1 Introduction
Mimetics are by nature sound-symbolic and/or iconic, and have been cross-linguistically demonstrated to exhibit properties different from non-mimetic lexical items in a language (McCawley 1968, Ito and Mester 1995, 1999, Hamano 1998, Tamori and Schourup 1999, Zwicky and Pullum 1987). For this reason, the role that mimetics play in linguistic theories has been considered minor, if at all relevant. Newmeyer (1993), for one, states that “the number of pictorial, imitative, or onomatopoeic nonderived words in any language is vanishingly small” (p.758). Such a statement, however, misrepresents a number of languages in which mimetics constitute a large set of nonderived lexical items, as is attested in Japanese, Korean, Malay, Chichewa (Bantu), and Hausa (Chadic), to name just a few. Not only are these vocabulary items ubiquitous in adult language, but also are acquired by children extensively and accurately from early on (Oda 2000, Tsujimura 2002). More importantly, as we shall demonstrate in this paper, mimetic words play no less significant roles in linguistic phenomena than non-mimetic words do, and furthermore, they show considerable integration with non-mimetic words in notable regularity.

Japanese, which is extremely rich in the inventory of onomatopoeia and ideophones, is no exception to the generalization that mimetic words exhibit linguistic patterns in their own right distinct enough to form a word category separate from others in the language (cf. Hamano 1998). McCawley (1968) and Ito and Mester (1995) (see also Ito and Mester 1999), for example, discuss the necessity of partitioning the Japanese lexicon into four classes: native, Sino-Japanese, mimetic, and foreign. This stratification corresponds, to some degree, to the origin of each class of words, but has more significant bearings on phonological constraints to which each stratum is subject. Mimetic words are in some ways less constrained than native words, and they pattern differently from Sino-Japanese words with respect to the constraints in (1). The interaction between phonotactic constraints and word classes is summarized in (2).
types of phonological constraints

a. *P: A constraint against single [p]
b. *NT: A nasal cluster voicing constraint, ruling out clusters like *nt, *mp, *ng

(adapted from Ito and Mester (1995:819))

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(adapted from Ito and Mester (1995:820))

Mimetic words in Japanese are also unique in their elastic categorial assignment (cf. Zwicky and Pullum 1987) since a single mimetic word can appear as a noun, an adjective, an adverb, or a verb. As is demonstrated in (3), the mimetic word *ira* can serve as a noun, an adverb, or a verb.

(3)

a. Kodomo-no seiseki-ga waruku *ira*-ga tanatta.
   child-Gen grade-Nom bad irritation-Nom accumulated
   ‘Since my child’s grades have been bad, my irritation has accumulated.’

b. Ano hito-wa itumo *ira*(-to) hanasu.
   that person-Top always irritated speak
   ‘That person always speaks in an irritated manner.’

c. Otto-no kudaranai hanasi-ni *ira*-sita.
   husband-Gen silly talk-at get irritated
   ‘I got irritated by my husband’s silly talk.’

Furthermore, the semantic identification of a mimetic word is not as straightforward as other word classes because a large majority is not indexical or denotational (Diffloth 1972, Tsujimura 2003). The vague and elusive nature of meanings of mimetics is captured by Diffloth’s (1972) term, “an expressive mode of meaning,” as is described by the quote in (4).

(4) “In trying to paraphrase an ideophone with ordinary words of the same language, we find that several sentences are often needed, and even then, the paraphrase is not wholly satisfactory. In fact,
many speakers cannot find exact paraphrases and prefer to repeat the ideophone with a more distinct elocution, accompanied by facial expressions and body gestures if appropriate. This sort of behavior does not occur when we ask the same persons to paraphrase Nouns or Verbs – a first indication that ideophones have a mode of meaning which is different from that of ordinary words.” (Diffloth 1972: 441)

Diffloth’s insight into mimetic meanings has led Kita (1997) to propose two levels of semantic representations, the affecto-imagistic dimension of meaning and the analytical dimension of meaning. Kita defines the affecto-imagistic dimension as the level at which “language has direct contact with sensory, motor, and affective information” (p.380), whereas the analytical dimension as the level of “decompositional and hierarchical representation in terms of decontextualized semantic partials” (p.409). He goes on to state that the two dimensions are totally autonomous and that “the semantics of a mimetic and that of other parts of a sentence are not fully integrated with each other despite the fact that they are syntactically integrated” (p.386).¹

The purpose of this paper is not to argue against the unique position that mimetic words occupy in linguistic theories, i.e., the position distinguished from other word classes. Given ample crosslinguistic and language-internal surveys, mimetics do exhibit different sets of properties, whether they be phonological, morphological, semantic, or syntactic, and Japanese mimetics certainly fit that profile. Nor is the goal of the paper to dispute specific semantic analyses for mimetic meanings like the two-dimensional approach proposed by Kita (1997). We aim at a rather modest goal, instead, wishing to demonstrate that the meanings of mimetic words are well integrated into the semantic properties of the linguistic environments in which they appear in a non-trivial way, and furthermore in some cases contribute to the determination of specific interpretations of linguistic constituents beyond the meanings of the mimetic words themselves. It is our hope that the range of phenomena we will show in this paper will demonstrate that mimetics CAN play an important role as integral linguistic ingredients rather than simply being redundant and supplementary elements whose major role is to rhetorically add symbolic or iconic images to make described scenes vivid, as is sometimes assumed. It follows that the demonstration of semantic integration of a mimetic into other parts of a sentence weakens the view such as Kita’s (1997) that the

¹ See Tsujimura (2001, in press) for an opposing view of this last point.
semantic level for mimetics and the one for non-mimetics are kept separate, leaving little or no room for semantic interaction or contribution from both parts. In the remainder of the paper we shall discuss two instances of semantic integration of mimetics: (i) mimetics that give rise to specific aspectual interpretations, and (ii) V-V compound formation.

2 Morphological Make-Up and Telicity
A number of mimetic words in Japanese may undergo total or partial reduplication, as is shown in (5).

(5) a. total reduplication
   pin-pin, pan-pan, goso-goso, koro-koro, ziro-ziro, zoku-zoku, huu-huu, beta-beta, tyuu-tyuu, wan-wan, goro-goro, zaa-zaa, tira-tira, biku-biku, syobo-syobo, batan-batan, karan-karan, dosun-dosun, parari-parari, gatan-gatan, ...

b. partial reduplication
   pa-paan, do-doon, pi-piQ, pa-paQ, paQ-pa, ...
   ("Q" stands for a geminate consonant.)

Given the iconic nature of the word class, it is not surprising that reduplicated mimetics symbolize repeated state or action (Kita 1997, Hamano 1998). (6-7), adapted from Hamano (1998: 65), show the relevant contrast.

(6) a. Tteburukurosu-o pin-to hippatte hosita.
   table cloth-Acc pull-and dried
   ‘I carefully pulled the table cloth into shape and hung it on a line.’

b. Tteburukurosu-o pin-pin-to hippatte hosita.
   table cloth-Acc pull-and dried
   ‘I carefully pulled the table cloth into shape a couple of times and hung it on a line.’

(7) a. Tukue-no ue-o pan-to hon-de tataita.
   table-Gen top-Acc book-by hit
   ‘She slapped the book down on the desk.’

b. Tukue-no ue-o panpan-to hon-de tataita.
   table-Gen top-Acc book-by hit
   ‘She slapped the book down on the desk a couple of times.’

As Hamano (1998) notes, however, repetition of an action is not the only semantic contribution that reduplicated mimetics have, and furthermore, the implication of repeated actions is sometimes absent. According to
Hamano’s description, the partially reduplicated mimetic in (8), do-doon, “indicate[s] the forcefulness of the initial phrase” (p.66); the mimetic word in (9), pap-pa, implies not only a repeated action but also quickness associated with the action; and finally the mimetics in (10), tot-to and sas-sa, lack the implication of repetition of an event.

(8) Do-doon-to toozyoo.
    appearance
    ‘Enter forcefully.’ (= ‘Introducing a revolutionary breakthrough!’) (Hamano 1998: 66)

(9) Kona-o pap-pa-to ireta.
    flour-Acc put in
    ‘I scooped in some flour in quick movements.’ (Hamano 1998: 66)

(10) a. Tot-to to kieuse-ro.
    disappear-Imp
    ‘Disappear right away.’ (= ‘Be lost.’)

b. Sas-sa-to si-nasai.
    do-Imp
    ‘Do it right away.’ (= ‘Be quick about it.’) (Hamano 1998: 67)

While the sense of repetition accompanies reduplicated mimetics to a varying degree, the contrast is quite clear in pairs like those in (6-7).

The sense of repetition conveyed by reduplicated mimetics can be construed in aspectual terms: it is a natural consequence that reduplicated mimetics are compatible with the verbs that denote atelic events. This is illustrated in (11-13).

(11) a. Gyuunyuubin-ga zyuppunkan/*zyuppun-de yureta. (atelic)
    milk bottle-Nom for/*in 10 minutes shook
    ‘The milk bottle shook for/*in 10 minutes.’

b. Gyuunyuubin-ga zyuppunkan/*zyuppun-de
    milk bottle-Nom for/*in 10 minutes
    gatyagatya yureta. (atelic)
    shook
    ‘The milk bottle shook (repeatedly) for/*in 10 minutes.’

cf. Gyuunyuubin-ga (*?zyuppunkan)gatya-tto yureta.
    milk bottle-Nom for 10 minutes
    shook
    ‘The milk bottle shook for 10 minutes.’

(12) a. Nanika-ga hitobanzyuu/*hitoban-de ugoita. (atelic)
    something-Nom for/*in a night moved
    ‘Something moved for/*in a night.’
b. Nanika-ga hitobanzyuu/*hitoban-de gosogoso something-Nom for/*in a night ugoita.(atelic) moved ‘Something moved (repeatedly) for/*in a night.’
cf. Nanika-ga (*hitobannzyuu) goso-tto ugoita. something for a night moved ‘Something moved for a night.’

(13) a. Inu-ga doa-o zyuppkan/*zyuppun-de kazitta. (atelic) dog-Nom door-Acc for/*in 10 minutes scratched ‘The dog scratched the door (by its teeth) for/*in 10 minutes.’
b. Inu-ga doa-o zyuppkan/*zyuppun-de garigari dog-Nom door-Acc for/*in 10 minutes scratched ‘The dog scratched the door (repeatedly)(by its teeth) for/*in 10 minutes.’
cf. Inu-ga doa-o (*zyuppkan) gari-tto kazitta. dog-Nom door-Acc for 10 minutes scratched ‘The dog scratched the door (by its teeth) for 10 minutes.’

As the selection of the time adverbials shows in the (a) sentences, the events denoted by the verbs or the VPs are atelic. Once reduplicated mimetics are added to those sentences, the selection of the time adverbials is maintained. Under the two-dimensional approach that Kita (1997) proposes, this aspectual agreement between a mimetic modifier and the rest of the sentence may reflect the compatibility between the two dimensions. According to Kita, adverbial mimetics belong to the affecto-imagistic dimension while non-mimetic words belong to the analytical dimension, and “the information from the two dimensions has to be compatible with each other in order for an utterance with a mimetic to be coherently meaningful” (p.402). Kita, in fact, claims that reduplicated mimetics select iterative events such as activity verbs whereas nonreduplicated mimetics select accomplishments or achievements in Vendler’s (1967) classification. What is implicit in his analysis is that mimetics play a subordinate role to predicates with respect to aspectual properties among other grammatical pieces in a sentence.

It should be pointed out, however, that reduplicated mimetics can more actively participate in aspectual characterization. That is, the sense of repetition associated with reduplicated mimetics in fact affects the telicity of the sentences in which they occur. Consider, first, the sentences that do
not contain mimetics in (14-17), where all the events denoted in the sentences are aspectually ambiguous. As the time adverbial options suggest, the telicity of the sentences is underspecified in that the events are construed either as telic or atelic.

(14) Mizu-o gohunkan/gohun-de nonda. water-Acc for/in 5 minutes drank

'I drank water for/in 5 minutes.'

(15) Yasai-o reisui-de gohunkan/gohun-de aratta. vegetables-Acc cold water-with for/in 5 minutes washed

'I rinsed the vegetables in cold water for/in 5 minutes.'

(16) Kooen-no mawari-o itizikan/itizikan-de aruita. park-Gen around-Acc for/in 1 hour walked

'I walked around the park for/in an hour.'

(17) Taikin-ga itinenkan/itiniti-de haitte-kita. a large sum of money-Nom for a year/in a day came in

'A large sum of money was brought in for a year/in a day.'

Next, when reduplicated mimetics are added in (14-17), the atelic interpretation is much preferred, if not the only acceptable interpretation. This is shown in (18-21).

(18) Mizu-o gohunkan/*?gohun-de gokugoku nonda. water-Acc for/*?in 5 minutes drank

'I drank water (repeatedly) for/*?in 5 minutes.'

(19) Yasai-o reisui-de gohunkan/*?gohun-de zabuzabu aratta. vegetables-Acc cold water-with for/*?in 5 minutes washed

'I rinsed the vegetables (repeatedly) in cold water for/*?in 5 minutes.'

(20) Kooen-no mawari-o itizikan/*?itizikan-de kurukuru aruita. park-Gen around-Acc for/*?in 1 hour walked

'I walked around the park (repeatedly) for/*?in an hour.'

(21) Taikin-ga itinenkan/*?itiniti-de gappogappo haitte-kita. a large sum of money-Nom for a year/*?in a day came in

'A large sum of money was brought in for a year/*?in a day.'

The mimetics in (18-21) restrict the interpretation of the events which potentially bear an ambiguous aspectual status. The comparison between
the aspectual indeterminacy in (14-17) and the atelic interpretation imposed on in (18-21), then, suggests that the semantic contribution mimetics make in these examples is not subordinate to any parts of the sentences; rather, the aspectual property that is given rise to by the morphological shape of the mimetics provides a crucial factor in the determination of telicity.

We wish to emphasize that the role of mimetics observed above is comparable to various grammatical manipulation to enforce a specific aspectual interpretation available with non-mimetic words in the language. As is discussed in Ikegami (1985), Miyajima (1985), Kageyama (1996), and Tsujimura (to appear), many of change of state verbs in Japanese do not necessarily denote the realization of the intended change of state, as is also observed in other languages including Chinese (Tai 1984), Hindi (Singh 1994), Tamil (Pederson 1995), and Thai (Koenig and Muansuwan 2001). This is why sentences like those in (22-23) are possible without resulting in contradiction.

(22) Otiba-o moyasita-kedo, moenakatta.
    fallen leaves-Acc burned-but didn't burn
    'I burned the fallen leaves, but they didn’t burn.'
(23) Sakana-o yaita-kedo, yakenakatta.
    fish-Acc broiled-but didn’t broil
    'I broiled the fish, but it didn’t get broiled.'

Since the intended goals are not always achieved, the first portions of these sentences are aspectually ambiguous, as the options of the time adverbials indicate in (24-25).

(24) Otiba-o itizikan/itizikan-de moyasita.
    fallen leaves-Acc for/in an hour burned
    'I burned the fallen leaves for/in an hour.'
(25) Sakana-o nizyuppun/nizyuppun-de yaita.
    fish-Acc for/in 20 minutes broiled
    'I broiled the fish for/in 20 minutes.'

There are, however, several ways of imposing the telic interpretation on these aspectually indeterminate sentences: by compounding of various sorts, adverbs, and verbal morphology. Consider (26-28).
compounding

(26) a. Otiba-o *itizikan/itizikan-de moyasi-kitta.
    fallen leaves-Acc *for/in an hour burn-completed
    'I completed burned the fallen leaves *for/in an hour.'

b. Sakana-o *nizyuppun/nizyuppun-de yaki-ageta.
    fish-Acc *for/in 20 minutes broil-completed
    'I completed broiled the fish *for/in 20 minutes.'

adverbs

(27) a. Otiba-o kanzenni *itizikan/itizikan-de moyasita.
    fallen leaves-Acc completely *for/in an hour burned
    'I completely burned the fallen leaves *for/in an hour.'

b. Sakana-o kanzenni *nizyuppun/nizyuppun-de yaita.
    fish-Acc completely *for/in 20 minutes broiled
    'I completely broiled the fish *for/in 20 minutes.'

verbal morphology

(28) a. Otiba-o *itizikan/itizikan-de moyasite-simatta.
    fallen leaves-Acc *for/in an hour burn-completed
    'I finished burned the fallen leaves *for/in an hour.'

b. Sakana-o *nizyuppun/nizyuppun-de yaite-simatta.
    fish-Acc *for/in 20 minutes broil-completed
    'I finished broiled the fish *for/in 20 minutes.'

The aspectual roles of these additional elements exhibited in (26-28) are significantly parallel to that of the reduplicated mimetics in (18-21): that is, in all cases, a certain constituent serves as a trigger to determine the aspectual interpretation of the sentence. The issue of whether that constituent belongs to a different word class is immaterial to the grammatical phenomenon under consideration. The contribution that reduplicated mimetics make to telicity, thus, is no less imperative than non-mimetic words.

The critical aspectual role that mimetics play is underscored when we examine reduplicated mimetic words used as verbs. Many mimetics may serve as verbs when they appear with the semantically light verb *suru* ‘do’. Examples of mimetic verbs and their aspectual properties are demonstrated in (29-32).
(29) Sake-no nomisugi-de hutukakan/*hutuka-de atama-ga
Sake-Gen excessive drinking-by for/*in 2 days head-Nom
hurahura-sita.
felt dizzy
'I felt dizzy for/*in 2 days because of heavy drinking.'

(30) Mooru-no mise-o itizikan/*itizikan-de mall-Gen
stores-Acc for/*in an hour walked
guruguru-sita.
around
'I walked around the stores in the mall for/*in an hour.'

(31) Musiba-ga sanzikan/*sanzikan-de zukizuki-sita.
cavity-Nom for/*in 3 hours hurt
'My cavity hurt for/*in 3 hours.'

(32) Mizu-o asi-de zyuppun/*zyuppun-de basyabasya-sita.
water-Acc feet-by for/*in 10 minutes splashed
'I splashed the water with my feet for/*in 10 minutes.'

In these sentences with the mimetic verbs as their predicates, there is no
element found with which the sense of repetition induced by the mimetics
is compatible. In this case, instead, the atelic interpretation is primarily
given rise to by the mimetics themselves. It should also be noted that
unlike mimetics we have discussed above, there are reduplicated mimetic
verbs that do not employ corresponding non-reduplicated forms, but even
these mimetic verbs denote atelic events. Examples of this type include
those in (33), among many more.

(33) appuappu-suru (*appu (to) suru)  ‘gasp for breath’
uturautura-suru (*utra (tto) suru)  ‘doze’
sowasowa-suru (*sowa (tto) suru)  ‘become nervous’
guzuguzu-suru (*guzu (tto) suru)  ‘hesitate; take too long’
gatugatu-suru (*gatu (tto) suru)  ‘act as though one is
starving for
something’

Each of the mimetic words in (29-32) as well as those in (33), hence,
constitutes a critical component for the semantic interpretation of the
whole sentence. Again, their role in this environment is no less trivial than
non-mimetic verbs.

2 Holisky (1981) discusses the relation between mimetics and telicity in
connection with medial verbs in Georgian.
**3 V-V Compounds**

Japanese is rich in compounding, and mimetics actively participate in deriving compound nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Some of these compounds have mimetics as the first member of a compound to modify the second member. Examples of this type are given in (34-35) (adapted from Tamori and Schourup (1999)).

(34) mimetic + adjective
    hyorohyoro + nagai ‘long’ → hyoro-nagai ‘long and narrow’
    muzumuzu + kayui ‘itchy’ → muzu-gayui ‘feel itchy’
    horoQ + nigai ‘bitter’ → horo-nigai ‘slightly bitter’

(35) mimetic + noun
    noronoro + unten ‘driving’ → noronoro-unten ‘slow driving’
    bisyobisyo + nure ‘getting wet’ → bisyo-nure ‘getting wet through’

In other compounds, however, the semantic properties of mimetic words constitute a more direct source for their meanings. Below we will illustrate an instance of this case by considering V-V compounds where the second member is the verb tuku ‘attach’. The verb tuku can be compounded with both intransitive and transitive verbs as the V1 member. Some derived compounds maintain the original meaning of tuku ‘attach’; whereas in others, the verb tuku has a very little semantic contribution to the meanings of the compounds, having a similar function to an auxiliary verb (Himeno 1999). Some examples are shown in (36).

(36) hasiri-tuku (run-) hari-tuku (paste-) omoi-tuku (think-)
     ‘arrive by running’ ‘stick’ ‘stumble on (an idea)’
    ne-tuku (sleep- ) moe-tuku (burn- ) sumi-tuku (live- )
     ‘fall asleep’ ‘catch fire’ ‘settle’

Compounds with tuku similar to those in (36) are formed based on mimetics. As Himeno (1999) and Tamori and Schourup (1999) point out, there are some restrictions on such compounding. First, an input mimetic word before compounding is a reduplicated form of a two-mora base. Second, the input mimetic word is suffixed by a verb with suru ‘do’, such as urouro-suru, gatagata-suru, and gasagasa-suru. Third, the input mimetic word has a somewhat negative meaning. Some examples are given in (37).
The meanings of these compounds are generalized as getting into the state described by the mimetic. It suggests that the compounds in (37) are semantically even more consistent than those in (36) in that the second compound member tuku does not maintain its own meaning, but instead, is semantically equivalent of an auxiliary verb. The meanings of the derived compound verbs in (37), then, must solely rely on the input mimetics. It is important to note, furthermore, that the argument and adjunct selection of the output compounds is inherited from the input mimetics verbs. Consider (38-40).

(38) a. Taroo-ga Hanako-to ityaitya-siteiru.
    Taro-Nom Hanako-with
    ‘Taro is flirting with Hanako.’

    b. Taroo-ga Hanako-to itya-tuiteiru.
    Taro-Nom Hanako-with
    ‘Taro is flirting with Hanako.’

(39) a. Taroo-ga musuko-no seiseki-ni iraira-sita.
    Taro-Nom son-Gen grades-Dat
    ‘Taro got irritated by his son’s grades.’

    b. Taroo-ga musuko-no seiseki-ni ira-tuita.
    Taro-Nom son-Gen grades-Dat
    ‘Taro got irritated by his son’s grades.’

(40) a. Ayasii otoko-ga gakkoo-no mae-o urouro-sita.
    suspicious man-Nom school-Gen front-Acc
    ‘A suspicious man hung around in front of the school.’

    b. Ayasii otoko-ga gakkoo-no mae-o uro-tuita.
    suspicious man-Nom school-Gen front-Acc
    ‘A suspicious man hung around in front of the school.’

The underlined phrases - the comitative phrase in (38), the Dative Case on the theme/experiencer argument associated with the psych predicate in (39), and the traversal object in (40) - are the argument structure properties associated with the predicates in these sentences. Thus, not only the meanings of the mimetics but also their argument structure information are
kept intact after the compounding process, although the issue of whether mimetic verbs bear argument structure parallel to non-mimetic verbs raises an independent question that is beyond the scope of this paper. The important point to be stressed is that like the aspectual properties we addressed earlier, the semantic properties of mimetics play a major role in determining the meanings of the compound verbs as well as in accounting for the syntactic distribution of arguments and adjuncts. Mimetics in this context, hence, assume a far more essential function than simply as modifiers, and should be given credence, certainly on a par with non-mimetics.

4 Conclusion
In this paper we have demonstrated that mimetics can play a major, rather than auxiliary, role in linguistic phenomena. The two instances we have examined, namely, the aspectual properties of reduplicated mimetics and V-V compounds, show that the semantic properties of mimetics are indeed integral components that bear further consequences on parts beyond the words themselves. On the one hand, there is no denying the fact that mimetics, like other expressive words, often follow rules and constraints that fall outside of the grammar (Zwicky and Pullum 1987), and the work presented here is in agreement with that premise. On the other, we hope to have shown that exploring areas in which mimetics do exhibit profound interaction and integration is also fruitful because mimetics in those areas behave parallel to non-mimetic words. Further investigations are due to examine to what degree, how, and where such integration takes place. Although their independent linguistic properties are indisputable, mimetics should be given more scrutiny, particularly the way they interact with non-mimetic word classes, as there is little doubt that more potentially interesting aspects would be unveiled.

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