....	522
5.5.10	Subjunctive <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial.....	523
5.5.11	Consecutive <i>boela/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Consecutive.....	524
5.5.12	Imperative <i>boela-/pheta-</i> (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive.....	525
5.7	FREQUENTATIVE .....	526
5.7.1	Present Tense <i>atisa-</i> (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive .....	526
5.7.2	Future Tense <i>atisa-</i> (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive .....	527
5.7.3	Future Tense <i>atisa-</i> (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive.....	528
5.7.4	Potential <i>atisa-</i> (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive .....	529
5.8	REQUEST .....	530
5.8.1	Hortative <i>a ko</i> with temporal adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour).....	531
5.9	OBLIGATION.....	532
5.9.1	- <i>tshwanela</i> (do of necessity/ought to) with temporal adverbial <i>ka hora</i> (in an hour) .....	532
5.10	MANNER.....	533
5.10.1.	<i>hlile-</i> (certainly/really/indeed) with temporal adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour).....	533
5.10.2.	<i>fela-</i> (certainly/really/indeed) with durative adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour).....	534
5.10.3.	<i>batlile-</i> (nearly/almost) with completive adverbial <i>ka hora</i> (in an hour).....	535
5.10.4	<i>nyafa-</i> (right time/signifying opportune action) with durative adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour) .....	536
5.10.5	<i>phakisa-</i> (do soon/act quickly) with completive adverbial <i>ka hora</i> (in an hour).....	537
5.10.6	<i>tswatswa-</i> (act in vain/endeavour without result) with durative adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour).....	538
5.11	CONTINUATIVE.....	539
5.11.1	<i>eketsa-</i> (do further/act besides) with durative adverbial <i>hora</i> (for an hour).....	540

5.11.2	[nna] (act continually) with durative adverbial hora (for an hour) .....	540
5.11.3	[ntse] (act continually) with completive adverbial ka hora (in an hour).....	542
5.12	SUMMARY .....	543

## **CHAPTER 6**

6.1	CONCLUSION.....	544
6.2	TENSE AND ASPECT RELATIONSHIP.....	554
6.3	SEMANTIC CLASSES OF DEFICIENT VERBS.....	555
6.4	DEFICIENT VERBS WITH TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL.....	556

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b> .....	<b>557</b>
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## CHAPTER 1

### THE EXPRESSION OF ASPECT IN SESOTHO

#### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The study examines the expression of aspect in Sesotho within the framework of the principles, properties and mechanisms of three different components of grammar, i.e., the syntactic, morphological and semantic components. The study presents an account of the relationship between the semantic and morphosyntactic properties of the Sesotho aspect system and its interaction with the tense system of Sesotho. The investigation of the Sesotho aspect system in terms of morphology is undertaken within the framework of semantics explicated by Smith (1997) in which the verbal interpretation is explored with respect to Sesotho. Particular attention is given to the following aspectual categories distinguished by Smith as regards their syntactical expression and interpretation for the Sesotho aspect system:

- a. the **Perfective**, including the aspects which are **telic** in that they encode an end
- b. the **Imperfective**, including the **progressive**, **durative** and **iterative** aspects which are **atelic** in that they do not have an end-point requirement.

#### 1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

The investigation of the Sesotho aspect system in terms of semantics employs Smith's (1997) model and the specific proposals on aspect suggested by Comrie (1976), Smith (1991), Levin (1993), Verkuyl (1993), Bybee (1994), and Rothstein (2004), among others. A range of morphosyntactic expressions in Sesotho are explored for this purpose. In addition, attention is given in the study to the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect. This is particularly critical since in Sesotho tense closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. This interaction makes both tense and aspect problematic in that they often tend to be regarded as similar linguistic items in Sesotho. In this case, the temporal and aspectual meanings of Sesotho inflectional categories and the

perfective-imperfective opposition in a range of semantic verb classes in Sesotho are investigated in this study. Moreover, the contribution of aspectual information to temporal interpretation in Sesotho constitutes a major aspect closely examined in the study. The hypothesis that aspect (rather than tense) is critical in determining interclausal temporal relations between situations described in embedding and embedded clauses in especially indirect speech is, accordingly, explored. Furthermore, the interpretation of compound tenses in Sesotho is explicated in this regard.

Three phenomena, termed aspect, generally occur in the linguistics literature, i.e., **action(al) types** (Aktionsarten), viewed as a kind of **lexical** aspect, the **grammatical** category aspect, which includes the Perfective and Imperfective aspects, and Aristotelian aspect in terms of which a classification of verbs is made as **states, activities, events** and possibly **series**. However, the study is specifically concerned with the last two instances of aspect. Of great importance here is that aspect as both a grammatical category and an Aristotelian aspect, and the justification of positing action types (Aktionsarten) as an aspectual category are strongly called into question in recent literature (Comrie (1976), Smith (1991; 1997) and Verkuyl (1993).

Against this background, the study examines comprehensively, in the first part, the morphosyntactic system of Sesotho to determine the range of categories that express **grammatical** aspect in Sesotho. In this regard, questions relating to the following aspects are under the spotlight:

- a. the distinctive properties of tense and aspect in Sesotho;
- b. the aspect categories that occur in the full range of tenses in Sesotho;
- c. the aspect categories that occur in deficient verb constructions;
- d. the theoretical treatment of the relationship between aspect and transitivity for the aspectual classes of transitive verbs (states, achievements, accomplishments and activities) in Sesotho. A comparison is made of a series of transitive verbs – denoting accomplishments which tend to exhibit a decrease in transitivity due to the non-volitionality of an agent or impermissibility of an agent argument. Such verbs grade into activity meaning, thus demonstrating the aspectual difference between semantically

- related pairs of verbs. In this case, the study analyses a theoretical account of the correlation between the Sesotho aspect system and noun phrase (NP) argument interpretation and the relationship between actional types of verbs and grammatical aspects in Sesotho; and
- e. the distribution of aspectual classes of verbs with respect to manner and temporal adjunct categories in Sesotho and the effect on telicity of certain complement categories on the inner temporal structure of aspectual verb classes.

The investigation into the tense-aspect distinction in Sesotho is mainly concerned with two types of verbs i.e., non-deficient (main) verbs and deficient verbs. As regards the aspectual properties of non-deficient verbs, aspects related to theoretical models of tense and aspect, markedness and the formal means of expressing aspect in Sesotho is delineated. The perfective-imperfective opposition also comes into sharper focus.

The aspect-mood-tense relationship is examined with regard to the situative (participial complement) and compound tenses in Sesotho. The participial complement verb form may only occur in embedded clauses in Sesotho where it indicates simultaneousness or condition. In such clauses, the participial clause may denote perfective or imperfective aspect, and not time as does the Indicative verb form. The perfective aspect, also referred to as completive in that something is done to completion, is investigated in a range of tenses such as present tense followed by present tense participial complement; present tense followed by perfect tense participial complement, and so on. The perfect participial complement in Sesotho, for example, denotes a completed action whereas the present participial denotes the imperfective or incomplete aspect in that the situation denoted by the matrix clause is viewed as being in progress at a particular point signalled by the matrix clause. The present participle can denote various types of imperfective aspects with the moment of speech serving as a reference point.

Lastly, the aspectual properties of deficient verbs in Sesotho are accounted for by examining the following major classes of deficient verbs: habitual: **ye**; occasional: **hle**; perfective: **ne**, imperfective: **be/ba**; contrastive: **mpa**; 'certainly' verb **hla, fela**;

continuous: **nna**, frequentative: **boela, pheta, hlola**; 'immediacy' verb: **batla**; 'suddenly' verb: **tsoha**.

### 1.3 PRELIMINARY STUDY

The preliminary study entailed the following aspects:

1. The compilation of sources of reference on aspect;
2. A study of the theoretical issues relating to aspect within syntax, morphology and semantics;
3. Preliminary research on the compiled data as regards the expression of aspect in Sesotho.

### 1.4 METHOD AND DESIGN

As outlined above, the research addresses three major areas relating to aspect in Sesotho, namely, the expression of state and non-state, the temporal-aspectual relationship and the expression of aspect. An account of each of these areas is provided in respect of the syntactic, morphological and semantic components, respectively. The concluding chapter presents the main findings as regards the Sesotho aspect system and proposes some refinements, extensions or modifications of theoretical principles about aspect in light of the data presented. On this score, the study is structured as follows:

## CHAPTER 1

- ◆ Purpose and aims of the study
- ◆ Selected theories of aspect
- ◆ Aspect in relation to Sesotho
- ◆ Aspectual principles and mechanisms operating in syntax, morphology and semantics.

## CHAPTER 2

This chapter explores the development of the verb types as exemplified by the views advanced by scholars such as Dowty (1979), Mourelatos (1981), Carlson (1981), Bach (1986), Moens and Steedman (1988), Parsons (1990), Verkuyl (1993), Higginbotham (1995), Smith (1997), Pustejovsky (1996), Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000) and Rothstein (2004) with regard to verb classes. Activities, accomplishment, achievements, and states, as instances of the four aspectual verb classes, have formed the basis for much recent work in lexical semantics and semantics-syntax border. This section addresses the developments in the theory of the event structure treating the argument of the verb as identifying or demarcating the individual constituents of the event. It also focuses on the identification of the components of the event in their structural properties in the event as evidenced in the work of the scholars cited above. However, the chapter also highlighted both the distinction between the lexical aspect or situation aspect as formulated by Smith (1991; 1997) and the viewpoint aspect which covers the properties of the verb of the event types expressed by verb expressions.

## CHAPTER 3

This chapter investigates the main classes of verb types in Sesotho regarding the situation types and properties of the sentences in which they appear. Specifically the situation types of activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states are investigated for Sesotho with regard to their basic-level, derived cases and sentences that realize the situation type. These situation types are tested using temporal features such as stative verbs [ $\pm$ Static] which describe undifferentiated period, or dynamic verbs which delineate successive stages, and telicity [ $\pm$ Telic]. In this instance, the chapter seeks to determine whether the events are telic and have a change of state that constitutes an outcome as well as atelic events which are simply processes that can stop at any time. Additionally, the chapter intends identifying whether the situation types are durative or instantaneous, i.e., [ $\pm$ Durative]. Most significantly, the contention is whether a situation type is compatible with [*ka hora*] and [*hora*] (*in- and for- an hour* adverbial), or with the point adverbial such as *at four*

*o'clock*, or *from 2 to 3 o'clock*, or with the locative which may trigger the shift in each situation type.

According to Smith (1997), basic examples of each situation type are simple or complete situations. In the latter, simplicity in this context means that a single situation type is involved and complete. This means that the situation is considered in its entirety. Smith further argues that basic-level situation type presents the situation with the initial and final end-points (not applicable to states and activities, although activity has an initial point but not a final end-point). Situations are neutrally presented as complete, functional wholes by the basic-level categorisation.

## CHAPTER 4

The main objective of this chapter is to examine the occurrence of various deficient verbs in Sesotho as they may occur in a range of tense and mood types with various basic-level situations. Types of verbs (states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements) are used in order to determine whether the occurrence of the respective deficient verbs is semantically compatible with each individual basic-level situation type verb. Thus, attention is given to the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect since tense closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. In this regard, the temporal and situation type aspectual meanings of Sesotho deficient verbs in their occurrence with a range of semantic verb classes in Sesotho are explored. The viewpoint aspect in relation to the perfective-imperfective opposition realised in these sentences is also considered.

In particular, three phenomena, termed aspect, generally occur in the field of linguistics, i.e., **action(al) types** (viewed as a kind of **lexical** aspect), the **grammatical** category aspect (which includes the Perfective and Imperfective aspects), and the Aristotelian aspect (in terms of which a classification of verbs is made as **states, activities, accomplishments** and **achievements**) are scrutinised. A set of sentence examples is presented to highlight and illustrate whether these example sentences are semantically acceptable with the occurrence of deficient verbs followed by various participial complement clauses. The argument is made

that there is a shift in the situation type verbs (i.e., state, activity, accomplishment and achievement) when occurring with the different types of deficient verbs and that the (basic-level) situation type verbs, result in **derived** situation types.

The aspectual properties of deficient verbs in Sesotho are accounted for by examining the following major semantic classes of deficient verbs: **time: -sala** (act eventually, act later); **-fihla** (act immediately, do straightway); **conditional** -ka be, -tla be; **habitual: -hlola** (always); **-ye, -be, -nne, -hle** (something happens in most cases, generally, usually); **contrast-mpa**; **iterative: -boela, -pheta** (do again, repeat); **frequentative -atisa** (do frequently, act often); **request: -a-ko**, with hortative **[ka]**; **obligation: -tshwanetse** (do of necessity); **manner: -hla**(do indeed); **-fela** (act indeed, do in reality); **-batla** (nearly, act almost); **-nyafa**, (signifying opportune action); **-phakisa** (do soon, act quickly); and **continuative: nna** (act continually); **eketsa** (do further, act besides); and **-ntse** (act continually)

Guma (1991), Doke and Mofokeng (1985) maintain that deficient verbs have distinctive semantic features which are related to inflectional categories, and tense and aspectual properties. The main focus is on the deficient verbs that denote temporal modification. There are other deficient verbs that denote the motion of modality. Guma (1991) states that deficient verb stems are those verb stems that cannot emanate by themselves to constitute a complete verbal predicate. Similarly, Doke and Mofokeng (1985) contend that these verb stems require a complementary verb in order to complete their predication.

## CHAPTER 5

The main focus of this chapter is to outline the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between *hora* (for-adverbial) and *ka hora* (in-adverbial). This is more so since temporal adverbials are closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationship. It is for this purpose that the temporal and situation type aspectual meanings of Sesotho deficient verbs in their occurrence with a range of semantic verb classes in Sesotho are the subject of discussion here. The discussion employs sets of example sentences to illustrate situation types presented from a temporal perspective.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This chapter explains the relevance of both tense and aspect as they apply to Sesotho verbs. It argues that the recognition of tense and aspect as essential sub-categories of the verb could facilitate the description of the Sesotho verbs in several respects. For instance, the recognition of the **Perfective** (including the aspects which are telic in that they encode an end), the **Imperfective**, (together with the **progressive, durative** and **iterative** aspects which are atelic in that they do not have an end-point requirement )could help resolve the problem pertaining to the classification of verbs as **activities, accomplishments, achievements** and **states** in Sesotho.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **PERSPECTIVES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASPECTUAL VERB TYPES BY PREVIOUS RESEARCHERS**

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

The development of the verb types as exemplified by linguists such as Mourelatos (1980), Dowty (1979), Carlson (1981), Bach (1986) Moens and Steedman (1988), Parsons (1990), Verkuyl (1993), Higginbotham (1995), Smith (1997), Pustejovsky (1996), Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000) and Rothstein (2004) in the literature on verb classes, will be focused upon in this chapter. Activities, accomplishment, achievements, and states, the four aspectual verb classes, have formed the foundation of much recent research in the fields of lexical semantics and semantics-syntax border. This chapter will address the developments in the theory of event structure treating the arguments of the verb as identifying or demarcating the individual constituents of the event and the identification of the components of the event in their structural properties in the event as evidenced in the work of the authors mentioned above. However, the discussion will also point out the distinction between the lexical aspect or situation aspect as formulated by Smith (1991, 1997) and the viewpoint aspect which covers the properties of the verb, and of the event types expressed by verb expressions which linguists have tried to capture by classifying verbs into verb classes.

#### **2.2 REVIEW OF THE LINGUISTIC LITERATURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VERB**

##### **2.2.1 Mourelatos (1981)'s view on the development of the verb types**

According to Mourelatos, who refers to Vendler (1957)'s views, four types of verbs, namely: activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, may be distinguished. These verb classes are defined as follows:

### 2.2.1.1 Achievements

According to Mourelatos (1981:192), achievement verbs capture either the inception or the climax of an act and they can be dated, or they can be indefinitely placed within a temporal stretch, but they cannot in themselves occur over or throughout a temporal stretch. These verbs cover a period of time. Consider the following examples of achievement verbs:

- (1) a. recognize
- b. find
- c. win (the race)
- d. start/stop/resume
- e. be born/die

The above verbs are instantaneous, dynamic and telic which result in a state that constitutes an outcome or the goal of an event. It is probably true to say that the semantic features of the above verbs are contained in the meaning of such verbs because one cannot say one has *found* something without getting it. These verbs refer to a change of physical state as exemplified by the verb “be born”.

### 2.2.1.2 Accomplishment

According to Mourelatos, accomplishment verbs have the intrinsic property of duration i.e. “X V – ed” with reference to the whole of that time segment, and not to a single moment. They are not homogeneous. Accomplishment verbs such as the following are cited by Mourelatos:

- (2) a. run a mile.
- b. paint a picture.
- c. grow up.
- d. recover from illness.

Mourelatos (1981) points out that most of the accomplishment constructions make significant contributions to the meaning of the whole, and they are usually analyzed

as complex eventualities consisting of an activity which results in the bringing about of a particular state, as the above examples demonstrate. When a process with a natural final endpoint reaches its outcome such as *run a mile*, the event is completed and cannot continue. When one finishes the glass of wine, the event is complete. Thus, the notion of completion is applicable. The process is finished, i.e., the process to which reference is being made is one that proceeds towards a climax, a logical culmination, or natural terminal point. Another example of this is the process of deciding – this constitutes an accomplishment which has as its terminal point the event of reaching a decision. Accomplishments are thus durative events which have a beginning and an endpoint. Accomplishments take time and are completed in time. They do not merely go on and come to an end in time as in the case of activities. It thus makes sense to ask a question such as the following with regard to accomplishments: "How long did she take to walk to school / to drink the wine / to build the house?"

### 2.2.1.3 Activities

According to Mourelatos (1981), activity verbs are homogeneous. They involve no culmination or anticipated result. An activity indicates a process in which things are happening or being done. Such activities refer to verbs that describe an action rather than a state, i.e. such verbs refer to dynamic events and not to static events. Study the following activity verbs:

- (3)
- a. run (around, all over),
  - b. walk (and walk),
  - c. swim (along, past),
  - d. push ( a cart)

Mourelatos (1981) refers to Vendler's comment that any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole. At each moment it is then correct to say both *Jones is running* and *Jones has run* – hence the time stretch of activities is inherently indefinite. He points out that these activities are also atelic. Atelic events are processes which can stop at any time: there is no outcome, i.e. atelic events have

arbitrary final endpoints. Thus, activities terminate or stop but they do not finish: the notion of completion is irrelevant to a process.

#### 2.2.1.4 States

Mourelatos (1981:192) describes states as expressed by verbs that may endure or persist over stretches of time and therefore cannot be qualified as actions. He maintains that state verbs do not have progressive forms – thus one cannot say *\*I am knowing the answer* or *\*I am loving*. However, these verbs involve no dynamic and do not constitute a change though Mourelatos contends that stative verbs may arise or be acquired as a result of change and they may provide a potential change. The following are examples of state verbs:

- (4)
- a. desire
  - b. want
  - c. love
  - d. hate
  - e. dominate

The stative verbs listed above, consist of undifferentiated periods without internal structure. They require external agency for change whereby the agent is characterized as the intender and the doer of an action expressed by the predicate. The agent argument must be capable of voluntary or intentional action (cited in Cowper 1992:48). The initial and final endpoints of a state are not part of the state. They are distinct situations, constituting changes of state. This implies that a stative predicate describes an unchanging situation which will continue unless something happens to change it. Mourelatos, on the other hand acknowledges the views of Kenny (1963) in which he identifies three types of verbs. He classifies his categories as *activities*, *performance* and *states*. Kenny did not see achievements and accomplishments as separate types. Following Kenny's views, *discover*, *find*, and *convince* are seen as *achievements* whereas Vendler sees them as *performances*, along with such clear *accomplishments*, as *grow up* and *build a house*.

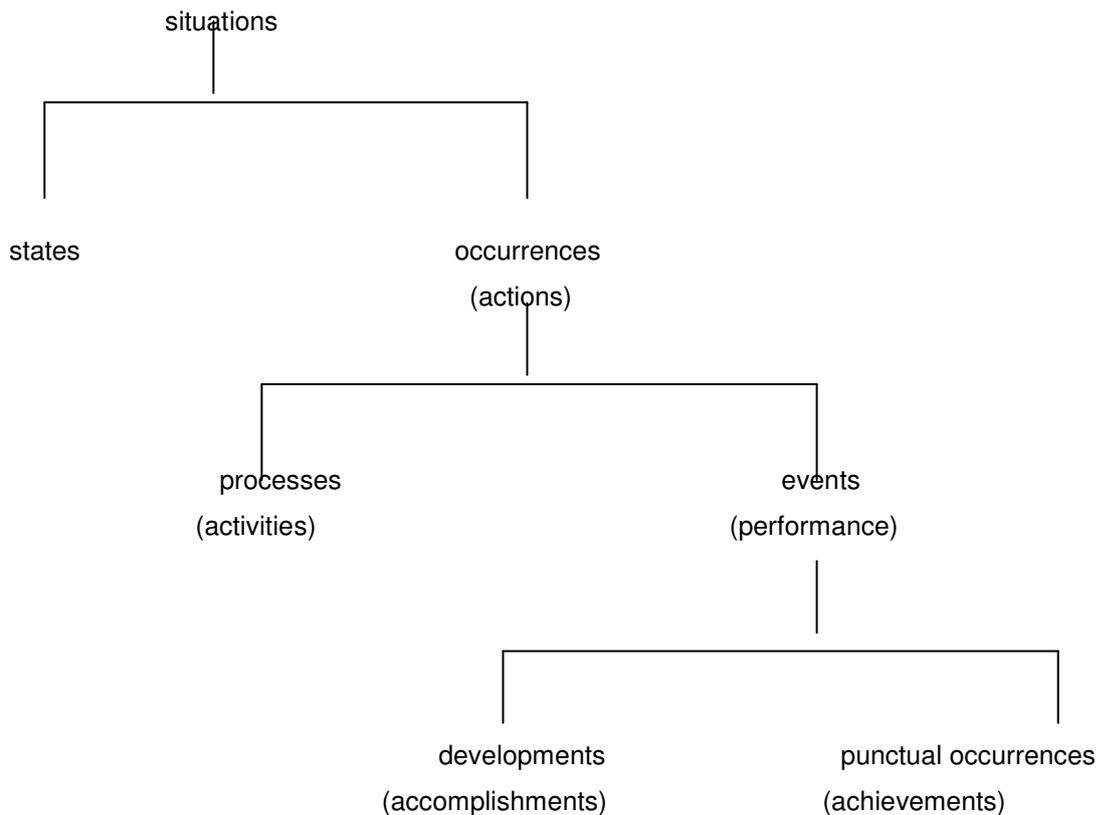
According to Mourelatos, the above argument seems very inaccurate because Vendler grouped accomplishments and activities under one “genus” and achievements and states, under another, because he thought that both states and achievements do not admit the progressive. One can say achievements may appear in the progressive, for example: *He is winning the race*. But according to Kenny’s scheme, what stands in the way of integration is his adoption of “*finish/not finish V-ing*” as one of the criteria for performances. The criterion is inappropriate, as it does not work for achievements but for accomplishments, and it rules out of his examples of performances. Seemingly, the integration of accomplishments and achievements implies that both are actions that involve a product, upshot or outcome. Both accomplishments and achievements take definite time i.e. they are both admissible into contexts of the form, “It took him NTs to V,” where N is a count expression and T is a unit of time.

Mourelatos (1981:201) maintains that purely natural events can be differentiated into:

- a. topic – neutral DEVELOPMENTS (the counterpart of Vendler’s accomplishment, and
- b. topic – neutral PUNCTUAL OCCURRENCES (i.e. various state starts, resumptions, split – second events, stopping and climaxes), the counterpart of Vendler’s achievements.

Mourelatos adopts the topic-neutral term OCCURRENCES as the counterpart of actions, and coins the term SITUATIONS TO comprise occurrences and states within the encompassing genus. The generalized trichotomy appears embodied in a scheme of nested binary contrasts, as represented in the figure below:

Diagram 2.1



Mourelato's examples of verb predications that refer to purely physical situations in *Table 2.1* follow:

STATE:	The air smells of jasmine.
PROCESS:	It's snowing.
DEVELOPMENT:	The sun went down.
PUNCTUAL OCCURRENCE:	The cable snapped. He blinked. The pebble hit the water.

### 2.2.2 Dowty's (1979) view on the development of the verb types

Dowty proposes the classification of verbs or verb phrases into specific verb classes. He is of the opinion that the differences among the verb classes may be explained by the hypothesis that one verb class differs from another, and that the abstract operators CAUSE, BECOME and others appear in the logical structure of all verbs belonging to each class (Dowty, 1979:51). He further distinguishes two uses of the

aspectual class of a verb following Aristotle, Ryle, Kenny, and Vender's classification, which ranges from the aspectual form of the verb with which it occurs in a given sentence.

### **2.2.2.1 Aspectual classes of a verb as determined by the above-mentioned authors:**

#### **2.2.2.1.1 Aristotle's view**

According to Aristotle, the meaning of some verbs involves an end or result, while others do not. He distinguishes between kinesis (movements) and energeia (actualities), a distinction which corresponds roughly to the distinction between accomplishments and activities/states. On the other hand, he also draws a distinction between state and activities.

#### **2.2.2.1.2 Ryle's observation**

In his book titled "The Concept of Mind" (1949: 149), Ryle coined the term achievements for the resultative verbs, in order to mark the difference from the irresultative activities. He describes achievements such as *win*, *unearth*, *find*, *cure*, *convince*, *prove*, *cheat*, *unlock*, etc. as happening at a particular moment, while activities such as *keep (a secret)*, *hold (the enemy at bay)*, *kick*, *hunt*, and *listen*, may last throughout an extended period of time. He also notices that achievements have a kind of semantic dichotomy which activities do not involve. Ryle argues that one big difference between the logical force of a task verb and that of a corresponding achievement verb is that in applying an achievement verb we are asserting that some state of affairs obtains over and above that which exists in the performance, if any of the subservient task activity. For a runner to win, not only must he run but his rivals must also beat the tape later than he; for a doctor to effect a cure, his patient must both be treated and be well again, according to Ryle (in Dowty, 1979:53)"

However, Ryle maintains that there are achievements which are not prefaced by task performances. Ryle called them purely lucky achievements because they cannot occur with adverbs: "... we can significantly say that someone has aimed in vain or

successfully, but not that he has hit the target in vain or successfully; that he has treated his patient assiduously or unassiduously, but not that he has cured him assiduously or unassiduously; that he scanned the hedgerow slowly or rapidly, systematically or haphazardly, but not that he saw the new slowly or rapidly, systematically or haphazardly” (in Dowty,1979:53). The additional test adverbs are as follows: attentively, studiously, vigilantly, conscientiously and pertinaciously.

### 2.2.2.1.3 Kenny’s perception

According to Dowty, Kenny brought more grammatical and logical criteria to bear on classifications in his book “Action, Emotion and Will” (1963:pp 171 – 186). Kenny observes that if  $\emptyset$  is a performance verb (Ryle’s achievements) “A is (now)  $\emptyset$ ing” implies “A has not (yet)  $\emptyset$ ed.” Thus if a man is building a house, then he has not yet built it, but if  $\emptyset$  is an activity verb, then “A is (now)  $\emptyset$ ing” entails “A has  $\emptyset$ ed.” Thus the sentence *I am living in Rome, implies then I already have lived in Rome.*

Kenny, on the other hand makes a distinction between activities and states. Activities and performances can occur in progressive tenses and states cannot. One can say *a man is learning to swim, but not that \*he is knowing how to swim.* Thus, the simple present of activities and performances always has frequentative or habitual meaning (John knows the answer) in a way the simple present of states does not; it is not frequentative. (John listens to Mary, John builds houses).

According to Dowty, Vendler (1967) treats four distinct categories of verbs by their restrictions on time adverbials, tenses, and logical entailments. He distinguishes states, activities, accomplishments (which are Kenny’s performatives, and Ryle’s achievements with an associated task), and achievements (which are Ryle’s purely lucky achievements or achievements without an associated task). The four categories are as follows:

Table 2.2

<i>State</i>	<i>Activities</i>	<i>Accomplishment</i>	<i>Achievement</i>
know	Run	paint a picture	recognize
believe	Walk	make a chair	spot
have	Swim	deliver a sermon	find
desire	push a cart	draw a circle	reach
love	drive a car	recover from illness	lose
		push a cart	die

The grouping of these four categories seems to worry Vendler, as indicated in Dowty (1979:54). He considers states and achievements as one 'genus', and activities and accomplishments as another group - hence the first group lacks progressive tenses while the second group allows for them. His other argument is that states and achievements also fail the tests for agency, unlike the other two classes. On the other hand, he also notices that achievements and accomplishments share some properties such as time adverbials: *in an hour*, which states and activities lack.

### 2.2.2.2 Dowty's own view on aspectual classes of verbs

#### 2.2.2.2.1 States and Activities

According to Dowty (quoting Lakoff), there is a distinction between stative vs non-stative, i.e. between states and activities, and, on the other hand, between activities and accomplishments. The usual tests are as follows (*know* is a stative, *run* is an activity, and *build* is an accomplishment), in Dowty's view:

- I. The non-statives occur in the progressive:
  - (5) a. \*John is knowing the answer.
  - b. John is running.
  - c. John is building a house

- II. Only non-statives occur as complements of *force* and *persuasion*:
- (6) a. \*John forced Harry to know the answer.  
 b. John persuaded Harry to run.  
 c. John forced Harry to build a house.
- III. Only non-statives can occur as imperatives
- (7) a. \*Know the answer!  
 b. Run!  
 c. Build a house!
- IV. Only non-statives co-occur with the adverbs *deliberately*, *carefully*:
- (8) a. \*John deliberately knew the answer.  
 b. John ran carefully.  
 c. John carefully builds a house.
- V. Only non-statives appear in Pseudo-cleft constructions:
- (9) a. \*What John did was know the answer.  
 b. What John did was run.  
 c. What John did was build a house.
- VI. When an activity or accomplishment occurs in the simple present tense (or in any non-progressive tense), it has a frequentative (or habitual) interpretation in a normal context.
- (10) a. \*John knows the answer.  
 b. John runs.  
 c. John recites a poem.

It is clear that the problem may arise if (10b) and (10c) are not used in one of a few specialized contexts such as that used by an announcer at a sport event, appearing

as a stage direction, appearing in a narrative in the historical present. In these cases they are understood to involve more than one occasion of knowing the answer.

#### 2.2.2.2.2 Activities and Accomplishments

Dowty distinguishes activities and accomplishments by placing restrictions on the form of the time adverbials which they may take, and also by the entailments they display when various time-adverbial phrases are present.

- I. Accomplishment verbs allow the adverbial prepositional phrase *in*, but only very marginally allow the adverbial with *for*, while activity verbs take only the *for*-phrases:

- (11) a. ?John painted a picture for an hour.  
b. John painted a picture in an hour.

- (12) a. John walked for an hour.  
b. (\*)John walked in an hour.

- II. The *for-an-hour* sentences and the *in-an-hour* sentences are almost parallel to the following:

- (13) a. John spends an hour painting a picture.  
b. It took John an hour to paint a picture.

- (14) a. John' spends an hour painting a picture.  
b. (\*)It took John an hour to walk.

Dowty sees the problem as being that (14b) and perhaps (12b) have acceptable readings, *an hour*. These readings do not describe the duration of John's action as is the case in (11b) and (13b), but rather seem to suggest a time that elapsed before John actually began to walk.

- III. The entailments of activity verbs with for-phrases differ from those of accomplishment verbs under the same conditions. *If John walked for an hour, then at any time during that hour it was true that John walked.* But, on the other hand, *if John painted a picture for an hour, then it is not the case that he painted a picture at any time during that hour.* This difference in entailment is represented below:

If  $\emptyset$  is an activity verb, then  $X\emptyset ed$  for  $y$  time entails that at any time during  $y$ ,  $X\emptyset ed$  was true. If  $\emptyset$  is an accomplishment verb, then  $X\emptyset ed$  was true during any time within  $y$ .

- IV. According to Kenny, entailments from the progressive to the non-progressive tenses also differentiate activities from accomplishments:

If  $\emptyset$  is an activity verb, then  $x$  is (now)  $\emptyset ing$  entails that  $x$  has  $\emptyset ed$ . If  $\emptyset$  is an accomplishment verb, then  $x$  is (now)  $\emptyset ing$  entails that  $x$  has not (yet)  $\emptyset ed$ .

- V. A distinction in entailment also shows up if these two kinds of verbs appear as the complement of *stop*:

- (15) a. John stopped painting the picture.  
b. John stopped walking.

Kenny concludes that in (15b) *John did walk* whereas (15a) *John may or may not have finished* painting the picture.

- VI. Only accomplishment verbs can normally occur as the complement of *finish*.

- (16) a. John finished painting a picture.  
b. \*John finished walking.

VII. The adverb *almost* has different effects on activities and accomplishments:

- (17) a. John almost painted a picture.  
b. John almost walked.

It seems as if (17b) entails that John did not walk but (17a) has two interpretations: firstly, John had the intention of painting the picture but all of a sudden he changed his mind and he did nothing at all or secondly, John did begin to work on the picture and he almost, but not quite, finished it. Thus the second reading seems to lack an activity verb.

VIII. Ambiguities between activities and accomplishments have been noticed by generative semanticists, eg Binnick (1969). This ambiguity is created by the *for*-phrases:

- (18) a. The sheriff of Nottingham jailed Robin Hood for four years.  
b. The sheriff of Nottingham rode a white horse for four years.

The ambiguity of the interpretation stems from the possibility of a repetitive reading in (18a); hence an accomplishment and a reading in which four years delimits the duration of the result-state which the single act of jailing produced. The interpretation in (18b) has only the repetitive reading; hence an activity.

### 2.2.2.2.3 Achievements

According to Dowty (1979), Vendler's fourth class, achievement verbs, can be distinguished by the following tests:

Although accomplishments allow both *for*-phrase and *in*-phrase time adverbials with equal success, achievements are generally quite strange with *for*-phrase.

- (19) a. John noticed the painting in a few minutes.  
b. ??John noticed the painting for a few minutes.

- I. Predictably, the same goes for *spend - an hour/ take - an hour* distinction:
- (20) a. It took John a few minutes to notice the painting.  
 b. ??John spent a few minutes noticing the painting.
- II The entailments of achievement verbs differ from those of accomplishment verbs. For instance, if *John painted a picture in an hour* is true, then it is true that *John was painting a picture* during that hour. Schematically:
- If  $\emptyset$  is an accomplishment verb, then  $x \emptyset$ -ed in  $y$  time entails  $x$  was  $\emptyset$ -ing during  $y$  time.
- If  $\emptyset$  is an achievement verb, then  $x \emptyset$ ed in  $y$  time does not entail  $x$  was  $\emptyset$ ing during  $y$  time.
- III. Achievements do not accept the adverb *finish* as in accomplishments.
- (21) \*John finished noticing the painting.
- IV. Achievements do not accept the adverb *stop* as in accomplishments and activities.
- (22) (\*) John stopped noticing the painting.
- V. With achievements *almost* does not produce ambiguity as it does with accomplishments; compare (23) with (17).
- (23) John almost noticed the painting.
- VI. As Ryle observed, there is a class of adverbs which are semantically anomalous with achievement verbs.

Table 2.3

	attentively	discovered the solution
	studiously	detected an error
	vigilantly	found a penny
??John	conscientiously	reached Boston
	obediently	noticed the painting
	carefully	

VI. Since the adverbs *deliberately*, *carefully* in stativity test IV are subsets of these adverbs, this test distinguishes states as well as achievements from other categories.

TABLE 2.2

Criterion	States	Activities	Accomplishments	Achievements
1. meets nonstative tests	No	yes	yes	?
2. has habitual interpretation in simple present tense:	No	yes	yes	Yes
3. $\emptyset$ for an hour, spend an hour $\emptyset$ ing:	Ok	ok	ok	Bad
4 $\emptyset$ in an hour, take an hour to $\emptyset$	Bad	bad	ok	Ok
5. $\emptyset$ for an hour entails $\emptyset$ at all times in the hour:	Yes	yes	no	d.n.a
6. $x$ is $\emptyset$ ing entails $x$ has $\emptyset$ ed:	d.n.a	yes	no	d.n.a
7, complement of <i>stop</i> :	Ok	ok	ok	Bad
8. complement of <i>finish</i>	Bad	bad	ok	Bad
9. ambiguity with <i>almost</i> :	No	no	yes	No
10. $x$ $\emptyset$ ed in an hour entails $x$ was $\emptyset$ ing during that hour:	d.n.a	d.n.a	yes	No
11. occurs with <i>studiously</i> , <i>attentively</i> , <i>carefully</i> , etc.	Bad	ok	ok	Bad

### 2.2.3 Carlson's (1981) observation on the development of the verb

Carlson makes use of the taxonomy of aspect types. According to Carlson, these three theoretical constraints on interpretation, or semantic features, and their interaction with principles of interpretation of the criterial expression will account for the observed combinatory properties. He gives examples of three grammatical criteria as follows:

- Momentaneous adverbial of time with the simple tenses.

Momentaneous time adverbials include *at once*, *at that (very) moment*, *at 08:30* as well as *temporal adverbial clauses* which themselves have momentaneous aspects. Consider the following examples:

- (24)
- At that point* I hit him.
  - The dog attacked me *at once*.
  - At seven o' clock*, the caravan stood in its old place.
  - At that point* I remembered the rule.
  - At that point*, the plane took off from the ground.

- The progressive aspect

- At that point*, he was closing the door.
- He was running a mile *at that moment*.
- At sunrise* I was walking eastward.

- Durative adverbials of time with the simple tense

Durative adverbials of time with the simple tense are those which answer the question *how long*. Examples are (how) long, for a while, from one to ten o' clock, all day (long). Consider the following sentences:

- How long* was he running a mile?
- The children played for *how long*?
- How long* did he walk eastward?

- l. \*I did not notice it *long*.  
 m. \**For a while*, I hit him.  
 n. \**For a minute*, he blinked.

The difference in the above sentences may be one of acceptability, the meaning of the verb, and/ or range of appropriate contexts of use. Hence sentences in (24d – f) are conceivable, but the artificial contexts into which even the worst example could just about be fitted do not constitute counter examples, but support the evidence of Carlson's claims.

*Table 2.4. Sentence Classes*

Class	Example sentences	Momentaneous Adverbials	Progressive aspect	Durative adverbials	Class name
I	a, b, m, n	+	-	-	Momentaneous
II	l, d	+	-	+	Stative
III	e, g	+	+	-	Achievement
IV	c	+	+	+	Dynamic
V	f, i	-	+	-	Accomplishment
VI	h, j, k	-	+	+	Activity

#### **Interpretation of table 2.4**

Carlson defines three theoretical constraints on interpretation or semantic features from the above schematic representation where examples (24 a – n) are classified as follows:

- (i). Sentences (24 a, b) have semantic momentaneous features and are compatible with momentaneous adverbials.

- (ii). Sentences (24 m, n) are unconditionally unacceptable with momentaneous adverbials, *for a while* and *for a minute*.
- (iii). Sentences (24 l, d) are stative and (24 l) is unacceptable with durative adverbial (how) long while (24 d) is compatible with momentaneous adverbial *at that point*.
- (iv). Sentences (24 e, g) are achievements and their verbs are compatible with momentaneous adverbials *at that moment* and *at that point* but unacceptable with durative adverbials.
- (v). Accomplishment sentences in (24 f, i) accept the progressive aspect but, with momentaneous adverbials as well as durative adverbials, are unconditionally unacceptable.
- (vi). Sentence (24 c) is dynamic, and is thus compatible with momentaneous adverbial, progressive aspects as well as durative adverbials.
- (vii). Activity verbs in (24 h, j, k) momentaneous adverbials are not compatible but are compatible with progressive aspect and the durative adverbial *how long*. Their interaction with principles of interpretation of the criteria expressions will account for the observed combinatory properties, and they offer themselves as relatively clear-cut and theoretically significant.

### **2.2.3.1 Carlson's aspect features**

#### **2.2.3.1.1 Point adverbials**

Carlson states that the applicability of point adverbials to an atomic sentence in the simple present or past is an indication that the sentence is evaluated (true or false) at points of time. It would appear that aspect features, can technically be construed as conditions on aspectual adequacy on interpretation of a language in temporal frames. For the feature Point, Carlson has the following definition:

- (C. point) An interpretation I of a language L in a temporal frame F is aspectually adequate only if:  
 An atomic sentence S of L has feature [+ point] if S has a truth value at moments of F.

Carlson furthermore states that if aspect is a criterion for the application of word, its aspectual features may be primitive. Hence a word's aspect is predictable from other properties of its meaning. Thus it happens that a word is not fully specified with respect to some aspectual features by any semantic rule. For example, Carlson makes clear that a number of verbs seem to vacillate between the classes termed as *momentaneous* and *accomplishment*. Therefore the aspectual properties of an atomic sentence will be a fairly direct function of the feature specification of its main verb.

### 2.2.3.1.2 Extended periods

Carlson interprets the progressive aspect in the English language in such a way that it only applies to verbs evaluated (true or false) in extended periods. This leads to the second aspectual feature

EXT (ENDED), whose model-theoretical definition is as follows:

(C. ext) An interpretation  $I$  of a language  $L$  in temporal frame  $F$  is aspectually adequate only if:

An atomic sentence  $S$  of  $L$  has feature [+ext] iff  $S$  has a truth value with respect to extended periods of  $F$ .

### 2.2.3.1.3 Continuous periods

He points out those durative adverbials will be interpreted as universal quantifiers over subperiods of a given period. Thus a necessary condition for their applicability is the following condition of continuity, definitory of a third aspectual feature CONT(INOUS):

(C. cont) An interpretation  $I$  of a language  $L$  in a temporal frame  $F$  is aspectually adequate only if:

If an atomic sentence  $S$  of  $L$  has the feature [-cont], then the following holds of it:

If  $S$  is true in periods  $P$ ,  $P^1$ , and  $P^{11}$ , and  $P^1 \neq P \neq P^{11}$ , then  $P \cup P^1 \cup P^{11}$  is a period only if  $P$  is a moment and  $P^1 = P^{11}$ .

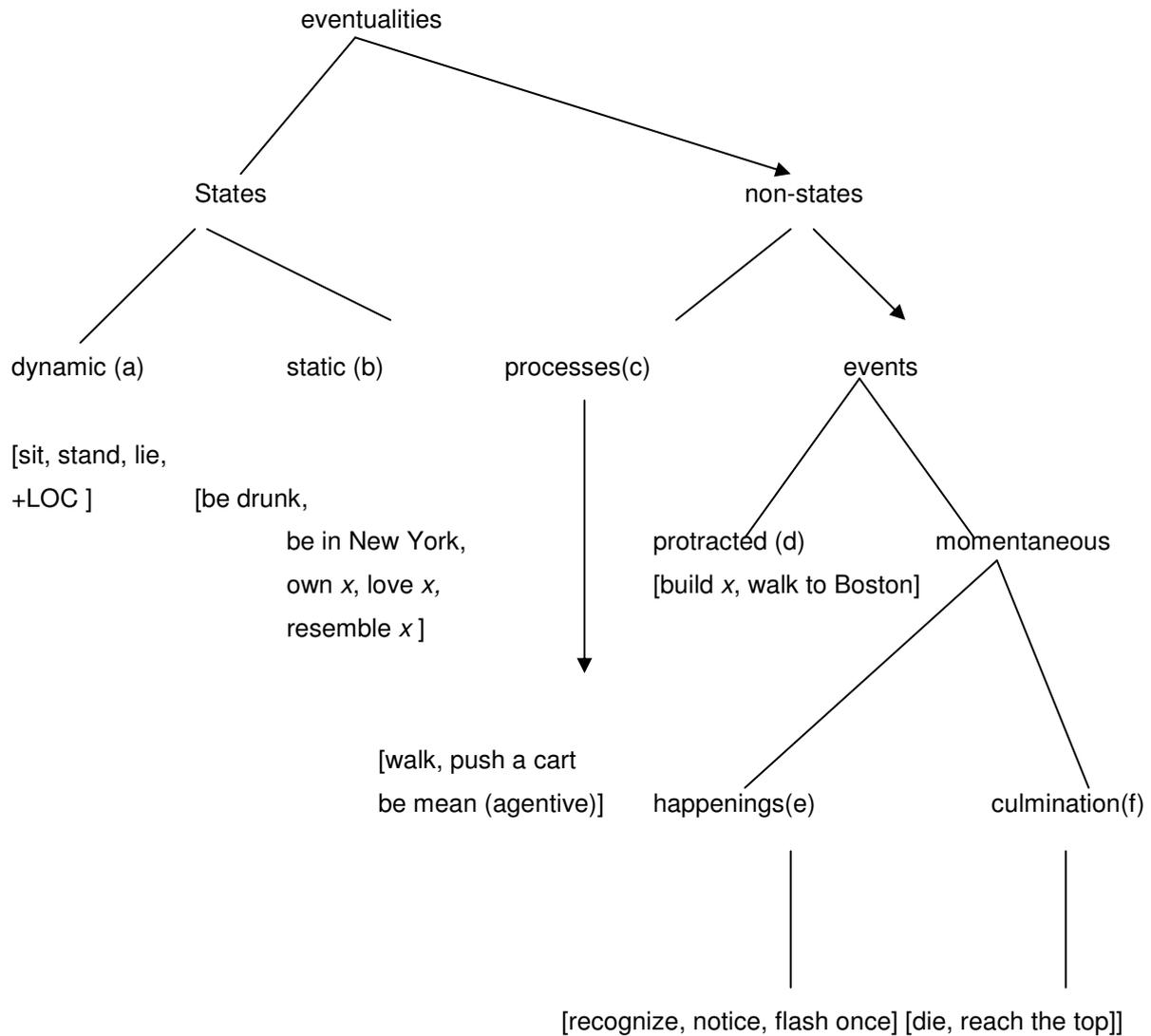
According to Carlson, condition (C. cont) says in effect that accomplishments, achievements, and momentaneous sentences cannot hold in overlapping or contiguous periods. The only exception is that an achievement is allowed to hold at some unique climactic moment contained in a period over which the achievement extends.

He points out that these three independent properties can define eight disjointed classes. In the case at hand two putative classes, for which both features [point] and [ext] assume negative value, are empty, in terms of the definitions of the aspectual features. A sentence in these classes would never be true or false, as all periods are either moments or extended. This leaves six classes, corresponding to the Classes I – VI of Table 2.4, above, from left to right, give the values of features [point], [ext], and [cont], respectively, for the Classes I – VI.

#### **2.2.4 Bach's (1986) view on the development of the verb**

Using Carlson's (1981) scheme of the kinds of distinctions between events, processes and states, Bach attempts to understand the English progressive and similar constructions in other languages. Consider Carlson's hierarchy of events, process and states as adopted by Bach.

Diagram 2



The above diagram reflects distinctions for interpreting narrative structures of different types of verbs as classified by Bach.

### 2.2.5 Moens and Steedman's (1988) opinion on the aspectual types

According to Moens and Steedman (1988:16), the term aspectual type refers to the relation that a speaker predicates about a particular happening which his/her utterance describes, relative to other happenings in the domain of the discourse. The above-mentioned authors emphasise that the point of what the speaker says about those relations is of course quite distinct from what those relations objectively are.

However, the speaker's predications about the events will typically be coloured by the fact that these events are involved in sequences that are planned, predicted, intended or otherwise governed by agencies of one kind or another. Moens and Steedman use the term contingency for a certain class of dependencies between events. Following their example in:

(25) Harry reached the top

They call the above sentence a culmination, because it is an event which the speaker views as punctual or instantaneous, and as accompanied by a transition to a new state of affairs. Thus the new state will be referred to as the consequent state of the event. The state includes only those consequences that the speaker views as contingently related to other events that are under discussion by permitting them to happen. Not all events are of an objective or consequential nature. The following sentence shows an effective combination with the perfect, as in:

(26) Harry has reached the top

Moens and Steedman point out another class of punctual expressions that are not associated with a consequent state. Examine this expression:

(27) John hiccupped

In their view, in (27), the expression does not lead to any relevant change in the state of the world - it is termed rather the **point** expression. Thus a point is an event that is viewed as an indivisible discourse which does not mean that a *de facto* consequence does not exist. Hence a point expression is not a culmination expression, and is rendered odd when combined with the perfect as in:

(28) #Harry has hiccupped

Moens and Steedman call their aspectual category a **process** as seen in:

(29) Harry climbed

They argue that most utterances, like the above sentence, describe an event as extended in time but not characterized by any particular conclusion or culmination. Expressions like that of (29) can be combined with *for*-adverbial but not with an *in*-adverbial, as argued by Vendler.

- (30) a. Harry climbed for several hours.  
b. # Harry climbed in several hours.

In contrast, (30) describes a state of affairs that also extends in time but that does have a particular culmination associated with it at which a change of state takes place.

- (31) Harry climbed to the top

Moens and Steedman classify most utterances, such as in (31), as an aspectual type called a culmination process. Thus culmination process contrasts markedly with ordinary process, combined with an *in*- adverbial but not with *for*- adverbial as indicated below:

- (32) a. Harry climbed all the way to the top in less than 45 minutes.  
b. #Harry climbed all the way to the top for less than 45 minutes.

Moens and Steedman describe expressions in (32) as aspectual types called events, that is, happenings with defined beginnings and ends. They further distinguish these “hard-edged” categories from a class of indefinitely extending states of affairs, which they call state. This is one kind of state:

- (33) Harry is at the top.

Moens and Steedman argue that the event types can be distinguished as existing in just two dimensions, i.e. one concerned with the contrast between punctuality and temporal extension, and the other with the association with a consequent state. Thus they summarize the two dimensions as follows:

Table 2.5

	Events		State
	Atomic	extended	
+Conseq	CULMINATION recognize, spot, win a race	CULMINATED PROCESS build a house eat a sandwich	understand, love, know
	POINT hiccup, tap, wink	PROCESS run swim, walk, play the piano	Resemble

### 2.2.6 Parsons' (1990) perception of events

Parsons (1980) adopts the usage of Bach's (1986) term in referring to events, processes and states as "eventualities". He then refers to the traditional four-part constitution of situation types known as events (accomplishments), events (achievements), states and processes, but he classifies these categories of sentences as eventualities which he groups under two classes namely, events and states. Firstly he argues that the event in the sentence "*Agatha made a sandwich*" reports an accomplishment type of event. This type of event may or may not take an extended amount of time, but it is always meaningful to ask "how long" it took. It implies that this event has a definite culmination, and, even if an event lacks a culmination, it still makes sense to ask whether it "finished". Secondly he argues further that the event in the sentence "*She won the race*" reports an achievement. This event is by nature instantaneous, and, thus, for this reason it makes no sense to ask "how long" the event took or "how long" it lasted.

Parsons finally ends up with two classes, namely states and processes. He argues that states hold for varying amounts of time in this sentence: "*The dress is pink*" where it reports a state. He further says it does not make sense to ask "how long" a state took (though one can ask how long it lasted), nor does it make sense to ask whether it culminated (finished). He explains further that processes are like events

which occur in happenings. The sentence: “*Mary ran*” reports a process. This event is like states because they have no natural finishing points. He sometimes calls them activities.

## 2.2.7 Verkuyl’s (1993) observation on the verb classes

### 2.2.7.1 Verkuyl’s verb classes

Verkuyl argues for a revision of situational types as classified according to Vendler’s proposal of quadripartition, that is, *states*, *and activities* grouped as *unbounded processes* and *accomplishments*, in which he terms groups as the *bounded processes* and lastly *achievements*, which he terms *point events*. Consider the following developmental table. The table will show the comparison of the matrix features used by different scholars to characterize their aspectual classes.

Table 2.5

Vendler	Hoeksema	Mourelatos	Dowty	Carlson
±Process	±Duration	±Occur	±Change	±Extended
±Definite	±Count	±Count	±Definite	±Continuous
(±Momentary)		±Momentary	±Complex	±Point

#### 2.2.7.1.1 Aspectual classes and aspectual composition

The parameters in the table above refer to the following properties of temporal structure. According to Vendler, the aspectual classes of process may be positive or negative. Similar views regarding these properties are expressed through their positive value, inter alia, by Hoeksema’s [+Duration], Mourelatos’ [+Occur], Dowty’s [+Change], and by Carlson’s [+Extended]. In some or other way, the ongoing time is expressed, although in some cases the dynamic part is suppressed.

In Verkuyl’s view, the boundedness is characterized by a process which is definite. It could be the input in some operations such as frequency, repetition, semelfactive and

the like. He also emphasizes the length of the interval. There should be a difference between a point and a set of points (an interval) or between a singleton (an interval having one element) and an interval as shown by scholars mentioned in the above table.

A brief summary of the Aristotelian distinction between states, activities, accomplishments and achievements as explained by Vendler forms the basis of all discussions dealing with the notion of events.

#### **2.2.7.1.2 Verkuyl observes Vendler's time schemata**

Verkuyl uses the following 'time schemata' to characterize his verb classes:

*State:* A loved somebody from  $t1$  and  $t2$  means that at any instant between  $t1$  and  $t2$  A loved that person.

*Activity:* A was running at time  $t$  means that time instant  $t$  is on a time stretch throughout which A was running.

*Accomplishment:* A was drawing a circle at  $t$  means that  $t$  is on the time stretch in which A drew a circle.

*Achievement:* A won a race between  $t1$  and  $t2$  means that the time instant at which A won the race is between  $t1$  and  $t2$ .

Vendler points out that one of the central arguments which necessitate the above distinction involves terms such as stretch and instant according to his wording. In his view, States and Processes share the property of pertaining to non-unique, indefinite temporal entities, States and Achievements are related to instants, whereas Activities and Accomplishments are conceived of processes as ongoing in time stretches and finally Achievements and Accomplishments involve unique, definite temporal units. According to his criteria, which are related to underlying parameters such as [ $\pm$ Process] and [ $\pm$ Definite], he formulates what is called Continuous Tense Criteria (CTC) and Definiteness Criteria (DC).

### 2.2.7.1.3 Continuous Tense Criteria

Vendler's observations on these criteria involve the opposition between continuous and non-continuous tense. He points out that Accomplishment and Activity verbs can have a Progressive Form (Prog F), while State and Achievement verbs cannot. Consider his judgments:

- (35) a. \*I am knowing; she is loving him; he is possessing the house; he is ruling the country (State).
- b. He was running, she is swimming, they are pushing the cart.  
(Activities)
- c. She is running a mile; he is drawing a circle, he was eating a sandwich.  
(Accomplishment)
- d. \*She was recognizing him; he was reaching the top; she was winning the race. (Achievement)

Vendler points out that in (35) sentences (a) and (d) seem to be odd and they are meant to exclude the Progressive Form, which seems to be based on the parameter in which [+Process] relates to process going on in time. As he puts it, "running, writing are processes going on in time that is they consist of successive phases following one another in time" (quoted in Vendler on p.36). Verkuyl observes that sentences in (a) and (d), Progressive *F* does not do what it is assumed to perform, and as a result, it is based on another criteria, i.e. the opposition between expressing some sort of agentive and non-agentive examples as shown in the table below:

Table 2.6

	<i>Agentive</i>	<i>Process</i>
He is running	+	+
He is ignoring me	+	-
Prices are increasing	-	+
Small things are mattering	-	+

According to Verkuyl, progressive form is said to relate to successive phrasal process in time but it is also tied up with the concept of agentivity. The table indicates the following:

- a. the concept of agentivity is not essentially tied up with the use of the Progressive Form, and,
- b. the use of the Progressive Form is not essentially tied up with the criterion of Progressive in time, though it is more closely related to temporality.

To strengthen his case, he introduces other Continuous Tense Criteria which turned out to be tests for Agentivity. He introduces do-criterion and agentive modification, as it boils down to Agentive modification by adverbials in (36):

- (36)
- |    |                                    |                  |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------|
| a. | *John deliberately knew the answer | (State)          |
| b. | John deliberately pushed the cart  | (Activity)       |
| c. | John deliberately painted a circle | (Accomplishment) |
| d. | *John deliberately found a penny   | (Achievement)    |

According to Verkuyl, stative and achievement verbs are incompatible with an adverbial such as *deliberately* while activity and accomplishment verbs are compatible with such an adverb. However, it is rather odd to use non-agentive sentences with the adverbial *deliberately* as is shown in (37):

- (37)
- a. The sun had \*(deliberately) evaporated for gallons.
  - b. The light beam \*(deliberately) passed the house.
  - c. The mummy was \*(deliberately) dried out by the drought.
  - d. The washer \*(deliberately) ejected these dishes.

According to Verkuyl, Vendler also applies verbs such as *stop* and *start* which may take any Activities and Accomplishment as in (38):

- (38)
- a. ??She stopped/started knowing the answer.
  - b. She stopped/started running.
  - c. She stopped/started drawing a circle.

- d. ??She stopped/started finding her sister.

He says that some sort of voluntary agency seems to be involved in (38b) and (38c), rather than a process taking time. Therefore 'stop' cannot be a criterion in the sentences above because it does not allow the –ing forms. Seemingly, he is guided by one of the following principles, CONTINUOUS TENSE CRITERIA where this stands for Progressive F, for do-criterion, for Agentive Modification and for stop/start:

- a. If a verb is positive with regard to CONTINUOUS TENSE CRITERIA, then it belongs to the set of Activity verbs or Accomplishment verbs.
- b. If a verb belongs to the set of Activity or Accomplishment verbs, then it is positive with respect to CONTINUOUS TENSE CRITERIA.

Verkuyl concludes by saying that many State verbs and achievement verbs allow for the Progressive Form and even if a verb is negative with respect to CONTINUOUS TENSE CRITERIA, it can be a (non-agentive) Accomplishment as in 39:

- (39) a. The dead man is hanging there to deter the population.  
 b. The weather is developing a strange pattern.

Similarly, there are verbs thrown out by CONTINUOUS TENSE CRITERIA which are Activities and Accomplishment by any other account, because they take time as indicated in (39) sentences. Despite the examples cited by Vendler, he finds that the concept of agentivity may overlap greatly with the concept of process going on in time, because most of the time we are dealing with human actions at the expense of non-animacy.

The table below expresses all four classes distinguished from one another by using the following parameters: [ $\pm$ Process]; [ $\pm$ Definite] and [ $\pm$ Momentary]

Table 2.7

	Process	Definite	Momentary
<i>State</i>	-	-	-
<i>Activities</i>	+	-	-
<i>Accomplishments</i>	+	+	-
<i>Achievements</i>	-	+	-

The variant of F is the criterion that separates the Activities from Accomplishments.

#### 2.2.7.1.4 Entailment – criteria

Verkuyl uses some important criteria based on entailment relations. Verbs expressing incomplete movement such as process and *energia*, completed movement such as actuality and the *kinesis* are discussed in terms of the Aristotelian division. Verkuyl maintains the following:

"If it is true that someone is running or pushing a cart now, then even if he stops in the next moment, it will be still true that the cart did run or did push a cart. On the other hand, even if it is true that someone is drawing a circle, or running a mile now, if he stops in the next moment, it may not be true that he did draw a circle or did run a mile. In other words, if someone stops running a mile, he did not run a mile, if he stops drawing a circle; he did not draw a circle. But the man who stops running, he did run and who stops pushing a cart, did push it" (quoted in Vendler 1993:143)

#### 2.2.7.2 Verkuyl's view on Dowty's formulation explains two criteria

##### 2.2.7.2.1 Homogeneity and Imperfective

###### 2.2.7.2.1.1. Homogeneity

"If V. is an activity verb, then XV-ed for y time entails that at any time XV -ed for Y time does not entail that XV-ed was true during any time within Y at all."

### 2.2.7.2.1.2 Imperfective

"If V is an activity verb, then x is (now) V-ing entails that X has a V-ed. If V is an accomplishment verb, then X is (now) V-ing entails X has not (yet) V-ed.

The aim of the Imperfective criterion is to separate Activities from performances (the union of Accomplishment and Achievements) because if one draw a circle and it is not completed then one did not draw a circle but if one is walking now, one did not walk.

### 2.2.7.2.1.3 On the alleged punctual nature of Achievement

Verkuyl proposes the Present Perfect Now criterion (PPN) which is used by Vendler to set Achievements apart from States, Activities and Accomplishments. Vendler observes that in the case of pure Achievement terms "the present tense is almost exclusively used as historic present or as indicating immediate Future" (quoted by Verkuyl 1993:46). Consider the following sentences:

- (40) a. ?She hates him up till now.  
 b. She has hated him up till now.  
 c. ?She walks already for an hour now.  
 d. She has already walked for an hour now.

According to Verkuyl, the actual State [hate] or [walk] an Activity is Simple Present and they are reported by Present Perfect which pertains more fittingly to the present situation than the Present itself. All examples in (40) contain adverbials but sentence (40b) and (40d) present the actual State and Activity, respectively, and they both take place at the moment of speech.

### 2.2.7.3 Vendler's categories

According to Verkuyl, Vendler demonstrates opposition among three categories presenting lexical NP, i.e., among activities and accomplishments, and, states and accomplishments, and lastly between states and activities, as set out below:

Table 2.8

<i>Activities</i>	<i>Accomplishments</i>
She ate sandwiches	She ate a sandwich
She wrote at the letter	She wrote a letter
She ate from the cheese	She ate the cheese
<i>States</i>	<i>Accomplishments</i>
She ate no sandwiches	She ate a sandwich
She wrote to nobody	She wrote a letter
<i>States</i>	<i>Activities</i>
She ate no sandwiches	She ate sandwiches
She wrote to nobody	She wrote to her mother

It is only opposition that is completely lexical, leaving the way open to quite arbitrary judgments concerning the right class.

### 2.2.7.4 Verkuyl demonstrates Mourelatos's merger of Vendler and Kenny

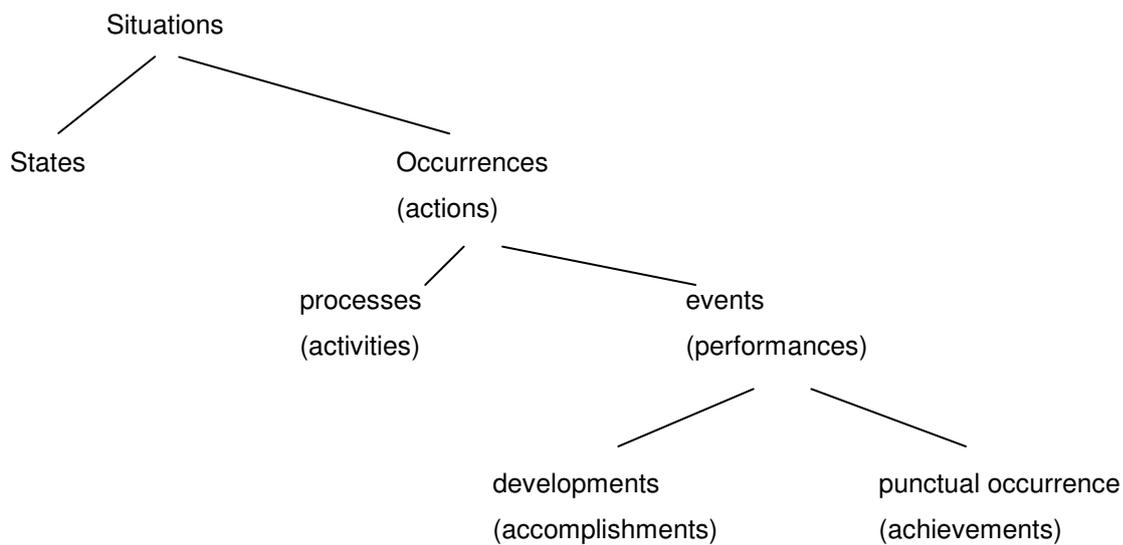
According to Verkuyl, attention is paid to the distinction between verbs having non-continuous tense (Activities and Performances) following Kenny's suggestion. However, Mourelatos speaks about the Vendler – Kenny scheme of verb types suggesting classifications which are closely related: three modifications are suggested:

- a. he merged Vendler and Kenny into one division of situational types,
- b. he extended the classifications such that they apply both to agentive and non-agentive cases, and,

c. he coined useful terms for situational types corresponding with sentences.

Study the following figure which presents the merger of Vendler and Kenny (cited in Verkuyl1993)

*Diagram 2.3*



Verkuyl points out that Kenny's tree, which constitutes the upper two layers, is simply extended with Accomplishments and Achievements designated as subclasses of the performances. He argues that an Activity is a relation between an argument and a State upon which the do-operator has certain semantic effect. The interpretation of the Vendler classes is made dependent on the model in the sense that the theoretical interpretation of BECOME, CAUSE and DO is connected with States.

The table below is the resulting classification of Dowty's aspectual matrix as based on a partial ordering:

*Table 2.9*

	Process	Definite	Complex
<i>States</i>	-	o	o
<i>Activities</i>	+	-	o
<i>Accomplishments</i>	+	+	+
<i>Achievements</i>	+	+	-

Verkuyl assigns two points of evaluation to Achievements, changing [-Occur] into [+Occur] or [-Process] into [+Process] in concurrence with Mourelatos. His idea seems to suggest that the processes are going on in time changes, but the concept of change between two points of evaluation cannot be equated with the concept of the length of a stretch between two points.

Definiteness is a change of indefinite or definite. The division involves the presence or absence of CAUSE together with BECOME. Accomplishments require that the two operators go together which accounts for the label [+ Complex] to characterize this class, Achievements being [Singularity] or [- Complex].

Consider the following sentence:

(41) Judith ate three sandwiches in an hour.

The above sentence is Accomplishment because the eating of three sandwiches occurred at a unique subinterval of  $I_1$ , which might be  $I_1$  itself. Thus the semantic given here *for-adverbials* and *in-adverbials* are appropriate for states and activities (i.e. both classes for predicates are true of most or all subintervals of an interval of the predicate's truth) but not for accomplishment, as cited in Dowty (1979:336).

### 2.2.7.5 Verkuyl observes Hoeksema's cross classification

Table 2.10

	<i>[-Duration]</i>	<i>[+Duration]</i>
<i>[-Count]</i>	States	Activities
<i>[+Count]</i>	Achievements	Accomplishments

The above table presents the four Vendler classes which are derived on the basis of two parameters, but the features involved are interpreted in model-theoretical terms. According to Verkuyl, the feature [-Count] is the property of being closed under finite union, which is characteristic for monotone increasing structures, while [+Count] forbids the sum of x and y to be part of the same event of which they are a part. [-

Duration] is the property of monotone decrease while [+Duration] stands for the property of not being an instant. According to Verkuyl, the [-Duration] feature of States seems reasonable because it provides for monotone decrease, whereas [-Count] adds the property of closure finite. For instance, if two sets are members of X their union is also a member of X. However, in the case of –ing, its interpretation is a function whose domain is restricted to Accomplishments, Achievements and Activities with definite endpoints. This notion is not, however, properly defined by Hoeksema

### 2.2.7.6 Verkuyl's point of view on Carlson's extension

Verkuyl points out that Carlson does not start with classes, selecting instead three parameters based on grammatical criteria and forming six aspectual classes from these criteria, four of which are given a Vendlerian name.

Criterion 1: A sentence O is [+point] if O has a truth value at moments.

Criterion 2: A sentence O is [+extended] if O has a truth value with respect to extended periods.

Criterion 3: If O is [continuous], then if O is true in periods P, P<sup>1</sup> and PP<sup>11</sup>, and P<sup>1</sup> = P = P", PUP<sup>1</sup>UP" is a period only if P is a moment and P<sup>1</sup>=PP<sup>11</sup>

Verkuyl presents Carlson's three parameters which yielded to six aspectual classes, four of which pertain to Vendler. Study the table below:

*Table 2.11*

	Extended	Continuous	Point
States	-	+	+
Activities	+	+	-
Accomplishments	+	-	-
Achievements	+	-	+

Verkuyl concludes that the transition from one point to the other is expressed in its positive value by Vendler's [+Process], by Hoeksema's [+Duration], by Mourelato's [+Occur], by Dowty's [+Change] and by Carlson's [+Extended]. Dowty's [+Complex] seems to be linguistically odd in the sense that he needs it only to distinguish Accomplishments from Achievements. Given the fact that a point precludes internal complexity, the length of an interval presumes it. Thus [complex] equals [+Punctuality].

### 2.2.8 Higginbotham's (1995) perspective on the development of verbs of motion

Higginbotham observes that locative prepositions may be used freely regarding the path as well as the location of motion. He emphasizes this in the ambiguity of, for example:

(42) The boat floated under the bridge

may mean that the boat, being under the bridge, floated around down there, or that it moved under the bridge in a floating manner. However, this ambiguity can be shown by adding temporal adjuncts of duration as in:

- (43) a. The boat floated under the bridge *in an hour*  
 b. The boat floated under the bridge *for an hour*

According to Higginbotham, who sharpened the semantic problem, one of the triumphs of Davidson's theory of verbs is that it explained a number of implications, for an example, if the boat floated under the bridge, then it floated. The theory did this by positing that modifiers of verbs added information about events for which they are predicated. For instance if the locative is dropped in:

(44) The boat floated in an hour

then, it means that it took an hour for the boat to get to float. In this sense the contrast between the phrases *in an hour* and *for an hour* is known to be a diagnostic

for whether the predicate to which they attach is a predicate of pure activity, or rather of events that are conceived as having natural endpoints, and are thus considered to be telic, according to Aristotle. Therefore the expression *for an hour* goes with activity predicates, the so-called *atelic*, whereas in *in an hour*, which displays predicates that establish endpoints, the *telic* predicates.

The durational prepositional phrase [PP] *for an hour* simply measures the temporal extent of an activity or a state. Higginbotham argues that it is a simple predicate of events, and combines semantically with a main predicate after the fashion or manner of adverbs. In his example

(45)           The boat floated *for an hour*

Higginbotham argues that there was a floating action of the boat, *e*, whose temporal measure was an hour. It implies that the durational PP *in an hour* is more complex, it measures, not the temporal extent of an activity, but rather the lapse of time between *the boat (e)* and *in an hour (e)*. In order to come to a clear understanding of durational PP, the preposition *under* is taken in the meaning “go under”. The PP *under the bridge* is a modifier but is also, in fact, the main predicate of the construction. This shows the process, namely motion in space, and also telos, namely the state of being under the bridge. It is clear that what appears to be the main predicate, the V *float*, seems to have the interpretation of the manner adverb: *to float under the bridge*, which means as it were to go under the bridge “floatingly”, i.e. *floating* is predicated of the activity-coordinate of combination. The ambiguity of float under the bridge springs from the predicates that contain both activity and telos, what Anthony Kelly (1963) called performances, which show two event arguments in the linguistic system, one for each aspect of the performances.

## 2.2.9 Pustejovsky's (1996) view on semantic classes and categorial alternation

### 2.2.9.1 Verbal alternations

Pustejovsky argues that there is interaction of the verb semantics with semantic information from the complement itself. He points out that grammatical alternation may be used throughout the grammar of a language to make semantic distinctions on the basis of syntactic behaviour. He further explains that by making use of category and selectional information including grammatical alternation data, words may be grouped into semantic classes following predictably syntactic behaviour.

He considers one of the oldest semantic classifications for verbs, that of aspectual class or Aktionsarten. The difference between verbs and verb phrases is that they differ in the kinds of eventualities in the world which they indicate. There are three aspectual types namely state, activity and event, where the latter is categorized into accomplishment and achievement events. He exemplifies this with the verb 'walk' in sentence (46), where it indicates an activity of unspecified duration. The sentence itself does not convey information regarding the temporal extent of the activity; hence deictically it is an event in the past:

- (46) a. Mary walked yesterday.  
 b. Mary walked to her house yesterday.

According to Pustejovsky, sentence (46a) is said to express an activity while (46b) conveys additional information that Mary stops her activity of walking to her house, although the temporal duration does assert that the process has a logical culmination whereby the activity of walking is over when Mary is at her home. Thus the event type in this instance is accomplishment. Other activity verbs are sleep, run, work and drink.

Verbs such as build and destroy present an Accomplishment event because there is something finished or completed as a result of the activity performed:

- (47) a. Mary built a house  
 b. Mary destroyed the table.

In (47a) the existence of the house as well as the non-existence of the table in (47b) is the direct culmination of Mary's act.

Pustejovsky (2000) also points out that creative verbs are the best examples of Accomplishments, although performance verbs may allow for both Activity and Accomplishment usage depending on the complement structure as illustrated below:

- (48) a. Mary played the piano (for hours)  
 b. Mary played the sonata in 15 minutes

The presence of the temporal adverbial in (48b) denotes an Accomplishment. The illustrative sentence below, tests whether derived and lexical Accomplishments license modification, while Activity does not:

- (49) a. Mary walked to the store in an hour.  
 b. Mary built a house in a year. Accomplishments  
 c. \*John drank in 20 minutes  
 d. \*Mary worked in an hour Activities

An Achievement is an event that results in a change of state but the change seems to occur instantaneously. Pustejovsky suggests that point adverbial like 3pm indicates an achievement as illustrated below:

- (50) a. John died at 3pm.  
 b. John found his wallet at 3pm.  
 c. Mary arrived at noon.

However, point-adverbial modification is not restricted to Achievement only; the Accomplishment sentences are also modified by point adverbials:

- (51) a. The pianist performed the sonata at noon.

- b. James taught his 3-hour seminar at 2:30 pm.
- c. He delivered his lecture at 4:00pm.

The sentences in (51) with adverbials indicate the starting time of an event of some specific duration.

According to Pustejovsky, lexical properties of the verb can be affected by factors that could not possibly be lexical, as a bare plural object or mass term may bring about a shift in the meaning of 'eat' from activity to accomplishment as in (52):

- (52) a. Mary ate cookies. (Activity)  
 b. Mary ate a cookie. (Accomplishment)

The presence of a bare plural object shifts the interpretation of telic event to that of an unbounded process. He points out that another indication of an aspectual shift resulting from pluralization of the subject of achievement predicates, come from complementation patterns with aspectual predicates such as *begin* and *finish*:

- (53) a. \*John began finding a flea on his dog.  
 b. \*The guests began to arrive.  
 c. John began finding fleas on his dog.  
 d. The guests began to arrive.

He points out that the sentences (53a) and (53d) suggest an aspectual distinction whereby the behaviour of states is examined, which in turn has two kinds of aspect - one which is stative and predicates individual-level, as well as stage-level. He also points out that predicates such as *tall*, *intelligent* and *overweight* are classified as individual level predicates, because they can be directly identified with the individual throughout his/her lifetime. He also states that predicates such as *hungry*, *sick* and *clear* are classified as stage-level predicates, because they are usually identified with non-permanent stages of individual life, where we find the verbs in the form of resultatives, as (54) illustrates:

- (54) a. John drank himself sick with that cheap brandy.

- b. Watching the commercial on TV made John hungry.
- c. Bill wiped the counter clean before serving us our coffee.

Pustejovsky explains another characteristic which distinguishes activities from accomplishments, and which he terms the “imperfective paradox”, involving possible entailments from the progressive aspect. For example:

- (55) a. John is running (Therefore, John has run)  
 b. John is building a house (\*Therefore John has built a house).

The difference in entailment indicates whether an action is homogeneous in nature or has a culmination of some sort. Sentence (55a) is an activity and entails that John has run i.e. John has engaged in some sort of running while sentence (55b) does not allow entailment because building is not a homogeneous process, but culminates in a change of state, and is thus an accomplishment. Thus if *x O-ing* entails *x has O-ed*, and then either the verb or the predicate is an activity.

Pustejovsky (2000) concludes that a member in an aspectual class determines much of the semantic behaviour in a lexical item and aspectual properties of a sentence may change because of adverbial modification (both durative and frame) or because of the structure of NP in an argument position (eg definite vs. bare plural) or because of prepositional phrases.

## **2.2.10 C.S Smith’s (1997) observation on situation aspect**

### **2.2.10.1 Situation Aspect**

Smith classifies situations by their internal temporal features, much in keeping with the aspect-linguists. Aristotelian approaches draw a distinction between static and dynamic, or states and events, telicity and duration to form the basis for all Smith’s discussions which deal with the notion of “situation aspect”. According to Smith, situation types are semantic categories of language, classes of idealized situations with distinctive temporal features. Hence, they have a grammatical correlation, as the verb constellation conveys the concept of a situation, just as [Mary walks by the

river] expresses the concept [Mary walks by the river]. Smith, therefore, concludes that the situation type of a sentence is conveyed by the verb and its arguments, which constitutes the verb constellation.

She points out that there are characteristic patterns of co-occurrence with adverbials, aspectual viewpoints and other forms. She argues that sentences may focus on the beginning of a situation, for instance the case of inchoative achievement, and/or another aspect as they may present an event as a sub-part of another multiple-event Activity, or as part of a pattern of situations (habitual Stative) or as a class of situations (generic Stative). She illustrates sentences in which verb constellations are associated with situation types (1997:18):

- |      |     |   |                    |
|------|-----|---|--------------------|
| (56) | a.  | Bill knew the truth                         | (Stative)          |
|      | b.  | Suddenly Bill knew the truth                | (Achievement)      |
|      | a'  | Mary coughed                                | (Semelfactive)     |
|      | b'  | Mary coughed for an hour                    | (Activity)         |
|      | a'' | Kim played a set of tennis on Friday        | (Accomplishment)   |
|      | b'' | Kim always played a set of tennis on Friday | (Habitual-Stative) |

According to Smith (1997), in (56a), sentences represent basic-level categorization while (56b) sentences are derived-level which feature a change of state or a shift in situation type. The basic-level of categorization is always available for a verb constellation whereas the derived-level needs adverbials or other information from context. These situation type shifts are triggered by clashes of temporal features and are predicable by rule.

### **2.2.10.2 Temporal Features of the Situation Types**

Smith classifies situations by a defining cluster of conceptual and temporal properties which can be seen as states and events. The temporal properties of dynamism, telicity, and duration distinguish the basic situation types. The features can be expressed compactly with plus and minus value but for the purpose of representation Smith refers to positive features as stated below:

### **2.2.10.2.1 Static/Dynamic**

Smith outlines the difference between state and motion as fundamental and divides the situation types into two classes, i.e. states and events, with states being static and events dynamic. She says that states are the simplest of the situation types and they consist of a single period of undifferentiated moments without endpoints whereas events are dynamic and they constitute all non-stative situations, they are “continually subject to a new input of energy” (See Comrie 1976:46 quoted by Smith 1997:19). They consist of successive stages, which occur at different moments and thus exhibit the stage property.

### **2.2.10.2.2 Telic/Atelic**

Smith points out that events are categorized as telic and atelic. Telic events are directed towards a goal and when the goal is reached, a change of state occurs and the event is complete. Moreover, the category of telic events includes events without agents, for instance, Smith’s example, *a rock falling to the ground from a cliff* is a telic event and the final endpoint is reached when the rock is on the ground. This implies that the telic events have a natural final endpoint or intrinsic bound. By contrast, as Smith points out, atelic events are simply processes which may stop at any time without any outcome. They are arbitrary final endpoints.

### **2.2.10.2.3 Durative/instantaneous**

Smith explains that the feature of duration may categorize certain idealized situations - i.e. some are durative and others instantaneous. She outlines that an event such as [win a race], happens instantly even though there is enough time for it to be perceptible without marring its categorization as [Instantaneous]. She summarizes the cluster of features that distinguish the situation types in binary terms below:

Table 2.12

Temporal features of the situation types (1997:20)

Situations	Static	Durative	Telic
States	+	+	-
Activity	-	+	-
Accomplishment	-	+	+
Semelfactive	-	-	-
Achievement	-	-	+

She argues that not all possible combinations are realized because the feature [ $\pm$ Telic] is irrelevant to situations with the property [+ Static].

Smith concludes that the same relations between the part and the whole hold for events of different types. She explains that activities are cumulative events and accomplishments are countable. Consider an activity such as *John was walking to school*. This would entail *John walked* in contrast to an accomplishment *John walked to school*. Krifka, (in Smith, 1997:20) proposes the idea that a quantized event or thing involves a path that traverses the entire internal structure while cumulative events and things have no such path traversing them as proposed by Krifka, as quoted in Smith (1997:20).

She points out that the telic events are specific and countable. This property is expressed partly by the nominal arguments of telic sentences cited below:

- (57) a. He played sonatas (Activity, atelic)  
 b. He played a sonata (Accomplishment, telic)

The object NPs in (57a) are bare plural and the sentence is atelic, while in (57b) there is a count noun and the sentence is telic— thus indicating a difference between telic and atelic events.

### 2.2.10.3 Situation types

In this section, An overview is given of how Smith provides for each situation-type semantic characterization, such as the basic–level and derived cases and sentences that realize the situation type. A detailed presentation is outlined. As she points out, the basic- level examples of each situation type are simple, complete situations. The derived members focus part of a situation or have a complex internal structure, which consists of instances of another situation type, or represent a marked association of verb constellation and situation type.

#### 2.2.10.3.1 Activity

##### 2.2.10.3.1.1 The activity situation type

As Smith points out, activities are processes that involve physical or mental activity and consist entirely in the process and they have temporal features [Dynamic], [Atelic], [Durative]. She also points out that the typical Activities are [stroll in the park], [laugh], [resolve] [think about], [enjoy], [eat cherries].

She argues that when activities terminate or stop, they do not imply *finish\_or complete*.

Activities have the part-whole relation of cumulative events. As Vendler puts it, “activities go on in time as homogeneous way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole”. (1967:133 quoted by Smith 1997:23).

For instance, as Smith points out, if John walked in the park for some interval, the sub-event of his walking for a few minutes of the interval is also an instance of walking. She also points out that activities may have explicit, independent bounds, when they appear with certain-time adverbials such as *from 2 to 3*, for *an\_hour*, etc. Therefore the situation type value of an activity shifts in the presence of explicit bounding adverbials. Independently bounded activities have a specific final endpoint and the grammatical correlates of telicity.

### 2.2.10.3.1.2 Activity situation

Smith describes three main classes of Activities as one class consisting of processes that are unlimited in principle such as [sleep], [push a cart], [laugh]. Another class of activities has indefinitely many internal stages, as in [eat cherries]. There are also derived shifted Activities.

She also outlines that activities may involve animate beings and events of movement, activity and/or volition; weather processes such as *raining*, *snowing*, actions such as *vibrate*, *rotate*, *hum*; non-extension actions such as *seek*, *listen for*, *look for*, which involve physical perception. However, she observes that sentences with degree predicates may present Activity events when they indicate the *increase or decrease* of a property. For example:

- (58) a. They are widening the road.  
b. They widened the road.

After widening, Smith contends that the road may still not be very wide, thus the sentences in (58) refer to situations of gradual change and do not require that a particular degree be changed. Similarly, the soup may not be quite cool after a period of cooling. Such degree predicates are known as ‘vague’ predicates. Abusch 1987 quoted in Smith (1997:24), presents a semantic analysis of degree predicates in which a change takes place at each stage, but with no natural final endpoint. That is why multi-events activities are an important class of derived-Activities. Their internal stages consist of sub-events as indicated below:

- (59) a. We fed the puppy for an hour.  
b. The wheel revolved for an hour.  
c. Mary coughed for an hour.

In Smith’s sentences, (59a) presents a single event, which consists of a series of feedings and certain sub-events, which are cyclic, as in (59b), where each revolution is a complete cycle that is followed by termination or another cycle. (59c) are

iterations of Semelfactives. She posits that such events are often referred to as iterative or repetition.

### 2.2.10.3.1.3 Activity sentence

Smith outlines that the basic-level Activity sentences have verb constellations consisting of an atelic verb and compatible complements or a telic verb with a mass NP complement (eg the object in *eat cherries*) and there is no limit or natural endpoint to such an event. Smith's sentences such as [write books], [repair shoes] have mass nouns and form a complex predicate by incorporating an object into a verb. It is said that Activity sentences that are complex rather than basic-level frequently have an adverbial with an aspectual value that differs from the verb constellation. She argues that the verb constellations [read the book], [paint the fence] are telic, whereas [read in the book], [paint away at the fence] are atelic due to prepositions such as *in*, *away*, *at*, and therefore they have effect on such as change.

Smith illustrates the entailment characteristic of Activities with sentences which include different viewpoints. She says that whereas imperfective sentences present part of an event; perfective sentences present an event as a whole. This would imply that if an imperfective Activity is true during interval *I*, then, the perfective sentence is true: (60a) entails (60b) in:

- (60) a. The kitten was chasing its tail.  
b. The kitten chased its tail.

According to Smith, the implication is that this entailment holds because Activities are atelic and durative. Thus inceptive sentences may in effect present an Activity which is focusing on the beginning of the event, indirectly. She points out that the receiver may infer that the Activity continues unless the information points to the contrary and that the inceptive focus may be due to a super-lexical verb such as *begin* or may be suggested by a punctual adverbial. Such adverbials are compatible with durativity, as in the following examples:

- (61) a. Mary began to run.

- b. Suddenly Mary ran. An hour later she was still running.

Smith shows that both above sentences are achievements which present a change of state into an activity. Thus sentences in the perfective viewpoint present Activities as implicitly bounded with arbitrary endpoints while sentences in the imperfective present Activities as ongoing and unbounded.

### **2.2.10.3.2 ACCOMPLISHMENT**

#### **2.2.10.3.2.1 The Accomplishments situation type**

Smith states that accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome, or a change of state. Therefore this change is the completion of the process. Thus Accomplishments are finite, and intrinsically bounded. She points out that they have the temporal features [Dynamic] [Telic]; [Durative]. Smith's typical examples of Accomplishments are [build a bridge], [walk to school], [drink a glass of water]. Thus they exhibit successive stages in which the process advances to its natural final endpoint. Therefore, they result in a new state.

Smith points out that when a process with a natural final endpoint reaches its outcome, the event is completed and cannot continue. Smith exemplifies this in the following example: if you have walked to school and have arrived there, the event is complete and one cannot go on with it – thus the notion of completion is essential. Accomplishments are *completed or finished*, whereas Activities *stop or terminate*.

She points out further that the result state of an Accomplishment *may or may not continue*. Thus the *process* component of an Accomplishment is essential to the very notion of the event. Consider the following verb constellation [write a letter]. The actual writing cannot be omitted if John brings a letter into being at the drop of a finger, one would not say that John wrote a letter. She points out that the relation between the *process* and *an outcome* of an Accomplishment is known as non-detachability. There is an entailment relation between process and outcome that is the formal correlate of the notion of non-detachability. If the outcome of an Accomplishment is reached, the process occurred.

### Entailment pattern for Accomplishment

If event A occurs at interval I, then the process associated with A occurs during the internal stages of that interval.

Smith contends that, from a standard occurrence of a process which is associated with an outcome, one cannot infer the outcome. Not all Accomplishments are completed because one may see Mary crossing the street but Mary may decide to stroll down the center of the street, or she may be hit by a truck and never complete the crossing. The Accomplishment, presented from a progressive viewpoint, was in progress. Smith comments further that accomplishments take time and cannot be perceived directly. One interprets different percepts or stages, as constituting a single event. She provides an example: one may see Mary approaching the sidewalk, in the middle of the street, and then at the other side of the street. One may refer to all these percepts with the verb constellation [cross the street]. In talking about an event as an Accomplishment, one makes a judgment about how events in the world are related.

#### **2.2.10.3.2.2 Accomplishment situations**

Smith points out that the change of state of an Accomplishment takes various forms but as Ryle (1947:21) quoted in Smith (1997:27), says: "some state of affairs obtains over and above that which consists in the performance of the subservient task activity." The new state may affect the object as in [build a bridge], [cook a turkey] and the new state may affect the subject in [walk to school], [miss the bus]. Telic events may be classified by the type of result they bring about. Consider the following results:

Table 2.13

## Major types of Results

<i>Affected object:</i>	[bend an iron bar], [wrinkled a dress], [break a pot]
<i>Constructed object:</i>	[build a house], [write a letter]
<i>Consumed object:</i>	[destroy a house], [drink a glass of wine]
<i>Affected experience</i>	amuse Mary]
<i>Path – goal:</i>	[walk to the lake], [work from 2 to 3]

Among derived Accomplishments are process sentences with independent, explicit state bounds as Smith illustrates in (62):

- (62) a. We strolled by the river for 2 hours.  
 b. Sam worked from 2 to 4 this morning.

In (62), she observes that bounded processes are telic events and they have specific, finite endpoints and at the same time they are unlike telic events because there is no change of state.

She also observes that when one covers a certain amount of space, one arrives at a new location but no such result is assumed for time, as illustrated in the following constructions:

- (63) a. I walked to school.  
 b. I walked (for) 3 miles.  
 c. I walked for 3 hours.

According to Smith, sentences in (63 a and b) present a change of state, i.e. the resultative states but (63c) does not – hence arriving at a time three hours later than one began, the later time is not considered as a resultative state. This implies that temporally bounded events are different from proper telic events. Sentences with atelic verb constellations and telic adverbials are also derived-Accomplishments as in John swam laps in an hour. One interprets such a sentence as telic, because a

particular amount of swimming took place during an hour. Derived-Accomplishments may have super-lexical verbs such as [begin], [start], [finish] which focus on one endpoint of an event. The endpoints comprise changes of state with internal structure as shown in (64):

- (64) a. They gradually fell in love.  
b. He slowly stopped walking.

The outcome is the change into a new state, or a durative event, or the change from an event to a state of rest.

### 2.2.10.3.2.3 Accomplishment sentence

According to Smith, these sentences become ambiguous with the adverb “almost” because they include process and an outcome. Two readings in which “almost” pertains to the initial or to the final endpoint as in (65):

- (65) John almost opened the door.

Apparently, the one reading is that John did not open the door at all and on the other hand he was at the door but he did not get the door open, as Smith points out. Thus the ambiguity in (65) can be represented semantically in terms of the scope of the adverbial. She suggests that the inceptive presentations of Accomplishments can be obtained, then lastly if the object or subject is countable, the process and its outcome are finite-hence specification of arguments bring the event to a final endpoint. Temporally- bounded Activity sentences are also ambiguous with *almost*:

- (66) I almost walked for 3 hours.  
..but I stopped after only 2½ hours.  
..but I decided not to because I had too much work to do.

She points out that this type of ambiguity appears only with sentences presenting durative, explicitly bounded events.

Smith (1997) points out that the entailment of Accomplishments can be shown with perfective and imperfective sentences. If an Accomplishment sentence with the perfective viewpoint is true at interval I, then the corresponding progressive sentence is true at interval I:

- (67) a. John built a cabin last summer.  
 b. John was building a cabin last summer.

She implies that the entailment, in (67a) is true then (67b) is true but the opposite does not hold, although John was in the process of building a house, he may not finish the house or may never produce a house. Accomplishments are finite events with a natural final endpoint. Smith concludes that Accomplishment sentences must have verb constellations with a countable argument and if the argument is countable as in [John ate 3 apples] or [Mary built a bridge], then the event is finite.

She outlines that indirect presentations of Accomplishments occur with inceptive sentences, which present entry into the process stages of an Accomplishment. Inceptives have explicit super-lexical verbs such as *begin* in (a) or have an implicit inceptive meaning as illustrated in sentence (b) below:

- (68) a. They began to walk to school.  
 b. They walked to school at noon.

It shows that without information to the contrary, one tends to infer that the event proceeded as intended.

### **2.2.10.3.3 SEMELFACTIVE**

#### **2.2.10.3.3.1 The Semelfactive situation type**

Smith argues that semelfactives are single-stage events with no result or outcome, and they have the features [Dynamic], [Atelic], [Instantaneous]. She gives examples of typical semelfactives, such as [knock at the door], [hiccup], [flap a wing] and they

consist of a single-stage event in their occurrence, and since they are single-stage events, they are intrinsically bounded.

As Smith puts it, the term ‘semelfactive’ comes from the Latin *semel* (once) used in Slavic to refer to a suffix, which indicates a single event. They are conceptualized as instantaneous. For instance, when a person coughs or a bird flaps a wing, the events take some fraction or a second to occur, which is why one thinks of them as instantaneous. However, their grammatical features contrast with those associated with duration.

#### **2.2.10.3.3.2 Semelfactive situations**

As Smith points out, these involve events that occur very quickly and with no outcome or result other than the occurrence of the event. Hence they include events such as [blink], [cough], internal events such as [the light flicker], and actions such as [tap], [peck], [scratch], [kick], [hammer a nail (once)], [pound on the table (once)]. They also occur in repetitive sequences, which are called multiple event Activities. However, the multiple–event Activity is presented by adverbial or other information as in “Mary knocked for five minutes.”

#### **2.2.10.3.3.3 Semelfactive sentences**

Here, Smith points out that, those semelfactive verb constellations are limited in distribution and they seem not to appear with imperfective viewpoint, with durative adverbials or other expressions of duration. However, sentences with Semelfactive verb constellations and durative features are interpreted as multiple–event Activities although they are not ungrammatical, as is indicated in *Mary coughed for an hour, Mary was coughing*. The derived interpretation is triggered by the clashing temporal features of the verb constellation and other forms.

### 2.2.10.3.4 ACHIEVEMENTS

#### 2.2.10.3.4.1 The Achievement situation type

As Smith points out, Achievements are instantaneous events that result in a change of state, because they have the properties [Dynamic], [Telic], [Instantaneous]. Typical examples are [leave the house], [reach the top], [recognize Aunt Jane]. The temporal schema of an Achievement consists of a single stage, resulting in a change of state

She argues that the concept of an Achievement, which is a single–event, is detached from any associated process. For instance, if “Mary won the race” is true for time T, it does not follow that “Mary was winning the race” is true at the moment; hence, an Achievement sentence is true only for the moment of the event. On the other hand, if “Mary was running the race” is true at some moment, it would be true a moment earlier than T.

#### 2.2.10.3.4.2 Achievement situations

Smith states that typical Achievements are changes of state that occur very quickly, such as [find], [recognize], [break a glass]. The lexical span may focus on the outcome of a chain of events, as [reach the top], [arrive], or the event may be instantaneous as [find], [lose]. She argues that the result states of Achievements are like those of Accomplishments:

*Table 2.13*

Major types of results for Achievements

<i>Affected object</i>	[break a cup], [tear a paper]
<i>Constructed object</i>	[imagine a city], [define a parameter]
<i>Consumed object</i>	[explode a bomb]
<i>Affected– experience</i>	[see a comet]
<i>Path – Goal</i>	[reach the top] [arrive in Boston]

She argues that many Achievements allow for or require preliminary stages. For example: [win a race], to win a running race one must run it. But in some cases, Achievements may not need or require preliminary stages just as in “I may meet John at the party and gradually find him familiar, eventually recognizing him as an acquaintance of years ago. But I may also recognize John instantly”, as Smith puts it (1997:31). Preliminaries are conceptually detached from the events and are related to Achievements.

#### 2.2.10.3.4.3 Achievement sentences

According to Ryle, as quoted in Smith (1997:31), agent-oriented adverbs are odd when coupled with Achievements as in 69:

- (69) a. \*John deliberately found his watch.  
b. \*Abigail deliberately hit the target.

Smith points out that in (69), neither finding nor hitting the target can be completely controlled by an Agent because one can look for one lost watch and one may find it, but one cannot control the finding. She calls these ‘purely lucky’ Achievements. The adverbials are odd in the above sentences because the events do not allow for control. However, some Achievements allow agent-oriented adverbials, such as:

- (70) a. John accidentally lost his watch.  
b. Mary accidentally hit the target  
c. John deliberately missed the target  
d. John deliberately hit the new window.

Smith proves Ryle wrong in that he did not consider a sufficiently wide range of Achievements that allow agent-oriented adverbials. Sentences in (70a) and (70b) may deny control or present plausible cases of control while (70c) and (70d) assume that John is a good shot. This highlights the factor of control as being orthogonal to temporal structure-hence some Achievements allow agent-oriented adverbials, while others do not. Smith observes that derived Achievement sentences appear with super-lexical verbs such as *starts* and *finish*. They focus on instantaneous initial or

final endpoints, eg Mary started/finished reading the book. Many inchoatives are of this type, including those referring to events of cognition, where the event results in a state eg [know the answer].

### **2.2.10.3.5 STATIVE**

#### **2.2.10.3.5.1 The Stative situation type**

According to Smith (1997), states are stable situations which hold for a moment or an interval and they have temporal features [Static], [Durative]. She gives these typical stative examples as [own a farm], [be in Copenhagen], [be tall], [believe in ghosts]. States consist of an undifferentiated period with internal structure and they have no dynamics, and require external agency for change. States are distinct situations, constituting changes of state. The initial and final endpoints of a state are not part of the state. Thus, states do not take time, they hold for a certain period of time, the whole schema is true at every moment. For instance, when Mary knows French, there is no moment throughout the week during which these states do not hold in just the same way as every other.

Entailment pattern for states: When a state holds for an interval, it holds for every sub-interval of that interval.

Situations with the sub-interval property hold for all sub-intervals of an interval; hence states have the sub-interval property.

#### **2.2.10.3.5.2 Stative situations**

Smith observes that statives may include concrete and abstract properties of all kinds, such as possession, location, belief and other mental states, dispositions, habits etc. She points out that there are classes of stereotypic states such as private predicates [belief that S], [hope that S], [fear S], [know that S] which refer to unobservable mental states and events. Private predicates like [think that] is Stative and [think about] is dynamic, an Activity. According to Carlson (1977) quoted by Smith (1997:33) the interesting difference among the stative predicates is that some

hold for individuals or stages of individuals. Carlson further argues that predicates which denote relatively stable properties, such as [be extinct], [be a beaver], hold for individuals, and are termed “individual-level” predicates. Predicates such as [be available], [be angry], denote transitory properties and are termed “stage-level” properties.

Smith points out that, verb constellations of posture and location are unique in allowing progressive viewpoints with a static, resultative interpretation as illustrated in (71):

- (71) a. Steve is sitting on the chair.  
 b. The picture is hanging on the wall.

The imperfective viewpoint in (71) has a stative interpretation and focuses on the interval after the change of state, denoted by the verb constellations. They only present a posture or position, the result of a change of state. Derived stative includes sentences of generic predication. They hold for classes or kinds and are therefore individual-level predicates. Generic sentences ascribe a property to a class or kind such as:

- (72) a. Tigers are striped.  
 b. Tigers eat meat  
 c. Dinosaurs are extinct.  
 d. Herbivores are common

The generic sentences differ widely in terms of their syntactic properties. Certain predicates such as [extinct] hold only for kinds, but most of them may be used to denote individuals and classes. Generic sentences are usually associated with dynamic situation types at the basic level of classification. Smith points out that for instance, “The beaver builds dams” has a generic reading, though the verb constellation is Accomplishment. Thus the sentence can be taken as dynamic if the beaver refers to a particular beaver, and this consequently allows for ambiguity in generic sentences.

Smith points out those habitual sentences below are another type of derived stative. Habitual predicates presents a pattern of events, rather than a specific situation, and show a state that holds consistently over an interval.

- (73) a. My cat eats mice frequently.  
 b. My cat ate a mouse every day  
 c. Fiona was often in love.  
 d. Fred frequently walked to school.

Smith's above-listed habitual sentences are semantically stative, hence the temporal schema holds for an interval, which is typical of statives. The combination of present tense and perfective viewpoint lead to a habitual reading using non-stative verbs such as:

- (74) a. Susan is happy.  
 b. Mary feeds the cat.  
 c. Fred plays tennis.

According to Smith, in sentence (74a) a particular state at a particular time is referred to, while (74b) and (74b) are habitual, in that they refer to a pattern of events rather than any particular event. This demonstrates that habitual depends on the event occurring with a certain frequency. Thus the difference of the habitual from another type of stative refers to the ability or performance rather than actual activity. Seemingly, habitual allows for forms that are related to agency and control, unlike other statives. Thus the result in (75)

- (75) a. Mary was feeding the cat every day.  
 b. Tom was playing tennis on Fridays.

The above progressive sentences require adverbial support and/or temporal anchoring.

### 2.2.10.3.5.3 Stative sentences

Smith states that in the direct presentation of a state, the verb constellation focuses lexically on that state. For instance, *Mary is tall*, can also be presented indirectly, through a change of inchoative states - thus *Mary become tall* who allows for the inference that the resultant state will continue. Stative expressions may also present durative events with punctuality and resultative states:

- (76) a. He was angry for an instant.  
 b. The gate was closed by the guard.

According to Smith, sentence (76a) presents punctuality while (76b) denotes a resultative state. She emphasizes that states are cumulative and unbounded and they have a uniform part structure as shown by the fact that the sub-interval property holds for them. The global class of stative sentences includes all sentences with the imperfective viewpoint. States consist of undifferentiated periods and continue indefinitely unless something happens to change them.

Smith outlines that habitual sentences have frequency adverbials such as in (77):

- (77) Every afternoon John ate an apple

The above sentence is clearly habitual though it has an individual nominal and a quantized object. In sentence (77) she argues that habitual may not have a frequency adverbial such as:

- (78) Eva got up at noon last summer.

These two examples in (77) and (78) clearly illustrate a disparity between the interval given by the adverbial and the time required for a single instance of the event. It is argued that the habitual interpretation depends on both the information in the sentence and on the knowledge of a particular language.

#### 2.2.10.4 Linguistic realization activities

Smith outlines the unique positions of sentences of the five situation types with a cluster of linguistic properties associated with their temporal features. She presents the characteristics as well as semantic properties of each situation type.

##### 2.2.10.4.1 Activities

These are dynamic and have the properties of that feature. Smith points out that the verb constellations of activities appear with imperatives, as complements of verbs like *persuade* and with volitional and instrumental adverbs. They may also appear with the imperfective viewpoint and in the pseudo-cleft construction. This implies that they have a habitual interpretation in perfective present-tense sentences; hence are conveniently applied by linguists to situations in which a much broader as Smith puts it, but intuitively related set of terms such as “customary”, “frequent”, “regular”, “usual” and even “normal” is applicable, as, for example, in the following sentences:

- (79) a. We persuaded Emily to push the cart.  
 b. Emily voluntarily pushed the cart.  
 c. Emily was pushing the cart.  
 d. What Emily did was pushing the cart.  
 e. Emily pushes the cart.

##### 2.2.10.4.2 Accomplishment:

These are also dynamic and the verb constellations appear in imperatives, as complements of verbs like *persuade* with volitional and instrumental adverbs. On the other hand, accomplishments also allow for the progressive and pseudo-cleft construction, and they are taken as habitual in present perfective sentences such as those shown below:

- (80) a. We persuaded Sam to open the door.  
 b. Sam opened the door with a key.  
 c. Sam was opening the door.

- d Sam opens the door.

#### 2.2.10.4.3 Semelfactives

Smith points out that semelfactives are dynamic and they appear in *imperatives*, as complement of *persuade*, with volitional and instrumental adverbs. In pseudo-cleft sentences and in present perfective sentences they have a habitual interpretation.

- (81) a. Tap his shoulder!  
 b. I persuaded Mary to tap his shoulder.  
 c. She carefully tapped his shoulder.  
 d. What Mary did was tap his shoulder.  
 e. Mary taps his shoulder.

She points out that these semelfactive verb constellations do not appear in basic-level sentences with progressive viewpoints; hence the progressive triggers a multiple event interpretation. As stated earlier, semelfactives are instantaneous and atelic. They are compatible with punctual adverbs as in (81a), and also with adverbs of indirect duration and completion, and inceptive in character.

They have an ingressive interpretation as shown in (82b) and (82c). When occurring with other forms related to duration, they require a shifted interpretation as multiple events as in (82d) and (82e):

- (82) a. She tapped his shoulder at noon.  
 b. She tapped his shoulder in an hour. (ingressive)  
 c. She slowly tapped his shoulder. (ingressive)  
 d. She began/stopped tapping his shoulder (multiple-event)  
 (e) ?She finished tapping his shoulder. (multiple-event)

#### 2.2.10.4.4 Achievements:

According to Smith, achievements are dynamic and the verb constellations of this type show themselves in imperatives, as complements of verbs like *persuade*, and

with instrumental and volitional adverbs, as they permit the imperfective viewpoint and the pseudo-cleft construction. It is clear that in perfective sentences they have a habitual interpretation as in (83):

- (83) a. The other children persuaded Mary to break a glass.  
 b. Mary deliberately broke the glass.  
 c. He was winning the race.  
 d. What he did was win the race.  
 e. He wins the race.

#### **2.2.10.4.5 States**

As Smith pointed out earlier in this chapter, states are static and durative; their verb constellations do not have the linguistic features associated with dynamism. Therefore, they do not allow imperatives as complements of persuade with volitional and instrumental adverbs, with the progressive viewpoint, or in pseudo-cleft sentences. Stative verb constellations in the present perfective sentences have a specific interpretation as they are effective with adverbials of simple duration and momentary adverbials as shown below:

- (84) a. The baby was sleep at noon.  
 b. The baby was asleep from 2 to 4 this afternoon.  
 c. Mary was sick for three days.

From Smith's point of view, the habitual interpretation seems to be that of expressing a perfective meaning with regard to these situation types.

#### **2.2.11 Levin Berth and Malka Rappaport Hovav 2005: The aspectual approach**

Levin Berth and M.Rappaport Hovav give their view on temporal properties by way of explaining that events are important for argument realization, with its various instantiations which differ regarding the optimal characterization of these properties. Their arguments focus on the aspectual i.e., the availability of the progressive, the distribution of various types of temporal adverbials, and the availability of certain

entailments (cited in Dowty 1979:60). They also review aspectual approaches to event conceptualization, highlighting those aspectual properties which in their view figure in argument realization.

According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav, and with reference to Vendler's four aspectual classes namely, activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, these may be identified as the most widely used verb classes, although there are other aspectual class taxonomies. They argue that the most basic aspectual difference is between states such as *be in the garden*, *be tall*, *resemble one's mother*, *know the answer*, and *believe in the wishes* which are stative and they do not exhibit any changes in state, while the other three aspectual classes are identified by Levin et al. as non-stative, using Comrie's term non-dynamic and dynamic predicates. Levin and Rappaport Hovav following their predecessors, support the view that among the non-stative classes, accomplishments, such as *build a bridge*, *fix a sink*, *run to the store*, and *eat an apple*, and achievements, such as *realize your error*, *reach the summit*, and *discover the solution* have an inherent temporal endpoint, variably called *telos* and *bound*. However, they recognize that achievements like accomplishments are telic, though they (achievements) lack duration unlike accomplishments, and that they are nearer to punctual (cited in Vendler 1967:103). They cite Smith (1991) to the effect that semelfactives such as *knock*, *kick*, *jump* or *beep* are atelic and punctual in their non-iterative uses.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav, quoting Vendler's view that verb classes are intended to be temporal in nature, describe each class in terms of a temporal schema. Certain classes' exhibit particular non-temporal semantic properties, while others such as the agentive and causative, do not. They argue that some statives are non-agentive as in *know*, and lack an imperative form, and also that non-agentive activity verbs lack imperatives as in *\*roll down the hill, ball!* or *\*babble, stream!*. Levin and Rappaport Hovav observe that achievement forms tend to be incompatible with agentive forms when shown with adverbs like *attentively* or *carefully*, contrasting with an accomplishment in *\*My mother carefully noticed the spot vs My mother carefully read the book* (cited in Ryle 1949:151). They also observe that non-agentive activity is also odd with the adverb *carefully*, and this is not an aspect determining factor, but rather determining agentivity, as in *\*the top carefully spun on the table*.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav point out the confusion between accomplishments and achievements in relation to the notion “causative”. They argue that the core accomplishments such as *cool*, *empty*, and *melt* are causative, and achievements such as *reach*, *die* *lose* and *notice* are non-causative, whereas certain verbs, such as *break* and *explode* have causative and non-causative uses which are of the same aspectuality; hence they are both punctual. They also maintain that the intransitive use of *break*, *cool*, and *melt* are consistently non-causative yet they differ in their aspectual properties, being telic (*eg break*), or either telic or atelic (*eg cool*), and durative (*eg cool*), or punctual (*eg break*). According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav, the members of causative verb classes do not have the same temporal properties, while members of classes defined by temporal properties are not identically causative, and, therefore, agentive and causation do not fall under the aspectual classification. They suggest that the relations between aspectual classes can be illustrated by many verbs such as *understand*, *see*, *hear*, and *recognize*, as well as *bloom* and *flower* that can be found in either state or achievement readings:

- (85) a. Ashley understands Maori (state)  
 b. Foster suddenly understood the letter’s significance.  
 (achievement)

According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav, the aspectual classifications of the following sentences with certain verbs are determined by the presence and the nature of their direct object as exemplified below:

- (86) a. Morgan drank for five minutes/\*in five minutes.  
 b. Morgan drank lemonade for five minutes/\*in five minutes  
 c. Morgan drank three glasses of lemonade in five minutes/\*for five minutes

Levin and Rappaport Hovav argue that when a sentence with a verb *drink* as in (86a) lacks a direct object, then it is atelic and it cannot be modified by *in-* adverbial, which sets a bound to the duration. However, that verb can be modified by *for-*adverbial which simply defines the duration of event, therefore indicating a change of state

from an activity to an accomplishment. They maintain that when its direct object is a mass noun or a noun phrase, the sentence is atelic because of non-specified quantity, but if specified then the sentence is telic as in (86c). They argue that telicity of a sentence is analyzed in terms of material within the verbal phrase and telicity of activities and accomplishments are distinguished in terms of telicity.

According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav, telicity can be represented in a result state or culmination of events, as cited by Dowty (1979), Higginbotham (2000), Rothstein (2004) *inter alia*, and as part of a structure of events, when an event has a proper subpart which could be defined by the same event predicate. They suggest that performances called accomplishments and achievements (cited in Kenny 1963) must bring about a state or activity, and that one performance differs from another in accordance with the differences between states of affairs brought about by performances, as specified by their ends. They also support Dowty's (1979) proposal that the endpoints of accomplishments and achievements which determine telicity, are indicated as result states, as illustrated below:

- (87) a. The soup was cool.  
 b. The soup cooled.  
 c. Alex cooled the soup.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav maintain that the adjective *cool* in (87a) describes an entity of state, and in (87b) an inchoative verb defines the attainment of the state by entity, achievement, whereas in (87c) a transitive causative verb defines a cause bringing about the state in an entity, as an accomplishment. The analysis performed above shows three uses of the word *cool* as evidenced by the existence of the entailment relation between the sentences. They point out that achievement derives from state with the addition of the predicate BECOME to the state predicate decomposition, and the accomplishment from achievement by adding the predicate CAUSE to the achievement's decomposition, and, in addition the derivation of an accomplishment from activity to give the result state to an activity (cited in Tenny and Pustejovsky 2000:7-9).

According to Levin and Rappaport Hovav, the concept of 'incremental theme' introduced by Dowty (1979) arose in an attempt to define telicity. They argue that a range of verbs have incremental theme arguments, including *destroy*, *mow*, *paint* and *read* as well as verbs of consumption such as *eat* and *drink*, and verbs of creation, such as *build* or *write* (quoted in Dowty 1979) and are meant to apply to changes of state in verbs (cited in Rothstein 2004). They also cite Tenny (1994) with regard to the development of telicity. Tenny agrees that in certain event types, the arguments depend on the presence of a temporal endpoint or other delimiter for the events to distinguish telicity and she uses the term 'measure out' which depends on the nature of the event itself. However, Tenny cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005, proposes events such as 'path object' as in *Sue walked to Appalachian trail* and *Jerry climbed the ladder* where the event is measured out, since the progress along the path determines the progress of the event, and its endpoint, (i.e., the goal of motion) defines the event. On the other hand, Tenny cited in Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2005), suggests that the event types may be represented by change of state verbs like *ripen* and *dry*. She characterizes the patient as measure, while recognizing that the event's temporal endpoint is achieved by processing along measurable degrees of change in some property central to the verb meaning.

Levin and Rappaport Hovav (2005) conclude that telicity is thus represented by the endpoint of a scale and, on the other hand, the classes of verbs whose direct objects affect the telicity of the events being described are those which have incremental theme or are in some way associated with scale or path which determine the progress of the event. They further observe that the independence of the incremental theme and telicity is noticeable in sentences featuring the change-of-state verbs, especially when a predicate describes a specified degree of change on the associated scale, rendering the event as telic, and when the degree of change remains unspecified, the event is rendered as atelic (cited in Kennedy and B. Levin 2001). Furthermore, they also observe that the predicate may be telic but lack an incremental theme as is shown in predicates such as *recognize and touch the finish line*, to name but a few examples.

## 2.2.12 Rothstein 2004's argument on the development of the verb

Rothstein (2004:6) argues that verbs are sets of events that are classified into lexical classes. However, she argues that this depends on the properties of the events in their descriptions. Following Parsons (1990) and Landman (1995, 2000), she assumes that verbs describe sets of events or an event (or eventuality) type, and that thematic roles refer to functions from sets of events to their participants. Thus the event type referred to by V reveals the properties which determine the lexical class of the V.

She distinguishes aspectual properties into four verb classes and sees whether or not they are naturally heading telic VPs [ $\pm$ telic] and whether or not they naturally occur with progressive [ $\pm$ stages]. Her verb classification is as follows:

### 2.2.12.1 Classification of verbs

Table 2.13

States	[-telic; -stage]
Activities	[-telic; +stage]
Accomplishments	[+telic; +stage]
Achievements	[+telic; +stage]

Following Bach's (1986) classification of verb classes, it is clear that his states and processes are similar to Rothstein's, although Bach's classification of events corresponds to Rothstein's accomplishments, and Bach's notion of the momentaneous corresponds to Rothstein's achievements which are subdivided into those which he terms "what happen to you", such as *notice* or *recognize* and those which can be seen as the culmination of some kind of activity or process such as *reach the top of the mountain* or *die*.

Still following Bach's schematic representation of eventualities, Rothstein expresses an approach in which aspectual categories are related via sets and subsets of

relations, i.e. states and non-states that can be divided into atelic process and telic events, which she further subdivided into accomplishments and achievements.

In her classification as set out in Table 2.13, the statives share one feature with both activities and achievements, but none with accomplishments and thus a shift of a state to an activity or achievement reading, rather than into an accomplishment reading, may occur.

Rothstein, following her predecessors (Vendler, 1967), (Dowty 1979), etc., contends that stative eventualities or states are cumulative and non-dynamic, i.e. [-telic; -stage]. They are also homogeneous. Setting aside considerations regarding adjectival predicates in this case, state verbs denote a set of countable stative eventualities with the internal temporal constitution of individual eventualities. Thus she maintains that states hold since there is no change that takes place during a time period indicated as:

If a predicate is homogeneous then P-ed for y time ENTAILS that at any time during y, x P-ed was true.

Consider this sentence: *John loved Mary for twenty years*, which entails that at any time during those twenty years he loved her (allowing for context). So stative eventualities are homogeneous down to the instant, and contrast with other atelic eventuality-type (activities)

Stative eventualities do not generally occur in the progressive as investigated by (Dowty: 1979) as in:

- (88) a. John is running.  
b. John is building a house.

Similarly with stative eventualities, as Rothstein points out, the simple present has a non-frequentive, no-habitual reading which is impossible with any other verb class except all the sentences in (89b), (89c) and (89d):

- (89) a. John knows the answer.  
 b. John runs  
 c. John builds a house  
 d. John reaches the top of the mountain/ arrives on time.

Rothstein supports Dowty (1979) in his explanation that states are also for the most part non-agentive although there are crucial exceptions, notably with the interval stative verbs which may occur in the progressive. These stative verbs constitute the most important subclass of verbs that do not normally occur in the complement of *force* and *persuade*, as *imperatives*, as well as with adverbs *deliberately*, *carefully* and *willingly* or any other verb indicating agentivity as illustrated below respectively:

- (90) a. \*John forced Harry to know the answer  
 b. \*Know the answer  
 c. \* John deliberately knew the answer

They do not generally occur in pseudo- cleft constructions:

- (91) What John did was know the answer

She states that stative verbs share the property of atelicity with activities, so they co-occur with *for x-time* which is not the case for accomplishments and achievements, as illustrated below:

- (92) a. John loved Mary for years  
 b. John ran for hours  
 c. \*John arrived for hours  
 d. \*John build a house for years

On the same account, Rothstein's classification of verb classes, as outlined earlier in this section, predicts that stative verbs should pattern with achievements into an event that can be analysed as stages; hence neither states nor achievements normally occur on a progressive scale. On the other hand, she contends that if stative verbs are coerced out of their natural stativity, they are coerced into an

inchoative or achievement reading. These telic predicates naturally occur with the temporal modifiers *in x time* which locates the end point or telic point of the event as occurring within *x* amount of time from a contextually relevant point. When a stative verb occurs in *x time* the effect is an inchoative reading as (93) demonstrates:

- (93) John was curious to find out where his grandfather had been born, and with the help of the record office he knew the answer in a few hours.

She points out that the above sentence asserts that within a few hours, John began to be in a state of knowing the answer or experienced a change of a state - of not knowing to a state of knowing. Such an event which involves the changing from one state to another may be characteristic of events in the denotation of achievement predicates. Similarly a state can be coerced into an achievement reading in contextually situated imperatives as in (94):

- (94) Teacher to students: "Know the answer by tomorrow, or there will be big trouble."  
Activities [-telic, +stages]

As was observed earlier by Rothstein, activities such as states are both atelic and dynamic. They occur naturally in the progressive and are to be analysed into stages. Activities are S – cumulative with respect to contextually related events where temporal adjacency is frequently involved as in (95):

- (95) Mary ran from 4p.m to 5p.m

The assertion that she ran from 4p.m. to 5p.m. is true, and the predicate emerges as cumulative and thus atelic. She uses S-cumulativity to distinguish between activities and accomplishments. Consider the following differences:

- (96) a. Yesterday I minded a baby all day. In the morning I minded John's baby, and in the afternoon I minded Bill's baby.

- b. Yesterday I wrote a letter all day. In the morning I wrote to John and in the afternoon I wrote to Mary.

According to Rothstein, the sentence in (96a), which exhibits the singular activity predicate, *mind a baby*, can be interpreted as formed out of the sum of two 'mind the baby' events involving a different baby, but with the accomplishment *wrote a letter* this becomes impossible.

If P is an activity predicate, then x is (now X P-ing ENTAILS x has P-ed).

Thus, Mary, who is now pushing a cart/minding a baby, entails that Mary has pushed a cart or minded a baby because of the fact that the event has already started. This in turn means that part of it has already gone on, and that part must itself be in the denotation of the activity predicate.

Rothstein refers to Dowty's view that minimal activity events are minimal changes of state, where the lexical meaning of the verb constellation determines the relevant change of state. For instance, a minimal activity event of walking is a moment from I to I' effect by the taking of one (or two) steps]. Thus, in this activity, predicate P denotes a set of events which includes minimal events of type P, and an activity predicate can hold at any interval at least as big as the interval required for a minimal event in P to occur. If x P-ed is true, then it is true either because some minimal event type P, occurred or a string of such events occurred. Activity predicates will thus be homogenous down to the minimal event, and the entailment which flows through is formulated below:

If x is P-ing holds at y, and P is an activity predicates, and  
then at any subinterval of y containing a non-minimal event in P,  
x – Ø ed is true.

Rothstein suggests that the imperfective paradox occurs whenever the event which witnesses the progressive is not 'large' enough to contain a minimal event. For instance, *John is walking* entails that *John has walked* if and only if the event which makes his walking true is already bigger than a minimal event. Conversely,

Rothstein argues that, if John is in the middle of talking his first step, the statement “John is walking” is true and likely to turn into an at least minimal event of John’s walking. But “John walked” is not true, because if it is the case that a minimal event of walking is in progress, then it is not true that the minimal event of walking has occurred.

However, Rothstein proposes that one interesting imperfective paradox of entailment as formulated above is the fact that progressive accomplishments do not entail the simple past as in *Mary is building a house* entails *Mary built a house* whenever the event verifying the progressive is at least a minimal event. Thus the difference between the accomplishment and the progressive is that the singular predicates *build a house* denotes a set of minimal and non-minimal events. A singular accomplishment predicate in the progressive can never entail the simple past as *walk* includes a non-minimal singular event in its denotation, where *build a house* does not because the former, and not the latter, is cumulative.

The above discussion has shown that activities and states are both atelic, but differ with respect to whether they have stages. Atelicity follows with respect to contextually related events. Additionally, it can be contended that they differ with respect to whether they have stages, because states are homogeneous with progressively reduced instants, while activities are homogeneous only with minimal events.

Rothstein maintains that activities and accomplishments share the same properties which she characterizes as stages – they thus both occur naturally in the progressive.

#### Accomplishments [+ telic; + stages]

Rothstein points out that those accomplishments behave differently from both states and activities and are thus telic, but they have stages which are similar in nature to those of activities. Study the sentences below:

- (97) a. John ate a sandwich

- b. Mary mended the chair
- c. Jane worked out the solution to the problem
- d. Bill painted the house

Rothstein points out that an accomplishment is an activity which moves towards a finishing point or “set terminal point”, or “culmination” or “telic point” as it has been called in the literature. On the other hand, one may say an accomplishment is a non-cumulative activity which ends, and can therefore not change its internal structure. That is why (97a) denotes an accomplishment event of *John eating a sandwich* - and the event is terminated when the sandwich is consumed.

Telicity is indicated by non-cumulativity while both state and activity events can be extended and iterated. Rothstein points out that, accomplishments also fail to be homogeneous. While telicity distinguishes accomplishments, they share the property of having stages with activities. Both activities and accomplishments occur commonly in the progressive as in:

- (98)
- a. John is eating a sandwich
  - b. Mary is building a house
  - c. Bill is crying/ running

Rothstein concludes that the progressive also allows for the distinguishing of activities and accomplishments with respect to the imperfective paradox – thus the entailments in (99a) and (99b) are in contrast to the lack of entailments in (99c) and (99d) as illustrated below:

- (99)
- a. John is running ENTAILS John has run/ran
  - b. Bill is crying ENTAILS Bill has cried.
  - c. John is eating a sandwich DOES NOT ENTAIL  
John has eaten/ate a sandwich
  - d. Mary was building a house DOES NOT ENTAIL  
Mary has built/built a house

It has been argued previously in this section, that in examples such as the above, it is difficult to formalize the imperfective paradox in a non-trivial way, such as that which would actually distinguish between activities and accomplishments.

#### Achievements [+telic, - stage]

Following Rothstein and her predecessors, achievements are similar to accomplishments in their telicity. They are not homogeneous as well as cumulative with respect to contiguous events. She argues that they are best thought of as “near instantaneous changes of state”. For example, as she puts it, an event which is in the denotation of *die* is crucially a change of state from being alive to not being alive, while an event in the denotation of *recognize* is a transition from not being able to categorize information to being able to categorize it, the actual transition event occurs in next to no time, and “none of its internal structure is accessible for description”.

She points out that temporal modification shows both the non-cumulativity of both accomplishments and achievements, but also the contrast in the temporal properties that events possess. One can study the temporal properties such as “how long” and “take” in the following sentences:

- (100) a. How long did it take John to read War and Peace?  
 b. How long did it take John to recognize Mary?  
 c. How long did it take John to be short? (on the non-inchoative reading).  
 d. How long did it take John to push carts?

She argues that achievements are instantaneous, (100b), and can only be interpreted by asking how long it was before the event took place or not, as with (100a), or how long the event lasted. It therefore seems nonsensical to ask how long recognition took, although one can ask how long it took before recognition took place.

Rothstein states that the present perfect is used to report achievements which are in the process of occurring, as they are near instantaneous, and they have occurred as soon as they are occurring as (101) illustrates:

- (101) a. Now he has found it  
 b. Now she has noticed the new curtains.

She concludes that unlike accomplishments, achievements are changes of state which are not associated with any preceding task or activity. The property of [-stage] also shows that achievements are not felicitous in the progressive. If they are instantaneous, and cannot be analyzed into temporal parts, then it is nonsensical to assert that they are “in progress”. They do, however, vary frequently, and appear in the progressive as researched by Rothstein’s predecessors, but in the form of qualified, contextual readings.

### 2.2.12.2 Progressive Achievements

According to Rothstein (2004), the use of progressive in achievement verbs is a major concern because they denote eventualities which are closer to instantaneous and they are unacceptable with the use of progressive in some instances, whereas on the other hand, they are acceptable in the forms exemplified below:

- (102) a. #Jane is reaching the summit of the mountain.  
 b. # Mary is spotting her friend at the party.

Rothstein (2004) points out that there are achievement verbs which are compatible in the progressive sentences as seen below:

- (103) a. Susan was arriving at the station when she heard that trains to Jerusalem had been cancelled because of the state of the line.  
 b. Dafna is finding her shoes.  
 c. Fred and Susan are finally leaving.  
 d. The old man is dying.  
 e. The plane is landing.  
 f. Jane is just reaching the summit.

The sentence in (103f) has modified the progressive reading, and for this reason it is compatible with the progressive reading.

Rothstein argues that the problem of progressive in achievement verbs in examples (102#) is that achievement verbs have been shifted into merely disguised accomplishments with a very short activity period which is “activated in the progressive” as shown by Verkuyl (1989) and supported by Mittwoch (1991) and they therefore may be read in the progressive. She proposes that both accomplishments and achievements cannot show the same behaviour in the progressive, in opposition to Verkuyl and Mittwoch’s argument. She refers to the view of Smith (1991), Kamp and Ryle (1993), that progressive achievements focus on detachable preliminary stages of the achievements. She also argues that the progressive does not treat the achievement verbs as special kinds of lexical accomplishment verbs. She also maintains that progressive does not also trigger a type-shifting operation which results in an accomplishment being derived from the achievement.

Rothstein maintains that when achievements occur in progressive, one finds the same imperfective paradox as with accomplishments. Consider the following:

- (104) a He was dying of disease X when they discovered the new wonder drug (so he did not die of disease X).  
 b The plane was landing when it exploded in midair (so it did not land).  
 c. Jane was just reaching the summit when there was an avalanche (so she did not reach it).

She implies that the progressive Verb Phrase -ing + Verb Phrase denotes a set of intermediate stages related to a telic point and therefore it does not show whether the telic point was reached - thus the Progressive. Verb Phrases in the above sentences denoted event types with incremental structures. From her point of view, it is clear that the analysis of progressive achievements involve accomplishment type structures rather than activity type structures; hence they are near-instantaneous events as shown earlier in this section. In Rothstein’s hypothesis, it becomes obvious that achievements are just like accomplishments, and they consist of an activity part and a telic point which is the BECOME-event, or change of state.

### 2.2.12.2.1 Achievements are not Accomplishments

Rothstein maintains that there are accomplishments which occur with durational expression such as *for a time* and *spend a time* P-ing. This implies that a non-telic reading of the accomplishment behaves as an activity. She gives the following examples for perusal:

- (105) a #The guest arrived for twenty minutes.  
 b. #Ella reached top of the/a hill for an hour.  
 c. Neta painted a picture for an hour.  
 d. Dafna read a book for an hour.
- (106) a #The guest spent an hour arriving.  
 b. #Ella spent an hour reaching top of the hill for.  
 c. Neta spent an hour painting a picture.  
 d Dafna spent an hour reading a book.

From the above examples, an activity reading can stand as an accomplishment because it has an activity sub-event in (105a) and (105b), whereas (106a) and (106b) prove that achievements do not have an activity sub-event. On the other hand, as Rothstein outlines, both achievements and accomplishments are compatible with durational expressions such as *in a time*, and show telic point as in the following sentences:

- (107) a The guest arrived in an hour.  
 b. Ella reached the summit an hour.  
 c Neta painted a picture in an hour.  
 d Dafna read a book in an hour.

The sentences given above show that the telic point occurred at the end of that hour, hence an adverb may describe an eventuality within a certain period. Rothstein argues that with accomplishments, the beginning point of the hour is identified, either as the beginning of the accomplishment or some other contextually relevant point which precedes the accomplishment.

Rothstein concludes that since accomplishments have an activity sub-event, the entailment holds:

*x P-ed in  $\alpha$  time ENTAILS x was P-ing during  $\alpha$  time*

This entailment does not hold for achievements as they do not have activity sub-events as Rothstein demonstrates with reference to Dowty's explanation. Thus the contrast between:

- (108) a. John painted a picture in an hour ENTAILS John was painting a picture during that hour.  
 b. The helicopter landed in an hour DOES NOT ENTAIL the helicopter was landing during that hour.

Rothstein argues that the usage of *before* and *after* will show the difference between the internal structure of achievements and accomplishments as in (109) and (110):

- (109) a. The guest arrived after an hour.  
 b. Ella reached the summit after an hour.  
 c. Neta painted a picture after an hour.  
 d. Dafna read a book after an hour.
- (110) a. It took an hour before the guest arrived.  
 b. It took an hour before Ella reached the summit.  
 c. It took an hour before Neta painted that picture  
 d. It took an hour before Dafna read that book.

Rothstein concludes that with achievement events, which are near instantaneous and over as soon as they have begun, there is no practical distinction between locating the beginning of the event and the locating of the end event as shown in (109) and (110). On the other hand, the lexical property of the accomplishments that have an activity sub-event, which have duration (*...after an hour and it took an hour before...*)

locates the starting point of the eventuality, although it cannot be a paraphrase of an assertion which locates its telic point at approximately the same time.

She argues that both accomplishments and achievements show differences with respect to temporal modification, and thus show different aspectual structures as outlined earlier in this section. Rothstein also observes that achievements act like an instantaneous change of state, while accomplishments have inherent duration and include an activity sub-event.

Rothstein therefore concludes that achievements do occur in progressive and they do not behave like accomplishments either in simple or progressive forms, but behave more like the progressive of activities.

### **2.2.12.3 The structure of Accomplishment**

Rothstein points out that there are two different shift operations from which accomplishments are derived. Firstly, a derived accomplishment may be triggered by the progressive operator from a lexical achievement predicate by correlating an activity event with a telic point where the properties of telic point are given by achievement. Secondly it can be triggered by shifting operation of the resultative predication from lexical activity predicate by relating the event denoted by the lexical activity with a culmination or telic point.

According to Rothstein (2004), the structure of accomplishment raised the question about the interpretation of shift operation in both of the following questions:

(i) How far from the point at which an achievement event is scheduled to take place is it appropriate to make an assertion using progressive? For example, '*How far from the top of the mountain can Jane be, for (111) to be reasonably maintained?*':

(111) Jane is reaching the top of the mountain.

(ii) What constraints are there on the relation between the verb and resultative predicate in a resultative sentence? Where does the casual implication come from? For example, why is the sentence in (112a) more acceptable than the sentence in (112b), and why do we infer that the house getting dirty was the result of painting in (112b) if it is acceptable?

- (112) a. Mary painted the house red.  
 b. ??Mary painted the house dirty.

Rothstein argues that from the above constructions, termination lies with telicity, as a predicate is said to be telic if an event in its meaning has a lexically specified endpoint.

### 2.2.12.3.1 Measuring out and incrementality

Rothstein again argues that Accomplishment predicates which normally head telic VPs act as activity predicates (i.e. head of atelic predicates) when the direct object is bare plural or a mass NP, whereas activity predicates always act as activity predicates no matter what direct object they have, as shown below:

- (113) a. Mary built the house #for a year/in a year.  
 b. Mary built houses for a year/#in a year.

- (114) a. John pushed the cart for an hour/#in an hour.  
 b. John pushed carts for an hour/#in an hour.

She points out that the examples above show the relation between the verb and direct object as it (the direct object) is central in determining the meaning of accomplishments. She argues that cumulative event predicates such as *run* and *push a cart* are single events in the connotation of singular *run* and *push a cart*. However, the sum of two non-overlapping events in the connotation of *build a house* and *eat a sandwich* will not be in a singular predicate only, but it can be in the representation of plural predicates such as *build houses*. The event is thus atelic,

while in *eat three apples*, the event is telic; hence an event of eating exactly three apples.

However, the direct object arguments of verbs such as *eat*, *mow* and *build* in (115), are used up as the event is represented by the verb progress:

- (115) a. Mary ate the sandwich.  
 b. Jane mowed the lawn.  
 c. Dafna built a house.

She argues that the progress of the event of Mary eating the sandwich by looking at the sandwich, and similarly the progress of the event of Jane mowing the lawn can be plotted by watching the changes in the lawn. For any particular event in the representation of *eat a sandwich*, the culmination of that event is determined by the point at which the sandwich is entirely eaten. She points out that these accomplishments contrast with verbs such as *run* which indicate activities, and may be easily head telic VPs in (116b) where the length of the running event is determined by means of an explicit measure phrase and in (116c), where the event is delimited by a directional path phrase but not by an argument:

- (116) a. John ran for an hour.  
 b. John ran a mile in an hour.  
 c. John ran to the store in ten minutes.

Rothstein argues that the contrast between (116a) and (116b) is to distinguish the difference between activities and accomplishments linguistically. She points out that activities may head atelic predicates, and accomplishments may head telic ones, although telicity of the VPs headed by accomplishments relies on the properties of their direct object, while the telicity of the VPs headed by activities is affected by the properties of the direct object. She refers to Krifka's view that the contrasts in (116a) and (116b) are explained on the basis of two linguistic notions, i.e. incrementality and quantization and the direct object of an accomplishment is the position in which the theme argument is canonically realized. Krifka's point of view, as expressed by Rothstein (2004), is that if a VP predicate is quantized, then it is telic, and if it is non-

quantized, then it is atelic. Krifka points out that if a verb is an activity (or an achievement verb for that matter), and thus non-incremental, the quantized status of the direct object cannot affect the VP. This is what, in Rothstein's view, Krifka termed "measuring out" or incremental theme.

According to Rothstein (2004), Krifka classifies predicates as cumulative or quantized. He then describes cumulativity and quantized as follows:

"If a predicate X is accumulative, and X does not denote a singleton set, then for any two elements in X, their sum is also in X" (2004:94)

and

"If X is quantized, then if x and y are in the denotation of X, y cannot be a proper part of x" (Rothstein, 2004:95).

She concludes that cumulative event predicates such as *run* and *push a cart* are single events in the connotation of singular *run* and *push a cart*. However, the sum of two non-overlapping events in the connotation of *build a house* and *eat a sandwich* will not be in a singular predicate only, but may also reside in the representation of plural predicates such as *build houses* - thus the event is atelic, while in *eat three apples* the event is telic, hence an event of eating exactly three apples. Thus atelic predicates are cumulative verbal predicates (those of activities) and telic predicates are quantized verbal predicates (those of accomplishments).

According to Rothstein, Krifka calls the strict incrementality "graduality", which is a necessity for telicity. In the following examples, Krifka describes the thematic role of "theme" as gradual:

- (117) a. John ate apples last night.  
b. John ate three apples last night.

Rothstein points out that, with reference too Krifka in (117a), the thematic role "theme" is gradual and it is non-atelic, because the direct object cannot be used to identify a telic point, hence the information does not describe when the culmination happens. However, sentence (117b), does provide the information about the

completion of an event. Thus Krifka classifies the verb *eat* as an accomplishment because of such differences as found in (117a) and (117b). In contradictory fashion, Krifka claims that the verb *push* does not have gradual theme, and that both sentences in (118) are non-atelic, independent of the quantized or non-quantized status of the theme argument as classified as an activity:

- (118) a. John pushed carts last night.  
 b. John pushed three carts last night.

Rothstein concludes that the definition of incrementality and the relation between telicity and quantization are major problems, in light of Krifka's discussion. Similarly, the identical VP can be interpreted as an activity as well as an accomplishment predicate as shown below:

- (119) a. John wiped glass/polished silver for several hours/\*in several hours.  
 b. John wiped the table/polished the vase in five minutes.  
 c. John wiped the table/polished the vase for five minutes.

In her conclusion, Rothstein maintains that sentence (119a) shows a non-quantized direct object and thus atelic reading, and the sentences (119b) and (119c) show that a quantized direct object does not allow for a telic reading, thus (119b) identifies that the theme of *wipe* and *polish* is gradual whereas (119c) indicates the contrary. It shows that the verb *wipe* and *polish* assign two different roles, one of which is gradual in (119b) and non-gradual in (119c).

#### **2.2.12.3.2 A theory of Accomplishment**

According to Rothstein the resultative must be predicated of the theme because it (resultative) shares an object with the culmination event, and that the theme is the argument in which the change of state is associated with an accomplishment. She states that this change comes about because resultative predication forces the addition of the culmination modifier which describes a function extending from activities to accomplishments as shown in (120):

- (120) a. Mary hammered the metal bar flat \*for/in two hours.  
 b. John wiped the table clean \*for/in two hours.

She proposes that the culmination modifier provides a culmination to an event, and selects the theme (or affected argument) of the matrix verb to be the argument of the culmination. Thus in the resultative sentence, the activity *hammer/wipe* has shifted into an accomplishment predicate describing an event which has a culmination, while *metal/table* is the argument. Rothstein concludes that if the resultatives give the properties of, and share arguments with culmination events, the direct objects of both transitive and intransitive activities in resultative constructions are arguments of culmination events. She argues that the quantization is the indication of an incremental theme, therefore the culminations have incremental theme.

### 2.2.12.3.3 Culminations

According to Rothstein culmination has four possible definitions which are explained as follows:

- (i) The culmination of an event *e* is determined by the extent of a bounded object of *e*. A culmination occurs when the bounded object of an event is “used up” in the event.

She explains a culmination in terms of an incremental theme. Accomplishments are associated with incremental themes, and the culmination of accomplishment is established by the extent of the incremental theme.

- (ii) The culmination of *e* is the result state, or the beginnings of result state brought into being by the action determined by the matrix verb.

She argues that in lexical accomplishments, the content of the result state is brought about by the meaning of the verb.

- (iii) The culmination of *e* is an achievement event, or minimal change of state associated with the end point of *e*.

She interprets that the culmination of an event *e* is an achievement event, or minimal change of state associated with the end point of *e*. Thus accomplishments, as constructed from the sum of an activity, present an achievement.

(iv) The culmination is the final minimal event in an incremental process.

Rothstein's analysis, which establishes that accomplishments consist of an activity and an achievement-type event as in (iii), seems to miss the crucial point that the activity and the culmination must have an incremental process or BECOME an event. Rothstein quotes Dowty (2004:106), who contends that the culmination is the final minimal event of an incremental process. Culmination is the event which constitutes the final part of the BECOME event, the upper bound of the BECOME event. The argument of the culmination event parallels the argument of the BECOME event (i.e. the affected object or theme)

Rothstein concludes that an accomplishment includes an activity event and an extended change of state which affects the theme. Moreover, the extent of the change of state (how long it takes to happen), describes when the accomplishments end. Therefore she maintains that the culmination of an accomplishment is described in terms of this BECOME event as the final minimal event in the incremental process. Thus the culmination must share an argument with the BECOME event since it is part of it, just as the culmination is the argument of the BECOME event. Rothstein suggests that, in an accomplishment, an incremental structure is imposed on an unstructured activity through its relation to a BECOME event.

### **2.2.13 Carol Tenny and James Pustejovsky (2000) on aspectual structure of verb meaning**

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000), lexical semantics and logical semantics are different tools implemented to address the aspects of semantic composition. They argue that lexical semantics focuses on the meaning of individual words, while logical semantics studies the compositional properties of propositional interpretations.

They point out that lexical semanticists must look outward from the verb to the sentence in order to characterize the effects of the verb's event structure, and logical semanticists must look inward from the sentence facts that depend on event-related properties of particular verbs.

### 2.2.13.1 The aspectual Structure of verb meanings

Tenny and Pustejovsky refer to Aristotle's typology of events which is based on their aspectual and internal temporal structure. They refer to Vendler's four-way typology of aspectual verb classes, which identifies four classes of verbs based on temporal termination, and temporal properties such as temporal duration, temporal termination and internal temporal structure.

Tenny and Pustejovsky with reference to Vendler's classification, acknowledge that verbs may define states, activities, achievements or accomplishments. They concur with Vendler's view that *states* possess no internal structure or capacity for change during the span of time, over which they are true, (eg "love", as in *Boris loves Keiko*). An *activity* is an ongoing event with the properties of internal change and duration, but no necessary temporal endpoint (eg "walk" as in *Boris walked along the river*). Accomplishments are events with duration and an obligatory temporal endpoint (eg, "consume" as in *Keiko consumed the pineapple*). On the other hand, *achievements* have instantaneous culmination or endpoint and are without duration (eg "arrive" as in *Keiko arrived in Pittsburgh*).

Tenny and Pustejovsky point out that different terminology has been used to describe these four classes, and to subdivide them into different subgroups such as, statives and non-statives (events). Another example of varying terminologies is Bach's (1981) use of the term "eventualities" (i.e. stative and eventualities). On the other hand, they argue that the property of an event as having or not having a temporal endpoint has been referred to as bounded/non-bounded (Verkuyl 1972, Jackendoff 1990), culminating/non-culminating (Moens and Steedman 1988), the telic/atelic (Smith 1991), and the delimited/non-delimited (Tenny 1987, 1994). They also argue that Dowty (1979) refers to accomplishment and achievement verbs as definite

changing-of-state predicates. Telic/atelic events are described as homogeneous, which is parallel to the mass-count distinction from the nominal domain.

Tenny and Pustejovsky (2004) argue that an activity or a state can be considered as homogeneous because it may be divided into a number of temporal slices, and one will still have an event of the same kind (i.e., if *Boris walked along the road* is true for ten seconds; a one-second slice of that walking process is still an event which takes place along the road) They argue that an accomplishment is not a homogeneous event however, using the following simple adverbial test for telic/atelic distinction: temporal adverbial expressions with *in* modify sentences representing bounded events, and temporal adverbial expressions with *for* modify non-bounded events as shown below:

- (121) a. Boris walked along the road \*in/for ten minutes.  
 b. Keiko consumed the pineapple in/\*for ten minutes.

Tenny and Pustejovsky propose that many factors including adverbial modification and the nature of the object noun phrase, act together with the properties with which the verb starts out. This implies that the aspectual properties and classification shown above, which are rooted in the inherent aspectual properties of the verb, are referred to as Aktionsarten. Similarly, the aspectual properties have been introduced by grammaticalized morphemes such as perfective or imperfective verbal morphemes.

### **2.2.13.2 Predicate decomposition and event reification**

Tenny and Pustejovsky (2004) refer to Davidson's (1967) "The Logical Form Of Action Sentences" showing how to capture the appropriate entailments between propositions involving action and event expressions:

- (122) a. Mary ate.  
 b. Mary ate the soup.  
 c. Mary ate the soup with a spoon.  
 d. Mary ate the soup with a spoon in the kitchen.

- e. Mary ate the soup with a spoon in the kitchen at 3:00pm.

In their view, Davidson identifies events as individual entities, which allows for qualification over events in (122) as though they were individual entities. It seems that a proposal of such scope would raise more questions than provide answers. Referring back to Vendler's 1967 paper, Tenny and Pustejovsky agree that the meaning of a verb can be analyzed into a structured representation of the event that the verb designates. They point out that complex events are structured into an inner and outer event, where the outer event is connected with causation and agency, and the inner event is connected with telicity and change of state. From their point of view, a canonical accomplishment predicate such as *John sliced the bread*, can be composed of the inner and the outer event in the manner that the inner event is the telic event because the bread has undergone a change of state in a definite period of time. On the other hand, the outer event is the event in which John acts as an Agent, hence the outer event causes the inner one, and is thus associated with causation.

Tenny and Pustejovsky (2004) analyze causation as relations between two events in the philosophical and psychological literature. The meaning of the verb, '*darken*' is a case in point:

"x causes the state of y being dark to change"

This would imply that the predicate CAUSE is represented as a relation between a cause argument *x* and the inner expression involving a change of state in an amount of *y*. They refer to Levin and Rappaport's (1988) view that, in the case of a CAUSE predicate, which relates a cause argument and an inner expression involving a change of state in the argument *y*, the change of state is represented with the predicate BECOME as in 134:

- (123) wipe the floor clean.

The interpretation of the above command is as follows: *x* CAUSES *y* to BECOME clean at *z* by "x wiping *y*." According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, Jackendoff refers to the event as part of the verbal semantic representation, while other authors represent

verb meaning by decomposing the predicate into more basic predicates as shown by McCawley below in the analysis of the verb *kill*:

(124)  $x$  CAUSES  $y$  BECOME not ALIVE

The expression in (124) employs the same elements of causation and change of state as shown by different authors, although Dowty (1979) differs as to whether CAUSE is the relation between two propositions, two events, and between an agent and a proposition.

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, the process consists of the *building* activity itself, while the State represents the result of there being an object which is *built*. They point to Grimshaw's (1990) structure, which indicates that, by using the complex event *break*, the activity consists of what  $x$  does to cause the breaking, and the state is the resultant state of the item being broken. Thus the activity corresponds to the outer, causing event, and the state matches up in part to the inner change-of-state event. Similarly, in sentence (124), the direct object (the floor), represents the event participant that undergoes the change of state which defines the inner event. As the event progresses, the floor becomes cleaner and when the event is complete, the floor is clean.

Tenny and Pustejovsky refer to Krifka's addressing the properties of incremental theme verbs in the context of a *lattice model structure*, which postulates that the incremental theme verbs have direct objects that are consumed or created in increments over time, as in *drink a glass of wine*, and which can be represented as a homomorphism - from the objects to events - which in turn preserves the lattice structures. For example, the object is *a glass of wine*, and the event is *the drinking of the glass of wine*, thus a mapping-to-events formula stipulates that " *every part the glass of wine being drunk corresponds to a part of the drinking event*". They conclude that the relation assumes an inner event in the semantics of a sentence such as *Samantha drank a glass of wine* whereas the logical form focuses on the consumption of the object (the glass of wine) as a property separable from whatever other semantics are necessary to describe a sentence containing the expression *drink a glass of wine*. They also refer to Tenny (1994)'s argument that mapping from

objects to events should include the other main types of accomplishment predicates as well: eg, change of state verbs and verbs of motion.

### 2.2.13.3 Open research questions

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, several authors adopt the view that event-structure information concerning time, space, and causation has a different status from other kinds of thematic, conceptual or lexical information, while others assume that event structure information is part of it, or is implicit in a more general conceptual or logical semantic representation. In their evaluation of the above statements, they propose the following questions relating to what determines the level of event-structure information:

- (i) The first open research question concerns whether the event-structure information is treated at all differently from other kinds of semantic or thematic information, which may produce or provide facts about acquisition, processing, or even language change.
- (ii) The second open research question relates to the issue of what kinds of verbs get what kind of representation. The canonical verb, for instance, exhibits a complex structure in the accomplishment verb – which in turn involves an agentive change of state, where the agent does something to cause a change of state in some object; for example, *Maggie broke the cup (by throwing it on the floor)*. Maggie is the causer and also the agent who intentionally performed some action or applied some form of control. The above explanation, however, does not answer the question pertaining to the three canonical types of accomplishment and achievement verbs: change of state verbs, incremental theme verbs of motion-to-a-goal.
- (iii) The third open research question relates to achievement predicates in Vendler's original classification. These differ from accomplishment in that they denote events with little or no duration. A lack of temporal duration seems to show a relationship with a lack of agentivity and vice versa. We may compare *John broke the branch* where the action might seem to have taken some straining

and pulling, with, '*The wind broke the branch*' where it might seem to have happened at some instantaneous moment. This does not answer the open research question, because according to different authors, achievement predicates are identified as non-agentive changes of state, as well as unaccusative verbs which are often change- of-state verbs and non-agentive verbs (which are semantically causative, but not an agentive causer).

- (iv) The fourth open research question concerns whether the lexical semantics of achievement predicates involves *causation or causer*, whether they should be identified with a *lack of agentivity*, and whether they should be differentiated as a *grammatical class*. According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, cause and agent are clearly semantically independent in the sense that they can occur independently of one another in the lexical semantics of a verb. In this example, '*Rosie chewed on a big stick*', an event is without a causer but Rosie takes an agentive action in chewing on a stick. Tenny and Pustejovsky argue that there can be a causer without an agent, if there are non-volitional or non-agentive causers of achievements (eg, the wind, in '*The wind broke the branch*'). On the other hand, they refer to Dowty's (1979) view that aspectual classes, where DO and CAUSE are two separate predicates, belong to two separate systems.
- (v) The fifth open research question has to do with the relation between agentivity with elements of event structure, where certain verbs with a volitional or agentive ingredient in their meaning have been regarded as stative verbs (eg, *love, know*) This also raises the question that event structure is possibly a distinct level of representation, having only to do with time, space, and causation, and not with other thematic material.
- (vi) The sixth and last open research question involves the relation between cause and telicity where causative interpretation seems to depend on telicity, which has proved to be an area of disagreement among other authors, who question the relation between telicity and cause. Tenny and Pustejovsky conclude that all these of questions form part of the problematic which need to be resolved in order to understand how event-structure information is organized.

#### 2.2.13.4. Mapping to Syntax

Tenny and Pustejovsky argue that most of the meanings of verbs, involving predicate decomposition are semantic representations rather than syntactic ones. They assume that these semantic representations of verb meanings figure importantly in the syntax/semantics border. One of the motivations for research that led to predicate decomposition sprang from efforts to understand transitivity alternations, or syntactic patterns of variations in how a verb's arguments are realized syntactically. This led to the problem of linkage between lexical semantics and syntax.

##### 2.2.13.4.1 Transitivity alternations

Tenny and Pustejovsky argue that transitivity alternations occur when most of the verbs with a change-of-state meaning can appear alternately in causative or in inchoative form, as shown below:

- (125) a. The cook thinned the gravy.  
       b. The gravy thinned.

They point out that the causative version of alternation in (125a) has a causative paraphrase, '*The cook cause the gravy to be thin*' thus resulting in an inchoative sentence, while (125b) indicates a simple change of state. The existence of the alternation shows that the causer, and the caused inchoative event, must be separable in some way. These verbs thus highlight the problem of what determines whether or not a given verb undergoes a certain transitivity alternation. Other authors have pointed out that the causer or external argument is not part of the verb's lexical representation, but is rather its attachment, which is mediated through other syntactic means.

##### 2.2.13.4.1.1 Linking

Tenny and Pustejovsky argue that the pattern of mapping the semantic argument of a verb into a syntactic structure involves the problem of linking the arguments in a lexical semantics representation to syntax. They explain that the linking between

lexical semantics and syntax through the use of the ideas of internal and external arguments, where they are both the elements of the argument structure, would be better idea. They state that external argument surface as subjects in unergative and transitivity verbs, while internal, direct arguments surface as direct objects in transitive verbs, and subjects as in unaccusative verbs. Thus unergative verbs select a single external argument, and unaccusative verbs select a single internal argument. They assume that on the semantic side, the thematic roles emerge as inadequate tools in many instances. Hence, as regards internal and external arguments, the problem arises relating to why unergative verbs are generally agentive, and unaccusative verbs are generally non-agentative.

#### **2.2.13.4.1.2 Phrase Structure**

Tenny and Pustejovsky propose that elements of event structure be explicitly represented in syntactic structure. The articulation of verb phrase structure and functional features and projections in the syntactic phrase are tools for representing the component parts of a structured event, the outer causative and the inner telic event.

#### **2.2.13.4.2. Stage-level and individual-level predicates**

Tenny and Pustejovsky refer to Carlson's (1977) introduction of stage-level predicates representing a temporary or transitory quality, while individual-level predicates represent permanent qualities as shown below:

- (126) a. Jake is intelligent.  
 b. Jake is sick.

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, the analysis of (126a), paraphraseable as the property of intelligence, is predicated of an individual, Jake, while (126b) paraphraseable as '*there is a stage y, which is a realization of the individual Jake, and which is a stage of being sick*'. According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, different authors argue that the subjects of stage-level predicates are generated in the position of Specifier of the Verb Phrase [Spec, VP], while subjects of individual-level

predicates are generated in the position of Specifier of the Inflectional Phrase [Spec, IP]

#### 2.2.13.4.3 On Lexical Verb meaning

Tenny and Pustejovsky refer to Davis and Demirdache's article on the lexical decomposition of the meaning of a predicate into aspectual classes or event types, observing that this decomposition denotes actions which cannot come about without the external intervention of an agent. They give examples such as *push*, *whip* or *build*, which display unaccusative alternation in St'atimcets language. They argue that the underlying lexical semantic representation of syntactically unaccusative predicates in St'atimcets is causative. They suggest that the control adverbs such as *accidentally* can occur with the unaccusative as illustrated below:

- (127) a. The bomb exploded by accident.  
           \*The bomb exploded intentionally.
- b. The vase broke accidentally.  
           \*The vase broke intentionally.

From examples cited above, the explosion of the bomb in (127a) was caused by some event which was not under the full control of the agent, and thus resulted in a change of state as described by the unaccusative verb, *explode*. It implies that both the initial causing event and the resulting change of state are part of the semantic representation of unaccusative. On the contrary, control adverbs such as *intentionally* are ungrammatical because they do not cause the change of state described by the unaccusative verb, but refer rather to the agent of the event. This means that the agent itself is not part of the lexical representation of the predicate. Tenny and Pustejovsky assume that the difference between an unaccusative and a causative predicate lies in the relative prominence of the two sub-events in a causative event structure.

They conclude that causatives belong to the aspectual class of accomplishments because the event expressed by the verb is viewed as a whole and is presented in its entirety, and the focus of the interpretation thus includes the natural endpoints of the

event (i.e. the causing of the event process and the resulting change of state). They also state that an accusative is an achievement predicate because the focus is on the interpretation of the temporal interval that defines the endpoint of the event. Thus the resulting change of state does not implicate the temporal interval that brings about this change of state.

#### **2.2.13.4.4 The event structure and aspectual classification of syntax**

Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000:188), refer to Ritter and Rosen in their paper on the analysis which formalises the relationship between components of event structure and semantically selected arguments of the verb. Tenny and Pustejovsky follow Vendler and Dowty's views on the four aspectual classes of verbs, i.e. activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states, which constitute the foundation of lexical semantics and the semantics-syntax border. They propose two developments in their theory of event structure, namely, the treatment of the argument of a verb as identifying or demarcating the individual constituents of the event, and the identification of the component of the event in the clausal functional projection.

##### **2.2.13.4.4.1 Arguments as constituents in the event structure**

It has been noticed by various authors that arguments affect the aspectual classification of verbs. Various authors suggest that it is not the verb that directly determines the classification of the event, but rather its arguments and their position in syntax. Following Tenny's example, the mapping of the internal arguments of a verb is determined by the aspectual classification of the verb, or the predicate that contains the verb. Tenny also argues that, for change of state verbs, the direct object is associated in the delimitation of the event as indicated by the verb, where a delimited predicate is defined as having a distinct and inherent endpoint.

Tenny and Pustejovsky make specific reference to Tenny's survey of the various strategies that languages use to delimit a predicate. These strategies all involve direct objects, the addition of verb predicates, resultative, cognate objects, the X's way construction, and fake reflexives. Tenny observes that the time-frame adverbial "*in X time*", which modifies delimited events, is only possible if a direct object is

present. On the other hand, she argues that the duration adverbial “*for X time*”, a modifier of non-delimited events, is acceptable when the direct object is omitted. In the following five examples, Tenny and Pustejovsky demonstrate the delimiting role of the direct object:

- (128) (i) Verb particle
- a. Terry thought for an hour/\*in an hour.
  - b. Terry thought up an answer in an hour/\*for an hour.
- (ii) Resultative
- a. Terry ran for an hour/\*in an hour.
  - b. Terry ran us ragged in an hour/\*for an hour.
- (iii) Cognate object
- a. Terry sang for an hour/\*in an hour.
  - b. Terry sang the ballad for an hour/in an hour.
- (iv) X’s way construction
- a. Terry sang for an hour/\*in an hour.
  - b. Terry sang her way to the Met in 10years/\*for ten years.
- (v) Fake reflexive
- a. Terry sang for an hour/\*in an hour.
  - b. Terry sang herself to sleep in an hour/\*for an hour.

There is a close relationship between delimitation and the direct object. The role that the subject plays is not homogeneous or predictable, and may be one of agent, causer, goal, experiencer, theme, etc. According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, who refer to van Voorst’s analysis quoted by Ritter and Rosen, the event structure is represented as a line bounded at one end by a point that marks the initiation of the event and at the other by a point that marks its termination. van Voorst points out that the initiation point is identified with the object of the origin or actualization, which is the participant responsible for beginning or completing the event. On the other hand, he argues that a termination point is identified with the object of termination, which is the participant that determines when the event is complete.

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, van Voorst assigns the structure that represents non-stative sentences as represented by an event structure, and different



#### 2.2.13.4.4.2 An event-based language typology

Tenny and Pustejovsky (2004) conclude that the event classification of predicates takes information from the verb, its arguments, and any adjuncts that appear in the sentence. They state that assigning the notion of initiation and termination to functional projections of the event, permits accounts of canonical events which are events with both initial and terminal bounds, i.e. transitive accomplishment. They maintain that in the case of the accomplishments, their initial bound is identified with a logical actor, normally an agent, and their terminal bound with the patient or affected object. On the other hand, with regard to the event status of activities and of intransitive verb accomplishments, the bounding is initial but not terminal. With regard to the issue of states as non-events, neither are initially or terminally bound, and achievements are not initially bound but are terminally bound. This is illustrated in the table below:

*Table 2.14*

	<i>INITIAL BOUND</i>	<i>TERMINAL BOUND</i>
States	no	no
Activities	yes	no
Accomplishments	yes	yes
Achievements	no	yes

The table shows that the distinctive syntactic property of accomplishments (having an initial bound) constitutes the distinctive syntactic property of events, and whatever other eventualities share this syntactic property share also the syntax of an event.

#### 2.2.13.4.5 Event Semantics in the Lexicon-Syntax Interface

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky (2000), with reference to van Hout's article, event type properties play a role in the lexicon syntax border where verbs get mapped onto syntax verb frames. Van Hout uses telicity to check the aspectual feature by means of the direct object. van Hout defines telicity as the internal temporal make-up of an eventuality and describes whether it is homogeneous and cumulative (atelic) or not (telic), or, whether or not it has a natural moment at which

the event culminates. He argues that the culmination moment of the aspectual class of accomplishments occurs as the culminating endpoint of a durative and dynamic eventuality, and, for telic-punctual eventualities such as achievements, it is the moment of transition between two states. Tenny and Pustejovsky draw attention to van Hout's point that atelic eventualities do not include a culmination moment, whereas states are non-dynamic and homogeneous, while the internal temporal development of activities is dynamic and homogeneous.

#### 2.2.13.4.5.1 Telic/atelic event type shifting with two argument verbs

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, and with reference to van Hout, verbs like *drink* and *write* may appear as intransitive as well as conative transitive. One argument in an intransitive frame yields an atelic process of drinking or writing in the following constructions:

- (129) a. Judy drank for hours/\*in 5 minutes. *Intransitive*  
 b. Elena wrote for years/\* a year. *Intransitive*

The above verbs, i.e., *drink* and *write*, may also appear as transitive and give a telic accomplishment as shown below:

- (130) a. Judy drank her cup of coffee \*for hours/in 5 minutes. *Transitive*  
 b. Elena wrote her book \*for years/in a year. *Transitive*

They point out that, adverbials such as *within 5 minutes* mark the culmination moment for telic events, while duration adverbials indicate the lack of a culmination moment for atelic events. Similarly, atelic eventualities terminate but their final moment is not a culminating one, so the use of a frame adverbial is inappropriate to the situation. It implies that transitive-intransitive and the transitive–conative alternation are thus instances of a telic/atelic event-type alternation. However, not all transitives are telic, and the relation between the verb and its object is of importance. For instance, only if the activity expressed by the verb affects the entity described by the direct object in an incrementally developing way, is the transitive telic, 'eg, *I push the cart for hours*'. In this case the activity does not affect the object in any relevant

way (see the lexical property of a verb). It is clear that verbs of the class *push* can appear in a telic predicate, but this would require an explicit goal or result state as in '*I pushed the cart to the store*'. van Hout, quoted by Tenny and Pustejovsky, also argues that transitive verbs which describe states such as *know*, *possess*, *love* and *hate* form another set of atelic, because there is no internal temporal development in states. Hence state verbs lack the property of incrementality.

Tenny and Pustejovsky observe that simple argument verbs with incrementality show argument-projection flexibility which correlates with event type shifting, thus an intransitive and a conative would express an atelic event type and transitive shows a telic event type.

#### 2.2.13.4.5.2 Telic/atelic event type shifting with one argument verbs

According to Tenny and Pustejovsky, one argument verb may also show flexible argument verbs, of the atelic/telic event type that project behavior as unergatives and unaccusative alternations, as illustrated below:

- 131 a. John walked all night/\*in an hour. *Unergative*  
 b. John walked to the station \*for hours/in 5 minutes. *Unaccusative*

The above sentences indicate the unergative–unaccusative alternation. This corresponds with a telic/atelic event-type shift because (131a) represents an atelic process of walking and the verb frame is ergative, while (131b) the walking event includes a culmination point - *that of arriving at the station* - and the frame is unaccusative, thus indicating the verb of motion. This telic event type originates from the directional prepositional phrase (*to the station*) which adds a goal, and thereby a culmination point to the walking event. It implies that the event structure of (131b) is an accomplishment.

#### 2.2.14 Carol Tenny's perception on core events and adverbial modification

According to Tenny, adverbs have often focused on the problem of defining classes of verbs that must be distinguished on either semantic or syntactic grounds, the

central syntactic issue being the relatively free distributional patterns of different kinds of adverbs. The behaviour of adverbs in a construction makes renders them analyzable as both semantic and syntactic structures, hence Tenny assumes that there are a number of different distributional classes of adverbs which are to be treated as syntactic or semantic classes, or both.

Tenny argues that there are two elements in event structure which must figure in an adverbial taxonomy and an examination of adverb behaviour: the measure or *path*, and the *core event*. She also argues that lexical-semantic verb classes can be defined on the basis of whether or not they contain these elements of event structure. The co-occurrence of adverbs with these verbs can be used as a diagnostic for the interaction of adverbs with these elements. She also points out that classes of verbs may be distinguished by whether or not they interact with these elements, from alternative perspectives, or whether these elements are visible or unclear-accessible or inaccessible to them. She distinguishes three classes of adverbs in the following way:

*Table 2.15*

<i>adverb class</i>	<i>measure/path</i>	<i>core event</i>
measure adverbs	visible	visible
restitutive adverbs	opaque	visible
almost adverbs	opaque	opaque

Tenny points out the specific semantic zones which may be identified within the clause, and with which different classes of adverbs may be associated. These semantic zones are linked to a series of projections in an extracted event structure for the clause.

#### **2.2.14.1 Adverb taxonomy and syntax/semantics correspondences**

According to Tenny, and with reference to Jackendoff (1972), the four basic classes of adverbs which display a correspondence between these semantic adverb types and the syntactic distribution of these adverb classes relative to a hierarchical constituent structure which reflects their syntactic scope, are the following:

the speaker-oriented adverbs (which introduce material pertaining to the speaker, eg, *frankly, unfortunately*)

subject-oriented adverbs (which introduce material pertaining to the sentence, eg, certain uses of *carefully, clumsily*)

adverb of manner, time or degree (material pertaining to the event; *eloquently, infrequently, completely*); and,

a special class of focusing adverbs (*merely, utterly*)

Jackendoff (1972), as quoted in Tenny assumes that sentence-level adverbs can only occur in syntactic positions dominated by the sentence node, while verb phrase level adverbs can only occur in syntactic positions dominated by the Verb Phrase node, and focus adverbs can occur only in auxiliary positions. On the other hand, the *almost* adverb belongs to a class of focus adverbs. Subject-oriented adverbs undergo a change of meaning which correlates with whatever syntactic position they may occupy, as exemplified below:

- (132) a. Clumsily John spilled the beans.  
 b. John spilled the beans clumsily.

The position of the adverb *clumsily* in sentence (132a) means that *it was clumsy of John to spill the beans*, while in (132b) it means that *John spilled the beans in a clumsy manner*. Tenny argues that adverbs such as the above are sensitive either to syntactic subject or to the agent-oriented adverbs which modify the agent in the sentence. She maintains that subject-oriented adverbs should be distinguished from the agent-oriented adverbs as shown in the following constructions:

- (133) a. *Quickly* John will be arrested by the police.  
 b. John *quickly* will be arrested by the police.  
 c. John will *quickly* be arrested by the police.  
 d. John will be arrested by the police *quickly*.

Tenny quoting Travis's sentences in (133a) and (133b), points out that the adverb *quickly* appears to be modifying the event of arrest, while in sentence (133c) and

(133d), the adverb *quickly* modifies the process of the arrest. Tenny, quoting Travis (1988), argues that in (133a) and (133b) the arrest will happen right away and the adverb will be headed by a verb phrase which includes the agent-sensitive adverb, while in (133c) and (133d) the manner of the arrest will be accelerated and the adverb will be headed by an inflectional phrase including subject-sensitive adverbs that determine its semantic interpretation by virtue of the semantic features associated with it; i.e., event features for inflection or manner features for the verb. Tenny maintains that the distribution of adverbs lies in the way that the composition of syntactic constituents is associated with the composition of semantic elements.

Tenny also pays attention to the syntax and semantics of temporal adverbials such as Smith's (1991) four classes:

- (134) a. locating adverbials: *at noon, yesterday, before Mary left, etc.*  
 b. durative adverbials: *for an hour, from 1 to 3 p.m.*  
 c. completive adverbials: *in an hour, within an hour.*  
 d. frequency adverbials: *often, never, 3times a week, every week, etc.*

According to Tenny, the locating adverbials operate over the entire event rather than entering into the substructure of the event because they share certain properties with temporal and spatial locating adverbs. The frequency adverbs also appear to qualify over the entire field of events rather than merely a sub-part of the event structure.

#### **2.2.14.2 Core events, measure, and three verb classes**

According to Tenny, there is a need to represent the meanings of certain kinds of verbs, such as the inner (or core) event associated with stativity and inchoativity, and verbs explaining some change of state, where the meaning of the verb implies some change of state in the verb's direct object. The examples below show variations of the lexical decomposition, both into an outer event of causation, and an inner or core event of change of state, or becoming terminal or in a final state:

- (135) a. x CAUSE (y BE DARK) CHANGE)  
 b. He sweeps the floor clean

[[*He sweeps the floor*] CAUSE [BECOME [ *the floor is clean*]]]

Dowty 1979,p.93, example 105

- c. wipe the floor clean.

Levin and Rappoport 1988, p. 2, example 2a.

[ x CAUSE [floor BECOME (AT) *clean* ] BY [ x 'wipe' *floor* ] ]

- d. kill

x CAUSE [y NOT BECOME] ALIVE y

- e. The cook thinned the gravy.

According to Tenny, following Carter's example in (135a), the meaning of the verb *darken* is represented as *x causes y to change into a state of being dark*. It implies that a core event and a final state are differentiated in the representation [y BE DARK] CHANGHE]. On the other hand, she argues that the meaning of the verb phrase *sweep clean* includes the recognizable core event of the floor becoming clean, while the last sentence (135c) shows the existence of a core inchoative event. Tenny points out in the sentence (135d) that the meaning of *kill* as represented by McCawley (1968), includes a sub-tree with the meaning of *become not alive*. In (135e), the meaning of the sentence includes an inner Verbal Phrase with an implicit inchoative verb which is indicated in the changed state of the gravy itself *becoming thin*, and the inner Adjectival Phrase representing the final state of the gravy *being thin*.

Tenny refers to Pustejovsky's (1991) discovery of the core event in his approach to the ambiguity of manner-versus-speaker oriented adverbs in the following constructions:

- (136) a. Lisa rudely departed.  
 b. Lisa departed in a rude manner.  
 c. Lisa's departure was a rude one (even though Lisa may not have acted in a rude manner while departing)

According to Tenny, Pustejovsky treats this ambiguity as a difference in scope because the verb, *depart* has two components such as a final state and a process, which is the complement of a state. In his analysis of (136c), *rudely* has a meaning

pertaining to the final state of the event (the state of having left), while (136b) contains the meaning of the process - the actions and the manner connected with the act of departing. One of Tenny's approaches is focusing on change of state verbs, which contain in their meaning a noticeable core inchoative event involving a "becoming" of a final state. She maintains that whilst literature seems to focus on change-of-state verbs, this approach can in fact be extended to incremental themes (see Dowty1979), which comprise verbs of creation or consumption. She argues that these are verbs which have direct objects that are consumed or created over increments of time. They involve a change in the direct object, and culminate in a final state which may be represented as an inner event in these constructions:

- (137) a. Sam built the house.  
 b. Samantha ate a sandwich.

According to Tenny, (137a) shows one of the arguments of CAUSE as a GO event, indicating the creation of a house (out of bricks). It implies that the incremental theme verbs share, along with the change-of-state verbs, the existence of a noticeable inner event involving some change in the direct object. On the other hand, verbs of motion to a goal may be represented either through the direct object or a prepositional phrase and may bring about a change of state, as indicated in the following sentences:

- (138) a. Bill ran a mile.  
 b. Bill walked to the station.  
 c. John ran into the room

According to Tenny, the above examples show that the lexical semantic literature gives precedence to the treatment of verb classes as having an inner event which includes a change in the direct object, and a final state obtaining from that direct object.

### 2.2.14.2.1 Measure in the semantic literature

Tenny points out that a verb which lexical semantics specifies as having a core event in its lexical semantic-event structure may have an event structure with a measure or path component. Measure adverbs, for instance, are adverbs of measurements or degrees that modify the final state of the core event in the verb's lexical meaning as exemplified in '*Sam closed the door partway or Sam partly closed the door*'. One understands that there was an event of the door closing partway or partly closing (a core event); such that the final state entailment holds of the door that afterwards it was partway closed.

### 2.2.14.2.2 Diagnosing verbs with core events

Tenny argues that in the causative/inchoative and in the middle alternations (see sentences 146 a-e), verbs may be used transitively, and also used in a sentence without the agentive subject, where their subject is the object of the related transitive sentence (refer to 146b, c) and in which case the verb is used to mean only the core event - thus the causative/inchoative alternation appears as a change of state. She maintains that change-of-state verbs contain CAUSE and BECOME in their lexical representations and they enter into the causative/inchoative alternation though not all verbs enter into causative /inchoative alternations.

Tenny expresses the core event in various representations including "a becoming" into a terminal state that holds of the direct object, and whose final state makes the verb telic, providing definite endpoint to the temporal extent of the event represented by the verb. She argues that one indicator of the aspectual property of finite temporal duration of events is telicity of adverbial expressions denoting finite temporal duration of an event, eg, *in ten minutes*, as was discussed earlier in this section (see Dowty 1979, and Vendler 1967). Tenny again expresses the verbs of motion to a goal as not entering into the same range of transitivity alternations, while verbs of *putting* are analyzed as verbs with core events, because they provide an end state entailment of a change from an old to a new location.

### 2.2.14.2.3 Diagnosing verbs without core events: verbs of contact psych verbs and perception verbs

According to Tenny, these verbs have no incremental theme or change of state in their meaning and they have no causative component in their meaning. For instance, she argues that if Mary hits the softball, she does not cause the softball to be in a change of state. She also argues that verbs of psychological state with experiencer subjects such as *know* or *love* and verbs of perception such as *see* and *hear* have no incremental theme or change of state in their meaning and thus they have no causative component to their meaning. Furthermore the verbs are not telic. She concludes that the contrast between verbs with core events (change of state verbs, incremental theme verbs, verbs of motion to a goal and verbs of putting) and, on the other hand, verbs of contact, psych verbs, and verbs of perception which do not have the core events, illustrate some of the reasons for treating core events in the lexical semantic representation as having grammatical reality.

### 2.2.15 Thomas Ernst's views on manners and events

Thomas Ernst (2000) proposes an analysis of adverbial manner modification in an event based structure on both the semantics of adverbs and the nature of events. The focus will be on clausal and manner readings.

#### 2.2.15.1 The clausal/manner contrast

According to Ernst, there is a systematic relationship between manner and clausal readings of predicational adverbs as shown in the following sentences:

- (139) a. Rudely, she left.  
 b. She left rudely.

Ernst argues that in (139a), she is judged as rude for having left, as opposed to say staying, the event of her leaving is mapped onto a scale of rudeness, and, the degree of rudeness is one which would normally be assigned to the Agent. It implies that the clausal reading involves an event compared to other possible events. On the other

hand, he also argues that in (139b), it is her actual leaving as opposed to other possible events of her leaving that reveals her rudeness; one might think she is leaving without saying goodbye, or a leaving might be accompanied by some choice of imprecations, or a leaving with a door slammed on the way out, thus a ruder leaving in some way than a normal leaving-event and it implies that the manner readings in the event sentences involve this Specified event.

Ernst's conclusion on event-based analysis of predicational adverb makes a distinction between manner and clausal adverbs in a sentence. He concludes that manner modification is seen as a matter of the adverb's adjective predicate taking an event as an argument, and evaluating this event with respect to all other possible events of the same sort, rather than with respect to all other possible events. He supports the idea that the existence of verbs with only one reading such as pure manner and modal adverbs can be understood in terms of the cognitive /lexical selection of certain properties of the event.

#### **2.2.16 June M. Wickboldt's observations on some effects of manner adverbials on meaning**

According to Wickboldt (2000), temporal and clausal inferences differ in that causal clauses are context dependent while temporal clauses are not. She supports this statement by explaining the following examples:

- (140) a      Mary went to the health service. She sprained her ankle.  
           b.      Mary went to the health service. She had sprained her ankle.

Wickboldt argues that the sentences in (140) are ambiguous because (140a) may be understood as Mary was at health service, then she sprained her ankle. On the other hand (140b) may be interpreted as the reason for her going to the health service, though the past perfect tense 'had' puts spraining her ankle before she went to the health service, thus the clausal inference imposes a temporal order on the events.

She argues that for a causal meaning, the state of affairs described in the *since*-clause can be interpreted as a reason for the state of affairs described in the main clause.

*causal meaning*

if *since*[reason], [results], then causal and,  
if clausal, the *since* [reason], [result],  
and,

*temporal meaning*

if temporal *since*, then the *since* – clause description has one and only one anchor, if temporal *since*, then *since p*[present perfect (progressive)] *q*

Wickboldt argues that there are two conditions for the temporal meaning *since* which requires reference to a unique, definite point in the past temporal anchor. She points out that an analysis of the effects of tense, aspect and aspectual class on the meanings of *since* must provide information about a definite time. She also points out that temporal anchor represents a singleton set, denotes definite time and may be the culmination of an accomplishment or achievement, and then the beginning of a state or activity described in the present perfect or some point within bounds of a delimited state.

### 2.2.16.1 Telicity and adverbials

Wickboldt refers to various authors about manner adverbials as modifying the actions indicated by the verb, while Ernst (1984:91) argues that adverbials of manner assign something about the action, state, or process to which the verb refers. Pustejovsky (1991:70) believes that the manner interpretations of adverbials have scope over the process, and not the transition or culmination of an event. She argues that attributing a property to an event shifts the perspective from a point at which a completed event is seen to the internal structure of the event as illustrated below:

- (141) a. John died.  
b. John died slowly. For hours he struggled for breath.  
c. John died quickly. He gasped once and was gone.

Wickboldt concludes that the described achievement has an end point in (141a) although there may have been stages leading up to John's death, which occurred at a certain point in time, the point being the culmination or the transition from *not dead to dead*. She also points out that modifying the description by *slowly* or *quickly* in (141b) and (141c) respectively, assigns a property to the stages leading up to John's death.

### 2.2.17 Lina Pulkkanen's views on stativity and causation

According to Pulkkanen (2000), in Finnish, morphologically causative psych verbs designate properties of complex stage-level states while noncausative psych verbs indicate properties of simple individual-level states. She argues that the behaviour of psych predicates underlines the importance of separating causativity from aspect-causativity as predicates are not aspectually a uniform class and cannot therefore be identified with accomplishment-like verbs as cited in Dowty (1979). She also proposes that in Finnish causative psych verbs are formed from non-causative psych verbs by addition of the causative suffix as in many languages causativization affects the argument realization of the predicate. With non-causative psych verbs, the experiencer is the subject in (142a), while with causative psych verbs the experiencer is realized as the object as in (142b):

- (142) a. Mikko finds mosquitos distinguishing.  
 (English translation of Finnish cited in Tenny and Pustejovsky: 2000:418)
- b. Mosquitos disgust Mikko. (ditto)

Pulkkanen argues that both forms are stative psychological verbs, and they are non-stative Experiencer-subject and Experiencer-object predicates. She observes both stative and causative meanings in that they can be decomposed into a kind of a process and a change of state, while, on the other hand, states are considered semantic primitive as cited in:

"...stative predicates are somehow simpler or more limited in their interpretations than other kinds of verbs..." (Dowty 1979:126)

“States do not have any internal structure, but events do. States do not take place and are the opposite of events” (Van Voorst 1992:81)

“States have an atemporal and abstract quality” (Bach 1981:71)

“States differ from events in that they lack explicit bounds” (Steedman 1997:901)

Pulkkänen concludes that both causative and non-causative psych verbs differ in their interpretations with respect to their independent aspect, although the examples cited in (142) show that in Finnish stative psychological causative verbs are derived from non-causative counterparts and are causative semantics, thus Experiencer. However, she observes that non-stative psych verbs are derived from nouns denoting mental states by the addition of inchoative suffix, and on the basis of this analysis that the causative predicates are stative when causally related to eventualities.

## CHAPTER 3

### BASIC SITUATION TYPES IN SESOTHO

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the main classes of verb types in Sesotho with specific reference to the situation types and properties of the sentences in which they appear. Specifically the situation-type of activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states are investigated in Sesotho with regard to their basic-level, derived cases and sentences that realize the situation type. These situations will be tested through the use of temporal features such as static which describes an undifferentiated period, or dynamic which describes successive stages, i.e. [ $\pm$ Static] and telicity [ $\pm$ Telic] which will form part of the discussion. For instance, attention will be focused on whether telic events have a change of state that constitutes an outcome as well as atelic events which are simply processes that can stop at any time, and whether the situation types are durative or instantaneous, i.e., [ $\pm$ Durative]. On the other hand, it will be debated whether a situation type is compatible with the [*ka hora*] (in an hour) and [*hora*] (for an hour) adverbial, the point adverbial such as *at four o'clock*, or *from 2 to 3 o'clock* as well as the locative which may trigger the shift in each situation type.

According to Smith (1997), basic-level examples of each situation type involve the distinction between simple or complete situations. Simplicity in this context means that a single situation type is involved, while completeness means that the situation is considered in its entirety. She argues that basic-level situation type presents the situation with the initial and final endpoints (not applicable to states and activities, although an activity has an initial point but no final endpoint). Situations are neutrally presented as complete, functional wholes, in terms of the basic-level categorization.

#### 3.2 ACTIVITY

Mourelatos (1981) points out that an activity is a process in which things are happening or being done. Activities refer to verbs that describe an action rather than a state, and such verbs refer to dynamic, rather than static events. They are events

that go on for a time and the event can terminate at any time, as in the case of the atelic event.

### 3.2.1 Verb classes express activity events

Activities are processes that involve physical and mental activity, and consist entirely of the process. They are referred to as a process because they do not have a change of state or an outcome. They stop or terminate. The notion of completion is irrelevant to a simple activity event.

#### 3.2.1.1 Motion verbs: *matha* (run), *kgasa* (crawl)

These verbs are inherently directed-motion verbs. According to Levin (1993), these verbs describe the manner in which an animate entity can move, although some of them describe inanimate entities. She contends that these verbs describe displacement of an object in a particular manner or means and there is no specific direction of the motion implied unless they occur within an exact directional phrase. Levin (1993) proposes that these verbs of motion occur with a directional phrase. She maintains that the “run” verb is found to a limited extent in resultative constructions in which the resultative phrase is predicated by a non-subcategorized object. Levin (1993) posits that the verb *crawl* describes the manner in which an animate entity can move and it explains the displacement of an object in a particular manner, with no specific direction of motion unless the motion occurs with clear directional phrase.

The following sentences in (1) show intransitive activity verbs of motion *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawled):

- |     |    |  |          |
|-----|----|--|----------|
| (1) | a. | <i>Pule o mathile.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Pule ran)            | Activity |
|     | b. | <i>Ngwana o kgasitse.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(The baby crawled) | Activity |

The sentence in (1a) describes the point at which the action of *mathile* (ran) was completed. Furthermore, the situation in (1a) has come to an end and it appears that running went on in time in a homogeneous way as in (1b); any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole. On the other hand, at each moment it is correct to say *Pule has run* – hence the time stretch of activities is inherently indefinite. In (1a) and (1b) the event is atelic, hence there is no resultative or final endpoint of the event of *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawled). In the sentence (1), the event covers a certain amount of space, for instance, one ran or crawled within an unspecified new location.

### 3.2.1.2 Communication verbs: *seba* (gossip), *bua* (talk)

According to Levin (1993) these verbs relate to speaking but do not involve the means or manner of communication, hence they do not involve the voice only. She argues that this property suggests that these verbs might be viewed as the acquisition of information and they may express the goal to which communication is directed. These verbs can be used to interact with two or more participants. The talk verbs may take a prepositional phrase and may indicate that another participant is in a conversation. The gossip verbs are verbs which involve the transfer of a message.

The sentences in (2) present activity events with communication verbs *bua* (talk) and *seba* (gossip):

- |     |    |  |          |
|-----|----|--|----------|
| (2) | a. | <i>Batho ba a bua.</i> [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]<br>(People talk)    | Activity |
|     | b. | <i>Basadi ba a seba.</i> [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Women gossip) | Activity |

These atelic events are processes, which can stop at any time as sentence (2a) describes in '*Batho ba a bua*' (People talk), with no outcome, as they have arbitrary final endpoints. Thus, activities of *talking* and of *gossiping* may terminate or stop but they do not finish, hence there is no completion to the process of '*Batho ba a bua*' (People talk) and '*Basadi ba a seba*' (Women gossip) in (2b).

### 3.2.1.3 Weather verbs *na* (rain), *kgetheha* (snow)

Weather verbs are distinguished through the logical notion that they are intransitive verbs and they do not subcategorize any direct argument NP. These verbs allow one- place predicates, taking an external argument, occurring functionally, as a subject of the sentence.

The following sentences in (3) describe the weather activity verbs *na* (rain) and *kgetheha* (snow):

- |     |    |   |          |
|-----|----|---|----------|
| (3) | a. | <i>Pula e a na.</i> [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]<br>(It is raining)          | Activity |
|     | b. | <i>Lehlwa le a kgetheha.</i> [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]<br>(It is snowing) | Activity |

In (3), the activity event of *raining* and of *snowing* does not include initial and final endpoints of the situations; they continue until they stop, at any time, and thus have arbitrary final endpoints.

### 3.2.1.4 Walk verbs *tsamaya* (walk)

According to Levin, these verbs describe the manner in which an animate entity can move. The verb *tsamaya* (walk) may be found in the locative inversion and a directional phrase may occur while the verb *leave* does not specify a manner of motion, but it involves that the motion that has taken place is directed away from a location. Levin (1993) argues that the directed object of this verb is understood to be the location that has been left.

- |     |  |  |          |
|-----|--|--|----------|
| (4) |  | <i>Ke tsamaile.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I walked) | Activity |
|-----|--|--|----------|

The event covers a certain amount of space, for instance, one walked in an unspecified new location in (4), but no such result is taken for granted for time.

### 3.2.1.5 Verbs of existing involving motion: *phaphamala* (float), *potoloha* (rotate)

According to Levin (1993:252), these verbs describe the states of existence of inanimate entities that involve types of motion typical to these entities. She posits that some of these verbs can be used with animate subjects as verbs of body-internal movement.

The sentences in (5) present activity events in Sesotho with verbs of existing involving motion *phaphamala* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate):

- (5) a. *Setopo se phaphamala nokeng.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(The corpse floats in the river).
- b. *Lefatshe le potoloha letsatsi.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(The earth rotates around the sun).

The sentences in (5) are activity events. They both share characteristics of an entailment pattern for activities between whole and parts of an activity (Smith 1997). If in (5b) the earth merely rotates maybe for an hour, for instance, and not for twenty-four hours, then it is true that the earth's rotation during that hour interval will count as rotating. However, the sentences in (5a) refer to terminated events, such as that of the floating body found in the river. The termination merely provides a temporal boundary for activity, therefore the arbitrary final point of an activity is a stated temporal bound.

### 3.2.1.6 Performance verbs: *bapala* (play), *tantsha* (dance)

According to Levin (1993), performance verbs describe the states of existence of animate entities that involve types of motion typical to these entities. Levin contends that some of these verbs can be used with animate subjects as verbs of body-internal movement.

Instances occur in Sesotho where mono-transitive verbs may appear without an internal argument (Du Plessis, M.Visser, 1996:187). Performance verbs *bapala*

(play) and *tansha* (dance) with a long momentary morpheme 'a' indicate the present tense in Sesotho. Activity events are described in (6):

- (6) a. *Bana ba a bapala*. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Children play).
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba a tantsa*. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Girls and boys dance).

These activity events are processes that present *playing* and *dancing*, the action of which may stop at any time in (6). There is no outcome as the activities have arbitrary final endpoints. The processes of '*Bana ba a bapala*' (Children play) and '*Banana le bashemane ba a tantsa*' (Boys and girls dance) continue, hence they terminate or stop but are never finished or completed.

### 3.2.1.7 Verbs of searching: *tsoma* (hunt), *fuputsa* (search)

Levin (1993) points out that, verbs of searching in English allow unspecified object alternation and may take a range of locative prepositions. She further observes that members of these classes express arguments, the pattern of which determines that the place being searched is the direct object of the verb.

The sentences in (7) present activity events with verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate):

- (7) a. *Setsomi se a tsoma* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(The hunter hunts)
- b. *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethethefatsi*. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Teachers investigate drugs)

In (7), the event is in the continuous progression of *hunting* and *searching* and can stop at any time during the process. There is no outcome, as the verb is of the atelic activity situation type

### 3.2.1.8 Verbs involving the body: *ethimola* (sneeze), *hohlola* (cough)

Levin (1993) argues that verbs involving the body belong to bodily processes and they can relate to emitting a substance from the body. She argues that they are involuntary verbs and may typically not be under the control of the person who experiences them. The *sneezing* verb allows for involuntary bodily processes which comprise a process that is typically not under the control of a person that experiences the sneezing. These verbs *ethimola* (sneeze) and *hohlola* (cough) describe non-verbal expressions and most of them involve a facial expression that is associated with a particular emotion. She argues that some of these verbs seem to indicate what the action is a reaction *to*, or take the phrase *at*, which seems to indicate the person to whom the action is directed.

The sentences in (8) represent activity events with verbs involving the body *ethimola* (sneeze) and *hohlola* (cough):

- |     |    |  |          |
|-----|----|--|----------|
| (8) | a  | <i>Lesea le a hohlola</i> . [-Static][ -Durative][ -Telic]<br>(A baby is coughing) | Activity |
|     | b. | <i>Ke a ethimola</i> [-Static][ -Durative][ -Telic]<br>(I am sneezing).            | Activity |

The single act of *hohlola* (coughing) and of *ethimola* (sneezing) has been extended. The situation is clearly interpreted as durative because the sequence of coughing and sneezing could last for a certain period of time, as illustrated in (8a) and (8b). There is no outcome in these events since the activity can stop at any time.

### 3.2.1.9 Verbs of bodily care: *hlobola* (undress), *apara* (wear)

According to Levin (1993), the verbs of bodily care describe taking care of or grooming a part of the body. She points out that when the verb *shave* is used intransitively, the body part would be the object that is understood by the verb. She proposes that these verbs relate to shaving or bathing

The sentences in (9) present activity events with verbs of bodily care *kuta* (shave) and *hlapa* (bath):

- |     |    |   |          |
|-----|----|---|----------|
| (9) | a. | <i>Ke a kuta.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I am shaving)        | Activity |
|     | b. | <i>Bana ba a hlapa.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Children bath) | Activity |

Sentences in (9) present cases of subject control and these sentences bring about a state of achievement, and highlight the fact that one performance differs from another in accordance with the differences between states of affairs brought about and specified by performances of *shaving* and of *bathing*.

### 3.2.1.10 Observations on the verb classes of activity events

It appears that the activity events illustrated in examples (1 – 9), exhibit common features such as continuing indefinitely, since the nature of the eventuality itself does not determine its endpoint, for instance ‘*Batho ba bua Sesotho*’ (People talk), ‘*Pula e a na*’ (It rains) etc. In the activity event ‘*Pule o mathile*’ (Pule ran), the explanation of the event does not indicate when the running process stopped. The activities in sentences (1 – 9) can terminate or stop at any time they wish to but they do not finish, thus the notion of completion is irrelevant to this context. They have no expected outcomes or any final endpoint. For instance, in ‘*Pule o mathile*’ (Pule ran) and ‘*Lesea le kgasitse*’ (The baby crawled), the events are taken as terminated because they describe events as closed, with initial and final points. The activity events presented in the above examples have the semantic feature of agency that constitutes a source of energy and volition except with weather verbs in ‘*Pula e a na*’ (It rains) and ‘*Le a kgetheha*’ (It snows).

The activities are processes that involve physical or mental activity and consist entirely in the process - activities *terminate* or *stop*; they do not imply *finish* or *complete*. They can stop at any time (See examples 1 – 9). This is in line with Vendler’s theory which points out that: “activities go on in time in a homogeneous

way; any part of the process is of the same nature as the whole". (Vendler 1967:133, Mourelatos 1981:1920)

### 3.2.1.11 Diagnostics for activity events

This section observes the difference between activities with regard to their internal structure, wherein eventually a point is reached at which the process/event completes the action or, a point at which the situation described must necessarily come to an end without an outcome, [i.e., atelic]. Moreover, until the point is reached, the situation described cannot continue. The temporal adjuncts will describe the event type with respect to whether it has a terminal point, or whether it will have an arbitrary or final endpoint. Compatibility between an adverbial [*hora*] and an activity situation type will be tested. A diagnostic test will be investigated in detail in this chapter. This test is based on activity events in Sesotho characterised by the feature [+Durative], which indicates that the given situation type lasts for a certain period of time.

#### 3.2.1.11.1 Durative

Nxumalo (2000) points out that the term duration refers to an event which happens during a certain period of time. The following sentences in Sesotho with the feature [+Durative] demonstrate the activity situation type which lasts for a certain period of time.

##### 3.2.1.11.1.1 Motion verbs with NP

The temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) allows for an investigation of the activity situation type, using motion verbs *matha* (run) and *kgasa* (crawl) with or without an object.

- (10) a.(i) *Pule o mathile [hora]*. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Pule ran for an hour)
- (ii) *Pule o mathile sebaka se setelele [hora]*  
 (Pule ran a long distance for an hour)

- b.(i) *Ngwana o kgasitse [metsotso e mmedi]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity*  
(The baby crawled for two minutes)
- (ii) *Ngwana o kgasitse sebaka se sekgutshwanyane [metsotso e mmedi]*  
(The child crawled over a short distance for two minutes)

The sentences in (10a.i) and (10b.i) are compatible with *[metsotso e mmedi]*. In (10a.i) if Pule ran for only two hours rather than the expected time, then it is true that he ran at any time during those two hours. Similarly in (10b.i) the baby will have crawled between five minutes to twenty minutes even if he crawled for two minutes. The sentences in (10a.i) and (10b.i) present a terminated event that does not involve a goal or outcome. The intransitive verbs of motion in (10a.ii) and (10b.ii) are regarded as a one-place predicate and such predicates are compatible with the temporal adjunct *[hora]* depending on the situations they present. On the other hand, the presentation of the internal argument *sebaka se setelele* (long distance) and *sebaka se sekgutshwanyane* (short distance) does not involve a completion, thus they are atelic events.

### 3.2.1.11.1.2 Communication verbs with (out) NP

Communication verbs *bua* (talk) and *seba* (gossip) are generally intransitive verbs. The following sentences test compatibility with the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The internal argument may not be direct object because these verbs might be viewed as the acquisition of information and they may express the goal to which communication is directed.

The sentences in (11) are activity events with temporal adjunct *[hora]*:

- (11) a.(i) *Batho ba bua [hora]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity*  
(People talk for an hour)
- (ii) *Batho ba bua Sesotho [hora].*  
(People speak Sesotho for an hour)
- (iii) *\*Batho ba a bua [hora]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity*  
(People talk for an hour)

- b.(i) *Basadi ba seba [hora]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]* Activity  
(Women gossip for an hour)
- (ii) *Basadi ba seba ka banna [hora]*  
(Women gossip about men for an hour)
- (iii) *\*Basadi ba a seba [hora]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]* Activity  
(Women gossip for an hour)

The sentences in (11) do not focus on the adverbial *hora* (for an hour) because people or women might have intended to speak or gossip for more or less than an hour. On the basis of duration, the adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not indicate the desired or intended length of the situation, and the activity can stop at any time, thus the events are atelic in nature. In (11), the verbs of communication *bua* (talk/speak) and *seba* (gossip) are transferring a message, and the activity event may stop arbitrarily. In (11a.iii) and (11b.iii), the long momentary morpheme [*a*] is odd with temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with or without an object in Sesotho - and that long form did not relate to any interpretation.

### 3.2.1.11.1.3 Weather verbs with (out) NP

The temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) is used as diagnostic with weather verbs to determine whether these verbs are compatible with or without an object in the Sesotho sentences. Weather verbs *na* (rain) and *kgetheha* (snow) are generally intransitive verbs hence they lack a direct object. Consider the following sentences in (12):

- (12) a.(i) *Pula e na [hora]. [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]* Activity  
(It rains for an hour)
- (ii) *Pula e na [medupe] [hora]*  
(It rains continuously for an hour)
- (iii) *\*Pula e a na [hora]. [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]* Activity  
(It rains for an hour)
- b.(ii) *Le kgetheha [hora]. [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]* Activity  
(It snows for an hour)

- (ii) *Le kgetheha Loting [hora]*  
(It snows in the mountains for an hour)
- (iii) \**Le a kgetheha [hora].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]                      Activity  
(It snows for an hour)

In the above sentences, the intransitive verbs *na* (rain) and *kgetheha* (snow)) are compatible with adverbial with durative [*hora*], and the temporal adjunct [*hora*] does not contribute to the outcome of a situation. The event is atelic and may have an arbitrary final end point. The inclusion of an object such as *medupe* (rain) and *Loting* (mountainous area) with the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not change the event type of the sentences. In (12a.ii) and (12b.ii), the intransitive verbs seem to appear with a direct object phrase the noun head of which is the event of nominalization of the verb (Du Plessis, M Visser 1995:19). Their direct object *medupe* (rain) position is determined by the semantic relation between head noun and the verb and it describes the type of rain which is falling. The long form with temporal adjunct [*hora*] with or without object in (12.iii), did not impart any meaning to the activity event. The sentences do, however, present oddity.

#### 3.2.1.11.1.4 Verbs of motion with [*hora*]

The following sentences function as a diagnostic test of the temporal adjunct [*hora*] with the activity verb of motion *tsamaile* (walked) without an object:

- (13) *Ke tsamaile [hora tse tharo].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]                      Activity  
(I walked for three hours)

The verb of motion *tsamaile* (walked) is compatible with temporal adjunct [*hora*]. The adverbial *hora tse tharo* (for three hours) contributes information about the location of situation in time. Semantically the information is external to the situation type of activity, and thus the event remains atelic.

### 3.2.1.11.1.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with (out) NP

The following sentences function as a diagnostic test of whether the temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with verbs of existing, involving motion *phaphametse* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate) with or without an object:

- (14) a.(i) *Setopo se phaphametse nokeng [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The body was floating in the river for an hour).
- (ii) *Setopo se phaphametse [hora].*  
 (The body was floating for an hour).
- b.(i) *Lefatshe le potoloha letsatsi [dihora tse 24] [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].*  
 (The earth rotates around the sun for 24 hrs) Activity
- (ii) *Lefatshe le potoloha [dihora tse 24]*  
 The earth rotates for 24 hrs

The sentences in (14) indicate compatibility with temporal adjunct [*hora*] and they are activity events. The event of floating happens for an hour and it can stop at any time. Similarly, the event of rotating defines an activity event and the situation may continue or terminate, but the notion of completion is irrelevant. Both events remain as activities, hence they are atelic.

### 3.2.1.11.1.6 Performance verbs with (out) NP

The following sentences demonstrate whether the temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with the performance activity verbs *bapala* (play) and *tansha* (dance) with or without an object:

- (15) a.(i) *Bana ba bapala [hora tse pedi]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].* Activity  
 (Children play for two hours).
- (ii) *Bana ba bapala bolo ya maoto [hora tse pedi].*  
 (Children play football for two hours).
- (iii) *\*Bana ba a bapala [hora tse pedi]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].* Activity  
 (Children play for two hours).

- b.(i) *Banana le bashemane ba tantsha [hora].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].  
 (Girls and boys dance for an hour) Activity
- (ii) *Banana le bashemane ba tantsha motantsho wa sekwalekwale [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Girls and boys dance for an hour)
- (iii) \**Banana le bashemane ba a tantsha [hora].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].  
 (Girls and boys engage in modern dance for an hour) Activity

The temporal adjunct [*hora*] demonstrates compatibility with performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) with and without an object. The events are atelic; hence they can stop at any time or be terminated randomly without completion. The long form with temporal adjunct [*hora*] with or without object in (15a.iii) and (15b.iii) do not add any meaning to the activity event, hence the sentences are semantically unacceptable.

### 3.2.1.11.1.7 Verbs of searching with (out) NP

The sentences investigate whether the temporal adjunct [*hora*] is compatible with the verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) with or without an object in (16):

- (16) a.(i) *Setsomi se tsoma phoofolo naheng [hora].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
 (The hunter hunts an animal for an hour in the veld) Activity
- (ii) *Setsomi se tsoma [hora].*  
 (The hunter hunts for an hour)
- b.(i) *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethefatsi sekolong [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers investigate drugs at schools for an hour)
- (ii) *Matitjhere a fuputsa [hora].*  
 (Teachers investigate for an hour)

The activity sentences describe the expression involving agency *matitjhere* (teachers) and volition in (16). Since they are atelic, activity events of *tsoma* (hunting) and of *fuputsa* (investigating) express simple duration, which excludes the

notion involving completion in these situations. The expressions in (16) do not have the final end point as the hunting and the investigating may stop at any time. Thus the activity events remain unchanged and atelic.

### 3.2.1.11.1.8 Verbs which involve the body with (out) NP

The following sentences test whether the temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with verbs which involve the body - *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) with an object or without, as in (17):

- (17) a.(i) *Lesea le hohlola [metsotso e mehlano].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(A baby coughs for five minutes)
- (ii) *Lesea le hohlola madi [metsotso e mehlano].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
(A baby coughs blood for five minutes) Activity
- (iii) *\*Lesea le a hohlola [metsotso e mehlano].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
(A baby coughs for five minutes)
- b.(i) *Ke ethimola [metsotso e mehlano]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am sneezing for five minutes).
- (ii) *\*Ke a ethimola [metsotso e mehlano]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am sneezing for five minutes).

Sentences in (17) present a single event, which consists of a series of coughing and sneezing and certain sub-events. Each revolution is a complete cycle that is followed by termination or another cycle. If the single act of sneezing has been extended for five minutes, the situation is clearly interpreted as durative because the sequence of sneezing lasts for a certain period of time action, then the event is atelic and is compatible with adverbial *for-phrase*. On the other hand, if these activities have uncountable internal stages '*O hohlola metsotso e mehlano*' (He coughs for five minutes) and '*O ethimola metsotso e mehlano*' (He sneezes for five minutes) these activities are considered as multiple-Activities. Conversely, the '*metsotso e mehlano*' for-phrase introduces the oddity in (17a.iii) and (17b.ii) because of the long form '*a*' in the activity event.

### 3.2.1.11.1.9 Verbs of bodily care with (out) NP

The following sentences investigate whether the temporal adjunct [*hora*] is compatible with the verbs of bodily care *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) with or without an object:

- (18) a.(i) *Ke hlobola [metsotso e mehlano.]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am undressing for five minutes)
- (ii) *Ke hlobola diaparo [metsotso e mehlano.]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I undress clothes for five minutes)
- (iii) *\*Ke a hlobola [metsotso e mehlano.]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am undressing for five minutes)
- b.(i) *Baithuti ba a apara [metsotso e mehlano].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Students dress for five minutes)
- (ii) *Baithuti ba apara diaparo [metsotso e mehlano].*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Students wear clothes for five minutes).
- (iii) *\*Baithuti ba a apara diaparo [metsotso e mehlano].*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Students wear clothes for five minutes)

### 3.2.1.11.1.10 Commentary on activity events with temporal adjuncts [*hora*]

The sentences in (10 – 18) are compatible with the expressions of dynamism and the expression of continuity because the activity events can stop at any time. For instance, '*O sebeditse metsotso e mehlano*' (one worked for five minutes) entails that for five minutes one did work, but the information given does not present a final endpoint. It is also observed that the entailment reflects on the activity event if a process is in progress as in '*Ba bapala hora tse pedi*' (They play for two hours). The addition of an object with the temporal adjunct does not bring a shift in event type. These sentences form a part–whole relation of cumulative events as in *Pule ran* entails *Pule has run*; *I saw pigs* entails *I have seen pigs* etc. In the cases of these activity events consisting of a process involving an adverbial – [*hora*], where this adverbial is indefinite, there is no natural end point to the event.

The sentences in this subsection tell us nothing about the adverbial [*hora*] because the external arguments might have intended to perform an activity event for more or less than an hour of intended time. On the basis of duration, we conclude that the adverbial *for* – does not indicate the desired or intended length of the situation, however they are compatible with atelic events which involve the internal structure, and the event can stop at any time. It should be noted that the activity events with a long form with or without an object result in ungrammatical sentences as illustrated in (11b.iii) \**Basadi ba a seba [hora]* (Women gossip for an hour), (12a.iii) \**Pula e a na [hora]*. (It rains for an hour) and (17a.iii) \**Lesea le a hohlola [metsotso e mehlano]* (A baby coughs for five minutes) and other activity sentences

### 3.2.1.11.2 Activities with *ka* – NP/locative - NP

The following locative NP *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) contributes to the specification of situation time. The locative NP *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) specifies a moment or an interval which temporarily locates a situation in some way. The relation depends on the way the locative NP information interconnects with the situation type of a sentence.

#### 3.2.1.11.2.1 Motion verbs with *ka* – NP/locative NP

The sentences in (19) test the compatibility between motion verbs *matha* (run) and *kgasa* (crawl) with the temporal adjunct *ka hora* (in an hour) and the locative NP [*horeng*]:

- (19) a.(i) *Pule o mathile [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Pule ran (with) in an hour)
- b.(i) *Ngwana o kgasitse [ka metsotso e mmedi/metsotsong e mmedi].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The baby crawled (with) in two minutes)

In (19), the activity events are compatible with [*ka hora/ horeng*], i.e., the in – adverbial/locative NP. Thus the [*ka hora*] phrase positions an event at an interval, during which the event is completed, and cannot proceed further. It is also observed that the interpretation of the *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) phrase will bring the telic event, i.e. events of running and crawling are terminated after an hour of running or crawling. The sentences in (19) will have the feature of telicity.

### 3.2.1.11.2.2 Communication verbs with ka - NP

The following sentences demonstrate a diagnostic test of adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) with activity communication verbs *bua* (speak/talk) and *seba* (gossip) with or without an object in (20):

- (20) a(i) *Batho ba bua Sesotho [ka hora/[horeng e le nngwe ]*.  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (People speak Sesotho (with) in an hour)
- (ii) *Batho ba a bua [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe]*  
 (People talk in one hour)
- b.(i) *Basadi ba seba [ka hora/ horeng e nngwe ]*.  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Women gossip (with) in an hour).
- (ii) *Basadi ba a seba [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe]*.  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Women gossip in one hour).

In (20a.i) and (20b.i), the activity events of speaking and gossiping are compatible with *ka hora/ horeng* (in an hour), i.e., the in–adverbial/locative NP. Thus the *ka hora* (in an hour) phrase positions an event at an interval, during which the event is completed, and cannot proceed any further. It is also observed that the interpretation of the *ka hora/locative* (in an hour) phrase will bring the telic event. On the other hand, the sentences in (20a.ii) and (20b.ii) focus on another interpretation of [*ka hora*] - indicating one hour in these events structures, but still retaining its atelic feature.

### 3.2.1.11.2.3 Weather verbs with ka – NP/locative NP

The following sentences describe compatibility between adverbial [ka hora/horeng] and the activity weather verbs *na* (rain) *foka* (blow) with or without an object in (21):

- (21) a.(i) *Pula e na [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]Activity  
(It rains (with) in one hour)
- (ii) *Pula e na medupe [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]  
(It rains heavily within an hour) Activity
- (iii) *Pula e a na [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe]*  
(It rains in one hour)
- b. (i) *Moya o foka [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]Activity  
(The wind blows (with) in an hour)
- (ii) *Moya o foka toropong [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe].*  
[-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The wind blows (with) in an hour in town)
- (iii) *Moya o a foka [ka hora/ horeng le le nngwe].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]  
(The wind blows in one hour) Activity

In (21a.i) and (21b.ii), adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) and/or locative NP *horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with the durative feature of an activity-event type. In (21a.iii) and (21b.iii), a special interpretation of completion is expressed by temporal *in*-adverbial *horeng/ka hora* (in an hour), which thus gives the telic event.

### 3.2.1.11.2.4 Physical perception with ka - NP/locative NP

The following sentences demonstrate compatibility between adverbial [ka hora/horeng] and the activity with physical-perception verbs *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) with or without an object in (21):

- (22) a.(i) *\*Ke a utlwa [ka motsotso].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I hear in one hour)
- (ii) *Ke utlwa [ka motsotso/motsotsong o le mong].*  
(I hear in one hour)

- (iii) *Ke utlwile mohatsela [ka motsotso/motsotsong o le mong]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I felt cold within an hour)
- b.(i) *Ke bone dikolobe [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I saw pigs in an hour).
- (ii) *\*Ke bone [ka hora/horeng].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I saw in one hour)

In (22a.i) and (22.ii), the perception verbs function as state verbs because they refer to a situation which involves no expenditure of energy, and will thus be atelic. They are semantically anomalous with a temporal adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute), and create a change in the meaning, because, when read with the [ka hora] phrase, *one hour* and not an *in-hour* phrase is indicated. In (22a.i) and (22b.ii) the perception verb *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) is incompatible with temporal adverbial [ka hora/horeng] because the verb presents a state verb *bona* (see) which does not subcategorise duration unless the state verb behaves like multiple-activity verb.

### 3.2.1.11.2.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with ka - NP/locative NP

The sentences in (23) test compatibility between adverbial [ka hora/horeng] and the activity-event type expressing the verbs of involving motion *phaphametse* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate) with or without an object.

- (23) a.(i) *Setopo se phaphametse nokeng [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The body was floating in the river (with) in an hour).
- (ii) *Setopo se phaphametse [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The body was floating (with) in an hour).
- b.(i) *Lefatshe le potoloha letsatsi [ka hora tse 24/dihoreng tse 24].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The earth rotates around the sun (with) in 24 hours).

- (ii) *Lefatshe le potoloha [ka hora tse 24/dihoreng tse 24].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The earth rotates (with) in 24 hours).

In (23), the activity events are compatible with [*ka hora/ horeng*], i.e., the in – adverbial/locative NP. Thus the [*ka hora*] phrase (in -adverbial) positions an event at an interval, during which the event is completed, and the event cannot proceed. It is also observed that the interpretation of the [*ka hora/horeng*] phrase will highlight the telic event in (23a). The sentences in (23) are not difficult to interpret and are easily understood. The adverbial [*ka hora/horeng*] phrase refers to time taken (with) in an activity event, and after the intended time is stipulated, the situation ceases, thus indicating a telic event. It implies that within an hour's duration, an event is completed and one assumes that the atelic event has now acquired a telic interpretation which involves an unstated goal. In these cases, termination before the achievement of a natural final end point - that does not include attainment - results.

### 3.2.1.11.2.6 Performance verbs with ka - NP/locative NP

The sentences test compatibility between adverbial [*ka hora/horeng*] with performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) in (24) without an object:

- (24) a.(i) *Bana ba bapala [ka hora/horeng tse pedi].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].Activity  
 (Children play (with) in two hours).
- (ii) *Bana ba a bapala [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].  
 (Children play in one hour). Activity
- b.(i) *Banana le bashemane ba tantsha [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Girls and boys dance (with) in an hour).
- (ii) *Banana le bashemane ba a tantsha [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Girls and boys dance in one hour).

The presence of the adverbial/locative-phrase *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is unlike the *hora* (for-phrase) adverbial in sentences (24) where *for-phrase* left the situation

undisturbed as an atelic event. In (24a.i) and (24b.ii), the *in*-adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) contributes directly to the situation-type shifts; as a result the event is terminated within a specified duration.

The long form with 'a' has been found to be ungrammatical without an object with the *ka hora* (in an hour) phrase in (22a.i) and (22b.ii) because of the interpretation of event type \**Ke a utlwa [ka motsotso]* (I hear for one hour). On the other hand, the long form of the sentence with the adverbial/locative NP [*ka hora/horeng*] phrase creates a new meaning, that of an activity event. The meaning of the performance verbs with *ka hora* (in an hour) in (24) is viewed as a single event which presents an atelic event. If the situations are repeated after one hour, then all these instances of the event are viewed as a multiple Activities.

### 3.2.1.11.2.7 Verbs of searching with ka - NP/locative NP

The sentences below describe compatibility between adverbial/locative NP [*ka hora/horeng*] and the activity verbs *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (26) with or without an object:

- (25) a.(i) *Setsomi se tsoma naheng [ka hora/ horeng].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].  
 (The hunter hunts with (in) an hour in the veld) Activity
- (ii) *Setsomi se a tsoma [ka hora/ horeng].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The hunter hunts in one hour)
- b.(i) *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethefatsi [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe] dikolong.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers investigate drugs (with)in an hour at schools)
- (ii) *Matitjhere a a fuputsa [ka hora/ horeng e le nngwe]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers investigate in one hour)

The adverbial [*ka hora/horeng*] phrases refer to the time taken (with) in an activity event of *searching* and *investigation*, and after the intended time stipulated, the situation ceases, thus indicating an atelic-to-telic event. Sentences in (25) imply that within the duration of an hour, events of *searching* and *investigation* are completed

and one assumes that the atelic events have now acquired a telic interpretation that involves an unstated goal. In these cases, the resulting termination before the natural final end point does not include attainment results. On the other hand, the long form of sentences with the adverbial/locative NP [ka hora/horeng] phrase creates a new meaning for an activity event as in (25a.ii) and (25b.ii). Here the meaning is that the verbs of searching in an activity event whose duration is one hour is *searching*, thus describing an atelic event. If the situation is repeated after one hour, then all these instances of the event are viewed as a single event and the event may present as atelic as in the latter sentence.

### 3.2.1.11.2.8 Verbs involving the body with ka - NP/locative NP

The following sentences test whether intransitive verbs *hohlola* (coughing) and *ethimola* (sneezing) in (26) are compatible with temporal adjuncts, such as [ka hora/horeng]:

- (26) a.(i) *Lesea le hohlola [ka metsotso e mehlano/ metsotsong e mehlano].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived-Activity  
 (A baby coughs (with) in five minutes)
- (ii) *Lesea le a hohlola [ka metsotso e mehlano/ metsotsong e mehlano].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived-Activity  
 (A baby coughs in five minutes)
- (iii) *Lesea le hohlola madi [ka metsotso e mehlano/metsotsong e mehlano].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived-Activity  
 (A baby coughs blood (with)in five minutes)
- b.(i) *Ke ethimola [ka metsotso e mehlano/ metsotsong e mehlano].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived-Activity  
 (I sneeze (with)in five minutes)
- (ii) *Ke a ethimola [ka metsotso e mehlano/metsotsong e mehlano].* [  
 -Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived-Activity  
 (I sneeze in five minutes).

The long form of sentences with the adverbial phrase [ka hora/horeng] (locative NP), creates the new meaning of an activity event as in '*Lesea le a hohlola [ka*

*hora/horeng*], meaning the baby coughs in one hour and in ‘*Ke a ethimola metsotsong e mehlano*’, meaning one sneezes every five minutes, which indicates an event of atelic nature. If the situations are repeated after one hour, then within an hour, all these instances of the event are viewed as a single event. Thus the event is compatible with the verbs of *coughing* and *sneezing* and expresses iterative meaning.

### 3.2.1.11.2.9 Verbs of bodily care with ka - NP/locative NP

The following sentences demonstrate whether intransitive verbs *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (27) are compatible with the temporal adjunct [ka hora/horeng]:

- (27) a.(i) *Ke hlobola [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe]*. [-Static] [+Durative] [+Telic] Achieve  
(I undress (with) in an hour)
- (ii) *Ke a hlobola [ka hora/horeng e le nngwe]*. [-Static][+Durative] [+Telic] Achieve  
(I undress in one hour)
- b.(i) *Baithuti ba apara [ka metsotso e mehlano/ metsotsong e mehlano]*.  
[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achieve  
(Students wear in five minutes).
- (ii) *Baithuti ba a apara [ka metsotso e mehlano/ metsotsong e mehlano]*.  
[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achieve  
(Students wear in five minutes).

In (27a.i) and (27b.i), the temporal adverbial [ka hora/horeng] is compatible with achievement. Similarly, the long form of sentences with the adverbial/locative NP [ka hora/horeng] phrase, creates the new meaning of an activity event in (27a.ii) and (27b.ii), indicating that with(in) five minutes, the one student will undress and that the students will wear (the clothes) within five minutes. These sentences imply that the verbs of bodily care are compatible with ka NP/locative NP.

### 3.2.1.11.2.10 Commentary on activity events with temporal adjunct [ka hora/horeng]

In (19 – 27), the activity events are compatible with [ka hora/horeng], i.e., the in – adverbial/locative NP. Thus the [ka hora] phrase positions an event at an interval, during which the event is completed, and cannot proceed. It is also observed that the interpretation of the [ka hora/horeng] phrase will indicate a telic event. The sentences in (19 – 27) are not difficult to interpret and can be easily understood. The adverbial [ka hora/horeng] phrases refer to the time taken (with)in an activity event, and after the intended time stipulated has elapsed, the situation ceases, thus indicating a telic event. It implies that within the duration of an hour, an event is completed and one assumes that the atelic event has now the interpretation of telic that involves unstated goal. In these cases, the result is a termination before the natural final end point that does not include attainment.

It is also observed that the presence of the [ka - hora/locative] phrase is unlike the adverbial [hora] in sentences (10 to 18), where the *for*-phrase left the situation undisturbed as an atelic event. In (19 to 27), the internal adverbial [ka hora/horeng] contributes directly to the situation-type sentence, and, as a result, the event terminates within the *in*- adverbial/locative phrase.

In the above examples, it becomes evident that the long form with ‘a’ has been found to be ungrammatical without an object in Sesotho. Activity events with the [ka hora] phrase, as exemplified in (22), are rendered ungrammatical because of the interpretation of the specific event type. On the other hand, the long form of sentences with the adverbial/locative NP [ka hora/horeng] phrase, creates a new meaning for an activity event as in *Lesea le a hohlela [ka hora/horeng]* meaning *the baby coughs in one hour*, and it also presents atelic event. If the situations are repeated after one hour, then all these instances of the event are viewed as a single event.

### 3.2.1.11.3 Inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) begin/start and [*qeta*] stop/finish

According to Smith (1997:25), the inceptive focuses on the beginning of the event. Inceptive focus may be caused by the verb *qala* (begin/start), meaning to begin. Completion is caused by [*qeta*], which means to stop/finish. The Sesotho sentences demonstrate a change of state or an outcome in a situation type. The focus is based on the internal structure of the activity verbs in the infinitive complementary clauses.

#### 3.2.1.11.3.1. Motion verbs with *qala* and *qeta*

The following sentences will focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with Sesotho activity verbs *matha* (run) and *kgasa* (crawl):

- |      |    |   |          |
|------|----|---|----------|
| (28) | a. | <i>Pule o qetile ho matha</i> [-Static][-Durative][-Telic]    | Activity |
|      |    | Pule has finished running)                                    |          |
|      | b. | <i>Ngwana o qetile ho kgasa.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] | Activity |
|      |    | (The baby has finished crawling)                              |          |

In (28), activity events are compatible with verbs of termination *qeta* (finish) which require an activity in an embedded sentence as illustrated in the above constructions. In (28), the reading of *running* and *crawling* with terminative verb *qeta* (finish) is understood to have a stated, natural final point and termination of an event will occur, while with the inceptive verb *qala* (begin), an arbitrary endpoint will result since an event may stop at any time. A series of changes takes place during the activity of *running and crawling*, and these changes constitute a feature of dynamism. Therefore in the case of *ho matha* and *ho kgasa* the endpoint is simply a stage of coming to a stop, and there are no further stages *of running* or *of crawling*, and no change of state, thus rendering the events as atelic.

### 3.2.1.11.3.2 Communication verbs with qala and qeta

The following sentences will focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with Sesotho communication activity *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (29), and whether there will be a change of state or an outcome:

- (29) a. *Batho ba qala ho bua Sesotho.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(People start speaking Sesotho)
- b. *Basadi ba qetile ho seba ka banna.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Women have finished gossiping about men).

In (29a), the focus is on the beginning of the event. With the inception of *qala* (begin/start) with the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (29a), durativity is possible and consequently the events rendered are atelic. On the other hand, the terminating verb [*qetile*], focuses on the finishing of the event of gossiping in (29b). Neither the inceptive *qala* (begin/start) nor the terminative [*qetile*] verbs express a new change of state in the activity events. There is no outcome after the women finished gossiping, or when people start speaking, and both events may have an arbitrary endpoint.

### 3.2.1.11.3.3 Weather verbs with qala and qeta

The following sentences describe, and comprise a diagnostic test for determining whether the weather verbs *na* (rain) and *foka* (blow) in (30) are compatible with the inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) and the terminative verb [*qeta*]:

- (30) a. *Pula e qeta ho na.* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(It stopped raining)
- b. *Moya o qala ho foka.* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The wind starts blowing)

In (30a), the focus is on the finishing of the event which requires activity of [*ho na*] in the embedded sentence. In (30a), the initial point of the activity *raining* is brought to its final point by the terminative [*qeta*] and there is no outcome or change of state.

On the other hand, the sentence in (30b), focuses on the beginning of the event [*ho foka*] in the complementary sentence. In (30b), the starting point of the event of *blowing of the wind* does not bring about a change of state in the blowing process, and the activity can stop at any time. In both instances, the events are atelic.

#### 3.2.1.11.3.4 Physical perception with *qala* and *qeta*

The following sentences test whether the perception verbs *bona* (see) and *utlwa* (hear) in (31) are compatible with the inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) and terminative verb [*qeta*]:

- (31) a. *Ke qetile ho bona dikolobe.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I finished seeing pigs).
- b. *Ke qeta ho utlwa modumo wa koloi.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I just finished hearing the sound of the car)

The inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) and the terminative verb [*qeta*] are compatible with verbs of perception in the event structure of an activity, but the terminative and inceptive verbs do not bring about a change of state in their meaning, nor do they exhibit a causative component in their meaning (Tenny C, 200:301). If one finished seeing the pigs, one does not necessarily change the state of the event of *seeing* and *hearing*. These verbs cannot bring about an outcome. The situation remains the same, thus the event is atelic.

#### 3.2.1.11.3.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with *qala* and *qeta*

The following sentences will focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with the Sesotho verbs of existing involving motion activity verbs *phaphamala* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate) in (32):

- (32) a. *Setopo sa monna se qadile ho phaphamala nokeng*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(The body of a man starts floating in the river).

- b. *Lefatshe le qala ho potoloha letsatsi* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The earth starts revolving around the sun).

In (32a), the focus is on the beginning of the event which requires activity of *ho phaphamala* (floating) in the embedded sentence. In (32a), the initial point of an event of floating continues, but it can stop at any time and there is no outcome or change of state in an event. On the other hand, the sentence in (32b), focuses on the beginning of the event *ho potoloha* (revolving) in the complementary sentence. On the other hand, in (32b), the starting point of an event of revolving around the sun does produce any results, and the activity event of revolving can stop at any time.

### 3.2.1.11.3.6 Performance verbs with qala and qeta

The following sentences focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with the Sesotho verbs of performance *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) in (33):

- (33) a. *Bana ba qala ho bapala.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Children begin to play).
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba qeta ho tantsha.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Girls and boys have just finished dancing).

In (33a), the inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) does not produce a change of state in the activity event of the embedded sentence *ho bapala* hence the verb 'begin' constitutes the initial point of an activity event. Similarly, in (33b), the terminative verb [*qeta*] also does not bring about any change to the event *ho tantsha*; it is only terminating the activity event of dancing at a final point.

### 3.2.1.11.3.7 Verbs of searching with qala and qeta

The following sentences demonstrate the compatibility of the inceptive/completion verbs [*qala/qeta*] with the activity verbs *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (34). The focus is on the beginning and the ending of the event:

- (34) a. *Setsomi se qetile ho tsoma.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The hunter finished hunting)
- b. *Matitjhere a qadile ho fuputsa dithethefatsi sekolong.*  
 [-Static][+Durative] [-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers started investigating drugs at schools)

In (34a), the terminative verb [*qeta*] is compatible with the activity verb *tsoma* (hunt) which provides the interpretation of hunting. The event does not tell us about an outcome in hunting except that the Agent finishes an event, which renders the event as atelic. The inceptive *qala* (begin/start) focuses on the beginning of the event as illustrated in (34b), thus with no information to the contrary emanating, the receiver could understand that the event of *searching* continues. The inceptive verb *qadile* expresses a progressive meaning in (34b) but provides no information about completion. The event is atelic.

### 3.2.1.11.3.8 Verbs involving the body with *qala* and *qeta*

The following sentences will focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with Sesotho verbs which involve bodily activity, eg. *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) in (35):

- (35) a. *Lesea le qeta ho hohlola.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (A baby just finished coughing)
- b. *Ke qeta ho ethimola* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I just finished sneezing)

In (35), the terminative verb *qeta* is semantically compatible with the activity verbs *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze). The events of just finishing *coughing* and *sneezing* are conceived as instantaneous because the utterances can refer to the event that is over momentarily. As a result, the terminative adverbial *qeta* (finish) triggers a change of state and a shift in the situation achievement value, because the coughing and the sneezing may end, or it may happen that a shift in multiple-Activity occurs.

### 3.2.1.11.3.9 Verbs of bodily care with qala and qeta

The following sentences will focus on whether the inceptive and terminative verbs *qala* (begin/start) and [*qeta*] are compatible with the Sesotho verbs involving both body care and achievement, such as *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (36):

- (36) a. *Ke qeta ho hlobola.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(I just finished undressing)
- b. *Baithuti ba qadile ho apara.*  
[-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Students started wearing).

The terminative verb [*qeta*] and inceptive verb [*qadile*] are compatible with the achievement verb *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (36). The occurrence of the terminative verb [*qeta*] with the verb *hlobola* (undress) in (36a) may constitute the properties of achievement since they take seconds/minutes to occur, thus the event remains the same. In (36b), the inceptive verb [*qadile*] with achievement verb *apara* (wear) demonstrates an achievement event because the event of wearing happens within seconds or minutes. The situation remains the same.

### 3.2.1.11.4.0 Summary on inceptive verb qala and terminative verb qeta

The inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) demonstrates the continuity of a situation. The inceptive focuses on the beginning of the event, with no final endpoint to the event. With no information differing, the receiver could understand that the activity continues. The event can also be a transition from a state of affairs which begins with the super lexical verb *qala* (begin/start). It is argued that the focuses on the initial point of the event with inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) involves atelic event that they go on until they stop. With inceptive verb *qala* (begin/start) the event will remain the same event since there is no shift in situation type. Therefore, the inceptive understanding of an activity event has no impact on the changing of the situation type. The events do not constitute a change to a new state of affairs. The terminative verb [*qeta*] focuses on the ending of the situation types and can be a transition from a process which ceases to a state. However, with terminative verb

[qeta] the final point is telic, thus completion of an event though in some instances it does not change a state or a situation. In (35), the events of just finishing *coughing* and *sneezing* are conceived as instantaneous because the utterances can refer to the event that is over and these events happens instantly. As results, the terminative verb [qeta] (finish) with events *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) triggers a shift in situation value of achievement. The terminative verb [qetile] has changes the verb focus and the situation type where atelic are viewed as telic.

#### 3.2.2.11.4.1 Durative adverbials

The adverbials of duration [ka potlako] (quickly/immediately/suddenly), [ka matla] (heavily), [haholo] (too much), [ka ho panya ha leihlo] (quickly) contribute to the location of a situation in time. The aspectual meaning of a sentence will be expressed by the appearance of durative adverbial.

#### 3.2.2.11.4.2 Motion verbs with durative adverbials

The following sentences focus on durative adverbial [ka potlako] activity verbs *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawl) in the perfect tense in (37):

- (37) a. *Pule o mathile [la Ntshwekge] [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity*  
(Pule ran quickly)
- b. *Ngwana o kgasitse [ka potlako]. [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity*  
(The baby crawled quickly)

The sentences in (37) are compatible with durative adverbial [ka potlako] but the situations do not tell whether the event of *running* or of *crawling* is completed or terminated. The event of running may go on until it has final arbitrary final endpoint. For instance, Pule ran within thirty seconds than stipulated time, then for some reason or other he decided to stop or terminate his running before he completed the race, one cannot say he ran quickly. The focus is on the internal structure of an activity event of running or crawling. On the other hand, Pule completed the race before stipulated time; then one can say there is a shift in meaning to achievement

because Pule would have run quickly than the stipulated time. The sentence in (37a) may have ambiguity interpretation.

### 3.2.2.11.4.3 Communication verbs with durative adverbials

The following sentences demonstrate compatibility of durative adverbials [ka potlako] with communication verbs *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (38):

- (38) a. *Batho ba bua Sesotho [ka potlako].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]      Activity  
(People speak Sesotho quickly)
- b. *Basadi ba seba [haholo] ka banna.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]      Activity  
(Women gossip too much about men).

In (38), verbs of communication *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) are compatible with durative adverbial of manner *ka potlako* (quickly) and *haholo* (too much). However, there is no indication as to whether the people in (38a) and women in (38b) will terminate or complete the activity events of *talking* and *gossiping* quickly and respectively. It shows that the activity events of communication verbs do not bring about any change of state and are thus atelic events, although the meaning of instantaneous may be presented by the use of *ka potlako* (quickly) but it does not indicate a shift of the events to achievements hence the event of *talking* and of *gossiping* may have an arbitrary final point.

### 3.2.2.11.4.4 Weather verbs with durative adverbials

The following constructions express the compatibility of weather verbs *na* (rain) and *foka* (blow) with durative adverbial of manner [ka potlako] and [ka matla] in (39):

- (39) a. *Pula e na [ka matla].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]      Activity  
(It rains heavily)
- b. *Moya o foka [ka matla].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic]      Activity  
(The wind blows heavily)

The durative adverb *ka matla* (heavily) expresses no relation to the activity events of ‘*Pula e a na*’ (It rains heavily) in (39a) and ‘*Moya o a foka*’ (The wind blows heavily) in (39b). The durative adverbial [ka potlako] may present an instantaneous event but the main activity differs in duration and the events happen continuously until they are terminated by an act of nature; hence the subject themes (*pula* and *moya*) are noncausative external arguments. The events are homogeneous as they can go on until they stop or have an arbitrary final endpoint.

#### 3.2.2.11.4.5 Physical perception with durative adverbials

The test allows us to show the influence on perception verbs with durative adverbials [hanyane] and [ka potlako] in the following constructions:

- (40) a. *Ke utlwile modumo wa koloï [hanyane]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I heard the sound of the car hardly)
- b. *Ke bone dikolobe [ka potlako].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I quickly saw pigs).

The interpretation noticed in (40) is the initial point of an activity event such as hearing the sound of the car and of seeing the pigs, without the final endpoint. The events in (40a and 40b) are neither terminated nor completed irrespective of the compatibility with the durative adverbials [hanyane] and [ka potlako] respectively. The events may go on until they reach an arbitrary final point. Both events have the feature of being atelic.

#### 3.2.2.11.4.6 Verbs of existing involving motion with durative adverbials

The following sentences describe whether the verbs of existing involving motion *phaphametse* (floated) and *potoloha* (rotate) are compatible with durative adverbials *hampe* (bad) and *ka potlako* (quickly) in (41):

- (41) a. *Setopo se phaphametse [hampe] nokeng*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The body was floating badly in the river).

- b. *Lefatshe le potloha letsatsi [ka potlako].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic].  
 (The earth rotates the sun quickly). Activity

The sentences in (40), are activity events which are compatible with the durative adverbials [hampe] and [ka potlako] respectively. The interpretation of the event in (40a) describes the continuing event of *floating*, not completion or termination, which may happen when the body is taken out of the river. The adverbial of manner *hampe* (badly) does not have any effect on the situation. Both situations in (40) remain atelic and have the feature [+Durative]. The temporal adjunct that appears in (40b) [ka potlako], does not bring about any change of state in the situation.

#### 3.2.2.11.4.7 Performance verbs with durative adverbials

The following activity performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) in (42) demonstrate the compatibility with the durative adverbial [ka potlako]:

- (42) a. *Bana ba bapala [ka potlako].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Children play quickly).
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba tantsha [ka potlako].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Girls and boys dance quickly).

The interpretation of the entire process in (42a), may revolve around the event that children play rapidly or, not slowly, or that their play was fast. If the focus is on the manner in which the children play as quick, then there will be no change of state in the activity event of playing. For instance, if the focus is on 'the play', then, the adverbial *ka potlako* (quickly) triggers a shift in the situation-type achievement. The sentences in (42) have two interpretations. Similarly, if the event of dancing is quick, (focus is on the whole event) maybe because, for some reason or other, the boys and girls want to finish early, then, there will be no change of state. If for some reason the dancing is fast, i.e., from a slow dance to a quick dance (same type of dance), the focus is on the super-lexical word (dance), then there will be a change of state and the adverbial *ka potlako* triggers a shift in the situation value of achievement. Both activity events in the first interpretation are atelic, they continue

until the possible cessation of *playing* and *dancing*.

### 3.2.2.11.4.8 Verbs of searching with durative adverbials

The following sentences focus on the verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) with durative adverbials [*ka thahasello*] in (43):

- (43) a. *Setsomi se tsoma naheng [ka thahasello].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
 (The hunter hunts eagerly in the veld) Activity
- b. *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethefatsi [ka thahasello] sekolong.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers investigate drugs eagerly at school)

The occurrence of the durative adverbial *ka thahasello* (eagerly) is compatible with verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (43). The situation remains the same because the occurrence of durative adverbial *ka thahasello* (eagerly) does not change any state or position of an event. Durative adverbial *ka thahasello* is compatible with atelic events.

### 3.2.2.11.4.9 Verbs involving the body with durative adverbials

The focus is on the compatibility of activity verbs which involve the body, eg *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) with durative adverbials [*haholo/kgafetsa*] in (44):

- (44) a. *Lesea le hohlola [haholo].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Activity  
 (A baby coughs too much)
- b. *Ke ethimola [kgafetsa]* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achieve  
 (I sneeze now and then)

The durative adverbial [*ka potlako*] may present an instantaneous event in (40). The occurrence of durative adverbial *haholo/kgafetsa* (too much/now and then) triggers a shift in situation value of achievement hence the process of *coughing* and of *sneezing* happens quickly and occasionally -now and then.

### 3.2.2.11.4.10 Verbs of bodily care with durative adverbials

The the following sentences focus on the activity verbs of bodily care *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) with durative adverbials [*ka potlako/ka ho panya ha leihlo*] in (45):

- (45) a. *Ke hlobola [ka potlako].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
(I undress quickly)
- b. *Baithuti ba apara [ka ho panya ha leihlo].*  
[-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
(Students wear quickly).

The occurrence of durative adverbial *ka potlako* (quickly) and *ka ho panya ha leihlo* (quickly) are compatible with activity verbs *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) and trigger a shift in a situation achievement value. The events are telic since the activities of undressing and of wearing are completed and there is a change of position.

The durative adverbials of manner [*ka potlako*] and [*ka matla*] impose no relation on the activity events in (37 to 43) with the exception of activity verbs such as those which involve the body, as in (44), and those of bodily care, in (45). The durative adverbial [*ka potlako*] may present an instantaneous event but the main activity differs in duration when the events happen continuously until they reach termination. Hence activity events are homogeneous as they can go on until they stop or have an arbitrary final point. They have the features of both atelic and durative verbs. There is no change of state that constitutes an outcome or goal reached for the event mentioned and the question of completion becomes irrelevant; hence an event may have an arbitrary final point. On the other hand, the occurrence of durative adverbial *ka potlako/ ka ho panya ha leihlo* (quickly) triggers a shift in the situation value of achievement with activity verbs in (44) and (45) allowing the change of state because the events present instantaneous features.

### 3.2.2.11.5 Point adverbials

The followings sentences are diagnostic tests for activity-situation types with point adverbials *ka hora ya bone* (at four o'clock). The occurrence of point adverbial [*ka hora ya bone*] determines the termination or completion of an event:

#### 3.2.2.11.5.1 Motion verbs with point adverbials

The following sentences express compatibility between the motion verb *matha* (run) and *kgasitse* (crawled) in (46) with the point adverbial [*ka hora ya bone*]:

- (46) a. *Pule o mathile [ka hora ya bohlano hoseng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Pule ran at five o' clock in the morning)
- b. *Ngwana o kgasitse [ka hora ya borobedi hoseng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The baby crawled at eight o' clock in the morning)

In (46a), the activity event of running is said to take place at a specified time, thus occurring as the starting point of events. The information given by the point adverbials indicates the beginning of events. In '*Pule o mathile ka hora ya bohlano hoseng*', the event took place until it terminated or stopped at any time, thus the event is still atelic. Similarly, in (46b) the event of crawling started at eight o' clock in the morning and terminates arbitrarily; hence there is no specified time of completion. The information given by the point adverbial [*ka hora ya borobedi hoseng*], does not bring about any change of state or an outcome, but rather a change of position.

#### 3.2.2.11.5.2 Communication verbs with point adverbials

The following sentence tests communication verbs such as *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in combination with point adverbials [*ka hora ya borobedi hoseng*] and [*motsheare wa lengata*] in (47):

- (47) a. *Batho ba bua [ka hora ya borobedi hoseng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (People talk at eight o'clock in the morning)
- b. *Basadi ba seba [motsheare wa lengata]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Women gossip at noon).

In (47), the occurrence of point adverbials [*ka hora ya borobedi*] and [*motsheare wa lengata*] does not demonstrate in a change of state or an outcome with verbs of communication. The point adverbial [*ka hora ya borobedi hoseng*] in (47a) indicates the event of *talking* begins at that specified time and the event may stop or terminate at any time. Similarly, women may terminate their act of *gossiping* at any time immediately after noon. Thus the events remain atelic because there is no change of state or an outcome.

### 3.2.2.11.5.3 Weather verbs with point adverbials

The test focuses on the point adverbial [*hara mpa motsheare*] and [*hora ya bone hoseng*] with weather verbs *na* (rains) and *foka* (blow) in (48):

- (48) a. *Pula e na [hara mpa motsheare].* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (It rains at noon)
- b. *Moya o foka [ka hora ya bone mesong].*  
 [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The wind blows at four o'clock in the morning)

The information given by the point adverbial [*hara mpa motsheare*] in (48a) and [*ka hora ya bone mesong*] in (48b) indicate the initial point of the events of *raining* and of *blowing of the wind* and these events can terminate or stop at any time after noon or after four o'clock in the morning. Both events are atelic because there is no change of state in the activity events of *raining* and of *blowing of the wind*.

### 3.2.2.11.5.4 Physical perception with point adverbials

The following sentences test compatibility of the point adverbial [*ka meso ka hora ya bone*] (early at 4 o' clock) and [*ka 04h00*] (at 04h00) with physical perception verbs *bona* (see) in (49a) and *utlwa* (hear) in (49b):

- (49) a. *Ke bone dikolobe [ka meso ka hora ya bone].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I saw pigs in the morning at four o' clock).
- b. *Ke utlwile modumo wa koloi [ka 04h00]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I heard the sound of the car at 04h00)

The sentences in (49) do not present any completed events because the information given by the occurrence of point adverbials [*ka meso ka hora ya bone*] and [*ka 04h00*] only indicates the termination of the events of *seeing the pigs* at a specific time and the *hearing of the sound* at a specified time respectively. These events are atelic and there is no outcome, but they can stop at any time.

### 3.2.2.11.5.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with point adverbials

The following sentences describe the compatibility of the point adverbial [*ka hora ya borobedi thapama*] and [*ka 24h00*] with verbs of existing involving motion *phaphamala* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate) in (50):

- (50) a. *Setopo se phaphametse [ka hora ya bobedi thapama] nokeng.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The body was floating at two in the afternoon in the river)
- b. *Lefatshe le potoloha letsatsi [ka hora ya 24h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (The earth revolves around the sun for 24h00 hours).

The occurrence of point adverbial *ka hora ya borobedi thapama* (at eight o'clock in the afternoon) did not allow for a shift in situation type. The sentence in (50a)

presents the terminated event *of floating* at a specific time whereas (50b) indicates the beginning of the event *of revolving* at a specified time. The earth may terminate the event *of revolving* at any time. Both events are atelic and there is no change of state or outcome in both events.

### 3.2.2.11.5.6 Performance verbs with point adverbials

The following sentences test the compatibility between the point adverbial [*ka hora ya borobedi*] and [*ka ya bosupa mantsiboya*] with performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) in (51):

- (51) a. *Bana ba bapala [ka hora ya bobedi]* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Children play at two o'clock)  
*Banana le bashemane ba tantsha [ka hora ya bosupa mantsiboya]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
 (Girls and boys dance at seven o'clock in the evening.)

The information given by the point adverbial [*ka hora ya bobedi*] and [*ka hora ya bosupa mantsiboya*] is irrelevant with regard to a change of state or an outcome in (51). Children may start playing at a specific time and the event of playing may terminate or stop at any time. Similarly, the event of dancing may begin at seven o'clock in the evening and stop or terminate at any time. They are both atelic events.

### 3.2.2.11.5.7 Verbs of searching with point adverbials

This specific test focuses on the point adverbial [*ka hora ya botshelela hoseng*] and [*ka ya borobedi*] with verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (52):

- (52) a. *Setsomi se tsoma [ka hora ya botshelela hoseng]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The hunter hunts at six o'clock in the morning)

- b. *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethefatsi [ka hora ya borobedi].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Teachers investigate drugs at eight o'clock)

In (52), verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) with the point adverbials *ka hora ya botshelela hoseng* (at six o'clock) and *ka ya borobedi* (at eight o'clock), indicate the beginning of both events at a specified reference time. For instance, in (52a) the event of *hunting* will start at six o'clock and it may terminate at any time, so too the event of *investigating* in (52b). The activity events in (52) remain the same since there is no outcome or a change of state. They events are atelic.

### 3.2.2.11.5.8 Verbs involving the body with point adverbials

The following sentences are used as a diagnostic test to demonstrate the compability of verbs involving body *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) with point adverbial [*hora ya borobedi hoseng*] and [*ka ya bosupa hoseng*] in (53):

- (53) a. *Lesea le hohlola [ka hora borobedi hoseng]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
 (A baby coughs at eight o'clock in the morning)
- b. *Ke ethimola [ka hora ya bosupa hoseng]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
 (I sneeze at seven o'clock in the morning)

The verbs involving the body *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) are compatible with the point adverbials *ka hora ya borobedi hoseng* (at eight o'clock) and *ka hora ya bosupa hoseng* (at seven o'clock in the morning) in (53) respectively. However, the occurrence of point adverbials demonstrates habitual interpretation of both the events of *coughing* and of *sneezing* at eight in the morning, from which derived - Activities are deduced. Every morning at the specified of reference time, the event occurs. There is no change of state or outcome in these events. The information given by the point adverbial indicates the terminated event because the event of coughing and sneezing occurred only at a specified time.

### 3.2.2.11.5.9 Verbs of bodily care with durative adverbials

The following sentences investigate the compatibility of verbs of bodily care *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) with the point adverbial [*ka hora ya pele*] and [*ka hora ya botshelela hoseng*] in (54):

- (54) a. *Ke hlobola [ka hora ya pele].* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I undress at one o'clock.)
- b. *Baithuti ba apara [ka hora ya botshelela hoseng].*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Students dress at six o'clock in the morning)

The information supplied by the point adverbials *ka hora ya pele* (one o'clock) and *ka hora ya botshelela hosing* (six o'clock) in (54) do not include the endpoints of situations, thus the events may go on and stop or terminate at any time. The activity events in (54b), may suggest that the beginning of the event of *wearing* starts at six o'clock in the morning while (54a) may suggest that the termination of the event of *undressing* will stop at one o'clock. Both events are atelic because there is no outcome or change of state.

### 3.2.2.11.6 Progressive

The progressive aspect 'sa' is used to investigate and demonstrate the activity events because it is regarded as one of the most important aspects which communicate information pertaining to the internal temporal structure of the events which are involved. A better description of the essence of the progressiveness is that it indicates incompleteness. Comrie (1976:33) characterizes progressiveness as 'imperfectivity which is not occasioned by habitual'. According to Doke and Mofokeng (1985:208), progressive implication indicates the action that has been going on and is being continued. They point out that in Sesotho the progressive sign 'sa/sa ntse' is indicated in three tenses, namely the present, the perfect and the future, each with positive and negative forms.

### 3.2.2.11.6.1 Motion verbs with progressive

The following sentences investigate the occurrence of the progressive 'sa' when used with the perfect tense to complement motion-activity verbs *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawled) in (55):

- (55) a. *Pule o sa mathile.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Pule was running)
- b. *Ngwana o sa kgasitse.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The baby was crawling)

The occurrence of the progressive *sa* with the perfect tense as a complement to activity verbs *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawled) in (55) are semantically compatible. Because of the perfect tense complement *mathile* (ran), the focus is on the completed or terminated act of running. The addition of 'sa' expresses the fact that the event has been carried out and/or act of the running has been stopped without a final endpoint. The time of the event is linked to another point in time in the past which is incomplete, thus the tense form conveys the imperfective viewpoint. Equally, the activity event *kgasitse* (crawled) might have the continuation '*...when I arrived there the baby was tired of crawling*'. Both events are telic as *Pule has been running* and *the baby has been crawling* is the necessary endpoint. A positional change is indicated here.

### 3.2.2.11.6.2 Communication verbs with progressive

The following sentences demonstrate the use of the progressive aspect *sa ntse* (still) with present-tense complement to verbs of communication *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (56):

- (56) a. *Batho ba sa ntse ba bua.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(People are still speaking)
- b. *Basadi ba sa ntse ba seba* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Women are still gossiping)

The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa ntse* is compatible with present-tense complement verbs of communication *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (56). It should be noted that the imperfective viewpoint demonstrates the internal structure of the situation with no information about the final endpoint of the situation. The actions are presented as being in progress, with circumstances which could ultimately culminate in the actual activity of speaking at any moment of speech. In both cases, the activity events are continuous, without any final end point. Both events are atelic.

### 3.2.2.11.6.3 Weather verbs with progressive

The following sentences are used to test whether activity weather verbs *na* (rain) and *foka* (blow) are compatible with progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still) in (57):

- (57) a. *Pula e sa ntse e na.* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(It is still raining)
- b. *Moya o sa ntse o foka.* [-Static] [+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The wind is still blowing)

In (57), the attention is concentrated on the process, its flow and the development of *raining* and *blowing of the wind*. The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still) expresses the action of *raining* and of *blowing* in progression and there is no point at which the event can be completed unless it stops arbitrarily. The progressive aspect conveys a meaning of continuation or of an ongoing process. The situation remains unchanged.

### 3.2.2.11.6.4 Verbs of physical perception with progressive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still) with perfect tense participial complement verbs of physical perception *bona* (see) and *utlwa* (hear) in (58):

- (58) a. *Ke sa bone dikolobe.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(I was seeing pigs)

- b. *Ke sa utlwile modumo wa kolo.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(I was hearing the sound of a car)

In (58), the attention is not directed to the course of the progressive, or to its flow and development, but rather to what happened. The shift in emphasis from progression to termination suggested in (58) is a slight one. It is evident that with the occurrence of progressive 'sa' with the perfect tense participial complement verbs *bona* (see) and *utlwa* (hear) in (58), the focus is shifted from progression to culmination or termination. The appearance of the progressive aspect triggers a shift in the situation value of achievement.

### 3.2.2.11.6.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with progressive

The diagnostic test focuses on the occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* with the activity verbs such as *phaphamala* (floating) and *potoloha* (rotate) in (59):

- (59) a. *Setopo se sa phaphametse ka nokeng.*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The body is still floating in the river).
- b. *Lefatshe le sa potoloha letsatsi.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The earth is still revolving around the sun)

The occurrence of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* describes the ongoing meaning of both events in (59). The sentences present events of floating and revolving, which do not involve natural endpoints. Such interpretation can be seen as resting on the continuation of the events. The situation remains the same since there is no change of state or a change in position.

### 3.2.2.11.6.6 Performance verbs with progressive

The following events express the performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) with progressive morphemes 'sa/sa ntse' in (60):

- (60) a. *Bana ba sa bapala.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Children are still playing)
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba sa tantsha.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]. Activity  
(Girls and boys are still dancing)

Attention is concentrated on the very course of action of the event, its flow and development where the progressive is intentional. The event of *playing* and of *dancing* is in progress and the events may stop or terminate at any time and thus the final endpoints appear as arbitrary. However, the inclusion of the progressive aspect will not bring about any shift in situation type. The events are atelic.

### 3.2.2.11.6.7 Verbs of searching with progressive

The following sentences describe the compatibility between the verbs of searching *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still) in (61):

- (61) a. *Setsomi se sa tsoma.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The hunter is still hunting)
- b. *Matijhere a sa fuputsa dithethefatsi.*  
[-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Teachers are still investigating drugs)

The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* in (61) represents the meaning of the continuation of the events of *hunting* and of *investigating*. If the events are not interrupted, the events will denote the continuation until the events may stop or terminate at any time. The events remain atelic and there will be no shift in the event type.

### 3.2.2.11.6.8 Verbs involving the body with progressive

The following sentences explain the verbs which involve the body, eg. *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) with the progressive aspect 'sa/sa ntse' in (62):

- (62) a. *Lesea le sa hohlola.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(The baby is still coughing)
- b. *Ke sa ethimola.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am still sneezing)

The action of *coughing* and of *sneezing* is still in progress when communication takes place. Both activity events in (62) in combination with the progressive aspect '*sa/sa ntse*,' anticipate the idea of an endpoint which should be finished after a moment or instantly, after events are terminated which in turn may effect a shift in situation value of achievement. The occurrence of progressive *sa/sa ntse* demonstrates the meaning of ongoing action unless the act of coughing and sneezing happens once. The interpretation may be seen as that which relates to multiple-activities if the events involve repetition in the context of durative features.

### 3.2.2.11.6.9 Verbs of bodily care with progressive

The following sentences show the compatibility between the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still) with the activity verbs *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (63):

- (63) a. *Ke sa hlobola.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am still undressing)
- b. *Baithuti ba sa apara.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Students are still wearing)

The use of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still) in Sesotho determines the action of *undressing* and of *wearing* which is in progress at the moment of speech. They do not convey the idea that the actions are terminated or culminated. The activity events in the present tense are generally of a progressive nature, so the progressive aspect may not necessarily present a change of state since the events are in ongoing interpretation in the present tense (see Louwrens, 1996).

### 3.2.12 ACTIVITY-EVENT SHIFTS

Smith (1997) classifies activity verbs according to their conceptual temporal properties such as static/dynamic which provides the distinction relating to whether a situation type is static or in motion. Activity verbs are also classified into the category telicity – which has bearing on whether the verb can bring about a change of state or may be simply a process which does not bring about an outcome. On the other hand, a diagnostic test is based on establishing whether a verb can be durative i.e. the given situation type lasts for a certain period of time or instantaneous a situation type which can happen momentarily or instantaneously. This sub-section also demonstrates a shift in the activities with regard to their internal structure, the latter being expressed by the presence of temporal adverbials.

#### 3.2.12.1 Activity to Accomplishment

The following activity sentences express compatibility with independent, explicitly stated bounds (from 2 to 3). The temporal adverbial (from 2 to 3) processes have specific finite endpoints. The shifts will be demonstrated by the presence of temporal adverbials or other information. The shifted situation types are triggered by contextual factors pertaining to the situation. For instance, a sentence may have an adverbial which may have a different aspectual feature [ $\pm$ Durative] from a situation type.

##### 3.2.12.1.1 Motion verbs with temporally bounds

The following sentences demonstrate whether the punctual locating expression at *x time* which gives an event a temporally bound location at a particular point in time is compatible with perfect-tense activity verbs such as *mathile* (ran) and *kgasitse* (crawled) in (64):

- (64) a. *Pule o mathile [ho tloha ka 06h00 ho fihlela ka 12h30]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Pule ran from 06h00 until 12h30)

- b. *Ngwana o kgasitse [ho tloha ka 08h00 ho fihlela 08h30].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The baby crawled from 08h00 to 08h30)

In (64), when the activity occurs with a punctual adverb, the effect is to state that the activity began at a given temporal point and has a reading to the effect that *Pule began to run at 06h00 till 12h30* and ‘*The baby began to crawl at 08h00 till 08h30*’. The presence of temporal adverbials (*from x time to y time*) triggers the shift in reading from that of activity to accomplishments, because the events are temporally bound.

### 3.2.12.1.2 Communication verbs with temporal bounds

The following sentences test the compatibility of the punctual locating expression at *x time* which gives an event a temporally bound location at a particular point in time with present tense verbs of communication *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (65):

- (65) a. *Batho ba bua [ho tloha hoseng ho fihlela ba robala].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (People speak from morning until they sleep)
- b. *Basadi ba seba [pakeng tsa hora ya pele le ya bobedi]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Women gossip between one o'clock and two)

The temporal bounds [*ho tloha hoseng ho fihlela ba robala*] and [*pakeng tsa hora ya pele le ya bobedi*] place the events in (65) within the temporal period of a certain time, i.e., within a particular period of an hour (in 65b), and, consequently, the end of an event such as gossiping will be located within an hour, followed by a culmination/termination of the event. The temporally-bound adverbials trigger a shift in a situation value of accomplishment because the activity verbs accept adverbials of completion. The events are telic because they have specified final endpoints.

### 3.2.12.1.3 Weather verbs with temporal bounds

The following sentence tests compatibility of the presence of the punctual locating expression at *x time* which gives an event a temporal bound location at a particular point in time with present tense weather verbs *na* (rains) in *foka* (blow) in (66):

- (66) a. *Pula e na [hoseng ho fihlela motsheare].*  
 [-Static] [+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It rains in the morning until noon)
- b. *Moya o foka [ka hora ya bone ho fihlela ka ya bohlano].*  
 [-Static] [+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The wind blows at four until five o' clock)

In (66), the presence of the punctual adverbial shows that the event of *raining* will take place in the morning until noon. Similarly, the event of *blowing of the wind* will occur from four until five o'clock. Both events happen within a specified time. The occurrence of punctual adverbials expresses the shift in the reading of accomplishment hence they both have endpoints. The interpretation has shifted to telic events.

### 3.2.12.1.4 Physical perception with temporal bounds

The following sentence demonstrates the punctual locating expression at *x time* which gives an event a temporally bound location at a particular point in time with perfect tense activity verbs *bone* (saw) and *utlwile* (felt) in (67):

- (67) a. *Ke bone dikolobe [ka hora ya bone].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
 (I saw pigs at four o'clock) Accomplishment
- b. *Ke utlwile mohatsela [pakeng tsa 08h00 le 09h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I felt cold between 08h00 and 09h00)

The occurrence of the punctual temporal adverbial demonstrates boundedness with perfect tense activity verbs *bone* (saw) and *utlwile* (felt) in (67). The events of *seeing* and *of hearing* occurred at four o'clock and between eight and nine o'clock respectively. Both events in (67) have initial and final endpoints, and therefore they cannot continue. The temporally-bound adverbials trigger a shift in a situation type of accomplishment. Both events are telic.

### 3.2.12.1.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with temporal bounds

The following sentences demonstrate the punctual locating expression at *x time* which gives an event a temporally-bound location at a particular point in time with activity verbs *phaphametse* (float) and *potoloha* (rotate) in (68):

- (68) a. *Setopo se phaphametse nokeng [pakeng tsa 08h00 le 12h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The body was floating in the river between 08h00 to 12h00)
- b. *Lefatshe le potoloha letsatsi [pakeng tsa 12h00 le 24h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The earth rotates the sun between 12h00 and 24h00)

In (68), the activity events have a closed interpretation since they have initial and final endpoints because they occurred between specified times, (i.e., between 08h00 – 12h00 and between 12h00 – 24h00). This modality renders the events as telic. The inclusion of the temporally bound adverbials triggers the shift in event type of accomplishment.

### 3.2.12.1.6 Performance verbs with temporal bounds

The following sentences present a diagnostic test of the performance verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) with temporal bounds such as [*ka 14h00 ho fihlela ka 16h00*] and [*ka 19h00 ho fihlela ka 20h00*] in (69):

- (69) a. *Bana ba bapala [ka 14h00 ho fihlela ka 16h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Children play at 14h00 until 16h00)
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba tantsha [ka 19h00 ho fihlela 20h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Girls and boys dance at 19h00 till 20h00)

The events of *playing* and of *dancing* in (69) with temporal bounds are compatible with temporally-bound adverbials and the events feature specific finite endpoints. But they are unlike telic events because they do not involve a result or a change of position. They become derived accomplishments because the act of playing or dancing cannot continue beyond a specified time.

### 3.2.12.1.7 Verbs of searching with temporally bounds

The following sentences present a diagnostic test of the performance verbs *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) with temporal bounds [*ka meso ho fihlela ka thapama*] and [*ka 08h00 ho fihlela ka 10h00*] in (70):

- (70) a. *Setsomi se tsoma [ka meso ho fihlela ka thapama].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The hunter hunts in the morning until afternoon)
- b. *Matitjhere a fuputsa dithethefatsi sekolong [ka 08h00 ho fihlela ka 10h00].* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Teachers investigate drugs at school at 08h00 to 10h00)

In (70), the events have both initial and final endpoints which occur within the bounded time period. The events of hunting and of investigating occurred within a specified time and thus stand as temporally bounded events, i.e. (*ka meso ho fihlela ka thapama* and *ka 08h00 ho fihlela ka 10h00*). The events are telic since they are derived accomplishments although there is no change of state, or an outcome, unless more information is given at the moment of speech.

### 3.2.12.1.8 Verbs involving the body with temporal bounds

The following sentences explain the compatibility of temporally-bound adverbials with verbs involving bodily care *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) in (71):

- (71) a. *Lesea le hohlola [ho tloha ka 08h00 ho fihlela ka 08h15].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (A baby coughs as from 08h00 till 08h15)
- b. *Ke ethimola [ho tloha ka 07h00 hofihleha ka 07h15].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I sneeze as from 07h00 until 07h15)

The occurrence of temporally bounded adverbials are compatible with verbs which involve bodily care *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) in (71). Although there is no change of state or outcome after the baby coughed and after one had sneezed during a specified time, the events do culminate. Therefore, the events are of the derived-achievement category because of the temporally bounded process that occurred in the specification of time during the moment of speech.

### 3.2.12.1.9 Verbs of bodily care with temporal bounds

The following sentences express the compabiitiy of the temporally- bound adverbials with verbs of bodily care *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (72):

- (72) a. *Ke hlobola [ka 13h00 ho fihlela ka 13h10 ]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I undress as from 13h00 till 13h10)
- b. *Baithuti ba apara diaparo tsa sekolo [hoseng].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Students dress school uniform in the morning)

The occurrence of temporally-bound adverbials presents a shift in the situation-type of achievement. The event of undressing occurs within the boundaries of a specified time. The event of dressing also happens instantaneously, i.e., in the morning.

Therefore, both events are derived achievements, involving a change of position of the specified or unspecified object.

The activity events depend on whether the shifted verb may be durative; therefore the results may be those of derived accomplishment. If the event is one of achievement, then the event is instantaneous. It is argued that the temporally bounded processes did not bring about any change of state, or an outcome, except that the events are characterised by initial and final endpoints in which endpoint had to be to the termination or culmination of the events.

### 3.2.12.2 Activity to Accomplishment

According to Smith (1997:25), the inceptive focuses on the beginning of the event. Inceptive focus may be caused by *begin* or a punctual adverb *suddenly/instantly*. Completion is caused by *stop/finish*. The sentences will demonstrate a change of state with the use of inceptive *qala* (begin) and terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) in Sesotho grammar. Smith (1997:75) points out that the shifts allow the speaker to present a situation from more than one point of view. The focus will be on the lexical inceptive *qala* (begin) and completion adverbial *qeta* (finish) using the activity verbs. The syntactic evidence for a telic event usually turns on the factor of completion, which involves the interaction of duration and a change of state. The following sentences demonstrate an indirect change of state without the question of an outcome. However, the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is sometimes used to differentiate between two situation types, those of activities and accomplishments.

#### 3.2.12.2.1 Motion verbs with inceptive/completion

The completion morpheme *qeta* (finish/stop) demonstrates the shifted or derived situation type with infinitive complementary activity sentences in (73):

- (73) a. *Pule o qetile ho matha.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Pule stopped running)
- b. *Ngwana o qetile ho kgasa.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The baby stopped crawling)

In (73), the focus is on the super-lexical morpheme *qetile* (finished/stopped) which presents a narrow point of view, rather than the whole activity event with a full view of the motion verbs *matha* (run) and *kgasa* (crawl). The adverbial verb of completion *qetile* (finished) presents a final point and triggers a shift in the situation value of accomplishment/achievement depending on the event, and with an unstated goal involved. In (73), the important factor is the telic event of finishing *running* and *crawling* because they have a natural final point.

### 3.2.12.2.2 Communication verbs with inceptive/completion

The completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) demonstrates the shifted or derived situation type with infinitive complementary activity verbs *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (74):

- (74) a. *Batho ba qetile ho bua.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(People finished speaking)
- b. *Basadi ba qetile ho seba.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Women finished gossiping)

The communication events *bua* (speak) and *seba* (gossip) in (74), combined with the completion adverb *qetile* (finished) present a transition from a state of affairs to a process which ceases, and ends as a state. The super-lexical morpheme *qetile* (finished) shifts the situation type by producing a shifted situation type of accomplishment. For this reason, the acts of *talking* and of *gossiping* cannot continue. In (74), the important factor is the telic event of finishing ‘the talking’ and ‘the gossiping’. This involves a natural final point though there is no change of state or outcome.

### 3.2.12.2.3 Weather verbs with inceptive/completion

The following sentences focus on the weather verbs *na* (rain) and *foka* (blow) with the completive morpheme *qetile* (finished) in (75):

- (75) a. *Pula e qetile ho na.* [-Static] [+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(It finished raining)
- b. *Moya o qetile ho foka.* [-Static] [+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The wind stopped blowing)

In (75), the focus is on the adverbial of completion *qetile* (finished) which results in taking the event to its final point. In (75), the important factor is the telic event of finishing *raining* and *blowing*, which has a natural final point. The super-lexical morpheme *qetile* (finished) triggers a shift in the situation value of accomplishment because the event ‘*raining*’ and the event ‘*blowing*’ possess an initial point and a natural final endpoint. The terminative adverbial *qetile* (finish) does not indicate the rate at which the actual event was accomplished or terminated.

#### 3.2.12.2.4 Physical perception with inceptive/completion

The following sentences express the compatibility between the complementary activity *bona* (see) and *utlwa* (hear) with the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) in (76):

- (76) a. *Ke qala ho bona dikolobe.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I begin seeing pigs)
- b. *Ke qala ho utlwa modumo wa koloi.*  
[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Activity  
(I begin hearing the sound of the car)

Inceptives have explicit super-lexical verbs like *qala* (begin) in (76) and do not describe changes of state or outcomes. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) may in effect present an activity indirectly because it focuses on the beginning of the state of *seeing* and the state of *hearing*. The receiver may understand that (a) the activity continues, and (b) the event may stop arbitrarily. The event is atelic.

### 3.2.12.2.5 Verbs of existing involving motion with inceptive/completion

The following sentences with the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) are compatible with verbs of existing involving motion *phaphamala* (floating) and *potoloha* (revolve) in (77):

- (77) a. *Setopo se qala ho phaphamala nokeng.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The body is starting to float in the river)
- b. *Lefatshe le qala ho potoloha letsatsi.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (The earth starts to revolve around the sun)

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begins), alongside the activity events describing verbs of existing involving motion, does not refer to any change of state. Hence the inceptive morpheme indicates only a state of departure of an activity event. The atelic event may have an arbitrary final point. Activities refer to a situation which has a beginning but no final endpoints. The event of *floating* and of *revolving* may stop at any time and there is no change of state or the presence of an outcome.

### 3.2.12.2.6 Performance verbs with inceptive/completion

The following sentences constitute a diagnostic test on the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) with the infinitive complementary activity verbs *bapala* (play) and *tantsha* (dance) in (78):

- (78) a. *Bana ba qetile ho bapala.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Children finished playing)
- b. *Banana le bashemane ba qetile ho tantsha.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Girls and boys finished dancing)

In (78), the terminative verb *qetile* (finished) marks the beginning of the activity event, which provides an interpretation of the end process of *bapala* and of *tantsha*. The events reach the final endpoints because they cannot continue. Hence *children*

*finished playing* and *boys and girls finished dancing*. The terminative morpheme *qetile* (finished) does not bring about a change of state since there is no actual time marker for the completion of an activity event.

### 3.2.12.2.7 Verbs of searching with inceptive/completion

The following sentences involve a diagnostic test based on the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) with the infinitive, and focusing on the complementary activity *tsoma* (hunt) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (79):

- (79) a. *Setsomi se qetile ho tsoma.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] derived-Activity  
 (The hunter finished hunting)
- b. *Matitjhere a qetile ho fuputsa dithethefatsi sekolong.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Teachers finished investigating drugs at schools)

In (79), the terminative verb [*qeta*] is at the beginning of the activity event which gives the interpretation of a final endpoint to the activity event of *hunting* and *investigating*. Without any information to the contrary, the receiver could understand that the activity of searching and of investigating ended, but will not receive any information about an outcome, although the event is telic in character.

### 3.2.12.2.8 Verbs involving the body with inceptive/completion

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) which is compatible with the infinitive complementary activity verbs *hohlola* (cough) and *ethimola* (sneeze) in (80):

- (80) a. *Lesea le qetile ho hohlola.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (A baby finished undressing)
- b. *Ke qetile ho ethimola.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I finished sneezing)

The completion verb *qetile* (finished) is at the beginning of the activity event which provides the semantics of the telic events of *coughing* and *sneezing*, and these events result in the finishing point of the event. There is no change of state depending on the durative of these sentences. For instance, if the act of coughing occurred within seconds, then there would be a change of state to the situation value of achievement.

### 3.2.12.2.9 Verbs of bodily care with inceptive

The terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is used as a diagnostic test to investigate the infinitive complementary activity verbs *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (81):

- (81) a. *Ke qetile ho hlobola.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(I finished undressing)
- b. *Baithuti ba qetile ho apra.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Students finished wearing)

The terminative verb *qeta* (finish) demonstrates a completed event with activity verbs *hlobola* (undress) and *apara* (wear) in (81). The occurrence of the terminative verb *qeta* (finish) triggers a shift in the situation value of Achievement because the event of *undressing* and *wearing* occurred instantaneously. There is a change of position but no outcome is evident.

### 3.2.12.3. Summary on the inceptive *qala* (begin) and terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) with activity verbs

In the above presentations, the activity events with the inceptive adverbial [*qala/qeta*] focus on the beginning of the situation types and produce the situation type as illustrated in (72 to 81). If the focus is on the completion verb *qeta* (finish), the activity events will have final points which involve telic events. The focus of these sentences (73 to 81) is on what Smith calls the “super-lexical morpheme”. These sentences present events which form a narrow point of view, rather than offering a full view of the basic-level verb constellation.

However, the activity events depend on whether the shifted verb may be durative or instantaneous; therefore the results may be accomplishment if the event is durative and/or achievement if it is instantaneous (see sentence 76). In (73 to 76) and (78 to 81), the final point is telic, as it constitutes a change to a new state of affairs, or the completion of an event, while in (77), the event will emerge from a state and there is no shift in situation type. In (77), the inceptive understanding of an activity event has no impact on the alteration of the situation type. The situation type remains an atelic event.

### 3.3 ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Parsons (1990) argues that an accomplishment is an event that consists often of both a development portion and a culmination. For example, in the sentence *Mary builds a bookcase*, Parsons argues that there is a period of time during which the building is going on – constituting the development portion of the sentence,- and then, *if she finishes* , there is a time at which the bookcase finally gets built, which constitutes the time of culmination. Accomplishments consist of a process which has an outcome or change of state and the change marks the completion of the process (Smith (1997:27). Thus, accomplishment events are culminated processes with a temporal extension and a consequent state (Moens and Steedman (1988:17).

In a sub-section of this chapter, the analysis of the situation type accomplishment in Sesotho will be undertaken, and in addition, *for*-phrase and *in*-phrase adverbials are implemented as diagnostic tests for accomplishments. Features of telicity and the progressive will function as diagnostic contexts. Despite the semantic characteristic of accomplishment situation type, the sentences may provide the information regarding completion or non-completion due to the addition of *bare nouns* or the exclusion of an object and *time-adverbs*. Accomplishments take various forms. The diagnostics test is used with verbs of creation, verbs of source of transformation, and growth verbs, verbs of consumption, and verbs of motion, to investigate changes of state in a situation type.

### 3.3.1 Verb classes of accomplishment events

Verb classes of accomplishments have natural endpoints. Accomplishments may involve a completion or a process which cannot continue beyond a certain point. They involve a change of state and result in the occurrence of a new state.

#### 3.3.1.1 Verbs of creation: *aha* (build), *pheha*, (cook), *ngola buka* (write a book), *loha* (knit)

Levin (1993) points out that, verbs of creation describe the formulation of a product through the transformation of raw materials. She points out that these verbs describe the bringing about of a change of state in the entity and participate in the causative alternation.

The sentences in (82) describe a situation which involves changes of state as a result of a completed action *hahile ntlo* (built a house) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (82):

- |      |    |   |                |
|------|----|---|----------------|
| (82) | a. | <i>Ntate o hahile ntlo.</i> [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]<br>(Father built a house)      | Accomplishment |
|      | b. | <i>Maphalla o ngola buka.</i> [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]<br>(Maphalla writes a book)  | Accomplishment |
|      | c. | <i>Maphalla o ngola dibuka.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Maphalla writes books) | Activity       |

In (82a) accomplishments consist of a process and an outcome, thus *ntlo* (a house). The accomplishment event has moved towards a final point, or culmination, and can thus be identified as a telic point. The process of building is over when the house is finished. Let us suppose that the house may not be completed. For instance, if father begins building a house but for some reason the lightning struck the house when he was putting in the roofing, then the event of *hahile ntlo* remains unfinished, or has never ended, although the process has terminated. On the other hand, in (82b) the process component of an accomplishment is essential to the event: *Maphalla o ngola buka*. The accomplishment is the *buka* (a book) but the actual writing of the book that denotes the process cannot be omitted. However, the writing

of a book proceeds towards completion of the writing process, thus constituting the final endpoint. However, the verb *ngola* (write) is found in both activities as in (82c) where a direct object takes the form of bare plural nouns and accomplishment event descriptions as in (82a) and (82b) where a direct object is a countable noun. The situation type classification of sentences with the verb *ngola* (write) is determined by both the presence and the nature of their direct object, although there is a shift of meaning in the plural form of the noun. In (82c), the sentence represents an atelic activity event.

**3.3.1.2 Verbs of consumption with NP:** *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk), *ja apole* (eat apple)

According to Levin, the above class is associated with the ingestion of food or drink. She points out that the meaning of these verbs involves the complete consumption of something. Du Plessis (1999:241) makes a clear distinction between the nominal semantics of count versus mass. As he points out, a mass noun refers to undifferentiated substances in our daily experience such as *lebese* (milk), while *kgalase ya lebese* (a glass of milk) is a countable noun.

The verbs of consumption in (83) involve countable noun objects whereby the action is completed. On the other hand, the same verbs of consumption focus on the mass objects of transitive verbs where an action can continue until it stops.

- (83) a. (i) *Oaratwa o nwa kgalase ya lebese.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Oaratwa drinks a glass of milk)
- (ii) *Oaratwa o nwa lebese.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Oaratwa drinks milk)
- b. (i) *Mafedile o ja apole e le nngwe.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Mafedile eats one apple)
- (ii) *Mafedile o ja diapole.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (IMafedile eats apples)

In (83), the accomplishment events make significant contributions to the meaning of the whole to indicate that an accomplishment is intended. When a process with a natural final endpoint reaches its outcome such as *nwele kgalase ya lebese* and *jele apole*, the event is completed and cannot continue. If one has finished the glass of milk, or eating an apple, the event is complete. Thus, the notion of completion is applicable. The process which is finished i.e. the process to which reference is being made, is one that proceeds towards a climax, a logical culmination, or natural terminal point, eg the process of deciding is an accomplishment, which has as its terminal point the event of reaching a decision. However, *kgalase ya lebese* (a glass of milk) is perceived as an individuated object and it is classified as a count noun (Du Plessis (1999)). For countable items, a proper part is not an instance of the whole, and they are more specific in character eg *kgalase ya lebese*. Thus, the entities referred to by the object NPs make accomplishment events telic and countable. Accomplishment verbs in (83a.ii) and (83b.ii), take mass-noun direct objects which are substituted for the definite direct object. These behave like activities with a definite plural direct object or mass noun; in cases such as the above, events will be atelic in character, and the final endpoint will be arbitrary (See Mourelatos 1981:204).

### 3.3.1.3 Verbs of sending: *roma* (send), *posa* (post)

Levin (1993) classifies these verbs as causing an entity to change a location, with the entity moving unaccompanied by an agent. She cites Pinker's (1989) view that the motion is mediated by a separation in time and space and sometimes bridged by a particular means of transfer. For instance, the send verb below has the property of change in location and results in the transfer of possession.

The sentences in (84) focus on the verbs of sending such as *roma* (send) and *posa* (post) and as a result there will be a change in location which will result in transfer of possession:

- (84) a. *Ke roma ngwana lebekeleng.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I send a child to the shop)
- b. *Ke posa lengolo.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I post a letter)

In (84) accomplishment events result in a change of state, but the change seems to occur as a change of position. There are, however, sentences that describe a state of affairs possessing the property of a particular culmination which is associated with a change of position and not necessarily a change of state.

#### 3.3.1.4. Motion verbs without NP: *fihla* (arrive), *baleha* (flee)

Levin (1993) argues that motion verbs describe the displacement of an object in a particular manner or means. No specific direction of the motion is implied unless they occur within an exact directional phrase.

The following motion verbs *fihlile* (arrived) and *balehile* (flew) describe the change of location from a specified location and the results will describe an unspecified place, as sentences in (84) demonstrate:

- (84) a. *Modulasetulo o fihlile*. [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The chairperson arrived)
- b. *Batshwaruwa ba balehile*. [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Prisoners flew)

Sentences in (83) indicate telic events, in which the event of *arriving* and *escaping* reach a completion. If the event covers a certain amount of space, for instance, *fihlile* (arrived) or *balehile* (flew) at an unspecified new location in (84), then the notion of completion is applicable. On the other hand, the events in *modulasetulo o fihlile* and *batshwaruwa ba balehile* also cover a certain space, i.e., the prisoners have left an original space (i. e., detention centre), and they are at a new location, which is unspecified. Both events are telic.

#### 3.3.1.5 Motion verbs with locative argument NP: *kena* (enter), *ya* (go)

According to Levin, these verbs describe the manner in which an animate entity can move. The verb *kena* (enter) may be found in the locative inversion and a directional phrase may occur while the verb *ya* (go) does not specify a manner of motion, but it

implies that the motion that has taken place is a motion away from a location. Levin (1993) argues that the direct object of these verbs is understood to be the location that has been departed from, or included.

The following motion verbs *kena* (enter) and *ya* (go) with locative NP indicate the directional phrase where the events in (85) reach an outcome:

- (85) a. *Ke kena [ngakeng].* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I enter in the surgery)
- b. *Ke ya Maseru.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I go to Maseru)

The expressions in (85), indicate a certain amount of space which one covers in order to arrive at a new location, eg at *ngakeng* in (85a) and *Maseru* in (85b). These events are completed because the final location has been reached. They are therefore telic events.

### 3.3.1.6. Verbs of motion and carrying: *kganna* (drive), *palame* (ride)

The sentences in (86) focus on the verbs of motion and carrying *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) which express events that move towards a finishing point:

- (86) a. *Ntate o kganna kolo.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Father drives the car)
- b. *Mohlankana o palama pere.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(A young man rode a horse)

Sentences in (86) have properties associated with durative and for this reason the event of *kganna kolo* (drive a car) reaches the final endpoint when the driver stops or terminates the driving, similarly when the young man stops riding a horse in (86b), the event of *palama pere* is terminated and/or completed and cannot continue.

### 3.3.1.7 Verbs of cooking: *pheha* (cook), *duba* (knead)

According to Levin (1993), the verb describes the transformation of an entity from one form into another, bringing about a change of state in an entity. This verb is what causes the affected object to undergo a change of state because of the cook verbs.

The following sentences describe the change of state of the accomplishment events with verbs of cooking *pheha* (cook) and *duba* (knead) in (87)

- (87) a. *Mme o pheha leqa la nama.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Mother cooks a piece of meat)
- b. *Ngwetsi e dubile polokwe ya maqebelekwane.*  
[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Daughter-in-law kneaded dough of dumpling)

The verb *pheha* (cook) characterizes the patient as a measure, while recognizing that the event in (87) its temporal terminus or completion is achieved by progressing along measurable degrees of change in some property central to the verb's meaning, i.e., *pheha* (cook). It is not the actual extent of the direct object that is relevant to the event, but its change of state, hence accomplishment in the event consists of a process and a transition, therefore accomplishment is finite and telic.

### 3.3.1.8 Verbs of cutting: *seha* (cut), *poma* (cut)

According to Levin, this verb involves the notion of motion, contact and effect. She refers to Hale and Keyser's (1987) view that these verbs mean a separation in material integrity and also include specification concerning the instrument or means used to bring about the result.

The following sentences define the accomplishment verb *seha* (cut) and *poma* (chip) in (88). The accomplishment verb presents a natural final endpoint that reaches an outcome and the events cannot therefore continue. It thus constitutes a completed event:

- (88) a. *Raselakga o seha nama.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The butcher cuts the meat)
- b. *Mosebeletsi o pomme monwana wa hae.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]  
(The worker chipped his finger) Accomplishment

The change of state of an accomplishment takes various forms but some states of affairs obtain over and above others, which may comprise the performance of subservient tasks or activities. In (88), the meat is being cut into small pieces and the chipped finger in its new state has affected the object, hence telic events may bring about a result involving a newly constructed or affected object.

### 3.3.2. Diagnostics for accomplishment events

The investigative test of accomplishment events in Sesotho focuses on the temporal structure of the event. Change of state, dynamism and duration are the properties that distinguish the event type (Smith 1997:65). Change of state is one of the most important characteristics of accomplishment events. These are tested to determine whether they are compatible with temporal adverbials such as *hora* (for an hour), *ka hora* (in an hour), completive adverbial *qetile* (finished) and progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still).

#### 3.3.2.1 Features of telicity

Accomplishment verbs are tested with *hora* (for-phrase) to see whether they are compatible in an event. The verb is the aspectual centre of a sentence and is based on its aspectual distribution to a simple sentence. At the end of the hour the final change of state occurred that constituted the completion of the event.

##### 3.3.2.1.1 Verbs of creation with [hora]

The temporal adjunct [*hora*] functions as an exploratory test in conjunction with accomplishment verbs of creation *haha* (build) and *ngola* (write) in (89):

- (89) a. *Ntate o hahile ntlo [dilemo tse pedi].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father built a house over two years)
- b. *Maphalla o ngola buka [kgwedi].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Maphalla writes a book for a month)

The sentence in (89a), is compatible with adverbial *hora* (for an hour). These types of sentences behave like activities though they interpret the reading of accomplishment. The accomplishment event of *hahile ntlo* (build a house) is reached and completed even if does not indicate a time adverbial, hence the house was built over two years. Similarly, the act of writing a book has a final endpoint because the writing of the book was not omitted at any stage of the writing process during a period of a month.

### 3.3.2.1.2 Verbs of consumption with [hora]

The following sentences with verbs of consumption *nwa* (drink) and *ja* (eat) in the perfect tense test compatibility with the temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) in (90):

- (90) a. *Oaratwa o nwele kgalase ya lebese [motsotso].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Oaratwa drank a glass of milk for a minute)
- b. *Mafedile o jele apole [metsotso e mehlano].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Mafedile ate an apple for five minutes)

The sentences in (90) present an accomplishment event of completion because the situation focuses on the entire event from the beginning of the event to its final endpoint. The temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with the accomplishment events and provides an interpretation of telic events in (90a) and (90b). The direct object is specified for quantity as *kgalase ya lebese* (glass of milk)

and *apole* (apple), and expresses the telic accomplishment sentences with the notion of a resultative or completion.

### 3.3.2.1.3 Verbs of motion with [hora]

The sentences in (91) test whether the accomplishment verbs *tshela* (cross) and *balehile* (escaped) are compatible with the temporal adverbial [hora]:

- (91) a. *Ngwana o tshela seterata [motsotso].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The child cross the street for an hour)
- b. *Batshwaruwa ba balehile [hora tse nne] tjhankaneng.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Prisoners escaped from prison for four hours)

An accomplishment is an event that results in a change of state but the change seems to occur as a change of position. For instance in (91a), the verb *tshela* (cross) has the property of change in location and results in a transfer of position. In (91b), the accomplishment verb is compatible with *hora* (for an hour) because the prisoners have escaped from prison and reached their unspecified location, with the result of completion. The temporal adjunct [hora] does not have impact on the accomplishment verb *balehile* (escaped). The motion mediates a separation in time and space and sometimes bridges a particular means of transfer.

### 3.3.2.1.4 Verbs of motion with NP [hora]

Temporal adjunct [hora] functions as an investigating test with accomplishment verbs of motion *mathetse* (went) and *ya* (go) in the following accomplishment events:

- (92) a. *Thabo o mathetse ngakeng [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Thabo ran to the doctor for an hour)
- b. *Ke ya Maseru [hora].* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I go to Maseru for an hour)

In the above sentences, accomplishment verbs *mathetse* (gone) and *ile* (gone) convey the meaning of completion of an event to specified location, i.e., *ngakeng* and *Maseru* respectively. They express a telic event. Accomplishments in (92) are compatible with temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) although they behave like activities. If an outcome of accomplishment is reached i.e. (*ngakeng* and *Maseru*), it follows that the process (*mathetse* and *ya*) occurred. However, if the process occurs one cannot infer its outcome as in (92). Following Smith (1997:156), in cases where *for*-adverbial and a situation are compatible, the adverbial contributes information about the location of situations. Semantically, this information is external to the situation type of a sentence.

### 3.3.2.1.5 Verbs of motion and carrying with [hora]

The following sentences demonstrate whether the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *kganna* (drive) and *palame* (ride) in (93):

- (93) a. *Ntate o kganna kolo [hora].* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Father drives the car for an hour)
- b. *Mohlankana o palame pere [hora].*  
[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(A young man rode a horse for an hour)

The information given by the accomplishment verbs *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) convey the meaning of completion. For instance, one cannot say *father drives the car* without driving it for even less than an hour. The driving has produced a telic meaning; hence he may not continue driving it. Similarly, if one has ridden a horse for an hour, this would indicate a change of position. The occurrence of temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not change the situation type of a sentence, but it contributes information which is external to the situation type.

### 3.3.2.1.6 Verbs of cooking [with]

The following sentences show whether the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is compatible with verbs of cooking *pheha* (cook) and *dubile* (kneaded) in (94):

- (94) a. *Mme o pheha leqa la nama [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Mother cooks a piece of meat for an hour)
- b. *Ngwetsi e dubile polokwe ya maqebelekwane [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Daughter-in-law kneaded dough of dumpling for an hour)

The accomplishment events impose restriction on the form of time adverbials, and they may also involve entailments when various time adverbials phrases are present as indicated in (94a) and (94b). After any hour, the *cooking* and *kneading* will be completed then the accomplishment verbs *pheka* (cook) and *dubile* (kneaded) express a change of state in the situation type within a sentence. Semantically, the information contributed by temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is internal to the situation type of a sentence; hence it triggers a shift in the situation-type Activity. On the other hand, the information it contributes is external to the situation type of a sentence. The events are telic in nature.

### 3.3.2.1.7 Verbs of cutting with [hora]

The sentences below test whether the accomplishment verbs *seha* and *poma* take the temporal adverbials [*hora*]:

- (95) a. *Raselakga o seha nama [hora].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The butcher cuts the meat for an hour)
- b. *Mosebeletsi o pomme monwana wa hae [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The worker chipped his finger for a minute)

The change of state of an accomplishment can occur in various ways but some states of affairs obtain over and above that which consists in the performance of a subservient task or activity. In (95a), the meat is being cut into pieces while in (95b) the worker's finger is being cut. The new state has affected the object and with any temporal adjunct *motsotso* (for a minute) the event is unusual - but telic events may bring about the result of a constructed or affected object. The verbs of cutting *seha* (cut) and *poma* (chip) express a change of state. The presence of the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is not contrary to the information given by the lexical verbs of cutting.

### 3.3.2.2. Accomplishment verbs with *ka hora* (in an hour) phrase

This sub-section tests whether temporal adjunct *ka hora* (in an hour), and/or locative noun phrase *horeng* (in an hour) are compatible with accomplishment events. Smith (1997:157) points out that, completive adverbials locate an event at an interval during which the event is completed; the events are atelic in terms of the aspectual value of a situation type.

#### 3.3.2.2.1 Verbs of motion with [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences demonstrate whether the adverbial prepositional phrase *ka hora* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *hahile ntlo* (built a house) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (96):

- (96) a. *Ntate o hahile ntlo [ka dilemo tse pedi/dilemong tse pedi].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father built a house (with)in two years)
- b. *Maphalla o ngola buka [ka kgwedi/kgweding].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Maphalla writes a book (with)in a month)

In (96a), the process of building a house occurred within a period of two years and an outcome was reached. A change of state occurs and the building of the house cannot continue. Similarly in (96b), if Maphalla writes a book, when he finishes the

final act of writing, the book is complete. The notion of completion is determined by the defining properties of telic events, thus the adverbial, which functions in the locating of the endpoint of the event *dilemong tse pedi* (within two years), which produces a final endpoint. Both events are telic.

### 3.3.2.2.2 Verbs of location with [ka hora/horeng]

The sentences analyse whether the accomplishment verbs *mathetse* (ran) and *ya* (go) are compatible with the temporal adverbials *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) in (97):

- (97) a. *Ke mathetse ngakeng [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I ran to the doctor (with)in an hour)
- b. *Ke ya Maseru [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [Stati[c][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I go to Maseru (with)in an hour)

In (97), the accomplishment events are compatible with the temporal adjunct *ka horahoreng* (in an hour) because the adverbial locates the telic point of the event at the end of the time specified. These verbs, which describe movement, behave like accomplishment verbs when they occur with either locative destination markers like *ngakeng* and *Maseru*. The change of position that characterizes accomplishment events are described by noun phrase *ngakeng* and *Maseru* respectively. The occurrence of adverbial phrase *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) expresses a completion of event during a specification of time because not all accomplishments are completed.

### 3.3.2.2.3 Verbs of demolish with [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences analyse whether the temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *qhaqhile* (destroyed) and *balehile* (escaped) in (98):

- (98) a. *Ntate o qhaqhile mokhukhu [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father destroy a shack (with)in an hour)
- b. *Batshwaruwa ba heleheditse lebota [ka hora tse nne/horeng tse nne].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Prisoners demolished a wall (with)in four hours)

The sentences in (98) are compatible with the temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour). The verb *qhaqha* (destroy) and *heletsa* (demolish) have the meaning of completion. The event in (98) focuses on *destroying* and *demolishing* within a specified time. The new state of affairs may affect an object which undergoes a change. The temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) does not necessarily express a change of state, but rather the completion of an event which occurs within a specified period of time.

#### 3.3.2.2.4 Verbs of motion with locative NP [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences analyse whether temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *kena* (enter) and *ya* (go) in (99):

- (99) a. *Ke kena ngakeng [ka hora/ horeng]*  
 .[-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I enter a surgery (with)in an hour)
- b. *Ke ya Maseru [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I go to Maseru (with)in an hour)

The sentence containing the verb *kena* (enter) may be found in the locative inversion and a directional phrase may occur with the temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour), thus the completion results avail. In (99b), the temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with the accomplishment verb *ya* (go). The occurrence of the temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) does not specify a manner of motion but rather involves motion in a certain direction which will express a final endpoint. Both accomplishment events involve a change of position.

### 3.3.2.2.5 Verbs of motion and carrying with [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences express whether temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) in (100):

- (100) a. *Ntate o kganna koloi [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father drives the car (with)in an hour)
- b. *Mohlankana o palama pere [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (A young man rides a horse (with)in an hour)

The occurrence of temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) extends the lexical span of a verb by giving information about durative, and telic, as in the event of *kganna koloi ka hora/horeng* which reaches the final endpoint within an hour. Similarly in (100b), when the young man stops riding a horse, the event of *palama pere ka hora/horeng* will be completed within an hour and cannot continue. Both the events are telic.

### 3.3.2.2.6 Verbs of cooking with temporal adjunct [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences state whether temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *pheha* (cook) and *dubile* (kneaded) in (101):

- (101) a. *Mme o pheha leqa la nama [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Mother cooks a piece of meat (with)in an hour)
- b. *Ngwetsi e dubile polokwe ya maqebelekwane [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Daughter-in-law kneaded dough of dumpling (with)in an hour)

The verbs of cooking *pheha* (cook) and *dubile* (kneaded) in (101) present a change of state from the state of being raw to the state of being cooked. In (101a) and (101b), the verb *pheha* (cook) and *duba* (knead) describe the transformation of an entity from one form to another to bring about a change of state to an entity. The events are taken as being completed and telic hence they finished within an hour.

### 3.3.2.2.7 Verbs of cutting with temporal adjunct [ka hora/horeng]

The following sentences express whether temporal adjunct *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *seha* (cut) and *poma* (chip) in (102):

- (102) a. *Raselakga o seha nama [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The butcher cuts the meat (with)in an hour)
- b. *Mosebeletsi o poma monwana wa hae [ka motsotso/motsotsong].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The worker is chipping his finger in an hour)

In (102, the verbs *seha* (cut) and *poma* (chip) demonstrate a separation in material integrity and include specification concerning an affected area to bring about the result, and a change of state. The notion of completion is described by the temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) because telic events happen within a specified time.

### 3.3.2.3. Accomplishment with expressions of completion with *qeta* (finish)

In the following sentences, accomplishment events express a diagnostic test of whether the durative *ka hora* (for an hour) is compatible with the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish).

### 3.3.2.3.1 Verbs of creation with *qeta* and *ka* - NP

The accomplishment verbs *haha* (build) and *ngola* (write) demonstrate whether the events are compatible with the completive adverb *qetile* (finished) and temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) in (103):

- (103) a. *Ntate o qetile ho haha ntlo [ka dilemo tse pedi/dilemong tse pedi].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father finished building a house in two years)
- b. *Maphalla o qetile ho ngola buka [ka kgwedi/kgwedding].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Maphalla finished writing a book within a month)

In (103), the focus is on the super–lexical verb *qetile* (finished) which indicates completion. The occurrence of a temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) demonstrates that the act of *building a house* in (103a) is finished or completed within two years and the act of *writing a book* in (103b) is also completed within a month.

### 3.3.2.3.2 Verbs of consumption with *qeta* and *ka* - NP

The accomplishment verbs *nwa* (drink) and *ja* (eat) demonstrate whether the events are compatible with the completive adverb *qetile* (finished) and the temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) in (104):

- (104) a. *Ngwana o qetile ho nwa kgalase ya lebese [ka motsotso/motsotsong].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] Achievement  
 (A child has finished drinking a glass of milk within a minute)
- b. *Ke qeta ho ja apole [ka metsotso e mmedi/metsotsong e mmedi].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] Achievement  
 (I just finished eating an apple within two minutes)

The accomplishment situation type in (104) is compatible with the super–lexical verb *qetile* (finished) which shows the intention of reaching a goal or an outcome. The occurrence of the temporal adverbial *ka motsotso/motsotsong* (in a minute) triggers a

shift in situation type Achievements. The accomplishment events in (104) happen within a minute. They therefore present telic events and have the properties associated with completion.

### 3.3.2.3.3 Verbs of sending with *qeta* and with *ka* - NP:

The following sentences investigate the compatibility of the super-lexical *qeta* (finish) with accomplishment verbs *mathela* (run to) and *ya* (go) with adverbial [*ka hora/horeng*] in (105):

- (105) a. *Ke qeta ho mathela lebekeleng [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I have just ran to the shop in an hour)
- b. *Ke qeta ho ya Maseru [ka 08h00 hoseng]*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I have just went to Maseru at 08h00 in the morning)

The completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with accomplishment events. One of the characteristics is compatibility with verbs and adverbials of completion that denote a change of state. The super-lexical verb *qeta* (finish) focuses on the final endpoint of the event. The accomplishments present a change of state within the internal structure and a change is represented by the final point of the event as in arriving at *the shop* and in *Maseru* at a specific point in time.

### 3.3.2.3.4. Motion verbs with *qeta* and with *ka* - NP

The following sentences investigate the compatibility of the super-lexical *qeta* (finish) with infinitive accomplishment verbs *fihla* (arrive) and *baleha* (flee), alongside the adverbial [*ka hora/horeng*] (106):

- (106) a. *Modulasetulo o qeta ho fihla [hoseng ].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The chairperson has just arrived in morning)

- b. *Batshwaruwa ba qeta ho baleha tjhankaneng [ka 16h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Prisoners just fled from prison at 16h00)

The super-lexical *qeta* (finish) is associated with telic events and compatible with the temporal adjunct *hoseng* (in the morning) and the adverbial *ka 16h00* (at 16h00) respectively in (106). In (106), the accomplishment verbs of *arriving* and of *fleeing* indicate the change of location to an unspecified location. There is a change of position and the events are telic.

### 3.3.2.3.5. Motion verbs with *qeta* with a locative argument *ka* – NP

The sentences investigate whether the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) with accomplishment verbs *kena* (enter) and *ya* (go) in (107):

- (107) a. *Ke qeta ho kena ngakeng [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I just entered into the doctor in an hour)
- b. *Ke qeta ho ya Maseru [ka 08h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (I just went to Maseru at 08h00)

The completion morpheme [*qeta*] in (107) is not associated with the feature ‘finish’ but rather with the meaning of reporting. Even though the action of *kena* (entering) and *ya* (going) is affected, they do not affect the locative argument *ngakeng* and *Maseru* respectively to indicate completion, and also, perhaps, reporting.

### 3.3.2.3.6. Verbs of motion and carrying with *qeta* and with *ka* - NP

The sentences describe whether the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with the temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour), combined with accomplishment verbs *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) in (108):

- (108) a. *Ntate o qeta ho kganna kolo [ka hora/horeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father just finished driving the car within an hour)
- b. *Mohlankana o qeta ho palama pere [ka 10h00].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (A young man just finished riding a horse at 10h00)

In (108), on the basis of the information given, the completion morpheme [*qeta*] is associated with the feature of completion. The completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with accomplishment verbs *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) in (108a) and (108b). The events of *driving a car* and *of riding a horse* are respectively terminated within an hour and at 10h00. The accomplishments involve a process and not a change of state.

### 3.3.2.3.7 Verbs of growing with *qeta* and *ka* – NP

The sentences demonstrate whether the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with temporal adverbial *ka hora/horeng* (in an hour) with the accomplishment verb *hola* (grow) in (110):

- (110) a. *\*Ngwana o qetile ho hola [ka selemo].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The child finished growing within a year)
- b. *?Dimela di qeta ho hola [ka kgwedj].*  
 [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Plants just finished growing within a month)

The accomplishment verb *hola* (grow) is semantically incompatible with the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish). The interpretation in (110b) is semantically acceptable with the verb *hola* (grow) because of the use of the verb *to grow* [-human] feature. The plants may grow in the period of a month. Therefore, the occurrence of super-lexical *qeta* (finish) indicates the final endpoint of the event. The event is telic.

### 3.3.3 Accomplishment with verbs of time: take+time

The accomplishment covers the span of the event beginning with the initial and ending with the final endpoint. The temporal modification “how long” and “take” demonstrate the cumulativity of accomplishments. The following accomplishment sentences investigate compatibility with the temporal properties “how long” and “take”.

#### 3.3.3.1. Verbs of creation with verbs of time and NP

The following sentences test the compatibility of the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of creation *haha ntlo* (build a house) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (111):

- (111) a. *Ho nkile ntate [dilemo tse pedi] ho haha ntlo.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took father two years to build a house)
- b. *Ho nkile Maphalla [kgwedi] ho ngola buka*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took Maphalla a month to write a book)

The interpretation of the sentence in (111a) and (111b) may be ambiguous. The first interpretation focuses on the inceptive meaning of the event which says *it took Y an X - time to start building the house and writing a book*. In the inceptive meaning the focus is on the verb *take*. The second interpretation focuses on the completion of the accomplishment event where *it took Y an X - time to finish building a house and a book*, thus the final endpoint of the event occurred within an hour. In the completion meaning, the focus is on the embedded sentences *ho haha ntlo* and *ho ngola buka* respectively. Both events are telic and the notion of completion is attained.

#### 3.3.3..2 Verbs of consumption with verbs of time and NP

The following sentences demonstrate the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of consumption *nwa kgalase ya lebesa* (drink a glass of milk) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (112):

- (112) a. *Ho nkile ngwana [motsotso] ho nwa kgalase ya lebese.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took a child a minute to drink a glass of milk)
- b. *Ho nkukile [metsotso e mehlano] ho ja apole.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took me five minutes to eat an apple)

The sentences in (112), focus on both the inceptive and completion interpretation of the accomplishment events. The inceptive meaning focuses on *ho nkile nako e kae* (how long did it took) *X to begin drinking a glass of milk* and *eating an apple* respectively. The completion meaning, focuses on the completion of the *X took Y - time to complete drinking a glass of milk* and *eating an apple*. The completion indicates that the action of drinking and of eating was completed within a *y - time* or a certain boundary. For instance it took a child a minute to complete drinking a glass of milk in (112a). Similarly, it took *X* five minutes to complete eating an apple. The event will not continue indefinitely, and will reach completion.

### 3.3.3.3 Verbs of sending with verbs of time and NP

The following sentences demonstrate the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of sending *roma ngwana* (send a child) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (113):

- (113) a. *Ho nkukile [hora] ho roma ngwana lebenkeleng.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took me an hour to send a child to the shop)
- b. *Ho nkukile [motsotswana] ho posa lengolo.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took me a second to post a letter)

The sentences in (113) are well-formed although the verb phrase *nka + [hora]* can be ambiguously interpreted as follows: it took *X* a *Y* time to start sending a child to the shop and it took *X* an hour to stop sending a child to the shop. Similarly, the sentence in (113b) may be ambiguously interpreted as: it took *X* a second to start

posting the letter or it took *X* a second to finish posting the letter. Thus, in both cases, the accomplishment events with the verb *nka* + [*hora*] present the inceptive as well as completion meaning. If the meaning is one of completion, then the verb phrase *nka* + *time* have shifted the situation type to that of Achievement. Hence the feature [-duration] emerges as a property of achievements.

### 3.3.3.4 Motion verbs without NP verbs of time and NP

The following sentences express the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of motion *fihla* (arrive) and *baleha* (flee) in (114):

- (114) a. *Ho nkile modulasetulo [hora] ho fihla.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took the chairperson an hour to arrive)
- b. *Ho nkile batshwaruwa [hora] ho baleha*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took prisoners an hour to flee)

The accomplishment events in (114) are well-formed and grammatical. They describe both the inceptive and completion meaning with the verb *nka* + [*hora*], with resulting ambiguity. For instance, in (114a), it may happen that it took the chairperson an hour before (preparing himself) so that he can start arriving at an unspecified location, or it took the chairperson an hour to arrive at the unspecified location. The interpretation of the completion of the event of arriving expresses unspecified location, thus a change in position.

### 3.3.3.5 Motion verbs with locative argument NP verbs of time and NP

The following sentences express the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of motion *kena* (enter) and *ya* (go) with locative NP in (115):

- (115) a. *Ho nkukile [hora] ho kena [ka ngakeng].*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took me an hour to enter the surgery)

- b. *Ho nkukile [hora] ho ya Maseru.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took me an hour to go to Maseru)

The accomplishment events in (115a) are compatible with the verb *nka* +[hora] with no results of the outcome. There is a change of location/direction. Both sentences present ambiguity in interpretation. The first reading may be: *X* was in the surgery in an hour; similarly in (115b), within an hour *X* was in Maseru. On the contrary, the other reading may be: it took *X* an hour to begin to go to Maseru. Then the events are telic.

### 3.3.3.6 Verbs of motion and carrying verbs of time and NP

The following sentences state the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of motion and carrying *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) with NP in (116):

- (116) a. *Ho nkile ntate [hora] ho kganna kolo.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took father an hour to drive the car)
- b. *Ho nkile mohlankana [hora] ho palama pere.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took a young man an hour to ride a horse)

The sentences in (116a) give the following reading: it took *X* an hour to start driving the car, therefore, there is no final endpoint because the focus is on the inceptive meaning of the event of the driving. On the other hand, it took *X* an hour to finish driving the car; the endpoint of the event of driving occurred within an hour and the notion of completion is relevant. The same results are evident in (116b). Hence ambiguity suggests that it took a young man an hour to start/ finish riding a horse.

### 3.3.3.7 Verbs of growing with verbs of time and NP

The following sentences analyse the occurrence of the infinitive verbs take + time with verbs of growing *hola* (grow in human beings) and *hola* (grow in plants) with NP in (117):

- (117) a. *Ho nkile ngwana [selemo] ho hola.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took the child a year to grow)
- b. *Ho nkile dimela [kgwedi] ho hola.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (It took plants a month to grow)

The change of state in the growing process of the child had occurred in a year in (117a), while the growing of plants happened in a month in (117b). There is no ambiguity in both sentences; hence the verb of growing *hola* (grow) does not allow for the completion meaning. The interpretation of the event in (117a) is simply focusing on the inceptive meaning that it took a child a year to begin growing while in (117b) it took plants a month to start growing. The notion of completion is irrelevant in the above contexts. Not all accomplishments are completed, and this accounts for the reading of events as non-telic.

### 3.3.3.8 Accomplishment with Progressive

Progressive in English is seen as an aspect which relates to whether an action is presented as being or having been in process at a given juncture or whether it is presented as a completed whole. According to Doke and Mofokeng (1985:208), the progressive implication indicates an action which had been going on previously and is being continued. They maintain that in Sesotho, there are three tenses of this implication, the present, the perfect and the future with the sign of the progressive implication infix '*sa/ntse*.' The accomplishment situation type demonstrates the compatibility with the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* (still) in Sesotho.

### 3.3.3.8.1 Verbs of creation with Progressive

The accomplishment events test whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of creation *haha ntlo* (build a house) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (118):

- (118) a. *Ntate o sa haha ntlo.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Father is still building a house)
- b. *Maphalla o sa ngola buka.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (Maphalla is still writing a book)

The accomplishment events in (118) are in process but never show telic point as one cannot deduce the outcome. Not all accomplishments are completed. In (118a), it is true in the actual world that the event is continuing, but if *X* may change his mind in the middle of building a house, then the house may not be finished. Similarly, in (118b), *X* may change *X*'s mind in the middle of writing a book and the book may not be completed. Moreover, the action may be terminated for one reason or another. The events in both instances are atelic because at any stage of writing, the actual writing was not completed, and it stopped arbitrarily.

### 3.3.3.8.2 Verbs of consumption with NP and Progressive

The accomplishment events demonstrate whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of consumption *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (119):

- (119) a. *Ngwana o sa nwa kgalase ya lebese.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (A child is still drinking a glass of milk)
- b. *Ke sa ja apole.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
 (I am still eating an apple)

The sentences in (119) represent the meaning of the continuation of the events of *drinking a glass of milk* and of *eating an apple*. The occurrence of progressive

'*sa/ntse*' presents a shift in situation type of Activity. If the events are not interrupted, the events denote the completion stage, with a change of state and an outcome, which renders the events as telic.

### 3.3.3.8.3 Verbs of demolishing with Progressive

The following sentences demonstrate whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of demolishing *qhaqha mokhukhu* (destroy a shack) and *heletsa lebota* (demolishing a wall) in (120):

- (120) a. *Ke sa qhaqha mokhukhu.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I am destroying the shack)
- b. *Ke sa heletsa lebota* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I am demolishing a wall)

The accomplishment events convey the semantic meaning of progressive. The above sentences lend themselves to a continuative interpretation where the events express an ongoing process. On the other hand, one can conclude that the initial point of the event is in process and has been either terminated or completed, since ongoing events present a change of state and an outcome. Both events are telic.

### 3.3.3.8.4 Motion verbs without NP with Progressive

The following sentences demonstrate whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of motion *fihla* (arrive) and *balehile* (flee) in (121):

- (121) a. *Modulasetulo o sa fihla.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The chairperson is arriving)
- b. *Batshwaruwa ba sa balehile.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Prisoners are still fleeing)

In (121a), attention is not focused on the course of the progressive, on its flow and development, but rather on what happened, i.e., the arrival of the chairperson. The

arrival of the chairperson at an unspecified location denotes the completion of an event. The event is telic hence there is a change of position. In (121b), attention is directed to the course of the progressive, i.e., the prisoners are still at large which denotes the process of continuing. Thus progressive *sa/ntse* triggers a shift in the situation type of Activity. The event of fleeing may stop at any time, the prisoners may be caught, or they may hand themselves over. The event is atelic.

### 3.3.3.8.5 Motion verbs with locative argument NP with Progressive

The following sentences demonstrate whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of motion *kena* (enter) and *ya* (go) with NP locative in (121):

- (122) a. *Ke sa kena ngakeng.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(I am entering into a surgery)
- b. *Ke sa ya Maseru.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am going to Maseru)

The sentence in (122a) relates the time of an event to the present, i.e., the moment of speaking, and not to the action in the progressive. Hence the situation is telic; the final end point is when *X* has reached the surgeon. In (122b), the event designates an action which is in progress at the moment of speaking eg *Ke sa ya Maseru* (I am going to Maseru), thus the event is atelic, there is no final endpoint, and the event of going to Maseru is still in progress. The occurrence of progressive *sa/ntse* triggers a shift in the event type of Activity because of the ongoing event to a specified location.

### 3.3.3.8.6 Verbs of motion and carrying with Progressive

The following sentences demonstrate whether the progressive aspect *sa/ntse* is compatible with verbs of motion and carrying *kganna* (drive) and *palama* (ride) with NP locative in (123):

- (123) a. *Ntate o sa kganna kolo.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(Father is driving the car)

- b. *Mohlankana o sa palama pere.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(A young man is riding a horse)

In (123), the attention is concentrated on the very course of the event, its flow and development where the progressive is intentional because the terminating event of driving a car and of riding a horse may stop at any time without an outcome. The occurrence of progressive *sa/ntse* triggers a shift in event type of Activity because of the ongoing event which does not specify the final endpoints of driving and riding. Both events have an atelic reading.

### 3.3.3.8.7 Verbs of growing with Progressive

The progressive morphemes *sa/ntse* function as a diagnostic text with verbs of growing *hola* (grow in human beings) and *hola* (grow in plants) in (124):

- (124) a. *Ngwana o sa hola.* [Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(The child is still growing)
- b. *Dimela di sa hola.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
(Plants are growing)

The sentences denote the events which are reflect a continuation of growth at a certain age in (124a), and the child, by implication, will reach a completed 'age' of growing. The growing process is not indicated in the context of age, but rather in terms of height. Similarly, in (124b), the plants will reach the final endpoint of growing. The events show a telic reading.

### 3.3.3.8.8 Concluding observations on accomplishment events

The presentations have argued that accomplishments consist of a process and they bring about a change of state and an outcome. For instance in *Ntate o hahile ntlo*, an outcome is *ntlo* (house) and there is a change of state, a completed house. The occurrence of temporal adjunct *ka hora* (an hour) expresses the final endpoint of the event and there is a result state which results in the completion of the event. The events are telic hence they are bounded because they are determined by the

finishing point or culmination point. In some instances, the accomplishment events are in process but never show telic point as one cannot deduce the outcome. Not all accomplishments are completed. For instance, in (118a), it is true in the actual world that the event is continuing, but if *X* changes his mind in the middle of building a house, then the house may not be finished. Similarly, in (118b), *X* may change *X*'s mind in the middle of writing a book and the book may not be completed then the action may be terminated for one reason or another. The events in both instances are atelic because at any stage of writing, the actual writing performed was not completed, and was arbitrarily stopped.

### 3.4 ACHIEVEMENTS

Smith argues that typical achievements are changes of state that occur very quickly or instantaneously. She points out that the lexical span may focus on the outcome of a chain of telic events that involve changes of state. Ryle describes achievements as events that are happening at a particular moment and which bring about an outcome. They are accompanied by a transition to a new state of an event.

#### 3.4.1 Verb classes that expresses Achievement events

Achievements are instantaneous events that result in a change of state. They are compatible with syntactic features that distinguish instantaneous events.

##### 3.4.1.1 Break verbs

Levin (1993:241) argues that these verbs refer to actions that bring about change/s in the material integrity of some entity. She argues that such verbs, like *break*, and *grill*, are pure verbs of change of state in their meaning, in contrast to *cut verbs* which provide no information about how change/s of state came about. Levin points out that break verbs allow unintentional and intentional action interpretations.

The following sentences indicate break verbs *tjhwatla* (break) and *peperanya* (crack) in (125):

- (125) a. *Dineo a thella mme a tjhwatla kgalase.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Dineo slips and breaks the glass).
- b. *Pelegametse o peperanya nkgo.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse cracks the clay pot)

The sentences in (125) describe a state of affairs that also extends in time. The achievements event which is associated with a particular culmination expresses a new change of state. For instance if a glass breaks, something actually happens to the small particles of glass and this process brings about a new change of state. The event happens instantaneously.

### 3.4.1.2 Verbs of removing: *ntsha* (reverse), *hlakola* (wipe)

Levin (1993:122,125) describes these verbs as expressing the removal of an entity from a location. She argues that one of their arguments is expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *from*, and most of these verbs are compatible with a locative preposition. She also argues that these classes of verbs such as *wipe* and *take out* relate to removing things from surfaces or containers and their basic meanings probably relate to removing something from a location, and they are lexicalized as a manner or means of removal.

The following sentences indicate removing verbs *ntsha* (take out) and *hlakola* (wipe) in (126):

- (126) a. *Mosadi o ntsha kolo ka karatjheng.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The woman reverses the car from the garage).
- b. *Pelegametse o hlakola fenstere.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse wipes the window)

The verb of removing in (126) involves a notion of a path that passes through the internal structure, while the termination of the event has no such internal structure

and no such path. This path shows how the external argument [Mosadi] in (126a) and [Pelegametse] in (126b), add to the event of removing the car from the garage, and wiping the something from the window. Thus the events are now at a new location, for instance, outside the garage in (126a).

### 3.4.1.3 Take away verbs

Levin (1993) points out that these types of verbs are associated with the removal of an entity, typically an entity from a location. She maintains that the location argument is expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by a preposition *from*.

The following sentences indicate take away verbs *tlosa* (take away) and *monya* (suck) in (127):

- (127) a. *Nkgono o tlosa ngwana seretseng.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Granny takes away the child from the mud).
- b. *Pelegametse o monya lero lamunung.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]  
 (Pelegametse sucks juice from an orange) Achievement

It is observed that the sentences in (127a) and (127b) may affect the object as in *tlosa ngwana seretseng* (take the child away from the mud), and *monya lero la lamunu* (suck the juice from an orange) respectively. The new state may produce the result of a path-goal. The telic events may be similar to the situation type which brings about an outcome and a change of state. For instance, a child is now at a new location and the juice is in a new location.

### 3.4.1.4 Bend verbs

Levin (1993:242) points out that the bend verbs convey a change in the shape of an entity that does not disrupt its material reality, and there is no information about the change of state that has come about.

The following sentences express bend verbs *koba* (bend) and *mena* (fold) in (128):

- (128) a. *Baithuti ba koba terata.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
 (The students bend the fence)
- b. *Mme o mena lakane.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
 (Mother folds the bed sheet)

The achievement sentences are agent oriented and focus on the change to a new state. Moreover, a process associated with achievements in (128) occurs within a few seconds, and the events express a new change of state.

### 3.4.1.5 Verbs of change of possession

According to Levin (1993:138), these verbs of change of possession display the dative alternation, though there may be some differences of opinion concerning whether some of these verbs are found in double-object constructs. She points out that a prepositional phrase is optional.

The following sentences express verbs of change of possession *kwala* (close) and *utswa* (steal) in (129):

- (129) a. *Karabelo o kwala lemati* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
 (Karabelo closes the door)
- b. *Leshodu le utswa dikhomphutha tsa yunivesithi.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]      Achievement  
 (The thief steals the university's computers)

The sentences in (129) describe a state of affairs that presents a change in position. The process of *closing of the door* and of *stealing computers* is associated with a change of position, but not necessarily a change of state. The events occur instantaneously and they are of a telic nature.

### 3.4.1.6 Verbs of buying

According to Levin, these verbs of change of possession describe many situations where one receives something, but one also loses possession of that thing. A verb *reka* (buy), for instance, refers to a process of receiving which also involves the transfer of money.

The sentences below present achievement verbs of buying *reka* (buy) and *hweba* (trade) in (130):

- (130) a. *Mme o reka mose.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Mother buys a dress)
- b. *O hweba ka matekwane.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(He trades with dagga)

The achievement verbs *reka* (buy) and *hweba* (trade) are dynamic, instantaneous and telic which result in a state that constitutes an outcome or a goal of the event. It is probably true to say that the semantic features of the verbs of *buying* are contained in the meaning of such verbs because one cannot say one has *bought* something without getting it or one has *traded* with something without involving an exchange with something. These verbs indicate a change of physical state.

### 3.4.1.7 Appoint verbs

The following sentences present achievement verbs of appoint *thonya* (appoint) and *kgetha* (choose) in (131):

- (131) a. *Mosuwe o thonya moemedi.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(The teacher appoints a representative)
- b. *Ke kgetha mokga oo ke o ratang.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(I choose/elect the party that I like)

The achievement verb *thonya* (appoint) and *kgetha* (elect) in (132) occur very rapidly and they focus on a change of position. The *appointing* and *electing* happen instantly without any unnecessary preliminary stages. There is a change of position.

### 3.4.1.8 Verbs of disappearance

Levin (1993:260) posits that verbs of disappearance express the vanishing or passing out of existence of some entity. These intransitive verbs do not accept any direct object unless they are constructed on an appearance sense.

The following sentences present achievement verbs of disappearance *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (132):

- |          |  |             |
|----------|--|-------------|
| (132) a. | <i>Dikgomo di a shwa.</i> [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]<br>(Cattle die)       | Achievement |
| b.       | <i>Dinku di a nyamela.</i> [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]<br>(Sheep disappear) | Achievement |

The sentences may affect an experiencer and the new state may bring about the results of a path-goal in (132b). The change of state may be from *being alive* to a state of *not being alive* in (132a). The telic events may be classified by the type of result they bring about in relation to the final endpoints of the events. In (132b), a change of position occurs, which thus results in a path-goal.

### 3.4.1.9 Verbs of appearance

According to Levin (1993:258), verbs of appearance describe the appearance of an entity on the scene. These verbs do not impose a particular restriction on the set of possible direct objects, i.e. they may take various types of complementary phrases or they may show transitive uses with causative interpretation.

The following sentences present achievement verbs of appearance *hlaha* (appear) and *tjhaba* (rise) in (133):

- (133) a. *Ditaba di hlaha di nyarosa thelevisheneng.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The news appear horrifying on television)
- b. *Letsatsi le tjhaba botjhabela.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The sun rises from the east)

In (133), sentences describe a state of affairs that also extends in time but that does have a particular culmination associated with a change of position, although a change of state does not necessarily take place. For instance in (133a), if one watches television and hears the horrifying news, this would not constitute a change of state or an outcome, except that the information has been transferred from one source to another. Similarly, if the sun rises in the east in (133b), the interpretation is that the sun sets in the west. This is the result of a path-goal.

### 3.4.1.10 Telicity with completion

Achievements are dynamic and exhibit a telic feature. The telic events have natural endpoints. The achievement events occur instantaneously.

#### 3.4.1.10.1 Break verbs

The following sentences describe whether the occurrence of the temporal adverbial (*ka motsotswana* (in/for an hour) is compatible with the achievement verbs *tjhwatla* (break) and *peperanya* (crack) in (135):

- (135) a. *Dineo a thella mme a tjhwatla kgalase ka motsotswana.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Dineo slips and breaks the glass in a second).
- b. *\*Dineo a thella mme a tjhwatla kgalase motsotswana.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Dineo slips and breaks the glass for a second).

- c. *Pelegametse o peperanya nkgo ka motsotso*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse cracks the clay pot in a minute)
- d. \**Pelegametse o peperanya nkgo motsotso.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse cracks the clay pot for a second)

The achievement sentences are compatible with *ka motsotswana* (in a second) with achievement verbs *tjhwatla* (break) and *peperanya* (crack) in (135a) and (135c). In (135a), Dineo breaks a glass in a second, and will not take a minute longer to accomplish this action. In Sesotho, in certain situations, achievement events are compatible with *ka hora* (in-adverbial). The occurrence of the temporal adjunct *ka motsotswana* (in a second) interprets that *the breaking of the glass* and the *cracking of the clay pot* happened within a specified time; hence the agent would have to take more than a second to break a glass deliberately. In these exceptional cases, the event involves control. In (135b) and (135d), the achievement verbs *tjhwatla* (break) and *peperanya* (crack) are semantically anomalous with *motsotswana* (for a minute) because achievements do not follow a preliminary process that took place in a split second or an interval that precedes a minute.

#### 3.4.1.10.2 Bend verbs

The following sentences demonstrate a diagnostic test of whether the occurrence of the temporal adverbial (*ka*) *motsotswana* (in/for an hour) is compatible with the achievement verbs *koba* (bend) and *mena* (fold) in (136):

- (136) a. *Baithuti ba koba terata [ka motsotso]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The students bend the fence in a minute)
- b. \**Baithuti ba koba terata [motsotso]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The students bend the fence for a minute)
- c. *Mme o mena lakane [ka motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Mother folds the sheet in a minute)

- d. \**Mme o mena lakane [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Mother folds the sheet for a minute)

In (136a) and (136c), achievement verbs are compatible with the *ka motsotso* (in a minute) while they appear as strange with the occurrence of the temporal adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute), and with achievement verbs *koba* (bend) and *mena* (fold), which appear in (136b) and (136d). In (136a) and (136c), achievements describe an instantaneous situation which culminates in the achievement of *bending* and *folding* that took place in a minute. Although the achievements are incompatible with durative, such interpretations as evidenced in (136a) and (136c) are natural with instantaneous events. Smith describes these achievement events as ingressive since they denote completion when they occur with the instantaneous events.

### 3.4.1.10.3 Verbs of change of possession

Temporal adjunct (*ka motsotswana* (in/for an hour) functions as an investigatory test with verbs of change of possession *kwala* (close) and *utswa* (steal) in the following achievement sentences (in 137):

- (137) a. *Karabelo o kwala lemati [ka motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Karabelo closes the door (with)in a second)
- b. \**Karabelo o kwala lemati [motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Karabelo closes the door for a second)
- c. *Leshodu le utswa khomphuyutha [ka motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The thief steals the computer (with)in a minute)
- d. \**Leshodu le utswa khomphuyutha [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (The thief steals the computer for a minute)

In (137a) and (137c), the sentences describe a state of affairs that also extends in time and are compatible with *ka motsotswana/motsotso* (in a second/minute) while being incompatible with *motsotso/motsotswana* (for a second/minute) in (137b) and (137d). Both sentences do have a particular culmination associated with a change of position (from one point to another location) which does not necessarily bring about a change of state. The events are telic because they indicate the final endpoint of a new location that was reached within a specified time. In (137b) and (137d), the occurrence of adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) is semantically anomalous with achievement events because if an event occurs instantly, it does not follow that a preliminary process was going on at a milisecond, or an interval that precedes a minute.

#### 3.4.1.10.4 Verbs of buying

Temporal adjunct (*ka*) *motsotso* (in/for an hour) functions as an investigatory test with verbs of buying *reka* (buy) and *hweba* (trade) in the following achievement events:

- (138) a. *Mme o reka mose [ka motsotso].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Mother buys a ware (with)in a minute)
- b. *\*Mme o reka mose [motsotso].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Mother buys a ware for a minute)
- c. *O hweba ka matekwane [ka motsotso].*  
[-Static][-Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
(He trades with dagga (with)in a minute)
- d. *\*O hweba ka matekwane [motsotso].*  
[-Static][-Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
(He trades with dagga for a minute)

In (138a) and (138c), the achievement events are compatible with [*ka motsotso*] but seem to be semantically anomalous with an adverbial [*motsotso*] in (138b) and (138d). Although the achievements are incompatible with durative, interpretations such as those in (138a) and (138c) are natural in the case of instantaneous events. Smith describes these achievement events as ingressive since they denote completion when they occur with the instantaneous events. Both sentences do have

a particular culmination associated with a change of position (from one point to another location), with a resulting path-goal which does not necessarily bring about a change of state. The events are telic because they indicate the final endpoint of a new location that was reached within a specified time.

### 3.4.1.10.5 Appoint verbs

The achievement sentences below test whether the appoint verbs such as *thonya* and *kgetha* are compatible with the durative adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) and *motsotswana* (for a second):

- (139) a. *Mosuwe o thonya moemedi [ka motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 The teacher appoints a representative (with)in a second)
- b. *\*Mosuwe o thonya moemedi [motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 The teacher appoints a representative for a second)
- c. *Ke kgetha mokga wa ANC [ka motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I choose/elect ANC party (with)in a second)
- d. *\*Ke kgetha mokga wa ANC [motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I choose/elect ANC party for a second)

In (139a) and (139c), the achievement verbs *thonya* and *kgetha* are compatible with durative adverbial [*ka motsotswana*] but are semantically incompatible with the durative adverbial [*motsotswana*] in (139b) and (139d). Although the achievements are incompatible with durative, interpretations such as those in (139a) and (139c) are natural with instantaneous events. The completive adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) has the interpretation of ingressive in a given sentence, and the situation type of that sentence may be considered an Achievement.

### 3.4.1.10.6 Verbs of removing

The following sentences test whether the achievement verbs *ntsha* (remove) and *hlakola* (wipe) take the temporal adverbials *ka motsotso* (in adverbial) or *motsotso* (for adverbial) in (140):

- (140) a. *Ntate o ntsha koloi ka karatjheng [ka motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Father removes the car from the garage (with)in a second)
- b. *\*Ntate o ntsha koloi ka karatjheng [motsotswana]*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Father removes the car form the garage for a second)
- c. *Pelegametse o hlakola fenstere ya koloi [ka motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse wipes off the car window (with)in a minute)
- d. *\*Pelegametse o hlakola fenstere ya koloi [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse wipes off the car window for a minute)

The sentences in (140a) and (140c) describe the time frame wherein the process of *removing the car* and of *wiping the window* must happen within a second. The achievement events are therefore compatible with *ka motsotso* (in a minute). The sentences in (140b) and (140d) are incompatible with durative adverbial *motsotso* (*for*-adverbial) because the events describes are extended in time but not characterised by any particular conclusion or culmination.

### 3.4.1.10.7 Taking away verbs

The sentences in (141) test whether the achievement verbs *tlosa* (take away) and *mony* (suck) are compatible with the temporal adverbials *ka motsotso* (in a second) or *motsotso* (for a second):

- (141) a. *Nkgono o tlosa ngwana seterateng [ka motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Granny takes away the child from the street (with)in a minute)
- b. *\*Nkgono o tlosa ngwana seterateng [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Granny takes away the child from the street for a minute)
- c. *Ke monya lero la lamunu [ka motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I squeeze orange juice (with)in a minute)
- d. *\*Ke monya lero la lamunu [motsotso].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (I squeeze orange juice for a minute)

In (141a) and (141c) a process with a natural final endpoint reaches its outcome, the event is completed and cannot continue after the minute in which *the child was taken away from the street, and the juice was sucked from an orange*, hence these may be considered as bounded processes. The events are telic and they have specific, finite endpoints. In (141b) and (141d), one covers a certain amount of space, one arrives at a new location but no such result is assumed for a time. However, the achievements are semantically anomalous with *for-* adverbial phrase in (141b) and (141c).

### 3.4.1.10.8 Verbs of disappearance

The sentences describe a diagnostic test as to whether the achievement verbs *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) are compatible with the temporal adverbial [*ka motsotswana* (in a second) or *motsotswana* (for a second)]:

- (142) a. *Dikgomo di shwa [ka motsotso].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Cattle die (with)in a minute))
- b. *\*Dikgomo di shwa [motsotso].* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Cattle die for a minute))

- c. *Dinku di nyamela [ka motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Sheep disappear (with)in a second))
- d. *\*Dinku di nyamela [motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Sheep disappear for a second))

In (142a) and (142c), the achievement events are instantaneous, and are accompanied by a transition to a new state of events which is referred to as a consequent state of the event. Although the achievements are incompatible with durative, such interpretations as those evident in (142a) and (142c) are natural with instantaneous events. The completive adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) has the interpretation of an ingressive in a given sentence, thus rendering the situation type of the sentence as an Achievement. In (142b) and (142d), the expressions produced in the sentences are semantically incompatible with *motsotswana* (for a second). The interpretation given by *motsotswana* (for adverbial) may be that sheep may disappear for a moment, and then they may appear after a while. Similarly, cattle may die for a second, and then they may appear after a while, which would constitute an anomalous interpretation.

#### 3.4.1.10.9 Verbs of appearance

The following sentences show whether the achievement verbs *hlaha* (appear) and *tjhaba* (rise) are compatible with the temporal adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in adverbial) or *motsotswana* (for adverbial) in (143):

- (143) a. *Ditaba di hlaha di nyarosa thelevisheneng [ka motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The news appear horrifying on television in a second)
- b. *\*Ditaba di hlaha di nyarosa thelevisheneng [motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The news appear horrifying on television for a second)
- c. *Letsatsi le tjhaba botjhabela [ka motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The sun rises in the east (with)in a second).

- d. \**Letsatsi le tjhaba botjhabela [motsotswana].*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The sun rises in the east for a second).

In (143a) and (143c), the adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) compel their input to be culminated-process expressions. The adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second), defines the length of these events, but the adverbial *motsotswana* (for a second) does not, hence the sentences in (143b) and (143d) are semantically incompatible. From the above evidence, the adverb *ka hora* (in an hour) locates an eventuality (Rothstein's terminology) within a certain time, but there is no practical distinction between locating at the beginning of the event, or locating at the end of the event. Hence, achievement events which are instantaneous are over virtually as soon as they began but the implication suggests that the telic point occurred at the end of the adverb.

### 3.4.2 Achievement with progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse*

According to Rothstein (2004:36-37), the use of progressive in achievement verbs is a major concern because they denote eventualities which are closer to instantaneous and they are unacceptable with the use of progressive in some instances, and acceptable in others. Smith (2004) describes progressive as a tense that indicates a situation which may have durative and temporary features. The Sesotho achievement verbs demonstrate the compatibility of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing):

#### 3.4.2.1 Break verbs with progressive aspect

The achievement events explain whether the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) is compatible with break verbs *tjhwatla nkgo* (break a glass) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (144):

- (144) a. *Dineo o sa ntse a tjhwatla kgalase*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Dineo is still breaking the glass)

- b. *Pelegametse o sa peperanya nkgo.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Pelegametse is still cracking the clay pot)

In (144), achievements are compatible with progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) and the interpretation describes that the events are in progress. The occurrence of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) indicates incompleteness. Although the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) suggests the continuation of an event at a moment of speech, it does, however, shift the meaning to a form of culmination or a final endpoint, thus yielding an interpretation of Accomplishment. For instance in (144a), the occurrence of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) indicates that the process of breaking is still in progress, but at some point in time it will stop or reach its final stage.

### 3.4.2.2 Bend verbs with progressive aspect

The following sentences are used to test whether the achievement bend verbs *koba terata* (bend a wire) and *mena lakane* (fold a sheet) are compatible with progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) in (145):

- (145) a. *Baithuti ba sa koba terata* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Students are busy bending the wire)
- b. *Mme o sa mena lakane.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Mother is still folding the sheet)

The sentences in (145) describe a situation that has the property of duration but is temporary in nature. The occurrence of progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) demonstrates a situation which is in progression, but only temporarily, because there may be a change in state. The shifts may be produced by the appearance of progressive aspect *sa/ntse* (still/be+-ing) and thus may yield the interpretation of an accomplishment situation type. The processes of *bending* and of *folding* are going to stop at some point in time and there is a consequent termination or completion of the events. Both sentences in (145) are telic, as the wire being bent is the necessary endpoint and the sheet being folded is also a final endpoint.

### 3.4.2.3 Verbs of changing of position with progressive aspect

The following sentences demonstrate the compatibility of the occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) with verbs of changing position *kwala lemati* (close the door) and *utswa khomphuyutha* (steal a computer) in (146):

- (146) a. *Karabelo o sa kwala lemati.*  
 [-Static][±Durative][±Telic] Activity/Accomplishment  
 (Karabelo is still closing the door)
- b. *Leshodu le sa ntse le utswa khomphuyutha.*  
 [-Static][±Durative][±Telic] Activity/Accomplishment  
 (The thief is still stealing the computers)

The progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) is compatible with the achievement verb constellations *kwala lemati* (close the door) and *utswa khomphuyutha* (steal a computer) in (146). The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) may trigger a shift in both situation types – whether of an Activity or an Accomplishment, depending on the semantic meaning of a particular sentence. For instance, progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) may trigger a shift to an activity situation type, because something may happen during the theft of the computer - for instance, the thief may be caught or he may be disturbed by something and the action of stealing may end at any time without a final endpoint. Hence the events are atelic under this interpretation. On the other hand, the interpretation of (146) with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) may trigger a shift to an accomplishment situation type, as the door *is* being closed, and the computer *is* being stolen. Both events are telic because they may have a final endpoint and exhibit a change of state.

### 3.4.2.4 Verbs of removing with progressive aspect

The focus is on the achievement events with progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) to investigate compatibility with verbs of removing *ntsha koloi* (remove a car) and *hlakola fenstere* (wipe a window) in (147):

- (147) a. *Ntate o sa ntse a ntsha koloji.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Father is still removing the car)
- b. *Pelegametse o sa ntse a hlakola fenstere ya koloji.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Accomplishment  
 (Pelegametse is still wiping the car window)

The occurrence of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) is compatible with achievement verbs of removing *ntsha koloji* (remove a car) and *hlakola fenstere* (wipe a window) in (147). The occurrence of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) may trigger a shift in both Activity and Accomplishment situation type. For instance, the interpretation with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) triggers a shift to the Activity situation type, because something may happen during the taking out of the car, eg. it may become stuck, or be scratched when one tries to reverse and one may stop at anytime without an outcome or change of state. Hence the events are atelic under this interpretation. On the other hand, the occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) triggers a shift to the Accomplishment situation type—the car is being taken out in (147a) and the window is being wiped in (147b). Both events are telic because they may have a final endpoint although there is no change of state.

### 3.4.2.5 Take away verbs with progressive aspect

The following sentences test whether the achievement verbs *tlosa ngwana* (remove the child) and *monyala lero* (suck a juice) are compatible with progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) in (148):

- (148) a. *Nkgono o sa ntse a tlosa ngwana seterateng.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived – Activity.  
 (Granny is still taking the child away from the street)
- b. *O sa ntse a monyala lero la lamunu.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived – Activity.  
 (She is still squeezing the orange juice)



- (150) a. *Mosuwe o sa ntse a thonya moemedi*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived – Activity.  
 (The teacher is still appointing a representative)
- b. *Ke sa ntse ke kgetha mokga wa ANC.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] derived – Activity  
 (I am still choosing/electing ANC party)

The sentences in (150) focus on the continuation of the events of appointing and electing which do not evidence any completion in their relation to the internal stages of the ongoing reading. This constitutes a change in state in the reading which indicates a derived-Activity.

### 3.4.2.8 Verbs of disappearance with progressive aspect

The achievement events explain whether the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) is compatible with verbs of disappearance *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (151):

- (151) a. *Dikgomo di sa shwa* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Cows are still dying)
- b. *Dinku di sa nyamela* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Sheep are still disappearing)

The progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) is compatible with verbs of disappearance *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (151). The event which is interpreted as *shwa* (die) in (151a) significantly undergoes a change of state from *being alive* to *not being alive*, while the event in (151b) is in a newly changed state which results in a *path-goal*. The occurrence of the progressive aspect with the achievement verb constellation *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) depict the culminated process; hence the interpretation still results in a telic Achievement event.

### 3.4.2.9 Verbs of appearance with progressive aspect

The achievement sentences explain whether the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) is compatible with verbs of appearance *hlaha* (appear) and *tjhaba* (rise) in (152):

- (152) a. *Ditaba di sa hlaha di nyarosa thelevisheneng*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (News is still appearing horrifying on television)
- b. *Letsatsi le sa tjhaba botjhabela*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The sun is still rises from east)

The occurrence of the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) is compatible with the achievement verb constellations *hlaha* (appear) and *tjhaba* (rise) in (152). The occurrence of the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) does not produce a shift in the situation type, because achievement events are near-instantaneous

### 3.4.2.10 Observations on achievement verbs with progressive aspect

The progressive aspect is semantically compatible with verbs expressing non-states. The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/ be+ing) describes the interpretation of continuation or an ongoing progression, which tiggers a shift in the interpretation of a derived-Activity, hence presenting an atelic event. The progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/ be+ing) indicates incompleteness, for example:

- |               |    |   |                 |
|---------------|----|---|-----------------|
| Breaking      | a. | <b><i>O sa tjhwatla kgalase.</i></b>            | derived-Act/Acc |
|               |    | (She is still breaking a glass)                 |                 |
| Removing      | b. | <b><i>Ntate o sa ntsha koloi.</i></b>           | derived-Act/Acc |
|               |    | (Father is still reversing the car)             |                 |
| Stealing      | c. | <b><i>Leshodu le sa utswa khomphuyutha.</i></b> | derived-Act/Acc |
|               |    | (The thief is still stealing a computer)        |                 |
| Disappearance | d. | <b><i>Di sa shwa.</i></b>                       | derived-Act/Acc |
|               |    | (They are still dying)                          |                 |

On the other hand, the meaning of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/ be+-ing) with the achievement verb constellations allow the notion of termination, hence the progressive aspect triggers a shift to an Accomplishment situation type, as the computer is being stolen. The achievement event is presented at a stage which is neither initial nor final, though its progression is directed towards a final stage. Thus the endpoint is reached and the event is telic and the change of state is attained. It is evidenced that the emphatic form of progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/ be+-ing) suggests that the event shifts toward termination or culmination – for instance the action of *breaking*, *reversing*, *stealing* and *dying* denotes termination within an unspecified time. However, the progressive aspect combined with a culminated process as in the achievement sentence ‘*O sa rekile*’ (She just bought), gives the interpretation of completion because the perfect tense supersedes the meaning of the continuous.

### 3.4.3 Achievement with inceptive/terminative ‘qala/qeta’

The following achievement sentences test whether the inceptive/terminative morpheme, i.e. *qala/qeta* (begin/finish) is compatible with *breaking* verbs, *taking away* verbs, *bend* verbs, verbs of *removing*, verbs of *changing position*, verbs of *appearance*, verbs of *disappearance*, *appoint* verbs and verbs of *buying*.

#### 3.4.3.1 Break verbs

The following sentences demonstrate a test of whether the completion morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with the achievement verbs *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (152):

- (152) a. *Dineo o qetile ho tjhwatla kgalase.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Dineo finished breaking the glass).
- b. *Pelegametse o qetile ho peperanya nkgo.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]  
 (Pelegametse finished cracking the clay pot) Achievement

The above achievement events are compatible with feature [*qeta*] and a completion result. The termination morpheme [*qeta*] does not indicate a shift or a change of a situation; hence the achievement event has the property of completion.

### 3.4.3.2 Take away verbs

The following sentences focus on whether the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is compatible with the achievement verbs *ntsha kolo* (reverse a car) and *hlakola fenstere* (wipe a window) in (153):

- (153) a. *Mosadi o qadile ho ntsha kolo ka karatjheng.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]  
 (The woman began reversing the car from the garage). Achievement
- b. *Pelegametse o qadile ho hlakola fenstere.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]  
 (Pelegametse began wiping the window) Achievement

### 3.4.3.3 Verbs of removing

The achievement events in (154) test whether the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is compatible with verbs of removing *tlosa* (take away) and *monya* (suck) in (154):

- (154) a. *Nkgono o qetile ho tlosa ngwana seretseng.* [-Static][+Durative][+Telic]  
 (Granny finished taking away the child from the mud). Achievement
- b. *Pelegametse o qetile ho monya lero la lamunu.*  
 [-Static][+Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (Pelegametse finished sucking orange juice)

The terminative morpheme '*qeta*' merely provides the completed or final endpoint of the event. The completeness of the event is in the context of the morpheme '*qeta*' and is compatible with the achievement verb *tlosa* and *monya*. There is no change in situation type – hence the achievement event has the feature of a telic event.

### 3.4.3.4 Bend verbs

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is used to test compatibility with bend verbs *koba terata* (bend a wire) and *mena lakane* (fold a sheet) in (155):

- (155) a. *Baithuti ba qadile ho koba terata.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic]  
 (The students started bending the fence) derived - Activity
- b. *Mme o qadile ho mena lakane.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
 (Mother began to fold the sheet)

The sentences in (155) focus on the ongoing interpretation which expresses incompleteness. The information given lacks endpoints. The event does not show any completion in terms of relating to the internal stages of the ongoing reading, but it does indicate a change of state - from a wire being *straight*, to the state of *bending* and of *folding*. The occurrence of the inceptive morpheme *qadile* (began) indicates that the event may go on until it stops or terminates at any time, although the notion of completion is irrelevant.

### 3.4.3.5 Verbs of changing position

The following achievement sentences are used to test whether the completive adverb *qeta* (finish) is compatible with the achievement verbs *kwala lemati* (close the door) and *utswa khomphuyutha* (steal a computer) in (156):

- (156) a. *Karabelo o qetile ho kwala lemati* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]  
 (Karabelo finished closing the door) Achievement
- b. *Leshodu le qetile ho utswa khomphuyutha ya yunivesithi.*  
 [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
 (The thief finished stealing the university's computer)

It is observed that an event, such as that described in (156a), is understood to have taken place at a certain time if the state of the door being opened or not being closed is replaced at that time by the state of the door being closed. Similarly, in (156b) the state of the computers being in the offices is replaced at the time when the thief had

finished stealing them. Both sentences show a change of state which takes the form of a positional change, which Jackendoff (1990) called a path-goal.

### 3.4.3.6 Verbs of buying

The diagnostic test will focus on whether the verbs of buying such as *reka* and *hweba* are compatible with completive morpheme [qeta] to indicate a change of state:

- (157) a. *Mme o qetile ho reka mose.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(Mother finished buying a dress)
- b. *O qetile ho hweba ka matekwane.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]  
(He finished trading with dagga) Achievement

In (157), the terminative morpheme '*qeta*' finished the events of buying and of trading. The morpheme focuses on the internal stages of events with verbs of buying such as *reka* and *hweba* and the events of buying and trading are completed. These sentences involve natural final endpoints, and thus imply a change of position

### 3.4.3.7 Appoint verbs

The following sentences demonstrate a diagnostic test of whether inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is compatible with the appoint verbs *thonya moemedi* (appoint a representative) and *kgetha mokga* (choose a party) in (158):

- (158) a. *Mosuwe o qadile ho thonya moemedi.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic]  
(The teacher began to appoint a representative) derived - Activity
- b. *Ke qadile ho kgetha mokga oo ke o ratang.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic]  
(I began to choose the party that I like) derived - Activity

In (158), the inceptive morpheme focuses on the preliminary stages of a situation which indicates the continuation of the situation, hence the receiver may assume that the event of *appointing* and *electing* continues. Both sentences still present the semantic of Achievement because the sentences focus on the beginning of the events, and not on the event of appointing and the event of choosing.

### 3.4.3.8 Verbs of disappearance

The diagnostic test will focus on whether the verbs of disappearance *shwa* (die) and *nyamela* (disappear) accept the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) in (159):

- (159) a. *Dikgomo di qadile ho shwa.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] derived Activity  
(Cattle started dying)
- b. *Dinku di qadile ho nyamela.* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] derived - Activity  
(Sheep started disappearing)

The occurrence of the inceptive morpheme *qadile* (started) in the sentences in (159) express the meaning of continuation. The event of *dying* and *disappearing* has commenced, and no information is given about the termination or completion of the event. The sentences describe incompleteness because the *dying of the cattle* and the *disappearing of sheep* lack information about the final endpoints.

### 3.4.3.9 Verbs of appearance

The achievement events test whether the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is compatible with the achievement verbs *hlaha* (appear) and *tjhaba* (rise) in (160):

- (160) a. *Ditaba di qala ho hlaha di nyarosa thelevisheneng.*  
[-Static][-Durative][+Telic] Achievement  
(The news bulletin start appearing horrifying on television)
- b. *Letsatsi le qala ho tjhaba botjhabela.* [-Static][-Durative][+Telic]  
(The sun starts rising from the east) Achievement

In (160), the inceptive morpheme focuses on the preliminary stages of a situation which indicates an ongoing situation although there is the interpretation of *ending* in *the final ending of the bulletin on television* and *the final setting of the sun at sunset*. Both sentences still reveal the semantic of Achievement hence the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) focuses on the beginning of the event *of the appearing of the news* in (160a), and the activity *of the sun rising* in (160b), which continues

until one expects the final endpoint of the news and the final endpoint of the rising of the sun in an unspecified time.

#### 3.4.4.10 Summary on Achievement

Achievements are instantaneous in nature and they are incompatible with temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) which describes the duration of a situation. On the other hand achievements are semantically compatible with the progressive aspect which denotes continuation of the event. This progressive aspect derives from a shift to another atelic situation type. This shift describes the change from instantaneous to durative because the event occurs continually and the will stop arbitrarily.

The evidence cited above, shows that the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) complements the achievement events without changing the type of situation involved. Thus the inceptive refers to the beginning because the focus of an event is on its modulation, rather than the determining of the event itself. The terminal morpheme [qeta], refers to the beginning, the middle and the ending of the events. This morpheme means that a situation has to come to a final endpoint, which results in the occurrence of a telic situation.

### 3.5 STATE EVENTS

According to Smith (1997), states are stable situations which hold for a moment or an interval and they have temporal features [Static], [Durative]. She provides the following examples of typical stative: [own a farm], [be in Copenhagen], [be tall], [believe in ghosts]. She maintains that states consist of an undifferentiated period with an internal structure and lacking in dynamics. States require external agency to effect change. States are distinct situations, constituting changes of state. The initial and final endpoints of a state do not form part of the state.

Mourelatos (1981) describes states as verbs that may endure or persist over stretches of time and therefore cannot be qualified as actions. He maintains that state verbs do not have progressive forms – thus one cannot say *\*I am knowing the answer* or *\*I am loving*. However, these verbs involve no dynamic and they do not

constitute a change, although Mourelatos contends that stative verbs may arise or be acquired as a result of change and they may provide a potential for change.

### 3.5.1 Conjecture verbs: *tseba* (know), *lemoha* (realize)

#### 3.5.1.1 Know verbs

According to Levin (1993), verbs which denote psychological states which may be subcategorized into a multiple arguments, such as an experiencer and stimulus, or sometimes theme, cause, object of emotion, or target of emotion. As a transitive verb, the subject may be an experiencer depending on what psych verb is used in a sentence and an object may be a theme as indicated in the following examples:

- (161) a. *Prof.Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Prof Gildenhuis knows Sesotho)
- b. *Ntate Thabo o a lebala.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Father Thabo forgets)

In (161), private predicates *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) are mental states which have the abstract properties that hold for people. The private-state predicates depend on types of referents to which they apply, as in the case of individuals such as *Prof.Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho* (Prof.Gildenhuis knows Sesotho) in (161a) and *Ntate Thabo o a lebala* (Father Thabo forgets) in (161b).

#### 3.5.1.2 Realize verbs

Levin (1993) proposes that these verbs of perception explain the actual perception of some entity and they take the subject as a perceiver and what is perceived as an object. She points out that these set of verbs take a variety of sentential complements. She explains that these sets of verbs receive a substantial attention because they are state verbs which are often odd in the progressive form, unless they receive a specific, qualified interpretation.

- (162) a. *Ke lemohile.* [+Static][+Duration][-Telic] State  
(I have realized)
- b. *Ke a utlwisisa.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I understand)

The sentences in (162) describe stative verbs that may last or continue over period of time, and cannot therefore be qualified as actions.

### 3.5.1.3 Love verbs

Levin (1993) proposed that these sub-classes of the psych-verbs are transitive verbs with an experience-subject. She points out that the semantic role of their direct object may include theme, target of emotion, stimulus and subject matter. These types of verbs allow sentential expletive complements in an object position.

- (163) a. *Diketso o rata Disebo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso loves Disebo)
- b. *Mohlankana o kgahlile morwetsana.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A boyfriend admired a girlfriend)

### 3.5.1.4 Hate verbs

Levin (1993) asserted that these sub-classes of the psych-verbs are transitive verbs with an experience-subject. She points out that the semantic role of their direct object may include theme, target of emotion, stimulus and subject matter. They may also be used as intransitive verbs.

- (164) a. *Ke hloile Dipalo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I hate Maths)
- b. *Mohlankana o nena kgarebe.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Young man shuns his girl friend)

The transitive verbs in the state sentences above, describe states such as *hloya* (hate) and *nena* (shun) which are derived from another set of atelics because there is

no internal temporal development in states. Hence state verbs lack any incremental property.

### 3.5.1.5 Verbs of bodily positions: *nona* (become fat), *lapile* (hungry)

According to Levin (1993), these verbs take an experiencer as a subject. She posits that these verbs subcategorize two arguments and fall into two classes, namely a transitive verb and an intransitive verb. The verbs are about an experiencer who desires something, and this argument is perceived as the subject of the verb of desire which expresses something as being the desired object of the transitive verb, or as the object of a prepositional phrase if a verb is intransitive.

- (165) a. *Morwetsana enwa o a nona.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(This lady is becoming fat)
- b. *Ke lapile.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I am hungry)

The stative verbs *nona* (become fat) *lapile* (become hungry) are classified at the individual level because they may be directly identified with the individual throughout his/her lifetime. The stative verb *lapile* (hungry) is classified as a stage-level verb because it is usually identified with non-permanent stages experienced by individuals as it expresses simple duration and punctuality. One can say *one is hungry at noon*. This happens when a sentence lexically focuses on a change of state as in a change from being thin to becoming fat in (165a), and a change of state from being full to a state of being hungry in (165b).

### 3.5.1.6 Physical perception: *bona* (see), *utlwa* (feel)

Levin (1993) proposes that verbs of perception explain the actual perception of some entity and they take the subject as a perceiver and what is perceived as an object. She maintains that this set of verbs receives substantial attention because they are state verbs which appear as odd in the progressive unless they receive a special interpretation. She points out that some of these verbs are attached to a particular modality, while others are not.

Smith (1997:81) points out that these perception verbs are inclined to appear in sentences as state verbs though they have the features of both static and dynamic situation types as exemplified in achievements and activities.

The sentences in (166) describe perception verbs *utlwa* (feel) and *bona* (see) with stative sentences:

- |          |  |          |
|----------|--|----------|
| (166) a. | <i>Ke utlwa bohloko.</i> [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I feel pain) | State    |
| b.       | <i>Ke bona dikolobe.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I see pigs)  | Activity |

These perception sentences constitute reports reflecting the special immediacy of perception *feeling the pain* in (166a) and *seeing the pigs* in (166b). In (166b), perception verbs *utlwa* (feel) and *bona* (see) appear to be of the dynamic situation type rather than the static type. These sentences refer to the coming about of the state in which the event is indeed under the control of the agent, as in ‘*Ke utlwa bohloko*’ (I am feeling the pain). This carries the meaning of an Activity situation type and ‘*Ke bona dikolobe*’ (I see pigs instantly) could be interpreted as an Achievement situation type. On the other hand, (166a) may hold for a moment, or an interval, with an arbitrary final point. When one felt pain at a certain time, there is no moment when one did not feel the pain - thus the state holds for a particular time.

### 3.5.2 States with with temporal adjunct

The diagnostic test is of whether the temporal properties *hora/ka hora* (for/in an hour) are compatible with the stative *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) in (168).

- |          |  |       |
|----------|--|-------|
| (167) a. | * <i>Prof Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho [hora]</i><br>[+Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Prof Gildenhuis knows Sesotho for an hour)   | State |
| b.       | * <i>Prof Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho [ka hora]</i><br>[+Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(Prof Gildenhuis knows Sesotho in an hour) | State |

- c. \**Ntate Thabo o lebala [motsotso].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Father Thabo forgets for a minute)
- d. \**Ntate Thabo o lebala [ka motsotso].*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Father Thabo forgets in a minute)

The stative sentences do not take time, but instead hold for a certain period of time. For instance, when *Prof Gildenhuys knows Sesotho*, there is no moment at any time of the week during which states do not hold in just the same way as one other. The examples in (167) describe stative sentences that may last or continue over a period of time; therefore they cannot be qualified as actions. If one knows Sesotho, the knowledge will last over a period of time; there is no moment throughout that period in which one will not know the language.

### 3.5.2.1 Realize verbs with temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*]

The following sentences demonstrate a diagnostic test of the compatibility of the temporal adverbial *hora/ka hora* (for/in an hour) with the state verbs *lemoha* (realise) and *utlwisisa* (understand):

- (168) a. \**Ke lemohile [motsotso] hore ha a nthate.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I have realised for a minute that he dislikes me)
- b. *Ke lemohile [ka motsotso] hore ha a nthate.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]  
(I have realised within a minute that he dislikes me) State
- c. \**Ke utlwisisa [motsotso].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I understand for a minute )
- d. *Ke utlwisisa [ka motsotso].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I understand within a minute)

In (168a) and (168c), stative sentences are incompatible with the adverbials of simple duration *hora* (for an hour) but are compatible with expressions of completion *ka hora* (in an hour) in (168b) and (168d). The sentence refers to the coming about of a state as in (168a), which indicates a shift from a state of not realising to a state of realising

which is under the control of an Agent. Similarly, in (168b) there is the shift from a state of not understanding to a state of understanding. There is no change in a situation; hence the coming about of a state in these sentences is stative.

### 3.5.2.2 Love verbs with temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*]

The diagnostic test focuses on whether the temporal adverbial *hora/ka dilemolemo* is compatible with state verbs *ratile* (love) and *kgahlile* (admire) in the perfect tense in (169):

- (169) a. \**Diketso o ratile Disebo [hora]*. [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso loved Disebo for an hour)
- b. *Diketso o ratile Disebo [dilemolemo]*. [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso loved Disebo for years)
- c. \**Mohlankana o kgahlile morwetsana [hora]*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A boyfriend admired a girlfriend for an hour)
- d. *Mohlankana o kgahlile morwetsana [ka dilemolemo]*.  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A boyfriend admired a girlfriend in years)

The sentences in (169) demonstrate that the temporal adjunct *dilemolemo* (for-phrase) triggers another interpretation which does not encourage a situational type-shift pertaining to Statives in *Diketso o ratile Disebo [dilemolemo]* (Diketso loved Disebo for years). In (169b), the notion of a state of affairs involving loving for years and of admiring over a period of years in *Diketso o ratile Disebo [ka dilemolemo]* (Diketso loved Disebo for years) holds as true over a certain period of time and may be accommodated in a straight forward way. It is assumed that the time adverbs like *dilemolemo/ka dilemolemo* (for/in years) denote a segment of time which stretches over a certain period as is indicated in (169b) and (169d). On the other hand, the state verbs *ratile* (love) and *kgahlile* (admire) are odd with the *hora/ka hora* (for/in an hour) adverbial, and for this reason one cannot say \**Diketso o ratile Disebo hora/ka hora* \*(Diketso loved Disebo for/in an hour) as in (169a) and (169c).

### 3.5.2.3 Hate verbs with temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*]

The following sentences test whether the temporal adverbial *hora/ka hora* (for/in an hour) is compatible with stative verbs *hloile* (hate) and *nená* (despise) in (170):

- (170) a. \**Ke hloile Dipalo [hora]* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I hate Maths for an hour)
- b. \**Ke hloile Dipalo [ka hora]* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I hate Maths in an hour)
- c. \**Mohlankana o nena kgarebe [motsotswana].*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A young man shuns his girl friend for a second)
- d. \**Mohlankana o nena kgarebe [ka motsotswana].*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A young man shuns his girl friend in a second)

The co-occurrence of temporal adverbial *hora/ka hora* (for-/in- an hour) is semantically incompatible with the stative verbs *hloile* (hate) and *nená* (despise) in (170). Since stative sentences indicate the duration of a state over a stretch of time, the temporal adverbial *motsotswana/ka motsotswana* (for-/in a second) in (170) which denotes an instantaneous event, cannot occur with the state verb *hloile* (hate) and *nená* (despise). These stative sentences, along with the temporal adjunct illustrate shifts of a situation type that do not constitute changes in the focus of the basic-level situation.

### 3.5.2.4 Verbs of bodily position with temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*]

The following sentences test whether the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and *ka hora* (in an hour) are compatible with the stative verb *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (171):

- (171) a. \**Morwetsana enwa o nona [hora].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(This lady becomes fat for an hour).

- b. *Morwetsana enwa o nona [ka selemo].*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (This young lady becomes fat within a year)
- c. *\*Ke lapile [hora].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I am hungry)
- d. *\*Ke lapile [ka hora].* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I am hungry within an hour)

The temporal adverbial *hora/ka hora* (for/in an hour) is incompatible with stative verbs *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (171). The sentence in (171b) has a stative interpretation but focuses on the process of change – from one state to another – as denoted by the stative sentence *Morwetsana enwa o nona ka selemo* (This young lady became fat within a year). The temporal adverbial *ka selemo* (in a year) only denotes a change of state - becoming fat, and this is the result of a change of state that happens within a year in (171b). The temporal adverbial *selemo* (for an hour) is incompatible with the stative verb *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry).

### 3.5.2.5 Physical perception with with temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*]

The sentences test whether the temporal adverbial [*hora/ka hora*] is compatible with the stative *utlwa* (hear), *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) and *bone* (see) in (172):

- (172) a. *\*Ke a utlwa [motsotswana].* [+Static][-Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I hear for a second]
- b. *Ke utlwa bohloko [ka motsotswana].* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I feel pain in a second)
- c. *\*Ke bone dikolobe [motsotswana]* [+Static][-Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I saw pigs for a second]
- d. *Ke bone dikolobe [ka motsotswana]* [-Static][-Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I saw pigs in an hour)

In (172a), the perception verbs *utlwa* (hear) and *bone* (see) in (172c) function as state verbs because they refer to a situation which stretches over a period of time,

consequently they are odd when linked to a temporal adverbial such as *motsotswana* (for an hour) which denotes a situation that occurs instantaneously. The perception stative verb *bone* (see) in (172d) which behaves like an activity verb with an object *dikolobe* (pigs) is compatible with the *ka hora* (in an hour) phrase. The temporal adjunct *ka hora* (in an hour) represents a derived use of the perception verb constellations which refer to activity events. This event is dynamic and atelic, hence the perception events involve will and energy in (172b) and (172d).

### 3.5.3 State verbs with inceptive *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

The diagnostic test focuses on the compatibility of the inceptive morphemes *qala* (start/begin) and the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish/stop) with stative sentences. Both lexical morphemes are involved in determining whether the speaker may present a situation as a whole, with a broad view, or with a narrow view focussing on one endpoint, or the mid-point of the situation.

#### 3.5.3.1 Know verbs with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

The following stative sentences are used to test the compatibility of the super-lexical morpheme *qala/qeta* (begin/finish) with the infinitive complement clause exhibiting the stative verbs *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) in (173):

- (173) a. *Prof.Gildenhuys o qala ho tseba Sesotho.*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Prof Gildenhuys begins to know Sesotho)
- b. *Ntate Thabo o qala ho lebala.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Father Thabo begins to forget)
- c. *\*Prof.Gildenhuys o qetile ho tseba Sesotho.*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Prof Gildenhuys finished knowing Sesotho)
- d. *\*Ntate Thabo o qetile ho lebala.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Father Thabo finished forgetting)

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) expresses an ingressive meaning in relation to the event i.e. there is a marked focus on the preliminary stages of the event ‘*Prof Gildenhuis o qala ho tseba Sesotho*’ (Prof Gildenhuis begins to know Sesotho) in (173a) and in ‘*Ntate Thabo o qala ho lebala*’ (Father Thabo begins to forget) in (173b). In (173a) and (173b), the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is compatible with the stative sentences which are associated with atelic situations. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start), which refers to the preliminary stages of the event, interprets the ongoing meaning. However, in (173c) and (173d) the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is semantically anomalous when viewed against the stative sentences; hence the verb *qetile* (finished) involves completion. State verbs are not associated with telic, stative situation types.

### 3.5.3.2 Realise verbs with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

The following sentences serve as a diagnostic test for the compatibility of the super-lexical morpheme *qala/qeta* (start/finish) with realise verbs *lemoha* (realise) and *utlwisisa* (understand):

- (174) a. *Ke qala ho lemoha hore o a nthata.* [+Static][+Duration][-Telic] State  
(I start realizing that he loves me)
- b. *Ke qala ho utlwisisa hore bophelo bo boima.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I begin to understand that life is difficult)
- c. *\*Ke qetile ho lemoha hore o a nthata.*  
[+Static][+Duration][-Telic] State  
(I finished realizing that he loves me)
- d. *\*Ke qetile ho utlwisisa.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I finished understanding)

The marked focus here is on the ingressive stages of the event, i.e. on the preliminary stages of the event, and involves the element of progression, as in ‘*Ke qala ho lemoha hore o a nthata*’ (I start realizing that he loves me) in (174a) and ‘*Ke qala ho utlwisisa hore bophelo bo boima*’ (I begin to understand that life is difficult) in

(174b). The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) is compatible with the stative sentences in (174a) and (174b) while the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is odd when used with the state verbs in (174c) and (174d). State verbs are never finished or completed; hence, with verbs of the stative class, undifferentiated stages occur over a period of time.

### 3.5.3.3 Love verbs with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (start/finish) and terminative morphemes *qetile* (finish) are used to test compatibility with stative verbs *rata* (love) and *nyonya* (hate) in (175):

- (175) a. *Diketso o qala ho rata Disebo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso starts loving Disebo)
- b. *Mohlankana o qala ho nyonya morwetsana.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A young man starts hating a young woman)
- c. *\*Diketso o qetile ho rata Disebo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso stopped loving Disebo)
- d. *\*Mohlankana o qetile ho nyonya morwetsana.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A young man stopped hating a young woman)

The occurrence of the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) is compatible with the infinitive stative verbs *rata* (love) in (175a), and *nyonya* (hate) in (175b), while the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish/stop) is semantically anomalous with the state verbs *rata* (love) and *nyonya* (hate) in (175c) and (175d). Hence state verbs are never finished or completed. A marked focus on the ingressive aspect of the event, i.e. on the preliminary stages of the event in '*Diketso o qala ho rata Disebo*' (Diketso starts loving Disebo) in (175a) describes the situation in its beginning stages, without changing the type of situation involved. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (start/begin) in *Mohlankana o qala ho nyonya morwetsana* (A young man starts hating a young woman) in (175b) indicates how the state of hating begins. These events indicate a

transition from a state of affairs to a process which begins with loving and hating respectively.

### 3.5.3.4 Hate verbs with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

The following sentences are used as a diagnostic test to investigate whether the inceptive/terminative morphemes *qala/qetile* (begin/finish) are compatible with the infinitive stative verbs *hloya* (hate) and *nena* (despise):

- (176) a     *Ke qala ho hloya dipalo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]             State  
               (I start hating mathematics)
- b.     *Mohlankana o qala ho nena kgarebe.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]     State  
               (A youngman starts despising his girl friend)
- c.     \**Ke qetile ho hloya Dipalo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]             State  
               (I stopped hating Maths)
- d.     \**Mohlankana o qetile ho nena kgarebe.*  
               [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]   State  
               (Youngman stopped despising his girl friend)

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (start) in (176a) and in (176b) focuses on the beginning of the event i.e. the ingressive meaning through which the receiver may deduce that the event of *hating* and *despising* continues without end. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (start) gives rise to an interpretation of the continuation of a situation unless the information given is to the contrary. For instance in (176a) *one used to love mathematics, but because of X be the case, he now begins to hate mathematics*. The terminative morpheme ‘*qeta*’ (finish) is odd with the stative verbs such as *hloya* (hate) and *nena* (despise) in (176c) and in (176b), hence stative verbs never finish or cease.

### 3.5.3.5 Verbs of bodily position with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

Here the test pertains to super-lexical morphemes *qala/qeta* (begin/finish) linked with the infinitive complementary sentence which expresses the verbs of bodily position *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry) to demonstrate compatibility:

- (177) a. *Morwetsana enwa o qala ho nona.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(This lady starts becoming fat).
- b. *Ke qala ho lapa.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I start to be hungry)
- c. \**Morwetsana enwa o qetile ho nona.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(This lady stopped becoming fat).
- d. \**Ke qetile ho lapa.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I stopped being hungry)

In (177a), the inceptive morpheme *qala* (start) focuses on the beginning of the event in which the receiver may deduce that the event continues, unless there is information to the contrary that *this woman was thin and now because X is the case, she starts to become fat*. Similarly in (177b), *one was full then, now one becomes hungry*. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (start) encourages an interpretation of continuation although there is no change in a state, rather than a transition from the state of affairs to a process of *becoming fat* and *becoming hungry*. In (177c) and (177d), the terminative morpheme *qeta* (finish) is incompatible with the infinitive complementary sentences denoting stative verbs *nona* (become fat) and *lapa* (become hungry).

### 3.5.3.6 Perception verbs with inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin/start) or with terminative morpheme [*qeta*]

This tests the super-lexical morphemes *qala/qeta* (begin/stop) in order to investigate their compatibility with infinitive complementary sentences describing the perception verbs *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) in (178):

- |          |   |          |
|----------|---|----------|
| (178) a. | <i>Ke qala ho utlwa bohloko.</i> [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I begin to feel pain)     | State    |
| b.       | <i>Ke qala ho bona dikolobe.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I start seeing pigs).     | Activity |
| c.       | <i>Ke qetile ho utlwa bohloko.</i> [+Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I stopped feeling pain) | State    |
| d.       | <i>Ke qetile ho bona dikolobe.</i> [-Static][+Durative][-Telic]<br>(I stopped seeing pigs). | Activity |

The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) is compatible with the stative verbs *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) in (178a) and (178b). The occurrence of the inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) presents the stative sentence at the beginning of an event, because the meaning of the infinitive complementary stative verb constellations ‘*ho utlwa bohloko*’ (to feel pain) and ‘*ho bona dikolobe*’ (to see pigs) is superseded in the ingressive meaning. The inceptive morpheme *qala* (begin) modifies the verb focus by introducing a shift in the derived-Activity situation type in ‘*Ke qala ho utlwa bohloko*’ (I begin to feel pain) in (178a) and in ‘*Ke qala ho bona dikolobe*’ (I start seeing pigs) in (178b). In (178c), the terminative morpheme *qetile* (stopped) is semantically compatible with the infinitive complementary derived-stative verb constellations ‘*ho utlwa bohloko*’ (to feel pain) and ‘*ho bona dikolobe*’ because the situations constitute a change to a new state or process of stopping *feeling the pain* and of *finishing seeing* the pigs. The terminative morpheme *qetile* (stopped/finished) triggers a shift to the derived-Activities situation type; hence the events are atelic.

### 3.5.4 State verbs with progressive

Smith (1997:34) posits that stative verbs cannot occur with the progressive forms in English. This statement is supported by Louwrence (1996:124) cited in Smith (1983:490), to the effect that the progressive aspect is incompatible with stative sentences. The notion of the progressive aspect indicates *the time* that is neither initial nor final because of the undifferentiated moments in states. Nevertheless the focus is on whether stative verbs are compatible with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) in Sesotho.

### 3.5.4.1 Know verbs

In the following sentences, progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) functions as a diagnostic text with the know verbs *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget):

- (179) a. *Prof Gildenhuis o sa ntse a tseba Sesotho*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Prof Gildenhuis still knows Sesotho)
- b. *Ntate Thabo o sa ntse a lebala.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Father Thabo is still forgetting)

It is observed that stative verbs *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) do have progressive meaning in ‘*Prof Gildenhuis o sa ntse a tseba Sesotho*’ (Prof Gildenhuis still knows Sesotho) and in ‘*Ntate Thabo o sa ntse a lebala*’ (Father Thabo is still forgetting) although in English one cannot say \**Prof Gildenhuis is knowing Sesotho* or \**Ntate Thabo is forgetting*. However, these stative verbs *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) involve no dynamic and they do not constitute a change of state although the stative sentence in (179a) may occur as the result of a change from a state of *not knowing* to a state of *knowing*, and they may provide a potential change from a state of *remembering* to a state of *not recalling* as in (179b).

### 3.5.4.2 Sick verbs with progressive

The following sentences serve as a diagnostic test of whether the progressive ‘*sa/sa ntse*’ (still/ be+-ing) is compatible with the stative verbs *kula* (sick) and *robala* (sleep) in (180):

- (180) a. *Pule o sa ntse a kula.* [+Static][+Duration][-Telic] State  
 (Pule is still sick)
- b. *Ke sa ntse ke robetse.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I am still sleeping)

In (180a), a change of state has a special status for human beings. The stative verbs *kula* (sick) and *robala* (sleep) refer to a particular state of *continuing being sick* in

(180a) and that of *continuing being asleep* in (180b). The occurrence of progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) focusses on a process, with no end in the stages of the event. There is no shift in the stative situation type with the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing), hence this change of state is has a special status for human beings. The state of *being sick* and that of *being asleep* indicate the progressive interpretation in terms of duration but it is temporary because in (180a) *Pule may become well* and in (180b) *one may be awake*. The occurrence of progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) does not relate directly to the stativeness of the situation, but rather to the ongoing meaning if the stative verbs *kula* (sick) and *robala* (sleep) behave like non-stative verbs.

### 3.5.4.3 Love verbs with progressive

The state sentences test whether the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) is compatible with love verbs *rata* (love) and *kgahla* (admire) in (181):

- (181) a. *Diketso o sa rata Disebo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso still loves Disebo)
- b. *Mohlankana o sa ntse a kgahla kgarebe.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A boyfriend still admires a girlfriend)

In (181), the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) interprets stative sentences in '*Diketso o sa rata Disebo*' (Diketso still loves Disebo) and in '*Mohlankana o sa ntse a kgahla kgarebe*' (A boyfriend still admires a girlfriend) as the continuation of a situation. The semantic situation of the stative verb does not necessitate the endpoints when it appears with the progressive aspect. For instance, if *Diketso still loves Disebo*, a situation is ongoing at a particular time. The meaning of the progressive would be that of a continuation as in (181b) *a boyfriend still admires a girlfriend*.

### 3.5.4.4 Hate verbs with progressive

The state sentences test whether the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) is compatible with hate verbs *hloya* (hate) and *nená* (despise) in (182):

- (182) a. *Ke sa ntse ke hloile dipalo.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I still hate mathematics)
- b. *Mohlankana o ntse a nena kgarebe.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(The young man still despises his girl friend)

The sentences in ‘*Ke sa ntse ke hloile dipalo*’ (I still hate mathematics) and in ‘*Mohlankana o ntse a nena kgarebe*’ (The young man still despises his girl friend) refer to situations which ascribe a static property to a situation which allows the progressive, i.e., an ongoing interpretation. The occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) in the state of *hating* and of *despising* does not trigger a shift or a change of state. The situations remain unchanged as stative situation types.

### 3.5.4.5 Verbs of bodily position with progressive

The focus is on the stative sentences with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) so as to investigate compatibility with verbs of bodily position *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (183):

- (183) a. *Morwetsana enwa o sa ntse a nona.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(This young lady is still fat).
- b. *Ke sa ntse ke lapile.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I am still hungry)

In (183a), the occurrence of the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) expresses a situation type in which the verb may have shifted the interpretation of the inchoative meaning of the state of being as in *the young lady is still fat, not lean*. In (183b), the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) describes a situation as a change from a state of *being hungry* to a state of *being full* or of *satisfying of one’s hunger*.

### 3.5.4.6 Perception verbs with progressive

The following sentences focus on the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) so as to investigate compatibility with the stative perception verbs *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) in (184):

- (184) a. *Ke sa ntse ke utlwa bohloko.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I am still feeling pain)
- b. *Ke sa ntse ke bona dikolobe.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I am still seeing pigs).

In (184) the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) with stative sentences expressing the verbs of perception *utlwa* (hear) and *bona* (see) tend to appear in sentences that realize static and dynamic situation types –they may thus appear in sentences of more than one situation type. In (184a), the verb of perception *utlwa* (hear) functions as a stative verb and the situation does not involve either will or energy. In (184b) the verb of perception *bona* is also a stative verb but functions as a derived-Activity verb precisely because it involves will and energy.

### 3.5.5 Stative verbs with habitual sentences

This section focuses on stative sentences expressing the habitual meaning that indicate a pattern of events which involves the repetition of a situation on separate occasions. However, the habitual aspect *ka mehla/mehla ena/ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) is used to test whether the stative verbs are compatible with the habitual meaning.

#### 3.5.5.1 Know verbs with habitual *ka nako tsohle*

The habitual aspect *ka nako tsohle/ka mehla* (always/all the time) is used to investigate the compatibility with stative verbs *tseba* (know) and *lebala* (forget) in (185):

- (185) a. *Prof Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho ka nako tsohle.*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Prof Gildenhuis always knows Sesotho)
- b. *Ntate Thabo o lebala ka mehla.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Father Thabo forgets every day)

The occurrence of the habitual aspect *ka nako tsohle/ ka mehla* (always/all the time) describes sentences in (185) as derived-habitual situation types. They denote a pattern of situations involving repetition as ‘*Prof Gildenhuis o tseba Sesotho ka nako tsohle*’ (Prof Gildenhuis always knows Sesotho). Similarly, the sentence ‘*Ntate Thabo o lebala ka mehla*’ (Father Thabo forgets every day), conveys that the specific state of forgetting obtains frequently, and on different occasions.

### 3.5.5.2 Sick verbs with habitual *ka mehla*

The following stative sentences are used to investigate and to demonstrate whether the habitual aspect *ka mehla/ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) is compatible with the stative verbs *kula* (become sick) and *robetse* (be asleep) in (186):

- (186) a. *Thabo o kula ka mehla.* [+Static][+Duration][-Telic] State  
 (Thabo is always sick)
- b. *Nkgono o robetse ka nako tsohle.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (Granny is always sleeping)

In (186), the occurrence of the habitual aspect *ka mehla/ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) refers to a situation which its pattern of the recurring situation occurs frequently. The situation is habitual because the verb constellations of the habitual stative sentences refer to a given state which appears in a regular pattern of repetition as in (186a) *Thabo being constantly sick* and *Granny being continuously asleep*. These stative sentences are semantically habitual as they present a pattern of situations that occur frequently.

### 3.5.5.3 Love verbs with habitual *ka nako tsohle/ka mehla*

The following stative sentences are used as a diagnostic test to indicate the habitual aspect expressing the habitual adverbial *ka mehla/ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) with the stative verbs *rata* (love) and *kgahlile* (admire) in (187):

- (187) a. *Diketso o rata Disebo ka mehla.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Diketso always loves Disebo)
- b. *Mohlankana o kgahlile morwetsana ka nako tsohle.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(A young man always admires a young woman)

The stative sentences ‘*Diketso o rata Disebo ka mehla*’ (Diketso always loves Disebo) in (187a) and ‘*Mohlankana o kgahlile morwetsana ka nako tsohle*’ (A young man always admires a young woman) in (187b) are interpreted as habitual sentences since the habitual aspect *ka mehla* (always) indicates a habit without necessarily meaning frequent repetition. These sentences in (187) describe the single habit of *loving* and of *admiring*; hence the stative verbs are semantically habitual.

### 3.5.5.4 Hate verbs with habitual *ka nako tsohle/mehla ena*

The following stative sentences function as a diagnostic test of whether the habitual aspect *ka mehla/ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) is compatible with the stative verbs *hloile* (hate) and *nena* (despise) (188):

- (188) a. *Ke hloile dipalo ka nako tsohle.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(I always hate mathematics)
- b. *Mohlankana o nena kgarebe ya hae mehla ena.*  
[+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
(Young man despises his girlfriend everyday)

In (188), the sentences are interpreted as habitual because the temporal adverbial *ka nako tsohle/mehla ena* (always) presents the stative situation as a habit, as for example, in sentences (188a) and (188b): *Ke hloile dipalo ka nako tsohle* (I always

hate mathematics) and ‘*Mohlankana o nena kgarebe mehla ena*’ (A young man despises his girlfriend daily). The latter sentence means that a young man intends hating his girlfriend everyday; hence the habitual interpretation expresses a pattern of recurrence.

### 3.5.5.5 Verbs of bodily position with habitual *ka nako tsohle*

The habitual aspect *ka nako tsohle* (always/all the time) is used to demonstrate the compatibility with the stative verbs *nona* (become fat) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (189):

- (189) a. *Morwetsana enwa o nona ka nako tsohle.*  
 [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (This lady is always fat).
- b. *Ke dula ke lapile.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I am always hungry)

In (189), the habitual interpretation is triggered by the information in context. For instance in (189a) ‘*Morwetsana enwa o nona ka nako tsohle*’ (This lady is always fat), the habitual aspect *ka nako tsohle* (all the time) does not shift the focus from the basic-level stative to the habitual interpretation because stative verbs are interpreted as habitual. On the other hand, this habitual aspect *dula* (always/all the time) does not trigger a shift in the habitual stative sentences as in (189b) ‘*Ke dula ke lapile*’ (I am always hungry). These sentences are routine in nature, hence the habitual aspect *dula* (always) refers to the coming about of the state of *being hungry*.

### 3.5.5.6 Perception verbs with habitual verbs *ka mehla/mehla ena*

The following sentences function as a diagnostic test of whether the habitual aspect *ka mehla/mehla ena* (always/all the time) accepts the stative verbs *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) and *bona* (see) in (190):

- (190) a. *Ke utlwa bohloko ka mehla.* [+Static][+Durative][-Telic] State  
 (I always feel pain)

- b. *Ke bona dikolobe mehla ena.* [-Static][+Durative][-Telic] Activity  
(I see pigs every day).

In (190b), perception verbs *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) and *bona dikolobe* (see pigs) describes derived-statives but due to the occurrence of the habitual aspect *ka mehla* (always) they provide a habitual meaning. For instance, the action of *seeing pigs* is carried out on a daily basis, from which it can therefore be concluded that the focus on the pigs is repeated, and is therefore a habit. Similarly, in (190a), the state of *being in pain* is repeated every day, and consequently this situation may be regarded as habitual. The above stative sentences describe habitual interpretations.

### 3.5.5.7 Summary on stative verbs

In conclusion, we may safely assume that stative verbs consist of undifferentiated periods without internal structure (See examples cited). They require external agency for change in which the agent is characterised as the intender and the doer of the action/s expressed by stative sentences, eg '*Thabo o tseba Sesotho*' (Thabo knows Sesotho) and '*Diketso o rata Disebo*' (Diketso loves Disebo). The agent argument must be capable of voluntary or intentional action as outlined in examples (161 – 166) eg *Thabo* and *Diketso* are characterised as Agents. The initial and final endpoints of a state are not part of the state in the above-indicated state verb illustrations. Each sentence present a distinct situation, constituting no changes of state but implying that a stative verb which describes an unchanging situation which will continue unless something happens to change the states' status as non-events.

The following are examples of state verbs: *tseba* (know), *rata* (love), *hloya* (hate), *nona* (fat) and *nonopela* (overweight). These stative verbs are drawn from another set of atelics because they demonstrate no internal temporal development, and lack the incremental property. The incremental theme verbs do not share the changes of state in these verbs; hence there is evidence of a noticeable inner event involving no change at all in the direct object; for instance if one says *Ke hloile dipalo* (I hate mathematics) *Diketso o rata Disebo* (Diketso loves Disebo) there is no change of state or outcome in the direct object, i.e. *dipalo* (mathematics) and *Disebo* respectively.

Verbs which express psychological states with experiencer subjects *tseba* (know) or *rata* (love) and verbs of perception *bona* (see) and *utlwa* (feel) have no incremental theme and do not involve a change of state in their meaning. This would imply that they have no causative component in their meaning. For instance, if someone feels pain in '*Ke utlwa bohloko*', one does not cause the location of the pain to change its state. Furthermore, the verbs constitute the atelic events because they stretch or extend over a period of time. Psych verbs and verbs of perception illustrate some of the reasons for treating core events in the lexical semantic representation as having grammatical reality.

Lastly, state verbs are compatible with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+ing) in Sesotho stative sentences. Stative sentences with the progressive aspect present open situations without endpoints. Even though stative verbs are compatible with the progressive aspect, they seem to be unchanging.

### 3.6 SUMMARY

The classification of aspectual classes forms the basis of the Sesotho situation types. Following Smith's model, four situation types, those of activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states in Sesotho have been distinguished according to their temporal features – such as static and dynamic, telic and atelic, durative and instantaneous. These situation types are interpreted through verb constellations and their related arguments in a sentence.

The situation types in Sesotho are expressed as the four different types or categories stated. An activity situation expresses a process in which actions take place continually and which may stop at any time, eg '*Pule o a sebetsa*' (Pule works). They are characterised by the features dynamic, atelic and durative. There is no element of completion in the activity situation type as in '*Thabo o a matha*' (Thabo runs).

In this presentation, it is argued that an accomplishment situation type consists of a process and an outcome or a change of state as in '*Ntate o haha ntlo*' (Father builds a house). The process of *building a house* cannot continue beyond its natural final endpoint, or its outcome, and thus gives rise to a telic interpretation. With regard to

the achievement situation type, the event is instantaneous in nature, for example '*Disebo o tjhwatla kgalase*' (Disebo breaks a glass). A change of state is one of its conceptual properties which provide syntactic evidence of a telic event. This telic event turns on the notion of completion, as in the event of the breaking of a glass, where the outcome is pieces of glass. States are described as the situation types which exist and extend over a period of time, as exemplified in the sentence 'Thabo o tseba Sesotho' (Thabo knows Sesotho) . They are homogenous, continuous and unchanging throughout their duration if Thabo knows Sesotho, there is no moment or point at which Thabo will *not* know Sesotho. Their temporal features are static and durative.

It is argued that the stative verbs are compatible with the progressive aspect, as demonstrated in the examples cited in (180): '*Pule o sa ntse a kula* (Pule is still sick) and in '*Ke sa ntse ke robetse*' (I am still sleeping). The change of state has a special status for human beings. The stative verbs in both instances refer to a particular state *of being sick* and *that of not being awake*. The occurrence of the progressive *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) focusses on a process, with no end stages to the event. However, the compatibility of stative sentences and progressive interpretations is explainable in terms of the following significant variables: competence in a specific language, with different statives and dynamic situations.

## CHAPTER 4

### DEFICIENT VERBS CLAUSE MODIFICATION AS DIAGNOSTIC FOR SHIFTS IN BASIC-LEVEL SITUATION TYPES

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to examine the situation type shifts that may result from the occurrence of various deficient verbs in Sesotho as they may occur in a range of tense and mood with various basic-level situations. Types of verbs constellations associated with states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements are used in order to determine whether the occurrence of the respective deficient verbs is semantically compatible with each individual basic-level situation type verb. Thus, it will be determined what if any, shifted, i.e. derived situation type results because of the co-occurrence of the various deficient verbs with respective basic-level situation type verb constellation. In addition, attention will be given to the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect since tense closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. In this regard the temporal and situation type aspectual meanings of Sesotho deficient verbs in their occurrence with a range of semantic verb classes in Sesotho will be explored. The viewpoint aspect in relation to the perfective-imperfective opposition realized in these sentences will also be considered.

Three phenomena termed aspect generally occur in the linguistic literature, i.e. **action(al) types**, viewed as a kind of **lexical** aspect, the **grammatical** category aspect, which includes the Perfective and Imperfective aspects, and Aristotelian aspect in terms of which a classification of verbs constellations is made as **states**, **activities**, **accomplishments** and possibly **achievements** will be explored. The following presentation of a set of examples will be illustrated to identify whether the example sentences are semantically acceptable with the occurrence of deficient verbs followed by various complement clauses. The conclusion will be made that the particular kind (i.e. state, activity, accomplishment or achievement) or that a **shift** in situation type with the occurrence of the deficient verb with the basic-level situation

type verb, results in a **derived** situation type of a particular kind. Recall that three phenomena termed aspect generally occur in the linguistics literature. They are **action (al) types** (viewed as a kind of **lexical** aspect); the **grammatical** category aspect (which includes the Perfective and Imperfective aspects); and Aristotelian aspect (in terms of which a classification of verbs constellation is made as **states, activities, accomplishments** and possibly **achievements**). These phenomena will be explored in detail. In this regard, a set of examples will be illustrated to identify whether the example sentences are semantically acceptable with the occurrence of deficient verbs followed by various complement clauses. The conclusion will be made to the effect that the particular kind (i.e. state, activity, accomplishment or achievement) or that a **shift** in situation type with the occurrence of the deficient verb with the (basic-level) situation type verb, results in a **derived** situation type of a particular kind.

The aspectual properties of deficient verbs in Sesotho will be accounted for by examining the following major semantic classes of deficient verbs:

1. **TIME**  
-sala (act eventually, act later), -fihla (act immediately, do straightway)
2. **CONDITIONAL**  
-ka be, -tla be,
3. **HABITUAL**  
-hlola (always), -ye, -be, -nne, -hle (something happens in most cases, generally, usually)
4. **CONTRAST**  
-mpa
5. **ITERATIVE**  
-boela, -pheta (do again, repeat)
6. **FREQUENTATIVE**  
-atisa (do frequently, act often)
7. **REQUEST**  
-a-ko, with hortative [ka]
8. **OBLIGATION**  
-tshwanetse (do of necessity)

**9. MANNER**

**-hla**(do indeed), **-fela** (act indeed, do in reality), **-batla** (nearly, act almost), **-nyafa**, (signifying opportune action), **-phakisa** (do soon, act quickly)

**10. CONTINUATIVE**

**nna** (act continually), **eketsa** (do further, act besides), **-ntse** (act continually)

Descriptive grammarians such as Guma (1991) and Doke and Mofokeng (1985) maintain that deficient verbs have distinctive semantic features which are related to inflectional categories, tense and aspectual properties. The main focus of this chapter is on the deficient verbs that denote temporal modification. There are other deficient verbs that denote the motion of modality of which are not of major concern in this chapter.

Guma (1991:187) states that deficient verbs stems are those verb stems that cannot emanate by themselves to constitute a complete verbal predicate. Doke and Mofokeng (1985:245) make a similar conclusion that these verbal stems require a complementary verb in order to complete their predication. They give the following example sentences in discussing the structure of the deficient verbs:

- a. *O **ye** a tsohe hoseng.*  
(He usually gets up in the morning)
- b. *O **nne** a phoke ha bo le teng.*  
(He usually drinks when it (beer) is available)

The occurrence of the deficient verbs **ye** (usually) and **nne** (usually) requires an obligatory complement clause. The deficient verb determines the selection of the participial mood in the inflection of the clausal complement.

According to Doke and Mofokeng (1985) deficient verbs in Sesotho have the following features:

- The deficient verb occurs in clauses compound that are tenses consisting of more than one clause and are found by the employment of a large number of deficient verbs.
- The majority of these deficient verbs are followed by the subjunctive, participial or infinitive mood.
- Most of the deficient verbs are irregular in form; in fact the only ones to end in the regular **-a-** are to be found among those followed by infinitive mood.
- The deficient verb always constitutes the introductory member of the group, and is followed by the main verb as complement.
- The deficient verb determines the mood of the complementary clause.
- Most deficient verbs are related to either main or deficient verbs, for example:

- (1)
- |    |                                  |                  |
|----|----------------------------------|------------------|
| a. | <i>O <b>setse</b> hae</i>        | [main verb]      |
|    | (He remains at home)             |                  |
| b. | <i>O <b>setse</b> a tsamaile</i> | [deficient verb] |
|    | (He has already left)            |                  |

#### 4.2. DEFICIENT VERBS THAT DENOTE TIME: ‘After an unspecified time’

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the basic-level verbs or verb constellations that demonstrate activities, accomplishments, achievements and states situation types, respectively. In particular, the question is whether these respective basic-level situations are semantically compatible with the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) taking a participial complement clause. In some participial complement clauses, the verb stem *-sala* (act eventually, act later) may either occur as a deficient verb (DV) and/or as a main verb (MV).

In this section, types of aspectual viewpoint will be also discussed. Aspectual viewpoints have complex meanings that are invariant for the language in which they appear. According to Smith (1995:107), viewpoint focuses all or part of the temporal schema associated with situation type. Therefore, this section will also consider the semantic difference between aspectual viewpoints and what information a viewpoint

presents is affected or limited by the structure of the situation talked about in a given situation type. The spans of perfective and imperfective viewpoints differ in whether or not they include the endpoints of the situation focused. Perfective viewpoints include both the endpoints of a situation while imperfective viewpoints focus on stages that are neither initial nor final, excluding endpoints (Smith, 1997:93).

The following table is used as a starting point to investigate and demonstrate the interpretation of the deficient verbs describing **time**, **conditional**, **habitual**, **contrast**, **iterative**, **frequentative**, **request**, **obligation**, **manner** and **continuative** that interact with tenses and moods expressing the situation types of the **activity**, **accomplishment**, **achievement** and **state** of a sentence. The basic-level of the verb constellations of events may be associated with more than one situation type, depending on the context in which they appear.

<b>Complement Participle<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>Complement Participle<sub>2</sub></b>
Present Tense	Present Tense Participle
Present Tense	Perfect Tense Participle
Potential	Present Tense Participle
Potential	Perfect Tense Participle
Future Tense	Present Tense Participle
Future Tense	Perfect Tense Participle
Consecutive	Present Tense Participle
Consecutive	Perfect Tense Participle
Subjunctive	Present Tense Participle
Infinitive	Present Tense Participle
Infinitive	Present Tense Participle
Imperative	Present Tense Participle
Imperative	Perfect Tense Participle

#### 4.2.1 Deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with a basic-level Activity event

This sub-section examines whether the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with either of the following indicative, potential, future, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive or imperative followed by the present, perfect or future tense participial complement clause is compatible with an activity situation type.

##### 4.2.1.1. Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (2a) and *matha* (run) in (2b):

- (2) a. *Ba tsamaya e sa le ka meso, yaba ke sala ke hlapa.*  
 (They leave early in the morning, and then I eventually washed)
- b. *Hoba tlhodisano e fele, Pule o sala a matha.*  
 (After the end of the competition, Pule runs eventually)  
 (After the end of the competition, Pule remains running)

The examples in (2) demonstrate that the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense is compatible with the present participial complement clause activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (2a), and *matha* (run) in (2b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in conjunction with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (2a), and *matha* (run) in (2b). The information conveyed by viewpoint is related to the temporal schema of the situation it focuses. The information conveyed in (2a) may be ‘*I continue washing*’ and in (2b), ‘*Pule is running continuously.*’ The sentences in (2) do not convey the message when *washing* and *running* end. This is an open interpretation of imperfective viewpoint because the viewpoint presents situations as incomplete with

neither the initial point nor the final endpoint. The activity situation type remains unchanged since the events are atelic. As far as the characteristics of the present tense verbs are concerned, they are all imperfective in viewpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic–level activity verbs *robetse* (be asleep) in (3a), and *tsamaile* (walked) in (3b). The occurrence of the verb –*sala* (remains/ act eventually, act later) can either function as a deficient verb (DV), as in (3a) or a main verb (MV) in (3b). The symbol \* indicates semantic anomaly:

- (3) a. \**Molato ke eng, ha o se o sala o robetse?*  
 (What is the matter, when you eventually being asleep?)  
 (What is the matter, when you remain sleeping?)
- b. \**Eitse hoba ba kgaohane, o sala a tsamaile.*  
 (i) (After they had separated, he eventually walked)  
 (ii) (After they had separated, he remained walking)

The sentences in (3) demonstrate that the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense is semantically incompatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting the activity verbs *robetse* (be asleep) in (3a) and *tsamaile* (walked) in (3b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity) and the perfect clause of the complement activity verbs *robetse* (be asleep) in (3a) and *tsamaile* (walked) in (3b) which indicates completion. The sentences (3) delimit the semantic meaning of a situation because the imperfective viewpoint which presents continuation as deficient verb –*sala* is strange with perfective viewpoint which presents completion *tsamaile* (walked).

#### 4.2.1.3 Potential Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) with a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (4a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (4b) respectively:

- (4) a. *Ha o ka ba teng, ba ka sala ba bapala.*  
 (If you can be there, they can or may eventually play)
- b. *Ha re no senya nako, re ka sala re sebetsa.*  
 (We will not waste time; we can or may work eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the potential **ka** (can/may) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (3a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (3b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) and the present tense participial complement clause *bapala* (play) in (3a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (3b). The imperfective viewpoint presents part of a situation with no information about the final endpoint of playing and working. The information conveyed by imperfective viewpoint constitutes semantic meaning of continuing *playing* in (3a) and continuing *working* in (3b). Thus imperfective viewpoint has an open interpretation. The situation type remains unchanged as an activity hence it is atelic.

#### 4.2.1.4 Potential Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (5a) and *fuputsa* (investigate) in (5b). The symbol \* indicates semantic anomaly:

- (5) a. \**Ha a ka ba mong, a ka sala a sebeditse.*  
(If he can be alone, he can/may worked eventually)
- b. \**Nka sebetsa ha feela nka sala ke hlatsweditse diaparo.*  
(I can work only if I can/may eventually have clothes washed)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential morpheme **ka** (can/may) is semantically anomalous with the perfect tense participial complement clause activity verbs, *sebeditse* (worked) in (5a) and *hlatswitse* (washed) in (5b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity) and the perfect tense participial complement *sebeditse* (worked) in (5a) and *hlatswitse* (washed) in (5b) which denotes completion. In a clash between the occurrence of deficient *-sala* (act eventually, act later) and perfect tense participial complement clause activity verbs *sebeditse* (worked) in (5a) and *hlatswitse* (washed) in (5b), the perfect morpheme – **itse/-ile** is incompatible with the situation type of activity. The situation type remains unchanged as an activity.

#### 4.2.1.5 Future Tense *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *-lema* (plough) in (6a) and *hlatswa* (wash) in (6b):

- (6) a. *Tsamaya, ke tla sala ke lema.*  
(i) (Go, I will plough)  
(ii) (Go, I will remain ploughing)
- b. *Tsamayang, ke tla sala ke hlatswa.*  
(i) (You go, I will wash eventually)  
(ii) (You go, I will remain washing)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future morpheme **tla** (will/shall) accepts the verb constellation of an activity event with the present tense participial complement clause as demonstrated by *lema* (plough) in (6ai) and *hlatswa* (wash) in (6bi). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the present tense participial complement clause *lema* (plough) in (6ai) and *hlatswa* (wash) in (6bi). The verb constellation associated with an activity situation type remains unchanged, hence the event is atelic. On the other hand, the occurrence of the verb *-sala* (remain) in the future morpheme **tla** (will/shall) is therefore semantically compatible with present tense participial complement clause expressing activity verbs *lema* (plough) in (6a<sub>ii</sub>) and in *hlatswa* (wash) in (6b<sub>ii</sub>), respectively.

#### 4.2.1.6 Future Tense *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (7a) and *tsamaile* (gone) in (7b):

- (7) a. ***Ke tlo sala ke sebeditse.***  
 (i) (I will have worked eventually)  
 (ii) (I will remain working)  
 b. ***Re tlo fihla, ha ba sala ba tsamaile.***  
 (We will arrive, if they have gone eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting the activity verbs *sebeditse* (worked) in (7a) and *tsamaile* (gone) in (7b). The neutral viewpoint is attributed by of the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes continuity with the perfect tense participial complement clause *sebeditse* (worked) in (7a) and *tsamaile* (gone) in (7b) which denotes completion. These sentences express the hypothetical events with

the future tense **tla** with the perfect tense participial complement clauses. Despite this semantic characteristic the sentences convey the probabilities of completion or non-completion interpretation of *working* and *of going*. In (7ai), the act of working is linked with future tense at which the working will be incomplete, and the viewpoint will be imperfective. There is no information regarding the beginning of the working and the final endpoint. Thus the activity situation type remains unchanged as an activity event hence it is atelic. In (7b), the sentence relates the reading in the future tense at which the process of going will be completed, hence the perfective viewpoint. Thus the activity shifts to telic accomplishment event.

#### 4.2.1.7 Consecutive –sala (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (8a) and *matha* (run) in (8b). The occurrence of the verb –sala (act eventually, act later) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in both (8a.i) and (8b.i) and as a main verb (MV) in both (8a.ii) and (8b.ii):

- (8) a. *Hoba re je, **ra sala re hlapa**.*  
 (i) (After we had eaten, we eventually bathed.)  
 (ii) (After eating, we remained bathing)
- b. *Hoba re bine, **ra ja, ra sala re matha**.*  
 (i) (After singing, we ate, and we ran eventually)  
 (ii) (After singing, we ate, and we remained running)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs, i.e. *hlapa* (wash) in (8a) and *matha* (run) in (8b). The occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (8a) and *matha* (run) in (8b) do not demonstrate completion because of the information given by the imperfective viewpoint. The

viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) and the present tense participial complement clause of the activity verbs *hlapa* (wash) in (8a) and *matha* (run) in (8b). The deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by the present tense participial complement clause thus constitutes the grammatical realization of the imperfective viewpoint aspects. The meaning of consecutive which denotes completion is superseded by the present tense participial clause with *hlapa* (wash) in (8a) and *matha* (run) in (8b) in the indicative mood. The sentences in (8a.i) and (8b.i) are activity events.

#### 4.2.1.8 Consecutive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *na* (rain) in (9a), *foka* (blow) in (9b), and *kgetheha* (snow) in (9c):

- (9) a. *Eitse hoba ba tsamaye, pula ya sala e nele.*  
(After they had left, the rain eventually rained)
- b. *Ha ba qeta ho tsamaya, moya wa sala o fokile.*  
(After they had just left, the wind eventually blew)
- c. *E nele, moya o fokile mme lehlwa la sala le kgethehile.*  
(It rained, the wind blew and the snow eventually fell)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is semantically acceptable with the perfect tense participial complement clauses explaining the activity verbs *nele* (rained) in (9a), *fokile* (blew) in (9b), and *kgethehile* (snow) in (9c). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the perfect tense which conveys the endpoint of the activity event of *raining*, *blowing*, and *snowing*. The shifts allow the speaker to present a situation from Activity to Accomplishment. The activities of *raining*, *blowing* and *snowing* with regard to their internal structure comes eventually a point at which the process/event completes the action or at the point the situation described must

necessarily come to a final endpoint permitted by the consecutive mood followed by the perfect tense participial morpheme *-ile* situation which describes completion. Thus the situation type described entails a terminal point entailing the action is complete, hence the event is telic.

#### 4.2.1.9 Subjunctive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *fuputsa* (investigate) in (10a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (10b):

- (10) a. *A ke le je le tle le sale le fuputsa.*  
 (Please eat, so that you should investigate later on)
- b. *Hoba ke tsamaye, le sale le sebetsa.*  
 (After I leave, you must work eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *fuputsa* (investigate) in (10a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (10b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning (i.e., an ongoing activity) of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood and the participial mood complement clause activity verbs *fuputsa* (investigate) in (10a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (10b). The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood followed by the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *fuputsa* (investigate) in (10a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (10b) denotes progression of the action. There is no information which conveys that the activity of *searching* and of *working* have come to an end. Therefore the activity situation type remains unchanged as an activity event, hence it is atelic.

#### 4.2.1.10 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (11a) and *ja* (eat), in (11b):

- (11) a. *Ho monate ho sala o sebetsa.*  
 (It is beautiful to work eventually)  
 (It is nice to remain working)
- b. *Ho thata ho sala o ja o le mong.*  
 (It is difficult to eat alone later on)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (11a) and *ja* (eat) in (11b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) and the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (11a) and *ja* (eat) in (11b). The activity situation type remains unchanged as an activity event from the basic-level verb because the process of *working* in (11a) and of *eating* in (11b) is incomplete, i.e. in progress with regard to the point of time later on. These sentences thus constitute the grammatical realization of obligatory imperfective viewpoint aspect.

#### 4.2.1.11 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with a basic-level activity verbs *jele* (ate) in (12a) and *badile* (read) in (12b). The symbol \* indicates semantic anomaly:

- (12) a. \**Ke rata ho sala ke jele.*  
 (I want to have eaten eventually)  
 (I want to remain eating)
- b. \**Ke rata ho sala ke badile ha batho ba robetse.*  
 (I want to have read eventually when people are asleep)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood with the perfect tense participial complement clause activity verbs *robetse* (slept) in (12a) and *badile* (read) in (12b) is semantically anomalous. This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity) and the perfect tense of the complement clause activity verbs *robetse* (be asleep) in (12a) and *badile* (read) in (12b) which denotes completion. There is a clash of semantic feature of **-etse/-ile** in (12) and the deficient verb *-sala* that denotes continuity with the basic-verb constellation *robetse* and *badile* that express actions which has been carried out or completed. However, the context of a sentence delimits the interpretation of the perfect tense. This cause the situation type anomalous, hence they occur with the deficient verb *-sala* denoting continuous processes.

#### 4.2.1.12 Imperative *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (13a) and *ngola* (write) in (13b). The verb *-sala* (eventually/act later) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (13a.i) and (13b.i). On the other hand, the verb *-sala* (remain) may occur as a main verb (MV) in (13a.ii) and (13b.ii):

- (13) a. *Dula hae, sala o bapala.*  
 (i) (Stay at home and play later)  
 (ii) (Stay at home and remain playing)
- b. *Dulang fatshe, salang le ngola.*

- (i) (You sit down, and write later on)
- (ii) (You sit down and remain writing)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (13a.i) and *ngola* (write) in (13b.i). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood with the present tense participial complement clause in (13). The deficient verb clause *sala o bapala* (play later/remain playing) in (13a) and *salang le ngola* (remain writing/you write later) in (13b) compositionally realizes the grammatical expression of imperfective viewpoint aspect. The activity of *playing* and *writing* is in progress and the events may stop abruptly without an outcome or a final endpoint. Thus the situation type with the deficient verb *-sala* remains unchanged as an activity atelic event.

#### 4.2.1.13 Imperative *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with a basic-level activity verbs *ngotse* (wrote) in (14a) and *bapatse* (played) in (14b). The symbol \* indicates semantic anomaly:

- (14) a. \**Dula sekolong, sala o ngotse.*  
(Stay at school, and write later on)
- b. \**Qetang mosebetsi mme salang le bapetse.*  
(Finish your work and played later on)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by the perfect tense participial complement clause activity verbs *ngotse* (wrote) in (14a) and *bapetse* (played) in (14b) is semantically anomalous. This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression with the perfect tense participial

complement clause verbs *ngotse* (wrote) in (14a) and *bapetse* (played) in (14b) which grammatically expresses a completed action. Hence a clash of aspectual feature occurs between **-etse** in (14a) and in (14b) and **-sala** compared to basic verb constellation property of activity.

#### 4.2.2 Deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with Accomplishment events

This sub-section examines whether occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with either of the following indicative, potential, future, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive or imperative followed by the present, perfect or future tense participial complement clause is compatible with an accomplishment situation type.

##### 4.2.2.1 Present Tense **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (15a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (15b):

- (15) a. *Hoba pula e ne haholo, ntate o sala a haha ntlo.*  
(After heavy rain, father builds a house eventually)
- b. *Ha Maphalla a fihla o sala a ngola buka.*  
(When Maphalla arrives, he writes a book eventually)

The examples in (15) demonstrate that the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the present tense is compatible with the present participial complement clause accomplishment verbs *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (15a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (15b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later). These sentences are incomplete because they do not have any final endpoint. The occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later)

triggers a shift in the situation type of derived-Activity. The sentences do not indicate whether the *building of the house* in (15a) and the *writing of the book* in (15b) are completed, hence the events are atelic.

#### 4.2.2.2 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with a basic-level accomplishment verbs *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (16a) and *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (16b):

- (16) a. *Ntate o fumane mopotso, o setse a hahile ntlo*  
(Father got his salary, he eventually built a house)
- b. *O sebetsa hantle, Maphalla o setse a ngotse buka*  
(He works well, Maphalla eventually wrote a book)

The examples in (16) express that the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later), in the present tense is semantically compatible with the perfect participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (16a) and *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (16b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced in the perfect participial complement clause by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with the perfect tense participial complement clause in (16a) and (16b). Both sentences exhibit the perfective viewpoint of the event, which express the process ‘*O setse a hahile ntlo*’ (He eventually built a house) in (16a) and ‘*O setse a ngotse buka*’ (He eventually wrote a book) in (16b) as completed events with an outcome or a change of state of a complete house and a complete book respectively. The situation type remains unchanged as an Accomplishment, hence the event is telic.

#### 4.2.2.3 Potential –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a present tense participial complement clause with a basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (17a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (17b):

- (17) a. *A ka sebetsa ka thata ha a ka sala a ngola buka.*  
(He can/may work very hard if he can/may later on write a book)
- b. *Ha ntate a ka beha tjehelete lemo tse hlano, a ka sala a haha ntlo.*  
(If father can/may save money for five years, he can/may eventually build a house)

The examples in (17) demonstrate that the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) is compatible with the present participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (17a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (17b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) and the present tense participial complement clause. The examples in (17) with potential aspectual morpheme **ka** describe a mere probability or hypothesis with regard to some action that they may or may not be carried out. Both sentences do entail that an event of *writing a book* in (17a) and *building a house* in (17b) did occur. The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) triggers a shift in situation type to an Activity event because the sentences in both (17a) and (17b) have atelic interpretation, hence they do not have the final endpoints.

#### 4.2.2.4 Potential –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a perfect tense

participial complement clause with a basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (18a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (18b):

- (18) a. *Le ha a sa tswella dipapading, a ka sala a ngotse buka.*  
 (Even if he did not succeed in sports, he could have written a book eventually)
- b. *Ntate o behile meja fatshe lemo se fetileng, a ka sala a hahile ntlo ka tjhelete eo.*  
 (Father retired last year, he could built a house eventually with that money)

The sentences in (18) demonstrate that the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) potential mood is compatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (18a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (18b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the progressive meaning of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) denotes continuation with probability while the perfect tense participial complement clause with basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (18a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (18b) denotes completion. Therefore, the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers a shift in situation type to Activity, hence the events do not entail a completed house and a completed book. Thus the events in (18a) and (18b) are atelic.

#### 4.2.2.5 Future Tense *–sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense **tla** (will) followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (19a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (19b):

- (19) a. *O tla fihla ka meso mme o tla sala a ngola buka.*  
(He will arrive at dawn and he will/shall write a book later on.)
- b. *Ha a ka hlokahala, o tla sala o haha ntlo.*  
(If he can die, you will/shall eventually build a house)

The examples in (19) demonstrate that the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future **tla** (will/shall) is compatible with present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (19a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (19b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense **tla** (will/shall) followed by the present tense participial complement clause expressing the process of *haha ntlo* (building a house) and the process of *ngola buka* (writing a book). The occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers a shift to Activity events because both sentences in (19) express possibility of building and of writing in future, hence they have an atelic interpretation. The events do not have reading that expresses the endpoints of the events. The situation type is presented as a derived-Activity event.

#### 4.2.2.6 Future Tense *–sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Tense Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense **tla** (will/shall) followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause describing the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* in (20a) and *hahile ntlo* in (20b):

- (20) a. *\*Ha ke kgutlela hae, ke tla sala ke ngotse buka.*  
(When I return home, I would have written a book eventually)
- b. *\*Ke tla tsamaya hosane, le tla sala le hahile ntlo.*  
(I will leave tomorrow; you will eventually have built a house)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense is semantically anomalous with the perfect tense participial complement clause

with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (20a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (20b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression and the perfect tense of the complement clause *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (20a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (20b) which signifies completed action. Thus, a clash occurs between the perfective aspectual feature, realised by **-etse** in (20a) and **-ile** in (20b) with the basic verb constellation in the future tense and the future tense with deficient verb *-sala* (eventually).

#### 4.2.2.7 Consecutive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *bala makasine* (read a magazine) in (21a) and *haha kereke* (build a church) in (21b). The occurrences of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (21ai) and as a main verb (MV) in (21a ii):

- (21) a. *Ba ja, ba tsamaya, mme **ra sala re bala makasine.***  
 (i) (They ate, they left and we eventually read a magazine)  
 (ii) (They ate, they left and we remained reading a magazine)  
 b. *O ile a bokella tjhelete, thepa ya kaho, **a sala a haha kereke.***  
 (He saved money, building materials, and then he eventually built a church)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *bala makasine* (read a magazine) in (21a) and *haha kereke* (build a church) in (21b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e. an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood with the present tense participial complement clause in (21). The deficient verb *-sala* in the

consecutive mood supersedes the present tense indicative verb constellations *bala makasine* (read a magazine) in (21a) and *haha kereke* (build a church) in (21b) because the events demonstrate a complete action of *reading a magazine* and of *building a house*. The deficient verb *-sala* (eventually/remain) does not trigger a shift in the situation type of Accomplishment. Hence the interpretation of these sentences entails the completion of the *building of the church* and *reading of the magazine*. There is an outcome or a change of state of reading a magazine and of building a house.

#### 4.2.2.8 Consecutive –sala (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause describing the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *badile makasine* (read a magazine) in (22a) and *hahile kereke* (built a church) in (22b). The symbol \* express that the sentence is semantically anomalous:

- (22) a. \**A robala, a tsoha a sala a badile makasine.*  
(He slept, woke up and eventually read a magazine)
- b. \**A hlola mojaho, mme a sala a hahile kereke.*  
(He won the race, and then eventually built a church)

The occurrence of deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood yields a situation type as semantically anomalous with the perfect tense complement clause exhibiting the accomplishment verb constellations *badile makasine* (read a magazine) in (22a) and *hahile kereke* (built a church) in (22b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity), while the perfect tense participial complement clause denoting accomplishment verb constellations *badile makasine* (read a magazine) in (22a) and *hahile kereke* (built a church) in (22b) which conveys that an event has ended. The consecutive mood expresses a completed past actions which is used in the narration of the past sequences of events. The consecutive therefore,

is semantically anomalous with deficient verb *-sala* which indicates the ongoing actions or continuation.

#### 4.2.2.9 Subjunctive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplifies the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (23a) and *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (23b). The occurrences of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (23ai) and (23bi) and as a main verb (MV) in (23aii) and (23bii):

- (23) a. ***A ko o sale o loha jeresi hle.***  
 (i) (May you please knit a jersey later on)  
 (ii) (May you please remain knitting a jersey)  
 b. ***A ko o sale o nwa kgalase ya lebese.***  
 (i) (May you eventually drink a glass of milk)  
 (ii) (May you remain drinking a glass of milk)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (23a) and *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (23b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations. The deficient verb *-sala* shift the telic events of an Accomplishment to the ongoing atelic Activity event of *knitting a jersey* and *drinking a glass of milk* because the subjunctive mood expresses only an intention or a plan for the future. These examples in (23) with deficient verb *-sala* in the subjunctive express a proposal of what should happen in the future. Thus the shifted or derived-Activity indicates

continuation because the *knitting of a jersey* is incomplete and *drinking of a glass of milk* is unfinished.

#### 4.2.2.10 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *tsamaela posong* (walk to the post office) in (24a) and *mathela lebenkeleng* (run to the shop) in (24b). The verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) occurs as the deficient verb (DV) in (24a.i) and (24b.i) and as the main verb (MV) in (24a.ii) and (24b.ii):

- (24) a. *Ho molemo ho sala o tsamaela posong.*  
 (i) (It is better to walk to the post office later on)  
 (ii) (It is better to remain walking to the post office)  
 b. *Ho molemo ho sala o mathela lebenkeleng.*  
 (i) (It is better to run to the shop eventually)  
 (ii) (It is better to remain running to the shop)

The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *tsamaela posong* (walk to the post office) in (24ai) and *mathela lebenkeleng* (run to the shop) in (24bi). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *tsamaela posong* (walk to the post office) in (24ai) and *mathela lebenkeleng* (run to the shop) in (24bi). The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers the shift of the situation type to an Activity because the ongoing process indicates the progression. The event does not denote whether one was really walked to the post office or not, hence *the reading that the walking to the post office* is incomplete and *the running to the shop* is also in process since the event is incomplete. The event is a characteristic of atelic situation types.

#### 4.2.2.11 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (25a) and *hahile ntlo* (building a house) in (25b). The verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) occurs as the deficient verb (DV) in (25ai) and (25bi) and as the main verb (MV) in (25aii) and (25bii):

- (25) a. ***Ho sala o ngotse buka ho bohlokwa***  
 (i) (To write a book eventually is important)  
 (ii) (To remain writing a book is important)  
 b. ***Ho thata ho sala o hahile ntlo.***  
 (i) (It is difficult to build a house eventually)  
 (ii) (It is difficult to remain building a house)

The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (25ai) and *hahile ntlo* (building a house) in (25bi). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic meaning of the aspectual perfect morpheme –**etse** and –**ile** in the infinitive mood with the perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (25ai) and *hahile ntlo* (building a house) in (25bi). The property of perfective demonstrates the past event that is relevant to the current moment with deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain). This semantic compatibility could be attributed to the infinitive with the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity) with the perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (25a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (25b). The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually) in the infinitive did not trigger a shift in the situation type of Accomplishment, hence the event is telic.

#### 4.2.2.12 Imperative –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (26a) and *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (26b):

- (26) a. **Dula mona, o sale o kganna koloji.**  
(Stay here, and drive the car eventually)
- b. **Thola, o sale o palama pere.**  
(Keep quiet, and ride a horse eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (26a) and *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (26b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in these clauses by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood with the present tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (26a) and *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (26b). The sentences in (26) might be still being in progress, thus the ongoing meaning. The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers a shift of derived-Activities. The reading associated with the imperative viewpoint does not present the final endpoint or the outcome. The imperfective viewpoint aspect thus occurs with the atelic situation type of an Activity event.

#### 4.2.2.13 Imperative –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (27a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (27b):

- (27) a. ***Tsamaya, o setse o ngotse buka***  
 (Go, you have eventually written a book)
- b. ***Shebang, o setse a hahile ntlo.***  
 (Look (you all), he has built a house eventually)

The imperative sentences with the occurrence of the deficient verb *-setse* (act eventually, act later) in the perfect tense is semantically acceptable with perfect tense participial complement clause containing the accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (27a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (27b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the intrinsic completive meaning of the deficient verb *-setse* (act eventually, act later) taking the perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (27a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (27b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-setse* (act eventually, act later) in the perfect tense expresses the meaning of completion with perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (27a) and *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (27b). The examples in (27) convey the interpretation that *one has built a house* and *one has written a book*, since meaning is in the past-excluding-the-present. The sentences are intended to indicate the perfect of result. The perfective viewpoint introduced by occurrence of the deficient verb *-setse* (act eventually, act later) in the perfect tense taking perfect tense accomplishment verb constellations which describe completed events and an outcome. The situation type remains unchanged as an Accomplishment event, hence it is telic.

#### 4.2.3 Deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Achievement events

This sub-section examines the semantic compatibility of the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with either of the following indicative, potential, future, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive or imperative followed by the present, perfect or future tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass), *phatloha* (explode), *nyamela* (disappear), *kwala/bula lemati* (open/close the door), *fihla* (arrive), *peperanya* (crack), *tlosa* (remove), *tlile* (came) *thunya* (shoot), *utswa* (steal), *thonya*

(appoint), *kgetha* (choose), *hlalosa* (explain), *tshwaya* (mark), *nonopetse* (became fat) and *lapile* (became hungry).

#### 4.2.3.1 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the indicative mood present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (28a) and *phatloha* (explode) in (28b). The verb -*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears both as a deficient verb (DV) in (28a.i) and (28b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (28a.ii) and (28b.ii):

- (28) a. ***Dineo o sala a tjhwatla kgalase.***  
 (i) (Dineo breaks a glass eventually)  
 (ii) (Dineo remains breaking a glass)  
 b. ***E sala e phatloha.***  
 (i) (It explode eventually)  
 (ii) (It remain exploding)

The occurrence of the deficient verb -*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the indicative present tense is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause exemplifying achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (28a) and *phatloha* (explode) in (28b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic an ongoing activity meaning of the deficient verb -*sala* (act eventually, act later) with the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (28a) and *phatloha* (explode) in (28b) which involves the change of state of the events. In (28), the verb constellations have the aspectual feature [instantaneous] that result in a change of state. The occurrence of the deficient verb -*sala* (act eventually, act later) focuses on the preliminary stages of the achievement event with an outcome of the event. The deficient verb –*sala* (eventually) does not trigger a shift in a situation type of Achievement, hence the events are atelic.

#### 4.2.3.2 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *fumane* (receive) and *nyametse* (disappeared) in (29):

- (29) a. ***O sala a fumane watjhe.***  
 (You have found your watch eventually)
- b. ***Dinku di sala di nyametse.***  
 (The sheep eventually disappeared)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense is compatible with the indicative perfect tense participial complement clause displaying the achievement verb constellations *fumane* (found) in (29a) and *nyametse* (disappeared) in (29b). Semantically, perfective viewpoint presents events with no interpretation about duration. For instance, one look of the lost wristwatch and one may find it but one cannot control the finding of it. This type of events is what Ryle called them ‘purely lucky’ achievements. The perfective viewpoint may vary in meaning according to the endpoint type of a situation in (29b). The perfective viewpoint expresses the completion or the termination rather than the occurrence of the activity event of the *finding your watch* and *disappearing of the sheep* as a whole. The final endpoint of the situation is included in the interpretation of sentences (29a) and (29b). The situation type thus remains an Achievement hence the syntactic evidence for the telic event indicates the final natural endpoints.

#### 4.2.3.3 Potential –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential mood followed by a present tense participial

complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *bula* (open) in (30a) and *kwala* (close) in (30b):

- (30) a. *Ha o ka mo siya a le mong, a ka sala a bula lemati.*  
 (If you can leave him alone, he may/can eventually open the door)
- b. *O se mo siye a le mong, a ka sala a kwala lemati.*  
 (Do not leave him alone, he can/may close the door eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) is compatible with the present tense participial complement clause exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *bula lemati* (open the door) in (30a) and *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (30b). The imperfective viewpoint is introduced by the meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) taking the present tense participial complement clause with the achievement verb constellations *bula lemati* (open the door) in (30a) and *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (30b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) demonstrates neither initial nor final hence there is no interpretation about final endpoint of *the opening of the door* in (30a) and *the closing of the door* in (30b). Thus the potential morpheme **ka** expresses events types as the possibility of events taking place at the time of speech.

#### 4.1.3.4 Potential *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *butse* (opened) in (31a) and *nyametse* (disappeared) in (31b):

- (31) a. *Ha a ka ba mong, a ka sala a butse lemati.*  
 (If he can be alone, he can/may eventually opened the door)
- b. *Modisana a di shebe ka nako tsohle hobane di ka sala di nyametse.*

(The shepherd must look always them because they can/may disappeared eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) is compatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (31a) and *nyametse* (disappeared) in (31b). The imperfective viewpoint is described by a situation which characterizes an extended period of time in achievement verb constellation ‘...*di shebe ka nako tsohle*’ (he must always look them) in (31b) because verb constellation [*ka nako tsohle*] relates to habitual actions within the context. In (31b), the imperfective viewpoint is introduced by the meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by the perfect tense participial complement clause expressing an achievement verb constellation *nyametse* (disappeared) because there is neither initial point nor final endpoint in the event. The situation may stop at any time. Thus the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the potential **ka** triggers a shift in a situation type of derived-Activity as an atelic event.

#### 4.2.3.5 Future Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *phatlola* (explode) in (32a) and *peperanya* (crack) in (32b):

- (32) a. ***Le tla sala le phatlola bomo.***  
(You will eventually explode the bomb)
- b. ***O tla sala a peperanya nkgo.***  
(She will eventually crack the calabash)

The sentences in (32) demonstrate that the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *phatlola*

(explode) in (32a) and *peperanya* (crack) in (32b). The tenses in (32) relate the time of an event to some other time than the present. This time reference is situated in the future tense which describe probability of the event that might take place. Forsyth (1970:132) puts it, a mere hypothesis with regard to some action which might or might not be carried out in the future. Therefore, the imperfective viewpoint aspect is introduced by the nature of the events which expresses neither initial nor final endpoints of the events hence the verb constellations *phatlola* (explode) in (32a) and *peperanya* (crack) in (32b) might or might not take place at the moment of speech. In this respect, deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually) in the future tense with the present tense participial complement clause exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *phatlola* (explode) in (32a) and *peperanya* (crack) in (32b) show semantic interpretation of hypothesis or probabilities and cannot semantically characterized in terms of imperfective viewpoints. The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense **tla** (will) demonstrates no interpretation about the completion of the events, thus describe a shift to an Activity situation type, hence it has the feature atelic.

#### 4.2.3.6 Future Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences display the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tlile* (came) in (33a) and *tlositse* (removed) in (33b):

- (33) a. ?*Ha o sa ntshiele dinotlolo tjee, mapolesa a tla sala a tlile.*  
(If you do not leave me the keys; the police will have come eventually)
- b. ?*Ntshiele dinotlolo, ke tla sala ke tlositse kolo.*  
(Leave me the keys; I will have removed the car eventually)

The sentences in (33) have no sub-parts or are not instantaneous. According to Smith (2004), achievement events are presented from the outside with no commitment of their internal structure. The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense is semantically anomalous with the

perfect tense basic-level achievement verb constellations *tlike* (came) in (32a) and *tlositse* (removed) in (33b). The reading of events do not contain the meaning of initial or of completion since future tense is incompatible with the meaning of perfect tense. The example in (33a) does not mean that the police will eventually have come; hence the final endpoint of the event is not linguistically presented.

#### 4.2.3.7 Consecutive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *thunya dinonyana* (shoot the birds) in (34a) and *utswa dikgoho* (steal the chickens) in (34b):

- (34) a. *Eitse hoba ba robale, ka sala ke thunya, ke bolaya dinonyana.*  
(After they had slept, I eventually shoot and kill the birds)
- b. *Eitse hoba ba robale, leshodu la sala le utswa dikgoho, la baleha.*  
(After they had slept, the thief eventually steals chickens and ran)

The set of examples in (34) illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause basic-level achievement verbs *thunya* (shoot) in (34a) and *utswa* (steal) in (34b). In (34), the sequence form of sentences indicates a sequence of events, *eitse hoba ba robale, ka sala ke thunya, ke bolaya dinonyana* (After they had slept, I eventually shoot and kill the birds). Since each of the situations is presented without regard to its internal structure, an interpretation is taken as events that occurred in succession, each one complete in itself. The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e. an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive with the present tense participial complement clause achievement verbs *thunya* (shoot) in (34a) and *utswa* (steal) in (34b). Therefore, the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive triggers the shift of the basic-level to the derived-Activity, hence the sentences are interpreted as the event *of shooting* and *of*

*stealing* continues and have an arbitrary final endpoint. The situation type of derived-Activity is atelic.

#### 4.2.3.8 Consecutive –sala (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exhibit the occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause containing the basic-level achievement verb constellations *ka fumana lengolo* (received a letter) in (35a) and *ka fumana tjhelete* (found the money) in (35b):

- (35) a. *Hoba ba robale, ka sala ke fumane lengolo, ka lebala.*  
(After they had slept, I have received a letter eventually, and then read it)
- b. *Hoba ba robale, ka sala ke fumane tjhelete, mme ka e pata.*  
(After they had slept, I have found the money eventually, and then hide it)

In (35), the occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is semantically acceptable with the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *fumane lengolo* (received a letter) in (35a) and *fumane tjhelete* (found the money) in (35b). In (35), events which succeed one another are completed. The perfective viewpoint aspect is introduced by the consecutive meaning of the ‘*ka sala, ke fumane ...*’ (I have received/found eventually) which conveys the event of *receiving* and *finding* to the final endpoints. The events of *receiving* and *finding* with regard to their internal structure comes eventually at a point at which the process/event completes the action or at the point at which the situation described must necessarily come to a final endpoint permitted by the consecutive followed by perfect tense participial complement clause expressing the achievement verb constellations *fumane* (receive) in (35a) and *fumane* (find) in (35b). Thus the situation describes a terminal point; hence the event is characterized by a telic feature. The single morpheme of consecutive triggers a shift in situation type of an Accomplishment; hence event is

telic if the *finding* and the *receiving* of the letter and the money took some time, respectively. This reading is realized by consecutive mood followed by perfect aspectual morpheme **-ne** recognizes completion. Thus the situation describes a terminal point at which the situation is complete.

#### 4.2.3.9 Subjunctive **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *thonya mongodi* (appoint the secretary) in (36a) and *kgetha mose* (choose a dress) in (36b):

- (36) a. *Ke batla hore o sale o thonya mongodi.*  
(I want that you should appoint the secretary eventually)
- b. *Ke batla hore o sale o kgetha mose.*  
(I want that you should choose a dress eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clauses presenting the achievement verb constellations *thonya mongodi* (appoint the secretary) in (36a) and *kgetha mose* (choose a dress) in (36b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning (i.e., an ongoing activity) of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive with the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *thonya* (appoint) in (36a) and *kgetha* (choose) in (36b). The occurrence of deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive followed by the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *thonya mongodi* (appoint the secretary) in (36a) and *kgetha mose* (choose a dress) in (36b) triggers a shifted derived- Activities, because the events do not involve a change of state. The deficient verb **-sala** with achievement verb constellations *thonya mongodi* (appoint the secretary) and *kgetha mose* (choose a dress) does not entail the final endpoints, thus the atelic event.

#### 4.2.3.10 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (37a) and *bula lemati* (open the door) in (37b). The verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) can appear both as a deficient verb (DV) in (37a.i) and (37b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (37a.ii) and (37b.ii):

- (37) a. *Ha ke batle ho sala ke kwala lemati.*  
 (i) (I do not want to close the door eventually)  
 (ii) (I do not want to remain closing the door)
- b. *Ha ke batle ho sala ke bula lemati.*  
 (i) (I do not want to open the door eventually)  
 (ii) (I do not want to remain opening the door)

The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (37a) and *bula lemati* (open the door) in (37b). The imperfective viewpoint aspect is introduced in these clauses by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive and the present tense participial complement clause achievement verb constellations *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (37a.i) and *bula lemati* (open the door) in (37b.i). The progressive meaning of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) denotes incompleteness, hence the reading that obtains does not entail whether the door was closed or opened, or whether *the closing of the door* in (37a.i) is incomplete, and *the opening of the door* in (37b.i) is also incomplete. The process interpretation of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers the shift in situation type to a derived-Activity event, thus both events are atelic.

#### 4.2.3.11 Infinitive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *kwetse lemati* (closed) in (38a) and *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (38b). The verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears both as a deficient verb (DV) in (38a.i) and (38b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (38a.ii) and (38b.ii):

- (38) a. *Ke rata ho sala ke kwetse lemati.*  
 (i) (I want to close the door later on)  
 (ii) (I want to remain closing the door)  
 b. *Ke rata ho sala ke butse lemati.*  
 (i) (I want to open the door later on)  
 (ii) (I want to remain opening the door)

The occurrence of deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive is semantically acceptable with the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *kwetse lemati* (closed the door) in (38a.i) and *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (38b.i). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in these sentences by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive with the perfect tense participial complement clause exemplifying the achievement verb constellations *kwetse lemati* (closed the door) in (38a) and *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (38b). This semantic compatibility could be attributed by the infinitive in the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression (i.e. an ongoing activity) with the perfect tense participial complement clause demonstrating the achievement verb constellations *kwetse* (closed) in (38a.i) and *butse* (opened) in (38b.i). Achievements sentences in (38) allow the imperfective viewpoint, hence the deficient verb –*sala* in the infinitive triggers a shift in a situation type of Activity, because the event has the characteristic an atelic.

#### 4.2.3.12 Imperative –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *kgantsha lebone* (switch on the light) in (39a) and *tima lebone* (switch off the light) in (39b):

- (39) a. ***Sala o kgantsha lebone.***  
 (i) (Switch on light eventually)  
 (ii) (Remain switching on the light)
- b. ***Sala o tima lebone.***  
 (i) (Switch off the light later on)  
 (ii) (Remain switching off the light)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause exhibiting achievement verb constellations *kgantsha lebone* (switch on the light) in (39a) and *tima lebone* (switch off the light) in (39b). The imperfective viewpoint aspect is introduced in these sentences by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative with the present tense participial complement clause expressing the achievement verb constellations *kgantsha lebone* (switch on the light) in (39a) and *tima lebone* (switch off the light) in (39b). The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression in (39) triggers the shift to derived-Activity situation type; hence the event is an atelic.

#### 4.2.3.13 Imperative – *sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tshwaile dibuka* (mark the books) in (40a) and *kgethile dinawa* (choose the beans) in (40b):

- (40) a. \**Ha o qeta ho ja, sala o tshwaile dibuka.*  
 (After you have finished eating, mark the books eventually)
- b. \**Ha o qeta ho ja, sala o kgethile dinawa.*  
 (After you have finished eating, choose the beans later on)

The examples in (40) demonstrate that the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood is semantically incompatible with perfect tense participial complement clause containing the achievement verb constellations *tshwaile dibuka* (mark the books) in (40a) and *kgethile dinawa* (choose the beans) in (40b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes progression and the perfect tense participial complement clause expressing the achievement verb constellations *tshwaile dibuka* (mark the books) in (40a) and *kgethile dinawa* (choose the beans) in (40b) which grammatically express completion. The perfect aspectual morpheme **-ile** is incompatible with the achievement verb constellations in (40a) and in (40b), hence it denotes completion.

#### 4.2.4 Deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the basic-level Stative verb

This sub-section investigate whether the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in either of the following indicative, potential, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive or imperative followed by the present, perfect or future tense participial complement clause is semantically acceptable with stative verb constellations *rata* (love), *tseba* (know), *hloya* (hate), *hlanya* (mad), *thaba* (happy), *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) and *bona* (see). I will discuss the occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* with the basic-level state verbs and their appearance in sentences of shifted or derived situation types. The viewpoint and situation type aspectual interpretation of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) as a deficient verb (DV) and as a main verb (MV) with stative verbs will be explored.

#### 4.2.4.1 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level stative verbs *rata* (love) in (41a) and *tseba* (know) in (41b). The verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears with a set of stative verbs as a deficient verb (DV) in (41ai) and (41bi) and a main verb (MV) in (41aai) and (41bii):

- (41) a. *Pule le ha e le sethoto, o sala a rata mosadi wa hae.*  
 (i) (Even if Pule is an idiot, he loves his wife eventually)  
 (ii) (Even if Pule is an idiot, he remain loving his wife)
- b. *Thabo o sala a tseba Sesotho.*  
 (i) (Thabo knows Sesotho eventually)  
 (ii) (Thabo remain knowing Sesotho)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause with the stative verb constellations *rata* (love) in (41a) and *tseba* (know) in (41b). The viewpoint aspect of the imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with the present tense participial mood complement clause expressing the stative verbs *rata* (love) in (41a) and *tseba* (know) in (41b). Recall that the progressive is typically durative (Smith, 1997:222) and has a connotation of dynamism and volition. It has a marked use in which sentences with stative verbs appear in the progressive. This is exemplified in (41). These sentences conform to the imperfective viewpoint have an ongoing interpretation, since there is no initial and final endpoint. The situation remains unchanged as state situation types.

#### 4.2.4.2 Present Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verb constellations *ratile* (loved) in (42a) and *tsebile* (knew) in (42b). The verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears with a set of state verbs as a deficient verb (DV) in (42ai) and (42bi) and a main verb (MV) in (42a<sub>ii</sub>) and (42b<sub>ii</sub>):

- (42) a. \**Le ha e le letahwa, o sala a ratile mosadi wa hae.*  
 (i) (Even if he is a drunkard, he loves his wife eventually)  
 (ii) (Even if he is a drunkard, he remain loving his wife)  
 b. \**Molato ke eng, ha o sala o tsebile taba eo.*  
 (i) (What is the matter if you eventually knew that matter?)  
 (ii) (What is the matter if you remain knowing that matter?)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) in the present tense is semantically incompatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause with stative verbs *ratile* (loved) in (42a) and *tsebile* (knew) in (42b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed by the perfect aspectual feature **-ile** of state verbs *ratile* (loved) in (42a) and *tsebile* (knew) in (42b) and the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes continuing not ending. The perfect aspectual feature **-ile** demonstrates incompatibility with the stative verbs in (42a) and in (42b), because **-ile** depicts a situation that has been completed, however states exists over a period of time.

#### 4.2.4.3 Potential –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *bona*

*phutheho* (see the congregation) in (43a) and *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) in (43b). The verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears with a set of stative verbs as a deficient verb (DV) in (43a.i) and (43b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (43a.ii) and (43b.ii):

- (43) a. *Le ha e ka ba moruti, a ka sala a bona phutheho ya hae.*  
 (i) (Even if he may become a priest, he can/may see his congregation eventually)  
 (ii) (Even if he may become a priest, he can/may remain seeing his congregation)
- b. *Thabo ha a ka ba mong, a ka sala a utlwa bohloko.*  
 (i) (If Thabo can be alone, he can/may eventually feel pain)  
 (ii) (If Thabo can be alone, he can/may remain feeling pain)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) with the potential **ka** (can/may) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause expressing the stative verbs *bona phutheho* (see the congregation) in (43a) and *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) in (43b). The viewpoint aspect of the imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) and the present tense participial complement clause containing the stative verb constellations *bona phutheho* (see the congregation) in (43a) and *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) in (43b). Since progressive are typically durative and has a connotation of dynamism and volition, it has a marked use in which sentences with stative verb constellations appear in the progressive. This is exemplified in (43). These sentences conform to the imperfective viewpoint in having an ongoing interpretation; hence there is no initial and final endpoint. The occurrence of the deficient verb *–sala* (eventually) triggers a shift to the interpretation of derived-Activity event, because the activity of *seeing the congregation* and of *feeling the pain* may stop abruptly. The meaning of progressive aspect has superseded the interpretation of stative verb constellations *bona phutheho* (see the congregation) and *utlwa bohloko* (feel pain) in (43).

#### 4.2.4.4 Potential –sala (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) with the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *nonopetse* (became fat) in (44a) and *lapile* (became hungry) in (44b):

- (44) a. *Seipati ha a ka ba mong, a ka sala a nonopetse.*  
 (If Seipati can/may be alone, she can/may eventually become fat)
- b. *Thabo ha a ka ba le ba bang, a ka sala a lapile.*  
 (If Thabo can/may be with others, he can/may eventually become hungry)

The occurrence of the deficient verb -sala (act eventually, act later) with the potential **ka** (can/may) is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause with stative verbs *nonopetse* (became fat) in (44a) and *lapile* (became hungry) in (44b). The interpretation of the stative perfect verbs *nonopetse* (became fat) and *lapile* (became hungry) is precisely that of the temporal schema of a state. These stative sentences are focusing on a change into a state which is known as inchoative (become, get). The schema of a state does not include its endpoint, since there is no change of state. States merely consist of a single undifferentiated period as illustrated by perfect tense participial complement clause with the stative verbs *nonopetse* (became fat) in (44a) and *lapile* (became hungry) in (44b). The examples demonstrated in (44), the stative verb sentences in the imperfective viewpoint are therefore compatible with state verb constellations depending on the context of the sentences. These sentences convey an ongoing interpretation. The occurrence of the deficient verb –sala (act eventually, act later) with the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) presents the state of *becoming fat* in (44a) and of *becoming hungry* in (44b) has not ended, but continues to the present. These stative situations may have the interpretation of habitual. Habitual sentences have the semantic properties of stative verbs.

#### 4.2.4.5 Future Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state constellations *rata mosadi* (love the woman) in (45a) and *tseba dipalo* (know mathematics) in (45b). The interpretations of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) demonstrate both the deficient verb (DV) and the main verb (MV) use in (45):

- (45) a. *Ha o ka mo rorisa, o tla sala a rata mosadi wa hae.*  
 (i) (If you can praise him, he will eventually love his wife)  
 (ii) (If you can praise him, he will remain loving his wife)  
 b. *Thabo ha a ka ba le ba bang, o tla sala a tseba dipalo.*  
 (i) (If Thabo can be with others, he will eventually know mathematics)  
 (ii) (If Thabo can be with others, he will remain knowing mathematics)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future **tla** (will) is semantically acceptable with the present tense participial complement clause expressing the state verb constellations *rata mosadi* (love the woman) in (45a) and *tseba dipalo* (know mathematics) in (45b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e. an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with the present tense participial complement clause containing the state verb constellations *rata mosadi* (love the woman) in (45a) and *tseba dipalo* (know mathematics) in (45b). The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with future tense **tla** (will) demonstrates the ongoing interpretation with no information about the initial and final endpoint of the events. States merely consist of a single undifferentiated period as illustrated by present tense participial complement clause with state *rata mosadi* (love the woman) in (45a) and *tseba dipalo* (know mathematics) in (45b). The imperfective viewpoint semantically conveys open situations in (45). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future **tla** (will) triggers a shift in the interpretation of habitual. In these interpretations the habitual refers to the pattern of events which are likely or probably going to happen in future.

#### 4.2.4.6 Future Tense –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples exhibit the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the future aspectual morpheme **tla** followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level expressing stative verbs *lebetse* (forgot) in (46a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (46b):

- (46) a. \**Mo siele tjhelete, o tla sala a o lebetse.*  
 (i) (Leave her with money; she will/shall have forgotten you eventually)  
 (ii) (Leave her with money; she will/shall remain forgetting you)
- b. \**Ha o ka ntshiya, ke tla sala ke kutse.*  
 (i) (If you can/may leave me, I will/shall become sick eventually)  
 (ii) (If you can/may leave me, I will/shall remain sick)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later/) in the present tense is semantically anomalous with the perfect tense participial complement clause describing stative verbs *lebetse* (forgot) in (46a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (46b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) which denotes incomplete and the perfect tense participial complement clause state verbs *lebetse* (forgot) in (46a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (46b) which grammatically expresses completion. The perfect tense of aspectual feature **-tse** overrides the simple stative verbs with the future aspectual morpheme **tla** (will/shall) in (46a) and in (46b).

#### 4.2.4.7 Consecutive –*sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb –*sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *nahana* (think) in (47a) and *thabile* (happy) in (47b). The occurrences of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act

later/remain) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (47a.i) and (47b.i) and as a main verb (MV) in (47a.ii) and (47b.ii):

- (47) a. *Eitse hoba re mo tshepise tjhelete, a sala a nahana, a ba etsa qeto.*  
 (i) (After we had promised him/her money, he/she eventually thought and then took a decision)  
 (ii) (After we had promised him/her money, he/she remained thinking and took a decision)
- b. *Eitse hoba re mo fe tjhelete, a sala a thabile, a bosesela.*  
 (i) (After we had given him money, he was happy eventually and smiling)  
 (ii) (After we had given him money, he remained happy and smiling)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *nahana* (think) in (47a) and *thabile* (happy) in (47b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e. an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later). The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood demonstrates the *state of thinking* in (47a) and the *state of being happy* in (47b). These sentences have an interpretation which denotes the coming about of a state, where the changed state is under the control of an agent. The interpretation of these sentences excludes references about the initial and final endpoint of the state. The imperfective viewpoint conveys an open situation in (47) in that *being happy* and *being thinking*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood interpret a situation interpreted as a habit rather than a state.

#### 4.2.4.8 Consecutive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood followed by a perfect tense participial complement clause the basic-level state verbs *tshohile* (shocked) in (48a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (48b). The occurrences of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act

later/remain) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (48a.i) and (48b.i) and as a main verb (MV) in (48a.ii) and (48b.ii). The deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) in (48a.i) and (48b.i) realize an inceptive, i.e. focus on the beginning of the state denoted by *tshohile* (shocked) in and *kutse* (became sick).

- (48) a. *Ha ba qeta ho mmona, ba sala ba tshohile, ba kgathetse.*  
 (i) (After seeing her, they were eventually shocked and tired)  
 (ii) (After seeing her, they remained shocked and tired)
- b. *Ha ba qeta ho mmoloka, ba sala ba kutse, ba robetse.*  
 (i) (After they have burying him, they became sick, and then fell asleep eventually)  
 (ii) (After they have burying him, they remained sick and then sleeping)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement clause containing the basic-level state verbs *tshohile* (shocked) in (48a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (48b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive (i.e. an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) taking the perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *tshohile* (shocked) in (48a) and *kutse* (became sick) in (48b). However, the stative sentences in (48) do appear in non-stative sentences because of the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later). These sentences refer to the coming about of a state of *being shocked* in (48a) and of *being sick* in (48b).

#### 4.2.4.9 Subjunctive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verb constellations *utlwe sepheto* (hear the results) in (49a) and *tsebe toropo* (know town) in (49b). The occurrences of the verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears as a deficient verb (DV) in (49a.i and 49b.i) and as a main verb (MV) in (49a.ii and 49b.ii):

- (49) a. *Hoba re qete ho bina, **re sale re utlwe sepheto.***  
 (i) (After we had finished singing, we eventually heard the results)  
 (ii) (After we had finished singing, we remained behind hearing the results)
- b. *Hoba ba qete ho hlola, **ba sale ba tsebe toropo.***  
 (i) (After they have finished winning, they eventually know the town)  
 (ii) (After they have finished winning, they remained to know the town)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood taking the present tense participial complement clause is semantically compatible with the state verbs *utlwe sepheto* (hear the results) in (49a) and *tsebe toropo* (know town) in (49b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic progressive meaning (i.e., an ongoing activity) of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood. The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive demonstrates stative sentences as non-stative hence they behave like derived-Activities. The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the subjunctive mood followed by the present tense participial complement clause state verb constellations *utlwe sepheto* (hear the results) in (49a) and *tsebe toropo* (know town) in (49b) triggers a shift in the situation type value of derived- Activities.

#### 4.2.4.10 Infinitive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *hlanya* (become mad) in (50a) and *thabile* (to be happy) in (50b). The verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears both as a deficient verb (DV) in (50a.i) and (50b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (50a.ii) and (50b.ii):

- (50) a. *Ke rata **ho sala ke hlanya.***  
 (i) (I want to be mad eventually)  
 (ii) (I want to remain being mad)

- b. *Ke batla ho sala ke thabile.*  
 (i) (I would like to be happy eventually)  
 (ii) (I would like to remain happy)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause expressing stative verbs *hlanya* (become mad) in (50a) and *thabile* (to be happy) in (50b). These non-stative sentences are introduced by the *inchoative* (become, get) to become stative sentences as in (50). This *inchoative* (become, get) presents the sentences on a change of non-state into a state as exemplify in (50). The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood demonstrates the continuing of a process with no information about the initial and final endpoint. The deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) triggers the shift to habitual interpretation, hence the stative situation type remains the same.

#### 4.2.4.11 Infinitive *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *hlantse* (got mad) in (51a) and *hloile* (hated) in (51b). The verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) appears both as a deficient verb (DV) in (51a.i) and (51b.i) and a main verb (MV) in (51a.ii) and (51b.ii):

- (51) a. *?\*Pule o nkile selemo ho sala a hlantse.*  
 (i) (Pule took a year to be mad eventually)  
 (ii) (Pule took a year to remain mad)  
 b. *?\*Ke ntho e mpe ho sala o hloile dipalo.*  
 (i) (It is a bad thing to hate mathematics eventually)  
 (ii) (It is a bad thing to remain hating mathematics)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) in the infinitive mood is semantically anomalous with the stative verbs *hlantse* (got mad) in (51a) and *hloile*

(hate) in (51b). This semantic anomaly could be attributed by the incompatibility of the perfect aspectual morpheme **-etse** of the perfect tense participial complement clause exhibiting stative verbs *hlantse* (got mad) in (51a) and *hloile* (hate) in (51b).

#### 4.2.4.12 Imperative **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level stative verbs *thabile* (be happy) in (52a) and *tseba dikahare tsa buka* (know the storyline of the book) in (52b):

- (52) a. ***Bala, o lokela ho sala o thabile.***  
 (i) (Study, you should be happy eventually)  
 (ii) (Study, you should remain happy)  
 b. ***Bala, o lokela ho sala o tseba mokotaba wa buka eo.***  
 (Read you should know the storyline of the book eventually)

The occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause containing stative verbs *thabile* (be happy) in (52a) and *tseba dikahare tsa buka* (know the storyline of the book) in (52b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood with the present tense participial complement clause stative verbs *thabile* (be happy) in (52a) and *tseba* (know) in (52b). The deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) describes stative verbs as habitual stative verbs without any change of a situation.

#### 4.2.4.13 Imperative **-sala** (act eventually, act later) with Perfect Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb **-sala** (act eventually, act later) in the imperative mood followed by perfect tense participial

complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *kutse* (became sick) in (53a.i) and *tsebile* (knew) in (53b.i):

- (53) a. \**Bala, o sale o kutse.*  
 (i) (Study, and be sick later on)  
 (ii) (Study, and remain sick)  
 b. \**Bala, sala o tsebile buka.*  
 (i) (Read, knew the book later on)  
 (ii) (Read, remain knowing the book)

The examples in (53) demonstrate that the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) is semantically anomalous with imperative mood followed by perfect tense participial complement clause state verbs *kutse* (became sick) in (53a.i) and *tsebile* (knew) in (53b.i). This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) and perfect aspectual feature **-tse/-ile** of the perfect tense participial complement clause state verbs *kutse* (became sick) in (53a.i) and *tsebile* (knew) in (53b.i) which grammatically express completion. The perfect aspectual feature **-tse/-ile** overrides the simple stative verbs in (53a) and in (53b). Stative situation type is incompatible with imperative, since they denote a static situation which the subject does not control.

#### 4.2.5 Summary

Arguments presented in this section describe that the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (eventually/act later) is semantically compatible with activities, accomplishments, achievements and stative verb constellations. This presentation has indicated that the basic-level of the situation type has involved a shift to another level. These shifts are triggered by the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (eventually) which denotes an interpretation of continuity; hence the derived-Activity occurs. For instance, the following sentences demonstrate the shifted situation types:

### Activity to Accomplishment

- (55) a. *Eitse hoba ba tsamaye, **pula ya sala e nele.***  
 (After they had left, the rain eventually rained)
- b. *E nele, moya o fokile mme **lehlwa la sala le kgethehile.***  
 (It rained, the wind blew and the snow eventually fell)

In example (55), the deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later) in the consecutive mood allow the speaker to present a situation from activity to accomplishment. The activities of *raining* and *snowing* with regard to their internal structure comes eventually a point at which the process/event completes the action or at the point the situation described must necessarily come to a final endpoint permitted by the consecutive mood followed by the perfect tense participial morpheme *–ile* situation which describes completion. Thus the situation type described entails a terminal point entailing the action is complete, hence the event is telic.

### Accomplishment to Activity

- (56) a. *Ba ja, ba tsamaya, mme **ra sala re bala makasine.***  
 (i) (They ate, they left and we eventually read a magazine)  
 (ii) (They ate, they left and we remained reading a magazine)
- b. *O ile a bokella tjhelete, thepa ya kaho, **a sala a haha kereke.***  
 (He saved money, building materials, and then he eventually built a church)

The deficient verb *–sala* (act eventually, act later/remain) in the consecutive mood triggers the shift to the derived- Activity event. The action of *reading a magazine* and *of building a church* demonstrates incomplete events. Hence the reading of these sentences does not entail the completion of the *building of the church* and *reading of the magazine*. The activities can terminate any time; hence the derived activity type is atelic.

## Achievement to Achievement

- (57) a. ***Dineo o sala a tjhwatla kgalase.***  
 (i) (Dineo breaks a glass eventually)  
 (ii) (Dineo remains breaking a glass)  
 b. ***E sala e phatloha.***  
 (i) (It explode eventually)  
 (ii) (It remain exploding)

In (57), the verb constellations have the aspectual feature [instantaneous] that result in a change of state. The deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) focuses on the preliminary stages of the achievement event. The deficient verb *-sala* (eventually) does not trigger a shift in a situation type of Achievement, hence the event has the property of an achievement telic event.

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* with stative verbs no changes of state occur. The deficient verb *-sala* describes the stative habitual interpretation with stative verb constellations, for instance '*O sala a kula*' (He become sick eventually).

The viewpoint of perfective is semantically anomalous with the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (at eventually, act later) which denotes progression because the perfect aspectual morpheme *-ile/tse* expresses completion. This semantic anomaly could be attributed to the feature clash between the intrinsic progressive (i.e., an ongoing activity) meaning of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) and the perfect tense of the complement clause expressing stative situation type.

### 4.2.1.2. DEFICIENT VERBS THAT DENOTE TIME: With no time in between *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate situation types activities, accomplishments, achievements and states respectively. In particular, the question examined relates whether these situations are semantically compatible with

various participial complement clauses. The main focus is on viewpoint on the way the aspectual system interacts with tense in different situation types. Sentences are examined that demonstrate perfective and imperfective viewpoint on the present, perfect and future tense constructions in different moods. This section will also investigate whether the occurrence of the deficient verb *–fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in particular may trigger a shift in situation type. In some participial complement clauses, the verb *–fihla* (immediately/straightaway) may either occur as a deficient verb (DV) and/or as a main verb (MV).

#### 4.2.1.2.1 Present Tense *–fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (58a) and *bapala* (play) in (58b):

- (58) a. *Ha a no senya nako, ha o fihla o bua ditaba.*  
(She won't waste time, if she speaks the news straightaway)
- b. *Ha ba tswa sekolong, ba fihla ba bapala.*  
(When they arrived from the school, they play straightaway)

The examples in (58) demonstrate that the deficient verb *–fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) in the present tense is compatible with the present participial complement clause expressing the activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (58a) and *bapala* (play) in (58b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *–fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) in conjunction with the present tense participial complement clause activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (58a), and *bapala* (play) in (58b). The imperfective viewpoint presents an open interpretation because the viewpoint presents situations as incomplete with neither the initial point nor the final endpoint. The events in (58) are atelic. The activity situation type remains unchanged with a marked focus ingressive, i.e. on the beginning of the activity event.

#### 4.2.1.2.2 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by subjunctive complement clause with the basic–level activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (59a), and *bapala* (play) in (59b):

- (59) a. ***O tla fihla a bue le ha ho se ya mo mamelang***  
 (She will/shall speak straightaway even if nobody listens to her)
- b. ***Ha ke fihla hae, ke tla fihla ke bapale monopoli.***  
 (When I arrive at home, I will play monopoly immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible in the subjunctive complement clauses with the activity verbs *bue* (speak) in (59a) and *bapale* (play) in (59b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic ingressive meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. The occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) with future tense followed by subjunctive complement clause activity verbs triggers a shift in situation value of an Achievement in that the situation is interpreted as an open event which lacks an endpoint since the event has an instantaneous reading. The sentences are atelic events that are not durative. The imperfective viewpoint expressed in that event has a progressive reading.

#### 4.2.1.2.3 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic–level activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (50a), and *bapala* (play) in (60b):

- (60) a. ***Ke tla fihla ke ja.***  
(I will/shall eat immediately)
- b. ***Le se no senya nako, le tla fihla le bapala.***  
(You should not waste time, you will/shall play immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the indicative future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement clause with the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (60a), and *bapala* (play) in (60b). The imperfective viewpoint that obtains is open in both sentences, hence it presents situations as incomplete or the situation continues with neither endpoint. Both sentences present situations without endpoints. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) triggers the shift in a situation type of Achievement in that *the activity of eating* in (60a) commences instantly. The present moment is conceived as instantaneous event. However, if the *action of eating* commences instantly and it is without a final endpoint, it follows that the utterance refers to an event that is in progress, hence the event cannot present in its entirety. The situation type is atelic and remains unchanged as an activity with marked focus on ingressive, i.e. the preliminary stages of the event.

#### 4.2.1.2.4 Potential –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential mood followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *feta* (go through) in (61a), and *robala* (sleep) in (61b):

- (61) a. ***Ha ba fihla, ba ka fihla ba sebetsa, ba phomola.***  
(When they arrive, they can/may work immediately, and then rest)
- b. ***Ha ba qeta ho ja, ba ka fihla ba nwa, ba robala.***  
(When they finish eating, they can/may drink immediately and then sleep)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement clause containing the activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (61a), and *robala* (sleep) in (61b). The viewpoint aspect of the imperfective is introduced by the marked focus on the ingressive deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) with the consecutive complement clauses in (61). The potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) describe a situation as a probability which denotes an incomplete event because one cannot infer that the event was completed. The sentences interpret a situation that has a possibility of *working and then resting* in (61a) and a possibility of *drinking and then sleeping* in (61b). As a result, the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) did not trigger a shift in situation value of Activity hence the interpretation is without a final endpoint. The situation type remains atelic as an activity with marked focus on ingressive, i.e. the preliminary stages of the event.

#### 4.2.1.2.5 Perfect Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bala* (read) in (62a) and *rapela* (pray) in (62b):

- (62) a. *Ha ke fihla mosebetsing, **ke fihlile ka bala, ka ngola ebile ka ja.***  
 (When I arrived at work, I read, wrote and ate immediately)
- b. *Ha ke le kerekeng, **ke fihlile ka rapela, ka bina.***  
 (When at church, I prayed immediately and then sang)

The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bala* (read) in (62a) and *rapela* (pray) in (62b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the deficient verb *fihlile* with the consecutive complement clauses in (62). The perfect tense morpheme **-ile** of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) with the consecutive complement clause with the

basic-level activity verb constellations *ka bala* (I read) in (62a) and *ka rapela* (I prayed) in (62b) denotes completed telic events. The deficient verb *-fihla* in the perfect tense triggers a shift in situation value of the basic-level activity verbs to Accomplishment events in (62). These Accomplishment events are telic hence the actions of *reading*, *writing* and *eating* in (62a) have reached a final endpoint. Similarly, the consecutive activities of *praying* and *singing* in (62b) have also reached a final endpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2.6 Subjunctive *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *tsamaye* (go) in (63a) and *mathe* (run) in (63b):

- (64) a. *Ke lakatsa hore a fihle a tsamaye.*  
(I wish that he should go immediately)
- b. *Ke batla hore ba fihle ba mathe.*  
(I want that they should run immediately)

The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive mood is compatible with a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *tsamaye* (go) in (64a) and *mathe* (run) in (64b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive followed by subjunctive complement clauses in (64). Both sentences about deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive followed by subjunctive complement clauses in (64a) and in (64b) may have a wide and a narrow span. The event in (64a) and (64b) lead to completeness if for instance; the agent performs the action of *going* and *running*. On the other hand, if the agent could not *go* in (64a) and could not *run* in (64b) the deficient verb *-fihla* describes incomplete situation, hence these sentences express no outcome or a change of state. The sentences in (64a) and in (64b) express the aspectual imperfective viewpoint with neither initial endpoint nor a final endpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2.7 Consecutive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (65a) and *ja* (eat) in (65b):

- (65) a. *A fihla, a fihla a bua a fetela ka ntlwaneng.*  
 (He arrived; he spoke immediately and then went to the bathroom)
- b. *Ha ke fihla, ka fihla ka ja ka robala.*  
 (When I arrived, I ate immediately and then slept)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) is semantically acceptable with consecutive mood followed by consecutive complement clause with the basic activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (65a) and *ja* (eat) in (65b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the occurrence of deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive followed by consecutive complement clauses in (65) which conveys the final endpoint of the activity event of *speaking* in (65a) and of *eating* in (65b). The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive followed by a consecutive complement clause triggers a shift to allow the speaker to present a situation from Activity to Accomplishment situation type. The activities of *speaking* and *eating* with regard to their internal structure comes eventually a point at which the process/event completes the action or at the point the situation described must necessarily come to a final endpoint permitted by the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement clause which describes completion. Thus the situation described a terminal point, and that point made the situation to be complete, the event is telic.

#### 4.2.1.2.8 Imperative –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bine* (sing) in (65a) and *phomola* (rest) in (65b):

- (65) a. *Bulang holo, le fihle le bine.*  
 (Open the hall, and you should sing immediately)
- b. *Qetang, le fihle le phomole.*  
 (Get finished, and you should rest immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement clause with the basic activity verbs *bina* (sing) in (65a) and *phomola* (rest) in (65b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the marked focus on ingressive i.e. the preliminary stages of the event. These situations have no goal, culmination or final endpoint. The deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately) in the subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *bine* (sing) in (65a) and *phomola* (rest) in (65b) expresses a necessity or an intention in the future. For instance, example (65a) expresses a proposal for singing and for resting in (65b). The imperative mood in the main clause is it a proposition while the deficient verb in the subjunctive complement clause represents an activity situation type. The deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately) did not shift the interpretation of a situation to another level. The situation type remains an activity as it is an atelic event.

#### 4.2.1.2.9 Infinitive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense

participial complement clause with the basic-level activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (66a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (66b):

- (66) a. *Ke rata ho fihla ke eja.*  
 (I want to eat immediately)
- b. *Ba batla ho fihla ke sebetsa*  
 (They want to work immediately)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement clause containing the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (66a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (66b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced in this clause by the intrinsic progressive meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood with the present tense participial complement clause expressing the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (66a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (66b). The meaning of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood denotes incompleteness. The information given in (66) does not indicate whether the agent will work immediately and it would normally conclude that the *work* in (66b) is incomplete or was not completed at all. Both sentences with the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive with the present tense complement clauses in (66a) and in (66b) show the reading of continuity, hence the infinitive mood occurs in the sentences indicate some kind of the progressive meaning. The meaning of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood in (66) does implicate the meaning of the unchanged activity atelic sentences.

#### **4.2.1.2.2 Deficient verb –fihla (immediately/do straightway) with Accomplishment events**

This sub-section examines question of whether the occurrence of the deficient verb – *fihla* (immediately/straightaway) is compatible with accomplishment situation type in either of one of the indicative, potential, future, consecutive, subjunctive, infinitive or imperative followed by a present, perfect or future tense participial complement clauses. Viewpoint aspect will be considered concerning the question of how the aspectual system interacts with accomplishment situation type. Sentences are

considered that illustrate the perfective and imperfective viewpoint in the present, perfect and future tense constructions in different moods. This section will also investigate the question of whether the occurrence of the deficient verb —*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in particular may trigger a shift in situation type.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.1 Present Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (67a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (67b):

- (63) a. *Ha a tswa mosebetsing, o fihla a haha ntlo.*  
(When he comes back from work, he builds a house immediately)
- b. *Ha a tswa sekolong, Maphalla o fihla a ngola buka.*  
(When he comes back from school, Maphalla writes a book immediately)

The occurrence of deficient verb —*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement clause containing the accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (67a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (67b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the meaning of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) which denotes incompleteness in that the sentence gives no information about the final endpoints of *building a house* in (67a) and of *writing a book* in (67b). The imperfective viewpoint presents an open interpretation. Therefore, the occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) triggers a shift in the Accomplishment situation value to an Activity. The shifted or derived-Activity events are atelic.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.2 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic–level accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (68a), and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (68b):

- (68) a. ***Nkgono o tla fihla a lohe jeresi.***  
 (Granny will/shall knit a jersey immediately)
- b. ***Palesa o tla fihla a bope nkgo ya letsopa.***  
 (Palesa will/shall create a clay pot immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible in the subjunctive complement clauses with the accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (68a), and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (68b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. Although the future tense fulfills the present intention or cause, there is some specific source of the predication, (i.e., *X says that Y is going to happen*). On the other hand, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement clause triggers a shift in situation type to Activity. The aspectual meaning of the situation is an open event that lacks a final endpoint. Thus the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* describes the progressive meaning in terms of duration and the events are atelic.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.3 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic–level accomplishment verb constellations *qhaqha*

*mokhukhu* (destroy the shack) in (69a) and *heletsa lebota* (demolish the wall) in (69b):

- (69) a. ***O tla fihla a qhaqha mokhukhu.***  
 (He will destroy the shack immediately)
- b. ***Ntate o tla fihla a heletsa lebota.***  
 (Father will demolish the building immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible in the present participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *qhaqha mokhukhu* (destroy the shack) in (69a) and *heletsa lebota* (demolish the wall) in (69b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event of *destroying the shack* and *demolishing the wall*. The future tense in these sentences conveys non-factuality (i.e., time based objective uncertainty) hence the events give uncertainty surrounding the future. The occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense followed by a present participial complement clause triggers a shift in situation value to Activity, hence the *action of destroying* in (69a) and *of demolishing* in (69b) are in progress and they are incomplete or they may be terminated at any time. Thus, the information in the sentences entails the events without the final endpoint and the derived situation type of Activity is therefore atelic.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.4 Potential *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *seha nama* (cut the meat) in (70a) and *duba bohobe* (knead the dumpling) in (70b):

- (70) a. ***A ka fihla a seha nama, a tswa , a tsamaya.***  
 (He can/may cut the meat immediately and then go.)
- b. ***A ka fihla duba bohobe, a bo pheha.***  
 (They can/may knead the dumpling and the cook it)

The presence of deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the the potential mood is compatible with a consecutive complement clause with the basic–level accomplishment verb constellations *seha nama* (cut the meat) in (70a) and *duba bohobe* (knead the dumpling) in (70b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by consecutive complement clauses which denotes incompleteness. One cannot conclude that the event was completed since the sentences describe the possibility of *cutting the meat* and then *go* in (70a) and the possibility of *kneading the dumpling* and then *cook it* in (70b). These events in the potential morpheme **ka** (can/may) explain that it is possible the cutting of the meat and the kneading of the dumpling can/may be the case. The occurrence of deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) triggers a shift in atelic Activity situation type, hence the events interpretation does not entail the final endpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.5 Perfect Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink glass of water) in (71a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (71b):

- (71) a. ***O fihlile a nwa kgalase ya metsi, a robala.***  
 (He immediately drank a glass of water, and then slept)
- b. ***Ntate o fihlile a ja apole, a nto qoqa.***  
 (Father immediately eats an apple and then talks)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible in the consecutive complement clauses expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink glass of water) in (72a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (72b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the

perfect tense with the consecutive complement clause expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink glass of water) in (72a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (72b) which denotes completion. A marked focus of ingressive, i.e. focus on the preliminary stages of the event is introduced by the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense, describes an event with a final endpoint. The shift is described by a marked focus ingressive, i. e. deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the perfect tense to culmination of the consecutive complement clause of *drinking a glass of water* and of *eating an apple*. This deficient verb *-fihlile* in the perfect tense has change the verb focus and the situation type of the verb constellations to shifted Achievement situation type. These situations are interpreted as telic events. Shifted verb constellations of drinking a glass of water and of eating an apple occurred instantaneously.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.6 Subjunctive *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *lohe jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (73a) and *bope nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (73b):

- (73) a. *Ke batla hore nkgono a fihle a lohe jeresi.*  
(I want that granny should knit a jersey immediately)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore Karabelo a fihle a bope nkgo.*  
(I wish that Karabelo should create a clay pot straightaway)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verbs *lohe jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (73a) and *bope nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (73b). The viewpoint aspect of imperfective is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. The deficient verb *-fihle* in the subjunctive ‘...*nkgono a fihle a lohe jeresi*’ (...granny should knit a jersey immediately) (in (73a) and ‘...*Karabelo a file a bope nkgo*’

(...Karabelo should create a clay pot straightaway) in (73b) express a proposal for what should happen in the future. These sentences explain that the subjunctive complement clause occurs in a situation, it expresses some kind of hypothesis or plan that may likely to happen in future. A marked focus (the deficient verb *-fihle* in the subjunctive mood) i.e. preliminary of the stages interprets a situation as a derived-Activity, hence the activity of *knitting a jersey* and of *creating a clay pot* are without final endpoint. The interpretation of the situation type is contained in the subjunctive complement clauses in (73) because the subjunctive mood presents a mere probability of an event.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.7 Consecutive –fihla (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *–fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (74a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (74b):

- (74) a. ***Ba fihla ba haha kereke, ba fumana tjhelete, ba tsamaya.***
- (i) (They built the church immediately, they received money and then they left)
  - (ii) They arrived and built the church, they received money and then they left)
- b. ***Ntsane a fihla a ngola buka, a qeta a ba a e rekisa.***
- (i) (Ntsane wrote a book immediately, he finishes and then he sells it)
  - (ii) (Ntsane arrived and wrote a book, he finishes and then he sells it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement clause expressing the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (74a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (74b). The viewpoint aspect of perfective is introduced by the deficient verb *–fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive followed by consecutive complement clauses ‘*Ba fihla ba haha kereke...*’ (They built the church immediately...) in (74) and ‘*Ntsane a fihla a ngola*

*buka...*' (Ntsane wrote a book immediately,...) in (74b). These events denote completion because there is a change of state or an outcome in these situations. The interpretation associated with the occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* in the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement clause present final endpoint thus allow completion. The deficient verb *-fihla* typically introduces a marked focus in the ingressive, i.e. on the initial stages of the event while the consecutive complement clause presents a change of state or an outcome. For instance, the building of a house in (74a) and the actual writing of a book in (74b) cannot be omitted if one show the completed house and if one show a completed book. The interpretation of these sentences in (74a) and (74b) respectively entails that the outcome of the Accomplishment is reached, and then process has occurred.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.8 Imperative *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *pheha leqa la nama* (cook a piece of meat) in (75a) and *duba polokwe ya maqebelekwane* (knead a dough of dumpling) in (75b):

- (75) a. ***Hlatswa pitsa, o fihle o phehe leqa la nama.***  
 (Clean the pot, and cook a piece of meat immediately)
- b. ***Besa mollo, o fihle o dube polokwe ya maqebelekwane.***  
 (Make fire; and knead dough of dumpling immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible with imperative mood followed by subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verbs *pheha* (cook) in (75a) and *duba* (knead) in (75b). A marked focus on the ingressive meaning i.e. focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the imperative followed by a subjunctive complement clause expresses the intention of *cooking a piece of meat* and *kneading a dough of dumpling* in the future. The sentences in the imperative mood '*hlatswa pitsa*' (clean

the pot,...)and '*besa mollo*' (make fire) express proposition while the subjunctive complement clause '*...o phehe leqa la nama*' (...cook a piece of meat) and '*...o dube polowe ya maqebelekwane*' (...knead a dough of dumpling) describe the Accomplishment situation with the syntactic evidence for a telic event which demonstrates completion. Nevertheless, a marked focus in the ingressive interpretation i.e. on the preliminary stages '*o fihle...*' triggers a shift in the situation value of Accomplishment to an Activity in that the information given does not convey any final endpoint. The events in (75) may have an arbitrary endpoint. The situation type is atelic as the derived-Activity event.

#### 4.2.1.2.2.9 Infinitive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (76a) and *rema sefate* (cut a tree) in (76b):

- (71) a. *Ke rata ho fihla ke seha leqa la nama.*  
(I want to cut a piece of meat immediately)
- b. *Ntate o batla ho fihla a rema sefate.*  
(Father wants to cut a tree immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (76a) and *rema sefate* (cut a tree) in (76b). The interpretation of the preliminary stages of the event with the marked narrow focus of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately) in the infinitive mood produces a change of state in (76). These examples in the infinitive mood express a proposal for what should happen at the beginning of the event of *cutting a piece of meat* in (71a) and of *cutting a tree* in (76b). The interpretation of the situation type is Achievement or Activity depending on whether the change of state is instantaneous or durative. For

instance, *if one immediately cut a piece of meat* in (76a) then the situation is Achievement and there is a change of state and an outcome. The event is telic because it is interpreted as achievement hence the event allow an ingressive meaning. But if something happens *if one wants to cut a piece of meat* then the situation is Activity since there is no initial and final endpoint. The event is atelic since the situation has no outcome or a change of state. This event has no goal or termination, its termination is merely the cessation of an activity.

#### **4.2.1.3. DEFICIENT VERB THAT DENOTE TIME WITH ACHIEVEMENTS** **With no time in between –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway)**

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate an achievement situation type. In particular, the question is whether the achievements are semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. The main focus is on viewpoint on the way the aspectual system interacts with tense in an achievement situation type. Sentences are examined that describe perfective and imperfective viewpoint on the present, perfect and future tense constructions in different moods. This section will also investigate whether the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in particular may triggers a shift in situation type. In some participial complement clauses, the verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) may either occur as a deficient verb (DV) and/or as a main verb (MV).

##### **4.2.1.3.1 Present Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause**

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (77a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (77b):

- (77) a. ***Dineo o fihla a tjhwatla kgalase ya lebese.***  
 (Dineo immediately breaks a glass of milk)

b. ***Pelegametse o fihla a peperanya nkgo ya letsopa.***

(Pelegametse cracks a clay pot immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (77a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (77b). The marked focus of ingressive is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) expresses both initial and final endpoints of the events simultaneously with achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (77a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (77b). Both events constitute a change of state. The deficient verb *-fihla* does not trigger a change of state in a sentence because the achievement events constitute a change of state, hence they are telic. The deficient verb *-fihla* in the present tense with the present participial complement achievement verb constellations denote actions which occur at the moment of speech. The actions in (77) are expressed by the verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) which describe the beginning, the middle and the final endpoint of the events.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.2 Future Tense *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *ntsha kolo* (reverse a car) in (78a) and *hlakola fenstere* (wipe a window) in (78b):

(78) a. ***Ntate o tla fihla a ntshe kolo ka karatjheng.***

(Father will/shall immediately reverse a car in the garage)

b. ***Diteboho o tla fihla a hlakole fenstere ya kolo.***

(Diteboho will/shall immediately wipe a window of a car)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *ntsha koloi* (reverse a car) in (78a) and *hlakola fenstere* (wipe a window) in (78b). The marked focus of ingressive is introduced by the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event *reversing a car* in (78a) and of *wiping a window* in (78b). The preliminary stages of the event ‘*O tla fihla...*’ (He will immediately...) and in the future tense is used for the predictions that ‘*X is likely going to happen*’ for future fulfillment of the present intention of *reversing the car* in (78a) and of *wiping the window* in (78b). The future morpheme **tla** (will) trigger a shift in a situation type of Achievement to Activity situation type because there is no change of state or an outcome. These events in (78) do not have the initial and final endpoint, since they have arbitrary final endpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.3 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense followed by present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tlosa ngwana* (remove a child) in (79a) and *monya lero* (suck a juice) in (79b):

- (79) a. ***Nkgono o tla fihla a tlosa ngwana seterateng.***  
(Granny will immediately remove the child from the street)
- b. ***Ke tla fihla ke monya lero la lamunu.***  
(I will immediately suck the orange juice)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *tlosa ngwana* (remove a child) in (79a) and *monya lero* (suck a juice) in (79b). A marked focus of ingressive, i.e. the preliminary stages of the event of *removing the child* and of *sucking an orange juice* denotes some specific source of prediction (*for an example X says that Y is going to happen*). For instance, if granny on her arrival, may *immediately remove the child*

*form the street*, the situation type is Achievement, hence event has the property of achievements. There is a change of state from one point to another. The deontic *will* imposes an obligation and it guarantees that an event of *removing the child from the street* in (79a) and *of sucking an orange juice* in (79b) will take place. The situation is telic; hence there is a final endpoint.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.4 Potential –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) follow by consecutive complement clause with the basic–level achievement verb constellations *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (80a) and *mena lakane* (fold a sheet) in (80b):

- (80) a. ***A ka fihla a koba terata, a e tjheselletsa.***  
 (He can/may immediately bend a wire and then weld it)
- b. ***Nka fihla ka mena lakane, ka e beha.***  
 (I can/may immediately fold a bed sheet and then put it away)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can) is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement clause with the basic–level achievement verb constellations *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (80a) and *mena lakane* (fold a sheet) in (80b). The marked focus of ingressive is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can/may) with consecutive complement clause presents the possibility of a situation that might occur or the event probably regarded by the speaker as likely to occur in the normal course of it. Sentences in (80a) express deontic possibility that *one can/may come immediately and bend a wire* and in (80b) *one can/may come quickly and fold the sheet*. The explanation entails the bending of the wire and the folding of the sheet if the bending and the folding be the case. The

marked focus of ingressive in the potential aspectual morpheme **ka** (can) do not triggers a shift in a situation type of Achievements because the events are telic.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.5 Perfect Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *utswa* (steal) in (81a) and *kwala* (close) in (81b):

- (81) a. ***Leshodu le fihlile la utswa, la baleha, la ba la tshwarwa.***  
 (The thief immediately stole, ran and then got caught)
- b. ***Ke fihlile ka kwala lemati, ka notlela ka tsamaya.***  
 (I immediately closed the door, put a key and then went)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement clause with the basic–level achievement verbs *utswa* (steal) in (81a) and *kwala* (close) in (81b). The marked focus of the ingressive is introduced by the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive complement clauses in (81). The deficient verb –*fihlile* in the perfect tense with the consecutive complement clause expressing achievement verb constellations *la utswa* (steal) in (81a) and *la kwala* (close) in (81b) denotes completion. The interpretation conveyed by the sentences with the deficient verb –*fihlile* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense includes final endpoints. The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihlile* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense with the consecutive complement clauses does not trigger a shift in the situation value of the Achievement. The perfective viewpoint presents the closed interpretation of the situation type. The events are interpreted as completed event; hence there is the change of state of stolen entity in (81a) and also an outcome in (81b) of an open door being a closed one.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.6 Subjunctive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level achievement verb constellations *phatlole qhomane* (explode a bomb) in (82a) and *tjhwatle lehe* (break an egg) in (82b) :

- (82) a. *Ke batla hore ke fihle ke phatlole qhomane.*  
(I want that I should explode a bomb immediately)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore ntate a fihle a tjhwatle lehe.*  
(I wish that my father should break an egg immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement clause with the basic–level achievement verb constellations *phatlole qhomane* (explode a bomb) in (82a) and *tjhwatle lehe* (break an egg) in (82b). The marked focus of the ingressive is introduced by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event of *exploding the bomb* and the event of *breaking an egg*. The marked focus on the preliminary stages of the event ‘*a fihle*’ expresses an intention for the future. However, the deficient verb –*fihle* (immediately, do straightaway) in the subjunctive mood followed by the subjunctive complement clause exhibiting achievement verb constellations *phatlole qhomane* (explode a bomb) in (82a) and *tjhwatle lehe* (break an egg) in (82b) express a proposal for what should happen in future. The deficient verb –*fihla* in the subjunctive mood does not triggers a shift in situation type of Achievement because the event of *exploding* in (82a) and the event of *breaking* in (82b) are instantaneous and the events are telic.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.7 Consecutive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive

complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *kgetha* (choose/elect) in (83a) and *thonya* (appoint) in (83b):

- (83) a. ***Matitjhere a fihla a kgetha moetapele, a tsamaya.***  
 (Teachers elected a leader immediately and then left)
- b. ***Ba fihla ba mo thonya, ba mo beha setulong.***  
 (They appointed him immediately and put him on his position)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the consecutive participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *kgetha* (choose) in (83a) and *thonya* (appoint) in (83b). The marked focus of ingressive is introduced by the meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) which focuses on the preliminary stages of the event. However, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement clause expressing achievement verb constellations ‘*a kgetha moetapele...*’ (They chose/elected a leader) in (83a) and ‘*ba thonya...*’ (They appointed...) in (83b) do not trigger a shift in situation type of Achievement because the events have the properties of achievements. The interpretation focuses an initial point and a final endpoint of a situation, i.e., ‘*Matitjhere a fihla a kgetha moetapele* (They immediately chose a leader) and ‘*Ba fihla ba mo thonya, ba mo beha setulong* (They appointed him immediately and put him on his position) gives no information to continuation. Pragmatically it is reasonable to conclude that the event of *electing* and *appointing* is completed. These events are telic; hence the events have the property of Achievement situation type.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.8 Imperative *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *kgetha* (elect) in (84a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (84b):

- (84) a. ***Buisanang, le fihle le mo kgethe.***  
 (Talk to one another, you should immediately elect him)
- b. ***Tsamayang, a fihle a nyamele.***  
 (You all go, he should immediately disappear)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *kgetha* (elect) in (84a) and *nyamele* (disappear) in (84b). The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) focuses on the preliminary stages of the event of *electing* in (84a) and the event of *disappearing* in (84b). However, the deficient verb *-fihle* (immediately, do straightaway) in the imperative mood followed by the subjunctive complement clause exhibiting achievement verb constellations *kgethe* (elect) in (84a) and *nyamele* (disappear) in (84b) express a proposal for what should happen in future. The deficient verb *-fihla* in the imperative mood does not triggers a shift in situation type of Achievement because the event of *electing* in (84a) and the event of *disappearing* in (84b) are instantaneous that result in a change of state or an outcome. The events are telic since there is an outcome in electing and in path-goal.

#### 4.2.1.2.3.9 Infinitive *-fihla* (immediately/do straightaway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *nyarela* (peep) in (85a) and *tjhesa* (burn) in (85b):

- (85) a. ***Ke rata ho fihla ke nyarela ka ntlong.***  
 (I want to peep into the house immediately)
- b. ***Ke batla ho fihla ke tjhesa matlakala.***  
 (I want to burn rubbish immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial

complement clause with the basic-level achievement verbs *nyarela* (peep) in (85a) and *tjhesa* (burn) in (85b). The prospective meaning is introduced by the deficient verb *ho fihla* (be about to) in the infinitive mood which might suggest a situation is 'be about to' in the future, for an example, *one about to burn rubbish immediately* in (85b). The meaning of **ho** (be about to) which expresses prospective meaning is superseded by the marked focus of the ingressive meaning in 'Ke rata ho fihla...' (I want to ...) in (85a) and 'Ke batla ho fihla ...' (I want to ...). The interpretation of the marked focus of the ingressive is demonstrated by the deficient verb *-fihla* in the infinitive mood expresses the situation that is going to be in future as in 'Ke rata ho fihla ke nyarela ka tlong' (I want to peep into the house immediately) in (80a) and 'Ke batla ho fihla ke tjhesa matlakala' (I want to burn rubbish immediately) in (85b). These events describe the shifted Activity situation type as there is no outcome or a change of state. The events are atelic. On the other hand, if 'X may be the case', the Achievement events remain unchanged because the event of *peeping* and of *burning* will occur instantly when one arrives. There is an outcome of path-goal in (85a) and of burning of rubbish in (85b). The events are telic.

#### **4.2.1.2.4. DEFICIENT VERB THAT DENOTE TIME WITH STATES With no time in between –fihla (immediately/do straightway)**

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *—fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate stative situation type. In particular, the question is to address as whether deficient verb *-fihla* in different tenses and moods is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses expressing stative verbs. The main focus is on the way the aspectual system interacts with tense and mood in stative situation type. The marked focus of the ingressive i.e., on the preliminary stages of the event in various aspectual system such as the present, perfect and future tense constructions in different moods will be discussed. This section will also investigate whether the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) triggers a shift in situation type. It will be shown that the verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) may either occur as a deficient verb (DV) and/or as a main verb (MV).

#### 4.2.1.2.4.1 Present Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *tseba* (know) in (86a) and *kula* (become sick) in (86b):

- (86) a. *Prof. Gildenhuis o fihla a tseba Sesotho.*  
 (i) (Prof Gildenhuis immediately knows Sesotho)  
 (ii) (Prof Gildenhuis arrives knowing Sesotho)  
 b. *Thabo o fihla a kula mosebetsing.*  
 (i) (Thabo immediately becomes sick at work)  
 (ii) (Thabo arrives sick at work)

The interpretation of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement clause describing stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (86a) and *kula* (become sick) in (86b). The marked focus of the ingressive i.e. the preliminary stages of the event *knowing Sesotho* in (86a) and of *becoming sick* in (86b) is introduced by the meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the present tense. The sentence in (86a) and (86b) may have a wide or a narrow span. The interpretation of a narrow span is *Prof Gildenhuis fihla a tseba Sesotho* (Prof Gildenhuis immediately knows Sesotho) in (86a), hence the event is be conceived as instantaneous, Achievement situation type. In this event, the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) triggers a shift in Achievement situation type. The utterance in (86a) can only refer that an event is held at that particular moment of speech. On the other hand, the interpretation of a wide span is Habitual stative sentence in *Prof Gildenhuis o fihla a tseba Sesotho* (Prof Gildenhuis arrives knowing Sesotho) in (86b), hence the sentence in the present tense leads to a habitual reading.

#### 4.2.1.2.4.2 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future aspectual morpheme **tla** (will/shall) followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *rata* (love) in (87a) and *kgahla* (admire) in (87b):

- (87) a. *Ke lakatsa hore Diketso a tle a fihle a rate Disebo.*  
(I wish that Diketso should immediately love Disebo)
- b. *Ke batla hore mohlankana a tle a fihle a kgahle morwetsana.*  
(I want that a young man should immediately admire a young woman)

The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense **tla** (will/shall) is compatible with a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level stative verbs *rata* (love) in (87a) and *kgahla* (admire) in (87b). The marked focus of the ingressive, i.e. focus on the preliminary stages of the event is introduced by the meaning of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future morpheme **tla** (will/shall) followed by a subjunctive complement clause. The preliminary stages of the event ‘*A tle fihle...*’ (He will immediately...) and in the future tense is used for the predictions that ‘*X is likely going to happen*’ for future fulfillment of the present intention in (87a) and in (87b). The future morpheme **tla** (will) trigger a shift in a situation type of Stative to Achievement of ‘*a tle a fihle a rate Disebo*’ (He should immediately love Disebo) in (87a) and ‘*a tle a fihle a kgahle morwetsana*’ (He should admire a young woman immediately) in (87b). On the other hand, *-fihla* may trigger a shift to Habitual stative sentences of ‘*a tle a fihle a rate Disebo*’ (He should arrive loving Disebo) in (87a) and ‘*a tle a fihle a kgahle morwetsana*’ (He should arrive admiring a young woman) in (87b).

#### 4.2.1.2.4.3 Future Tense –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future tense **tla** (will/shall) followed by present

tense participial complement clause with the basic–level state verbs *lemoha* (realize) in (88a) and *utlwisisa* (understand) in (88b):

- (88) a. ***Ntate o tla fihla a lemoha hore ha ba sebetse.***  
 (Father will/shall realise immediately that they are not working)
- b. ***Ke tla fihla ke utlwisisa ha ba ntlhalosetsa.***  
 (I will/shall understand immediately when they explain to me)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the future morpheme **tla** (will/shall) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause describing the basic–level stative verbs *lemoha* (realise) in (88a) and *utlwisisa* (understand) in (88b). These sentences present a marked focus of the ingressive, i.e. focuses on the preliminary stages of the event of *realising* in (88a) and of *understanding* in (88b). The deontic **tla** (*shall*) do not impose an obligation but it guarantees the state of *realising* with the deficient verb *-fihla* and that of *understanding*. On the other hand, the deontic **tla** (*will*) denote that it is possible that ‘*Ntate o tla fihla a lemoha...*’ (X will immediately realise that Y is the case) in (88a) and that ‘*Ke tla fihla ke utlwisisa...*’ (X will immediately understand that Y is the case) in (88b). The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the future tense followed by the present tense stative verbs *lemoha* (realise) and *utlwisisa* (understand) describe the stative situation type as the Achievement interpretation because there is an immediate change of state from a state of *not realising* to a state of *realising* in (88a) and an immediate change of state of *not understanding* to a state of *understanding* in (88b) at the moment of speech. These non-stative sentences are telic; hence the events have the property of instantaneous achievements.

#### 4.2.1.2.4.4 Potential *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic–level state verbs *hloya* (hate) in (89a) and *nyatsa* (criticize) in (89b):

- (89) a. ***Thulo a ka fihla a hloya, a nyonya a nena mosadi.***  
 (Thulo can/may immediately hate, despise and then dislike a woman)
- b. ***A ka fihla a nyatsa, a hloya mokgatlo wa basadi.***  
 (He can/may immediately criticize and then hate the women's organization)

The occurrence of deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the potential morpheme **ka** (can/may) is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement clause expressing the basic-level state verbs *hloya* (hate) in (89a) and *nyatsa* (criticize) in (89b). The marked focus of the ingressive, i.e. focusing at the beginning of the event as in '*Thulo a ka fihla a hloya...*' (Thulo can/may immediately hate...) in (89a) and '*A ka fihla a nyatsa...*' (He can/may immediately criticize...) in (89b). However, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately, do straightaway) in the potential morpheme **ka** (can/may) presents the possibility of a situation which might occur and the state regarded by the speaker as likely to occur in the normal course of a state as in (89). The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the potential **ka** supersedes the meaning of a consecutive complement which denotes completion. Therefore, the deficient verb *-fihla* in the potential mood does not shift the stative situation type, thus the situation remains unchanged as a stative.

#### 4.2.1.2.4.5 Perfect Tense *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with perfect tense followed by consecutive complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *haketse* (being angry) in (90a) and *nyefotse* (being scornful) in (90b):

- (90) a. ***O fihlile a haketse, a tebela batho.***  
 (i) (She was angry right away and then she expels people)  
 (ii) (She arrived being angry and then she expels people)
- b. ***O fihlile a nyefotse, a ba nyemotsa batho.***  
 (i) (She immediately despised and then she scorns people)  
 (ii) (She arrived being despising and then she scorns people)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement clause exhibiting the basic-level state verbs *haketse* (very angry) in (90a) and *nyefotse* (despised) in (90b). The marked focus of the ingressive of the event i.e. focuses on the beginning of the consecutive complement expressing state verbs ‘*a haketse*’ (being angry) in (91a.i) and a state of ‘*a nyefotse*’ (being scornful) in (90b.i). This deficient verb – *fihlile* (immediately) in the perfect tense shift a situation type of Stative to Achievement, hence the events of *haketse* (being angry) in (90a.i) and of *nyefotse* (being scornful) in (90b.i) occurred. On the other hand, in (85a.ii), the stative interpretation has the imperfective viewpoint which is usually associated with a dynamic interpretation in the sentences ‘*O fihlile a haketse...*’ (She arrived being angry...) and in (90b.ii), ‘*O fihlile a nyefotse*’ (She arrived being despising...). The derived-statives have verb constellations at the basic-level of classification as in ‘*O fihlile a haketse*’ (He arrived being angry) in (90a.ii) and in ‘*O fihlile a nyefotse*’ (He arrived being despised) in (90b.ii) in the consecutive mood. These sentences in the imperfective viewpoint refers to a particular state rather than a recurrent pattern of states, i.e. a state of *being angry* in (90a.ii) and a state of *being despised* in (90b.ii).

#### 4.2.1.2.4.6 Subjunctive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *halefe* (become angry) in (91a) and *nyatse* (criticize) in (91b):

- (91) a. *Ke batla hore a fihle a halefe ha a le bona.*  
(I want that she should immediately become angry when she sees you)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore ha le fihla le fihle le nyatse ketso eo.*  
(I wish that when you arrive, you should immediately criticize that action)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement clause explaining the basic-level stative verb constellation ‘*a halefe*’ (to be angry) in (91a) and ‘*a nyatse*’ (criticize) in (91b). The deficient verb *-fihle* in the subjunctive mood occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of hypothesis or a plan not an actualized situation. The sentences ‘*Ke batla hore a fihle a halefe*’ (I want that she should immediately become angry) in (91a) and ‘*...le fihle le nyatse ketso eo*’ (...you should immediately criticize that action) in (91b) suggest the proposal for what should happen in future, hence the deficient verb *-fihle* in the subjunctive make a suggestion as to what the time of speech the states occur. This deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) triggers a shift into Achievement situation type, hence the events are instantaneous and telic. There is a change of state from a state of *being happy* to a state of *being angry* in (91a) and from a *state of admiring* to a *state of criticizing* in (91b).

#### 4.2.1.2.4.7 Consecutive *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Consecutive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *nyemotsa* (become scornful) in (92a) and *kgathala* (become tired) in (92b):

- (92) a. ***Matitjhere a fihla a nyemotsa, a nyefola, a tsamaya.***  
 (Teachers immediately became scornful; they criticized, and then go)
- b. ***Ba fihla ba kgathala, ba phomola ba robala.***  
 (They immediately became tired, kept silent and fell asleep)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement clause denoting the basic-level state verbs *nyemotsa* (become scornful) in (92a) and *kgathala* (became tired) in (92b). The marked focus of the beginning is introduced by deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the stative sentences ‘*Matitjhere a fihla a nyemotsa, a nyefola, a tsamaya*’ (Teachers immediately became scornful, criticized,

and then went away) in (92a) and '*Ba fihla ba kgathala, ba phomola ba robala*' in (92b) (They immediately became tired, kept silent and fell asleep). The deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the consecutive presents the coming about of a state, i.e. inchoatives. In (92), stative sentences with telic events are indirectly carrying results because the sentences focus on the result of a change of state, for an example from a state of being not tired to a state of being tired. These shifted Achievement sentences are triggered by the deficient verb *-fihla* in the consecutive being complemented by a consecutive clause '*...a nyefola, a tsamaya*' (...they criticize and then go) in (92a) and '*...ba phomola, ba robala*' (...they rest and then fell asleep) in (92b).

#### 4.2.1.2.4.8 Imperative *-fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Subjunctive Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *swenya* (look sad) in (93a) and *lla* (cry) in (93b):

- (93) a. *Bonang, ha le kena, le fihle le swenye.*  
(Look here, when you enter, you should immediately look sad)
- b. *Mamela, ha o fihla, o fihle o lle.*  
(Listen, when you arrive, you should immediately cry)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately/straightaway) with imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement clause expressing the basic-level state verbs *swenya* (look sad) in (93a) and *lla* (cry) in (93b). A marked focus of the egressive, i.e focuses on the finish of the event is introduced by the deficient verb *-fihle* (immediately) in the subjunctive complement clause '*...le fihle le swenye*' (...you should immediately look sad) in (93a) and '*...o fihle o lle*' (...you should immediately cry) in (93b). The meaning of the deficient verb *-fihle* in the subjunctive triggers a shift in the situation type of an Achievement because the achievement events are instantaneous, telic events in the end of the both situations

in (93). On the other hand, the stative situation will remain unchanged because the subjunctive complement clause '*le fihle le swenye*' (you should immediately look sad) in (93a) expresses some kind of a plan, while the verb in the main clause in the imperative mood '*bonang, ha le kena*' (Look here, when you enter,...) and '*Mamela, ha o fihla,...*' (Listen when you arrive...) in (93b) express instruction or command to a proposed plan not of an actualized situation of the subjunctive complement clause.

#### 4.2.1.2.4.9 Infinitive –*fihla* (immediately/do straightway) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement clause with the basic-level state verbs *tseba* (know) in (94a) and *lemoha* (realize) in (94b):

- (94) a. *Thabo o rata ho fihla a tseba Sesotho.*  
(Thabo wants to know Sesotho rightaway)
- b. *Ke lakatsa ho fihla ke lemoha baetapele ba balotsana.*  
(I wish to realize the deceitful leaders immediately)

The occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/straightaway) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement clause denoting the basic-level state verbs *tseba* (know) in (94a) and *lemoha* (realize) in (94b). A marked focus on the ergressive, i.e. focuses on the finishing of the situation express a shift into the situation type of Achievement because '*ho fihla a tseba Sesotho*' (knowing of Sesotho) in (94a) and '*ho fihla ke lemoha baetapele ba balotsana*' (realising of the deceitful leaders) in (94a) occur instantaneously and the situations are telic. On the other hand, the infinitive mood occurs in a sentence expresses some kind of hypothesis or a plan of *knowing Sesotho rightaway* in (94a) and *of realizing deceitful leaders rightaway* in (94b) not an actualized situation. Thus the occurrence of the deficient verb –*fihla* (immediately/rightaway) presents the neutral viewpoint which denotes open-ended and continuing situation with the assertion that the situation continues into the present as in (94), the predication is that *Thabo wishes to know Sesotho rightaway and he is still continues to wish to*

*know Sesotho immediately* in (94a). Thus the sentence is compatible with continuation which asserts that the final endpoint is not reached. The situation remains unchanged as stative situation type.

### 4.3 CONDITIONAL

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb **-be** (could have been) in the potential **ka**, **-be** (would be) in the future tense **tla** with semantics of tense and aspect, two categories that are expressed by a combination of inflectional morphology with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate situation types. In particular, the question is, whether they are semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses giving descriptions such as epistemic possibility which expresses whether '*it is possible that X is the case*' and the deontic necessity expressing whether the '*circumstances makes it possible for X to be the case.*'

These deficient verbs show a condition in which events found themselves in connection with the beginning, the middle and the endpoint of the events. These deficient verbs indicate that something happens conditionally.

#### 4.3.1.1 Activity verbs with **-ka be** (could have been), **-tla be** (should be) in the potential followed by a Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs **-be** (could have been) in the potential **ka** and **-be** (should be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity clause *matha* (run) in (95a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (95b):

- (95) a. *Hoja a ikwetlisitse, a ka be a matha la Ntshwekge hona jwale.*  
(If he did exercise, he could have been running like Ntshwekge now)
- b. *Le ha e ka ba bosiu, o tla be a sebetsa.*  
(Even if it can be late, he should be working)

The occurrence of the deficient verb **-be** (could have been) in potential **ka** with the present tense complement describing an activity verb *matha* (run) in (95a)

demonstrates imperfective meaning because the process of *matha* (run) which is presented, is thus looked upon as being incomplete. However, the deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** conveys ability that '*X could have been running*' in '**A ka be a matha**' (He could have been) in (95a). On the other hand, the deficient verb *-be* (should be) in the future tense **tla** conveys the possibility that '*X guarantees that an event will take place*' as in '**O tla be a sebetsa**' (He should be working) in (95b). If the process assures that the event of *working* will occur, then the deficient verb *-be* (should be) conveys the meaning of imperfective. Thus the situation remains unchanged as an activity event hence it is atelic.

#### 4.3.1.2 Accomplishment verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a present tense participial complement denoting the accomplishment clause *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (96a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (96b):

- (96) a. *Thabo o tla be a haha ntlo kgweding e tlang.*  
(Thabo would be building a house next month)
- b. *Maphalla a ka be a ngola buka.*  
(Maphalla could have been writing a book)

The occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** are semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement denoting the accomplishment clause *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (95a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (96b). The deficient verb *-be* (would be) in the potential **tla** is semantically dependent on the accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (96a). The deficient verb *-be* (would be) in the future tense expresses obligation in the sense that '*X guarantees that an event of building a house will take place*'. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (would be) conveys the meaning of imperfective because the event suggests the initial point of the process of building a house and nothing is said about its completion. On the other hand, the accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (96b)

expresses the ability that 'X *could have been writing a book.*' The deficient verb *-be* (would be) expresses the meaning of imperfective because the action of *writing a book* is presented as could have been in progress.

#### 4.3.1.3 Achievement verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (should be) in the potential followed by a Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (should be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a present tense participial complement achievement clause *tshela* (cross over) in (97a) and *bula* (open) in (97b):

- (97) a. *Nkgono a ka be a tshela tsela ka ha dikoloi ha di ngata.*  
(Granny could have been crossing over the road because there are not many cars)
- b. *O tla be a bula lemati hore mosadi a kene.*  
(He would be opening the door so that the woman should come in)

The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** with achievement verb constellation *tshela tsela* (cross the road) in (97a) expresses that '*it could have been possible that Grannay may cross the road*' while *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** with achievement verb *bula lemati* (open) in (97b) expresses '*how confident the speaker is, that one would be opening the door*'. On the other hand, deficient verb *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** introduces an imperfective viewpoint because there is an assurance that one would be opening the door. The situation remains unchanged as an achievement; hence the action of opening would be taking place instantly.

#### 4.3.1.4 State verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) and *-be* (would be) in the potential **ka** followed by a present tense participial complement state clause *hloya* (hate) in (98a) and *tseba* (know) in (98b):

- (98) a. ***A ka be a hloya Morwesi, ka ha a buile ka yena.***  
 (She could have hated Morwesi because she spoke about her)
- b. ***Ke tla be ke tseba ditaba tseo le di buileng.***  
 (I would know the news that you have talked about)

The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the potential function as grammatical formatives which occur within the morphological structure of the state verb *hloya* (hate) in which the deficient verb *-be* (would have been) in the potential **ka** expresses that ‘*Circumstances make it possible for X to be the case*’ in *A ka be a hloya Morwesi* (She could have hated Morwesi) in (98a). On the other hand, the deficient verb *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** with the stative verb *tseba* (know) in which the deficient verb *-be* (would be) expresses ‘*certainty that one would know the news*’ in the present tense participial complement *Ke tla be ke tseba ditaba* (I would know the news) in (98b). The deficient verb *-be* (would be) introduces the derived telic meaning in that one would certainly know the news.

#### 4.3.2.1 Activity verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a Perfect Tense Participial

The diagnostic test is on deficient verbs *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a perfect tense participial complement expressing the activity clause *tsamaile* (walked) in (99a) and *bone* (see) in (99b):

- (99) a. ***A ka be a tsamaile le ntatae.***  
 (She could have walked with her father)
- b. ***Ha a fihla, o tla ka be a bone seo a ka se etsang.***  
 (When he arrives, he should have been able to see what he can do)

The occurrence of the deficient verbs *be* (could have) in the potential **ka** with a perfect tense participial clause demonstrating the activity verb *tsamaile* (walked) in (99a) express the possibility that, ‘*it is possible that X be the case,*’ thus the event is atelic, hence the situation remains unchanged as the activity event. The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** is syntactically dependent on a

complement, and it is semantically compatible with the activity verb *tsamaile* (walk). The deficient verb *-be* (should be) in the future tense **tla** with activity verb *bona* (see) in (99b) demonstrates the event that describes ‘*the kind of evidence that one has for proposition*’ in (99b). For instance, in ‘...**o tla ka be a bone...**’ (...he should have been able to see,..), there is a confirmation that one would be able to see what one can do.

#### 4.3.2.2 Accomplishment verbs with **-ka be** (could have been), **-tla be** (would be) in the potential followed by Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka**, *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** with followed by a perfect tense participial complement describing accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (100a) and *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (100b):

- (100) a.     **A ka be a hahile ntlo** *kgale hoja a re mamela.*  
                   (He could have built a house long time ago if he could listen to us)
- b.     **O tla be a ngotse buka**  
                   (He would be written a book)

The deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** are semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement clause accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (100a) and *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (100b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could be able) in the potential **ka** with the complement accomplishment verb *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (100a) express ‘*the kind of evidence that one have for proposition of building a house.*’ On the other hand, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (would be able) in the future tense **tla** with the accomplishment verb constellation *ngotse buka* (written a book) in (100b) expresses certainty which show ‘*the speaker is confident that one would have written a book.*’ The marked imperfective viewpoint focuses the preliminary stages of an event, i. e. ‘*O tla be...*’ (He would be...), the resultative interpretation of a written book.

#### 4.3.2.3 Achievement verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential with a Perfect Tense Participial Complement

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-ka be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a perfect tense participial complement achievement verbs *tjhwatlile* (broke) in (101a) and *kwetse* (closed) in (101b):

- (101) a. **A ka be a tjhwatlile lebota la ntlo selemo se fetileng.**  
(He could have broken the wall of the house last year)
- b. **Moruti o tla be a kwetse lemati la kereke ha a qala ho rera.**  
(The priest would have closed the church door when he starts to preach)

The deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement exhibiting the achievement verb constellation *tjhwatlile lebota* (broke the wall) which demonstrates the possibility of that, ‘*the kind of evidence that one has for proposition*’ in (101b). The deficient verb *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** with the perfect tense participial complement achievement verb constellation *kwala lemati* (closed the door) demonstrates the *certainty* that ‘*how confident the speaker is, that the priest will have closed the door*’ in (101a).

#### 4.3.2.4 State verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a Perfect Tense Participial.

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (would have been), *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a perfect tense participial complement expressing state verbs *robetse* (asleep) in (102a) and *kgathetse* (be tired) in (102b):

- (102) a. **O tla be a robetse.**  
(He would have been asleep)
- b. **A ka be a kgathetse hoja a se ke a phomola.**  
(He could be tired if he did not rest)

In (102), the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the future tense **tla** is compatible with a perfect tense participial complement denoting the state verbs *robotse* (asleep) in (102a) and *kgathetse* (being tired) in the potential **ka** in (102b). The deficient verb *-be* (could be) in the potential **ka** demonstrates *probability* that ‘*X is possible to be the case*’ for instance, if one could not rest, one could be tired. On the other hand, the deficient verb *-be* (would have been) in the future tense **tla** describe certainty that ‘*something will happen in future*’ for an example, one would be asleep in future.

#### 4.3.3.1 Activity verbs) with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by Future Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the future **tla** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a future tense participial complement activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (103a) and *matha* (run) in (103b):

- (103) a      **A ka be a tla tsamaya le lona ho ya Maseru.**  
                   (He would have been walking with you to Maseru)
- b.      **O tla tla be a matha hosane**  
                   (He would be running tomorrow)

In (103), the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in the future tense **tla** is compatible with a future tense participial complement denoting the activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (103a) and *matha* (run) in (103b). The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the future tense **tla** with the activity verb *tsamaya* (walk) in (103a) expresses request that ‘*Circumstances require X to be the case*’ as in ‘**A ka be a tla tsamaya...**’ (He would have been walking...). Thus the situation remains unchanged as an activity event since there is no information given about initial or final endpoint of the event. The imperfective viewpoint is introduced by the deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the future tense **tla** in (103a). Then again, the deficient verbs *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** with the activity verb *matha* (run) demonstrates *obligation* that ‘*X is obliged to do a certain action*’ as in **O tla tla be a matha hosane**

(He would be running tomorrow) in (103b). Similarly, the imperfective viewpoint is introduced by the deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in the future tense **tla** in (103a). The situation remains unchanged as an activity atelic event; hence there is no initial and final endpoint about the situation.

#### 4.3.3.2 Accomplishment verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a Future Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (would have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a future tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (104a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (104b):

- (104) a. *Ntate a ka be a tla haha ntlo hoja a se sebedise tjhelete bohlaswa.*  
 (Father could have been building a house if he did not use money carelessly)
- b. *Maphalla o tla be a tlo ngola buka ha a fihla.*  
 (Maphalla would be writing a book when he arrives)

In (104), the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in future tense **tla** is compatible with a future tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (104a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (104b). The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in future tense **tla** with a future tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (104a) describes the possibility that ‘*It is possible that X would be able to build a house*’ as in ‘*Ntate a ka be a tla haha ntlo*’ (Father could have been building a house...) if he did not use money carelessly. On the other hand, the deficient verb *-be* (would be) in future tense **tla** with a future tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (104b) expresses the possibility that ‘*It is possible that X would be writing a book*’ when one arrives. The occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in future tense **tla** triggers a shift to the situation type of derived-Activities; hence the events do not present the interpretation of initial or final endpoint. The vents are atelic.

#### 4.3.3.3 Achievement verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by a Future Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-ka be* (would have been) in the future tense **tla** and *-tla be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a future tense participial complement expressing achievement verb constellations *reka dijo* (buy food) in (105a) and *bula lebekere* (open a tin) in (105b):

- (105) a. ***Nka be ke tla reka dijo tsa hao*** *hoja di ne di se theko e hodimo.*  
(I would have been buying your food if they were not expensive)
- b. ***Ke ne ke tla be ke tla bula lebekere*** *la ditholwana ha ba ne ba le teng.*  
(I would be opening a tin of fruit if they were there)

In (105), the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in future tense **tla** is compatible with a future tense participial complement expressing the achievement verb constellations *reka dijo* (buy food) in (105a) and *bula lebekere* (open a tin) in (105b). The deficient verb *-be* (could have been) in future tense **tla** with a future tense participial complement expressing the achievement verb constellations *reka dijo* (buy food) in (105a) expresses proposition that ‘*It is possible that X the case negating the proposition that it is not the case*’ in ***Nka be ke tla reka dijo tsa hao*** *hoja di ne di se theko e hodimo* (I would have been buying your food) meaning it would be possible for X to buy food if they were not expensive. Similarly, the deficient verb *-be* (would be) in future tense **tla** with a future tense participial complement expressing the achievement verb constellations *bula lebekere* (open a tin) in (105b) expresses a proposition that ‘*It would be possible to open a tin of fruit if the case, as there were there.*’ The marked of imperfective viewpoint focus on the preliminary stages is described by the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in future tense **tla** in these examples in (105).

#### 4.3.3.4 State verbs with *-ka be* (could have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the potential followed by Future Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-ka be* (would have been), *-tla be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** followed by a future tense participial complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (106a) and *nona* (become fat) in (106b):

- (102) a. *Thulo a ka be a tla rata Disebo*  
 (Thulo would have loved Disebo)
- b. *Ke tla be ke tlo nona.*  
 (I would be fat)

The deficient verbs *-be* (could have been/would be) in future tense **tla** is compatible with a future tense participial complement expressing the stative verbs *rata* (love) in (106a) and *nona* (become fat) in (106b). The deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the future tense **tla** with the stative verb *rata* (love) demonstrates modal expression plus proposition that ‘*Circumstances make it possible for X to be the case*’ in (106a) while with *nona* (become fat) demonstrates probability that ‘*X would be possible if X is the case*’ in (106b). For instance, in *Ke tla be ke tlo nona* (I would be fat) the deficient verb *-be* (would be) presents a habitual stative meaning that one would be habitually fat if maybe one eat too much.

The deficient verbs *-be* (could have been) in the potential **ka** and *-be* (would be) in the future tense **tla** are no longer function as words but as grammatical formatives which occur within morphological structure of other main verbs. Because of losing the status as words, they become morphological constituents of grammaticalization since it causes lexical meaning of the original word to change to the grammatical one.

#### 4.4 HABITUAL

Nxumalo (2000:438) explains habitual as events which happen regularly and repeatedly over a long time. These deficient verbs *-ye* (used to), *-ne* (accustomed

to), *-hle* (do indeed), *-be* (relative tense that express the deficient verb), indicate that something happens habitually or constantly. This does not happen for a short period but usually or always. This form of a sentence may have the following deficient verbs *-ye*, *-ne*, *-be*, *-hle* (used to) in the following sentences end with the terminal vowel *-e*. The sentence will have the habitual action.

On the other hand, Lyons (1977:716) describes habitual as conveniently applied to situations (and derivatively, to aspects that describe such situations) to which a much broader, but intuitively related set of terms is applicable, including *customary*, *frequent*, *regular*, *usual* and even *normal*. Forsyth (1970:12) too recognises habitual as a typical imperfective semantic feature, and describes it as follows: “The description of action repeated on separate occasions is a characteristic function of the imperfective verb”.

Comrie (1976:27,28) points out that habitual describe a situation which characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as incidental property but precisely, as a characteristic feature of the whole period.

#### **4.4.1 Deficient verbs *-ye* (used to), *-be* (usually), *-hle* (usually), *-ne* (used to) with perfect subjunctive complement**

Bennet (2004:103) explains habituality as something that happens in a majority of some set of occasions, irrespective of how many times it occurs in an absolute sense. Habitually, then denotes some kind of repletion without necessarily meaning frequent repetition.

##### **4.4.1.1 Activity verbs *tla* (come), *matha* (run) with *-ye* (used to)**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) followed by a subjunctive complement with activity verbs *tla* (come) in (107a) and *matha* (run) in (107b):

- (107) a. ***O ye a tle.***  
 (He is accustomed to coming)
- b. ***O ye a mathe e sa le hoseng.***  
 (He used to run early in the morning)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) is compatible with subjunctive complement activity verbs *tle* (come) in (107a) and *mathe* (run) in (107b). The deficient verb *-ye* (used to) is shown by the one that has the dependent mood within inflectional phrase followed by the subjunctive complement. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) followed by subjunctive complementary activity verbs *tle* (come) in '*O ye a tle*' (He is accustomed to come) in (107a) while with an activity verb *mathe* (run) in *O ye a mathe e sa le hoseng* (He used to running early in the morning) in (107b) shows the simple past used to express habituality. The sentences in (107) involve the notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in majority of some set of occasions, irrespective how many times it occurs in an absolute sense. Habitual can mean on suitable occasions since '*O ye a tle*' (He is accustomed to come) in (107a) and '*O ye a mathe*' (He is used to run) in (107b) is likely to convey just that he comes regularly, the frequency of *coming* and of *running* is depicted by habitual factors.

#### 4.4.1.2 Activity verbs *reka* (buy), *tla* (come) with *-be* (usually)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complementary activity verbs *sebetse* (work) in (108a) and *tle* (come) in (108b):

- (108) a. ***Ke be ke sebetse ke sa ikemisetsa.***  
 (I was working even if I am not be prepared)
- b. ***Ke be ke tle a le siyo.***  
 (I had to come (even if) he was not around)

The meaning of the occurrence of the deficient verb *be* (usually) relate the time of the event to some other time than the present. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) is compatible with subjunctive complementary activity verbs *sebetse* (work)

in (108a) and *tle* (come) in (108b). The deficient verb *-be* describe the purpose of working and coming with non-habitual meanings. Thus, they may be semantically habitual without being habitual from a morphosyntactic viewpoint. The idea of a purpose in '*Ke be ke sebetse*' (I was working) in (108a) and '*Ke be ke tle*' (I had to come) in (108b) simply signals past time of the event other than the present. These sentences have non-habitual interpretations, hence the meaning do not relate to one has habitual work and one repeatedly is coming.

#### 4.4.1.3 Activity verbs *matha* (run), *bua* (speak) with *-hle* (usually)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with activity verbs *matha* (run) in (109a) and *bua* (speak) in (109b):

- (109) a     ***Pule o hle a mathe***  
               (Pule usually runs)
- b.     ***Ke hle ke bue ha ke batla.***  
               (I usually speak when I want to)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) is compatible with the subjunctive complementary activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (109a) and *bue* (speak) in (109b). The habitual viewpoint is introduced by the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) in *Pule o hle a mathe* (Pule habitually run) in (109a) and in *Ke hle ke bue* (I normally speak) in (109b). The deficient verb *-hle* (usually) describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time as in Pule habitually runs on regular basis. Habituality in (109) denotes some kind of frequency of an event depicted by a habitual factor as in '*Ke hle ke bue*' (I speak more often than once) in (109b). The deficient verb *-hle* (usually) introduces the habitual meaning, hence the actions of running and of speaking are repeated on separate occasions. There is no initial and final endpoint; hence the situation remains unchanged as activity atelic events.

#### 4.4.1.4 Activity verbs *bua* (speak), *etela* (visit) with *-ne* (used to)

The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form followed by a subjunctive complement with activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (110a) and *etela* (visit) in (110b):

- (110) a. ***Ke ne ke ne ke bue.***  
 (I used to speak)
- b. ***Re ne re ne re etele Maseru ka dipere.***  
 (We used to visit Maseru on horses)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form is compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verbs *bue* (speak) in (110a) and *etele* (visit) in (110b). In (110), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form does not just express habitual aspect, it also expresses past tense in which ‘*Ke ne ke ne ke bue*’ (I used to speak) in (110a) and ‘*Re ne re ne re etele Maseru*’ (We used to visit Maseru) in (110b) describes a habit which was held in the past. That is why the conclusion that the situation no longer holds for the time of speaking is a matter of implication not entailment. The process of ‘*Ke ne ke ne ke bue*’ (I used to speak) in (110a) and ‘*Re ne re ne re etele Maseru*’ (We used to visit Maseru) in (110b) are presented as a discreet, completed whole with regard to a particular point in time in the past with the habitual interpretation involved. The deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form triggers a shift in a situation type of Accomplishment, hence the events are telic. These events result to path-goal as an outcome in (110b).

Lastly, the occurrence of the deficient verbs *-ye* (used to), *-be* (usually), *-hle* (usually), *-ne* (used to) are compatible with each of the subjunctive complement activities. These deficient verbs *-ye* (used to), *-be* (usually), *-hle* (usually), *-ne* (used to) are shown by the one that has the dependent mood within the inflection. The researcher has realised that a contracted form of the deficient verb *-be* is more commonly used for expressing the particular point in time in the past tense. On the other hand, the deficient verbs *hle*, *ye*, *ne* (usually) refer to habitual meaning

#### 4.4.1.5 Activity verbs *matha* (run), *bua* (talk), *sebetsa* (work) with *-hlola/-tlwaetse* (used to/always)

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola* (always/used to) that can only co-occur with complementary activity verbs *matha* (run) in (111a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (111b) in specific mood followed by a present tense participial complement.

- (111) a     ***O hlola a matha.***  
               (He is used to running)
- b.     ***Ke hlola ke bua le yena***  
               (I always talk to her)
- c.     ***Ke tlwaetse ho sebetsa mona.***  
               (I usually work here)

In (111), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola* (always) can select situative with activity complement clauses *matha* (run) in (111a), *bua* (talk) in (111b) in the present tense while *-tlwaetse* (used to) co-occur with activity complement clauses *sebetsa* (work) in (111c) in the infinitive mood. The deficient verbs *-hlola/-tlwaetse* (always/usually) are compatible with activity complementary clauses. They indicate the meaning of habituality where (111a) expresses the action of *running* was repeated in '*O hlola a matha*' so as the action of *talking* in *Ke hlola ke bua le yena*' in (111b). Similarly, in (111c) the action of working was repeated. The situation involves a notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in a majority of some set of occasions, thus the habitual viewpoint.

#### 4.4.2.1 Accomplishment verbs *ngola buka* (write a book), *haha ntlo* (build a house) with *-ye* (used to)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (112a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (112b):

- (112) a. ***O ye a ngole buka.***  
 (He is accustomed to write a book)
- b. ***O ye a hahe ntlo***  
 (He is used to build a house)

In (112a), the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) is expressing the particular point in time in the past tense as in '*O ye a ngole buka*' (He used to write a book) and in '*O ye a hahe ntlo*' (He is used to build a house). The sentences in (112) involve the notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in majority of some set of occasions as he consistently writes a book and he normally builds a house. Habitual interpretation of '*O ye a ngole*' (He is accustomed to write a book) in (112a) and '*O ye a hahe ntlo*' (He is used to build a house) in (112b) is likely to convey just that he writes a book and he builds a house regularly, the frequency of *writing* and of *building* is depicted by habitual factors irrespective of how many times it occurs. There are no shifts in situation type; hence the accomplishment situation remains unchanged.

#### 4.4.2.2 Accomplishment verbs *seha leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat), *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) with *-be* (usually)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement explaining the accomplishment verbs *sehe leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (113a) and *nwe kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (113b):

- (113) a. ***Raselakga o be a sehe leqa la nama.***  
 (A butcher usually even cuts a piece of meat)
- b. ***Mme o be a nwe kgalse ya lebese.***  
 (Mother used to drink a glass of milk)

The status of deficient verbs depends on the subjunctive complement. The deficient verb *-be* (usually) is also semantically dependent on the mood within the inflectional phrase because they express the meaning of habitually which must always be completed by a verb of the subjunctive complement clause '*A sehe leqa la nama*' (cut a piece of meat) in (113a) and '*A nwe kgalase ya lebese*' (drink a glass of milk) in

(113b). The sentences in (113) show the purpose though the deficient verb *-be* (usually) form can be used for both habitual and non-habitual meanings. Thus, they may be semantically habitual without being habitual from a morphosyntactic viewpoint. The idea of a habit in '*Raselakga o be a sehe leqa la nama*' (A butcher usually cuts a piece of meat) and '*Mme o be a nwe kgalase ya lebese*' (Mother used to drink a glass of milk) simply signals past time in (113a) and in (113b) respectively.

#### 4.4.2.3 Accomplishment verbs *ngola buka* (write a book), *haha ntlo* (build a house) with *-hle* (usually)

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with accomplishment verb constellations *ngole buka* (write a book) in (114a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (114b):

- (114) a. *Maphalla o hle a ngole buka.*  
(Maphalla does indeed write a book)
- b. *Ntate o hle a haha ntlo.*  
(Father does indeed build a house)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (do indeed) is compatible with the accomplishment verbs *ngola buka* (write a book) in (114a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (114b). The deficient verb *-hle* (do indeed) (114) denotes some kind of certainty of an event in '*O hle a ngole buka*' (He does indeed write a book) in (114a) and '*Ntate o hle haha ntlo*' (Father certainly builds a house) in (114b). The sentences express the purpose although the deficient verb *-hle* (do indeed) with the accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (114a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (114b) is used for certainty and habitual meanings. The events remain unchanged as accomplishment, hence the events are telic. The deficient verb *-hle* (do indeed) conveys absolute sense giving the idea of *building a house* and of *writing a book* which occur frequently on different occasions.

#### 4.4.2.4 Accomplishment verbs *poma monwana* (cut a finger), *ngola buka* (write a book) with *-ne* (used to)

The following sentences show the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form followed by a subjunctive complement with accomplishment verbs *poma monwana* (cut a finger) in (115a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (115b):

- (115) a. *Ntate o ne a ne a pome monwana wa hae ka thipa.*  
 (Father does indeed cut his finger with a knife)
- b. *Maphalla o ne a ne a ngole buka.*  
 (Maphalla was accustomed to write a book)

In (115), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form does not just express habitual aspect, it also expresses past tense whereby '*Ntate o ne a ne a pome monwana*' (Father does indeed cut his finger) in (115a) and '*Maphalla o ne a ne a ngole buka*' (Maphalla was accustomed to write a book) in (115b) describe a habit which was held in the past. The conclusion that the situation no longer holds for the time of speaking is a matter of suggestion not entailment.

From the above sentences, the deficient verbs *-ye* (used/accustomed to), *-be* (usually), *-hle* (usually), and *-ne* (used to) are compatible with the accomplishment verbs. The compound sentences in '*Ntate o ne a ne a pome monwana wa hae ka thipa*' (Father does indeed cut his finger with a knife) and in '*Ntate o hle a hahe ntlo*' (Father does indeed build a house) and in '*O ye a ngole buka*' (He is accustomed to write a book) '*Raselakga o be a sehe leqa la nama*' (A butcher usually even cuts a piece of meat) with the deficient verbs *ne*, *hle*, *ye*, *be* (usually/used to/do indeed) are used to express the past expressing the habitual mood. The meaning employed by the deficient verbs have contracted the meaning of *-ye* (do habitually), *-be* (even do habitually), *-hle* (do indeed habitually) and *-ne* (do habitually).

**4.4.2.5 Accomplishment verbs *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk), *ngola buka* (write a book) with *-hlola*, *-tlwaela* (always/usually)**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola-tlwaetse* (always/usually) in the indicative mood which co-occur with a present tense participial complement describing the accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (116a) and *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (116b):

- (116) a. ***Ntate o hlola a ngola buka.***  
(Father always writes a book)
- b. ***Ngwana o tlwaetse ho nwa kgalase ya lebese.***  
(The child used to drink a glass of milk)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola* (always) in the present tense is compatible with the accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (116a). The deficient verb *tlwaetse* (usually) in the perfect tense is also semantically compatible with the infinitive complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellation in *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (116b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *-hlola* (always) in the present tense express the habitual viewpoint because the action of writing a book repeatedly occurred on different occasion. On the other hand, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-tlwaetse* (usually) in the perfect tense is also compatible with the infinitive mood expressing the accomplishment verb constellation *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (116b). In (116b), the deficient verb *tlwaetse* (used to) describes the simple past used to express habituality. The event presents the meaning of habituality in (116b) in which the action of *drinking a glass of milk* in (116b) occurs at some different occasion. The event involves a notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in a majority of some set of occasions as in '*O tlwaetse ho nwa kgalase ya lebese*' (He used to drink a glass of water). The situation remains unchanged as an achievement, hence the event is telic.

#### 4.4.3.1 Achievement verbs *tjhwatla* (break), *qhaqha* (dismantle) with *-ye* (used/accustomed to)

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) followed by a subjunctive complement with achievement verb constellations *tjhwatle kgalase* (break a glass) in (117a) and *qhaqhe mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (117b):

- (117) a. ***O ye a pshatle kgalase ya jwala ha a nwele.***  
 (He usually breaks a glass of beer when he is drunk)
- b. ***Ba ye ba qhaqhe mokhukhu ha pula e nele haholo.***  
 (They usually dismantle the shack when it has rained heavily)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *accustomed* and it has dependent mood within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement denoting the achievement verb constellations *tjhwatle kgalase* (break a glass) in (117a) and *qhaqhe mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (117b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) is compatible with the achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (117a) and *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (117b). The sentences in (117) involve the notion of *usuality*, i.e. something that happens in majority of some set of occasions as the breaking of a glass happens consistently on different occasions, irrespective of how many times it occurs. Habitual interpretation in '*Ba ye ba qhaqhe mokhukhu*' (They usually dismantle a shack) in (117b) is likely to convey just that *they dismantle a shack* occasionally, the frequency of the *dismantling* is depicted by some set of occasions.

#### 4.4.3.2 Achievement verbs *peperanya* (cracks), *ntsha* (takes out) with *-be* (usually)

The following sentences display the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with achievement verb constellations *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (118a) and *ntsha koloji* (take out the car) in (118b):

- (118) a. *Dineo o ne a be a peperanye nkgo ya letsopa*  
(Dineo usually even crack the clay pot)
- b. *Mosadi o ne a be a ntshe kolo ka keratjheng*  
(The woman usually even takes the car out of the garage)

The deficient verb *-be* (usually) depends on the preceding word *-ne* (used to) within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement. The sentence with *-be* (usually) is used to express past tense when the deficient verb *-ne-* is being employed. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) expresses the meaning of some set of occasions which must always be completed by a verb of the subjunctive complement clause ‘...*a peperanye nkgo*’ (...she cracks the clay pot) in (118a) and ‘...*a ntshe kolo*’ (She takes the car out) in (118b). The sentences in (118) show the purpose meaning although the deficient verb *-be* (usually) form is used to interpret the non-habitual meanings. Thus, they may be semantically habitual without being habitual from a morphosyntactic viewpoint. The idea of a purpose in ‘*Dineo o ne a be a peperanye nkgo ya letsopa*’ (Dineo usually even cracks the clay pot) and ‘*O ne a be a ntshe kolo ka keratjheng*’ (She usually even takes the car out of the garage) simply signals past time in (118a) and in (118b) respectively. The sentences describe the situations in (118) as an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to, is viewed as the characteristic feature of the whole period.

#### 4.4.3.3 Achievement verbs *utswa* (steal), *tlosa* (remove) with *-hle* (usually)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with achievement verb constellations *utswa kgoho* (steal a chicken) in (119a) and *tlose ngwana* (remove a child) in (119b):

- (119) a. *Leshodu le hle le utswa kgoho.*  
(The thief does indeed steal chicken)
- b. *Nkgono o hle a tlose ngwana seterateng.*  
(Granny does indeed remove the child from the street)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually/do indeed) is compatible with the achievement verb constellations *utswe kgoho* (steal a chicken) in (119a) and *tlose ngwana* (remove a child) in (119b). Habituality denotes some kind of frequency of an event depicted by habitual factors. In '*Leshodu le hle le utswe kgoho*' (The thief does indeed steal a chicken) in (119a) and '*Nkgono o hle a tlose ngwana seterateng*' (Granny does indeed remove the child from the street) in (119b) the meaning of habitual is superseded by the subjunctive complement achievement verb constellations '*...le utswe kgoho*' (steal a chicken) and '*...le tlose ngwana*' (remove the child). In these sentences, the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) conveys emphatic sense giving the idea of *do indeed* and it has dependent mood within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement denoting the achievement verb constellations.

#### 4.4.3.4 Achievement verbs *utswa* (steal), *nyamela* (disappear) with *-ne* (used to)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to/accustomed to) in the perfect tense followed by a subjunctive complement with the achievement verb constellations *utswe nku* (steal a sheep) in (120a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (120b):

- (120) a. *Mashodu a ne a ne a utswe nku.*  
(Thieves were accustomed to steal sheep)
- b. *Dinku di ne di ne di nyamele.*  
(Sheep are accustomed to disappear)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (accustomed to) in the perfect form is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement exhibiting the achievement verb constellations *utswe nku* (steal a sheep) in (120a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (120b). The deficient verb *-ne* is semantically dependent on the perfect form of *-ne* because they express the meaning related to a habit which must always be completed by the achievement verbs *utswa nku* (steal the sheep) in (120a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (120b). In (120), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form does not express habitual aspect, it expresses past tense in '*Mashodu a ne a ne a utswe dinku*' (*Thieves were accustomed to steal a sheep*) in

(120a) and ‘*Dinku di ne di ne di nyamele*’ (Sheep were accustomed to disappear) in (120b) which describes a habit which was held in the past. That is why the conclusion that the situation no longer holds for the time of speaking is a matter of implying not entailment. The status of deficient verb –*ne* (accustomed to) depends on the subjunctive complement and it is not of habitual meaning. The situation remains unchanged as telic achievement event, hence the event is instantaneous. The change of state of the event of path-goal occurs.

#### 4.4.3.5 Achievement verbs *heleditse* (removed), *hapile* (won) with *-hlola*, *-tlwaetse* (usually/always)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola/tlwaetse* (always) that occurs in either present or perfect tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *heleditse mokhukhu* (demolished a shack) in (121a) and *hapile lebelo* (won a race) in (121b):

- (121) a. *Mmasepala o hlola a heleditse mokhukhu*  
(The municipality always demolished the shack)
- b. *Pere ya Pule e hlotse e hapile lebelo la Thekong.*  
(Pule’s horse has always won the Durban race)
- c. *Nicole o tlwaetse ho hapa mehope ya disesi.*  
(Nicole always wins the trophies in swimming)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola* (always) can select situative in (121a) and (121b) while *-tlwaetse* (usually) co-occur with complements in the infinitive mood in (121c) and they are compatible with achievement verbs *heleditse* (removed) in (121a) and *hapile* (won) in (121b). In (121a) and (121b), the sentences show the simple past used to express habituality. They describe the meaning of habituality in which (121a) expresses the action of *removing the shacks* being repeated likewise to the action of *winning the trophy* in (121b) and (121c). These situations with deficient verbs *hlola/tlwaetse* (always/used to) involve a notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in a majority of some set of occasions.

#### 4.4.4.1 State verbs *rata* (love), *kula* (become sick) with *-ye* (used to)

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ye* (used to) followed by a subjunctive complement with state verbs *rata* (love) in (122a) and *kula* (sick) in (122b):

- (122) a. *Thabo o ye a rate dipalo*  
(Thabo usually likes mathematics)
- b. *Thulo o ye a kule*  
(Thulo usually gets sick)

The deficient verb *-ye* (used to) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *accustomed* and it has dependent mood within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement. The sentences in (122) involve the notion of *usualness*, i.e something that happens in majority of some set of occasions, irrespective of how many times it occurs in an absolute sense. Habitual interpretation in ‘*O ye a rate dipalo*’ (He usually likes mathematics) in (122a) and ‘*Thulo o ye a kule*’ (Thulo usually gets sick) in (122b) is likely to convey just that *he likes mathematics* and *Thulo becomes sick* regularly, and therefore the frequency of *liking* and of *becoming sick* is depicted by habitual factors.

#### 4.4.4.2 State verb *lebala* (forget), *hloya* (hate) with *-be* (usually)

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (122a) and *hloya* (hate) in (122b):

- (122) a. *Thabo o ne a be a lebale hore o tlo ngola tlhahlobo.*  
(Thabo usually even forgets that he is going to write an examination)
- b. *Ke ne ke be ke hloye motho ke sa mo tsebe.*  
(I usually even hate a person not knowing him)

The deficient verb *-be* (usually) depends on the preceding word *-ne* (used to) within the inflection followed by perfect subjunctive complement. The compound with *-be*

(used to) is used to express past tense when the deficient verb *-ne-* is being employed. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-be* (usually) expresses the meaning of habituality which must always be completed by a verb of the subjunctive complement clause ‘*Thabo o ne a be a lebale*’ (Thabo usually even forgets) in (122a) and ‘*Ke ne ke be ke hloye motho*’ (I usually even hate a person) in (122b). The sentences in (122) show the purpose though the deficient verb *-be* (usually) form can be used for both habitual and non-habitual meanings. Thus, they may be semantically habitual without being habitual from a morphosyntactic viewpoint. The idea of a habit in ‘*Thabo o ne a be a lebale*’ (Thabo usually even forget) in (122a) and ‘*Ke ne ke be ke hloye motho*’ ((I usually even hate a person) in (122b) simply signals past time in (122a) and in (122b) respectively.

#### 4.4.4.3 State verb with *-hle* (usually)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) followed by a subjunctive complement with state verbs *nona* (become fat) in (123a) and *kula* (get sick) in (123b):

- (123) a. *Mafedile o hle a none ke dijo.*  
 (Mafedile usually becomes fat due to food)
- b. *Thabo o hle a kule hoo a beng a se tle mosebetsing.*  
 (Thabo does indeed get sick to an extent that he could not come to work)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-hle* (usually) is compatible with each of the events types and it is shown by the one that has the dependent mood within inflectional phrase followed by the subjunctive complement. Habituality in (123) denotes some kind of frequency of an event depicted by a habitual factor as shown in ‘*Mafedile o hle a none ke dijo*’ (Mafedile usually becomes fat because of food) in (123a) and ‘*Thabo o hle a kule*’ (Thabo does indeed get sick) in (123b). The sentences in (123) describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an accidental property of the moment but as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

#### 4.4.4.4 State verb *hlobola* (undress), *apara* (wear) with *-ne* (used to)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in the perfect form followed by a subjunctive complement with the state verbs *nyahame* (despair) in (124a) and *ratane* (love each other) in (124b):

(124) a. ***Baithuti ba ne ba ne ba nyahame.***

***Baithuti ba ne ne ba nyahame.***

(Students used to despair)

b. ***Ba ne ba ne ba ratane.***

***Ba ne ne ba ratane.***

(They used to love each other)

The compound *-ne* (used to) is used to express the past tense in which the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) is being employed. A contracted form of this tense is commonly used and it gives the meaning of *habitually*. In (124), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ne* (used to) in a perfect form does not just express habitual aspect, it also expresses past tense in which ‘*Baithuti ba ne ne ba nyahame*’ (Students used to despair) in (124a) and in ‘*Ba ne ba ne ba ratane*’ (They used to love each other) in (124b) describe a habit which was held in the past. The conclusion that the situation no longer holds for the time of speaking is a matter of suggestion not entailment.

The above sentences show the deficient verb *-ye* (used to), *-be* (usually), *-hle* (usually) and *-ne* (used to) with each of the event types of activity, accomplishment, achievement and state followed by a subjunctive complement interpreting the meaning of a situation in the habitual mood. These deficient verbs are used to express the events in the past describing a habit. These deficient verbs appear as the dependent mood within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement. These deficient verbs may be shown by the one that has dependent mood within the inflection phrase.

#### 4.4.4.5 State verbs *lla* (cry), *nyonya* (hate), *nkgathatsa* (become bothered) with *-hlola*, *-tlwaetse* (used to/always)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlola* (used to) used in the present tense and *tlwaetse* (used to) in the perfect tense followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the stative verbs *lla* (cry) in (125a) *nyonya* (extremely hate) in (125b) and *nkgathatsa* (become bothered) in (125c):

- (125) a. ***O hlola*** letsheare lohle ***a lla***.  
(She has been crying for the whole day)
- b. ***O tlwaetse ho nyonya***.  
(He was used to abhor)
- c. ***Le hlotse le nkgathatsa***.  
(You have been bothering me all the time)

The deficient verb *hlola* (always) in the situative mood and *tlwaetse* (usually) in the infinitive mood are semantically compatible with complement expressing the stative *lla* (cry) in (125a) *nyonya* (extremely hate) in (125b) and *kgathatsa* (become bothered) in (122c). The sentences in (125) show the simple past used to express habituality. They interpret the meaning of habituality in which (125a) and (125b) express the action of *crying* and of *extremely hating* was repeated so as the action of *being bothered* in (125c). These sentences with deficient verbs *-hlola* (always) and *tlwaetse* (used to) involve a notion of *usualness*, i.e. something that happens in a majority of some set of occasions.

#### 4.5 CONTRAST

*mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding)

The term contrast refers to event being distinguished to the other by showing disparity. This deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because of something. This does happen for a reason. This form of a sentence may have the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) followed by the subjunctive mood at the end with the terminal vowel **-e-**. The sentence will have the meaning of contrast action.

#### 4.5.1 Activity verbs with deficient verb –*mpa*-

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate activities, accomplishments, achievements and states situation types respectively. In particular the question is whether the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however) is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses of situation types.

##### 4.5.1.1 Present Tense –*mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *tla* (come) in (126a), *matha* (run) in (126b) and *itokisa* (prepare themselves) in (126c):

- (126) a. ***O mpa a etla le ha a sa rate.***  
 (He just comes even if he does not like to)
- b. ***O ikwetlisitse o mpa o tswafa ho matha.***  
 (He has trained, however he does not want to run)
- c. ***Ba mpa ba itokisa le ha ba sa tlo hlola.***  
 (They just prepare themselves although they are not going to win)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the activity verbs *tla* (come) in (126a), *matha* (run) in (126b) and *itokisa* (prepare themselves) in (126c). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) has meaning of contrast which indicates that something happens because of something as exemplified in the embedded complementary sentences ‘...*le ha a sa rate*’ (...even if he does not like to) in (126a), ‘...*o mpa a tswafa ho matha*’ (...however, he does not want to run) in (126b) and ‘...*le ha ba sa tlo hlola*’ (...although they are not going to win) in (126c). On the other hand, the meaning of the deficient verb *-mpa* (however) in the activity situation type

is primarily embedded in the activity sentence ‘*O mpa a etla*’ (He just comes) because of certain reasons.

#### 4.5.1.2 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement with the activity verbs *binne* (sang) in (127a) and *bapetse* (played) in (127b):

- (127) a      ***Ke mpa ke binne hampe*** *hobane ke ne ke kula.*  
                   (I just sang badly because I was ill)
- b.      ***Bana ba mpa ba bapetse*** *hantle ha o le siyo.*  
                   (Children just played well when you were not around)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement with the activity verbs *binne* (sang) in (127a) and *bapetse* (played) in (127b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) can only co-occur with complementary activity verbs *binne* (sang) in (127a) and *bapetse* (played) in (127b) in a situative mood. This deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that the activity event in (127a) does happen for a reason. For instance, in ‘*Ke mpa ke binne hampe*’ (I just sang badly), the unspecified reason may be there, thus there are many reasons why one sang badly. Similarly, in (127b), ‘*Bana ba mpa ba bapetse hantle*’ (Children just played well) because of X and Y.

#### 4.5.1.3 Potential *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood followed by a present tense participial complement with the activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (128a) and *ya* (go) in (128b).

- (128) a. ***A ka mpa a bua leshano ha a bona hore o tshwerwe.***  
 (He rather speaks lies when he realises that he is caught)
- b. ***O ka mpa wa ya ngakeng hobane o a kula.***  
 (You rather go to the doctor because you are sick)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement demonstrating the activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (128a) and *ya* (go) in (128b). In (128), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because of something. For instance, in (128a) ‘*A ka mpa a bua leshano*’ (He rather speaks lies) because of X, i.e., he has realised that he is caught. Similarly in (128b), ‘*O ka mpa wa ya ngakeng*’ (You rather go to the doctor) because you are sick. The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood can only co-occur with the present tense participial complementary activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (128a) and *ya* (go) in (128b).

#### 4.5.1.4 Future Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement with activity verbs *tla* (come) in (129a) and *matha* (run) in (129b):

- (129) a. ***Ba tla mpe ba tle hobane ba loketse ho ba teng.***  
 (They will just come because they supposed to come)
- b. ***Ke tla mpe ke mathe hore ke tle ke thabise titjhere.***  
 (I will just run in order to please my teacher)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement describing the activity verbs *tla* (come) in (129a) and *matha* (run) in (129b). In (129) deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) gives an interpretation of contrast, however, it is dependent on the complementary verb in the subjunctive mood. For an example,

in (129a) in '*Ba tla mpe ba tle*' (They will just come) the contrast is on the embedded complementary sentence '*...hobane ba loketse ho ba teng*' (...because they supposed to come). The occurrence of deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense expresses the certainty that it is oblige that '*X will be the case*' in both instance in (129). However, the meaning of contrast is embedded in '*Ba tla mpe ba tle*' (They will just come) because '*X will be the case*'. Similarly, in '*Ke tla mpe ke mathe*' (I will just run) because '*X will be the case*' as the results I will just come. There is no shift in meaning of the activity situation type.

#### 4.5.1.5 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verbs *bua* (talk) in (130a) and *matha* (run) in (130b):

- (130) a. *Ba utlwile, o mpile a bua ka ho tella.*  
 (They have heard, he just talks disrespectively)
- b. *Ke mpile ke matha feela ke kgathetse.*  
 (I have just run but I am tired)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpile* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verbs *bua* (talk) in (130a) and *matha* (run) in (130b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense gives an interpretation of contrast in '*...ka ho tella*' (...disrespectively) in (130a) and '*...feela ke kgathetse*' (...but I am tired) in (130b). However, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpile* (do however, act notwithstanding) is dependent on the complementary verb *bua* (talk) in (130a) and *matha* (run) in (130b) in the indicative mood in the present tense participial complement activity situation types.

#### 4.5.1.6 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement with activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (131a) and *tla* (come) in (131b):

- (131) a. ***Ke mpile ka ngola le ha ke sa bala.***  
(I have nevertheless written even if I did not read)
- b. ***Se mpeng la tla ha ke a qeta.***  
(You rather not come because I have not finished (what I was doing))

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpile* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (131a) and *tla* (come) in (131b). The contrast meaning is in the embedded sentence ‘...*le ha ke sa bala*’ (even if I did not read) in (131a) and ‘...*ha ke a qeta*’ (because I have not finished (what I was doing)) in (131b). On the other hand, the contrast is already there in the sentence ‘*Ke mpile ka ngola*’ (I have nevertheless written) in (131a) because the agent has just wrote because X is the case. The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa* (however) in the imperative mood in ‘*Se mpeng la tla*’ (You rather not come) indicate the meaning of contrast in which the contrast is entrenched in the situation itself, i.e. one would not come because X is the case.

#### 4.5.1.7 Subjunctive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (132a) and *matha* (run) in (132b):

- (132) a. ***A ko mpe o je hobane o tla lapa.***  
(May you please eat because you will become hungry)
- b. ***Ke rata hore a mpe a mathe a tle a hlole.***  
(I wish that he should rather run so that he may win)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement indicating the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (132a) and *matha* (run) in (132b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because of something. For instance, in (132a) '*A ko mpe o je*' (May you please eat) expresses the meaning of contrast which is embedded in the sentence '*...hobane o tla lapa*' (...because he will become hungry). Similarly in (132b), '*Ke rata hore a mpe a mathe*' (I wish that he should rather run) the contrast meaning is in the situation '*a mpe a mathe*' because X is the case. The situation remains unchanged as an activity event.

#### 4.5.1.8 Consecutive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement exhibiting the activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (133a) and *qhala* (throw) in (133b):

- (133) a. *Ke batlile ke robala ka mpa ka sebetsa.*  
(I nearly slept, however I worked)
- b. *O batlile a ja dijo tse tjhefo a mpa a tsamaya.*  
(She nearly ate poisonous food, nevertheless she walked away)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) is semantically compatible with the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement with the activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (133a) and *tsamaya* (walk) in (133b). The meaning of contrast is in the embedded sentence '*Ke batlile ke mo robala...*' (I nearly slept) in (133a) nevertheless one nearly slept. Similarly, the sentence '*O batlile a ja dijo tse tjhefo...*' (She nearly ate poisonous food) in (133b) describes the contrast meaning '*...a mpa a tsamaya* (...nevertheless she walked away).

#### 4.5.1.9 Imperative *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement demonstrating the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (134a) and *kgutla* (come back) in (134b):

- (134) a. ***A ke o mpe o je dijo tsa hao pele di bata.***  
 (May you please eat your food before they become cold)
- b. ***Mpe o kgutle hore o tlo ngola teko.***  
 (You rather come back however so that you should write test)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement expressing the activity verbs *ja* (eat) in (134a) and *kgutla* (come back) in (134b). In (134), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because of something. For instance, in (134a) '*A ke o mpe o je*' (May you please eat) the meaning of contrast is in the request because one realises that one may not eat because of X is the case. Similarly in (134b), '*Mpe o kgutle*' (You rather come back however) the request happens because one realises that one had to write a test. In (134b) the contrast meaning is in the complementary sentence '*hore o tlo ngola teko*'. On the other hand, the meaning of contrast is in the situation '*Mpe o kgutle*' because X is the case'.

#### 4.5.1.10 Infinitive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with a Participial with Activities

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood followed by a participial with activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (135a) and *ja* (eat) in (135b):

- (135) a. ***O ratile ho mpa a tsamaya ka ha a tshaba mosebetsi.***  
 (He wanted to go however because she is afraid of work)

- b. ***O rata ho mpa a ja le ha a sa phehe.***  
 (He likes to eat however even if he does not cook)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a participial expressing the activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (135a) and *ja* (eat) in (135b). The meaning of contrast is in the embedded sentence ‘...*ka ha a tshaba mosebetsi.*’ (...because she is afraid of work) in (135a). Similarly, ‘...*le ha a sa phehe*’ (...even if he does not cook) in (135b) gives the contrast meaning to ‘*O rata ho mpa a ja...*’ (He likes to eat however...). On the other hand, in ‘*O ratile ho mpa a tsamaya*’ (He wanted to go nevertheless,...) and in ‘*O rata ho mpa a ja...*’ (He likes to eat nevertheless,...) interpret the meaning of contrast in the activity situation with the deficient verb *-mpa* (however) in the infinitive mood. The deficient verb *-mpa* (however/notwithstanding) do not trigger a shift in the situation type of activity.

#### **4.5.2 Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding)**

Within the confines of lexical semantics, a deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs as indicated within the lexical conceptual paradigm and lexical inheritance structure.

##### **4.5.2.1 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Accomplishments**

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement with the accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (136a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (136b):

- (136) a. ***Ntate o mpa a haha ntlo le ha a se na tjhelete.***  
 (Father just builds a house even if he does not have money)

- b. *Maphalla o mpa a ngola buka le ha a sa batle.*  
(Maphalla just writes a book even if he does not want)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (136a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (136b). In (136), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because of X is the case. The meaning of contrast is in the embedded sentence ‘...*le ha a se na tjelete*’ (...even if he does not have money) in (136a). Similarly, ‘...*le ha a sa batle*’ (...even if he does not want) in (136b) indicate the contrast meaning to ‘*Maphalla o mpa a ngola buka...*’ (Maphalla just writes a book). On the contrary, the meaning is in the situation ‘*Maphalla o mpa a ngola buka*’ (Maphalla just write a book) because X is the case.

#### 4.5.2.2 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial with Accomplishments

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial with the accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (137a) and *ngotse tlhahlobo* (wrote an examination) in (137b):

- (137) a. *O mpa a hahile ntlo le ha a ne a se na tjelete.*  
(He just built a house even if he did not have money)
- b. *O mpa a ngotse tlhahlobo le ha a ne a sa bala.*  
(He just wrote an examination even if he did not read)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is compatible with a perfect tense participial with accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (137a) and *ngotse tlhahlobo* (wrote an examination) in (137b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens because X is the case. For instance, in ‘*O mpa a hahile ntlo...*’ (He just built a house) the meaning of contrast

lies in the embedded sentence ‘...*le ha a ne a se na tjhelete*’ (...even if he did not have money) which is contrary to a situation. On the contrary, the contrast meaning is within the sentence itself ‘*O mpa a hahile ntlo...*’ (He just built a house), because there is a reason behind building a house or he finished building a house because of the specific purpose.

#### 4.5.2.3 Potential with deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Accomplishments

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood followed by a present tense participial with the accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (138a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (138b):

- (138) a. ***A ka mpa a ngola buka ho ena le hore a bue.***  
(He can just write a book instead of talking)
- b. ***A ka mpa a haha ntlo ho ena le hore a je penshene ya hae.***  
(He can just build a house instead of eating his pension)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement describing the accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (138a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (138b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) expresses that something happens because X is the case. In (138a), the contrast meaning in ‘*A ka mpa a ngola buka*’ (He can just write a book) lies within the embedded sentence ‘...*ho ena le hore a bue*’ (...instead of talking). Similarly, the contrast meaning in ‘*A ka mpa a haha ntlo...*’ (He can just build a house), is embedded in ‘...*ho ena le hore a je penshene ya hae*’ (...instead of eating his pension). There is always a reason behind the situations in (138), thus the meaning of contrast.

#### 4.5.2.4 Future Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Accomplishments

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement with the accomplishment verbs *fuputse taba* (investigate the matter) in (139a) and *tsoṃe* (hunt) in (139b):

- (139) a. ***O tla mpe a fuputse taba eo le ha e se na motheho.***  
 (He will just investigate that matter even though it does not have a background)
- b. ***Ba tla mpe ba tsoṃe le ha ho bata.***  
 (They will just hunt even if it is cold)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive participial complement exhibiting the accomplishment verbs *fuputse taba* (investigate the matter) in (139a) and *tsoṃe* (hunt) in (139b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement clause expresses a meaning of contrast in ‘*O tla mpe a fuputse taba eo...*’ (He will just investigate that matter...) in which the situation is holding after the speech time. On the other hand, the reason may be on the embedded complement ‘... *le ha e se na motheho*’ (...even though it does not have background) or any other reason. Similarly, the contrast meaning lies in the complementary sentence in (139b).

#### 4.5.2.5 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Accomplishments

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement with the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (140a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (140b):

- (140) a. ***O mpile a nwa kgalase ya lebese ho sa thwe a nwe.***  
 (She just drinks a glass of milk even if she was not asked to drink)
- b. ***O mpile a ja apole e le nngwe ka baka la ho lapa.***

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement denoting the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (140a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (140b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense in (140a) expresses that *the drinking of a glass of milk* and *the eating of an apple* in (140b) happen for a reason. The contrast meaning may be indicated by any other reason in the complementary sentences in (140). The deficient verb *-mpa* in the perfect tense introduces an event as a completed accomplishment event.

#### 4.5.2.6 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Accomplishments

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement with the accomplishment verbs *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (141a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (141b):

- (141) a. ***Ke mpile ka haha ntlo ho se seo nka se etsang.***  
 (I have just built a house because there was nothing that I can do)
- b. ***O mpile a ngola buka a ne a sa batle.***  
 (He just wrote a book even though he did not want)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement expressing the accomplishment verbs *haha ntlo* (built a house) in (141a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (141b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense demonstrates the meaning of contrast in the embedded complementary sentences. The situation is completed; hence a consecutive complement expresses completion.

#### 4.5.2.7 Subjunctive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Accomplishments

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (142a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (142b):

- (142) a. *Le ha o se na tjhelete o mpe o hahe ntlo.*  
 (Although you don't have money, you rather build a house)
- b. *O mpe o lohe jeresi le ha o sa tlo e qeta.*  
 (You rather knit a jersey even if you are not going to finish it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive participial complement showing the accomplishment verbs *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (142a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (142b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) has meaning of contrast which indicates that something happens because of the possibility that X should be the case in '*O mpe o hahe ntlo*' (You rather build a house) and in '*O mpe o lohe jeresi*' (You rather knit a jersey). On the other hand, the meaning of contrast is in the embedded complementary sentences '*Le ha o se na tjhelete...*' (Although you don't have money...) in (142a) and '*...le ha o sa tlo e qeta*' (...even if you are not going to finish it) in (142b) respectively. The situation remains unchanged as an accomplishment situation type.

#### 4.5.2.8 Consecutive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Accomplishments

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement explaining the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya waene* (drink a glass of wine) in (143a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (143b):

- (143) a. ***A mpa a nwa kgalase ya waene, a ja.***  
 (He nonetheless drank a glass of wine and then ate)
- b. ***A mpa a haha ntlo, a qeta le ha ho le boima.***  
 (He built a house however and then finished it even though is difficult)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink a glass of water) in (143a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (143b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood has meaning of contrast in completion which indicates that something happened because of something occurred in 'A mpa a nwa kgalase ya waene' (He nonetheless drank a glass of wine) in (143a). Similarly, in (143b) he has built a house and completed it because of something that happened in the event 'A mpa a haha ntlo' (He nonetheless built a house).

#### 4.5.2.9 Imperative *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Accomplishments

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement indicating the accomplishment verb constellations *ngole tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (144a) and *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (144b):

- (144) a. ***Mpe le ngole tlhahlobo le ha le sa bala.***  
 (May you please write an examination even if you did not read)
- b. ***A ko mpe o hahe ntlo o tlo be le bodulo.***  
 (May you please build a house so that you should have your place)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *ngole tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (144a) and *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (144b). The occurrence of

the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood has meaning of contrast in which the writing of an examination is possible that it may be written because of something as in (144a). On the other hand, the disparity is in ‘...*le ha le sa bala*’ (even if you did not read) while in (144b) the disparity is in ‘...*o tlo be le bodulo*’ (...so that you should have place). Similarly, in ‘*A ko mpe o hahe ntlo*’ (May you please build a house) the event in the imperative mood has the meaning of contrast in it since one request that one should build a house because of something is happening or because of X is the possible case.

#### 4.5.2.10 Infinitive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with a Participial with Accomplishments

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood followed by a participial with accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (145a) and *ngola tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (145b):

- (145) a. ***Ho mpa a seha leqa la nama ho hotle ho ena le ho e kapa.***  
 (To cut a piece of meat is good rather than to chop it)
- b. ***Ho mpa o ngola tlhahlobo ho molemo ho ena le ho se ngole.***  
 (To write an examination is important rather than not)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a participial with accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (145a) and *ngola tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (145b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood has meaning of contrast which is expressed by the complement clause ‘...*ho ena le ho e kapa*’ (...rather than chopping it) in (145a). Similarly, in (145b) the contrast meaning is being expressed by complementary sentence ‘...*ho ena le ho se ngole*’ (...rather than not writing). On the other, in the situation ‘*Ho mpa a seha leqa la nama*’ (To cut a piece of meat) interpret the contrast meaning in the event itself because of something happens since one is cutting a piece of meat.

### 4.5.3 Achievement verbs with deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate achievements, in particular, whether they are semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however/act notwithstanding) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure as well as the meaning of verbs as indicates lexical conceptual paradigm and lexical inheritance structure.

#### 4.5.3.1 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Achievements

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement expressing the achievement verbs *hweba* (trade) in (146a) and *reka* (buy) in (146b):

- (146) a. ***Ke mpa ke hweba ka matekwane hobane a tlisa tjhelete e ngata.***  
(I just trade with dagga because it brings a lot of money).
- b. ***Ke mpa ke reka hempe ena empa ha ke e rate.***  
(I just buy this shirt but I don't like it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of contrast. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the achievement verbs *hweba* (trade) in (146a) and *reka* (buy) in (146b). In (146a) the contrast meaning is in the complementary sentence '*...hobane a tlisa tjhelete e ngata*' (...because it brings a lot of money). On the other hand, the meaning of contrast is in the sentence '*Ke mpa ke hweba*' (I just trade) since one is trading because X is the case. In (146b) in '*Ke mpa ke reka hempe ena*' (I just buy

this shirt) the contrast meaning is implied in the present tense complement clause ‘... *empa ha ke e rate* (...but I don’t like it). The interpretation of the achievement situation type remains unchanged as telic event.

#### 4.5.3.2 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial with Achievements

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement with the achievement verbs *apara* (wear) in (147a) and *hlobola* (undress) in (147b):

- (147) a. ***Ke mpa ke aparetse sefuba le ha ke sa batle.***  
 (I just wear for cold even if I do not want)
- b. ***Ke mpa ke hlobotse le ha ho sa bate.***  
 (I just undressed even if it is not cold)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just* i.e. something that occurs immediately. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) the present tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement achievement verbs *apara* (wear) in (147a) and *hlobola* (undress) in (147b). The meaning of contrast is expressed by the negative sentence ‘...*le ha ke sa batle*’ (...even if I do not want) in (147a) and in (147b) is expressed by ‘...*le ha ho sa bate*’ (even if it is not cold). On the contrary, the meaning of contrast lies within the sentence itself as in ‘*Ke mpa ke hlobotse*’ ((I just undress) because there is a reason of *undressing*. The deficient verb *-mpa* which expresses the meaning of immediately or just in (147) did not shift the situation type of achievement and the event is telic because the process of *wearing* and *undressing* is completed.

#### 4.5.3.3 Potential *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Achievements

The following sentences show the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood followed by a present tense participial complement achievement verbs *bolawa* (be killed) in (148a) and *shwa* (die) in (148b):

- (148) a. ***Ba ka mpa ba di bolaya kaofela ka ha di a kula.***  
 (They rather kill them because they are sick)
- b. ***Di ka mpa tsa shwa kaofela ka ha di na le lefu la tshwaetso.***  
 (They rather all die because they have infectious disease)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement with the achievement verbs *bolaya* (kill) in (148a) and *shwa* (die) in (148b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* in the potential mood presents the possibility of a situation which might occur or regarded by the speaker as likely to occur in the normal course of it. The likelihood of the event happening is negated by the complementary clauses ‘...*ka ha ba bolaiile* (...because they are sick) in (148a) while the complementary clause ‘...*ka ha di na le lefu la tshwaetso*’ (...because they have infectious disease) negates the event with the deficient verb *-mpa* in the potential mood in (148b). The possibility of a situation that might occur, does not allow a shift in achievement situation type.

#### 4.5.3.4 Future Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Achievements

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement achievement verbs *nyamale* (disappear) in (149a) and *hape* (win) in (149b):

- (149) a. ***Di tla mpe di nyamele ka bongata.***  
 (They will nevertheless disappear in large numbers)
- b. ***O tla mpe o hape mohope oo wa mabelo.***  
 (You nonetheless win that race)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement achievement verbs *nyamele* (die) in (149a) and *hape* (win) in (149b). The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *nonetheless or despite that*. The contrast meaning is within the sentence ‘*Di tla mpe di nyamele*’ (They will rather disappear) in (149a) where the ‘*Circumstances require X to be the case*’ despite that they are many. The event in (149b) demonstrates *obligation* that ‘*X is obliged to do a certain action*’, thus *of winning* despite what has been done or said. The deficient verb *-mpa* in the future tense does not change an achievement situation type, hence one is obliged to win the race.

#### 4.5.3.5 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with Achievements

The following sentences show the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (150a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (150b):

- (150) a. ***O mpile a tjhwatla kgalase ka phoso ka ha a ne a sa e bone.***  
 (He just broke a glass by mistake because he did not see it)
- b. ***Nkgono o mpile a peperanya nkgo ka ho e beha mollong.***  
 (Granny just cracks a clay pot by putting it on fire)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is compatible with a present tense participial complement expressing the achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (150a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack a clay pot) in (150b). The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial

complement expresses the meaning of contrast in ‘*O mpile a tjhwatla kgalase ka phoso.*’ (He just breaks a glass by mistake). The statement of contrast does involve the reason of *breaking a glass* instead of doing or saying something. The *breaking of a glass* and *the cracking of the clay pot* are the events that have characteristics of the telic achievements, hence they are instantaneous.

#### 4.5.3.6 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Achievements

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive complement indicating the achievement verb constellations *heletsa mokhukhu* (demolish a shack) in (151a) and *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (151b):

- (151) a. *Mapolesa a mpile a heletsa mokhukhu wa ka ho se lebaka.*  
(Police have just demolished my shack without a reason)
- b. *Ke mpile ka tjhwatla kgalase hobane ke ne ke halefile.*  
(I have just broke the glass because I was angry)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *heletsa mokhukhu* (demolish a shack) in (151a) and *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (151b). In (151), the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just* or *nonetheless/nevertheless*. The statement of contrast in (151a) is presented in ‘*the demolishing of a shack*’ in the sense that there is a reason for distroying it while in (151b) ‘*the breaking of the glass*’ happened because of a certain reason, which may be that one was being angry or any other reason contributing to the breaking of a glass.

#### 4.5.3.7 Subjunctive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Achievements

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement with the achievement verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (152a) and *tlose ngwana* (take the child away) in (152b):

- (152) a. ***O mpe o se tjhese mokhukhu ha o qeta ho tsuba.***  
 (You should rather not burn a shack after you have finished smoking)
- b. ***O mpe o tlose ngwana pele dikoloi di etla.***  
 (You should rather take the child away before cars come)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement demonstrating the achievement verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (152a) and *tlose ngwana* (take the child away) in (152b). The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just*. The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) has dependent on the subjunctive mood within the inflection followed by a subjunctive complement 'O mpe o se tjhese mokhukhu' (You should rather not burn a shack) in (152a) and in 'O mpe o tlose ngwana' (You should rather remove the child) in (152b). A statement of contrast which is in (152a) expresses that one should rather not burn a shack because X is the case (i.e. it may still be needed for one's use). Similarly, in (152b) one should rather remove the child because something may happen. The situation is unchanged as achievement telic event.

#### 4.5.3.8 Consecutive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with Achievements

The following sentences indicate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive followed by a consecutive complement with the achievement verbs *a fihla* (has arrived) in (153) and *ya tjhwatleha* (has broken) in (153b):

- (153) a. ***A mpa a fihla, a ja le ha ke sa mo lebella.***  
 (He has just arrived and then ate even if I did not expect him)
- b. ***O batlile a itlhaba ka kgalase, ya mpa ya tjhwatleha ya lahlwa.***  
 (He nearly hurt himself with a glass, but it has just broken and then threw it away)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement indicating the achievement verbs *a fihla* (has arrived) in (153) and *ya tjhwatleha* (has broken) in (153b). In (153), the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just*. A statement of contrast is indicated by negative sentence in the complementary sentence ‘...*le ha ke sa lebella*’ (...even if I did not expect him) in (153a). On the other hand, the meaning that expresses contrast in (153a) is found in the main sentence ‘*A mpa a fihla...*’ (He has just arrived...) because there is a reason *of arriving* unexpectedly or even expectedly. The situation remains the same as an achievement because the action of arrival and of breaking a glass occurred. The telic achievement situation type remains unchanged.

#### 4.5.3.9 Imperative *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with Achievements

The following sentences express the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the achievement verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (154a) and *tlose ngwana* (remove the child) in (154b):

- (154) a. ***Mpe o tjhese mokhukhu oo hobane o tla le wela.***  
 (You should rather burn that shack because it is going to fall on you.)
- b. ***Mpe o tlose ngwana ka ha dikoloi di tla mo tjhaisa.***  
 (You should rather remove the child because cars are going to knock him)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement indicating the achievement verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (154a) and *tlose ngwana* (remove the child) in (154b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of the contrast with the complementary clause ‘...*hobane o tla le wela*’ (...because it is going to fall on you) in (154a). Similarly, in (154b) the contrast meaning is expressed by the complementary sentence ‘...*ka ha dikoloi di tla mo tjhaisa*’ (...because cars are going to hit him). On the one hand, the event in ‘*O mpe o tjhese mokhukhu*’ (You should rather burn a shack) because X is the case to express the meaning of contrast. The subjunctive mood interprets a likelihood of an event of burning a shack and of removing the child in (154).

#### 4.5.3.10 Infinitive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with a Participial with Achievements

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood followed by a participial complement achievement verb constellation *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (155a) and *monya lero* (suck an orange juice) in (155b):

- (155) a. *O rata ho mpa a nna a tjhwatla kgalase haholo ha a nwele.*  
 (He just wants to break a glass more so when he is drunk)
- b. *Nkgono o rata ho mpa a nna a monya lero la lamunu.*  
 (Granny likes to rather suck an orange juice)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a participial complement denoting the achievement verb *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (155a) and *monya lero* (suck a juice) in (155b). A statement of habit in (155) is expressed by the occurrence of deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive followed by *нна* (do things regularly). The meaning of contrast lies in ‘*O rata ho mpa a nna a tjhwatla kgalase*’ (He just wants to break a glass) because the reason of doing things regularly in (155a) is implied in the event. In the same way as in ‘*Nkgono o rata ho*

*mpa a nna a monya lero la lamunu'* (Granny likes to rather suck an orange juice). The interpretation of contrast is implied in the event, hence there is a reason of a regular sucking of an orange juice.

#### 4.5.4 States verbs with deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate states. The question is whether the stative verbs with deficient verb *-mpa* (however, notwithstanding) are semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs as indicates lexical conceptual paradigm.

##### 4.5.4.1 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement with the state verbs *nona* (become fat) in (156a) *tseba* (know) in (156b):

- (156) a. *Ha a mmeleng o mpa a nona.*  
(She is not pregnant, she is just becoming fat)
- b. *Thabo o a iketsisa, o mpa a tseba dipalo.*  
(Thabo is simulation, he knows mathematics however)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement expressing the state verbs *nona* (become fat) in (156a) *tseba* (know) in (156b). The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of contrast. This contrast is interpreted in the situation '*O mpa a nona*' (She is just

become fat) in (156a) and 'O *mpa a tseba dipalo*' (He knows mathematics however) in (156b). One will assume that one become fat because of something.

#### 4.5.4.2 Present Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement states *kgalehile* (asleep) in (157a) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (157b):

- (157) a. *Ha a robatsa mmutla, o mpa a kgalehile e le ka nnete.*  
(He did not pretend to be asleep, he is really sleeping)
- b. *Ha a kule, o mpa a lapile.*  
(He is not sick, he is just hungry)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement with the states *kgalehile* (asleep) in (157a) and *lapile* (become hungry) in (157b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) demonstrates the meaning of contrast in the sentences 'O *mpa a kgalehile*' (He is just sleeping) in (157a) because there is a reason which makes him sleep. In (157b), the deficient verb *-mpa* (however) describes a situation as a change in state of affairs which extends time in 'O *mpa a lapile*' (He is just hungry). The contrast meaning is in the complement clause 'Ha a kule' (He is not sick). This stative interpretation presents itself in a change of state of affairs that extends in time. The situation remains as stative situation type.

#### 4.5.4.3 Potential *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial: with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood followed by a present tense

participial complement with state verbs *rata* (love) in (158a) and *hloya* (hate) in (158b):

- (158) a. ***A ka mpa a rata Disebo ho ena le Modiehi.***  
 (He may however love Disebo instead of Modiehi)
- b. ***A ka mpa a hloya histori ho ena le dipalo.***  
 (He rather hates History instead of mathematics)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement with the state verbs *rata* (love) in (158a) and *hloya* (hate) in (158b). In (158a) in '*A ka mpa a rata Disebo*' (He may love Disebo however) the interpretation of the deficient verb *-mpa* (however) in the potential mood **ka** (may) is that for *one being able to love, is Disebo instead of Modiehi*, hence there is a reason for that and in (158b) for *one being able to hate history instead of mathematics*, hence, hating history happens because of something.

#### 4.5.4.4 Future Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *lemoha* (realise) in (159a) and *rata* (love) in (159b):

- (159) a. ***O tla mpe a lemohe le ha e se e le kgale.***  
 (He will just realize even after a certain time)
- b. ***O tla mpe a mo rate ka ha o na le ngwana le yena.***  
 (He will rather love her because he has a child with her)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement state verbs *lemoha* (realise) in (159a) and *rata* (love) in (159b). The meaning of contrast is in the complementary sentences. For instance in (159a) something happens *one will just realises even if it is after a certain time* as in (159b) *one will rather love her because*

*one had a child with her*, hence the situation describes the meaning of contrast. The deficient verb *-mpa* (however) in the future tense predicts what is going to happen as exemplified in (19).

#### 4.5.4.5 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement state verbs *nená* (hate) in (160a) and *hloya* (abhor) in (160b):

- (160) a. ***O mpile a mo nena*** *feela ka ha a sa mmatle*  
 (She just hated her because she does not like her)
- b. ***O mpile a mo hloya*** *ka baka la bobare.*  
 (She just abhorred her because of the hear-say)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement state verbs *nená* (hate) in (160a) and *hloya* (hate) in (160b). The deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just* that express the situation as a state of affairs that extends time in '*O mpile a mo nena*' (She just hated her) in (160a) and '*O mpile a mo hloya*' (She just hated her) in (160b). On the other, the meaning of contrast is within the complementary sentences as in (160a) '*...ka ha a sa mmatle*' (because she does not like her) that is why she hated her and in (160b) '*...ka baka la bobare*' (because of the hear-say) that is why she abhorred her.

#### 4.5.4.6 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement with the state verbs *tseba* (knew) in (161a) and *kgahlwa* (attracted) in (161b):

- (161) a. ***O mpile a tseba, a lebala jwalo ka ha ke o bolelletse.***  
 (He just knew, and then forgot as I told you)
- b. ***O mpile a kgahlwa, a ratwa ke none e hlotsa, a ka be a sa mo nyala.***  
 (He was only attracted, and then loved by a passerby; he should have not married her)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpile* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement state verbs *tseba* (knew) in (161a) and *kgahlwa* (attracted) in (161b). In (161), the deficient verb *-mpile* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just* which describes a stative situation as a state of affairs that extends in past tense in ‘*O mpile a tseba*’ (He just knew) in the similar way as in ‘*O mpile a kgahlwa*’ (He was just attracted). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpile* in the perfect tense triggers a shift to the situation type of Achievement, hence the event is telic and it is instantaneously occurred.

#### 4.5.4.7 Subjunctive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (162a) and *lemoha* (realize) in (162b):

- (162) a. ***Mpe o mo lebale ka ha, a sa o tsotelle.***  
 (May you just forget her because she does not care about you)
- b. ***A ko mpe o lemohe hore o bapala ka wena.***  
 (May you please just realises that he uses you)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (162a) and *lemoha* (realize) in (162b). In (162), the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the subjunctive conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *just* in which the stative situation expresses the

intension for the future in ‘*Mpe o mo lebatse...*’ (May you just make her to forget...) in (162a). Similarly, in ‘*A ko mpe o lemohe...*’ (May you please just realises,...) in (162b) the meaning of contrast is conveyed by expressing that one should be able to realise that something is going to happen because of something. The interpretation of the stative sentence in (162b) is regarded as a wakeup call.

#### 4.5.4.8 Consecutive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Consecutive with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement state verbs *lla* (cry) in (163a) and *tseba* (know) in (163b):

- (163) a. ***A mpa a lla, a ba a robala ho ena le ho mo arabisa.***  
 (She cried however and then fell asleep rather than answering back)
- b. ***A mpa a tseba, a ngala, a ba a mo hloya.***  
 (He knew however, he left and then hated her)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement state verbs *lla* (cry) in (163a) and *tseba* (know) in (163b). In (163), the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *however or nonetheless* because in ‘*A mpa a lla...*’ (She cried however,...) the interpretation is something has happened that makes her to cry, hence contrast. In ‘*A mpa a tseba...*’ (He knew however...) the meaning of contrast is demonstrated by the complement sentence, for this reason he left.

#### 4.5.4.9 Imperative *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Subjunctive with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *lemohe* (be cautious) in (164a) and *lemosa* (make aware of) in (164b):

- (164) a. ***Mpeng le mo lemohe ka ha ke leshodu.***  
(You rather be cautious because he is a thief)
- b. ***Mpe o mo lemosa ketso eo ka ha o tla llela metsotso.***  
(You rather make her aware of that action because she will cry over the spilt milk)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement state verbs *lemohe* (be cautious) in (164a) and *lemosa* (make aware of) in (164b). In (164), the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of a change of a state of becoming as in ‘*Mpeng le mo lemosa...*’ (You rather be cautious...) and the contrast meaning is in the complement sentence in ‘*...ka ha ke leshodu*’ (...because he is a thief). Similarly, in ‘*Mpe o mo lemosa ketso eo...*’ (You rather make her aware of that action...) the contrast is in the subjunctive complement ‘*...ka ha o tla llela metsotso*’ (...because she will cry over the spilt milk). One warns one because that X is the case.

#### 4.5.4.10 Infinitive *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with a Participial with States

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood followed by a participial complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (165a) and *tseba* (know) in (165b):

- (165) a. ***\*Ho mpa ho lebala ho le boima.***  
(To forget it is just difficult)
- b. ***\*Ke batlile ho mpa ke tseba haholwanyane ka dipalo.***  
(I wanted to know just more about mathematics)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood is semantically incompatible with a participial complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (165a) and *tseba* (know) in (165b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the infinitive mood does not convey

the meaning of contrast in \*‘*Ho mpa ho lebala ho le boima*’ (To forget it is just difficult) in (165a) and in \*‘*Ke batlile ho mpa ke tseba haholwanyane ka dipalo*’ (I wanted to know just more about mathematic) in (165b).

## 4.6 ITERATIVE

(boela, pheta/do again/repeat)

These deficient verbs *boela-* (do again) and *pheta-* (repeat) refer to event that will happen again or repeat itself. These deficient verbs can only co-occur with complementary verbs in a specific mood. For instance, a present participial complement is found to follow the use of the present, perfect and future tenses of the indicative or infinitive mood, alternatively, may be followed the subjunctive or consecutive mood.

### 4.6.1 Activity verbs with deficient verb *boela/pheta-*

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate activity verbs that are semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of lexical semantics, a deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) should be given a special attention with regard to activity event type and the meaning of verbs as indicates lexical conceptual paradigm.

#### 4.6.1.1 Present Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (166a) and *tla* (come) in (166b):

- (166) a. ***Re boela re ngola le ha re sa rate.***  
(We write again even if we do not like)

- b. **Ke pheta ke e tla le ha a sa batle.**  
(I come again even if he does not want)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-boela/pheta* (do again/repeat) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (166a) and *tla* (come) in (166b). The deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) suggests that the activity of *writing* and of *coming* occurs repeatedly, for this reason the description of an action repeated on separate occasions is a characteristic function of the imperfective viewpoint. The meaning of iterative expresses the repetition of the activity of *writing* and of *coming* on separate occasions. For instance in (166a), '*Re boela re ngola*' (We write again) express something that happens in more than once as the case in (166b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense interprets the activity reading as non-habitual because the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (again/repeat) expresses a situation that is going to be in future from some past perspective of *writing* and *coming*.

#### 4.6.1.2 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (167a) and *bua* (speak) in (167b):

- (167) a. **Le tla boela le ngola ha le hloleha tekong ya kajeno.**  
(You will write again if you failed today's test)
- b. **Ke tla pheta ke bua le ha a sa batle.**  
(I will speak again even if he does not want)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement activity verbs *ngola* (write) in (167a) and *bua* (speak) in (167b). The deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) co-occurs with complementary verbs in indicative

mood in which the meaning of iterative expresses repetition of a situation that may occur in future on separate occasions. For instance in (167a), '*Le tla boela le ngola*' (You will write again) expresses something that will probably happen again and this is a probability that *they may write again in another occasion*. The hypothesis with regard to some action which might be carried out in the future as in (167b) that, *the person may speak again* in another occasion. The interpretation is not a habitual even though it involves a repetition. The interpretation is iterative aspect with the intension of suggesting a situation that was in the future from some past perspective be going to repeat itself in another occasion.

#### 4.6.1.3 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement activity verbs *palama* (ride) in (168a) and *kganna* (drive) in (168b):

- (168) a. ***Ke tla boela ke e palama le ha e ile ya ntiha.***  
 (I will ride it again even if it throws me off)
- b. ***O tla pheta a kganna le ha a ile ya phetoha.***  
 (He will drive again even if it overturned)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement activity verbs *palama* (ride) in (168a) and *kganna* (drive) in (168b). The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) is dependent on the subjunctive complementary activity verbs *palame* (ride) in (168a) and *kganne* (drive) in (168b). In (168) deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with future tense *tla* (will) gives an interpretation of iterative with probability as in '*Ke tla boela ke e palama*' (I will ride it again). The intention with regard to some action which might be carried out in the future from some past activities of *riding* and *driving* expresses a situation that is *be going to* in the future from the past action in '*O phetile o kganne*' (He drove again) then in '*O tla pheta a kganna*' (He will drive again) which demonstrates the intension of *driving again*.

#### 4.6.1.4 Potential *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood followed by a consecutive complement activity verbs *bina* (sing) in (169a) and *tsuba* (smoke) in (169b):

- (169) a. ***A ka boela a bina, a tantsha le ha a sa ikwetlisa.***  
 (She can sing again and the dance even if she did not practice)
- b. ***Nka pheta ka tsuba, ka nwa le ha ke kula.***  
 (I can smoke again and then drink even if I am sick)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement activity verbs *bina* (sing) in (169a) and *tsuba* (smoke) in (169b). For instance, in (169a) deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential **ka** expresses the epistemic possibility with the iterative meaning that addresses the possibility that *she can sing again*, hence she sang in the past while (169b) also expresses that it is possible that *one can smoke again*, hence one smoked in the past. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential **ka** thus suggests a situation that addresses the action from the past situation as in ‘*A ka bina*’ (He could sing) and in ‘*Nka tsuba*’ (I could smoked). These situations are possibly *be going to happen* again in the future.

#### 4.6.1.5 Perfect Tense *boetse-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (170a) and *hlatswa* (wash) in (170b):

- (170) a. ***Ngwana o boetse o a bapala.***  
 (The child plays again)
- b. ***O boetse o a hlatswa.***  
 (She washes again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement activity verbs *bapala* (play) in (170a) and *hlatswa* (wash) in (170b). The meaning of iterative is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense that expresses repetition of a situation in the future from the past experience. For instance in (170a), '*Ngwana o boetse o a bapala*' (The child plays again) addresses something that is happening again on a different occasion that *could not happen*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense describe the meaning of contrast in (170a). On the other hand, the meaning of iterative is expressed by the repetition of an action of *playing* in (170a) and of *washing* in (170b) in the future as addressing the activity that could have happened from the past point of view. These situations from past point of view are described by '*Ngwana o a bapala*' (The child is playing) be addressed by '*Ngwana o boetse o a bapala*' (The child is playing again) in the future as a repetition of a situation. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense did shift the situation type, hence the situation remains unchanged as the atelic activity situation type.

#### 4.6.1.6 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement activity verbs *ngotse* (wrote) in (171a) and *mathile* (ran) in (171b):

- (171) a. *Disebo o boetse o ngotse.*  
(Disebo wrote again)
- b. *Pheko o phetile o mathile.*  
(Pheko ran again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement activity verbs *ngotse* (wrote) in (169a) and *mathile* (ran) in (171b). In (171a), the deficient

verb *boetse-/phetile-* (again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *iterative* in which *boetse-/phetile* describes a situation that was in the future from some past point of view which is expressed in ‘*Disebo o ngotse*’ (Disebo wrote) to be repeatedly in a another occasion being interpreted by the activity ‘*be going to*’ in ‘*Disebo o boetse o ngotse*’ (Disebo wrote again). Similarly, in (171b) ‘*be going to*’ is hardly a future tense, since it expresses a situation that was in future from some past point of view in ‘*Pheko o mathile*’ (Pheko ran) being addressed in ‘*Pheko o phetile o mathile*’ (Pheko repeatedly ran). The prospective not habitual meaning is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense. The deficient verb *-boetse/phetile* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense triggers a shift to an Achievement situation type since the event is telic, instantaneous event. There is a change of state that results in path-goal.

#### 4.6.1.7 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (172a) and *nwa* (drink) in (172b):

- (172) a.     ***Ke boetse ka matha, ka hlola.***  
               (I ran again and then won)
- b.     ***Thabo o phetile a nwa jwala, a tahwa.***  
               (Thabo drank beer again and then got drunk)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement activity verbs *matha* (ran) in (172a) and *nwa* (drank) in (172b). In (172a), the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *iterative* as it addresses a situation that was in the future from the past perspective in ‘*Ka matha, ka hlola*’ (I ran and then won) is addressed in ‘*Ke boetse ka matha, ka hlola*’ being interpreted as *one ran again and then won the race* while in (172b), *Thabo drank beer again* and then got drunk. The deficient verb *boetse* (again) introduces the prospective meaning not a habitual meaning since the repetition of an activity occurred but on separate occasion. The deficient verb *-boetse/phetile*

(again/repeat) in the perfect tense triggers a shift to an Achievement situation type since the event is telic, instantaneous event. There is a change of state that results in path-goal.

#### 4.6.1.8 Infinitive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (173a) and *matha* (run) in (173b):

- (173) a. *Haesale a kula, o qala ho boela a sebetsa.*  
(Since his illness, he begins working again)
- b. *Haesale ke atleha, ke batla ho boela ke matha.*  
(Since my achievement, I want to run again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (173a) and *matha* (run) in (173b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative as in (173a) *he works again* as he worked in the past while in (173b), *one want to run again* as he ran in the past. The prospective aspect is introduced by the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) which denotes 'be going to' in future. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-* (again/repeat) in the infinitive mood does not shift a situation, hence it remain unchanged as an atelic activity situation type.

#### 4.6.1.9 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement activity verbs *bapale* (play) in (174a) and *je* (eat) in (174b):

- (174) a. *Ba batla hore ba boele ba bapale.*  
 (They want that they should play again)
- b. *Ha ba phete ba je.*  
 (They should eat again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement activity verbs *bapale* (play) in (174a) and *je* (eat) in (174b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of repeat as requiring that ‘*Ba batla hore ba boele ba bapale*’ (They want that they should play again) is going to be on a separate occasion. The deontic modality indicates a request that a particular action on a different occasion in ‘*Ba boele ba je*’ (They should eat again) should be happening again.

#### 4.6.1.10 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (175a) and *ngola* (write) in (175b):

- (175) a. *Ke lakatsa hore le boele le mathe.*  
 (I want you that you should run again)
- b. *Ha ba phethe ba ngole.*  
 (They should write again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (175a) and *ngola* (write) in (175b). The meaning of iterative expresses repetition of *running* and *writing* at some time in the future. The obligation in the situation is that people are obliged to *run* and *write again* because the past point of view is addressed in the future.

#### 4.6.1.11 Consecutive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (176a) and *ja* (eat) in (176b):

- (176) a. ***Ka boela ka matha, ka hlola le ha ke ne ke sa ikemisetsa.***  
 (I ran again and then won even if I was not ready)
- b. ***Ha bosiu bo wela fatshe, ka pheta ka ja, ka tsamaya.***  
 (Early in the morning, I ate again and then left)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (176a) and *ja* (eat) in (176b). In (176a), the meaning of repetition in completion is expressed by '*Ka boela ka matha*' (I ran again) while in (176b) is demonstrated by '*Ka pheta ka ja*' (I ate again) in the consecutive mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (again/repeat) in the consecutive mood triggers a shift in activity to a situation type of an Achievement, hence the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.6.1.12 Imperative *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (177a) and *hlatswe* (wash) in (177b):

- (177) a. ***Boela o mathe pele o kgathala.***  
 (Run again before you get tired)
- b. ***Pheta o hlatswe dijana ka ha di sa hlatswisiswa.***  
 (Wash the dishes again because they are not clean)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (177a) and *hlatswe* (wash) in (177b). The occurrence the occurrence of the

deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative in (177a) conveys the ability of bringing about the situation of *running* again while in (177b) conveys the volition of the situation of *washing* again. In (177), the occurrence of the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of repetition in the imperative mood in which it denotes a past perspective of 'O *mathile*' (He ran) and now he should run again. Similarly, the meaning of iterative in the imperative mood addresses a situation of washing the dishes again as they were washed before.

#### 4.6.2 Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate accomplishments, in particular, whether it is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure the meaning of verbs as indicates lexical conceptual paradigm and lexical inheritance structure.

##### 4.6.2.1 Present Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (178a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (178b):

- (178) a. *Ntate o boela a haha ntlo ka ha e ile ya putlama.*  
(Father builds a house again because it fell)
- b. *Maphalla o pheta a ngola buka.*  
(Maphalla writes a book again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (178a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (178b). The meaning of iterative expresses repetition of a situation of *building a house* and of *writing a book* respectively. For instance, in (178a) '*Ntate o boela a haha ntlo*' (Father builds a house again) express something that happens in more than once on separate time, maybe the house was destructed by a lightning or for the first time father could not be able to finish the house because of financial problems. In (178b), maybe for the first time Maphalla could not be able to finish writing a book because it was not in good standard or maybe he did not meet a deadline. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) expresses these situations as they were in the future from some past events of '*O hahile ntlo*' (He built a book) and '*O ngotse buka*' (He wrote a book) to be repeated in '*O boela a haha ntlo*' (He builds a house again) and in '*Maphalla o boela a ngola buka*' (Maphalla writes a book again).

#### 4.6.2.2 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement accomplishment verbs *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (179a) and *ngola padi* (write a story) in (179b):

- (179) a. *Nkgono o tla boela a loha jeresi ya setloholo sa hae.*  
(Granny will knit her grandson's jersey again)
- b. *Lenake o tla pheta a ngola terama ya seyalemoya.*  
(Lenake will write a radio story again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (179a) and *ngola padi* (write a story) in (179b). The occurrence of deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense expresses the certainty that it is oblige that '*X will be*

*the case again*', i.e. in (179a) *Granny will knit her grandson's jersey again* while in (179b) *Lenake will write a radio story again*. Certainly these situations will be the case in future to address the past situations, for an example in '*Nkgono o lohile jeresi*' (Granny knitted a jersey) and '*Lenake o ngotse terama ya seyalemoya*' (Lenake wrote a radio story). The iterative meaning with the viewpoint of prospective is introduced by occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense.

#### 4.6.2.3 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (180a) and *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (180b):

- (180) a. ***Ke tla pheta ke palame pere le ha e ile ya ntiha.***  
(I will ride a horse again even if I fell)
- b. ***Ke tla boela ke kganne koloji le ha ke ile ka thulwa.***  
(I will drive a car again even if I was involved in an accident)

The deficient verb *-boela/pheta-* has lost its autonomy as a word and has become morphological constituents of grammaticalisation which changes the lexical meaning of the original word to a grammatical one. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (180a) and *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (180b). The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense expresses the certainty that it is obliged that '*X will be the case*', i.e., the sentence in '*Ke tla pheta ke palame pere*' expresses a situation in which *someone is obligated to ride a horse again*. This deficient verb *phetha* (repeat) expresses a situation that was in the future from some past experience for an example '*Ke palame pere*' (I have ridden a horse). The sentence in '*Ke tla boela ke kganne koloji*' addresses a situation in which *someone is certain that he will drive a car again*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-boela* (again) describes an event that occurred in the future from that past experience as '*Ke*

kgannile koloï' (I have driven a car). All these events will be happening on a separate occasion, hence the occurrence repeat.

#### 4.6.2.4 Potential *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood followed by a consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (181a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (181b):

- (181) a. ***Nka boela ka haha ntlo, ka e rekisa ha ke rata.***  
 (I can build a house again and then sell it if I want to)
- b. ***Mme a ka pheta a loha jeresi, a qeta a ba a e rekisa.***  
 (Mother can knit a jersey again, and then finishing it and sell it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (181a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (181b). The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood expresses the circumstances surrounding some situations, that should be bring about again as in '*Nka boela ka haha ntlo*'. It is clear that a situation of building a house occurred some other time in the past, therefore one had to build a house again. On the other hand, in (181b) mother has the ability in bring about the circumstances of knitting a jersey again because the knitting of a jersey occurred in the past. The situation need to be repeated on another occasion, hence the event expresses iterative meaning not a habitual interpretation.

#### 4.6.2.5 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (182a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (182b):

- (182) a. *Nkgono o boetse o bopa nkgo ya letsopa.*  
 (Granny has created a clay pot again)
- b. *Maphalla o phetile o ngola buka.*  
 (Maphalla has written a book again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (182a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (182b). In (182a), the deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative of *creating a clay pot again* while in (182b) *of writing a book again*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense expresses a situation that is happening that is in the present time of speech. These situation is at the present moment are addressing the events which occurred in the past as '*Nkgono o bopile nkgo ya letsopa*' (Granny created a clay pot) and '*Maphalla o ngotse buka*' (Maphalla has written a book). The deficient verb *boetse/phetile* (did again/repeated) triggers a shift in a situation type of derived-Activity, hence an event does not give information about the endpoints of the situation.

#### 4.6.2.6 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (183a) and *palame pere* (rode a horse) in (183b):

- (183) a. *O boetse o hahile ntlo e nngwe le ha a ntse a na le e kgolo.*  
 (He has built another house again even if he had a big one)
- b. *O phetile o palame pere eo e ileng ya mo diha.*  
 (He has rode the horse that made him fell previously)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (183a) and *palame pere* (rode a horse) in (183b). In (183a), the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *repetition* of *building a house* on different occasion and the completion has the meaning of the perfect of result which demonstrate past perfect. The deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense expresses a meaning of perfect of result hence in (183b), the *riding of a horse* is repeated and the action has been completed. The situation type remains unchanged as an accomplishment; hence the event is telic and durative.

#### 4.6.2.7 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (184a) and *ngola tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (184b):

- (184) a. *Disebo o boetse a qhaqha mokhukhu ka ha o ne o sa ahwa hantle.*  
(Disebo has dismantled a shack again because it was not properly erected)
- b. *Thulo o phetile a ngola tlhahlobo ka ha a ne a sa atleha.*  
(Thulo has written an examination again because he did not succeed)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (184a) and *ngola tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (184b). In (184), the deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative meaning expressing the perfect of result in which the event of *dismantling of a shack* and of *writing an examination* culminates. The deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys a situation that was in the future from the some past perspective as '*O qhaqhile mokhukhu*' (He dismantled a shack) and '*Thulo o*

*ngotse tlhahlobo'* (Thulo wrote an examination). There is no shift in the situation type of accomplishment. The event is telic and durative.

#### 4.6.2.8 Infinitive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood followed by a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (185a) and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (185b):

- (185) a. ***Ho boela o loha jeresi ke ntho e boima.***  
 (To knit a jersey again is a difficult task)
- b. ***Ho pheta o bopa nkgo ya letsopa, ho nka nako.***  
 (To create a clay pot again, it takes time)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (185a) and *ngola tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (185b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative meaning in which a situation that was in the future from some past experience expresses an event of *knitting a jersey again* and of *creating a jersey again* respectively. The situation which is addressed in the past is explained in 'O *lohile jeres'* (She knitted a jersey) and 'O *bopile nkgo*' (He created a clay pot).

#### 4.6.2.9 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngole buka* (write a book) in (186a) and *fuputse sethethefatsi* (Investigate a drug) in (186b):

- (186) a. *Maphalla o batla hore a boele a ngole buka ka ha dibuka ke leqeme.*  
 (Maphalla wants to write a book because books are scares)
- b. *Mapolesa a batla hore a phete a fuputse sethethefatsi sekolong.*  
 (Police want to investigate a drug again at schools)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngole buka* (write a book) in (186a) and *fuputse sethethefatsi* (investigate a drug) in (186b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of an intension *of writing a book again* in (186a) while in (186b) *of investigating a drug again*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood expresses the situation as is addressing the past the event as in ‘*O ngotse buka*’ (He has written a book) and in ‘*A fupuditse sethethefatsi*’ (They have investigated the drug) respectively. The repetitive meaning which denoting a prospective aspect is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood. The deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood triggers a shift to derived-Activity because there is no change of state, hence an event is atelic and durative. There interpretation in (186) does not describe the endpoints of the situation.

#### 4.6.2.10 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa la kuku* (cut a piece a cake) in (187a) and *bina pina* (sing a song) in (187b):

- (187) a. *Ke lakatsa hore o boele o ntshehele kuku.*  
 (I want you to cut a piece of cake for me again)
- b. *Ntate o lakatsa hore o phete o bina pina.*  
 (Father wants you to sing a song again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *seha leqa* (cut a piece) in (187a) and *bina pina* (sing a song) in (187b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of plan of *cutting a piece of cake again* in (187a) while in (187b) *of singing a song again*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood introduces the iterative meaning expressing the prospective aspect. The prospective aspect expresses a situation which is ‘*be going to*’ in the future, since it denotes an event that occurred in the past but addressed in the future on another occasion.

#### 4.6.2.11 Consecutive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *poma monwana* (cut a finger) in (188a) and *kgabela nama* (cut the meat) in (188b):

(188) a. *Ha letsatsi le tjhaba, a boela a poma monwana.*

(When the sun rose, he cut a finger again)

*Ha le dikela, a pheta a kgabela nama.*

(When the sun sets, he cut the meat again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement accomplishment verb constellations *poma monwana* (cut a finger) in (188a) and *kgabela nama* (cut the meat) in (188b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (again/repeat) in the consecutive mood with a consecutive complement accomplishment of *cutting a finger* and of *cutting the meat* expresses culmination. The iterative meaning with the prospective aspect express a situation tha has been completed at certain point in time. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat)

in the consecutive mood shifts a situation type to an Achievement, hence the event occurred instantly when the sun rise and when the sun sets. The events are telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.6.2.12 Imperative *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (189a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (189b):

- (189) a. ***Boela o nwe kgalase ya lebese hararo ka letsatsi.***  
(Drink a glass of milk three times a day again)
- b. ***Pheta o je apole hang ka letsatsi.***  
(Eat an apple again once a day)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (189a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (189b). In (189), the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative of *drinking a glass of milk* and of *eating an apple* on a separate occasion. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwe kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (189a) and *je apole* (eat an apple) in (189b) express a situation in which one has some kind of plan of *drinking a glass of milk again* and of *eat an apple again* respectively.

#### 4.6.3 Achievement verbs with deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate achievements the question is whether the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of the

lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) has lost its autonomy as a word and has become morphological constituents of grammaticalisation which changes the lexical meaning of the original word to a grammatical one. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) will be demonstrated in the following sets of accomplishment verbs.

#### 4.6.3.1 Present Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (190a) and *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (190b):

- (190) a. *Dineo o boela a tjhwatla kgalase ya metsi.*  
(Dineo breaks a glass of water again)
- b. *Mpho o pheta a koba terata ya motlakase.*  
(Mpho bends an electric wire again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense is semantically compatible with present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (190a) and *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (190b). The meaning of iterative expresses repetition of a situation on separate occasions. For instance in (190a), '*Dineo o boela a tjhwatla kgalase ya metsi* (Dineo breaks a glass of water again) express something that happens in more than once on separate time, maybe she was not careful enough or for some other reason the glass breaks again. The situation remains unchanged as an achievement, telic, instantaneous event. In (190b), the bending of a wire has happened in another occasion, therefore the event is repeated in which Mpho bends an electric wire again on a separate occasion.

#### 4.6.3.2 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement achievement verbs *hweba* (trade) in (191a) and *reka* (buy) in (191b):

- (191) a. *Ntate o tla boela a hweba ka matekwane.*  
(Father will deal with dagga again)
- b. *Ke tla pheta ke reka mofuta wa kolo eo.*  
(I will buy that type of car again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement achievement verbs *hweba* (trade) in (191a) and *reka* (buy) in (191b). The occurrence of deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense expresses the certainty that it is obligated that 'X will be the case', i.e. in (189a) *Father is obligated to trade with dagga again* while in (191b) *Similarly as in someone will certainly repeat buying that type of a car.* Certainly these situations will be the case in the future; hence the event indicates the meaning of repetitive.

#### 4.6.3.3 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences exemplify the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement achievement verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (192a) and *hape lebelo* (win a race) in (192b):

- (192) a. *Ke tla boela ke tjhese mokhukhu ka petrole.*  
(I will burn a shack again with petrol)
- b. *Ke tla pheta ke hape lebelo la setswalle.*  
(I will win the comrade marathon again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement achievement verbs *tjhese* (burn) in (192a) and *hape* (win) in (192b). The occurrence of deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense expresses the certainty that it is obligated that 'X will be the case', i.e., in (192a) *someone certainly will set a fire on shack again*. In (192b), *someone is certain that he will win the comrade marathon again*. The subjunctive mood occurs in these sentences expresses some kind of a plan that the situation in (192) will definitely happen in future as it addresses a situation that was in the past. The past situation was 'Ke hapile lebelo la setswalle' (I won the marathon is addressed in (192b) in 'Ke tla pheta ke hape lebelo la setswalle' (I will win the comrade marathon again). All these situations will happen on a separate occasion. These situations show no cases of focus shifting from the basic-level structure of an accomplishment situation type. Therefore, the situation remains unchanged because the basic interpretation of the verb constellations *tjhese mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (192a) and *hape lebelo* (win a race) in (192b) do not require contextual support or additional information.

#### 4.6.3.4 Potential *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood followed by a consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (193a) and *tjhesa mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (193b):

- (193) a. *Dineo a ka boela a tjhwatla kgalase ha a nwele.*  
 (Dineo can break a glass again when she is drunk)
- b. *Nka pheta ka tjhesa mokhukhu ka kerese.*  
 (I can set fire on a shack again with a candle)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (193a) and *tjhesa mokhukhu* (burn a shack) in (193b). In (193), the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the potential morpheme **ka** indicates that someone has the ability to bring about the

circumstances of *breaking a glass again*, hence the action of breaking a glass could be repeated on some other occasion. Similarly, in (193b), expresses the circumstances of *burning a shack again* may occur at some point time in the coming future. The situation of *breaking a glass* and of *burning a shack* did happened in the past therefore one want to repeat the event in the future.

#### 4.6.3.5 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (194a) and *posa* (post a letter) in (194b):

- (194) a. ***O boetse o roma ngwana lebenkeleng.***  
(He did send the child to the shop again)
- b. ***O phetile o posa lengolo le yang Maseru.***  
(She did post a letter that goes to Maseru again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (194a) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (194b). The past event of *sending the child to the shop* and *of positing the letter* is still relevant at the time of speech hence the perfect conveys the past-including-the-present. In (194a), the deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative of *sending the child to the shop* while in (194b) *of posting the letter again*. The meaning of iterative with the prospective aspect is being expressed by the situation in '*O boetse o roma ngwana*' (He did send the child again) and '*O phetile o posa lengolo*' (He did post the letter again. There is no shift in a situation; hence the basic interpretation of the verb constellations *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (194a) and *posa* (post a letter) in do not require contextual support or additional information directly to its lexical span.

#### 4.6.3.6 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (195a) and *kwetse lemati* (closed the door) in (195b):

- (195) a. ***O boetse o butse lemati.***  
 (She has opened the door again)
- b. ***O phetile o kwetswe lemati la kolo hampe.***  
 (He has closed the car's door badly again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *butse lemati* (opened the door) in (195a) and *kwetse lemati* (closed the door) in (195b). In (195a), the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of *repetition of opening the door* at the past event which is still relevant to the time of speech presents the completion. The deficient verb *boetse/phetile* (did again/repeated) has the meaning of the perfect of result which demonstrate past perfect where the opening of the door occurred at a particular moment. Similarly in (195b), the *closing the door* is repeated and expresses a meaning of perfect of result in which a unique event at a particular moment the closing of the door has ended. The situation remains the same; hence the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.6.3.7 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *hapa tlhodisano* (win the competition) in (196a) and *hlola lebelo* (win a race) in (196b):

- (196) a. ***Ba boetse ba hapa tlhodisano, ba nyakalla, ba keteka.***  
 (They have won the competition again, and then they dance, and they enjoyed)
- b. ***O phetile a hlola lebelo, a thaba, a tsamaya.***  
 (He has won the marathon again, and then he became happy and he left)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *hapa tlhodisano* (win the competition) in (196a) and *hlola lebelo* (win a race) in (196b). The sentences in (196) express the meaning of perfect of result where the event of winning culminates after being repeated and the event's results state holds now. In (196), the deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative *of winning the competition* and *of winning the marathon*. The prospective aspect is introduced by the occurrence of *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense since the deficient event *boetse-/phetile-* express a situation that was in the future from some past experience as '*Ba hapile tlhodisano*' (They have won the competition) and now '*Ba boetse ba hapile tlhodisano,..*' (They have won the competition again).

#### 4.6.3.8 Infinitive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive followed by the present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (197a) and *beha buka* (put a book) in (197b):

- (197) a. ***Ho boela o tjhwatla kgalase ha o nwele ke tlwaelo e mpe.***  
 (To repeat breaking a glass when you are drunk is a bad habit)
- b. ***Ho pheta o beha buka tafoleng ho tla o shapisa ka malome.***  
 (To repeat putting a book on a table will make uncle beat you)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (197a) and *beha buka* (put a book) in (197b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative of *to repeat breaking a glass* and *to repeat putting books on a table again* respectively. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood suggest a situation that might occur in future as to repeat putting the books again on the table will put one in trouble, it describes a warning not focusing on the internal structure of the situation. The situation in (197) interprets that if an event of breaking the glass and of putting the book on the table repeat, then ‘*X is the case*’.

#### 4.6.3.9 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement achievement verb constellations *kgantshe hitara* (light the heater) in (198a) and *qhale metsi* (throw water) in (198b):

- (198) a. *O batla hore ke boele ke kgantshe hitara.*  
(He wants that I should light on the heater again)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore o phete o qhale metsi.*  
(I want that you should throw water again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement achievement verbs constellations *kgantshe hitara* (light the heater) in (198a) and *qhale metsi* (throw water) in (198b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of intention of *lighting the heater again* in (198a) since the deficient verb *boele-* (again) intend to express a situation that *was* in the future from some past perspective. Similarly, in (198b) the deficient verb *phete-* (again) has the same intention as in (198a), i.e. *of throwing water again*.

#### 4.6.3.10 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement achievement verbs *hlola* (win) in (199a) and *etsa* (do) in (199b):

- (199) a. *Ke lakatsa hore o boele o hlola.*  
(I wish him that he should win again)
- b. *O se phete wa etsa jwalo.*  
(You should not do that again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement achievement verbs *hlola* (win) in (199a) and *etsa* (do) in (199b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of hypothesis *of winning again* in (199a) while in (199b) *of not doing that again*. The event *of winning* and *of doing something* has occurred in the past, and then this event *of winning* and *of doing something* is repeated in the future on another time, thus the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (do again/repeat) has the meaning of iterative.

#### 4.6.3.11 Consecutive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *phaphama* (wake up) in (200a) and *tjhwatla* (break) in (200b):

- (200) a. *Ke ile ka boela ka phaphama, ka hlobola, ka robala.*  
(I woke up again, and then undress, and then sleep)

- b. ***Ke ile ka pheta ka tjhwatla kgalase.***

(I have broken the glass again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with a consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *phaphama* (wake up) in (200a) and *tjhwatla* (break) in (200b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the consecutive mood expresses the event of *waking up* in (200a) has repeatedly occurred in some point in time. This event describes the culmination of *waking up*. Similar event has occurred in (200b), since the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood denote completion.

#### 4.6.3.12 Imperative *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement achievement verb constellations *tlose ngwana* (remove the child) in (201a) and *monya lero* (suck a juice) in (201b):

- (201) a. ***Boela o tlose ngwana seterateng.***

(Remove the child from the street again)

- b. ***Pheta o monye lero la lamunu hobane ke a le hloka.***

(Squeeze the orange juice again because I need it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement achievement verb constellations *tlose ngwana* (remove the child) in (201a) and *monya lero* (suck a juice) in (201b). In (201), the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative of *removing the child* and of *sucking an orange juice* on a different occasion. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the imperative mood followed expresses a situation in which *was* in the future from some past perspective as in ‘*O tlositse ngwana seterateng*’ (She removed the child from the street) and this situation is repeated in ‘*Boela o tlose ngwana seterateng*’ (Remove the child again from the

street) in some time. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the potential mood thus expresses the iterative meaning in these events.

#### 4.6.4 State verbs with deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat)

This section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate states, the question is whether the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses, then consider the shift in a situation type. Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs as there are various means for shifts in focus both morphological and lexical structure. The deficient verb *-boela/pheta-* has lost its autonomy as a word and has become morphological constituents of grammaticalisation which changes the lexical meaning of the original word to a grammatical one.

##### 4.6.4.1 Present Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement state verbs *tseba* (know) in (201a) and *lebala* (forgot) in (201b):

- (201) a. *Thabo o boela a tseba Sesotho.*  
(Thabo knows Sesotho again)
- b. *Thabo o pheta a lebala tjhelete bankeng.*  
(Thabo forgets the money again in the bank)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a present tense participial complement state verbs *tseba* (know) in (201a) and *lebala* (forgot) in (201b). For instance in (201a), the meaning of iterative is expressed in knowing of the Sesotho language again while in (201b) is expressed in forgetting the money again. The deficient verb *boela/pheta*

(does again/repeats) in the stative sentence presents events as activities but the sentences ascribe a static property to the situation, hence they are stative by syntactic criteria. The situation does not change, since the focus refer in the interpretation to the same stative situation.

#### 4.6.4.2 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a present tense participial complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (202a) and *hloya* (hate) in (202b):

- (202) a. *Thulo o tla boela a rata Disebo le ha ba ne ba se ba hlalane.*  
(Thulo will love Disebo again even if they were divorced)
- b. *Mora o tla pheta a hloya ntatae ka ha a sa mo hodisa.*  
(A son will hate his father again because he did not up bring him)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement state verbs (love) in (202a) and *hloya* (hate) in (202b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the future tense can only co-occur with complementary verbs in a situative mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is used for prediction as in *Thulo* 'be going to' love *Disebo* again in (202a) for future fulfillment of present intention, since the future-in-the-past cannot be used in the same way as *Thulo* 'was going to' love *Disebo*. The situation then will denote a progressive meaning as in '*Thulo o tla rata Disebo*' (Thulo will love Disebo). In (202b) some specific source for prediction that *A son* 'be going to' hate *his father* again presents future event as a fact. These situation involve properties of duration and incompleteness, hence the stative sentences covers a period of time and need no efforts to change. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future does not shift a situation type, it only describes a situation that was in the future from the past perspective as in *A son has hated his father* in the past reference of time.

#### 4.6.4.3 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (203a) and *nyonye* (abhor) in (203b):

- (203) a. ***Ke tla boela ke rate dipalo ha ho ka tliswa titjhere e nngwe.***  
(I will love mathematics again if they can bring another teacher)
- b. ***Thulo o tla pheta a nyonye ngwanana eo.***  
(Thulo will abhor that girl again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with subjunctive complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (203a) and *nyonye* (abhor) in (203b). In (203), deficient verb *-boela/pheta-* gives an interpretation of iterative and the deficient verb is dependent on the complementary verb in the subjunctive mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense demonstrates future fulfillment of present intention or cause that *someone 'be going to' love mathematics again* because he did hate mathematics in the past. In (203b), the situation demonstrates anticipation that *Thulo 'be likely to' hate that girl again* as it was in the past; hence he extremely hated the girl. These situations denote a likelihood of events 'be going to' in future in order to address the repeat of a situation in the future.

#### 4.6.4.4 Potential *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood followed by a consecutive complement state verbs *lla* (cry) in (204a) and *thola* (be quiet) in (204b):

- (204) a. ***A ka boela a lla, a ba a robala ho ena le ho mo arabisa.***  
(She could cry again and then fell asleep instead of answering back)
- b. ***Ha a ka pheta a thola, a ka ngala a ba a mo hloya.***  
(If he could be quiet again, she could leave and then hated him)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement state verbs *lla* (cry) in (204a) and *thola* (be quiet) in (204b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood presents the possibility that *someone could be possibly cried again and then fell asleep* in (204a) hence he did cry and then fell asleep in the past perspective. Similarly in (204b), the deficient verb *pheta* (repeat) presents the situation as the possibility that *someone could be quiet again*, since one was quiet in the past. The deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) is dependent on the complementary verb in the situative mood because it describes the meaning of iterative. The iterative meaning is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta* (do again/repeat), hence it expresses a situation that *was* as in ‘*O llile*’ (She has cried) and ‘*O thotse*’ (He has being quiet) from some past perspective.

#### 4.6.4.5 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a present tense participial complement state verbs *utlwa* (hear) in (205a) and *bona* (see) in (205b):

- (204) a. ***Ke boetse ke a utlwa hore o a tla.***  
(I have heard again that she is coming)
- b. ***Nkgono o boetse o a bona.***  
(Granny has seen again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement state verbs *utlwa* (hear) in (205a) and *bona* (see) in (205b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *boetse-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative. The example in (205a) implies that *someone ‘be going to’ hear again* as in the past one did heard. Similarly in (205b), *granny ‘be going to’ see again* at the time of speech, i.e. past event of *hearing* and of *seeing* occurred then being addressed by occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse/phetile* (did again/repeated) in (205)

respectively. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense conveys the past-including-the-present, thus there is a unique event and a special time which requires the result of the event to hold at the time of speaking. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense do not presents a progressive meaning is in *one is going to hear again* and *one is going to see again* because the situation does not express stative situation but non-stative.

#### 4.6.4.6 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement state verbs *utlwile* (heard) in (206a) and *hloile* (hated) in (206):

- (206) a. ***Ke boetse ke utlwile hore o teng.***  
(I have heard again that he has arrive)
- b. ***O boetse o hloile ngwana wa hae.***  
(He has hated his child again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement state verbs *utlwile* (heard) in (206a) and *hloile* (hated) in (206b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense conveys the perfect of persistent situation, i.e., there is a unique event which represents a state phase and this state phase holds for an interval of time and event culminates at a time since the deficient verb *boetse-* (did again/repeated) in the perfect tense expresses the meaning of perfect of persistent that *one has heard again* in (206a) and that *one has hated the child again* in (206b). These examples in (206) are atelic propositions in the perfect which express continual situation, hence the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (did again/repeated) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative.

#### 4.6.4.7 Perfect Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by a consecutive complement state verbs *nená* (abhor) in (207) and *hloya* (hate) in (207b):

- (207) a. ***O boetse a nena, a nyefola kgaetsedi ya hae.***  
 (He has hated and then despised his sister again)
- b. ***Ba phetile ba hloya, ba nyonya dipalo ka baka la titjhere e tebetsweng.***  
 (They have hated, and then dislike mathematics again because of the expelled teacher)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement state verbs *nená* (abhor) in (207) and *hloya* (hate) in (207b). For instance, examples in (207) are atelic propositions in the perfect which express persistent situation. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense conveys the perfect of persistent situation, i.e., there is a unique event of *hating* in (207) which represents a state phase and these state phases of '*A nena, a nyefola kgaitsemi ya hae*' (He hated and then despised his sister) and '*A hloya, a nyonya dipalo*' (He hated and then disliked) holds for an interval of time and the event culminates at a time. However, the deficient verbs *boetse-/phetile-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative because a situation that was in the future from some past of perspective in the state of *being hated* and *being disliked*.

#### 4.6.4.8 Infinitive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive followed by the present tense participial complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (208a) and *lebala* (forget) in (208b):

- (208) a. ***Ho boela o rata mosadi eo o mo hlakileng, ke ntho e boima.***  
 (To love your ex-wife again, is a difficult thing)
- b. ***Ho pheta o lebala ditaba, o tla hlolewa ke nyewe.***  
 (To forget the news again, you will lose the case)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (208a) and *lebala* (forget) in (208b). The occurrence of the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) conveys clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative *of loving again* and *of forgetting again* respectively. The situation demonstrates the moment of speech in which the state *of loving* in (208a) and *of forgetting* in (208b) is taking place again but on another occasion. The deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive mood suggest a situation that might occur in future as to be loved again, it describes the loving not focusing on the internal structure of the situation. The situation in (208) interprets that if an event of *loving* and *forgetting* repeat, then X is the case.

#### 4.6.4.9 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *rata* (love) in (209a) and *bona* (see) in (209b):

- (209) a. ***Disebo o batla hore Thulo a boele a mo rate.***  
 (Disebo wants that Thulo should love her again)
- b. ***Ke lakatsa hore le phete le bone bophelo ka tsela e nngwe.***  
 (I wish that you see life again in another way)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement state verbs *rate* (love) in (209a) and *bone* (see) in (209b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood followed by a subjunctive complement occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of hypothesis or plan *of loving someone again* in (209a) as he did love someone.

Similarly, the occurrence of deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in (209b) expresses a situation with the intention of *seeing life again in some way or another* as one did saw life in some way or another. Therefore, the occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) describes an iterative meaning, hence the stative sentence remain the same as state.

#### 4.6.4.10 Subjunctive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by a present tense participial complement state verbs *lemoha* (realise) in (210a) and *lebala* (forget) in (210b):

- (210) a. *O ne a lakatsa hore o boele o lemoha metswalle ya hae.*  
 (He wanted him that he should realises his friends)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore le phete le lebala tsa maoba le maobane.*  
 (I want you that you should forget those of yesterday and of the day before)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement state verbs *lemoha* (realise) in (210a) and *lebala* (forget) in (210b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood occurs in a sentence which expresses some kind of hypothesis of *realising again* in (210a) while in (210b) of *forgetting again*, since the sentences ascribe a static property to the situation, because they are stative by syntactic criteria. Therefore, the occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-/phete-* (does again/repeats) in the subjunctive mood does not shift a situation type.

#### 4.6.4.11 Consecutive *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement state verbs *hloya* (hate) in (211a) and *hlanya* (become mad) in (211b):

- (211) a. *Ke ile ka boela ka hloya moshemane eo.*  
(I have hated that boy again)
- b. *Ha le dikela, a boela a hlanya.*  
(When sun set, he became mad again)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with consecutive complement state verbs *hloya* (hate) in (211a) and *hlanya* (become mad) in (211b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (does again/repeats) in the consecutive mood expresses continuative perfect as *one have hated the boy* in (211a) as *one hated the boy* in the some past experience. Similarly, the deficient verb *boela* (repeat/again) in the consecutive expresses the perfect of persistent as *one being mad* again in (211b) as *one was mad* in some past perspective.

#### 4.6.4.12 Imperative *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by a subjunctive complement state verbs *lemose* (make aware of) in (212a) and *tsebise* (inform) in (212b):

- (212) a. *Boela o ba lemose ka kotsi ya dithethefatsi.*  
(Make them aware again about the danger of drugs)
- b. *Pheta o ba tsebise ka nako ya tlhahlobo.*  
(Inform them again about the examination time)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement state verbs *lemose*

(make aware of) in (212a) and *tsebise* (inform) in (212b). In (212), the deficient verbs *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood conveys a clear meaning of giving the idea of iterative *of making them aware of drugs* and of *giving information* in another occasion. The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by the subjunctive complement in (212a) express a situation in which one pleaded politely *to make someone aware about the danger of drugs again* because one made one aware of the drugs in the past perspective. Similarly, in (212b) the deficient verb *boela/pheta* (repeat/again) expresses a situation intending to *inform someone about the writing of an examination again*, hence one was informed in the past perspective.

#### 4.7 FREQUENTATIVE

*atisa* (do frequently; act often)

The term frequentative refers to the happening of the event for a large number of times. This type of deficient verb indicates that even though something does not happen always, it does happen more than once.

##### 4.7.1 Activity verbs with deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often)

This sub-section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate activity verbs in Sesotho. The question is, in particular, does a situation involve a single instance or frequentative interpretation with the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently). Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/ do frequently) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs as indicates lexical conceptual paradigm and lexical structure. The deficient verb *atisa* (do frequently, act often) is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses.

#### 4.7.1.1 Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (213a) and *matha* (run) in (213b):

- (213) a. ***Ba atisa ho fihla ka nako.***  
(They often arrive in time)
- b. ***Pule o atisa ho matha hoseng.***  
(Pule often run in the morning)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (213a) and *matha* (run) in (213b). In (213), the deficient verb *-atisa-* is used in the present tense which is governed by an infinitive mood in its complementary verb. The present tense is found to follow the use of the infinitive mood in which the deficient verb *atisa-* introduces the frequentative meaning. The event of *arriving* and *of running* occurs frequently at some period.

#### 4.7.1.2 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the infinitive complement activity verbs *bua* (talk) in (214a) and *seba* (gossip) in (214b):

- (214) a. ***Basadi ba tla atisa ho bua.***  
(Women will frequently talk)
- b. ***Banna ba tla atisa ho seba ka basadi.***  
(Men will frequently gossip about women)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement activity verbs *bua* (talk) in (214a) and *seba* (gossip) in (214b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act

often/do frequently) is used in the future tense which is governed by an infinitive mood in its complementary verb, thus is found to follow the use of the infinitive mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense in (214a) demonstrates future fulfillment of present intention or cause that *women will frequently talking* while (214b) demonstrates anticipation that *men will frequently gossiping about women*. These situations denote a likelihood of events to happen more frequently in future. The situation remains unchanged as an activity atelic event.

#### 4.7.1.3 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the subjunctive complement activity verbs *fihle* (arrive) in (215a) and *matha* (run) in (215b):

- (215) a. ***Ba tla atisa hore ba fihle lapeng le sa tjhabile.***  
 (They will often arrive at home when is still shine)
- b. ***Pule o tla atisa hore a mathe jwalo ka Ntshwekge.***  
 (Pule will frequently run like Ntshwekge)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verbs *fihle* (arrive) in (215a) and *mathe* (run) in (215b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense in (215a) demonstrates future fulfillment of present intention that will occur often in '*Ba tla atisa hore ba fihle*' (They will often arrive at home). Similarly in (215b), the deficient verb *atisa-* (often) demonstrates frequentative meaning with the fulfillment of present intention that a situation in '*Pule o tla atisa hore a mathe*' (Pule will frequently run like Ntshwekge) will occurred. These situations denote a likelihood of events of *arriving* and *running* to happen more frequently in future. The situation type remains as an activity; hence there is no change of state.

#### 4.7.1.4 Potential *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood followed by the subjunctive complement activity verbs *palame* (ride) in (216a) and *kganne* (drive) in (216b):

- (216) a     ***Nka atisa hore ke palame pere haeba ke e ya Maseru.***  
 (I can often ride a horse when I go to Maseru)
- b.     ***Malome a ka atisa hore a kganne koloi ya ntate.***  
 (Uncle can often drive my father's car)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verbs *palame* (ride) in (216a) and *kganne* (drive) in (216b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood presents the possibility that in (216a) *someone can possibly ride a horse more often* while (216b) describe a situation in which it is possible that *uncle can be to drive a car frequently*. The deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is dependent on the complementary verb in the subjunctive mood. There is no shift in meaning of an activity situation type, hence the event is atelic.

#### 4.7.2 Accomplishment verbs with deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often)

The following sentences investigate and demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate accomplishments, in particular. The question is whether the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) demonstrates a situation that involves a single instance or frequentative meaning.

##### 4.7.2.1 Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement

accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink a glass of water) in (217a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (217b):

- (217) a. ***Ntate o atisa ho nwa kgalase ya lebese.***  
 (Father drinks a glass of milk frequently)
- b. ***Nnuku o atisa ho ja apole.***  
 (Nnuku eats an apple often)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya metsi* (drink a glass of water) in (217a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (217b). In (217), the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is used in the present tense which is governed by an infinitive mood in its complementary verb in order to denote the meaning of frequentative. The present tense is found to follow the use of the infinitive mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense demonstrates that the situation of *drinking a glass of water frequently* and of *eating an apple often* demonstrate the frequentative meaning in which the deficient verb describe more than single event of drinking the glass of water and eating of an apple. The situation remains as an accomplishment situation type.

#### 4.7.2.2 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the infinitive complement accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (218a) and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (218b):

- (218) a. ***Pulane o tla atisa ho loha jeresi.***  
 (Pulane will often knit a jersey)
- b. ***Nkgono o tla atisa ho bopa nkgo.***  
 (Granny will often create a clay pot)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with infinitive complement accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (218a) and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (218b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is used in the future tense which is governed by the infinitive mood in its complementary verb, thus is found to follow the use of the infinitive mood. The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense in (218a) demonstrates future fulfillment of present intention or cause that in ‘*Pulane o tla atisa ho loha jeresi*’ (Pulane will often knit a jersey) while (218b) also demonstrates the present intention that in ‘*Nkgono o tla atisa ho bopa nkgo*’ (Granny will often create a clay pot) a frequentative meaning occurs. These situations denote a likelihood of events of knitting and of creating to happen in future more frequently. The basic-level is of an Accomplishment but these examples show that in certain contexts the interpretation shifts to a derived-Activity, hence there is no contextual information about the shifted interpretation.

#### 4.7.1.3 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (219a) and *ngole buka* (write a book) in (219b):

- (219) a. *Ntate o tla atisa hore a hahe ntlo ka ha o tsofetse.*  
 (Father should often build a house because he is old)
- b. *Maphalla o tla atisa hore a ngole buka ka ha e a batlwa.*  
 (Maphalla should often write a book because there is a demand)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (219a) and *ngole buka* (write a book) in (218b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense **tla** (will) followed by the subjunctive mood describes the frequentative meaning with an obligation that the *father should often build a house* and *Maphalla*

*should often write a book.* The situation is concerned with action obliging one's particular action of building a house and writing a book.

#### 4.7.2.4 Potential *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood followed by the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (220a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (220b):

- (220) a. ***Ntate a ka atisa hore a nwe kgalase ya lebese ha a nyorilwe.***  
 (Father can frequently drink a glass of water when he is thirsty)
- b. ***Nka atisa hore ke je apole ha ke lapile.***  
 (I can often eat an apple when I am hungry)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood is semantically acceptable with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (220a) and *ja apole* (eat an apple) in (220b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential **ka** describes the epistemic possibility in which the situations expresses that it is possible that *father can often drink a glass of milk* and *one can eat an apple* frequently. The lexical information expressed in the potential mood **ka** in these events may show the possibilities that the situation is associated with an Achievement situation type if the milk could be drunken and an apple could be eaten frequently and instantly. On the other hand, these situations may remain as Accomplishment situation type if the events are durative.

#### 4.7.2.5 Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense followed by a subjunctive complement accomplishment verbs *sehe leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (221) and *poma monwana* (chop a finger) in (221b):

- (221) a. *Raselakga o atisa hore a sehe leqa la nama le lenyane.*  
 (A butcher should often cut a small piece of meat)
- b. *Mosebeletsi o atisa hore a pome monwana ha a seha nama.*  
 (A worker should often chops a finger when he cuts meat)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *sehe leqa la nama* (cut a piece of meat) in (221) and *poma monwana* (cut a finger) in (221b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood with the subjunctive complement presents the intention for the future that in (221a) *a butcher should often cut a small piece of meat* while in (221b) it presents certainty that *a worker should often chop a finger*. The deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is dependent on the complementary verb in the subjunctive mood expresses the situation associated with an Achievement situation type if a piece of meat could be cut frequently and instantly. On the other hand, these situations may remain as Accomplishment situation type if the events are durative.

#### 4.7.3 Achievement verbs with deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often)

The following sentences investigate and demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate achievements, in particular. The question is whether the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) demonstrates a situation that involves a single instance or frequentative meaning.

##### 4.7.3.1 Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense followed by infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *hlola* (win) in (222) and *tjhwatla dikgalase* (break the glasses) in (222b):

- (222) a. ***Pule o atisa ho hlola diatleletiking.***  
 (Pule often win at the athletics)
- b. ***Matahwa a atisa ho tjhwatla dikgalase ha a nwele.***  
 (Drunkers often break the glasses when they are drunk)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *hlola* (win) in (222) and *tjhwatla dikgalase* (break the glasses) in (222b). In (222), the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) introduces the meaning of frequentative as in ‘*Pule o atisa ho hlola*’ (Pule frequently wins) and in ‘*Matahwa a atisa ho tjhwatla dikgalase*’ (Drunkers often break the glasses). The deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present expresses the situation as an Achievement; hence the event has the property of telic instantaneous event.

#### 4.7.3.2 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *hlole lebelo* (win a race) in (223a) and *hape mohope* (win a trophy) in (223b):

- (223) a. ***O tla atisa hore a hlole lebelo.***  
 (He should often win the race)
- b. ***Ba tla atisa hore ba hape mohope.***  
 (They should frequently win the trophy)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically acceptable with the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *hlole lebelo* (win a race) in (223a) and *hape mohope* (win a trophy) in (223b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense expresses the frequentative meaning in the situation of *winning the race* and *winning the trophy* respectively. The deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense did not shift the situation type of Achievement.

#### 4.7.3.3 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (224a) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (224b):

- (224) a. ***O tla atisa ho roma ngwana lebenkeleng.***  
 (He would send the child to the shop frequently)
- b. ***Ntate o tla atisa ho posa lengolo posong.***  
 (Father would often post the letter to the post office)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (224a) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (224b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense in (224a) demonstrates future fulfillment of present intention or cause that *He would send the child to the shop frequently* while (224b) similarly, that *Father would often post the letter to the post office*. These situations denote a likelihood of events to happen in future more frequently as exemplified in (224).

#### 4.7.3.4 Potential *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood followed by the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *hlobola* (undress) in (225a) and *apara* (wear) in (225b):

- (225) a. ***Ntate a ka atisa hore a hlobole ha a robala.***  
 (Father should frequently undress when he sleeps)
- b. ***Nka atisa hore ke apare ha ke tsamaya***  
 (I should often wear when I go)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *hlobola* (undress) in (225a) and *apara* (wear) in (225b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is used in the future tense which is governed by the subjunctive mood in its complementary verb in which the meaning of frequentative is introduced by it. The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense expresses some future fulfillment of present intention of *one should often undress* and *wear* as the sentences describe.

#### 4.7.4 State verbs with deficient verbs *atisa-* (do frequently; act often)

The following sentences investigate and demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate state verbs. The question is whether the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) is semantically compatible with various participial complement stative sentences.

##### 4.7.4.1 Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement state verbs *kula* (get sick) in (226a) and *bona* (see) in (226b):

- (226) a. ***Mme o atisa ho kula.***  
(Mother often gets sick)
- b. ***Ke atisa ho o bona.***  
(I often see you)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement state verbs *kula* (get sick) in (226a) and *bona* (see) in (226b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the present tense in (226a) demonstrates the fulfillment of present intention that should frequently happen in '*Mme o atisa ho kula*' (Mother gets sick frequently) while (226b) demonstrates the fulfillment of present intention that

should frequently occur in '*Ke atisa ho o bona*' (someone see you frequently). These events of *getting sick* and *seeing someone* respectively happen more frequently.

#### 4.7.4.2 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the subjunctive complement state verbs *tsebe* (know) in (227a) and *nene* (hate) in (227b):

- (227) a.     **?O tla atisa hore a tsebe Sesotho.**  
                   (He would often know Sesotho)
- b.     **?Ba tla atisa hore ba nene ba habo bona.**  
                   (They would frequently hate their families)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically incompatible with the subjunctive complement state verbs *tsebe* (know) in (227a) and *nene* (hate) in (227b). The examples show that the sentences with frequency deficient verb *atisa* in the future tense are ungrammatical with the stative sentences as in '*?O tla atisa hore a tsebe*' *Sesotho* (He would often know Sesotho) and '*?Ba tla atisa hore ba nene ba habo bona*' (They would frequently hate their families), hence the future tense **tla** predicts future fulfillment of the present intention. The subjective complement stative sentence is incompatible with the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense, hence subjunctive mood expresses a proposal for what should happen often in the future.

#### 4.7.4.3 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense followed by the infinitive complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (228a) and *lemosa* (make aware of) in (228b):

- (228) a.     **O tla atisa ho lebala ho ja.**  
                   (He would often forget to eat)
- b.     **Ntate o tla atisa ho re lemosa ka kotsi ya jwala.**  
                   (Father would often make us aware of the danger of liquor)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (228a) and *lemosa* (make aware of) in (228b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the future tense in (228a) demonstrates past fulfillment of what happened in ‘*O tla atisa ho lebala ho ja*’ (He would often forget to eat) while (228b) demonstrates the events that happened often in ‘*Ntate o tla atisa ho re lemosa ka kotsi ya jwala*’ (Father would often warn us about the danger of liquor). These situations denote past intention of the events happened frequently.

#### 4.7.4.4 Potential *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential mood followed by the subjunctive complement state verbs *halefa* (be angry) in (229a) and *thaba* (be happy) in (229b):

- (229) a.     ?Ntate **a ka atisa hore a halefa** ha re fihla bosiu.  
                   (Father could frequently get angry when we arrive at night)
- b.     ?Nka **atisa hore ke thabe** ha ke pasitse.  
                   (I could often be happy when I have passed)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential **ka** is semantically incompatible with the subjunctive complement state verbs *halefa* (be angry) in (229a) and *thaba* (be happy) in (229b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential **ka** demonstrates the possibility for what could frequently happen in the future. Therefore, the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) in the potential **ka** do not allow the subjunctive complement stative sentences, hence the subjunctive expresses a proposal for what should happen often in the future.

## 4.8 REQUEST

*ka* with hortative:

The term request refers to the event that will ask for or call for. The verbs will require a complementary verb to complete its predication.

This sub-section investigates the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate activity, accomplishment, achievement and stative verbs. The question is whether the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of the lexical semantics, the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) should be given a special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs.

### 4.8.1 [A ko] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) followed by the subjunctive complement activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (230a) and *bapale* (run) in (230b):

- (230) a.     ***A ko le mathe.***  
               (May you run)
- b.     ***A le ke le bapale.***  
               (May you play)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (230a) and *bapale* (run) in (230b). In all instances, the addressee acts as an intermediary of whom it is expected to evoke the act of seeing from the third party who is the subject. Hortative aspectual morphemes *a- ko-* are used to express requests in a form of indirect commands in the sense that they leave the addressee no option of refusal. The hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) describes the activity sentences as a proposed situations in which one is asked

politely to run in (230a) and one is asked politely to play in (230b). The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) do not add any shifting in the activity situation type, thus the event remains unchanged and atelic.

#### 4.8.2 [A ko] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) followed by the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (231a) and *ngole nalane* (write the history) in (231b):

- (231) a.     ***A ke le hahe ntlo hle.***  
                   (May you please build a house)
- b.     ***A ko ngole nalane ya hao.***  
                   (May you please write your history)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (231a) and *ngole nalane* (write the history) in (231b). In both sentences, the addressee acts as an intermediary of whom it is expected to evoke the act of seeing from the third party who is the subject. Hortative morphemes *-a -ko-* are used to express requests in a form of indirect commands in the sense that they leave the addressee no option of refusal to *build a house* in (231a) and the *act of accepting to write the history* in (231b). The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) triggers a shift to the situation type of derived- Activity, because there is no change of state and no information given about the endpoints of the event. Although the modality in these situations is seen as the subject-oriented modality in bringing about an event that in as in ‘*A ke le hahe ntlo hle*’ (X request Y to build a house) and ‘*A ko ngole nalane ya hao*’ (X ask Y to write the history), since ‘*may*’ is used for a possibility, the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request, may) triggers a shift in the situation type of derived-Activity. There is no outcome in the event.

#### 4.8.3 [A ko] with Achievement verb

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) followed by the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *reka* (buy) in (232a) and *hapa* (win) in (232b):

- (232) a.     ***A ke o reke hle.***  
               (May you please buy)
- b.     ***A ke le tle le hapile mohope wa tlhola.***  
               (May you win the trophy)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement achievement verbs *reka* (buy) in (232a) and *hapa* (win) in (232b). In these sentences, the addressee acts as an intermediary of whom it is expected to evoke the act of seeing from the third party who is the subject. Hortative aspectual morphemes *a- -ko-* are used to express requests in a form of indirect commands in the sense that they leave the addressee no option of refusal to bring about a state *of buying* and *of winning* respectively. The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) with the use of ‘*may*’ in which a situation expresses a possibility for buying and for winning, then the hortative *a ko* triggers a shift to a derived-Activity, hence there is no interpretation about the change of state.

#### 4.8.4 [A ko] with State verb

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) followed by the subjunctive complement stative verbs *nahane* (think) in (233a) and *thabe* (be happy) in (233b):

- (233) a.     ***A ke o nahane.***  
               (May you please think)
- b.     ***A ke o thabe.***  
               (May you please be happy)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement state verbs *nahane* (think) in (233a) and *thabe* (be happy) in (233b). In these sentences, the addressee acts as an intermediary of whom it is expected to evoke the act of seeing from the third party who is the subject. Hortative aspectual morphemes *-a-* and *-ko-* are used to express requests in a form of indirect commands in the sense that they leave the addressee no option of refusal. But since ‘*may*’ is used for possibility, it is clear that the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) is superseded by the meaning of possibility, hence the situation remains stative situation type.

## 4.9 OBLIGATION

*tshwanela* (do of necessity/ought to):

The term indicates a condition that makes it necessary for one to do something. This deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) shows that is compulsory that something should happen.

### 4.9.1 [tshwanetse] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense followed by the infinitive complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (234a) and *fihla* (arrive) in (234b):

- (234) a.     ***O tshwanetse ho matha.***  
               (He ought to run)
- b.     ***O tshwanetse ho fihla.***  
               (She ought to arrive)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-tshwanetse* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement activity verbs *matha* (run) in (234a) and *fihla* (arrive) in (234b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *-tshwanetse* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense expresses deontic necessity in which a situation necessitate *one to run* and *one to arrive* as exemplified

in (234) respectively. The deficient verb *-tshwanetse* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense with the infinitive complement does not shift a situation type of Activity, hence the event is atelic and durative.

#### 4.9.2 [tshwanela] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement accomplishment verb constellations *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (235a) and *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (235b):

- (235) a.     ***O tshwanela ho loha jeresi.***  
                   (She ought to knit a jersey)
- b.     ***O tshwanela ho bopa nkgo.***  
                   (She ought to create a clay pot)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement accomplishment verbs *loha* (knit) in (235a) and *bopa* (create) in (235b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense expresses deontic necessity that one is obliged *to knit a jersey* and one must *create a clay pot* in (235) respectively. The deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense expresses no shift in situation type of Accomplishment, since the speaker feels how confident one is, as an event being expressed by the deficient verb *tshwanela* (must) will certainly occur.

#### 4.9.3 [tshwanetse] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanetse-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense followed by infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *tlosa ngwana* (remove the child) in (236a) and *roma Teboho* (send Teboho) in (236b):

- (236) a.     ***Teboho o tshwanetse ho tlosa ngwana seterateng.***  
                   (Teboho must remove the child from the street)

b. ***O tshwanetse ho roma Teboho posong.***

(You must send Teboho to the post office)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanetse-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement achievement verb constellations *tlosa ngwana* (remove the child) in (236a) and *roma Teboho* (send Teboho) in (236b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanetse-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense describes deontic modality in which a situation is requiring a particular action on someone's part as in (236a) *Teboho must remove the child from the street* and in (236b) *one must send Teboho to the post office*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanetse-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the perfect tense expresses necessity that 'X must do Y to be the case' since 'must' interpret a situation as it had no alternative but do the action. The situation remains unchanged as telic event; hence the situation has the property of an Achievement situation type.

#### 4.9.4 [tshwanela] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement state verbs *nen*a (hate) in (237a) and *thaba* (be happy) in (237b):

(237) a. ***O tshwanela ho nena metswalle e mebe.***

(You ought to hate your bad friends)

b. ***O tshwanela ho thaba ha o sebeditse hantle ditlhabong.***

(You ought to be happy when you have passed your examinations well)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement stative verbs *nen*a (hate) in (237a) and *thaba* (be happy) in (237b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense presents deontic modality which is concern with requiring that *someone must hate his/her friends with bad manners* in (237a) and *someone must be happy when one has passed the exams* in (237b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela-* (do of

necessity/ought) in the present tense describes an obligation laid on someone in ‘*O tshwanela ho nena metswalle ya hao e mebe*’ (You must hate your bad friends) in (237a) and in ‘*O tshwanela ho thaba ha o sebeditse hantle ditlhahlobong tsa hao*’ (You must be happy when you have passed your examinations well) in (237b). The *tshwanela-* (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense does not shift a situation from the stative situation type because the deficient verb *tshwanela* (ought to) adjusts the focus of a situation rather than determining the situation itself.

#### 4.10 MANNER

*hla* (certainly), *fela* (act indeed/do in reality), *batla* (nearly), *nyafa* (signifying opportune action), *phakisa* (do soon, act quickly), *tswatswa* (act in vain/endeavour without result). The term refers to the way or method on which event happens. The deficient verb *hla-* (certainly) is used in a variety of tenses which governs a particular mood or tense in its complementary verb.

##### 4.10.1.1 [hla] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement activity verbs *fihlile* (arrived) in (238a) and *mathile* (ran) in (238b):

- (238) a.     ***O hlile o fihlile re sa lebella.***  
                   (He has really come unexpectedly)
- b.     ***O hlile o mathile.***  
                   (He has really ran)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement activity verbs *fihlile* (arrived) in (238a) and *mathile* (ran) in (238b). The perfective viewpoint is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense which denotes completion.

##### 4.10.1.2 [hla] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hla-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (239a) and *pomme monwana* (cut a finger) in (239b):

- (239) a.     ***O hlile o hahile ntlo ya tonanahadi.***  
                   (He has built a big house indeed)
- b.     ***O hlile o pomme monwana ka motjhini o kgabellang nama.***  
                   (He has really cut his finger with cutting machine)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (239a) and *pomme monwana* (cut a finger) in (239b). For instance in (239), deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense describe an event of *building a house* and *cutting the finger* as a complete event including both the initial and the final endpoint of the event. The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense expresses certainty that one has witnessed that 'X is the case' as exemplified in '*O hlile o hahile ntlo ya tonanahadi*' (He has built a big house indeed) in (239a) and in '*O hlile o pomme monwana ka motjhini o kgabellang nama*' (He has really cut his finger with cutting machine) in (239b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense did not change the verb constellations focus, since there is no shifted interpretation in the situation type of Accomplishment.

#### 4.10.1 3     **[hla] with Achievement verb**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hla-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *reka* (buy) in (240a) and *tjhesa ntlo* (burn the house) in (240b):

- (240) a.     ***A hla a reka.***

(He has really bought a lot)

- b. **A hla a tjhesa ntlo ya hae ka peterole.**

(He has really burnt his house with the petrol)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hla-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement achievement verb constellations *reka* (buy) in (240a) and *tjhesa ntlo* (burn the house) in (240b). The viewpoint of perfective is introduced by the deficient verb *hla-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement achievement sentences in 'A *hla a reka*' (He has really bought) in (240a) and 'A *hla a tjhesa ntlo*' (He has really burnt the house) in (240b) which denotes completion. The occurrence of the deficient verb *hla-* (certainly/really/indeed) describes modality that expresses a situation in which a speaker is certain that the *action of buying* and of *burning the house* has really occurred. The situation type remains unchanged as an Achievement; hence the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.10.1.4 [hla] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive complement state verbs *tseba* (know) in (241a) and *rata* (love) in (241):

- (241) a. **Ka hlile ka tseba hore o tla ba teng.**

(I have really knew that he will be there)

- b. **Ka hlile ka rata dipalo.**

(I have really loved mathematics)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement state verbs *tseba* (know) in (241a) and *rata* (love) in (241). The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) is used to intensify the meaning of a situation in which a speaker is certain that *the knowing* and *the loving* occurred. The deficient verb *hlile* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense presents perfective point of view. The stative sentences in (241) when they occur with deficient verb *hlile*

certainly/really/indeed), they present durative events with the resultative states. Therefore, the focus of a verb shifts the stative sentence to the telic event relatively enduring results.

#### 4.10.2.1 [fela] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the present indicative complement expressing the activity verbs *tla* (come) in (242a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (242b):

- (242) a. ***Ba fela ba tla.***  
 (They really come)
- b. ***Ke fela ke sebetsa.***  
 (I work indeed)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement demonstrating the activity verbs *tla* (come) in (242a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (242b). The deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) describes modality with a situation expressed by certainty as in '*Ba fela ba tla*' (They really come) in (242a) and '*Ke fela ke sebetsa*' (I work indeed) in (242b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) does not trigger any shift in meaning because the *activity of coming* and *the activity of working* continue but had no necessary the endpoints.

#### 4.10.2.2 [fela] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the present tense participial complement with accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (243a) and *ngola buka* in (243b):

- (243) a. ***Ba fela ba haha ntlo.***  
 (They really build a house)

- b. ***O fela o ngola buka.***  
 (He certainly writes a book)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (243a) and *ngola buka* in (243b). The deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) describes a certainty that the event of *building a house* and *writing a book actually* took place. The deficient verb *fela* (certainly) did not change the situation type, as the result the events in ‘*Ba fela ba haha ntlo*’ (They really build a house) and ‘*O fela o ngola buka*’ (He certainly writes a book) have a duration, the end of *building a house* and *of writing a book* is reached and one has witnessed it.

#### 4.10.2.3 [fela] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense participial complement with achievement verb constellations *reka pampiri* (buy a newspaper) in (244a) and *hlokahala* (die) in (244b):

- (244) a. ***O fela a rekile pampiri.***  
 (He has bought a newspaper indeed)
- b. ***O fela a hlokahetse.***  
 (He has certainly died)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *reka pampiri* (buy a newspaper) in (244a) and *hlokahala* (die) in (244b). The deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) denotes certainty that *one has certainty bought a newspaper* in (244a) and *one has really died* in (244b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) produces no results in a situation except confirming the change of state of an event from path-goal in (244a) and from a state of being alive to a state of not being alive. The situation remains unchanged as an Achievement situation type.

#### 4.10.2.4 [fela] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the present tense participial complement state verbs *nená* (hate) in (245a) and *thabile* (become happy) in (245b):

- (245) a.     ***O fela a mo nena.***  
                   (He certainly hates her)
- b.     ***O fela a thabile.***  
                   (She is really happy)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement state verbs *nená* (hate) in (245a) and *thabile* (become happy) in (245b). The deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) denotes certainty that *one is really hating her* and *becoming happy* respectively. The deficient verb *fela* (certainly/really) in the present tense expresses a situation being in a state of affairs of *being hated* and *becoming happy*. These stative sentences denote the viewpoint of perfective, hence the state of affairs of being hated and of becoming happy include a direct resultant states.

#### 4.10.3.1 [batla] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) in the perfect tense followed by a situative mood denoting the activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (246a) and *matha* (run) in (246b):

- (246) a.     *Thabo o batlile a fihla kopano e se e kene.*  
                   (Thabo nearly arrived in the proceeding of the meeting)
- b.     ***O batlile a sa mathe.***  
                   (He almost could not run)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) is semantically compatible with the activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (246a) and *matha* (run) in (246b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) determines the

interpretation of the completion, hence *Thabo arrived before the meeting starts* in (246a) and *he ran* at the end. The deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) presents an interval which ends with the instantaneous event, thus the shift to the situation type of Achievement.

#### 4.10.3.2 [batla] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) in the perfect tense followed by a situative complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (247a) and *seha leqa* (cut a piece) in (247b):

- (247) a. ***O batlile a ngola buka.***  
 (He almost wrote a book)
- b. ***O batlile a seha leqa la nama.***  
 (She almost cut a piece of meat)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) is semantically compatible with a situative complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (247a) and *seha leqa* (cut a piece) in (247b). The deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) presents shifts in meaning of derived-Activity in ‘*O batlile a ngola buka*’ (He almost wrote a book) in (247a) and ‘*O batlile a seha leqa la nama*’ (She almost cut a piece of meat) in (247b) because there is no outcome or no book and no cutting of the meat. The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) introduces the ingressive meaning, i.e. referring to the beginning of the event since an Accomplishment in both events lacks an outcome or a change of state.

#### 4.10.3.3 [batla] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *batla-* (nearly/almost) in the consecutive mood followed by the intransitive achievement verbs *shwa* (die) in (248a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (248b):

- (248) a. ***Ka batla ke eshwa.***  
 (I nearly died)
- b. ***Tsa batla di nyamela.***  
 (They nearly disappeared)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the achievement verbs *shwa* (die) in (248a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (248b). The deficient verb *batla-* (nearly/almost) is the ingressive meaning, i.e. a marked focus is in the beginning of the event in ‘*Ka batla ke eshwa*’ (I nearly died) yet one is still alive and in ‘*Tsa batla di nyamela*’ (They nearly disappeared) yet they did not disappear. The occurrence of the deficient verb *batla-* (nearly/almost) triggers a shift in a derived-situation type of Stative hence, one being in a state of being alive and being ceased to come to an end.

#### 4.10.3.4 [batla] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *batla-* (nearly/almost) in the perfect tense with the stative verbs *bona* (see) in (249a) and *thaba* (become happy) in (249b):

- (249) a. ***Nkgono o batlile a bona ka mora opereshene ya leihlo.***  
 (Granny nearly saw after an eye operation)
- b. ***O batlile a thaba ke diphetho.***  
 (He nearly became happy because of the results)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the situative complement stative verbs *bona* (see) in (249a) and *thaba* (become happy) in (249b). The deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) describes a situation in which the state of *seeing* and the *being happy* did not happen in (249). The ingressive focus, i.e. the beginning of the state is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) which denote a state of not being another state as in ‘*O batlile a bona*’ (He nearly saw) yet one is still blind and in ‘*O batlile a thaba*’ (He nearly became happy) but one is in a

state of sadness. The occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) shifts the situation type and produces a derived-Stative situation type.

#### 4.10.4.1 [nyafa] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafa-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense followed by the subjunctive complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (250a) and *tsamaya* (leave) in (250b):

- (250) a. ***O nyafile o fihle.***  
(You came at the right time)
- b. ***Ba nyafile ba tsamaye.***  
(They left opportunely)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (251a) and *tsamaya* (leave) in (251b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense presents the situation in which the action *of arriving* and *of leaving* occurred, thus presents a situation as a completed event. The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense triggers a shift in a situation type of an Achievement because the event of arriving and that of leaving happened at the right time.

#### 4.10.4.2 [nyafa] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafa-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense followed by the present indicative complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (built a house) in (251a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (251b):

- (251) a. ***Ntate o nyafile a haha ntlo.***  
(Father built a house at the right time)

- b. ***O nyafile a ngola buka.***  
 (He wrote a book at the right time)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the indicative complement accomplishment verb constellations *haha ntlo* (built a house) in (251a) and *ngola buka* (write a book) in (251b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense denotes completion; hence there is a change of state in *building of a house* and *writing of the book* respectively. The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) expresses how the speaker to have knowledge about the situation, the kind of evidence the speaker has for the situation. The situation type remains unchanged as an Accomplishment; hence the event is telic.

#### 4.10.4.3 [nyafa] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafa-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense followed by the complement achievement verb constellations *reka koloji* (buy a car) in (252a) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (252b):

- (252) a. ***O nyafile a reka koloji.***  
 (You did buy a car at the right time)
- b. ***Thabo o nyafile a posa lengolo.***  
 (Thabo did post a letter at the right time)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the complement achievement verb constellations *reka koloji* (buy a car) in (252a) and *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (252b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense denotes a marked ingressive focus, i.e. the beginning of the event which expresses how the speaker to have knowledge about the situation, the kind of evidence the speaker has for the situation, for example '*O rekile koloji*' (He

has bought a car) and ‘*O positse lengolo*’ (He has posted a letter). The situation type remains unchanged as an Achievement, since the event is instantaneous and telic.

#### 4.10.4.4 [nyafa] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafa*- (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive complement stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (253a) and *lemoha* (realise) in (253b):

- (253) a. ***Re nyafile ra se ke ra tseba, ra ba ra lwana.***  
 (We did not know at the right time and then fought)
- b. ***O nyafile a lemoha, a mo lemosa le ha nako e se e ile.***  
 (He realised at a right time and then warned him even if the time has expired)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile*- (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (253a) and *lemoha* (realise) in (253b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile*- (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense denotes a marked ingressive focus, i.e. the beginning of the event which expresses how the speaker to have knowledge about the situation, the kind of evidence the speaker has for the situation. For example in ‘*O nyafile a lemoha, a mo lemosa nako e sa le teng*’ (He realised at a right time and then warned him even if the time has expired) demonstrates a situation showing the resultative state of realising. The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile*- (right time/signifying opportune action) does not change a situation type as it remains state.

#### 4.10.5.1 [phakisa] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa*- (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (254a) and *bua* (speak) in (254b):

- (254) a. ***O phakisa a fihla.***  
 (He arrives soon)
- b. ***Moruti o phakisa a bua.***  
 (The minister speaks quickly)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verbs *fihla* (arrive) in (254a) and *bua* (speak) in (254b). The deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) denotes a marked focus ingressive i.e. the focus in the beginning of the event *of arriving* and *of speaking*. The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (soon/act quickly) in the present tense does not trigger a shift in a situation type of an Activity because the interpretation given describes no initial and final endpoint of the action *of arriving* and *of talking* in (254). Therefore, the situation remains unchanged

#### 4.10.5.2 [phakisa] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (255a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (255b):

- (255) a. ***Maphalla o phakisa ho ngola buka ka ha e hlokeha.***  
 (Maphalla writes a book quickly because it is needed)
- b. ***Ntate o phakisa ho haha ntlo ka ha o lefilwe.***  
 (Father builds a house quickly because he is paid)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngola buka* (write a book) in (255a) and *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (255b). The deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) shifts the situation type of Accomplishment to a derived situation type of the derived Activity, hence the action *of building* is incomplete and the event *of writing* is unfinished. On the other hand, the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do

soon/act quickly) describes a shift in a situation of Achievement, if the event of *building of a house* and the event of *writing of the book* occur quickly and are completed. Therefore, the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.10.5.3 [phakisa] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhesa jwang* (burn the grass) in (256a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack the calabash) in (256b):

- (256) a. ***O phakisa ho tjhesa jwang.***  
 (He burns the grass quickly)
- b. ***O phakisa ho peperanya nkgo.***  
 (He cracks the calabash quickly)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement achievement verb constellations *tjhesa jwang* (burn the grass) in (256a) and *peperanya nkgo* (crack the calabash) in (256b). The marked focus of the ingressive, i.e. focus at the beginning of the event is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly). The deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) does not shift a situation type of Achievement because achievements are telic and has the property of instantaneous.

#### 4.10.5.4 [phakisa] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement stative verbs *kula* (get sick) in (257a) and *nona* (become fat) in (257b):

- (257) a. ***Pule o phakisa ho kula ha a se hae.***  
 (Pule get ill quickly when he is not at home)

- b. ***O phakisa ho nona ha a fihla sebakeng se seng.***  
 (She become fat quickly when she arrives at another place)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement stative verbs *kula* (get sick) in (257a) and *nona* (become fat) in (257b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (soon/act quickly) denote the meaning of habitual although the verb constellation is of an Activity. For instance in '*Pule o phakisa ho kula*' (Pule get ill quickly) and in '*O phakisa ho nona*' (She become fat quickly) the habitual stative sentences is introduced by adding a complementary sentence '*...ha a se hae*' (...when he is not at home) and '*...ha a fihla sebakeng se seng*' (...when she arrives at another place).

#### 4.10.6.1 [tswatswa] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/endeavour without result) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (258a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (258b):

- (258) a. ***Morena o tswatswile a bua.***  
 (The king has spoken in vain)
- b. ***Pule o tswatswa a sebetsa.***  
 (Pule has worked in vain)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/endeavour without result) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (258a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (258b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/endeavour without result) expresses the meaning of perfective which denotes completion. The deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/endeavour without result) in the perfect tense describes the situation in '*Morena o tswatswile a bua*' (The king has spoken in vain) is a completed event because the king has spoken but there was no results attained in the trials of speaking. Similarly in '*Pule o tswatswa a sebetsa*' (Pule has worked in vain), the

deficient verb *tswatswa* triggers the event *of work* to completion, since Pule worked without the results. The situation remains the same because the vagueness arises due to the deficient verb *tswatswa* in the perfect tense in which it denotes telic verb constellation in an event. The constellation does not openly refer to a completion but the speaker's knowledge makes it possible that the process *of talking* and *of working* would have a final endpoint or result.

#### 4.10.6.2 [tswatswa] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (just/immediately) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement accomplishment verb constellations *fumana tjhelete* (receive the money) in (259a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (259b):

- (259) a. ***O sa tswatswa fumana tjhelete.***  
 (He had just received money)
- b. ***Nkgono o sa tswatswa loha jeresi ya setloholo sa hae.***  
 (Granny has just knit the jersey of the grandchild)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (just/immediately) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *fumana tjhelete* (receive the money) in (259a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (259b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (just/immediately) in the perfect tense demonstrates the perfective meaning which denotes a completion to the situation in '*O sa tswatswa fumana tjhelete*' (He had just received money) and in '*Nkgono o sa tswatswa loha jeresi ya setloholo sa hae*' (Granny has just knit the jersey of the grandchild). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (just/immediately) expresses the shifted interpretation in a situation of an Accomplishment to an Achievement situation type because the event of *receiving the money* has just occurred as well as the event of *knitting a jersey*. Both events are telic and they have the property of achievement as they are instantaneous.

#### 4.10.6.3 [tswatswa] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa*- (act in vain/endeavour without result/just/immediately) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement denoting the achievement verbs *kokota* (knock) in (260a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (260b):

- (260) a. ***Ba tswatswile ba kokota ho se karabo.***  
 (They have knocked unsuccessfully without an answer)
- b. ***Re di batlile hohle empa di tswatswa nyamela.***  
 (We have searched for them all over but they have just disappeared)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa*- (just/immediately) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement denoting the achievement verbs *kokota* (knock) in (260a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (260b) is. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa*- (in vain/just/immediately) conveys a situation in which the meaning of iterative in (260a) is involving repletion on the same occasion, while in (260b) the deficient verb *tswatswa* (just/immediately) expresses the moment at which *the disappearing* occurs. The situation type remains unchanged as an Achievement in (260b); hence the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.10.6.4 [tswatswa] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa*- (act in vain/just/immediately) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement referring to the state verbs *tseba* (know) in (261a) and *utlwa* (hear) in (261b):

- (261) a. ***Re sa tswatswa tseba.***  
 (We have just known)
- b. ***Ka ha di sa timanwe se bohobe, ba sa tswatswa utlwa.***  
 (Because of the grape vine, they have just heard)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/just/immediately) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement designating the stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (261a) and *utlwa* (hear) in (261b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/just/immediately) in the perfect tense implies a shift in a situation type of stative to Achievement because the state of *knowing* and the state of *hearing* have in the past few minutes occurred. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/just/immediately) in the perfect tense depicts the stative sentences in ‘*Re sa tswatswa tseba*’ (We have just known) as a state of not knowing to a state of knowing while in ‘*Ba sa tswatswa utlwa*’ (They have just heard) it explains a state of not being informed to a state of hearing. There is no shift in stative situation type hence the deficient verb *tswatswa* expresses state of affairs at the moment of speech.

#### 4.11 CONTINUATION

*eketsa* (keep on), *nna* (keep on), *ntse* (keep on), *lala* (throughout the night),  
The term refers to an event which continues without interruption.

##### 4.11.1.1 [eketsa] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by the present tense participial complement denoting the activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (262a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (262b):

- (262) a. ***Nka eketsa ka bua.***  
(I may speak more)
- b. ***Pule a ka eketsa a sebetsa.***  
(Pule may work further)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the potential **ka** (may) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the activity verbs *bua* (speak) in (262a) and *sebetsa* (work) in (262b). For instance, occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the

potential *ka* (may) expresses epistemic possibility that in ‘*Nka eketsa ka bua*’ (I may speak more) it is possible that one may speak more in (262a), thus iterative meaning. In (262b), a situation expresses the iterative meaning in ‘*Pule a ka eketsa a sebetsa*’ (Pule may work further) because it is possible that Pule may work further. The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the potential **ka** (may) involves an arbitrary final endpoint, hence the situation type remains unchanged as atelic event.

#### 4.11.1.2 [eketsa] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) followed by the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngole pale* (write a story) in (263a) and *bope nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (263b):

- (263) a. ***Ke tla eketsa ke ngole pale.***  
 (I would write a story further)
- b. ***Ba ne ba sa labella hore o tla eketsa a bope nkgo ya letsopa.***  
 (They did not expect that he should create a clay pot further)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement accomplishment verb constellations *ngole pale* (write a story) in (263a) and *bope nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (263b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) expresses epistemic possibility that in (263a) ‘*X will be possible for one to write a story further*’ hence he has written a story over and beyond while in (263b) ‘*X will be possible for one create a clay pot further*’, hence a situation in the present is extended further. Therefore, the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future introduces the meaning of iterative in which an event occurs on the same occasion hence the story has been written and the clay pot has been created.

#### 4.11.1.3 [eketsa] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the perfect tense followed by the indicative complement achievement verb constellations *tjhwatla fenstere* (break a window) in (264a) and *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (264b):

- (264) a. ***O ekeeditse a tjhwatla fenstere.***  
 (He has broken the window further)
- b. ***Ntate o ekeeditse a koba terata.***  
 (Father has bent a wire further)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ekeditse-* (do further/act besides) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the indicative complement achievement verbs *tjhwatla fenstere* (break a window) in (264a) and *koba terata* (bend a wire) in (264b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ekeditse-* (do further/act besides) in the perfect tense expresses perfect of results that in (264a) the recent-past-perfect conveys 'past-including-the-present' because the results of *breaking the window further* and that of *bending the wire* in (264b) are in their recency and they are completed. The deficient verb *ekeditse-* (do further/act besides) in the perfect tense did not shift a situation type of the Achievement, hence the event is telic and instantaneous.

#### 4.11.1.4 [eketsa] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense *tla* (will) followed by the infinitive complement stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (265) and *rata* (love) in (265b):

- (265) a. *Ha ke ntse ke bua, ke tla eketsa ho tseba Sesotho.*  
 (When I speak, I will know Sesotho further)
- b. *Ha a ka atamela pela hae, o tla eketsa ho mo rata.*  
 (If you can be next to her, you will like her more)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement state verbs *tseba* (know) in (265) and *rata* (love) in (265b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) expresses epistemic possibility that in (265a) ‘*X will be possible for one to know Sesotho further*’ hence one already knew Sesotho while in (265b) ‘*X will be possible for one to love someone more*’; hence one already loved someone in the recent past. The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the future tense **tla** (will) denoting the meaning habitual in which a state of *knowing* and of *loving* increases furthermore.

#### 4.11.2.1 [nna] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement explaining the activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (266a) and *matha* (run) in (266b):

- (266) a.     **A nna a tsamaya.**  
               (He kept on walking)
- b.     **A nna a matha.**  
               (He kept on running)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive is semantically compatible with the present tense partial complement expressing the activity verbs *tsamaya* (walk) in (266a) and *matha* (run) in (266b). The deficient verb *nna* (act continually) presents continuity in which the present tense in an activity of *tsamaya* (walk) and *matha* (run) expresses an action which is carried out continuously as in (266a) *one kept on walking* and in (266b) *one kept on running*. The sentences in (266) imply that the past event of *walking* (one has walked) and of *running* (one has run) is still currently relevant at time of speech. The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive introduces the progressive meaning in a situation in which the action of walking and of running is continually occurring without an outcome. The situation remains unchanged as an activity situation type since the event is atelic and durative. There is no information about the initial and final endpoint.

#### 4.11.2.2 [nna] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement denoting the accomplishment verb constellations *kganna kolo* (drive a car) in (267a) and *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (267b):

- (267) a.     ***A nna a kganna kolo*** *le ha a se na laesense.*  
                   (He kept on driving a car even if he has not have a license)  
                   ***A nna a palama pere*** *le ha e se e kile ya mo diha.*  
                   (He kept on riding a horse even if it has taken him off)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive is semantically compatible with the present tense partial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *kganna kolo* (drive a car) in (267a) and *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (267b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) presents continuity where the present tense in ‘*A nna a kganna kolo*’ (He kept on driving a car) and ‘*A nna a palama pere*’ (He kept on riding a horse) may express an action which is carried out continuously as ‘*one kept on driving a car*’ in (267a) and ‘*one kept on riding a horse*’ in (267b). The sentences in (267) imply that the past event of *driving* hence one has driven and the event of *riding* since one has rode, therefore the both events are still currently relevant at time of speech. Therefore, the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) denotes the meaning of progressive which expresses continuation. The deficient verb *nna* (act continually) triggers a shift in a situation of derived-Activity because there is no change of state in the event. The event is atelic and there is no natural endpoint of the event.

#### 4.11.2.3 [nna] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement

expressing the achievement verbs *nyamela* (disappear) (268a) and *shwa* (die) in (268b):

- (268) a. ***Tsa nna tsa nyamela bosiu kaofela.***  
 (They kept on disappearing the whole night)
- b. ***Tsa nna tsa shwa empa ho se na letho.***  
 (They kept on being dying but there was nothing)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the achievement verbs *nyamela* (disappear) (268a) and *shwa* (dying) in (268b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) presents continuity in which the present tense in a situation '*Tsa nna tsa nyamela*' (They kept on disappearing) as they have been disappeared in (268a) and in '*Tsa nna ba eshwa*' (They kept on dying), hence they have been dead in (268b) expresses an action which is carried out continuously. The sentences in (268) imply that the past event of *disappearing* and *dying* is still currently relevant at time of speech. The situation remains the same because the event is telic and has the property of an Achievement.

#### 4.11.2.4 [nna] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement describing the stative verbs *bozesela* (smile) in (269a) and *lla* (cry) in (269b):

- (269) a. ***A nna a bozesela ha a ntse a sheba koloi ya hae e ntjha.***  
 (He kept on smiling when he went on looking at his new car)
- b. ***Ba nna ba lla le ka mora lepato.***  
 (They kept on crying even after the funeral)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) is semantically compatible in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement denoting the stative verbs *bozesela* (smile) in (269a) and *lla* (cry) in (269b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) presents continuity where the present tense

complement *bošesela* (smile) and *lla* (cry) is expressing an action which is carried out continuously as *one did smile* in (269a) and *they did cry* in (269b). These stative sentences are continually occurring; hence the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) conveys past–including-the-present. The sentences in (269) imply that the past event of *smiling* and *crying* is still currently relevant at time of speech. The stative sentences remain unchanged.

#### 4.11.3.1 [ntse] with Activity verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement explaining the activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (270a) and *hlapa* (wash) (270b):

- (270) a. ***Ha ke ntse ke sebetsa, le tla pheha.***  
(When I am still working, you will cook)
- b. ***Ke ntse ke hlapa.***  
(I am still washing)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the activity verbs *sebetsa* (work) in (270a) and *hlapa* (wash) (270b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) expresses incompleteness in (270) and it would be normally inferred that the situation of *working is unfinished*, and in (270b) the event of *washing oneself is incomplete*. The information given does not show the initial and the final endpoint. The deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) demonstrates the progressive meaning in which a situation continues.

#### 4.11.3.2 [ntse] with Accomplishment verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement expressing the accomplishment verb constellations *haha lerako* (build a kraal) in (271a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (271b):

- (271) a. ***Ntate o ntse a haha lerako.***  
 (Father is still building the kraal)
- b. ***Nkgono o ntse a loha jeresi.***  
 (Granny is still knitting the jersey)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement accomplishment verbs *haha lerako* (build a kraal) in (271a) and *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (271b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in (271) interpret the idea of continuation where the focus is on the internal structure of *building-kraal* and *knitting-jersey* respectively, as something that is incomplete. The deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense describes the progressive meaning which denotes progression of the event building the kraal and knitting a jersey. Since the interpretation is in progress, the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) triggers a shift in a situation a derived-Activity. These derived-Activities express neither initial nor final endpoint of the events. The events are atelic and durative.

#### 4.11.3.3 [ntse] with Achievement verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement achievement verbs *koba* (bend) in (272a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (272b):

- (272) a. ***O ntse a koba terata le ha e se e le bosiu.***  
 (He keeps on bending the wire even if it is late.)
- b. ***Di ntse di nyamela.***  
 (They keep on disappearing)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement achievement verbs *koba* (bend) in (272a) and *nyamela* (disappear) in (272b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in (272) interprets the idea of continuation. For instance, in (272a) the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) describes the repetition of the event of *someone continually bending the wire* as one

has bent a wire before while in (272b) *they continually disappearing* as they have disappeared in the past.

#### 4.11.3.4 [ntse] with State verb

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement denoting the state verbs *rata* (love) in (273a) and *nená* (hate) in (273b):

- (273) a. **O ntse a mo rata** le ha a mo *hladile*.  
 (He keeps on loving her even if he divorce her)
- b. **O ntse a mo nena** le ha ba se ba *hodile*.  
 (He keeps on hating her even if they are grownups)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the state verbs *rata* (love) in (273a) and *nená* (hate) in (273b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse-* (act continually) with stative verbs *rata* (love) in (273a) and *nená* (hate) in (273b) describes the state on its flow and development of *one still loves someone* as one did loved someone in the past and *one still hates someone* as one did hated someone in the past. However, the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) presents a progressive viewpoint which does relates to stative situation and the stative sentences are durative, hence they last over a period of time.

## 4.12 SUMMARY

In this presentation an analysis and a demonstration has been made to explicate the relevance of the notion of aspect to the study of Sesotho **deficient verb**. It has become clear that the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho deficient verb in the light of the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. The recognition of the **habitual, frequentative, iterative, continuative** deficient verbs have distinctive semantic features related to their interpretation in situation type of activity, accomplishment, achievement, and stative verbs. Furthermore, this chapter has

indicated that these deficient verbs are distinguished from one another on the basis of clear differences in their meaning.

Further the research has observed that every sentence conveys a viewpoint with the aspectual distinctions to cut across different tense in a situation type. **Perfective viewpoint** includes initial and final endpoints while **imperfective viewpoint** presents the process of an event with neither initial nor natural final endpoint. The investigation has conveyed a clear understanding of aspectual viewpoint that are realized by grammaticalised expressions of whether a situation has just started i.e. a marked focus **ingressive** of the event or just finished, i.e. a marked focus **egressive** of the event. There are other aspectual viewpoints other than imperfective and perfective which are realized by grammaticalised expressions of a situation with the interpretation of **continuative**, **progressive**, **habitual** and **prospective** meaning.

Observations in this study, to cite few examples, they reveal that the occurrence of the deficient verb with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) expressing an accomplishment and achievement situation types are interpreted as a marked focus of the ingressive of the event is introduced at the beginning of the situation and presents a shifted derived-Activity situation type. However, the occurrence of the deficient verb with the progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) with the stative situation type expresses the state of becoming thus the meaning of inchoative. It is also argued that the occurrence of deficient verb *fihla* (immediately) is semantically compatible with the situation type of the Accomplishment triggers a shift in an Achievement situation type; hence *fihla* (immediately) has the property of achievement instantaneous event. On the other hand, the deficient verb *fihla* (immediately) does not change a state with the Stative situation type because with state verb no object undergoes any kind of change except the state of becoming. The occurrence of the deficient verb progressive aspect *sa/sa ntse* (still/be+-ing) does not shift the interpretation of the Activity situation type, hence the event is atelic and durative.

Furthermore, the research has also indicated that the occurrence of the deficient verbs introduced the views of perfective and imperfective as the basis of shifts in the situation types. For instance, an expression is shifted if it represents a situation as

terminating except in the stative because the stative situation never changes on object and an Achievement event expresses a change of state, hence the situation is telic. Admittedly not all situation types undergo a change of state with the occurrence of the deficient verb with tense. The semantics of tense, which is one way of locating situations in time, does triggers a shift in situation type to derived-Activity, an accomplishment, and an achievement event. The study has indicated the status of perfect tense in a situation and how it has described the present perfect tense from the past perfect and the perfect tense expressing the future, .i.e. '*be going to*' for the future fulfillment present intention. The present tense was also used to describe the stative situation as habit. This chapter has clearly demonstrated that tense has a close links with modality and aspect; hence the discourse analysis of tense has shown different ways of shifting a situation to another derived situation type.

## CHAPTER 5

### DEFICIENT-VERB CLAUSE MODIFICATION BY TEMPORAL ADJUNCT PHRASES AS DIAGNOSTICS FOR TEMPORAL CONSTITUENCY OF THE SITUATION TYPES

#### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this chapter is to examine the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) with various situation types in sentences which also include a deficient verb. The temporal adverbials *hora* (for an hour) and *ka hora* (in an hour) are closely interacting with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. In this regard the temporal and situation type aspectual meanings of Sesotho deficient verbs in their occurrence with a range of semantic verb classes in Sesotho will be explored with respect to the diagnostic of durative adverbial sentences (such as **for-** an hour/day/week/year, etc.) versus completive or frame adverbials (such as an **in-** hour/day/week/year, etc). When the former characteristically involves a temporal noun without the preposition **ka** in Sesotho, the latter expresses a temporal phrase with the preposition **ka**. The question is whether the durative *hora* (for an hour) and the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) describe a change of state in the situation type. This section is describing the syntactic evidence for telic events usually turns on the feature of completion which involves the interaction of duration and the change of state. On the other hand, the durative adverbial *hora* (*for*-phrase) shows the syntactic evidence for atelic events that may shift situation type.

#### 5.2 DEFICIENT VERBS THAT DENOTE TIME

This sub-section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with a range of basic-level verbs that demonstrate the situation-types of activities, accomplishments, achievements and states, respectively. In particular, the question relating to these situation types is addressed to whether they

are in fact semantically compatible with temporal adverbial/adjunct phrases denoting durative phrases and completive (or frame) phrase adjuncts respectively.

### 5.2.1 Present Tense *-sala* (act eventually, act later) with Present Tense Participial Complement Clause

The following sentences display the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense, followed by the present participial tense-complement clause expressing the activity verb constellation *bala* (read) in ((1a), accomplishment verb *ngola buka* (write a book) in (1b), achievement verb *tjhwatla* (break) in (1c), and the state verb *utlwisisa* (understand) in (1d), with the durative temporal phrase *hora* (for an hour):

- (1) a. *Ba tsamaile e sa le ka meso, yaba ke sala ke bala hora e le nngwe.*  
(They left early in the morning, and then I read for an hour eventually).
- b. *Ke sala ke ngola buka hora ha ba qeta ho tsamaya.*  
(I was writing a book for an hour eventually, when they just left)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with the present tense participial complement clause expressing an activity verb *bala* (read) in (1a). The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in a situation contributes to the location of a situation in time. The sentence with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) expresses the fact that one might have intended to read for an hour eventually but one's intention failed. The durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not indicate the length of the situation. There is no change of state in the situation. The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically compatible with a present tense complement clause with the basic level accomplishment verb *ngola buka* (write a book) in (1b). The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift in the situation type to that of a derived-Activity, atelic situation type. The verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) is interpreted as atelic with a durative adverbial; hence the activity of book-writing may end before a natural final endpoint that produces an outcome.

- c. **?Dineo o sala a tjhwatla kgalase motsotswana.**  
(Dineo eventually breaks a glass for a minute)
- d. **Ha ba qeta ho tsamaya, o sala a utlwisisa metsotso e mehlano.**  
(After they have left, he later on understands for five minutes)

In (1c), the basic level achievement verb *tjhwatla* (break) involves the termination of an event which happens instantaneously. Therefore, the situation with the durative adverbial *motsotswana* (for a second) is semantically incompatible because the adverb instantaneous *motsotswana* (for a second) contributes to the characterising temporal properties of an achievement situation type. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) with durative adverbial *metsotso e mehlano* (for five minutes) in the present tense is compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the state verb *utlwisisa* (understand) in (1d). The stative generic sentence in (1d) involves a state of affairs in which a durative adverbial enforces an instantaneous interpretation in a state situation. The occurrence of an adverbial *metsotso e mehlano* (for five minutes) triggers no shift in the situation type, hence; semantically, the information given does not contribute to the situation type of the sentence.

### 5.2.2 Present Tense –sala with Perfect Tense Participial Complement

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement clause expressing the activity verb *sebeditse* (worked) in (2a), accomplishment verb constellation *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (2b), achievement verb *nyametse* (disappeared) in (2c), and state verb *lebetse* (forgotten) in (2d), with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (2) a. **\*Molato keng ha o sala o sebeditse ka hora tjee?**  
(What is the matter when you eventually worked like this in an hour?)
- b. **Le ha a se na tjehelete, o sala a hahile ntlo ka selemo.**  
(Even if he does not have money, he eventually built a house in a year)

The occurrence of the verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is semantically anomalous with the perfect tense participial complement expressing the activity verb *sebeditse* (worked) in (2a). The occurrence of the verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense with an activity verb *sebeditse* (worked) is difficult to interpret and if the sentence can be understood at all, the adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) refers to the time elapsed before the situation could commence. The occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) with completive adverbial *ka selemo* (in a year) is compatible with the basic-level accomplishment verb constellation *hahile ntlo* (built a house), as exemplified in (2b). The deficient verb *sala* with the completive adverbial *ka selemo* (in a year) expresses the situation in which an event is completed in a year's time. With the accomplishment, the internal span of the event covers the beginning of the event of building with the initial and final endpoint of the building.

- c. ***Di ile tsa sala di nyametse ka metsotso e mehlano.***  
(They eventually disappeared in five minutes)
- d. ***\*Ke rata ho sala ke lebetse ka hora.***  
(I want to remain forgotten in an hour)

In (2c), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) with frame adverbial *ka metsotso e mehlano* (in five minutes) is semantically compatible with achievement verb *nyametse* (disappeared) because in the achievement sentences the interval is understood to end the event instantaneously. The occurrence of the frame adverbial *ka metsotso e mehlano* (in five minutes) however, does not result in a shift to an Achievement situation type. The sentence in (2c) is natural in Sesotho with an instantaneous event because the appearance of the completive adverbial *ka metsotso e mehlano* (in five minutes) locates an ingressive interpretation on the beginning of the event which occurs. In (2d), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-sala* (act eventually) in the present tense is semantically anomalous with the frame adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) with the perfect tense participial complement clause denoting the stative verb *lebetse* (be forgotten). The occurrence of the verb *sala*- (remain) in the present tense followed by the infinitive stative verb *lebetse* (be forgotten), along with the appearance of a completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), introduces a situation to a particular state i.e. an inchoative meaning, referring to a

state of not being remembered. Even though the stative sentence is anomalous with the frame adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) which denotes completion, the stative sentence is difficult to interpret because there is a clash between the completive adverbial and the situation type differing values of stative sentence in (2d).

### 5.2.3 Present Tense *-ba* with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ba* (even/at last/moreover) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *bua* (talk) in (3a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (3b), achievement verb *kgetha* (choose) in (3c) and state verb *rata* (fond of) (3d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (3) a. ***O ba a bua hora hobane a batla ho hapa maikutlo a batho.***  
 (He talked an hour at last because he wants to attract people's attention)
- b. ***O ba a ngola buka hora a be a e tlohela.***  
 (He was writing a book for an hour at last and he decided to leave it)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ba* (even/at last/moreover) in the present tense is compatible with a durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *bua* (talk) in (3a). In (3a), the occurrence of the deficient verb *ba-* (even/at last/moreover) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not shift a situation type of an activity because there is no change of a state or outcome. The event indicates neither the initial nor final endpoints. The occurrence of the deficient verb *ba-* (even/at last/moreover) in the present tense is compatible with the accomplishment verb *ngola buka* (write a book) in (3b). In (3b), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift to another situation type, i.e., the activity situation because the act of book-writing does not involve a final endpoint. Such an event is interpreted as an atelic event. The shift is from an Accomplishment to a derived-Activity situation type.

- c. ***\*A ba a kgetha motsotswana le ha ho ne ho le boima.***  
 (He was eventually chosen for a minute even if it was difficult)

- d. ***O ba a rata ho tsuba metsotso e mehlano.***  
(He is moreover fond of smoking for five minutes)

In (3c), the occurrence of deficient verb *ba-* (even/at last/moreover) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically unacceptable with the present tense complement describing the achievement verb *kgetha* (choose), because the achievements are instantaneous. In (3d), the occurrence of the deficient verb *-ba* (even/at last/moreover) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers no shift in situation type of the stative because the occurrence of the adverbial *metsotso e mehlano* (for five minutes) with the atelic verb constellation *rata ho tsuba* (love to smoke) does not provide information about the situation.

#### 5.2.4 Perfect Tense *-bile* with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *bile-* (eventually) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement clauses expressing the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (4a), accomplishment verb *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (4b), achievement verb *kgetha* (elect) in (4c) and state verb *tseba* (know) in (4d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (4) a. ***Katlehong ya meriana ya hae ho thwe o bile a sebetsa ka hora.***  
(In the success of his medicine it was said that he has even worked in an hour)
- b. ***Ntate o bile a haha ntlo ka selemo le ha ho ne ho le boima.***  
(Father eventually builds a house within a year even if it was difficult)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *bile-* (eventually) in the perfect tense with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement expressing the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (4a). In (4a), the adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) triggers a shift from an atelic Activity situation to a telic Accomplishment event because the interpretation of the event of *working occurs within an hour*. The occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka selemo* (in a year) is semantically compatible with the accomplishment verb *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (4b). The occurrence of the deficient verb *bile-* (eventually) in the perfect

tense expresses the completion of the event of house-building in a period of a year and thus the event is telic. The appearance of the completive *ka hora* (in an hour) does not shift a situation type of Accomplishment.

- c. ***Ba bile ba kgetha mopresidente ka hora.***  
(They eventually elect the president in an hour)
- d. \**Ditaba tsa Thabo di monate, empa di a hlomola, Thabo o bile o di tseba ka motsotswana.*  
(Thabo's news are interesting, and sad, Thabo eventually knows them in a minute)

In (4c), the deficient verb *bile-* (eventually) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the adverbial adjunct *ka hora* (in an hour). The adverbial frame *ka hora* (in an hour) expresses a situation type involving a telic accomplishment event. This event is due to the fact that the deficient verb *bile-* (eventually) in the perfect tense indicates a past reference to time, and the achievement verb constellation *kgetha* (elect) with *ka hora* (in an hour) ascribes a completion, hence there will be no election of the president after an hour. The change of state in an achievement situation type has a special interpretation for human beings since one has been moved to another position, that of being a president. In (4c), the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) focuses on the ending of the event where the actual change of position occurred. In (4d), the occurrence of adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) is semantically anomalous with the stative verb *tseba* (know) in (4d). The stative generic sentence in (4d) does not involve a particular situation which occurs at a given place and time, but refers rather to a state of affairs.

### 5.2.5 Present Tense –*tloha* with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha-* (eventually/act soon) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement clause exhibiting the activity verb *bolela* (talk) in (5a), accomplishment verb *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (5b), achievement verb *bolaya* (kill) in (5c) and state verb *tshwarela* (forgive) in (5d), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (5) a. \**Ha o ntse o bua, ke tloha ke bolela tsa hao hora.*  
 (When you keep on talking, I eventually tell about your issues for an hour)
- b. *O tloha a haha ntlo selemo.*  
 (He may soon build a house for a year)
- c. \**Ba tloha ba o bolaya hora.*  
 (They will soon kill you for an hour)
- d. \**Ba tloha ba mo tshwarela hora.*  
 (They forgive him eventually for an hour.)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha-* (eventually/act soon) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in the present tense is semantically incompatible with the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *bolela* (talk) in (5a), the achievement verb *bolaya* (kill) in (5c) and the stative verb *tshwarela* (forgive) in (5d) while it is semantically acceptable with accomplishment verb *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (5b). The telic verb constellation *haha a ntlo* (build a house) is modified by the durative adverbial *selemo* (for a year). A marked focus on the event is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha-* (eventually/act soon) at the beginning of a situation because an event is not inherently bounded, thus an ingressive interpretation results. However, the occurrence of the durative adverbial *selemo* (for a year) triggers a shift to an atelic Activity event in (5b) because the event involves something which is happening rather than existing. Therefore, there is no final endpoint to *building of a house for a year*. In (5c), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically incompatible with the achievement verb *bolaya* (kill) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) because the telic property of achievement with duration is linguistically irrelevant. On the other hand, the occurrence of adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (5d) expresses an unacceptable property of a state situation type because stative verbs cannot take durative adverbials since state exists over a period of time during which no essential change takes place.

### 5.2.6 Present Tense –*tloha* with Perfect Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-tloha* (eventually/act soon) in the present tense which is followed by the perfect tense participial complement clause expressing the activity verb *sentse* (damaged) in (6a), accomplishment verb *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (6b), achievement verb *tjhesitse* (burned) in (6c) and state verb *tsebile* (knew) in (6d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (6) a. ***Kgomo tseo di tloha di sentse ka motsotso feela masimong.***  
(Those cattle eventually did damage in the fields within a minute only)
- b. ***Ha ntate a beha meja fatshe, o tloha a ngotse buka ka hora.***  
(When father is retiring, he wrote a book within an hour eventually)
- c. ***?Batho bao ba rata ho tloha ba tjhesitse matlo a batho ka motsotswana.***  
(Those people like to have burned down people's houses eventually within a second)
- d. ***?\*Ba tloha ba mo tsebile ka motsotso ha ho bua ka yena.***  
(They knew him soon for a second when they talk about him)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha-* (eventually/act soon) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement expressing the activity verb *sentse* (damage) in (6a), accomplishment verb *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) in (6b), achievement verb *tjhesitse* (burned) in (6c) and stative verb *tsebile* (knew) in (6d) followed by the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha* (eventually/act soon) introduces a marked focus on the event i.e. an ingressive interpretation on the beginning of the event in (6a). The event of damaging what was in the fields has happened only within an hour. The completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (within a minute) has triggered a shift to the Achievement situation type. The occurrence of completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) varies from one class to another, and expresses how long a situation obtains for. For instance in (6b), the occurrence of completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) with an accomplishment verb *ngotse buka* (wrote a book) the interval covers the span of the event, beginning with the initial point and ending with the final

endpoint. There is no shift in Accomplishment situation type. In (6c), a marked focus i.e. an ingressive of the event is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *tloha* (act soon/eventually). The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) does not trigger a shift in a situation type of Achievement since in achievement the interval is understood to end with the instantaneous event. The occurrence of the adverbial *ka motsotswana* (within a second) is incompatible with the stative sentence in (6d) at the same time it expresses no shift in situation type of the stative. The stative generic sentence in (6d) does not involve a particular situation which occurs at a given place and time, but rather indicates a state of affairs.

### 5.2.7 Present Tense –*fihla* with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement clauses exhibiting the activity verb *bala* (read) in (7a), accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (7b), achievement verb *nyametse* (disappear) in (7c) and state verb *utlwisisa* (understand) in (7d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (7) a. *Ha ke na ho senya nako, ke fihla ke bala hora.*  
(I cannot waste time, I read immediately for an hour)
- b. *Ha ke tswa kerekeng, ke fihla ke bala buka hora.*  
(When I came from church, I read a book immediately for an hour)
- c. *Ha ke kgutla mosebetsing, ke fihla di nyametse metsotso e mehlano.*  
(When I came from work, they have disappeared at once for five minutes)
- d. *\*O fihla a utlwisisa dipalo hora.*  
(He understands mathematics immediately for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *fihla-* (immediately) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *bala* (read) in (7a), accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (7b), achievement verb *nyametse* (disappear) in (7c) while anomaly with the state verb

*utlwisisa* (understand) in (7d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *fihla-* (immediately) expresses the imperfective viewpoint on the internal stages of the event of *reading* for an hour in (7a). The viewpoint requires an interval, since it requires stages of a situation excluding endpoints. Therefore, the event remains the same as an Activity situation type. The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (7b) triggers a shift in an atelic derived-Activity situation type, because the sentence expresses the event of book-reading which does not involve endpoints. For instance, an achievement example, *Ke fihla di nyametse metsotso e mehlano* (They have disappeared at once for five minutes) describes an instantaneous situation which culminates in the achievement of disappearing; it is not the disappearing itself that takes place for five minutes. The stative sentence is semantically anomalous with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) because there is a feature clash which is predictable by rule.

### 5.2.8 Future Tense –*fihla* with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) in the future tense followed by the present tense participial complement clauses demonstrating the activity verb *ya* (go) in (8a), accomplishment verb *kganna koloji* (drive a car) in (8b), achievement verb *hapa* (win) in (8c) and state verb *rata* (love) in (8d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (8) a. *\*Ha ke fihla hae, ke tla fihla ke ya le ntate Kgauteng ka hora.*  
(When I arrive at home, I will immediately go with father to Johannesburg in an hour)
- b. *Ke ya Maseru mme ke tla fihla ke kganna koloji ka hora.*  
(I go to Maseru and I will immediately drive a car in an hour)
- c. *Dipapading tsa monongwaha, o tla fihla a hapa mohope ka motsotso.*  
(This year's games, he will win the trophy in a minute)
- d. *?Ho fihleng ha ka, ke tla fihla ke rata mmae ka hora.*  
(On my arrival, I will love his mother immediately within an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-fihla* (immediately) the future tense is semantically anomalous when followed by the present tense participial complement demonstrating the activity verb *ya* (go) in (8a) and semantically compatible with accomplishment verb *kganna koloji* (drive a book) in (8b), achievement verb *hapa* (win) in (8c) and stative verb *rata* (love) in (8d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence, however, of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) describes irregularity but triggers a shift in (8a) to the Accomplishment situation type because the event of going to Johannesburg would be accomplished within an hour. The occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (within an hour) in accomplishment sentence *Ke tla fihla ke kganna koloji ka hora* (I will immediately drive a car in an hour) in (8b), describes completion. Hence, within an hour, one will drive a car though there will be no change in state. In (8c), the adverbial frame *ka motsotso* (in a minute) is linguistically irrelevant because achievements have properties of the instantaneous. The event expresses the intention of winning a trophy within a minute. In (8d), the occurrence of adverbial frame *ka motsotswana* (in a second) describes that something happens within a second and does not involve a particular situation which occurs at a given place and time, but rather a state.

### 5.2.9 Present Tense –*tswa* with a Participial Complement:

The following situation types demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-tswa* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the present tense followed by the participial complement clauses demonstrating the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (9a), accomplishment verb constellation *baleha teronkong* (run from jail) in (9b), achievement verb *hweba* (trade) in (9c) and state verb *kula* (become sick) in (9d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (9) a. ***Ke tswa ke sebetsa hora le ha ke sa phele hantle.***  
(I work meanwhile for an hour though I am not well)
- b. ***O tswa baleha teronkong hora empa o ile a tshwarwa hape.***  
(He has run from jail in the meantime for an hour but they caught him again)
- c. ***O tswa hweba ka matekwane metsotswana tjee, le ha mapolesa a mmehile leihlo.***

(He trades with dagga in the meantime for seconds even if police has put an eye on him)

- d. \**Nke ke ka sebetsa serameng ke tswa kula hakana hora.*

(I cannot work in the garden while I was so ill in the meantime for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the present tense with a participial complement activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (9a), accomplishment verb *baleha teronkong* (run from jail) in (9b), achievement verb *hweba* (trade) in (9c) is semantically acceptable while anomalous with state verb *kula* (sick) in (9d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not shift an Activity situation type because there is an aspectual clash when the situation type with deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) and durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) have different values. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) supersedes the appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) expressing a situation as an Activity event. The accomplishment situation type in (9b) behaves like an activity, although the situation interprets the reading as an accomplishment. For instance in (9b), the act of *escaping from prison* has a final endpoint because the action of running was not omitted at any stage of the escape from prison during the period of an hour. There is no shift in the Accomplishment situation type because the situation has the property of a telic accomplishment event type. In (9d), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically incompatible with a stative sentence because states have a series of homogeneous stages.

#### 5.2.10 Future Tense –*tswa* with a Participial Complement:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-tswa* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the future tense followed by the participial complement clauses describing the activity verb *ja* (eat) in (10a), accomplishment verb *pheha leqa la nama* (cook a piece of meat) in (10b), achievement verb *tjhesa* (burn) in (10c) and state verb *utlwa* (hear) in (10d) with adverbial frame *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (10) a. ***O tla tswa o eja ka hora (feela), nna ke sa pheha.***  
 (You will eat for an hour (only) meanwhile, I am cooking)
- b. ***O tla tswa a pheha leqa la nama ka hora (feela) ha a tswa mosebetsing.***  
 (She will cook a piece of meat within an hour (only) afterwards when she comes from work)
- c. ***O tla tswa a tjhesa pampiri ya tlhahlobo ka motsotswana.***  
 (He will burn an examination paper meanwhile in a second)
- d. ***\*Ke tla tswa ke utlwa ka hora (feela) le ha ho le thata.***  
 (He will be hearing meanwhile for an hour even if it is difficult)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the participial complement clauses demonstrating the activity verb *ja* (eat) in (10a), accomplishment verb *pheha leqa la nama* (cook a piece of meat) in (10b), achievement verb *tjhesa* (burn) in (10c) and semantically anomalous with the state verb *utlwa* (hear) in (10d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) expresses the activities *that are, will be or were happening* within the same time frame and or happening simultaneously before or after a particular point in time. The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) does not shift an Activity situation type because the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) supersedes the future tense in the event. The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is taken as atelic because there is no information about the endpoints of the situation. Similarly, the telic verb constellation *pheha leqa la nama* (cook a piece of meat) in (10b) with the appearance of deficient verb *tswa* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the future tense, supersedes the meaning of completion within an hour. There is no shift in the Accomplishment situation type. In (10c), with an achievement the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) in the future tense overrides the meaning of *ka motsotswana* (in a second) because the situation type of that sentence is that of Achievement. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswa-* (meanwhile/afterwards) with the occurrence of completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in the stative sentence implies irregularity and is misleading.

### 5.2.11 Present Tense *tsoha-* with a Participial Complement:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-tsoha* (early in the morning) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement clauses activity verb *tsamaya* (walk) in (11a), accomplishment verb constellation *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (11b), achievement verb *thella* (slip) in (11c) and state verb *lemoha* (realize) in (11d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (11) a. \**O mpone mantsiboya hoba ke tsoha ke tsamaya hosane hora.*  
(He saw me in the evening because I am going early for an hour)
- b. \**Ha re tsebe moo a ileng feela o tsoha a palame pere hora.*  
(We don't know where he went but he rode a horse in the morning for an hour)
- c. \**O tsoha a thella motsotswana.*  
(He slips early in the morning for a second)
- d. \**O tsoha a lemoha hora hore eo motswalle wa hae o a mo dihela.*  
(He realizes early for an hour that his friend is misleading him)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tsoha-* (early/in the morning)) in the present tense is semantically anomalous followed by the present tense participial complement clauses which demonstrate the activity verb *tsamaya* (walk) in (11a), accomplishment verb *palama pere* (ride a horse) in (11b), achievement verb *thella* (slip) in (11c) and state verb *lemoha* (realize) in (11d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The sentences in (11) are difficult to interpret with the appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and demonstrate irregularity. They may be misleadingly understood because the adverbial (for an hour) contributes to the location of a situation in time while the deficient verb *tsoha-* (in the morning/early) refers to a time and not to an interval during which the situation took place. There is an aspectual clash when an adverbial and the situation have different values. Hence occurrence of deficient verb *tsoha-* (early/in the morning) expresses something that will happen or will be done early in the morning with the participial complement clauses of the situation type of activity, accomplishment, achievement and state.

### 5.2.12 Future Tense –*tsoha* with a Participial Complement:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tsoha*- (early in the morning) in the future tense followed by the participial complement clauses expressing the activity verb *tsamaya* (leave) in (12a), accomplishment verb constellation *bala buka* (read a book) in (12b), achievement verb constellation *ntsha koloji* (take out the car) in (12c) and state verb *bona* (see) in (12d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (12) a. ***Re tla tsoha re tsamaya ka metsotso e mehlano ha bosiu bo esa.***  
(We will leave early in the morning within five minutes when the sun rise)
- b. ***Mme o tla tsoha a bala buka ka hora feela ha ba se ba tsamaile.***  
(Mother will read a book in the morning in an hour only whenever they have left)
- c. ***Ke tla tsoha ke ntsha koloji ka karatjheng ka motsotso.***  
(I will take the car out of the garage in the morning in a minute)
- d. ***Ba tla tsoha ba bona mofu hosane ka motsotso feela.***  
(They will see the corpse early in the morning in a minute only)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tsoha*- (early in the morning)) in the future tense is semantically compatible with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) followed by the participial complement clauses expressing the activity verb *tsamaya* (leave) in (12a), accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (12b), achievement verb *ntsha koloji* (take out the car) in (12c) and state verb *bona* (see) in (12d). The occurrence of the adverbial frame *ka hora* (in an hour) in (12a) involves something that will happen within an hour but there is no information given about the endpoints of the event of *going*, thus the final endpoints are arbitrary. Hence there is no change of state or outcome. The occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (12b) presents the possibility that one will read a book within an hour. However, the event in (12b) does not assign any interpretation to the internal structure of the telic event; hence the future intention is that one will be able to read a book in an hour. In (12c), the occurrence of the completive adverbial is understood to end with the instantaneous event *ntsha koloji ka motsotso* (taking out a car in a minute),

though *motsotso* (a minute) has the property of an achievement. There is no shift in a situation type of achievement. In (12d), the occurrence of the deficient verb *tsoha-* (early in the morning) presents a certainty that a situation of seeing would occur within a minute. Therefore, the appearance of a completive adverbial with the reading of the Achievement event triggers a shifted telic event.

### 5.3 HABITUAL

The habitual aspect presents a series of actions which are carried out and performed as a habit. This deficient verb *hlola-* (always) indicates that something happens habitually or constantly. The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlola-* (always) with the activity, accomplishment, achievement and state situation types demonstrates and investigates the compatibility with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour).

#### 5.3.1 Present Tense *hlola-* with a Participle:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlola-* (always) in the present tense followed by a participial expressing the activity verb *bua* (talk) in (13a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha mokhukhu* (build a shack) in (13b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (13c) and state verb *lemoha* (realise) in (13d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (13) a. ***Ke hlola ke bua motsotso le yena ha ke le teng.***  
(I always talk to him for a minute when I am there)
- b. ***Ba hlola ba haha mokhukhu hora le ha mmuso o sa batle.***  
(They always build a shack for an hour even if the government does not want)
- c. ***Di hlola di nyamela metsotso e mehlano.***  
(They always disappear for five minutes)
- d. ***\*Ke hlola ke lemoha tse mpe motsotso.***  
(I always realises bad things for a minute)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlola* (always) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a participial complement describing the activity verb *bu* (talk) in (13a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha mokhukhu* (build a shack) in (13b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (13c) while semantically anomalous with state verb *lemoha* (realize) in (13d). The occurrence of adverbial durative *motsotso* (for a minute) in (13a) does not trigger a shift in an Activity situation type since the event of talking does not have initial or final end point. The event is atelic. The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlola-* (always) in the present tense with the accomplishment verb constellation *haha mokhukhu* (build a shack) followed by the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) presents a derived Activity situation type because the event of shack-building does not involve natural endpoints. In (13c), the achievement sentence has the interpretation that involves repetitions in the context of a durative adverbial; hence the disappearance occurred every five minutes. There may be an iterative interpretation introduced by the appearance of the durative adverbial. In (13d), the durative adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) is momentary while the stative situation exists over a period of time and this thus constitutes a contradiction.

### 5.3.2 Future Tense *hlola-* with a Participle:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlola-* (always) in the future tense followed by a participle activity verb *tla* (come) in (14a), accomplishment verb constellation *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (14b), achievement verb *shwa* (die) in (14c) and state verb *kgathatsa* (bother) in (14d) with adverbial frame *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (14) a.    \***Ba tla hlola ba tla ka motsotswana ha ba ka-sebetsa.**  
           (They will always come if they can work)
- b.    \***Mme o tla hlola a loha jeresi ka hora.**  
           (Mother will always knit a jersey in an hour)
- c.    \***Batho ba tla hlola ba eshwa ka hora.**  
           (People will always die in an hour)

- d. **\*O tla hlola a o kgathatsa ka motsotso ka ha o mo batletse mosebetsi.**  
 (He will always bother you in a minute because you have found a job for him)

The occurrence of deficient verb *hlola-* (always) in the future tense is semantically anomalous followed by a participle activity verb *tla* (come) in (14a), accomplishment verb constellation *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (14b), achievement verb *shwa* (die) in (14c) and state verb *kgathatsa* (bother) in (14d) with adverbial frame *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of deficient verb *hlola-* (always) in the future tense does not interact with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (14) because one assumes that the future tense does not include termination.

### 5.3.3 Perfect Tense *hlotse-* with a Participle:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *-hlotse* (always) in the perfect tense followed by a participle activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (15a), accomplishment verb constellation *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (15b), achievement verb *tjha* (burn) in (15c) and state verb *ferekana* (confuse) in (15d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (15) a. **\*Karabelo o hlotse a sebetsa hora a be a tsamaya.**  
 (Karabelo is always working for an hour, and then goes)
- b. **\*Ngwana o hlotse a nwa kgalase ya lebese hora a be a robala.**  
 (The child has always drink a glass of milk for an hour, and then sleep)
- c. **\*Naha e hlotse e tjha hora.**  
 (The country is always burning for an hour)
- d. **\*O hlotse a ferekane hora.**  
 (He is always confused for an hour)

The occurrence of deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) is semantically anomalous in the perfect tense followed by a participle activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (15a), accomplishment verb *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (15b), achievement verb *tjha* (burn) in (15c) and state verb *ferekana* (confuse) in (15d) with

durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not interact with the occurrence of the deficient *hlotse-* (always) in the perfect tense.

#### 5.3.4 Perfect Tense *hlola-* with a Participle:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) in the perfect tense followed by a participle expressing the activity verb *matha* (run) with durative adverbial non-bounding *hoseng* (in the morning) in (16a), the accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) with durative adverbial non-bounding *ka mehla* (daily) in (16b), the achievement verb constellation *tjhesa matlakala* (cause to burn rubbish) with durative adverbial non-bounding *mantsiboya* (in the evening) in (16c) and the stative verb *lla* (cry) with durative adverbial non-bounding *letsheare lohle* (the whole day) in (16d):

- (16) a. ***Pule o hlotse a matha hoseng.***  
(Pule always ran in the morning)
- b. ***Maphalla o hlotse a ngola buka ka mehla.***  
(Maphalla always wrote a book daily)
- c. ***Ba hlotse ba tjhesa matlakala mantsiboya.***  
(They always burn rubbish in the evening)
- d. ***Oaratwa o hlotse a lla letsheare lohle.***  
(Oaratwa always cried the whole day)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the activity verb *matha* (run) followed by with the temporal adjunct *hoseng* (in the morning) in (16a). The appearance of the durative adverbial non-bounding *hoseng* (in the morning) triggers a shift in an atelic Activity event of *always ran* as the situation is reinterpreted as telic in the context of a completive telic Accomplishment event. In the same way, the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (wrote a book) followed by the temporal adjunct *ka mehla* (daily) in (16b). The appearance of the durative adverbial non-bounding *ka mehla* (daily) triggers a shift in a telic Accomplishment type to an atelic derived-Activity event. The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) in

the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the achievement verb constellation *tjhesa matlakala* (burn rubbish) followed by the temporal adjunct *mantsiboya* (in the evening) in (16c). The appearance of the durative adverbial non-bounding *mantsiboya* (in the evening) does not trigger a shift in an Achievement situation but presents only habitual interpretation. Similarly, the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlotse-* (always) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the stative verb *lla* (cry) followed by the temporal adjunct *letsheare lohle* (whole day) in (16d). The appearance of the durative adverbial non-bounding *letsheare lohle* (whole day) triggers a shift in atelic derived-Activity situation type as the act of crying does not include the initial and the final endpoint of the situation. The sentences in (16) with deficient verb *hlotse* (always) in the perfect tense show the simple past used to express habituality. They show the meaning of habituality in which (16a) expresses the action of *running* was repeated, as with the action of *writing a book* in (16b). These events involve a notion of *routine*, i.e. something that happens in the majority of a set of occasions as in (16c) and (16d).

#### 5.4 CONTRAST

This deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates that something happens *because* of something. The following sentences with the occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (however) demonstrate the compatibility with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) expressing the activity, accomplishment, achievement and stative situation types.

##### 5.4.1 Present Tense *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of deficient verb *mpa-* (however) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (17), *ngola buka* (write a book) in (17b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (17c) and *nahana* (think) in (17d) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (17) a. **O mpa a sebetsa hora le ha a tshwanela ho sebetsa tse pedi.**

- (He however work for an hour even if he must work for two hours)
- b. ***O mpa a ngola buka hora le ha a kgathetse.***  
(He however writes a book for an hour even if he is tired)
- c. ***Di mpa di nyamela metsotso e mehlano di tla boela di hlaha.***  
(They just disappear for five minutes, they will appear again)
- d. ***O mpa a nahana hora hore a arabe.***  
(He just thought for an hour so that he should answer)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (17), *ngola buka* (write a book) in (17b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (17c) and *nahana* (think) in (17d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) indicates a contrastive meaning in the complementary sentences ‘...*le ha a tshwanela ho sebetsa hora tse pedi*’ (...even if he must for two hours) in (17a). However, the appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not shift an Activity situation type; hence the event is of the atelic type. The interpretation does not involve the endpoints of a situation. In (17b), the appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) shifts a situation to a derived-Activity because the sentence does not indicate when the book-writing stops. On the other hand, the achievement sentence in (17c), with an instantaneous telic event, specifies the moments at which the situation obtains. There is no shift in the Achievement situation type. The stative sentence in (17d) involves a state, rather than a particular situation which occurs at a given place and time.

#### **5.4.2 Present Tense -*mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) Perfect Tense Participial Complement:**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of deficient verb *mpa-* (however) in the present tense followed by perfect tense participial complement activity verb *mathile* (ran) in (18a), *ngotse tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (18b), achievement verb *utswitse* (stole) in (18c) and *tsebile* (knew) in (18d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (18) a. ***O mpa a mathile ka hora le ha a sa roba rekoto.***  
 (He however ran within an hour even if he did not break the record)
- b. ***Ba mpa ba ngotse tlhahlobo ka hora le ha ba sa bala.***  
 (They just wrote an examination in an hour even if they did not read)
- c. ***O mpa a utswitse ka metsotso e mmedi le ha e se leshodu.***  
 (He just stole within two minutes even if he is not a thief)
- d. ***O mpa a tsebile ka hora le ha a sa rate ho bua.***  
 (He just knew within an hour even if he does not want to talk)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) is semantically acceptable in the present tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement explaining the activity verb *mathile* (ran) in (18a), *ngotse tlhahlobo* (write an examination) in (18b), achievement verb *utswitse* (stole) in (18c) and *tsebile* (knew) in (18d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). This deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), triggers a shift to an Accomplishment situation type; hence the activity of *running* happened within an hour. For instance, in '*Ba mpa ba ngotse tlhahlobo ka hora*' (They just wrote an examination in an hour) in (18b), they completed the writing of the examination within an hour. There is no shift in situation type. On the other hand, in (18c), the Achievement situation type remains the same; hence the temporal adverb *ka metsotso e mmedi* (in two minutes) may be regarded as the property of achievements. The stative generic sentence in (18d) does not involve a particular situation which occurs at a given place and time, but rather a progression from a state of not knowing to a state of knowing within a particular time.

#### 5.4.3 Potential with deficient verb *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial Complement:

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa* (however), with the potential aspectual morpheme *ka* (can), followed by the present tense participial complement showing the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (19a), *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (19b), achievement verb *kwala* (close) in (19c), and *tseba* (know) in (19d), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (19) a. **A ka mpa a bua hora** le ha a rata ho bua ho feta moo.  
(She can speak for an hour even if she likes to speak more)
- b. **A ka mpa a loha jeresi hora** ho e na le katiba.  
(She rather knit a jersey instead of a hat)
- c. **Nka mpa ka kwala lemati motsotswana** ho e na le ho le bula.  
(I rather close the door for a second instead of opening it)
- d. **\*Ba ka mpa ba tseba dipalo hora** ho e na le dipuo.  
(They rather know mathematics for an hour instead of languages)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the potential morpheme *ka* (can) is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verb *bua* (speak) in (19a), *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (19b), achievement verb *kwala* (close) in (19c) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) while being incompatible with *tseba* (know) in (19d). The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) for instance, in (19a) describes an atelic Activity event that has arbitrary final endpoints. In (19b), the occurrence of adverbial adjunct *hora* (for an hour) expresses a shift to a derived-Activity situation type; hence the activity of *knitting a jersey* does not include the beginning of the event and the final endpoint. On the other hand, in (19c), the achievement sentence occurs with an instantaneous event which shows that *motsotswana* (for a second) is conceptualized in a situation type of Achievement. The deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) with temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) in (19d) is anomalous because a stative situation type exists over a period of time.

#### 5.4.4 Perfect Tense *-mpa* (do however, act notwithstanding) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (do however, act notwithstanding) in the perfect tense followed by the the present tense participial complement, explaining the activity verb *matha* (run) in (20a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha borokgo* (build a bridge) in (20b), achievement verb *thunya* (shoot) in (20c), and stative verb *nenana* (hate) in (20d), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (20) a. ***O mpile a matha ka hora empa ho lebeletswe hora tse hlano.***  
 He just ran within an hour but it is expected to run for five hours)
- b. ***Ba mpile ba haha borokgo ka hora yaba pula e a na.***  
 (They just built a bridge in an hour, and then it rains)
- c. ***Mapolesa a mpile a thunya ka motsotso le ha a sa bolaya motho.***  
 (The police however shot in a minute but they did not kill any person)
- d. ***\*O mpile a mo nena ka hora eka ha a mo rate.***  
 (He just hated her in an hour as if he does not love her)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *mpa-* (however) in the perfect tense is compatible with the present tense participial complement explaining the activity verb *matha* (run) in (20a), accomplishment verb *haha borokgo* (build a bridge) in (20b), achievement verb *thunya* (shoot) in (20c) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour), while becoming semantically anomalous with state verb *nena* (hate) in (20d). The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), presents a situation in which one completed an event of running within an hour though it was expected to finish in five hours. Thus the temporal adjunct *ka hora* (in an hour) shifts a situation type to Accomplishment, since the event is telic. The achievement sentence expresses an instantaneous event in which the occurrence of the completive adverbial allows ingressive interpretation of the event. In (20d), the occurrence of the temporal adjunct *hora* (in an hour) expresses the incompatibility with the stative sentence because states last for longer periods.

## 5.5 ITERATIVE

*boela, pheta* (do again/repeat)

This sub-section will investigate the contribution of the temporal adverbial to aspectual meaning and semantic representation in situation types in which the deficient verbs *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) occur. The following sentences, characterized by the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with the activity accomplishment, achievement and stative situation types, demonstrate and investigate compatibility with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour).

### 5.5.1 Present Tense *-boela/pheta* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta*- (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (21a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (21b), achievement verb constellation *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (21c), and stative verbs *tseba* (know) in (21d), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (21) a. ***Ke boela ke bua hora le ha ke sa batle.***  
(I speak again for an hour even if I do not want to)
- b. ***Maphalla o pheta a ngola buka hora.***  
(Maphalla writes a book again for an hour)
- c. ***\*Dineo o boela a tjhwatla kgalase ya metsi motsotso.***  
(Dineo breaks a glass of water again for a minute)
- d. ***\*Thabo o boela a tseba Sesotho hora.***  
(Thabo knows Sesotho again for an hour)

The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (21a) locates atelic events that do not involve natural endpoints. There is no change of state in a situation-type activity because the event may stop at any time. The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically compatible with the occurrence of the deficient verb *-boela/pheta* (do again/repeat) in the present tense followed by the present tense participial complement expressing the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (21a) and the accomplishment verb *ngola buka* (write a book) in (21b). In (21c) and (21d), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with the present tense participial complement demonstrating the achievement verb *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) and stative verb *tseba* (know) in (21d). In (21c), inappropriateness arises in the interpretation of a telic verb constellation *tjhwatla kgalase ya metsi* (break a glass of water) with durative adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) while in (21d) the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) expresses the incompatibility in the stative verb *tseba* (know) because *hora* (for an hour) does not

explicitly refer to the location of a situation in time. The state sentence would consist of homogeneous stages.

### 5.5.2 Future Tense *-boela/pheta* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by the present tense participial complement describing the activity verb *matha* (run) in (22a), accomplishment verb constellation *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (22b), achievement verb *reka* (buy) in (22c) and stative verbs *rata* (love) in (22d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (22) a. ***Pule o tla pheta a matha ka hora.***  
(Pule will run again in an hour)
- b. ***Nkgono o tla boela a loha jeresi ya setloholo sa hae ka hora.***  
(Granny will knit her grandson's jersey again in an hour)
- c. ***Ntate o tla boela a reka ka metsotso e mehlano***  
(Father will buy again in five minutes)
- d. ***\*Thulo o tla boela a rata Disebo ka hora le ha ba ne ba se ba hlalane.***  
(Thulo will love Disebo again in an hour even if they were divorced)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement activity verb *matha* (run) in (22a), accomplishment verb *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (22b), achievement verb *reka* (buy) in (22c) with the occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) and is semantically anomalous with stative verbs *rata* (love) in (22d). The occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) does not shift an Activity situation type in (22a) because *Pule is intending to run again* in an hour. The intention will be fulfilled in the future; therefore the situation does not involve endpoints of the event of running. The appearance of completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (22b) presents an accomplishment event which will be repeated in future. The interpretation given does not involve endpoints; hence the

future tense predicts what is going to happen again. In (22c), the temporal adverb *ka motsotso* (in a minute) harmonizes the basic-level an achievement verb *reka* (buy) without changing the type of situation involved. This adverbial frame *ka motsotso* (in an hour) does not shift the focus on the verb constellation *reka* (buy) because of the future tense that describes the fulfillment of the present intention. The stative sentence in (22d) describes an undifferentiated period, but with the occurrence of adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), it demonstrates incompatibility because there is no possibility of Thulo loving Disebo again within an hour. The temporal property of the statives does not take time but exist over a period of time.

### 5.5.3 Future Tense *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the activity verb *sebetse* (work) in (23a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngole padi* (write a story) in (23b), achievement verb constellation *tjhese mokhukhu* (set on fire a shack) in (23c) and stative verb *rata* (love) in (23d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (23) a. ***Ke tla boela ke sebetse hora le ha ke sa lefshwe.***  
(I will work again for an hour even if I am not paid)
- b. ***Lenake o tla pheta a ngole padi ya seyalemoya hora.***  
(Lenake will write a radio story again for an hour)
- c. ***\*Ke tla boela ke tjhese mokhukhu ka petrole motsotso.***  
(I will burn a shack again with petrol for a minute)
- d. ***\*Ke tla boela ke rate dipalo hora ha ho ka tliswa titjhere e nngwe.***  
(I will love mathematics again for an hour if they can bring another teacher)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement expressing the activity verb constellation *a sebetse* (he works) in (23a), and the accomplishment verb constellation *a ngole padi* (he writes a story) in (23b) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour), while being semantically anomalous with achievement verb

constellation *a tjhesa mokhukhu* (he burns a shack) in (23c), and the stative verb *rata* (love) in (23d). In (23a) and (23b), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) contributes information about the future fulfillment of a present intention or cause that *someone will work again for an hour*, while (23b) demonstrates the anticipation that *Lenake will write a radio story again for an hour*. These situations denote a likelihood of events happening in the future, with reference to the events of *working* and *writing a story* respectively. The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (23c) is used with the future tense which is governed by the subjunctive mood in its complementary verb, thus the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is not found to follow the use of the subjunctive mood. As a result it is incompatible with the achievement situation type. Similarly, the appearance of the durative adverbial is anomalous with the stative sentence because states last over a period of time.

#### 5.5.4 Potential *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential mood followed by the consecutive complement describing the activity verb *tsuba* (smoke) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (24a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) with *ka selemo* (in a year) in (24b), achievement verb constellation *tjhesa mokhukhu* (burn a shack) with *ka motsotso* (in a second) in (24c), and the stative verb *hloya* (hate) with *ka motsotso* (in a second) in (24d):

- (24) a. ***Nka pheta ka tsuba ka hora le ha ke kula.***  
(I can smoke again within an hour even if I am sick)
- b. ***Nka boela ka haha ntlo ka selemo ha ke rata.***  
(I can build a house again in a year if I want to)
- c. ***Nka pheta ka tjhesa mokhukhu ka motsotso ka kerese.***  
(I can burn a shack again within a minute with a candle)
- d. ***\*A ka boela a mo hloya ka motsotso, ho ena le ho botsisisa.***  
(He can hate her again in a minute and instead of asking thoroughly)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential **ka** (can) is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement describing the

activity verb *tsuba* (smoke) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (24a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) with *ka selemo* (in a year) in (24b), achievement verb constellation *tjhesa mokhukhu* (burn a shack) with *ka motsotso* (in a second) in (24c), while being semantically anomalous with stative verbs *hloya* (hate) and *ka motsotso* (in a second) in (24d). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the potential **ka** (can) presents the ability or possibility that in (24a) *someone would smoke again within an hour* while (24b) also presents the possibility that *someone would build a house within a year again*. The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) presents the final change of state that **can** occur within a specified period in the event of *smoking* in (24a). Thus there is no change of state in this Activity-situation type. The same possibility occurs in the event of *building* in (24b). In (24c), the appearance of the completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute), is naturally consonant with instantaneous events since it is the property of achievement situation types, while in (24d), it becomes semantically anomalous because stative sentences consist of homogeneous stages which are valid over a period of time, and not momentarily.

### 5.5.5 Perfect Tense *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse/phetile-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by the present tense participial complement activity verb *hlatswa* (wash) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (25a), accomplishment verb constellation *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (25b), achievement verb *posa lengolo* (post a letter) with *motsotso* (for a minute) in (25c) and state verb *bona* (see) with *motsotso* (for a minute) in (25d):

- (25) a. ***O boetse o hlatswa hora.***  
(She washes again for an hour)
- b. ***Nkgono o boetse o bopa nkgo ya letsopa hora.***  
(Granny has created a clay pot again for an hour)
- c. ***\*O phetile o posa lengolo motsotso.***  
(She has repeated posting a letter for a minute)

- d. **\*Nkgono o boetse o lebetse motsotso.**  
(Granny has forgotten again for a minute)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse/phetile-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement showing the activity verb *hlatswa* (wash) in (25a) and the accomplishment verb constellation *bopa nkgo* (create a clay pot) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (25b), while semantically anomalous with the achievement verb constellation *posa lengolo* (post a letter) in (25c) and stative verb *bona* (see) in (25d), with *motsotso* (for a second). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense in (25a) and (25b) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is intended to capture the current relevance of events, while the sentences in (25c) and in (25d) are felt to be odd because *motsotso* (for a minute) has an aspectual clash in achievement and stative sentences. The stative verb *lebetse* (forget) expresses a state of becoming forgetful; hence the situation will repeat itself.

#### 5.5.6 Perfect Tense *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Perfect Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by the perfect tense participial complement activity verb *ngotse* (wrote) in (26a), accomplishment verb constellation *nwele kgalase ya waene* (drank a glass of wine) in (26b), achievement verb *butse lemati* (opened a door) in (26c), and the stative verb *hloile* (hated) in (26d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) and *ka motsotso* (in a minute):

- (26) a. ***Disebo o boetse o ngotse ka hora.***  
(Disebo has written again within an hour)
- b. ***O phetile o nwele kgalase ya waene ka motsotso.***  
(He has drank a glass of wine again in an hour)
- c. ***O boetse o butse lemati ka motsotso.***  
(She has opened the door again within a minute)

d. **\*O boetse o hloile ngwana wa hae ka hora.**

(He had hated his child again in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *-boetse/phetile-* (did again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the perfect tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *ngotse* (wrote) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (26a), accomplishment verb constellation *nwele kgalase ya waene* (drank a glass of wine) *ka motsotso* (in a minute) in (26b), achievement verb constellation *butse lemati* (opened the door) *ka motsotso* (in a minute) in (26c), while being semantically incompatible with state verbs *hloile* (hated) *ka hora* (in an hour) in (26d). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (26a) and (26b) locates an event of *writing* and the event of *drinking a glass of wine* at intervals during which the events are completed within a specified period, the events being telic in aspectual value. The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (26a) triggers a shift to an Accomplishment situation type while in (26b) the shift is to an Achievement. The occurrence of completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in (26d) demonstrates incompatibility since stative situations exist over a period of time.

### 5.5.7 Perfect Tense *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse-/phetile-* (did again/repeat) in the perfect tense, followed by the consecutive complement activity verb *nwa* (drink) in (27a), accomplishment verb constellation *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) in (27b), achievement verb *hapa* (win) in (27c) and state verb *hloya* (hate) in (27d), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

(27) a. **Thabo o boetse a nwa hora, a tahwa.**

(Thabo has drunk again for an hour and then got drunk)

b. **Disebo o boetse a qhaqha mokhukhu hora ka ha o ne o sa ahwa hantle.**

(Disebo has dismantled a shack again for an hour because it was not properly erected)

- c. **\*Ba boetse ba hapa tlhodisano motsotso.**  
(They have won the competition again for a minute)
- d. **\*Ba phetile ba hloya, ba nyonya dipalo hora ka baka la titjhere e tebetsweng.**  
(They did hate, reject mathematics for an hour again because of the expelled teacher)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse/phetile-* (did again/repeat) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement activity verb *nwa* (drink) along with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (27a), accomplishment verb *qhaqha mokhukhu* (dismantle a shack) with the adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (27b), achievement verb *hapa tlhodisano* (win a competition) with adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) in (27c), while appearing semantically anomalous with the stative verb *hloya* (hate) with durative adverbial (for an hour) in (27d). In (27), the occurrence of the deficient verb *boetse/phetile-* (do again/repeat) in the perfect tense followed by the consecutive mood with temporal adjunct *hora* (for an hour) clearly conveys meaning of duration. The imperfective viewpoint in (27a) focuses on the internal stages of the durative situation excluding the endpoint, thus the event remains an activity. The accomplishment sentence in (27b) with adverbial *hora* (for an hour) contributes to a situation in time. The situation also has the aspectual value of an atelic event in (27b). Thus, the occurrence of durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift to a derived-Activity situation type since the event can have an arbitrary final endpoint. In (27c), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with achievement because the achievement sentence involves an instantaneous event. In (27c), durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is linguistically irrelevant and it contains no stages or sub-parts of the event. In (27d), the state sentence consists of homogenous stages, and the durative adverbial cannot hold or obtain for a state sentence.

### 5.5.8 Infinitive *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive followed by the present tense participial complement activity verb *matha* (run) in (28a), accomplishment verb

constellation *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (28b), achievement verb constellation *beha buka* (put a book) in (28c), and the state verb *lebala* (forget) in (28d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (28) a. *Haesale ke atleha, ke batla ho boela ke matha ka hora feela.*  
(Since my success, I want to run again in an hour only)
- b. *Ho boela o loha jeresi ka hora ho boima.*  
(To knit a jersey again in an hour is difficult)
- c. *Ho pheta o beha buka tafoleng ka motsotso ho tla o shapisa ka malome.*  
(To repeat putting a book on a table in a minute will make uncle beat you)
- d. *?Ho boela o lebala ditaba ka hora, o tla hlolwa ke nyewe.*  
(To forget the news again in an hour, you will lose the case)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the infinitive is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement exhibiting the activity verb *matha* (run) in (28a) and accomplishment verb constellation *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (28b), while being unacceptable with achievement verb *beha buka* (put a book) in (28c), and the state verb *lebala* (forget) in (28d) along with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The atelic verb constellation ‘*ho boela ke matha...*’ (to run again...) in (28a) is interpreted as telic in the context of the completive telic adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). Thus, the occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) triggers a shift to an Accomplishment situation type in (28a), because the event of running is completed within a specified time. In (28c), the occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) demonstrates the distinctive feature of boundedness, because the event of *putting the books on the table* happens as an instantaneous event. There is no shift in an Achievement situation type; hence the adverbial *ka motsotso* (within a minute) has an ingressive interpretation. A marked focus is on the preliminary stages of the event because the event is telic. In (28d), the completive adverbial *ka hora* demonstrates boundedness but the stative sentence is inherently unbounded, the result of which is that the stative sentence is semantically anomalous because it has no terminal point.

### 5.5.9 Subjunctive *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by subjunctive complement activity verb *bapala* (play) in (29a), accomplishment verb *fuputsa sethethefatsi* (investigate a drug) in (29b), achievement verb *shapa* (hit) in (29c), and state verbs *rata* (love) in (29d) with the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (29) a. ***Ba batla hore ba boele ba bapale hora.***  
(They want to play again for an hour)
- b. ***?Mapolesa a batla hore a phete a fuputse sethethefatsi se itseng sekolong hora.***  
(Police want to investigate a certain drug again at school for an hour)
- c. ***?O batla hore di boele di nyamele metsotso e mehlano.***  
(He wants them to disappear again for five minutes)
- d. ***\*Disebo o batla hore Thulo a boele a mo rate hora.***  
(Disebo wants that Thulo should love her again for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verb *bapala* (play) in (29a), while semantically anomalous with the accomplishment verb constellation *fuputse sethethefatsi* (investigate a drug) in (29b), the achievement verb *shapa* (hit) in (29c), and the state verb *rata* (love) in (29d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The sentence in (29a), which uses the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is natural within an atelic situation, although it does not trigger a shift in the Activity situation type. The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (29b) expresses duration though there is no reasonable shifted interpretation. The shifted interpretation of derived-Activity does not include endpoints in the event of investigating a drug at school. The accomplishment sentence in (29b) needs special interpretation because it is incompatible with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The achievement sentence with an instantaneous event in (29c) has a distinct interpretation which can be used to focus the resultative period of the event. The durative adverbial *metsotso e mehlano* (for five minutes) is incompatible with the achievement sentence. The stative sentence is semantically anomalous with any

durative adverbial and they are linguistically irrelevant; hence they contain no stages or sub-parts of stages.

#### 5.5.10 Subjunctive *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Present Tense Participial

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood followed by the present tense participial complement activity verb *matha* (run) in (30a), accomplishment verb constellation *bala buka* (read a book) in (30b), achievement verb *hlola* (win) in (30c) and state verbs *lebala* (forget) in (30d) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (30) a. *Ke lakatsa hore le boele le matha ka hora e le nngwe feela.*  
(I wish that you should run again in an hour only)
- b. *Ke lakatsa hore o boele o bala buka ka hora e le nngwe feela.*  
(I wish that you should read a book again in an hour only)
- c. *Ke lakatsa hore a boele a hlola ka motsotso o le mong feela.*  
(I wish that he should win again in a minute only)
- d. *?\*Ke lakatsa hore le phete le lebala tsa maoba le maobane ka hora.*  
(I wish that you should forget those of the day before of yesterday and of yesterday again in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the subjunctive mood is semantically compatible with the present tense participial complement describing the activity verb *matha* (run) in (30a) and the accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (30b), achievement verb *hlola* (win) in (30c) while being semantically anomalous with the state verb *lebala* (forget) in (30d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *boele-* (again) in the subjunctive mood expresses the event of *running* in (30a) and the event of *reading a book* with the intention of reading a book which should be completed within an hour in the future, while in (30c) the event of *winning* may happen within a minute. The occurrence of the completive *ka hora* (in an hour) is semantically anomalous with the stative verb *lebala* (forget). Stative sentences do not take an extended period of time.

### 5.5.11 Consecutive *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Consecutive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement exhibiting the activity verb *ja* (eat) in (31a), accomplishment verb constellation *bala buka* (read a book) in (31b), achievement verb constellation *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (31c) and state verbs *hlanya* (become mad) in (31d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (31) a. *Ha bosiu bo wela fatshe, ka pheta ka ja hora e le nngwe feela.*  
(When the sun rise, I have then eaten again for an hour only)
- b. *Ha letsatsi le tjhaba, ka boela ka bala buka hora feela.*  
(When the sun rise, I have then read a book again for an hour only)
- c. \**Ke ile ka pheta ka tjhwatla kgalase motsotso.*  
(I have then broken a glass again for a minute)
- d. \**Ha le dikela, a pheta a hlanya hora.*  
(When sun set, he the became mad again for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the consecutive mood is semantically compatible with the consecutive complement expressing the activity verb *ja* (eat) in (31a), and the accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (31b), while being semantically anomalous with achievement verb *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (31c) and state verbs *hlanya* (become mad) in (31d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (31a) describes an atelic event without having the specified endpoints. Therefore the event of *eating* can stop at any time. There is no change of state in the atelic activity event of eating. In (31b) the occurrence of durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not trigger a shift in an Accomplishment situation type since the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (repeat/again) in the consecutive addresses an event that not only took place in the past, but that was also repeated in the past. In (31c) the occurrence of durative adjunct *motsotso* (for a minute) expresses anomalous interpretation because the adverbial *motsotso* (for an hour) is an instantaneous property of achievement hence the achievements contain no stages or sub-parts and the durative adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) is linguistically

irrelevant. In (31d), the durative adverbial demonstrates incompatibility with the stative verb *hlanya* (become mad) because states never change over a period of time.

### 5.5.12 Imperative *boela-/pheta-* (do again/repeat) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood followed by the subjunctive complement describing the activity verb *matha* (run) in (32a), accomplishment verb constellation *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (32b), achievement verb *tlosa ngwana* (remove the child) in (32c), and state verbs *tsebisa* (inform) in (32d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (32) a. ***Boela o mathe ka hora feela pele o kgathala.***  
(Run again within an hour only before you get tired)
- b. ***Boela o nwe kgalase ya lebese ka letsatsi ka motsotso.***  
(Drink a glass of milk again a day in a minute)
- c. **?\**Boela o tlose ngwana seterateng ka motsotso.***  
(Remove the child again from the street in a minute)
- d. **\**Pheta o ba tsebise ka nako ya tlhahlobo ka hora.***  
(Inform them again about the examination time in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *boela/pheta-* (do again/repeat) in the imperative mood is semantically compatible with the subjunctive complement activity verb *matha* (run) in (32a) and accomplishment verb constellation *nwa kgalase ya lebese* (drink a glass of milk) in (32b), while semantically anomalous with the achievement verb *tlosa ngwana* (remove the child) in (32c), and the state verb *tsebisa* (inform) in (32d), along with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) presents an ingressive interpretation with deficient verb *boela* (again) in the imperative mood expressing the activity sentence in (32a). In (32b), the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) presents the culmination of the telic situation that will take place within a specified time. At the end of a minute, the final change of state, which consisted of the completion of the end event of drinking, occurred instantaneously. The shifted meaning to the Achievement situation type is

triggered by the appearance of the instantaneous telic event with *ka motsotso* (in a minute). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in the imperative mood is semantically anomalous with sentences in (32c) and (32d). In (32c), the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) culminates the achievement of reading yet it is not the *removing* itself that takes place in a minute since the achievements happen instantaneously. Therefore the occurrence of the adverbial *ka motsotso* (in an hour) is linguistically irrelevant. In (32d), a state sentence cannot occur with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) because state verbs exist over a period of time.

## 5.7 FREQUENTATIVE

This sub-section investigates the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (act often/do frequently) with the participial complement clause that demonstrates the basic-level verb activity, accomplishment, achievement and state verbs in Sesotho. The question is, in particular, whether the situations are semantically compatible with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour), and the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). Within the confines of lexical semantics, the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) should be given special attention with regard to event structure as well as the meaning of verbs as they indicate lexical conceptual paradigms and lexical structure.

### 5.7.1. Present Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement exhibiting the activity verb *seba* (gossip) in (33a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (33b), achievement verb *tjhwatla kgalase* (break) in (33c), and the state verb *tseba* (know) in (33d), along with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (33) a. ***Basadi ba atisa ho seba hora.***  
(Women often gossip for an hour)
- b. ***Maphalla o atisa ho ngola buka hora.***  
(Maphalla frequently write a book for an hour)

- c. \***O atisa ho tjhwatla kgalase ya jwala motsotso.**  
(He often break a glass of beer for an hour)
- d. \***O atisa ho tseba dipalo hora.**  
(He often know mathematics for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the present tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement demonstrating the activity verb *seba* (gossip) in (33a), and accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (33b), while being semantically anomalous with the achievement verb constellation *tjhwatla kgalase* (break a glass) in (33c), and the state verb *tseba* (know) in (33d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) does not shift the activity situation type even though the situation occurs frequently and involves the repetition of the act of gossiping. The appearance of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently) demonstrates habitual interpretation. In (33b), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) expresses a shift in the situation type of Accomplishment to derived-Activity because the act of *writing a book* does not involve the endpoints of the event. The telic event shifts to an atelic, incomplete event. It implies that the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) locates a marked focus on the process stages during which women used to gossip. The durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with the achievement sentence in (33c) as well as the stative sentence in (33d).

### 5.7.2 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Infinitive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the future tense followed by infinitive complement activity verb *bua* (talk) in (34a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (34b), achievement verb constellation *kwala lemati* (close) in (34c) and the stative verb *kula* (become sick) in (34d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (34) a. **Basadi ba tla atisa ho bua ka hora.**  
(Women will frequently talk in an hour)
- b. **Pule o tla atisa ho ngola buka ka hora.**  
(Pule will often write a book in an hour)

- c. **\*O tla atisa ho kwala lemati ka motsotso.**  
(He will often close the door in a minute)
- d. **\*O tla aitsa ho kula ka hora.**  
(She will frequently get sick in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the future tense is semantically compatible with the infinitive complement activity verb *bua* (talk) in (34a) and accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (34b), while semantically anomalous with the achievement verb constellation *kwala lemati* (close the door) in (34c) and state verb *kula* (become sick) in (34d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with the activity sentence in (34a) and the accomplishment sentence in (34b) present a series of events which will be carried out within a particular time but they will probably be performed habitually since they will occur frequently in future. There is no change of state in the appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), which is not compatible with the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa* (frequently) in the future followed by the infinitive complement expressing the achievement verb constellation *kwala lemati* (close the door) and the stative verb *kula* (become sick).

### 5.7.3 Future Tense *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the future tense followed by subjunctive complement expressing the activity verb *mathe* (run) in (35a), accomplishment verb constellation *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (35b), achievement verb *bule lemati* (open) in (35c) and state verb *tsebe* (know) in (35d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (35) a. **\*Pule o tla atisa hore a mathe hora jwalo ka Ntshwekge.**  
(Pule will frequently run for an hour like Ntshwekge)
- b. **?\*Ntate o tla atisa hore a hahe ntlo selemo ka ha o tsofetse.**  
(Father will often build a house for a year because he is old)
- c. **\*O tla atisa hore a bule lemati motsotswana.**  
(She will often open the door for an hour)

- d.     **\*O tla atisa hore a tsebe Sesotho hora.**  
 (He will frequently know Sesotho for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) is semantically compatible with the future tense followed by a subjunctive complement activity verb *mathe* (run) in (35a) while being semantically anomalous with accomplishment verb constellation *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (35b), achievement verb constellation *bule lemati* (open) in (35c), and state verb *tsebe* (know) in (35d) with the durative adverb *hora* (for an hour). The deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) clearly conveys the meaning of a situation that occurs frequently, as well as characterizing some period as in (35a) ‘*circumstances frequently require X to run for an hour*’ until an event stops at any time. The event is atelic. The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the future tense demonstrates incompatibility with the activity sentence in (35a), the accomplishment sentence in (35b), achievement event in (35c) and state sentence in (35d) because events are expected to take place frequently in the future and for a period of time. This can surely not hold for (35), since the readings which are presented in the latter cannot happen often or frequently with a subjunctive complement. The notion of frequency cannot be linked with the interpretation of a subjunctive complement expressing activity, accomplishment, achievement and stative situation types because it becomes impossible to ascribe aspectual features such as these.

#### 5.7.4 Potential *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) with Subjunctive

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the potential mood followed by subjunctive complement explaining the activity verb *bue* (talk) in (36a), accomplishment verb constellation *bopa nkgō* (create a clay pot) in (36b), achievement verb *kobe terata* (bend a wire) in (36c) and the state verb *rate* (love) in (36d), with the durative adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (36) a.     **\*Nka atisa hore ke bue ka hora.**  
 (I can often speak in an hour)

- b.     \***Malome a ka atisa hore a bope nkgo ka hora.**  
(Uncle can often create a clay pot in an hour)
- c.     \***A ka atisa hore a kobe terata ka motsotso.**  
(He can often bend a wire in a minute)
- d.     \***A ka atisa hore a rate kgarebe ka hora.**  
(He can frequently love a girl in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the potential mood is semantically incompatible with the subjunctive complement expressing the activity verb *bue* (talk) in (36a), accomplishment verb constellation *bope nkgo* (create a clay pot) in (36b), achievement verb constellation *kobe terata* (bend a wire) in (36c) and state verb *rate* (love) in (36d), and with the completive adverb *ka hora* (in an hour). The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) with the occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa* (frequently) in the potential mood followed by the subjunctive complement describes anomalous events and stative sentence in (36) because the events communicate the probability that a particular event would frequently take place within a specific time. The occurrence of the deficient verb *atisa-* (do frequently; act often) in the potential followed by the subjunctive complement, is demonstrating the situations with the durative adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour), describes the subjunctive complement of events and the stative sentence as linguistically irrelevant and misleading.

## 5.8 REQUEST

This sub-section investigates the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) with the basic-level verbs that demonstrate activity, accomplishment, achievement and state verbs. The question is, in particular, whether the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) is semantically compatible with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) in various participial complement clauses. Within the confines of lexical semantics, the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) should be given special attention with regard to event structure and the meaning of verbs whereby lexical items and sentences enter into linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions.

### 5.8.1 Hortative *a ko* with temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morpheme *a ko-* (a polite request) in the subjunctive complement activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (37a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngole pale* (write a story) in (37b), achievement verb *reke mose* (buy a dress) in (37c) and state verb *sheba* (look) in (37d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (37) a. ***A ko o mathe hora.***  
(May you run for an hour)
- b. ***A ko o ngole pale hora.***  
(May you write a story for an hour)
- c. ***\*A ko o reke mose motsotso.***  
(May you buy a dress for a minute)
- d. ***\*A ko o shebe motsotso.***  
(May you look for an hour)

The occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically compatible with a subjunctive complement expressing the activity verbs *mathe* (run) in (37a) and accomplishment verb *ngole pale* (write a story) in (37b). There is no shift in the Activity-situation type because there is no information given about the initial and the final endpoints of the event of running. In (37b), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) has triggered a shift in situation value of a derived-Activity because the event of writing a book for an hour is atelic and incomplete. However, the occurrence of the hortative aspectual morphemes *a ko-* (a polite request) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with achievement verb constellation *reke mose* (buy a dress) in (37c) and state verb *sheba* (look) in (37d). In (37c) the adverbial is momentary and the event is instantaneous, so it is impossible for *motsotso* (for a minute) to comply with achievement since it lacks the characteristic features of achievement.

## 5.9 OBLIGATION

The term indicates a condition that makes it necessary for one to do something. This deficient verb *tshwanela*- (do of necessity/ought to) shows that is compulsory that something should happen.

### 5.9.1 -*tshwanela* (do of necessity/ought to) with temporal adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tshwanela*- (do of necessity/ought to) in the present tense followed by the infinitive complement activity verb *fihla* (arrive) in (38a), accomplishment verb *loha jeresi* (knit a jersey) in (38b), achievement verb *roma ngwana* (send the child) in (38c) and state verb *nena* (hate) in (38d), with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (38) a. ***O tshwanela ho fihla ka motsotso.***  
(He ought to arrive within a minute)
- b. ***O tshwanela ho loha jeresi ka hora.***  
(She ought to knit a jersey in an hour)
- c. ***O tshwanela ho roma ngwana posong ka motsotswana.***  
(You must send the child to the post office in a second)
- d. ***\*O tshwanela ho nena metswalle e mebe ka hora.***  
(You ought to hate your bad friends for an hour)

In (38a), a shift is triggered by the adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) to an Achievement situation value because the event of arriving receives a marked interpretation. Therefore, the adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) supercedes the requisite interpretation of the situation type as it is compatible with it, and in addition, the event of arriving must happen within a specified period. The atelic situation is interpreted within the context of the telic event, completive adverbial. In (38c), adverbial *ka motsotswana* (in a second) is compatible with the instantaneous event although the situation presents a marked focus, an ingressive interpretation; the adverbial *ka motsotswana* (within a minute) indicates the beginning of which the event of *sending the child to the post office* occurs. In (38d), the occurrence of the

deficient verb *tshwanela-* (ought to) is semantically anomalous with the stative sentence with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) because the state sentence is valid over a period of time.

## 5.10 MANNER

The term refers to the way or method in which an event happens. The following deficient verbs *hla* (certainly), *fela* (act indeed/do in reality), *batla* (nearly), *nyafa* (signifying opportune action), *phakisa* (do soon, act quickly), *tswatswa* (act in vain/endeavour without result) are used to demonstrate and investigate compatibility with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in and hour).

### 5.10.1 *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) with temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense followed by a perfect tense participial complement showing the activity verbs *mathile* (ran) in (39a), accomplishment verb constellation *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (39b), achievement verb *rekile* (bought) in (39c), and the state verb *tsebile* (knew) in (39d), used with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (39) a. ***O hlile o mathile hora.***  
(He has really ran for an hour)
- b. ***O hlile o hahile ntlo ya tonanahadi selemo.***  
(He has built a big house indeed for a year)
- c. ***\*O hlile o rekile motsotswana.***  
(He really bought for a minute)
- d. ***\*Ke hlile ke tsebile hora.***  
(I knew indeed for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a perfect tense participial complement explaining the

activity verb *mathile* (ran) in (39a), and the accomplishment verb constellation *hahile ntlo* (built a house) in (39b), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). In (39c), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with the achievement verb *rekile* (bought) in (39c) and the stative verb *tsebile* (knew) in (39d). The durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (39a) indicates a situation in which the event of *running* of X for an hour has occurred. The event remains atelic since there is no information given about the beginning of the event of running and the final endpoint of the event. Therefore, the situation remains unchanged; hence there is no shift in meaning or a change of state. In (39b), the occurrence of the deficient verb *hlile-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the perfect tense presents the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with a situation in which the event of building a house occurred and the interpretation involves the completion of the house-building. The appearance of the durative adverbial *selemo* (for a year) triggers a shift to the derived-Activity situation type because the durative adverbial *selemo* changes the closed perfective viewpoint to the imperfective viewpoint. The intrinsic final endpoint of a telic event is not included in the event of building a house for a year. In (39b), without the durative adverbial, the sentence with Accomplishment implies the completion of the event of house-building. In (39c) and (39d), the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) presents oddity with the achievement and state sentences because the adverbial *for an hour* clashes with the feature value of an instantaneous achievement event and the stative situation type.

### 5.10.2 *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) in the present tense followed by a participial complement presenting the activity verb *tla* (come) in (40a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (40b), achievement verb *reka dress* (buy a dress) in (40c), and the stative verb *thaba* (become happy) in (40d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (40) a. \****Ba fela ba tla hora.***  
(They really come for an hour)

- b. **\*Ba fela ba haha ntlo selemo.**  
(They really build a house for an hour)
- c. **\*O fela a reka mose motsotso.**  
(He has buy a dress indeed for a minute)
- d. **\*Na o fela a thabile motsotso?**  
(Is she really happy for an hour?)

In (40), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with all situation types because the grammaticalised expressions of the deficient verb *fela-* (certainly/really/indeed) can be explained by the feature mismatch between the situation types and the durative adverbials.

### 5.10.3 *batlile-* (nearly/almost) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile-* (nearly/almost) in the perfect tense followed by a participial complement expressing the activity verb *matha* (run) in (41a), accomplishment verb constellation *seha leqa* (cut a piece) in (41b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (41c), and the stative verb *thaba* (become happy) in (41d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (41) a. **O batlile a matha ka hora.**  
(He almost ran within an hour)
- b. **O batlile a seha leqa la nama ka motsotso.**  
(She almost cut a piece of meat in a minute)
- c. **Tsa batla di nyamela ka motsotso.**  
(They nearly disappeared in a minute)
- d. **\*O batlile a thaba ka hora ke diphetho.**  
(He nearly become happy in a minute because of the results)

The appearance of the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) with the deficient verb *batlile* (almost) in the perfect tense is semantically compatible with a participial complement denoting the activity sentence in (41a) accomplishment verb constellation *seha leqa* (cut a piece) in (41b), and the achievement verb *nyamela*

(disappear). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is compatible with the activity event in (41a), even though the event of running almost happens within an hour and 'the running' did occur within less than an hour or just after an hour. The sentence in (41b) has two interpretations according to two possible scopes of the completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (in an hour). For instance in (41b) the event of *cutting* almost happened within a minute, but it did not take a minute to occur. Maybe it took five or six minutes to occur if a marked focus is introduced on the beginning of the event. Then the adverbial presents a shift to an Achievement situation because an event ends with an instantaneous telic event. On the other hand, if the event of cutting a piece of meat is externally focused, then one did not cut a piece of meat at all. The event did not happen or take place. Example (41c) is different with reference to achievement, because it has a special interpretation and is semantically compatible with deficient verb *batla* (almost). For instance, *they nearly disappeared within a minute but they did not*. In (41d), the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is ambiguous with the occurrence of the deficient verb *batlile* (almost/nearly) combined with the stative verb *thaba* (become happy) because one cannot almost be in a state of happiness within a specific time. These examples in (41) show that the occurrence of the completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (*in-adverbial*) in Sesotho differs from one class to another.

#### 5.10.4 nyafa- (right time/signifying opportune action) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile-* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense followed by a subjunctive complement describing the activity verb *fihle* (arrive) in (42a), accomplishment verb constellation *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (42b), achievement verb constellation *reke mose* (buy a dress) in (42c), and the stative verb *lemohe* (realise) in (42d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (42) a. ***O nyafile o fihle hora.***  
 (You came at the right time for an hour)
- b. ***Ntate o nyafile a hahe ntlo selemo.***  
 (Father built a house at the right time for a year)

- c. \***O nyafile a reke mose motsotso.**  
(You did well by buying a dress for a minute)
- d. \***O nyafile a lemohe hora le ha nako e se e ile.**  
(He realises at a right time for an hour even if the time has expired)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *nyafile* (right time/signifying opportune action) in the perfect tense is semantically acceptable followed by a subjunctive complement expressing the activity verb *fihle* (arrive) in (42a), and the accomplishment verb constellation *hahe ntlo* (build a house) in (42b). The occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) expresses impossibility when combined with the achievement verb constellation *reke mose* (buy a dress) in (42c), and the stative verb *lemoha* (realise) in (42d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). The appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) in (42a) contributes information which is internal to the situation-type sentence, because the special interpretation could be '*O nyafile o fihle hora pele kopano e qala*' (You came at the right time for an hour before the meeting starts). These grammaticalised sentences in (42) require a special interpretation. In (42b), the appearance of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift in the derived-Activity situation type because the intention of the father was to build a house for a year and there is no final endpoint of house-building. The sentences in (42c) and (42d) are difficult to interpret; hence they are semantically anomalous with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour).

#### **5.10.5 phakisa- (do soon/act quickly) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour)**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense followed by an infinitive complement denoting the activity verb *fihla* (arrive) in (43a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (43b), achievement verb constellation *tjhesa jwang* (burn a grass) in (43c) and the state verb *kula* (become sick) in (43d), with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (43) a. ***O phakisa ho fihla ka hora ho tloha jwale.***  
(He arrives soon within an hour as from now)
- b. ***Ntate o phakisa ho haha ntlo ka selemo ka ha o lefilwe.***  
(Father builds a house quickly within a year because he is paid)
- c. ***?O phakisa ho tjhesa jwang ka motsotso.***  
(He burns the grass quickly in a second)
- d. ***\*Pule o phakisa ho kula ka motsotso ha a se hae.***  
(Pule becomes sick quickly in a minute when he is not at home)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *phakisa-* (do soon/act quickly) in the present tense is semantically acceptable with an infinitive complement denoting the activity verb *fihla* (arrive) in (43a) and the accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (43b) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) does not trigger a shift in the value of the Activity situation in (43a) because the interpretation does not indicate the endpoints of the event *arriving in an hour as from now*. In (43b), there is no change of stage in an Accomplishment situation type, because the house-building event is completed within a year. The completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) is unambiguous with the achievement sentence in (43c) because achievement sentence ‘*O phakisa ho tjhesa jwang*’ (He quickly burns the grass) simply exists outside the boundedness of *ka motsotso* (in a minute) and the achievement sentence lacks duration; hence the completive adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) refers to time elapsing before the beginning of the situation. In (43d), the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is semantically anomalous with the stative verb *kula* (become sick) because the stative sentence consists of a sequence of homogenous stages during which no change takes place.

#### **5.10.6 tswatswa- (act in vain/endeavour without result) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour)**

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa-* (act in vain/endeavour without result) in the present tense followed by a participial complement denoting the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (44a), accomplishment verb *bala buka* (read a book) in (44b), achievement verb constellation *fumana tjhelete*

(receive money) in (44c) and stative verb *tseba* (know) in (44d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (44) a. ***Ke tswatswile ke sebetsa hora empa ka se fumane moputso.***  
(I have worked in vain for an hour but I did not receive my salary)
- b. ***Nkgono o tswatswile a bala buka hora empa a se utlwisise letho.***  
(Granny has read a book in vain for an hour but she did not understand)
- c. ***\*O tswatswa fumana tjhelete motsotso.***  
(He has just received money for a minute)
- d. ***\*Re tswatswa tseba hora.***  
(We have just knew for an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswile*- (act in vain/endeavour without result) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a participial complement denoting the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (44a), and the accomplishment verb constellation *bala buka* (read a book) in (44b), with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour). In (44b), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift in the situation value of a derived-Activity because it describes an atelic event in which the action of reading has an arbitrary final endpoint. In (44c) and (44d), the occurrence of the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) is semantically anomalous with the achievement verb *fumana tjhelete* (receive money) in (44c), because the adverbial *motsotso* (for an hour) is the property of achievement and is instantaneous. The occurrence of the deficient verb *tswatswa*- (just) in the present tense describes the situation in the context of the instantaneous event in '*O tswatswa fumana tjhelete*' (He has just received money) although it is semantically anomalous with adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute). In (44d) the state verb *tseba* (know) is incompatible with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) because a stative sentence consists of homogeneous stages which cannot hold with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour).

## 5.11 CONTINUATIVE

The deficient verb *nna/ntse* (act continually), *eketsa* (do further) focuses either on the continuing of an event or on the endpoint of an event.

### 5.11.1 eketsa- (do further/act besides) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the potential **ka** (can/may) followed by a present tense participial complement denoting the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (45a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola pale* (write a story) in (45b), achievement verb *tjhwatla fenstere* (break a window) in (45c), and the stative verb *tseba* (know) in (45d) with the durative adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (45) a. ***Nka eketsa ka bua ka hora.***  
(I may speak further within an hour)
- b. ***A ka eketsa a ngola pale ka hora.***  
(He can write a story further within an hour)
- c. ***?A ka eketsa a tjhwatla fenstere ka motsotso.***  
(He can further break the window in a second)
- d. ***\*Ha ke bua, ke eketsa ho tseba Sesotho ka hora.***  
(When I speak, I will further know Sesotho in an hour)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *eketsa-* (do further/act besides) in the potential **ka** (can/may) is semantically acceptable with a present tense participial complement expressing the activity verb *bua* (speak) in (45a), and accomplishment verb constellation *ngola pale* (write a story) in (45b), with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) is semantically anomalous with the achievement verb *tjhwatla fenstere* (break a window) in (45c), because the event is instantaneous and is telic in the sense that a completed event has been described in '*A eketsa a tjhwatla fenstere* (He further breaks a window). The stative verb *tseba* (know) in (45d) is incompatible with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour) since states last over a period of time.

### 5.11.2 [nna] (act continually) with durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna-* (act continually) in the consecutive followed by the present tense participial complement

denoting the activity verb *matha* (run) in (46a), accomplishment verb constellation *ngola buka* (write a book) in (46b), the achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (46c), and the stative verb *lla* (cry) in (46d) with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour):

- (46) a. ***A nna a matha hora.***  
(He kept on running for an hour)
- b. ***A nna a ngola buka hora le ha a se na bokgoni.***  
(He kept on writing a book for an hour even if he does not have the ability)
- c. ***Tsa nna tsa nyamela motsotso o mong le o mong bosiu kaofela.***  
(They kept on disappearing for every minute the whole night)
- d. ***\*Ba nna ba lla motsotso le ka mora lepato.***  
(They kept on crying for a minute even after the funeral)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *нна* (act continually) focuses on the starting point of the event of *running* in (46a), *writing a book* in (46b) and *disappearing* in (46c). The interpretation of the event is ingressive. The appearance of the durative *hora* (for an hour) is semantically compatible with the occurrence of the deficient verb *нна* (act continually) in the consecutive, and it supersedes the consecutive in the sense that the event continues. The appearance of the durative *hora* (for an hour) triggers a shift from an Accomplishment situation type to a derived-Activity because the event of writing a book does not involve the final endpoint of writing. The appearance of the adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) needs a special interpretation with an instantaneous event '*Tsa nna tsa nyamela*' (They kept on disappearing) in (46c). In the achievement sentence containing the adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute), the interval is understood to end with an instantaneous event. The appearance of the adverbial *motsotso* (for a minute) demonstrates oddity with a stative sentence because statives do not involve time.

### 5.11.3 [ntse] (act continually) with completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour)

The following sentences demonstrate the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) in the present tense followed by a participial complement denoting the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (47a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (47b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (47c), and the stative verb *boesesela* (smile) in (47d), along with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour):

- (47) a. ***O ntse a sebetsa ka hora le ha e le bosiu.***  
(He continually works in an hour even though it is late)
- b. ***O ntse a haha ntlo ka selemo le ha a se na tjhelete.***  
(He continually builds a house in a year even if he did not has money)
- c. ***Di ntse di nyamela ka motsotso le ha ho se na letho.***  
(They continually disappear in a minute even if there was nothing)
- d. ***O ntse a boesesela ka hora ha a ntse a sheba koloi ya hae e ntjha.***  
(He continually smiling when he is on looking at his new car)

The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) in the present tense is semantically compatible with a participial complement denoting the activity verb *sebetsa* (work) in (47a), accomplishment verb constellation *haha ntlo* (build a house) in (47b), achievement verb *nyamela* (disappear) in (47c), but is semantically anomalous with the stative verb *boesesela* (smile) in (47d) with the completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). The occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) in the present tense expresses a continuative meaning. The appearance of the completive *ka hora* (in an hour) is superseded by the grammaticalised expression of the continuative of an event in (47). The imperfective viewpoint is introduced by the occurrence of the deficient verb *ntse* (act continually) in the present tense in the stative sentence in (47d). The imperfective viewpoint focuses on the internal stages of a durative situation, and, for this reason, the stative sentence refers to a particular state obtaining within every hour.

## 5.12 SUMMARY

In these presentations, it is argued that durative adverbials *hora* (for an hour), *motsotso* (for a minute), *selemo* (for a year) express a marked focus on the process stages of the Accomplishment and thus trigger a shift in a derived-Activity situation type. On the other hand, the occurrence of the deficient verbs with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) with verbs denoting an activity event does not trigger a shift in a situation type; hence the situation does not include the endpoints of the event. It is argued that the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) in the consecutive demonstrates a situation in which an event continues because the consecutive mood which expresses completion is superseded by the appearance of durative adverbials *hora* (for an hour), *motsotso* (for a minute), and *selemo* (for a year). Looking at the occurrence of the deficient verb *nna* (act continually) in the consecutive, it becomes difficult to defend the context of a consecutive which presents a completion. As a matter of fact these sentences in (45 to 47) contain continuative meaning. Since achievements are instantaneous, they are naturally incompatible with the durative adverbials *hora* (*for-* phrase) describing the duration of a situation, while activity and accomplishment situation types which describe durative situations are compatible with durative *hora* adverbial (*for-*phrase) construction. Stative situations are also incompatible with durative *for* adverbials since they denote a static situation which holds or obtains over a period of time.

Completive adverbials such as *ka hora* ((with)in an hour), *ka motsotso* (in a minute) and *ka selemo* (in a year), do trigger a shift to an Accomplishment situation, but this does not hold with the deficient verb *nna*, *ntse* (act continually), because denotes continuative interpretation. The completive adverbial *ka motsotso*, when appearing with an Achievement situation type is comprehensible in Sesotho because its meaning is confined to only an ingressive interpretation in a given sentence, whose situation type is Achievement. In this case, the adverbial *ka motsotso* (in a minute) supersedes, requiring the interpretation of the situation to be compatible therewith.

## CHAPTER 6

### 6.1 CONCLUSION

In this particular study, a systematic effort has been made to explain the relevance of the notion of *aspect* to the study of Sesotho verbs. It is clear that the recognition of aspect as an essential sub-category of the verb could facilitate the description of the Sesotho situation types in several respects. In Chapter 3 it was established that situation types in Sesotho are classified into four types: **activity**, **accomplishment**, **achievement** and **state**. These situation types are distinguished by conceptual temporal properties [ $\pm$ Duration], [ $\pm$ Static] and [ $\pm$ Telic] which make it possible for situation types to be divided into to a cluster of events and states. [ $\pm$ Duration] helps categorise situation types as either durative or instantaneous, while [ $\pm$ Telic] helps categorise events as either atelic or telic. A detailed investigation into the semantic features of the situation types was undertaken in Chapter 3 which argued that telic events are directed towards a final endpoint. The latter effects a change of state and completes the event. The situation types involving the atelic events that do not yield final endpoints but, instead, result in an arbitrary terminal point, were also accordingly described.

First, the conclusions drawn in this study were based both Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. One important conclusion, in this regard, is that the occurrence of the deficient verbs that denote **time**, **the conditional**, **the habitual**, **the contrastive**, **the iterative**, **the frequentative**, **request**, **obligation**, **manner**, and **the continuative** with different tenses and modalities, entail a shift to another level in the lexical semantics of verb activity, accomplishment, achievement and state situation types. As previously indicated, the categories of **aspect** and **tense** in the grammatical description of Sesotho have been the source of some confusion. For clarification purposes, this study has established that both aspect and tense are concerned with time in varying ways. It has been demonstrated that tense locates situations in **time** at the moment of speech, whereas aspect is not related to signalling of marking the time of the situation. Rather, it is concerned with **the internal temporal constituency** of the situation.

Second, in Chapter 5 the study examined the compatibility of the deficient verbs occurring in the present, perfect and future tenses in relation to the following: the present/perfect/ participial complement expressing activity, accomplishment, achievement; the stative situation types with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) denoting incompleteness, and the completive adverbial *ka hora* (within an hour), denoting completion. Throughout the study, and especially when dealing specifically with aspect and tense, the recognition of the **Perfective** is of paramount importance. This includes the **instantaneous, habitual, and completive** adverbial aspects which are telic in that they encode an endpoint. The role of the **Imperfective** has been assigned equal importance in this project. Reference to the Imperfective includes the **progressive, durative, iterative continuative** and **frequentative** aspects, all of which are atelic and do not have an endpoint requirement. The foregoing efforts to organise and systematise the phenomena of tense and aspect - together with their grammatical implications – appear, in the context of this study, to have resolved the problems and confusion pertaining to the classification of verbs as **activities, accomplishments, achievements** and **states**.

The following tables summarise, in terms of the **compatibility**, the occurrence of the deficient verbs that denote the following instances: time, the conditional, the habitual, the contrastive, the iterative, frequentative, request, obligation, manner, and continuative. The tables also display the situation types in which tense has close links with modality and aspect. The first table illustrates only the compatibility of the deficient verbs in the present tense, followed by present tense participial complements expressing situation types. The second table shows the compatibility of the deficient verbs in the present tense, followed by the perfect-tense participial complement with the durative adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and completive adverbial *ka hora* (in an hour). For instance, the occurrence of the deficient verbs in the **present tense**, followed by a **present tense** participial complement expressing the activity, accomplishment, achievement and stative verbs, introduces an imperfective viewpoint which denotes an ongoing progression. The examples cited in Chapter 4, delineate the occurrence of the deficient verbs in the **present/perfect tense** followed by a **present/perfect tense** participial complement denoting an activity that does not involve a shift in an **Activity** situation type. This is because the activity event

encodes atelic event without a final endpoint. Additionally, this entails a shift to **Accomplishment**, because an accomplishment event encodes the telic event with an endpoint. Furthermore, chapter 4 has described the occurrence of deficient verbs in the **present tense** with a **present-tense** participial complement denoting the accomplishment verb encoding a telic event, and the achievement verb signifying an instantaneous telic event. The shift in a situation type is triggered by the intrinsic meaning of the deficient verb in the event. The self-same chapter has both highlighted and demonstrated the compatibility of the occurrence of the deficient verbs in the **present** with a **present/perfect tense** participial complement denoting the stative situation type that obtains or prevails over a period of time.

*Table 1: The deficient verbs in the present tense followed by a present tense participial complement expressing the situation types*

Deficient verb	Activity with Present Tense Participial	Accomplishment with Present Tense Participial	Achievement with Present Tense Participial	State Present Tense Participial
<b>Time</b> <i>sala-</i> (eventually), <i>fihla-</i> (immediately) <b>Present Tense</b>	Semantically compatible with present tense participial complement e.g 'O <i>sala a matha</i> ' (He runs eventually) and also compatible with present tense participial complement eg 'O <i>fihla a matha</i> ' (He runs immediately). Imperfective viewpoint, no shift in the activity event	Semantically compatible with present and perfect tense participial. Imperfective viewpoint, shift to Activity situation type eg 'O <i>sala a haha ntlo</i> ' (He builds a house eventually); hence no natural endpoints in the event of building. But in 'O <i>fihla a haha ntlo</i> ' (He builds a house immediately,) there is a shift from an Accomplishment situation type to that of Achievement because of a marked focus on the beginning of the event	Compatible with present tense participial complement eg 'O <i>sala a tjhwatla kgalase</i> ' (He breaks a glass eventually). A marked focus, ingressive meaning focusing on the beginning of a situation, no shift Compatible with <i>fihla</i> with the present tense participial, .eg 'O <i>fihla a tjhesa ntlo</i> ' (He burns the house immediately) A marked focus on the beginning of the event.	Inchoative meaning, 'O <i>fihla a rata kgarabe</i> ' (He loves a young woman immediately) a change of state of to be in love immediately.
<b>Conditional</b> <i>ka be, tla be</i> (may/can be, could/would be)	Epistemic modality: possibility, no shift in an Activity situation type, eg 'A <i>ka be a matha</i> ' (He could be running) and 'O <i>tla be a matha</i> ' (He would be running) this is deontic possibility	Epistemic modality: possibility, a situation remains the same as an Accomplishment eg 'A <i>ka be a haha ntlo</i> ' (He could be building a house) and 'O <i>tla be a haha ntlo</i> ' (he would be building a house) this is deontic possibility.	Epistemic modality: possibility, no shift in an Achievement situation type, eg 'A <i>ka be a tjhesa ntlo</i> ' (He could be burning a house) and 'O <i>tla be tjhwatla kgalase</i> ' (He would be breaking a glass) deontic possibility	Epistemic modality: possibility, no shift in a Stative situation type, eg 'A <i>ka be a tseba Sesotho</i> ' (He could have known Sesotho) and 'O <i>tla be a tseba Sesotho</i> ' (He would know Sesotho) deontic possibility
<b>Habitual</b> <i>hlola, ye, be, nne, hle</i> (usually)	Habitual meaning the situation type remains the same as an Activity event eg 'O <i>hlola a matha</i> ' (He always run).	Habitual meaning, the situation type remains unchanged with present participial tense expressing an Accomplishment event eg 'O <i>ye a ngole buka</i> ' (He usually writes a book)	Habitual meaning, the situation type remains the same as an Achievement event eg 'O <i>nne a tjhwatle kgalase</i> ha a nwele' (He usually breaks a glass when he is drunk)	The occurrence of the deficient verb triggers a shift to Habitual meaning eg 'O <i>ye a nene ngwana hae</i> ' (He usually hates his child)

<b>Contrast</b>	No shift in an Activity situation type eg ' <b>O mpa a matha</b> ' (He just runs)	The event remains the same, as an Accomplishment eg ' <b>O mpa a ngola buka</b> ' (He just writes a book)	The situation remains the same as an Achievement eg ' <b>O mpile a thella</b> ' (She just slips)	There is no change of state, eg ' <b>O mpile a mo rata le ha a sa mo tsebe</b> ' (He just loves her even if he does not know her).
<b>Iterative (again/repeat)</b> <i>boela/pheta</i>	Prospective meaning, i.e. deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b>O boela a matha</b> ' (He runs again).	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b>O boela a ngola buka</b> ' (He writes a book again)	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b>O pheta a tjhwatla kgalase</b> ' (He repeats breaking a glass)	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b>O boela a rata mosadi wa hae leha ba ne ba se ba hlalane</b> ' (He repeats loving his wife even if they were divorced).
<b>Frequentative (do frequently)</b> <i>atisa</i>	Frequentative meaning and semantically compatible with Activity, e g ' <b>O atisa ho sebetisa</b> ' (He usually works)	Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the situation type of Accomplishment in ' <b>O atisa ho ngola buka</b> ' (He frequently write a book). There is no change in a situation type.	Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the situation type of Achievement in ' <b>O atisa ho tjhwatla kgalase</b> ' (He frequently breaks a glass) and the situation remains the same.	Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the situation type and in ' <b>O atisa ho nena mora</b> ' (he frequently despises his son) expresses a habit, not a change of state.
<b>Request (do with hortative)</b> <i>a ko</i>	Semantically compatible with <b>a ko</b> . There is no shift in a situation type of an Activity, eg ' <b>A ko o mathe</b> ' (May you please run)	The deficient verb <b>a ko</b> does not trigger a shift in a situation type of Accomplishment, ' <b>A ke o bale buka</b> ' (May you please read a book)	The deficient verb <b>a ko</b> does not trigger a shift in a situation type of Achievement ' <b>A ke o tjhwatle kgalase</b> ' (May you please break a glass)	Semantically compatible with the stative situation type ' <b>A ko o tsebe dipalo</b> ' (May you please know mathematics)
<b>Obligation (do necessity)</b> <i>tshwanela</i>	No change of state, compatible with Activity eg ' <b>O tshwanela ho matha</b> ' (You ought to run) Epistemic modality: necessity modality in which a situation must be the case	No change of state, compatible with an Accomplishment eg ' <b>O tshwanela ho ngola tlhahlobo</b> ' (You ought to write an examination). Epistemic modality: necessity modality in which a situation must be the case	No change of state, compatible with an Achievement eg ' <b>O tshwanela ho tjhesa ntlo</b> ' (you ought to burn a house). Epistemic modality: necessity modality where 'X must be the case'	No change of state, compatible with a Stative, eg ' <b>O tshwanela ho rata dipalo</b> ' (You ought to love mathematics). Epistemic modality: necessity modality, where 'X must be the case'
<b>Manner (indeed) (opportunely)</b> <i>fela</i>	There is no change of state but path-goal results. The deficient <b>fela</b> triggers no shift in Activity; hence there are no endpoints in ' <b>O fela a matha</b> '. (He runs	There is no change of state. The deficient <b>fela</b> triggers no shift in Accomplishment in ' <b>O fela a ngola buka</b> '. (He write a book indeed)	The situation remains unchanged as an Achievement in ' <b>O fela a tjhwatla kgalase</b> ' (He breaks a glass indeed)	The situation remains the same as stative in ' <b>O fela a rata Disebo</b> ' (He loves Disebo indeed)

	indeed)			
<b>Continuative nna, ntse (act continually)</b>	Progressive meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with Activity, eg ' <b>O ntse a sebetsa</b> ' (He is still working)	Progressive meaning, the deficient verb is semantically compatible with an Accomplishment event eg ' <b>O ntse a haha ntlo</b> ' (He is still building a house). There is a shifted interpretation to a derived-Activity.	Progressive meaning the deficient verb is semantically compatible with an Achievement, eg ' <b>A nna a tjhesa ntlo</b> ' (He continually burns a house). There is a shift in a situation of Achievement to derived-Activity	Stative sentence in Sesotho is semantically compatible with deficient verb that denotes an ongoing interpretation, eg ' <b>A nna a rata mosadi wa hae le ha ba arohane</b> ' (He continually loves his wife even if they are separated)

Table 2: The deficient verbs in the **present tense** followed by **perfect tense participial** complement expressing the situation types with **durative adverbial *hora*** (for an hour) and **completive adverbial *ka hora*** (in an hour)

Deficient verb	Activity with Perfect Tense Participial	Accomplishment with Perfect Tense Participial	Achievement with Perfect Tense Participial	State Perfect Tense Participial
<b>Time <i>sala-</i> (eventually), <i>fihla-</i> (immediately) Present Tense</b>	Compatible with present tense participial complement e.g. ' <b>O <i>sala a mathile hora</i></b> ' (He ran for an hour eventually) but semantically anomalous with perfect tense participial complement e.g. ' <b>O <i>fihla a mathile ka hora</i></b> ' (He ran in an hour immediately). Imperfective viewpoint, no shift in the activity event	Semantically compatible with present and perfect tense participial. Imperfective viewpoint. There is shift to Activity situation type e.g. ' <b>O <i>sala a hahile ntlo selemo</i></b> ' (He built a house for a year eventually); hence no natural endpoints in the event of building. But in ' <b>O <i>sala a hahile ntlo ka selemo</i></b> ' (He built a house within a year eventually) a marked focus on the beginning of the event	Semantically incompatible with present tense participial complement e.g. ' <b>O <i>sala a tjhwatlile kgalase motsotso</i></b> ' (He breaks a glass for an hour eventually). A marked focus, ingressive meaning on the beginning of a situation, no shift. Semantically incompatible with <b>sala/fihla</b> with the perfect tense participial, .eg. ' <b>O <i>sala/fihla a tjhesitse ntlo ka motsotso</i></b> ' (He burnt the house within an hour) A marked focus on the beginning of the event.	<b>*'O <i>sala a ratile kgarabe hora</i></b> ' (He loved a young woman eventually for an hour). The deficient verb with perfect tense participial is semantically anomalous with stative sentence. Stative sentence does not involve time.
<b>Conditional <i>ka be, tla be</i> (may/can be, could/would have be)</b>	Epistemic/deontic possibility, no shift in an Activity situation type ' <b>A <i>ka be a mathile hora</i></b> ' (He could be running for an hour)  ' <b>O <i>tla be a mathile ka hora</i></b> ' (He would have ran within an hour)	Deontic/epistemic possibility, the situation remains the same as an Accomplishment e.g. ' <b>A <i>ka be a hahile ntlo selemo</i></b> ' (He could have been building a house for a year)  ' <b>O <i>tla be a hahile ntlo ka selemo</i></b> ' (He would have been building a house within a year)	Epistemic/deontic possibility, no shift in an Achievement situation type, e.g. ' <b>A <i>ka be a tjhwatlile fenstere ya koloj motsotso</i></b> ' (He could have been breaking a car's window for a minute) incompatible with adverbial <b>for-</b> phrase.  eg ' <b>O <i>tla be a tjhwatlile fenstere ya koloj ka motsotso</i></b> ' (He would have been breaking a car's window within a minute) compatible with adverbial <b>in-</b> phrase an ingressive meaning is introduced at the beginning of the event. Focusing externally on a situation.	Epistemic/deontic possibility, no shift in a Stative situation type, e.g. ' <b>A <i>ka be a hloile monna hora ho ena le matsalae</i></b> ' (She could have been despising her husband for an hour instead of her mother-in-law).  <b>*'O <i>tla be a hloile monna ka hora ho ena le matsalae</i></b> ' (She would have been despising her husband in an hour instead of her mother-in-law). States do not take time.

<b>Habitual <i>hlola, ye, be, nne, hle</i> (usually)</b>	Habitual meaning the situation type remains the same as an Activity event eg ' <b><i>O ye a mathe ka hora</i></b> ' (He usually run within an hour).	Habitual meaning, the situation type remains unchanged with present participial tense expressing the Accomplishment event, eg ' <b><i>O hle a hahe ntlo ka selemo</i></b> ' (He usually builds a house in a year)	Habitual meaning the situation type remains the same as an Achievement event, eg ' <b><i>O nne a tjhwatlle kgalase ka motsotso</i></b> ' (He usually breaks a glass in a minute). A marked focus on the beginning of an event.	The occurrence of the deficient verb triggers a shift to habitual meaning, eg <b><i>*O nne a tsebe dipalo ka hora</i></b> ' (He usually knows mathematics in an hour)
<b>Contrast <i>mpa</i></b>	There is no shift in the Activity situation type, eg ' <b><i>O mpa a mathile hora</i></b> ' He just ran for an hour)  ' <b><i>O mpa a mathile ka hora</i></b> ' (He just ran within an hour) Imperfective viewpoint, no information about the endpoint of an event.	The event remains the same, as an Accomplishment, eg ' <b><i>O mpa a hahile ntlo selemo</i></b> ' (He just built a house for a year) ' <b><i>O mpa a hahile ntlo ka selemo</i></b> ' (He just built a house (with)in a year) Perfective viewpoint; hence completion of a house within a period of a year.	The situation remains the same as an Achievement, eg <b><i>*O mpa a tjhwatlile kgalase motsotso</i></b> ' (He just broke a glass for a minute)  ' <b><i>O mpa a tjhwatlile kgalase ka motsotswana</i></b> ' (He just broke a glass within a second) ingressive meaning. Focus is external	There is no change of a state, eg <b><i>*O mpa a ratile kgarebe ya Lesotho hora</i></b> ' (He just loved a young woman of Lesotho). Stative is incompatible with <i>hora</i> and <i>ka hora</i> <b><i>*O mpa a ratile kgarebe ya Lesotho ka hora</i></b> ' (He just loved a young woman of Lesotho within an hour)
<b>Iterative <i>boela/pheta</i> (again/repeat)</b>	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b><i>O boela a mathile hora</i></b> ' (He ran again for an hour).  ' <b><i>O boela a mathile ka hora</i></b> ' (He ran again in an hour).	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg ' <b><i>O boela a hahile ntlo selemo</i></b> ' (He built a house for a year again).  ' <b><i>O boela a hahile ntlo ka selemo</i></b> ' (He built a house in a year again).	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg <b><i>*O boela a tjhesitse ntlo motsotso</i></b> ' (He burned a house for a minute again). ' <b><i>O boela a tjhesitse ntlo ka motsotso</i></b> ' (He burned a house within a minute again).	Prospective meaning deficient verb expresses a situation that <b>was in the future</b> from some past perspective eg <b><i>*O boela a ratile mosadi hora</i></b> ' (He loved a woman for an hour again). <b><i>*O boela a ratile mosadi ka hora</i></b> ' (He loved a woman in an hour again).

<p><b>Frequentative</b> <i>atisa</i> (do frequently)</p>	<p>Frequentative meaning and semantically compatible with Activity, eg '<b>O atisa ho sebetsa hora</b>' (He usually works for an hour)</p> <p>'<b>O atisa ho sebetsa ka hora</b>' (He usually works in an hour)</p>	<p>Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the Accomplishment situation type '<b>O atisa ho ngola buka selemo</b>' (He frequently write a book for a year). There is no change in a situation type.</p> <p>'<b>O atisa ho ngola buka ka selemo</b>' (He frequently write a book within a year). There is no change in a situation type.</p>	<p>Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the Achievement situation type in '*<b>O atisa ho tjhwatla kgalase hora</b>' (He frequently breaks a glass for an hour) and the situation remains the same.</p> <p>'<b>O atisa ho tjhwatla kgalase ka motsotso</b>' (He frequently break a glass in a minute). There is no change in a situation type. <b>Ka motsotso</b> (in an hour) expresses an ingressive meaning external to the situation.</p>	<p>Frequentative meaning, the deficient verb is compatible with the situation type and in '*<b>O atisa ho nena mora hora</b>' (He frequently despises his son for an hour) '*<b>O atisa ho nena mora ka hora</b>' (He frequently despises his son in an hour).</p>
<p><b>Request a ko with hortative a</b></p>	<p>Semantically compatible with <b>a ko</b>. There is no shift in Activity situation type, eg. '<b>A ko o mathe hora/ka hora</b>' (May you please run for an hour /in an hour)</p>	<p>The deficient verb <b>a ko</b> does not trigger a shift in an Accomplishment situation type: '<b>A ke o bale buka hora/ka hora</b>' (May you please read a book for an hour/in a hour) .</p>	<p>The deficient verb <b>a ko</b> does not trigger a shift in an Achievement situation type. '<b>A ke o tjhwatle kgalase *motsotso/ ka motsotso</b>' (May you please break a glass). <b>Ka motsotso</b> introduces the ingressive interpretation on the beginning of the event.</p>	<p>Semantically compatible with the stative situation type '*<b>A ko o tsebile dipalo hora/ka hora</b>' (May you please know mathematics for an hour in a hour)</p>
<p><b>Obligation tshwanela (do necessity)</b></p>	<p>No change of state, compatible with Activity, Epistemic necessity modality in which a situation must be the case, eg '<b>O tshwanela ho matha hora/ka hora</b>' (He ought to run for/in an hour)</p>	<p>No change of state, compatible with an Accomplishment. Epistemic necessity modality in which a situation must be the case, '<b>O tshwanela ho haha ntlo selemo/ka selemo</b>' (He must build a house for/in a year)</p>	<p>No change of state, compatible with an Achievement. Epistemic necessity modality where 'X must be the case', eg '<b>O tshwanela ho tjhesa mokhukhu *motsotso/ka motsotso</b>' (You must burn a shack *for a minute/in a minute)</p>	<p>No change of state, compatible with an Stative Epistemic necessity modality where 'X must be the case', eg '*<b>O tshwanela ho tseba dipalo hora/ka hora</b>' (You ought to know mathematics for/in an hour)</p>

<p><b>Manner <i>fela</i> (indeed) <i>nyafa</i> (opportune)</b></p>	<p>There is no change of state but path-goal results. The deficient <b><i>fela</i></b> triggers no shift in Activity; hence there are no endpoints in '<b><i>O fela a matha hora/ka hora</i></b>. (He runs indeed for/in an hour)</p>	<p>There is no change of state. The deficient <b><i>fela</i></b> triggers no shift in Accomplishment in '<b><i>O fela a ngola buka hora/ka hora</i></b>'. (He writes a book indeed for/in an hour). With <b><i>hora</i></b> (for an hour) there is a shift in derived-Activity; hence the book-writing may stop at any time without finishing it.</p>	<p>The situation remains unchanged as an Achievement in '<b><i>O fela a tjhwatla kgalase *motsotso/ka motsotso</i></b>' (He breaks a glass indeed *for/in a minute)</p>	<p>The situation remains the same as stative in '*<b><i>O fela a rata Disebo hora/ka hora</i></b>' (He loves Disebo indeed for/in hour)</p>
<p><b>Continuative <i>nna</i>, <i>ntse</i> (act continually)</b></p>	<p>Progressive meaning, which is compatible with Activity, '<b><i>O ntse a sebetsa hora/ka hora</i></b>' (He is still working for/in an hour)</p>	<p>Progressive meaning, the deficient verb is semantically compatible with an Accomplishment event, eg '<b><i>O ntse a haha ntlo selemo/ka selemo</i></b>' (He is still building a house for/in a year). The event of house-building may have an arbitrary final point; therefore there is a shift in a derived-Activity situation type.</p>	<p>Progressive meaning the deficient verb is semantically compatible with an Achievement, eg '<b><i>A nna a tjhwatla kgalase *motsotso/ka motsotso</i></b>' (He continually break a glass for/in a minute)</p>	<p>Stative sentence in Sesotho is semantically compatible with deficient verb that denotes an ongoing state, eg '*<b><i>O ntse a rata mosadi wa hae hora/ka hora</i></b>' (He still loves his wife for /in an hour).</p>

## 6.2 TENSE AND ASPECT RELATIONSHIP

However, the findings yielded by the investigation into aspectual distinctions undertaken in this study seem to coincide with the expression of the temporal-aspectual distinction in Sesotho in the light of the conceptual distinction between tense and aspect. This is particularly so since tense closely interacts with aspect in the interpretation of temporal-aspectual relationships. In this regard, the temporal and aspectual meanings of inflectional categories (tense and mood) in Sesotho, along with the perfective-imperfective opposition in a range of semantic verb classes in the Sesotho grammar, have been successfully explored. The contribution of the aspectual information to the temporal interpretation of Sesotho terms constitutes a major site of investigation in this study. The aspect-mood-tense relationship has been examined with regard to the participial complement and compound tenses in Sesotho. The participial verb form may only occur in embedded clauses in Sesotho, where it indicates simultaneity or conditionality. In such clauses, the participial clause may denote the **perfective or imperfective aspect**, and not **time**, as is the case with the Indicative verb form. The perfective aspect, also regarded as completive in that something is done or carried out to completion, has been explored within a range of Sesotho tenses. The perfect-participial complement in Sesotho, for example, denotes a completed action whereas the present-participial complement signals the imperfective or incomplete aspect, since the situation denoted by the matrix clause is viewed as being in progress at a particular point. The present participial complement can denote various types of imperfective aspects with the moment of speech as a reference point. The study has also yielded the finding that the perfective is only restricted to the perfect tense in both meaning and function, while the imperfective may be restricted to the present and the perfect tense in all situation types. It has argued, therefore, that the future tense is viewed as a sub-category of inflection. For instance, the future tense seems to describe the fulfilment of a present intention or cause. In this case, '*going to be*' is more common than *will* if the future event has some specific predictive source.

However, the investigation has also highlighted and illustrated that the occurrence of the deficient verb in the consecutive mood conveys a completed action followed by another completed action. The viewpoint aspect of the perfective is introduced by the occurrence of a deficient verb in the consecutive mood followed by a consecutive complement clause

which conveys the final endpoint of the event. For instance, the occurrence of the deficient verb *fihla-* (immediately/straightaway) in the consecutive mood followed by consecutive complement clause verb constellations, triggers a shift which allows the speaker to present a situation from perspectives which range from Activity to Accomplishment situation types. With regard to their internal structure, the activities eventually arrive at a point at which the action involved in the process/event is completed, or at a point where the situation type described must necessarily come to a final endpoint. This is permitted by the consecutive mood followed by the consecutive complement clause verb constellations which describe completion. Thus, the situation type describes a terminal point, which renders the situation as complete, and characterises the event as telic.

### 6.3 SEMANTIC CLASSES OF DEFICIENT VERBS

Furthermore, the study has explored specific cases of tense-aspect-modal systems as outlined in Chapter 4. For example, types of verbs (states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements) are used in order to determine whether the occurrence of the respective **deficient verbs** is semantically compatible with each individual basic-level situation-type verb. The conclusion drawn is that the particular situation type (i.e., state, activity, accomplishment or achievement), or a **shift** in situation type – as effected by the occurrence of the deficient verb with the (basic-level) situation-type verb - results in a **derived** situation type of a particular kind.

Furthermore, the study has explicated the following: the progressive, iterative, frequentative and continuative, each as a separate aspect, and described tense (present) as an inflectional category rather than an imperfective. The aspects mentioned above may display the imperfective viewpoint if an event describes a termination or an arbitrary final endpoint. It has also argued that present- and perfect-tense sentences may have an imperfective viewpoint. For instance, if a situation is in progress, or has begun, the event involved is incomplete, and as a result, shows the imperfective. The study has further shown that the perfect tense is also a separate aspect of inflection and is not *per se* perfective, but may involve a perfective viewpoint if the event signals a final endpoint or completion. It is, thus, evident that the perfective viewpoint conveys a completed event.

#### 6.4 DEFICIENT VERBS WITH TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL

The aspectual properties of deficient verbs in Sesotho have been accounted for in terms of the following major classes of deficient verbs: the habitual – **ye/ hlola**; the occasional - **hle**; the perfective – **ne/ile**; the imperfective - **be/ba**; the contrastive - **mpa**; manner - **fela**; the continuous - **nna**, the frequentative - **boela, pheta**; obligation verb - ‘necessity’ **tshwanetse**; and the request/a polite request’ - **a ko**. The occurrence of the temporal adverbial *hora* (for an hour) and *ka hora* (in an hour) with deficient verbs consistently demonstrates compatibility and a shift of a situation type. These deficient verbs operate in relation to the classification of situation-type meanings and, as such, demonstrate the aspectual difference between semantically related verb pairs.

The investigation conducted in this study has established that the progressive aspect can be interpreted as continuous as it possesses the property of the imperfective viewpoint without the habitual. Forsyth (1970:12), views the habitual as a typical semantic feature of the imperfective, and describes it as follows: “The description of action repeated on separate occasions is a characteristic function of the imperfective verb”.

Finally, the study examined a variety of meanings in the domain of *habituality*. Comrie (1976:27,28) points out that *habitual* describes a situation which characteristically involves an extended period of time, so extended in fact, that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property, but more precisely as a characteristic feature of the whole period. The conclusion drawn in this respect involves the realisation that the *iterative* is expressed by repeated actions on separate occasions.

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