The morpho-syntax of aspect in Xiāng Chinese
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Chapter 4. Evidence from Xùpǔ and Mandarin

4.1   Introduction

In chapter 2, we provide an analysis to account for the fact that ta^{21} in Chángshā can be used as a realization marker indicating that an event has been terminated/completed, and as a progressive marker indicating that an action is ongoing. We also point out that the durative reading of ta^{21} in a result state is derived from the perfective ta^{21}.

In this chapter, I argue that the proposed analysis of ta^{21} in chapter 2 can be further supported by the case of the imperfective in the Xiāng variety of Xùpǔ and Mandarin. I first introduce the use of $tau^{21}... tsai^{24}$ in Xùpǔ. Then I argue that tau^{21} in $tau^{21}… tsai^{24}$ is used not only as a progressive marker, but also as a perfective marker. The use of tau^{24} in Xùpǔ is in fact like that of ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG} in Chángshā. I further provide an analysis showing that $tsai^{21}$ in $tau^{21}… tsai^{24}$ is in fact used to anchor an event to tense. $tsai^{21}$ is like $tsai^{21}ko^{24}$, which we have mentioned in chapter 2. Like $tsai^{21}ko^{24}$ in Chángshā, $tsai^{21}$ in Xùpǔ is one of the ways used to license the use of tau^{21} as a progressive marker. I claim that the use of tau^{21} can be seen as evidence to support our analysis of ta^{21}.

Note, however, what we are talking about is not an isolated phenomenon in Xiāng dialects. After pointing out the similar patterns in Xùpǔ and Chángshā, I move to the use of the so-called durative *zhe* in Mandarin. We have mentioned it in chapter 1 and chapter 2, however, in this chapter I am going to provide a more detailed discussion of it. I will provide an analysis to account for the multifunction of *zhe*; I am going to argue that we have two *zhe*s. One is used to express the perfective meaning; another is used to express progressive meaning. However, as it is the case in Chángshā and Xùpǔ, when *zhe* is used as a progressive marker, other elements are needed. Tsai (2008) has mentioned some of them. We point out that sentence final *ne* functions just like sentence final $tsai^{21}ko^{24}$ and $tsai^{21}$ Chángshā and Xùpǔ respectively. I further point out that what is found in Xùpǔ, the existence of zhe_{PERF} and zhe_{PROG} can also be

used to support my analysis of ta^{21}. The pattern that I have found in these three languages is presented in (1) - (3).

(1)   a. tau^{21}_{PERF}, tau^{21}_{PROG} (Xùpǔ)
        b. tau^{21}... $tsai^{24}$ (tau^{21} is a progressive marker)

(2)   a. zhe_{PERF}, $zhe\ _{\text{PROG}}$ (Mandarin)
        b. zhe...ne (zhe is a progressive marker)

(3)   a. tau^{21}_{PERF}, tau^{21}_{PROG} (Chángshā)
        b. ta^{21}... $tsai^{21}ko^{24}$ (ta^{21} is a progressive marker)

Note that in the above, $tsai^{24}$, $tsai^{21}ko^{24}$ and *ne* are per language only one of the elements which can be used to license the preceding aspect particles tau^{21}, ta^{21} and *zhe* as a progressive marker.

At the end of this chapter I point out that data from historical texts can also be used to support the idea of the existence of ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG}. Historically, *zhe* has developed from being an imperfective marker to be a perfective marker. *zhe* lost its use as a perfective marker after the sentence final *liǎo* 'finish' evolved into a perfective marker. ta^{21} is the cognate of *zhe*. The use of *liǎo* does not appear in Chángshā, hence the existence of ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG} can be seen as an inheritance of earlier phases of Chinese.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. There are 5 sections in this chapter. In section 4.2, I provide an analysis for tau^{21}… $tsai^{41}$ in Xùpǔ, pointing out that tau^{21} can be used as a perfective marker, it can also be used as a progressive marker. Just like the case of ta^{21} in Chángshā, tau^{21} needs other elements to go with it when it is used as a progressive marker.

In section 4.3, I provide an analysis of *zhe* in Mandarin. I point out that *zhe* is also a multifunctional particle. It can be used as a perfective marker indicating that an endpoint has been realized, but it can also be used to indicate that an action is ongoing and continuous. What is different is that as a progressive marker, *zhe* needs to be accompanied by other material, as is the case of ta^{21} and tau^{21}. Given the observation of the use of *zhe*, I claim that the analysis of ta^{21} is further supported.

In section 4.4, I point out that in cases where *zhe/le* is used in Mandarin, only *ta*^{21} is used in Chángshā, which can be shown that *ta*^{21} plays functions of both *zhe* and *le*. In section 4.5, I show with historical texts that *zhe* has developed from being an imperfective to be a perfective. *ta*^{21} is the cognate of *zhe*, *ta*^{21} followed the same development. However, as just noted, unlike Mandarin, it did not develop another perfective marker. Section 4.6 is the summary.

4.2 *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} in Xùpǔ

As is mentioned in chapter 1, Xùpǔ is located in the west part of Húnán province, and like Chángshā, Xùpǔ dialect belongs to Xiāng dialect family. The language of Xùpǔ has five types of aspect. They are perfective, durative, progressive, experiential, and prospective (Hè 1997). These aspectual meanings are expressed by particles or combination of particles. For example, *lia*^{33} is used to express the perfective, preverbal *tsai*^{41} is used to indicate that an action is ongoing, and *tau*^{21}… *tsai*^{41} is used to indicate the continuation of a result state (i.e., durative) or the ongoingness of an action (progressive). In the present chapter, I limit my attention to *tau*^{21}… *tsai*^{41}. I will mention the progressive marker *tsai*^{41} and the perfective marker *lia*^{33} whenever it is relevant to mention them.

The *tau*^{21} *tsai*^{24} combination is multifunctional. It can be used to indicate that an action is continuous; it can also be used to indicate that a result state stays. The language also has the preverbal *tsai*^{41}, which is used to indicate the progressive. For the present purpose, we focus on the use of *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{24}, which is illustrated in (4) - (7) (from Qú 2007).

(4) a. ŋo^{41} lau^{33} tau^{21} tiən^{41}si tsai^{41}.
     1SG   watch   TAU   TV   TSAI
     'I am watching TV.'
   b. *ŋo^{41} lau^{33} tau^{21} tiən^{41}si.
     1SG   watch   TAU   TV
     'Intended: I am watching TV.'

c. *ŋo⁴¹   lao³³   tiən⁴¹si   tsai⁴¹.

   1SG   watch   TV   TSAI

   'Intended: I am watching TV.'

(5)   a. mən²⁴   kʰai³³   tau²¹ (tsai⁴¹) .

       door   open   TAU TSAI

       'The door is open.'

       b. xo²⁴ tsi   kon⁴¹   tau²¹ (tsai⁴¹).

       box   empty   TAU   TSAI

       'The box is empty.'

(6)   a. xua³³   xən¹³   tau²¹   tsai²⁴.

       flower   red   TAU   TSAI

       'Flowers are being red.'

       b. *Tsan³³san³³ tʰən³³min¹³   tau²¹ tsai⁴¹.

                    clever   TAU TSAI

       'Intended: Tsansan is being clever.'

(7)   a. tsan³³san tɕi²⁴   tau²¹   tsai⁴¹.

                    anxious TAU   TSAI

        'Tsansan is being anxious now.'

       b. *tsan³³san   tsʰin¹³kʰuai²⁴   tau²¹   tsai⁴¹.

                       diligent   TAU   TSAI

       'Intended: Tsansan is being dilligent.'

The combination *tau*²¹... *tsai*⁴¹ in (4a) indicates that the action is going on. Note that neither *tau*²¹ nor *tsai*⁴¹ can be left out. Leaving out either of them will cause ungrammaticality, see (4b, 4c). *tsai*⁴¹ is optional in (5). However, its deletion will lead to a slight difference in interpretation. For example, in (5a), if the sentence-final *tsai*⁴¹ is used, the sentence means that the door is open; the speaker emphasizes the present state of the door: it is open; without sentence final *tsai*⁴¹, the sentence is simply a general description of the completion of the action: someone opened it. By uttering the sentence, the speaker is only concerned with the fact that someone opened the door. (6a) shows that

stage-level[9] adjectives can appear with tau^{21}… $tsai^{41}$, while individual level adjectives cannot (6b). The same is true for psych-verbs. With stage-level psych-verbs, the combination is optional (7a); while for individual level psych-verbs, the combination is not acceptable.

The following questions arise based on the above observation:

a) What is the interpretation of tau^{21}?

b) What is the relationship between tau^{21} and $tsai^{41}$ when they are combined?

In previous analyses, there are two approaches to dealing with the combination tau^{21}… $tsai^{41}$. In one analysis, the two particles are argued to have different functions. Specifically, tau^{21} indicates that the action presented is ongoing. $tsai^{41}$, on the other hand indicates the continuation of the state. Furthermore, tau^{21} functions at the verbal level, whereas $tsai^{41}$ scopes over the entire sentence (Qú, 2007).

In the other approach, the combination of tau^{21} and $tsai^{41}$ is treated as one unit, marking the progressive aspect, and indicating either an ongoing action, or a durative state (Hè1997). When it is used to indicate an event as ongoing, it is similar to preverbal progressive marker $tsai^{41}$. However, no detailed analysis is given. It is not clear when it can be used to indicate the duration of a state, and when it can be used to indicate an ongoing action. Furthermore, Hè(1997) does not even distinguish tau^{21}...$tsai^{41}$ from $tsai^{41}$ when both are used to indicate that an action is ongoing.

However, I do not think that the use of tau^{21}… $tsai^{41}$ has ever been clearly explained. For example, in Hè (1997), it is unclear why the combination is necessary, since tau^{21} can sometimes stand alone with $tsai^{41}$ being optional. Treating them as one unit simply neglects the difference in interpretation caused by the two. In addition, tau^{21} is verb final and $tsai^{41}$ is sentence final. Given the distributional differences, we would like to understand what the relationship between tau^{21} and $tsai^{41}$ is.

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[9] I refer to the distinction between stage level predicate and stage level predicate in terms of Carson (1977b), where a stage level predicate refers to a transitory property of individuals, while an individual level predicate refers to properties of individuals that are permanent stable.

Qú (2007) encounters the same problem. If tau^{21} is what he says it is, a marker of progressive aspect, it is unclear why it cannot stand alone in the same way as other verbal aspect markers. For example, the perfective marker lia^{33}, or the progressive marker, preverbal $tsai^{41}$, can stand alone in a sentence. See (8).

(8)   a. ɕiɛ^{41} lia^{21} tsuo^{41}ŋiɛ^{41}.
              do   PERF   homework
              '(He) did his homework.'
       b. tsai^{41} ɕiɛ^{41} tsuo^{41}ŋiɛ^{41}.
              PROG   do   homework
              '(He) is/was doing his homework.'

In (8a), lia^{33} is a perfective marker and in (8b), $tsai^{41}$ is a progressive marker. Both particles stand alone in the sentence.

Furthermore, Qú can also not explain why $tsai^{41}$ is obligatory in some cases (4), while in some other cases, it is optional (5) - (7).

Basing myself on these observations, I think that it is unsatisfactory to treat tau^{24}… $tsai^{41}$ as a progressive marker. It is also not a good idea to argue that tau^{21} scopes over VP and $tsai^{41}$ scopes over the whole sentence. In what follows, I first argue that the combination tau^{24}… $tsai^{24}$ should not be treated the same as preverbal $tsai^{41}$, as is argued in Hè(1997).

4.2.1 Verb final *tsai*^{41} is different from verb preceding *tsai*^{41}

As mentioned above, Hè(1997) does not differentiate preverbal $tsai^{41}$ from the combination tau^{21}... $tsai^{41}$. According to her, the combination is just like the preverbal progressive $tsai^{41}$ when used to express progressive meaning with dynamic verbs. In Qú (2007), however, the two are treated differently. Preverbal $tsai^{41}$ is said to mean that someone is doing something. The focus is on the ongoingness of the action; while tau^{21}... $tsai^{41}$, on the other hand, supposedly emphasizes the continuation of the action or the duration of the result state expressed by the event.

We will see that the following observations indicate that *tsai*[41] and *tau*[21]... *tsai*[41] should indeed not be treated in the same way.

The first relates to the negative construction. The observation is that *tsai*[41] can be used in   negative sentences, which is not possible for *tau*[21]... *tsai*[41].

(9)   a. tsan^{33}san   mau^{21} tsai^{21} lau^{33} tiən^{45}si^{41}.

                           NEG   PROG   watch   TV

      'Tsansan is not watching TV.'

      b. *tsan^{33}san   mau^{21} lau^{33} tau^{21} tiən^{41}si   tsai^{41}.

                           NEG   watch   TAU   TV   TSAI

        'Intended: Tsansan is not watching TV.'

Mau^{21} 'not have' in (9) is a negation marker. (9a) shows that *mau*^{21} can be used with *tsai*^{41} to negate an ongoing action, which is not acceptable in *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41}. If the two are both progressive markers, the difference they show in negation constructions is unexpected.

Secondly, we have found that in some cases, the two are exchangeable without leading to semantic difference (10). However, this does not mean that the two particles can be treated the same. Since there are many cases, in which the two is not interchangeable, see (11) - (12).

(10)   a. tsan^{33}san   tsai^{21} çi^{41} i^{33}fu.

                         PROG   wash   clothes

      'Tsansan is washing the clothes.'

      b. tsan^{33}san   çi^{41} tau^{21} i^{33}fu   tsai^{41}.

                     wash   TAU   clothes   TSAI

      'Tsansan is washing the clothes.'

(11)   a. *mən^{13} tsai^{41} k^{h}ai^{33} .

        door   PROG   open

      lit: 'The door is now opening.'

      b. mən^{13} k^{h}ai^{33} tau^{21} tsai^{41} .

       door   open   TAU   TSAI

      'The door is open.'

(12) a. pɛ^{33}tsi   pʰo^{45} tau^{21} (tsai^{41}) .

         cup   break   TAU   TSAI

         'The cup broke.'

      b. *pɛ^{33}tsi   tsai^{41} pʰo^{45}.

         cup   PROG   break

In (10), both preverbal *tsai*^{21} and *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} are acceptable. There is some slight differences between the interpretations. In (10a), with *tsai*^{21}, the action is presented as ongoing; in (10b), with *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41}, the sentence focuses on the continuation of the ongoing action. In (11a), *tsai*^{21} is not acceptable, while *tsai*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} is acceptable in such a sentence (11b). The same is true in (12), where *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} is acceptable, while *tsai*^{41} is not. The observation in (10) is that the predicate *ɕi*^{41} 'wash' is an activity, while the predicate *kʰai*^{33} 'open' in (11) is an accomplishment verb, and in (12) *pʰo*^{45} 'break' is an achievement predicate. Again, the consideration is if the two are the same, there should be no such difference. Further examples are given in (13).

(13)   a. *xo^{24}tsi   tsai^{41} kən^{33}.

         box   PROG   empty

          'Intended: the box is empty.'

      b. xo^{24}tsi kən^{33} tau^{21} tsai^{41}.

         box   empty TAU   TSAI

         'The box is empty.'

The adjective *kən*^{33} 'empty' in (13) is a stative predicate used to describe the state of the subject, it is compatible with *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41}, but not with progressive marker *tsai*^{41}. The sentences in (13a) and (13b) show that it is not sensible to treat *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} and *tsai*^{41} the same.

   The above facts show that *tsai*^{41} and *tau*^{21}... *tsai*^{41} are different: the former can be used in activities, indicating an ongoing action, while the latter can be used with types of eventive predicates, indicating the duration of a result state or continuation of an ongoing action. Note that *tsai*^{41} in the combination is only obligatory with activities; with accomplishment and achievement predicates, *tsai*^{41} can be left out.

Based on these observations, I suggest that verb final $tsai^{41}$ is different from verb preceding $tsai^{41}$. The preverbal $tsai^{41}$ is the cognate of *zài* in Mandarin, indicating the ongoingess of an action, the tau^{21}... $tsai^{41}$ combination can indicate either the ongoingness of an action in some situations or the duration of a result state in some other situations. If that is the case, the immediate question is: What is the difference between preverbal $tsai^{41}$ and $tau^{21}…tsai^{41}$ when they are used to indicate an ongoing action? I would delay the answer to the question till section 4.3.2. In the following analysis, I point out that there are two tau^{21}s in the combination $tau^{21}… tsai^{41}$. One is a perfective marker and the other is a progressive marker.

4.2.2 $tau^{21}{}_{\text{PERF}}$ *vs* $tau^{21}{}_{\text{PROG}}$

In this section, I point out that tau^{21} in the combination $tau^{21}… tsai^{41}$ can sometimes be treated as a perfective, the reading of the duration results from the derivation of the use of tau^{21} as a perfective marker. This is illustrated in (14a) - (14b).

(14)   a. $ts^h\varepsilon^{33}$ tsi   fan^{33} tau^{21}(tsai^{41}) .
              car   turn over   TAU TSAI
              'The car turned over.'
        b.   tɛŋ^{33} lian^{21} tau^{21} (tsai^{41}) .
              light   lighten   TAU   TSAI
              'The light is on.'

The verb *fan*^{33} 'turn over' and *lian*^{21} 'lighten' are achievement predicates. $tau^{21}… tsai^{41}$ is acceptable in (14a, b). It would not be sensible to treat tau^{21} in (14) as a progressive marker since the main property of achievements is that they lack property of duration.

Still, note that the sentence final $tsai^{41}$ in these two sentences can be left out. Hence the idea that $tau^{21}…tsai^{41}$ is exclusively a progressive marker is questionable.

Furthermore, that tau^{21} can be replaced by lia^{33}, the perfective marker in some cases like (14), repeated in (15), but not in other cases can support our doubt. For comparison, (4) is repeated in (16).

(15)   a. $ts^h\epsilon^{33}$tsi   fan^{33} tau^{21} /lia^{33} (tsai^{41}) .
          car   fall   TAU /PERF   TSAI
        'The car turned over.'
       b. tɛŋ^{33} lian^{21} tau^{21} /lia^{33} (tsai^{41}) .
          light   lighten TAU /PERF   TSAI.
        'The light is on.'

(16)   a. ŋo^{41} lau^{33} tau^{21} tiən^{41}si   tsai^{41}.
          1SG   watch TAU   TV   TSAI
        'I am watching TV.'
       b. *ŋo^{41} lau^{33} lia^{33} tiən^{41}si   tsai^{41}.
          1SG   watch TAU   TV   TSAI
        'Intended: I am watching TV.'

In (15a, 15b) both tau^{21} and lia^{33} can be used without leading to differences in interpretation, but this is not for (16b). Note that in Xùpǔ, lia^{33} can only be used as a perfective marker indicating the termination/completion of an action. As far as I know, it is the cognate of *le* in Mandarin. We therefore conclude that the tau^{21} appearing in the combination tau^{21}... $tsai^{41}$ is not always the same one. The facts presented above show that we are in fact dealing with two tau^{21}s: one is a perfective marker (tau^{21}_{PERF}), the other is used as a progressive marker (tau^{21}_{PROG}). tau^{21}_{PERF} can be used with achievement or accomplishment predicates to indicate that the action presented has been accomplished. In achievements and accomplishments the combination tau^{21}_{PROG}... $tsai^{41}$ is used to indicate the duration of the result state. In activities, the combination tau^{21}_{PROG}... $tsai^{41}$ is used to indicate the ongoingness of the actions. tau^{21} in Xùpǔ is like ta^{21} in Chángshā. They can be used as a perfective marker and a progressive marker as well. When they are used as a progressive marker, it must be combined with sentence final $tsai^{21}(ko^{24})$ or $tsai^{41}$.

If the above is on the right track, I conclude that, like the case of ta^{21} in Chángshā, there are two tau^{21}s in $tau^{21}...tsai^{41}$ combination, which happen to be the same form. One is a perfective marker; another is a progressive marker. The corresponding relation of the use of progressive and perfective aspect between Chángshā and Xùpǔ can be seen in table 1 (we neglect the preverbal $tsai^{41}$ in the two languages).

Table 1

	Chángshā	Xùpǔ
Perfective	$ta^{21}{}_{PERF}$	$tau^{21}{}_{PERF,}$ lia^{33}
Imperfective	$ta^{21}{}_{PROG}...tsai^{41}$	$tau^{21}{}_{PROG}...tsai^{41}$

The table shows that the perfective marker $tau^{21}{}_{PERF}$ in Xùpǔ corresponds to $ta^{21}{}_{PERF}$ and the progressive marker $tau^{21}{}_{PROG}$ corresponds to $ta^{21}{}_{PROG}$ in Chángshā. The difference, however, between the two languages is that in Xùpǔ there are two perfective markers: lia^{33} and tau^{21}[10], whereas in Chángshā there is only one. That is, ta^{21}. If the proposed analysis for $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ in Xùpǔ is on the right track, I think that it can be used to support my analysis of ta^{21} in Chángshā.

4.2.3 Summary

In the above, I provided an analysis of the expression of the progressive aspect in Xùpǔ. I first point out that preverbal $tsai^{41}$ and the combination $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ is not the same as it is previously argued to be. The progressive marker, preverbal $tsai^{41}$, expresses that an action is ongoing; while the combination $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ cannot only indicate that an action is ongoing, it can also indicate the continuation of a result state. I also point out that the combination is only obligatory in activities. In accomplishments and achievements, $tsai^{41}$ is optional. I argue that tau^{21} in the combination $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ can be divided into

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[10] Note that as perfective marker, tau^{21} can only be used with activities, not with achievements and accomplishments, while the perfective marker lia^{33} is able to be used with all types of eventive predicates.

tau^{21}_{PERF} and tau^{21}_{PROG} with the duration reading of result state being derived from the perfective. Based on the similarities between tau^{21} in Xùpǔ and ta^{21} in Chángshā, I conclude that the combination of $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ can be used to support my analysis of ta^{21} in Chángshā. In what follows I provide facts and some historical texts from Mandarin to further support the proposed analysis.

4.3   *zhe* in Mandarin

In Chapter 1, we have introduced that *zài* and *zhe* are seen as two imperfective markers in Mandarin. The two are distinguished in dynamicity. Specifically, *zài* indicates ongoingness of an action. *zhe* indicates the ongoingness of an action or duration of a result state. I have also pointed out, in the spirit of Tsai (2008), that *zài* is located in an Outer aspect position and *zhe* occupies an inner aspect position. As a result (according to the principles developed in Chapters 1 and 2), *zài* can stand alone in a sentence to present an action as ongoing, this is not the case for *zhe*: when *zhe* is used, extra elements are needed to anchor the sentence to tense.

However, this is not the whole story of the use of *zhe*. In this section, I am going to provide more analysis of the distribution and interpretation of *zhe*. I am going to show that *zhe* should not be exclusively treated as an imperfective marker. We have in fact two *zhe*s. One is zhe_{PERF} and the other is zhe_{PROG}. The duration reading encoded by *zhe* has derived from the use of *zhe* as a perfective marker. In this sense, what Tsai deals with is only part of the properties of *zhe*.

4.3.1 $zhe_{\text{DUR}}/_{\text{PROG}}$ or $zhe_{\text{PERF}}/_{\text{PROG}}$

For a start, I show that the use of *zhe* can be illustrated in (17), where *zhe* indicates ongoingness of an action or the continuation of a result state.

(17)   a. tā   bù   tíng   de   shuō   zhe.
          3SG NEG   stop   SUB   speak   ZHE
          'He is speaking continuously.'

b. tā   qīngqīng de   qīao   zhe   mén.
   3SG lightly   knock DUR   door
   'He is knocking at the door quietly.'

c. wǒ   kàn   zhe   shū   ne.
   1SG   read   ZHE   book   SF
   'I am reading a book.'

d. nǐ   bú   yòng   zhàn   zhe.
   2SG NEG   necessary   stand ZHE
   'You do not have to stand. '

e. qiáng   shàng guà   zhe   yí   fù   huà
   wall   on   hang   ZHE   one CL   picture.
   'There is a picture hanging on the wall.'

In (17a) - (17c), *zhe* indicates the ongoingness of the actions, while in (17d) - (17e), *zhe* indicates the continuation of the result state. To deal with the ambiguity between a dynamic progressive reading and a stative result state reading produced by *zhe*, three approaches have been advocated in the literature. One analysis claims that *zhe* is a stative durative marker (Li & Thompson 1981, Dai 1991, Shi 1992 among others). Yeh (1993) suggests that *zhe* is only compatible with stage-level predicates, which involves a change of state (Yeh 1993:86). Smith (1997:273) claims, "*zhe* basically presents a continuous and stable situation without regard to endpoints."

Another approach argues that *zhe* has two different meanings, indicating either the ongoingness of an action or the duration of a state resulting from the action denoted by the verb (Zhū 1982, Liú 1985, Lù 1995, 1999, Guo (1997), Chen 1999 among others.)

Lù (1999:5) suggests that *zhe* indicates either the ongoingness of an action or the duration of the result state. He points out that the use of *zhe* as a progressive marker can be further divided into two: one is to indicate the dynamic continuation as in (17a). Another is the repetition of the action, as in (17b). The meaning of the duration of states can also be further divided into two: one is to indicate the duration of a posture (see (17c)), another is to indicate the duration of the result state after an action (as in (17)).

As (17) shows, *zhe* does not only indicate the ongoingness of an action (17a) - (17c), it can also indicate the duration of the result states (17d) - (17e). Therefore, it seems to make sense to take the second approach: *zhe* is divided into *zhe*DUR and *zhe*PROG, with the former indicating the duration of a result state and the latter indicating the ongoingness of an action. Note that in Lù (1999), *zhe*DUR and *zhe*PROG are only subdivision of the use of *zhe* as an imperfective marker. It is still seen as an outer aspect marker as *zài* is.

Different from the above two approaches, Tsai (2008) notices that *zhe* is different from *zài* in that *zài* can stand alone while *zhe* cannot. I have introduced Tsai (2008) in chapter 2. I repeat briefly the observation by him. Tsai (2008) observes that when *zhe* is used, the sentence needs to be licensed by extra elements, which according to him, function to anchor the sentence to tense. Examples in (18) - (19) have been introduced in chapter 2; they are repeated here for convenience (from Tsai 2008: 676). The symbol % marks "incompleteness": the argument structure is fully-fledged, yet the sentence sounds incomplete.

(18)   a. %Akiū   pǎo   zhe.
            Akiu   run   DUR
        b. Akiū   zài   pǎo.
            Akiū   PROG   run
            'Akiu was/is running.'
        c. Akiū   yìzhí   pǎo   zhe.
            Akiu   continuously   run   DUR
            'Akiu was/is running continuously.'

(19)   a. %Akiū   kū   zhe.
            Akiu   cry   DUR
        b. Akiū   zài   kū.
            Akiu   PROG   cry
            'Akiu was/is crying.'
        c. Akiū   kū   zhe   huílái.
            Akiu   cry   DUR   back come
            'Akiu came back home crying.'

Tsai (2008) observes that *zhe* cannot stand alone in these sentences (18a) - (19a), while in the same case, *zài* can (18b) - (19b). He attributes the incompleteness of the sentences to the location of *zhe*. He suggests that *zhe* is located in what he calls a Middle aspect position inside vP (a position lower than little v, i.e., inner aspect for us), while *zài* is located in the outer aspect position. According to him, since *zhe* is located lower than vP, it is unable to move up to join T, leaving the tense of the sentence too weak to bind the event role. Hence, other elements are needed to help anchoring the sentence to tense. These elements include adverbs as shown in (17c). The sentence itself can also be embedded in a bigger sentence (as is done in (19c)). This property of *zhe* is contrastive with the progressive marker *zài* (18b) - (19b).

However, we think that the approach Tsai (2008) proposed is subject to further modification. It is true that when *zhe* is used to indicate the continuation of an ongoing action, it needs other elements to go with it, but in cases where *zhe* is used to indicate the duration of a result state, no extra elements is needed. See (20).

(20)   a. qiángshàng   guà   zhe   yí   fù   huà
            wall   on   hang   ZHE   one   CL   painting
            'On the wall hangs a painting.'
        b. qiángshàng   yǒu   yí   fù   huà   guà   zhe.
            wall   on   have   one   CL   painting   hang   ZHE
            'There is a painting hanging on the wall.'

In (20a), no extra elements is used, *zhe* indicates the duration of the result state. Tsai suggests that sentences like that can be seen as an existential construal. (20a) can be changed into (20b). That is why no extra elements is needed.

However, we think this can only explain sentences with locative inversion. In many other cases where *zhe* indicates result state without extra elements, the sentences cannot be interpreted as existential. See (21).

(21)   Zhangsan   dài   zhe   màozi.
        Zhangsan   wear   DUR   hat
        'Zhangsan is wearing a hat.'

zhe in (21) indicates the duration of the result state, it stands alone in the sentence. Note that according to Tsai (2008), we should either interpret (21) as a case of existential or we use other elements to anchor the sentence to tense. However, this is not the case.

Still there are sentences like (22) which should also not be seen as an existential case, only a definite reading is acceptable for.

(22)   mén   kāi   zhe.
       door   open   ZHE
       'The door is open.'

So given the above consideration, we think it is better to treat the use of *zhe* in cases like (21) - (22) as a perfective marker, with the durative reading being derived from the completion of an action, as we have argued in chapter 2.

To close this section, I would like to point out that treat *zhe* as a perfective marker is not new here. Cheng (1988) points out that *zhe* indicates a state and that the action needed to reach the state is finished, that is, there is an endpoint of the state indicated by *zhe* (Cheng 1988:74). For example in (23), Lisi must have completed the action of picking up the clothes before the state of holding is reached. (23) is from Cheng (1988:74).

(23)   Lisi   bǎ   zāng   yīfú   bào   zhe.
       Lisi   BA   dirty   clothes hug   ZHE
       'He is holding the dirty clothes.'

Similarly, Sun (1998) points out that *zhe* in (24) cannot be understood as an imperfective marker. (24) is from Sun (1998:157).

(24)   zhè   ge   chá,   nǐ   hē   zhe   zěnmeyàng?
       DEM   CL   tea,   2SG drink   ZHE   how
       'You have drunk this tea, how is it?'

According to Sun (1998), in (24), one cannot possibly talk about the taste unless he/she has taken the tea. Therefore, *zhe* in (24) cannot possibly mark an

imperfective aspect. *zhe* in (24) signals perfect aspect, which indicates a present state which is the result of some past situation (Comrie (1976:56)). According to Comrie (1976), perfect manifests the present relevance of a past situation.   Following Comrie, Sun suggests that *zhe* in (24) signals a current relevance, i.e. the relevance of the event of tea drinking in relation to the situation at speech time. I assume Sun is right in pointing out that *zhe* in (24) is not an imperfective marker, but I would point out that *zhe* in (24) can in fact be interpreted as a perfective marker. Since as is mentioned by Sun that only one has drunk the tea, can one talk about the taste of the tea. In this sense, *zhe* in (24) can be seen as a perfective marker.

In talking about the use of *zhe*, Smith (1997) points out that there must be a potential for change in the use of *zhe*. Verbs or verb phrases denoting relatively permanent states cannot occur with *zhe*. Yeh (1993) suggests that *zhe* is compatible with stage-level states, such as, *bēishāng* 'sad', *hàipà* 'afraid', *máng* 'busy', etc. are incompatible with individual-level states, such as *xiàng* 'to resemble', *cōngmíng*, 'smart' etc. Importantly she points out that *zhe* goes with result states and stage-level state predicates can be seen as involving a change, from, say, being not busy to being busy. Both Smith and Yeh treat *zhe* as a stative durative marker, yet I think that for these predicates with *zhe* to mean what they mean, a change must take place. It is *zhe* that expresses that this change has taken place. In this sense, *zhe* is better treated as a perfective marker.

Treating *zhe* in these verbs as a perfective marker is not impossible. One argument to support the analysis is that in these sentences both *zhe* and *le* (a perfective marker) can be used, without leading to much difference in temporal information.

(25)   a. zhuōzi shàng   fàng   zhe/le   běn   shū.
           desk   on   put   ZHE/le   CL   book
           'A book is put on the desk.'
        b. tā   chuān   zhe/le   yí   jiàn   dàyī.
           3SG   wear   ZHE/le   one   CL   clothes
           'He put on a coat.'

c.   ménkǒu   zhàn   zhe/le   hěnduō   rén .
     door   stand   ZHE/le   many   people
     'Many people stood at the door.'

In (25), both *zhe* and *le* can be used. The interpretation of the sentences is basically the same.

In short, we suggest that it makes a lot of sense to treat *zhe* as a perfective marker in some situations. The duration reading of the sentence can be seen as being derived from the completion of the action: the action is completed and the result state created by the action continues. We assume that it is the property of these predicates: they do not only denote an action, but also a result state after the completion of the action. Verbs expressing *holding*, *placement*, *posturing*, and *attachment* (e.g. *hang*) etc belong to this type. Note that other verbs like *do*, *watch*, *write*, *wash*, *see*, *beat* etc. do not show this property. Since we see result states as part of the properties of these verbs, we think that it is understandable that after the completion of an action, the result state stays.

Based on the above considerations, I suggest that the preferred subclassification of *zhe* is zhe_{PERF}/zhe_{PROG} rather than zhe_{DUR}/zhe_{PROG}. Specifically, in result states, *zhe* is really a perfective marker: the durative reading of the result state is derived from the completion of the action. In other cases, it is used as a progressive marker indicating the ongoingness of an action. In what follows, I point out the differences between *le* (another perfective marker) and zhe_{PERF} and that between *zài* and zhe_{PROG}.

If the above analysis so far is on the right track, we suggest that there are two perfective markers in Mandarin: zhe_{PERF} and *le*, and two progressive markers: zhe_{PROG} and *zài*. If that is the case, the immediate questions rise: what properties does *zhe* have as a perfective marker? What is the difference between zhe_{PERF} and *le*? In what follows, we focus on the properties of zhe_{PERF}. I have mentioned the differences between *zài* and zhe_{PROG} as a progressive marker. However, for the purpose of comparison, I will mention them again here.

4.3.2   *le/zhe*_{PERF}

In this section, I suggest that as a perfective marker, *zhe*_{PERF} is more restricted than *le*. The distinctive property of *zhe* regulates that *zhe* can only be used in verbs that have end states typically resulting from the action. Verbs that can only denote an action do not accept *zhe* as a perfective marker. We compare (26a) and (26b). *zhe* in (26a) can only be a progressive marker, while in (26b), it can either be a perfective or a progressive marker.

(26)   a. t à   z ài   n àr   kū   zhe_{prog}/ *zhe_{perf} .
          3SG   LOC there   cry   ZHE_{PROG}/ ZHE_{PERF}
          'He is crying there.'
          *'He cried there.'

       b. t à   z ài   qi ángsh àng   tiē   zhe_{PROG}/ zhe_{PERF}/le zhàopiān.
          3SG LOC   wall   attach   ZHE_{PROG}/ ZHE_{PERF}/LE picture
          'He is attaching pictures on the wall.'
          'He attached pictures on the wall.'

zhe in (26a) can only be a progressive marker, while in (26b), it can have either a progressive reading or a perfective reading. When it is interpreted as a perfective marker, it can be replaced by *le*.

In comparison to *zhe*, *z ài* is less controversial. Li and Thompson (1981:217) suggest that only activity verbs can take *z ài* to indicate the progressive aspect. Following Li and Tompson, Smith (1997) claims that "*z ài* presents an internal interval of a durative situation, and often has the connotations of activity associated with events" (Smith 1997:273). However, W ú (2004) points out that Smith's generalization misses an important point about *z ài*: *z ài* presents an event as ongoing at an instant while *zhe* presents an eventuality lasting over an interval larger than an instant (W ú 2004:320). (27) - (28) is from W ú (2004:320).

(27)   a. *tā   zuótiān   xiàwǔ   wǔdiǎn   k àn   zhe   di ànsh ì
          3SG   yesterday   afternoon five o'clock watch   ZHE   TV
           'He was watching TV at 5:00 last afternoon.'

b. tā   zuótiān   xiàwǔ   wǔ diǎn   zài   kàn   diànshì.
    3SG yesterday   afternoon   five o'clock ZAI watch TV
    'He was watching TV at 5:00 last afternoon.'

(28)   a. tā   zhěng   gè   zǎoshàng   kàn   zhe   diànshì
          3SG whole   CL   morning   watch ZHE   TV
          'He was watching TV the whole morning.'

       b. *tā   zhěng   gè   zǎoshàng   zài   kàn   diànshì
          3SG   whole   CL   morning   ZAI   watch TV
          'He was watching TV the whole morning.'

Sentences in (27) and (28) show, *zhe* is compatible with an interval adverbial (28a), but not with an instant adverbial (27a); on the other hand, *zài* can only go with an instant adverbial (27b), but not with an interval adverbial (28b) (Wú 2004:319).

Different from the above semantic analysis, Tsai (2008) holds that *zhe* and *zài* differ in the syntactic location as is introduced in chapter 2. Note that I have distinguished *zhe*$_{PERF}$ from *zhe*$_{PROG}$. So when I refer to distinguishing between *zhe* and *zài*, I confine myself to *zhe*$_{PROG}$.

With the above analysis, and following Tsai (2008) and Wú (2004), I assume that *zhe*$_{PROG}$ and *zài* differ not only semantically but also syntactically. Specifically, *zài* is located in outer aspect position and *zhe*$_{PROG}$ is located lower than vP, though both are used to indicate ongoingness of an action.

In the above, we postulate that *zhe* in result states can be seen as a perfective marker, with the reading of the duration of the result state being derived from the completion of the action. Hence, we have *zhe*$_{PERF}$ and *zhe*$_{PROG}$, rather than the *zhe*$_{DUR}$ and *zhe*$_{PROG}$ we find in the literature. *Zhe*$_{PERF}$ is used to indicate completion, and *zhe*$_{PROG}$ is used to indicate the ongoingness of an action. When used as a perfective marker, *zhe*$_{PERF}$ can only be used with those predicates that denote not only actions but also the state that typically results from the action. This is different from *le*, another perfective aspect marker, that can be used in any eventive predicates. As a progressive marker, *zhe*$_{PROG}$ is different from preverbal *zài* in the sense that it cannot stand alone in a sentence.

When *zhe* is used to present an action as ongoing, the sentence needs to be tense anchored externally (Tsai 2008).

If so far I am on the right track, the questions I put forward in section 4.3.1 can be accounted for: *zhe*_{PROG} is located lower than vP, hence unable to help anchor the sentence to tense, that is why it cannot stand alone. *zhe*_{PERF}, though located lower than vP, is interpreted in outer aspect position, as ta^{21}_{PERF} is, it is able to help the sentence anchor to tense, hence *zhe*_{PERF} can stand alone.

4.3.3   Summary

In this section, I provided an analysis on the distribution and interpretation of *zhe*. I show that *zhe* should not be exclusively treated as an imperfective marker. *zhe* in fact can be divided into *zhe*_{PERF} and *zhe*_{PROG} with the reading of the duration of the result state produced by *zhe* being derived from the use of *zhe* as a perfective marker.

4.4 ta^{21} and *zhe*

In this section, I will further point out that the assumed distinction between *zhe*_{PERF} and *zhe*_{PROG} in Mandarin corresponds to ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG} in Chángshā, and what is different between the two languages is that in Mandarin both *zhe* and *le* can be used as perfective markers ((a) sentences), while in Chángshā only ta^{21} does the job ((b) sentences). See (29) - (32).

(29)   a. zhuōzi   shàng   fàng   le/zhe_{PERF}   yī   běn   shū.
             desk   on   put   PERF   one CL   book
            'There is a book on the desk/ A book is placed on the desk.'
        b. tso²⁴zi   shan²¹   fan⁴⁵   ta²¹   i²⁴   pən⁴¹   xu³³.
             desk   on   put   PERF one CL   book
             'There is a book on the desk/A book is placed on the desk.'

(30)   a. tāmēn zài   náli   gài   zhe_PROG /le   lóufàng.
          3PL   LOC   there   build PROG /PERF   building
          'They are building buildings there/They have built buildings there.'
      b. ta^{33}mən tsai^{21} la^{45} li kai^{45} ta^{21} fan^{13}tsi.
          3PL   LOC   there   build   PERF/PROG   building
          both: 'They are building buildings there/They have built buildings   there.'

(31)   a. Zhāngsān hěn bù   qíngyuàn de xǐ   zhe _PERF/le   yīfú.
                      very NEG willing SUB wash PROG/PERF clothes
          both: 'Zhangsan is washing the clothes unwillingly/Zhangsan washed
          the clothes unwillingly.'
      b. tsan^{33}san^{33} xə^{41} pu^{41} ts^{h}in^{13}iuan^{21} ti çi^{41} ta^{21} i^{33}fu^{21}.
                      very   NEG willingly SUB wash   PERF/PROG clothes
          both:'Zhangsan   washed   the   clothes   unwillingly/Zhangsan is
          washing the clothes unwillingly .'

(32)   a. tāmēn   zài   shuō   zhe   huà
          3PL   PROG speak PROG words
          'They are talking.'
      b. tāmēn   tsài   kan^{41} ta^{21} fa^{21}.
          3PL   PROG speak PROG words
          'They are talking.'

Sentences in (29) contain a *place* verb; both *zhe* and *le* are acceptable as a perfective marker; in Chángshā only *ta*^{21} is used. In (30), the sentences are modified by a locative adverb, and in (31) they are modified by a manner adverb, we see that in Mandarin both *zhe* and *le* are acceptable in these two cases, the actions in the sentences are presented as either having been completed or ongoing. In Chángshā, however, *ta*^{21} alone does the two jobs. In (32), only ongoing reading is available for the sentence, which is expressed by *zhe* in Mandarin, the same is true in Chángshā, where this is expressed by *ta*^{21}.

To sum up, in the above I have shown that where *zhe* _PERF/*le* is used in Mandarin, *ta*^{21} is used, and where *zhe* _PROG is used, *ta*^{21}_PROG is used in Chángshā. The corresponding relation between *ta*^{21} and *zhe* is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Dialects	Perfective	Progressive
Chángshā	ta^{21}	ta^{21}, $tsai^{41}$
Mandarin	zhe, le	zhe, zài

If so far our analysis is still on the right track, we say that the use of *zhe* in Mandarin can also support the proposed analysis of ta^{21} in Chángshā.

In what follows, I point out that the proposed analysis can be further supported from the historical relations between the different varieties of *zhe* in Chinese.

4.5   Historical relations between *zhe* and *ta*^{21}

In this section, I turn to the historical development of *zhe* and ta^{21}, as well as the historical relationship between Chángshā and Mandarin. I will show that the proposed analysis so far can be further supported by historical relations between the two.

4.5.1   The development of *zhe* in Mandarin

By examining various uses of *zhe*'s cognates in different varieties of modern Chinese and in historical texts, Sūn (1998) suggests that the imperfective *zhe* may arise from its use as a directional verb in Middle Chinese. Following Heine et al. (1991) and Bybee et al. (1994), he claims that *zhe* conforms to the cross-linguistic generalization, according to which temporal markers are frequently grammaticalized from spatial terms. Sun imagines the development of *zhe* as follows: *zhe* was initially grammaticalized into an imperfective marker in Middle Chinese from a directional verb, whereby the resultative and other aspectual meanings arose as a consequence of contextually induced semantic changes (Sūn 1998:153).

According to Sūn, the semantic change from a directional verb into an imperfective aspect marker that focuses on the result state can be explained using Mandarin. (33) is from Sūn (1998:160).

(33)   a. zǒu   xi à   q ù!
            walk   down   go
            'Walk on!'
        b. shuō   xi à   q ù!
            talk   down   go
   'Continue to talk!'

Sūn (1998) points out that the meaning of direction in (33a) *zǒu xià qù* 'walk on' is very strong. However, with verbs like *shuō* 'speak' in (33b), the meaning of direction has become much weaker, and more metaphorical. Sūn (1998) suggests that the meaning of the directional *xi à q ù* 'go down' has changed so that the emphasis is no longer on the direction.

Sūn points out that, "although *zhe*'s perfect-aspect function in Mandarin is limited to expressions such as the one in (24), in other modern Chinese dialects, *zhe*'s cognates are commonly used as perfective markers (Sun 1998:157) (we interpret it a perfective marker, as mentioned above). For instance he says that ta^{21} in (34) marks perfective aspect.

(34) ta^{41} ta^{21} $tian^{45} xua^{21}$ $t\varsigma iu^{21}$ $xui^{13} k^h ə^{45}$.
        make   PERF   phone   then   return
        'I will return after I have made the phone-call.'

Sūn (1998:157) holds that the cognates of *zhe* used as a perfective marker can be observed from other dialects like Xiāng, Mǐn and Wú, as well as from the historical texts of middle Chinese. The history of the grammaticalisation of *zhe* is illustrated in (35). (35) is from (Sūn 1988: 171).

(35)
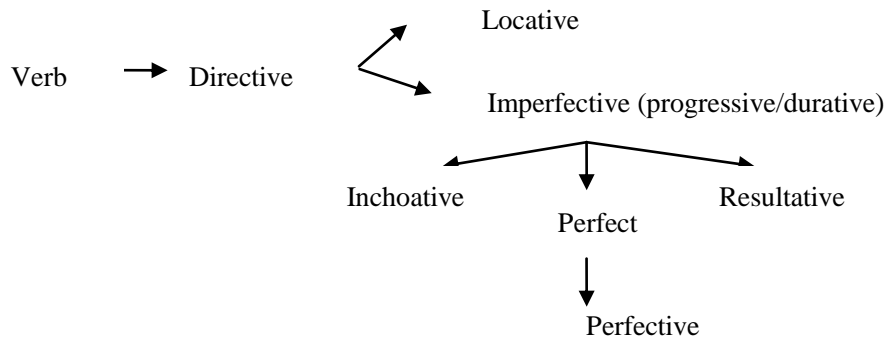
(35) shows that *zhe* evolved into a perfective marker from a lexical verb, during the path of development, it has undergone the change from a lexical verb to a directional verb, then it was used to indicate location or imperfective aspect before it is used as perfective.

4.5.2 The development of ta^{21}

Sūn (1998) claims that ta^{21} is one of the cognates of *zhe*. According to him, ta^{21} in Xiāng can mark both the perfective and the perfect. We have seen (34), (36) from Sūn (1998:157) is for further illustration.

(36) $tɕia^{24}$ ta^{21} fan^{21} ta^{21}.
          eat   PERF meal   SFP
          '(Someone) has eaten.'

Sūn (1998:157) holds that "… the meaning of ta^{21} as a perfective comes from the perfect aspect which, in turn, might derive from the post verbal directive/locative in Middle Chinese". According to Sūn, ta^{21} in (36) probably comes from *zhe* and is most appropriately translated into modern Mandarin by a directional *xiàlái* 'go down'. Hence, (37a) can be translated into *zuòxiàlái* 'sit down to eat'.

(37)   a. tsuo²¹   ta²¹   tɕʰia²⁴.

        sit   TA   eat

        'Sit down to eat.'

    b. tʰa³³ liu¹³   ta²¹   tɕi⁴¹   kʰuai⁴¹ tɕian¹³   tsai²¹   ko²⁴li.

       3SG leave TA several CL   money   LOC   here

       'He left several dollars here.'

In Sūn (1998), ta^{21} in (37b) is equivalent to ta^{21} in (37a), with the same directional meaning. Sūn holds that the grammaticalization process of *zhe* and its cognates in Chángshā in Middle Chinese is characterized as in (38) (Sūn 1988: 169). Sūn (1998) also discusses languages such as Mǐn and Wú, which I do not consider further here.

(38)

	MC (zhe)	Changsha (ta^{21})
Locative	(+)	-
Directive	+	+
Progressive	+	-
Imperfective	+	+
Inchoative	(+)	+
Perfect[11]	(+)	+
Perfective	(+)	+

Looking at (38), ta^{21} in Chángshā seems to have undergone almost the same process as *zhe* in Mandarin, with two notable exceptions: the progressive and the locative. However, I point out that Sūn's description of ta^{21} is not comprehensive, because ta^{21} in Chángshā can be used as a locative and a progressive marker. This observation is also made by Cuī (1997), Wǔ (1999), Lǐ (1991), Lú (2007). See (39) - (40).

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[11] Sun treats *zhe* as a perfect marker in sentences like (24), though I would say it can be seen as a perfective marker.

(39)   a. tʰa³³   tɕu²¹   ta²¹   Shang²¹hai⁴¹.

          3SG   live   LOC   Shanghai

          'He lives in Shanghai.'

        b. *tʰa³³   tɕu²¹   ta²¹   tsai²¹   Shang²¹hai⁴¹.

          3SG   live   TA   LOC   Shanghai

(40)   ŋo⁴¹mən¹³   tsən⁴¹   kan⁴¹   ta²¹   xua²¹.

        1PL   right   speak   PROG   words

        'We are talking.'

ta^{21} is used as a locative in (39), and ta^{21} and the locative $tsai^{21}$ cannot co-occur (39b). In (40), ta^{21} can be seen as a progressive or a durative marker in Cuī (1997), Wǔ (1999), Lǐ (1991), Lú (2007), although strictly speaking, I would argue that it is a progressive marker.

Before I close this section, I would mention another approach dealing with the historical development of ta^{21}, which is given by Wǔ (1999). Wǔ is different from Sūn (1998). Wǔ suggests that ta^{21} origins from te^{24} 'to obtain; to gain'. Wǔ's analysis goes as follows. Before the occurrence of *le* in Chinese, $tɕia^{33}$'to lead, to send away' or $tɕ^{h}yɛ^{41}$ 'to take away' and te^{24} 'to obtain, to gain' are contrastive markers used during the Song and Yuan Dynasties as aspectual markers. Later, as the use of the two aspect markers *le* and *zhe* increased, $tɕia^{33}$ 'to lead; to send away'/$tɕ^{h}yɛ^{41}$ 'to take away' vs te^{24} 'to obtain, to gain' gradually fell out of use in modern Chinese, and have not been used since the eighteenth century. Later, a verb *liǎu* 'to finish' developed into an aspectual marker and replaced most of the aspectual markers in modern Chinese. This is also the case in Mandarin. In Chángshā, however, the contrast has not only been retained but expanded (Wǔ 1999:215). Specifically, ka^{41} discussed in chapter 3 developed from $tɕ^{h}yɛ^{41}$ 'to take away' and ta^{21} derived from the word te^{24} 'to obtain, to gain' (Wǔ 1999:215). To put differently, the development path of *liǎu* 'to finish' from a verb to an aspectual marker does not occur in Xiāng. She suggests that "in Xiāng, although a few localities have adapted *le/liǎu* as an aspectual marker, it can be treated as a result of borrowing rather than of an internal development" (Wǔ 1999:225).

In the present thesis, however, I assume the analysis of the grammaticalisation of *zhe* in Mandarin and the relation between *zhe* and *ta*[21] made by Sūn (1998). First, the analysis Sūn proposes for *zhe* finds support in dialects such as Xiāng, Wú, and Southern Mǐn and in historical texts.

Second, Sūn's analysis is based on a cross-linguistic phenomenon: there is a close semantic affinity between the locative and the progressive meanings. For instance, Heine et al. (1991:36) observe that in Dutch the locative preposition *aan* is used as a progressive marker.

(41)   Ik   ben   aan het eten.
        1SG am   at   the eat
        'I am eating.'

Finally, the most important argument is that the proposed analysis provides an insightful account of the aspectual overlap expressed by *zhe* in Mandarin and *ta*[21] in Chángshā. By contrast, if *ta*[21] is what Wǔ (1999) supposes to be, it would be hard to explain its function as a perfective, an imperfective and a locative as well, since these functions do not seem to be directly related to one another. In fact, Wǔ (1999) provides no discussion of the multiple functions of *ta*[21].

Based on the above considerations, I follow Sūn's analysis and assume that *ta*[21] is the cognate of *zh*e, which has gone through a grammatical transformation from a directive to an imperfective and perfective. What we see in Chángshā is in fact the relics of *zhe* in the process of the grammaticalization. This makes sense, since as I pointed out early in this thesis, Chángshā is known for inheriting some properties from Middle Chinese.

4.6 Summary

In Section 4.5, I present the historical development of imperfective aspects in Mandarin and Chángshā and the historical relationship between the two languages. Following Sūn (1998), I point out that *zhe* may arise from its use as a directional verb before it becomes an imperfective marker. However, different from Sūn, I point out that *zhe* can also be a perfective marker, mainly

used in result states and relevant predicates. I also point out, following Sun, that ta^{21} is one of the cognates of *zhe*. My analysis shows that the zhe_{PERF} and zhe_{PROG} that I recognize correspond to ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG}. However, Chángshā differs from Mandarin in that *le* does not appear in this language (also see also Wu 1999). Hence, ta^{21} alone does the work that is performed by *le* and *zhe* in Mandarin.

4.7 Summary of chapter 4

In this chapter, I first provide an analysis of the imperfective aspect in Xùpǔ and Mandarin. Different from the traditional analysis, where $tau^{21}... tsai^{41}$ is seen as a durative marker, I point out that tau^{21} in the combination should be divided into two: tau^{21}_{PERF} and tau^{21}_{PROG}. tau^{21}_{PERF} can stand alone to indicate that an event has been completed, while tau^{21}_{PROG} cannot. When tau^{21}_{PROG} is used, the sentence needs to be combined with $tsai^{41}$, which is like sentence final $tsai^{41}ko^{24}$ in Chángshā. The use of tau^{21} is like what we have seen in the use of ta^{21} in Chángshā, where we argue that ta^{21} can be classified into ta^{21}_{PERF} and ta^{21}_{PROG}. Similarly, we can do this for tau^{21}: tau^{21} can be classified into tau^{21}_{PERF} and tau^{21}_{PROG}. We also pointed out that the proposed analysis of Xùpǔ and Chángshā can be extended to the use of *zhe* in Mandarin. We suggest that there also exists the distinction between zhe_{PERF} and zhe_{PROG}. Similarly, as a perfective marker, zhe_{PERF} is restricted to predicates that denote not only an action but also the result state after the action. When zhe_{PROG} is used as a progressive marker, the sentence needs external licensing, just as ta^{21}_{PROG} as we discussed in chapter 2. For a brief summary, the particles expressing the perfective and progressive in the three languages are presented in Table 3 (we neglect the preverbal $tsai^{41}$/*zài* in the three languages). α represents those elements which need to be used to anchor the sentence in tense syntactically. For instance, it can be $tsai^{41}(ko^{24})$ in Chángshā and Xùpǔ.

Table 3

Aspect	Chángshā	Xùpǔ	Mandarin
Perfective	ta^{21}_PERF	tau^{21}_PERF, lia^{33}	zhe_PERF, le
Progressive	ta^{21}_PROG... α	tau^{21}_PROG... α	zhe_PROG... α

Table 3 shows that Chángshā differs from Xùpǔ and Mandarin in the sense that the perfective and the imperfective are expressed by the same form, ta^{21}; while in the other two languages the two meanings are expressed by distinctive markers: in Xùpǔ, the perfective is expressed by lia^{33} or tau^{21}_PERF, and in Mandarin, the perfective is expressed by le or zhe_PERF. The corresponding particle of ta^{21}_PROG is tau^{21}_PROG and zhe_PROG respectively.