A Study on the Grammar of Lianhua Gan: From Synchrony to Diachrony

by

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Statement of Originality

I, HU Xiaojuan, hereby declare that I am the sole author of the thesis and the material presented in this thesis is my original work except those indicated in the acknowledgement. I further declare that I have followed the University's policies and regulations on Academic Honesty, Copyright and Plagiarism in writing the thesis and no material in this thesis has been submitted for a degree in this or other universities.

Abstract

This thesis examines the grammar of Lianhua Gan in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions, covering some important grammatical morphemes and functional categories including demonstratives, the definite article, the perfective aspect, the imperfective aspects (the progressive and the continuous aspects), and the HAVE-possessive.

The main approach in this thesis is to infer the diachrony from the synchrony from typological and diachronic perspectives. The typological perspective places the study of Lianhua Gan within a typological context through cross-linguistic or cross-dialectal comparisons and makes use of typological generalizations and language universals. The diachronic perspective, which concerns how the current situation develops through diachronic changes, contributes to accounting for the synchronic state of various grammatical categories in terms of the form and function. As there is no historical material regarding early Lianhua Gan, the approach to the diachronic study is to dynamicize synchronic uses as successive diachronic stages in the process of language change based on regularities in linguistic change, comparative evidence across dialects or languages, as well as studies on historical materials of Chinese.

The five categories are discussed in five respective chapters that form the main body of the thesis. Each chapter starts by investigating the syntax and semantics of the category concerned at the synchronic level by taking cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal data into account. The synchronic states are then explained in the diachronic dimension by examining how they develop over time.

Keywords: Gan Chinese, dynamicization of synchrony, grammaticalization, typology

Acknowledgement

As a native speaker, I have always been curious about my mother dialect, a variety of the Gan dialects spoken in Lianhua County, Jiangxi Province. When I did my master degree at Beijing Language and Culture University, I developed an interest in typological and diachronic approaches to the studies of grammar. Now my research interest has been fulfilled and I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those who have helped and supported me along this long academic journey.

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List of abbreviations

1/2/3 SG/PL	first/second/third person singular/plural
ADV	adverb
ASP	aspect marker
BA	disposal marker
CL	classifier
CM	comparative marker
COMP	complement
CONJ	conjunction
CON	continuous
COP	copula
DAT	dative marker
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional verb
EXP	experiential aspect marker
FOC	focus marker
LOC	locative
MW	measure word
N	noun
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NUM	numeral

PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PFT	perfect
POSS	possessive marker
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
RC	relative clause marker
V	verb
VP	verb phrase

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction of the Gan Dialects and Previous Studies

1.1.1 Distribution and Classification of Gan

The term Gan 贛 is the name of the major river as well as the abbreviation of Jiangxi 江西 province. Dialects spoken in the majority of this area are thus called the Gan dialects. The Gan dialect group is mainly spoken in northern and central Jiangxi 江西 province, and also in the neighboring provinces of eastern and southwestern Hunan 湖南, southeastern Hubei 湖北 and southwestern Anhui 安徽. According to the second edition of the *Language Atlas of China: Chinese Dialects* 中國語言地圖集（方言卷）(2012), the Gan dialects are classified into nine sub-groups: Chang-Du 昌都, Yi-Liu 宜瀏, Ji-Cha 吉茶, Fu-Guang 撫廣, Ying-Yi 鷹弋, Da-Tong 大通, Lei-Zi 耒資, Dong-Sui 洞綏 and Huai-Yue 懷岳, located in the colored areas ordered from one to nine in the map below (*Figure 1*). Lianhua 蓮花 Gan, the object of the present research, belongs to the Ji-Cha subgroup (No. 3 on the map) and is circled in yellow in Figure 1.

1.1.2 Relation between Gan and the Surrounding Dialects

The Gan dialects are geographically contiguous with many other Chinese dialects; they are surrounded by Xiang 湘語 to the west, Hakka 客家話 to the south, Min 閩語 to the east, Wu 吳語 and Hui 徽語 to the northeast and Mandarin 官話 to the north. In this sense, language contact tends to occur in the Gan area, especially in the border area. Owing to this special environment, the Gan dialects have been claimed to possess few distinctive characteristics when compared with other Chinese dialects (Yuan et al., 1960; Zhan, 1985). In particular, the Gan dialects have been constantly influenced by the northern dialects, because Jiangxi was the intermediate transit region for northern people migrating to the south
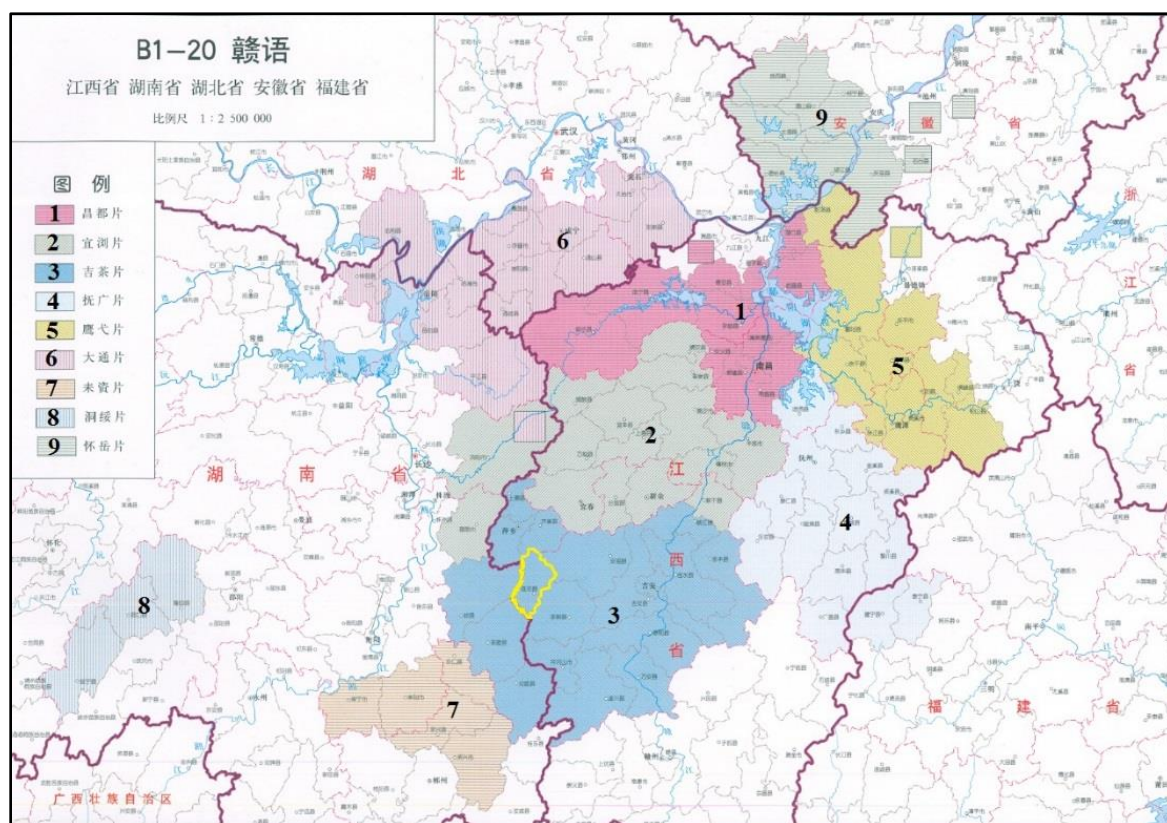
Figure 1 Sub-grouping of the Gan Dialects (Taken from the Language Atlas of China, 2012)

in the history of the Chinese (Ge et al., 1993). In addition, the relations and language contact between the Gan dialects and other neighboring dialects, such as Hakka, Xiang, Wu, Hui and Min, have been much discussed. According to Coblin (2015), Hakka and Xiang have a closer relationship with Gan; Hakka and Gan share a high degree of similarity with regard to segmental phonological features, and there is a high degree of lexical correspondence between Xiang and Gan. According to Yuan et al. (1960), the dialects spoken in the border area of western Jiangxi, eastern Hunan and southeastern Hubei are so complex that they might be better sub-grouped as Xiang-Gan dialects. Moreover, Hu et al. (2009) have discussed the situation of language contact between Gan and Wu as well as Hui in northeastern Jiangxi. The taxonomy of dialects in northwestern Fujian such as the Shaowu 邵 武 dialect is disputed and variously classified as Min (Norman, 1987, 1988) or Gan/Hakka (Pan, et al. 1963).

Due to this dialectal environment, the relationship of Gan and other dialects has been amply discussed in previous studies, such as the relationship between Gan and Hakka (Li, 1937/1973; Ho, 1987; Lu, 1988, 1994; Sagart,1988, 1997, 2002; Wang, 1998; Xiang, 2006, etc.), between Gan and Xiang (Li, 2007a) as well as Min and Gan (Li, 2001). Among these, whether Hakka and Gan should be grouped together has been a major topic of discussion in Chinese dialectology. The idea that Hakka and Gan belong to the same group can be traced back to Li (1937), which was reprinted in Li (1973), and is also shared by Wang (1998). This is why Ke-Gan 客贛 'Hakka-Gan' is a frequently used term in the literature. Later, Gan and Hakka were treated as distinct dialects in Yuan et al. (1960), which has become the accepted view in Chinese dialectology as shown in the two editions of *Language Atlas of China* (1987, 2012). Recently, Coblin (2015) reconstructed a proto-system of Gan called 'Common Gàn' and compared it with the proto-systems of its neighboring dialects including Yangtze Watershed Mandarin, Wu, Hui, Min, Hakka and Xiang; he claimed that Gan can be distinguished from its neighboring dialects at the phonological, lexical and syntactic levels. In this study, we take the view that Gan is dialect group on a par with other major dialect groups, such as Mandarin, Min, Yue, Wu, Xiang and Hakka.

1.1.3 Geo-typology of Gan

Hashimoto (1976) proposed a North-South division of Chinese dialects and has argued that the division is the result of prolonged language contact between the Altaic languages and northern Chinese, and between the Tai languages and southern Chinese. He also noticed the intermediate stage between the north and the south, which shows a mixture of the northern type and the southern type, such as the Nanchang dialect. This claim was further advanced by Norman (1988), who classified the Chinese dialects into three groups based on ten phonological, lexical and syntactic features: the Northern group, the Southern group and the Central group,. In this classificatory scheme, the Northern group corresponds to the Mandarin

group in the traditional classification, and the Southern group includes Hakka, Cantonese and Min, while the Central group includes Wu, Gan and Xiang. The Central group is a transitional zone between the North and the South and shares linguistic features of both Northern and Southern dialects.

By examining the morphosyntax and grammaticalization pathways of the markers of differential object marking, passive and comparative constructions, Chappell (2015) proposed a new classification that divides Chinese dialects into five linguistic areas: the Northern, the Central Transitional, the Southwestern, the Far Southern and the Southeastern. As the name suggests, the Central Transitional group shows mixed features of both Northern types and Southern types, or features not found in the Northern and Southern groups. Gan, together with other dialects situated in Central China, belongs to the Central Transitional area in Chappell's (2015) classification.

1.1.4 Studies on the Gan Dialects

The Gan dialects are "known only in a sketchy fashion" (p.204) as Norman (1988) remarked, but we have seen increasing studies on the Gan dialects in the past three decades. Book-length dialect reports or studies on the Gan dialect group include *Gan Fangyan Gaiyao* 贛方言概要 (*An Outline of the Gan Dialects*) by Chen (1991), *Ke-Gan Fangyan Diaocha Baogao* 客贛方言調查報告 (*A Report on the Survey of the Hakka and Gan Dialects*) by Li and Chang (1992), *Ke-Gan Fangyan Bijiao Yanjiu* 客贛方言比較研究 (*A Comparative Study of the Hakka and Gan Dialects*) by Liu (1999), *Jiangxi Sheng Fangyan Zhi* 江西省方言志 (*A Description of the Dialects in Jiangxi Province*) by Chen (2005), *Gan Wenhua Tongdian* (*Fangyan Juan*) 贛文化通典 方言卷 (*A Comprehensive Study of the Gan Culture: The Volume of Dialects*) by Hu (2014) and *A Study of Comparative Gan* by Coblin (2015), among others. There are books or dictionaries on a single Gan dialect point, such as

Nanchang 南昌 (Xiong, 1995; Wei & Chen, 1998; Zhang, 2007), Duchang 都昌 (Lu, 2007;

Feng & Cao, 2012), Fengcheng 豐城 (Zeng & Chen, 2016), Liuyang 瀏陽 (Xia, 1998),

Pingxiang 萍鄉 (Wei, 1990, 1998), Luxi 蘆溪 (Liu, 2008), Yongxin 永新 (Long, 2013),

Lichuan 黎川 (Yan, 1993, 1995), Fuzhou 撫州 (Fu, 2006), Yanshan 鉛山 (Hu & Lin, 2008),

Anren 安仁 (Chen, 1995), Changning 常寧 (Wu, 1998), Susong 宿松 (Tang, 2005) and

Yueyang 岳陽 (Li, 2007b). Most of these investigations focus on the phonology and provide

a relatively brief description of some representative and typical grammatical features, such as

pronouns, aspects, the comparative construction, the passive construction and the disposal

construction.

In terms of studies on the grammar of the Gan dialects, several monographs have been

published in recent years, such as the ones on the Yichun 宜春 dialect by Li (2018), the

Fengcheng 豐城 dialect by Chen (2012), the Anren 安仁 dialect by Zhou (2015), the Susong

宿松 dialect by Huang (2014) and the Daye 大冶 dialect by Wang (1994). Moreover, some

articles have described or analyzed various grammatical issues of different Gan dialects.

Most of these studies are descriptive observations of a single dialect point.

Generally speaking, the Gan dialects, especially their grammar, are relatively less

studied when compared with other dialect groups such as Wu, Min and Yue. However,

although these studies focus on the descriptions of a single dialect point, they provide initial

basic data for us to examine some deeper issues on the grammar of the Gan dialects from a

comparative perspective.

1.1.5 The Phonology of Lianhua Gan

In Lianhua Gan, there are 16 consonants (including the zero consonant) and 39 initials,

as illustrated by *Table* 1 and *Table* 2 respectively, and 5 tones, as follows:

High-level: 44 (*yinping* 陰平): 高風村爸一

Low-rising: 13 (*yangping* 陽平): 平同娘盤苗

High-falling: 53 (*yinshang* 陰上): 米餅表少苦

High-rising: 35 (*yangshang* 陽上): 我你遠厚冷

Low-falling: 21 (*qusheng* 去聲): 去變白用讀

Table 1 Consonants in Lianhua Gan

		Bilabial	Labial-dental	Alveolar	Velar	Alveo-palatal
Stops	unaspirated	[p] 布		[t] 當	[k] 家	
	aspirated	[pʰ] 怕		[tʰ] 天	[kʰ] 空	
Fricatives			[f] 風	[s] 少	[x] 好	[ɕ] 書
Affricates	unaspirated			[ts] 總		[tɕ] 尖
	aspirated			[tsʰ] 村		[tɕʰ] 秋
Nasal		[m] 米				
Lateral				[l] 來		
Zero 眼						

Table 2 Finals in Lianhua Gan

ɿ 世	i 雞	u 租	y 書
a 家	ia 姐	ua 話	ya 抓
o 多	io 六	uo 我	yo 肉
ɛ 白	iɛ 筆	uɛ 滑	yɛ 血
œ 妹		uœ 灰	
ai 鞋	iu 有	uai 怪	

ao 包	iao 表		
əŋ 送			
	ĩ 人		
ã 硬	iã 餅	uã 還	yã 繞
õ 搬	iõ 娘	uõ 王	
ẽ 生	iẽ 鹽	uẽ 問	yẽ 軟
		uŋ 公	yŋ 種
ŋ̍ 五			

1.2 Research Objectives and Approaches

1.2.1 Research Objectives

The primary objective of this thesis is to advance the understanding of the grammar of Gan. Lianhua 蓮花 Gan is the object of the present research and serves as the starting point for future study on the Gan dialects on a larger scale. It is a common practice to take the Nanchang 南昌 dialect representing the Gan dialect group, as Nanchang is the provincial capital of Jiangxi province. However, Nanchang Gan has received more influence from Modern Standard Chinese than the Gan dialects spoken in other areas. As the provincial capital, Nanchang is more important and developed than other cities and rural areas in terms of political, economic and cultural factors, and it attracts a lot of people with different dialectal backgrounds. Therefore, people in Nanchang use more Modern Standard Chinese as a lingua franca at school, workplace and in daily life. Moreover, people in Nanchang are more educated and more people can speak Putonghua, the lingua franca, than in rural areas. For this reason, I did not select Nanchang Gan as the research object. Lianhua Gan is spoken in a remote county in the western part of Jiangxi province and has received relatively less

influence from Modern Standard Chinese when compared to dialects spoken in municipal areas such as Nanchang. Moreover, Lianhua Gan is my mother dialect, which is an advantage for the study of grammar that requires native speakers' judgement. It is anticipated that this study on Lianhua Gan can provide a fine-grained investigation framework for the comparative studies of other Gan dialects in future.

This research also aims to provide investigation frameworks for some key and fundamental research topics in the studies on the grammar of Chinese dialects. As introduced below, the present study covers topics of demonstratives, the definite article, (im) perfective aspects and the HAVE-possessive. Each part starts from a detailed investigation of the forms or functions of the category concerned in the synchronic dimension, which are accounted for from the diachronic perspective by reconstructing how the form or functions develop. The investigation framework for Lianhua Gan can be used as a benchmark for further cross-dialectal comparisons.

This research can also contribute to enhancing the understanding of the grammar of Chinese (Modern Standard Chinese and Chinese dialects) as well as language universals and linguistic diversity. As introduced above, the Gan dialects are situated in the transitional area between the Northern and Southern dialect groups. An in-depth study of the Gan dialects can thus reveal features that might be possessed by both of these groups. In addition, the present study, although focusing on a single dialect, is situated in the typological context and concerns cross-linguistic regularities throughout. It benefits from typological generalizations on the one hand, and provides additional first-hand language data for examining language universals and diversities on the other hand.

1.2.2 Research Approaches

The general approach of this thesis is 'from synchrony to diachrony', which contains two major steps: (1) to investigate synchronic variations under the typological context; (2) to

dynamicize relevant synchronic states into successive diachronic stages. To conduct these two steps, this thesis studies the grammar of Lianhua Gan by applying typological and diachronic perspectives.

As for the typological perspective, this research places the study of Lianhua Gan within a typological context through cross-linguistic or cross-dialectal comparisons as well as making use of typological generalizations. The typological perspective can benefit the study of a single language in several ways. First, it can help better perceive a certain usage in a single language to see whether it is universal to the languages of the world or is characteristic of a particular language. Second, it can help understand and account for the seemingly uncommon language phenomena in a single language by comparing with other languages and dialects. Third, typological generalizations can help reconstruct pathways of diachronic change, especially when there is no available historical materials.

As advocated by Chappell, Li and Peyraube (2007) regarding the study of Chinese dialectal grammar, "in terms of theoretical framework, a desideratum would be to make more use of a comparative if not typological perspective in the writing up of such grammars, rather than just a purely descriptive approach" (p. 204). The introduction of the comparative approach to Chinese dialectal grammar can be traced to Zhu (1980, 1985). Later, Yue-Hashimoto's (1993) *Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar: Handbook for Investigators* and Liu's (2008) *A Handbook for Grammatical Investigation and Research* based on *Lingua Descriptive Studies: Questionnaire* by Comrie and Smith (1977) provided operational frameworks for comparative investigations. These pioneering works have laid a solid foundation for advancing the study of Chinese dialectal grammar beyond the traditional descriptive research.

Regarding the diachronic perspective, the current research views relevant synchronic states as successive diachronic stages in the process of language change with an aim to

reconstruct how contemporary Lianhua Gan develops through diachronic changes and explain why the synchronic system is the way it is. Languages change over time. As Bybee (2015) noted, "it has become clear that language change helps us explain the features of language structure because it provides a window onto how those structures come into being and evolve. Thus we identify explanations for the characteristics that language has by examining how language changes" (p. 1).

The classical approaches adopted in historical linguistic studies are applying historical materials and the comparative method, which is more commonly used in phonological and morphological studies. These two approaches are not applicable to the diachronic study on the grammar of Lianhua Gan, as there is no available materials of early Lianhua Gan and the comparative method is not applicable to the reconstruction of grammar. Since language change, including phonological change, morphosyntactic change, semantic change and grammaticalization, has regularities and universals, which is the focus of diachronic typology, the diachronic reconstruction of languages/dialects without historical materials, such as the diachronic study of the grammar of Lianhua Gan, can also be attainable. One way is to make use of the generalizations of diachronic typology; another is to dynamicize the synchrony. Furthermore, the historical material of Chinese and data of other dialects as well as cross-linguistic generalizatoins can be served as additional evidence for Lianhua Gan.

The typological approach and the diachronic approach can in fact complement each other. On the one hand, typological studies offer contemporary evidence from different languages for diachronic studies; on the other hand, language universals are the result of diachronic changes, and diachronic studies provide explanations of typological phenomena. The typological studies conducted by Greenberg (1969, 1978a, 1978b, etc.) show that different languages, related or unrelated, may undergo similar changes that lead to the possibility of forming hypotheses about language universals. A single language may not

exhibit a full process of change; however, a whole path may be reconstructed by comparing and assembling different parts observed in different languages. Diachronic typology, a new approach combining typological and diachronic studies and concerning the dynamicization of synchronic typology, was further proposed by Croft (2003).

Specifically, the dynamicization of synchronic states needs to identify whether the synchronic states are diachronically related at the first place. The identification requires the existence of an intermediate state where connects the source and target states. As for the multiple functions of a certain grammatical form, the way to confirm whether two funcions are directly related is to find out the bridging context where the synchronic states can co-exist. According to Heine (2002), bridging contexts "trigger an inferential mechanism to the effect that, rather than the source meaning, there is another meaning, the target meaning, that offers a more plausible interpretation of the utterance concerned" (p. 84).[1] It is in the bridging context where the reanalysis of a particular grammatical form is possible. When the direct relationship between to states has been built, the connection line between them can be converted to a directed arrow and the directionality can be determined by the directionality constraint of language change, such as the unidirectional principle of the grammaticalization theory (Heine & Hünnemeyer, 1991; Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Traugott & Heine, 1991).

In summary, this thesis studies the grammar of Lianhua Gan, synchrony and diachrony, by applying typological and diachronic approaches. The synchronic states are analyzed under the typological context and the diachronic stages are inferred from the synchronic states, making reference to regularities of linguistic change as well as comparable evidence drawn from other genetically related or unrelated languages. The diachronic changes provide explanations for the synchronic variations.

1.3 Research Topics and Organization of the Thesis

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[1] The term "bridging context" is parallel to Diewald's (2002) "critical context".

This thesis examines five categories in two broad areas: demonstratives, the definite article, the perfective aspect, the imperfective aspects (i.e., the progressive and the continuous aspects) and the HAVE-possessive. These five grammatical categories are fundamental to the grammar of a language, and exhibit abundant variations in Lianhua Gan in terms of their forms and functions, which make the diachronic study possible and also necessary. The first two categories are related to the referentiality of noun phrases, definiteness in particular. The last three are related to the super-category of tense, aspect and modality (TAM), which concern the syntax and semantics of verb phrases. The reference system and the TAM system serve to relate the lexical meanings of noun phrases and verb phrases to objects and events in the real world (Liu, 2008:446). Studies on these five categories can provide us with a deeper understanding of these specific topics and also a general picture of the grammar of Lianhua Gan. Special features of some categories, such as the demonstrative system, the quasi-definite article, the function of the HAVE-possessive, are revealed, which are not discussed in previous studies of the Gan dialects. Some categories, such as the perfective aspect and the imperfective aspects, are investigated in a finer grained way than previous studies and revision of previous models or analysis are produced.

The five categories are discussed in five respective chapters, which form the main body of the thesis. Each chapter starts by investigating the syntax and semantics of the category concerned at the synchronic level by taking into account cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal data. The synchronic states then are accounted for in the diachronic dimension by examining how they develop over time.

This thesis contains seven chapters. Chapter 1 and Chapter 7 are the introduction and the conclusion, respectively. Chapters 2 to 6 form the main body of this thesis. Chapter 2 examines the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan, in which a complex demonstrative system is observed; it can be explained through the reconstruction of the diachronic change of

the demonstrative system in this dialect. Chapter 3 investigates the syntactic properties and pragmatic functions of the quasi-definite article in Lianhua Gan and explores how it develops despite the fact that Chinese is claimed to lack the category of the (definite) article. Chapter 4 examines the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan by investigating the syntactic distribution of the perfective-related forms in detail, and it explores the semantic extension of *uɛ* 滑 and *uɛ li* 滑哩. Chapter 5 investigates the imperfective aspects: the progressive and the continuous aspects. In addition to the interactions between aspect and syntax, the distribution, functions and the grammaticalization process of the sentence-final locative prepositional phrase are discussed. Chapter 6 explores the grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive in the domain of tense, aspect and modality, and it accounts for the seemingly rare function of the HAVE-possessive in Lianhua Gan with attested grammaticalization patterns across languages.

1.4 About the Data

The data of Lianhua Gan are based on my speech as a native speaker and have been confirmed with other native speakers. The data of other dialects and languages are extracted from published works. All the example sentences are annotated with interlinear word-by-word glosses. In terms of the phonological information, the sentences in Lianhua Gan are transcribed with the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), and those in Modern Standard Chinese are represented by *Hanyu Pinyin* 漢語拼音. Phonological information of second-hand data of other dialects is presented as shown in the sources.

In addition to the IPA, the sentences in Lianhua Gan are also presented in Chinese characters. There is no standard written form developed for Lianhua Gan (nor for the Gan dialects). Most words have counterparts in Modern Standard Chinese and thus are written in the same way, such as 我 'I' and 你 'you'. Words with no corresponding characters in Modern Standard Chinese and the unclear forms are represented by homophonic characters,

such as 國 representing the proximal demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵* and 岡 representing the distal

demonstrative *kɤ̃³⁵*.

Part 1 Definiteness

This part covers Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, which relate to the concept of definiteness. As Lyons (1999) summarized, the notion of definiteness has been understood in various ways in previous work, including as a) familiarity, which concerns whether the referent is familiar to the speaker and the hearer; b) identifiability, which focuses on whether the hearer can identify the referent; c) uniqueness, which concentrates on whether there is only one entity that satisfies the description in a particular context; and d) inclusiveness, which means that the reference includes the totality of objects or mass in a particular context.

Typical lexical devices that express definiteness include demonstratives and definite articles; the sole function of definite articles is to indicate definiteness, but the principal role of demonstratives is to express the deictic meaning in addition to the definite meaning. All languages have demonstratives but not necessarily definite articles (Lyons, 1999). Modern Standard Chinese is often claimed to have demonstratives but no definite articles. Even though there is a tendency to recognize that the demonstratives *zhe* 這 'this' and *na* 那 'that' in Modern Standard Chinese are grammaticalizing towards definite articles, they should still be treated as demonstratives instead of genuine definite articles (Chen, 2004).

However, this study of Lianhua Gan shows that this dialect can be argued to possess a demonstrative system plus a (quasi-) definite article. Therefore, this part discusses the forms, functions and evolutionary paths of demonstratives and the definite article in Lianhua Gan. Chapter 2 investigates the demonstrative system, focusing on its forms and functions from both typological and diachronic perspectives. Chapter 3 examines the (quasi-) definite article in Lianhua Gan, taking into consideration its syntactic and pragmatic functions and its pathway of grammaticalization.

Chapter 2 Demonstratives

2.1 Introduction

According to Lyons (1999) and Dixon (2003), all languages have a category of demonstratives. Demonstratives, excluding personal pronouns, are grammatical morphemes that have pointing or deictic reference in the speech situation (Diessel, 1999; Dixon, 2003). The deictic function of demonstratives can be accompanied by body language such as a pointing gesture. The demonstrative system of a language is generally a closed one with a limited number. For example, *this*, *that*, *these*, *those*, *here* and *there* form the demonstrative system in English.

Demonstratives in Lianhua Gan present a complex situation.[2] Consider the following five sentences.

(1) 我　　　個　　在　　**國**，　你　　個　　在　　**岡**。

uo^{35}　　ko^{53}　tsʰœ^{44} kuɛ^{35}　ĩɤ̃^{35}　　ko^{53}　tsʰœ^{44} kɤ̃^{35}

1SG　　POSS　at　　DEM　2SG　POSS　at　　DEM

'Mine is here; yours is there.'

(2) 我　　　個　　在　　**國壋**，　　　你　　個　　在　　**岡頭**。

uo^{35}　　ko^{53}　tsʰœ^{44} kuɛ^{42}tɤ̃^{35}　　ĩ^{35}　　ko^{53}　tsʰœ^{44} kɤ̃^{53}lœ^{13}

1SG　　POSS　at　　DEM　　　　2SG　POSS　at　　DEM

'Mine is here; yours is there.'

(3) 我　　　個　　在　　**國/**　**國壋**，

uo^{35}　　ko^{53}　tsʰœ^{44} kuɛ^{35}　kuɛ^{42}tɤ̃^{35}

1SG　　POSS　at　　DEM　DEM

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[2] The underlying forms of the demonstratives *ku^{35}*, *kuɛ^{35}* and *kɤ̃^{35}* are unclear; homophonous characters 固, 國 and 岡 are thus used to represent these three demonstratives respectively.

你	個	在	**岡**，	渠	個	在	**岡頭**。
ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴	kɔ̃³⁵	tɕi⁵³	ko²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴	kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³
2SG	POSS	at	DEM	3SG	POSS	at	DEM

'Mine is here; yours is there; his is beyond there.'

(4)
固/	國	把	傘		是	我	個，
ku³⁵	kuɛ³⁵	pa⁵³	san⁵³		sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	umbrella		COP	1SG	POSS

岡	把	是	你	個。
kɔ̃³⁵	pa⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

'This umbrella is mine; that one is yours.'

(5)
國	固	把	傘		是	我	個，
kuɛ³⁵	ku	pa⁵³	san⁵³		sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	umbrella		COP	1SG	POSS

岡	固	把	是	你	個，
kɔ̃³⁵	ku	pa⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

岡頭	固	把	是	渠	個。
kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³	ku	pa⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	tɕi⁵³	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	COP	3SG	POSS

'This umbrella is mine; that one is yours; that one further away is his.'

The demonstratives, *kuɛ³⁵* 國, *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡, *kuɛ⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 國墻 and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭, in sentences (1) - (3) refer to locations. *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kuɛ⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 國墻 are proximal locative demonstratives; *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 is the distal locative demonstrative; *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 is the distal locative demonstrative in

sentence (2) but is the yonder locative demonstrative in sentence (3). The demonstrative

phrases in sentences (4) and (5) refer to entities. In sentence (4), the structure of 'DEM-CL-

(N)' is used; ku^{35} 固 and $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國, which are interchangeable, are the proximal adnominal

demonstratives; $k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡 is the distal adnominal demonstrative. In sentence (5), the locative

possessive structure of 'DEMLOC-ku 固-CL-(N)' is used to refer to entities with the locative

demonstratives serving to locate the referent. The forms of locative and adnominal

demonstratives and the expressions of reference to locations and entities at different distances

in Lianhua Gan can be summarized in

Table 3 Locative and adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan

	Proximal	Distal	Yonder
Locative demonstratives	$ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國, $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 國墙	$k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡/$k\tilde{\sigma}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭	
		$k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡	$k\tilde{\sigma}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭
Adnominal demonstratives	ku^{35} 固/$ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國-CL-N	$k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡-CL-N	
	$ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國/$ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 國墙-ku 固-CL-N	$k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡-ku 固-CL-N	$k\tilde{\sigma}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭-ku 固-CL-N

Based on the above observations, we have the following four questions about the

demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan.

1) While 'DEM-CL-N' is the common way to refer to entities in Chinese, why is the

locative possessive structure 'DEMLOC-ku 固-CL-(N)', as shown in sentence (5), also

used in Lianhua Gan?

2) Why are $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡 used to refer to both entities and locations, as shown by

the comparison between sentences (1) and (4)?

3) Why are there two forms for the same function? (i.e., ku^{35} 固 and $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 for proximal

entities; $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 國墙 for proximal locations; $k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\sigma}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭

for distal locations)?

4) How can $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 be used as the distal and also the yonder locative

demonstrative, as shown by the comparison between sentences (2) and (3)?

Answers to these questions reveal the complex system of demonstratives in Lianhua Gan as a result of diachronic developments of different stages. In the following, we examine the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions. Chapter 2.2 analyzes the synchronic demonstrative system of Lianhua Gan, focusing on the forms and functions of locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives. In order to account for the questions raised regarding the synchronic demonstrative system, we resort to the reconstruction of the evolutionary paths of demonstratives in Lianhua Gan with cross-dialectal evidence in Chapter 2.3.

2.2 The Synchronic Demonstrative System in Lianhua Gan

In order to examine the demonstratives in Lianhua Gan in a systematic way, it is necessary to introduce the classification of demonstratives based on their syntactic properties and semantic features before performing specific analysis. Adopting the semantic classification of demonstratives, we analyze the forms and functions of locative, adnominal, temporal, manner and degree demonstratives, while our focus will be placed on locative and adnominal demonstratives.

2.2.1 Syntactic and Semantic Classifications of Demonstratives

We mainly follow the syntactic and semantic classifications of demonstratives proposed by Diessel (1999), who draw on cross-linguistic data.

The syntactic properties of demonstratives concern their syntactic distributions and categories. In this regard, demonstratives can be classified into four types: a) pronominal demonstratives/demonstrative pronouns,[3] which can serve as arguments of the predicate that

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[3] The term before the slash concerns the syntactic distribution, and the one after it is the syntactic category.

refer to entities by themselves (e.g., *this* in 'this is my mother'); b) adnominal demonstratives/demonstrative determiners, which cannot refer to entities by themselves but should co-occur with a noun (e.g., *this* in 'this woman is my mother'); c) adverbial demonstratives/demonstrative adverbs, which serve as modifiers of verbal phrases (e.g. *there* in 'my mother is standing there'); and d) identificational demonstratives/demonstrative identifiers, which are used to identify referents in copular and nonverbal contexts and can be glossed as 'this/that.is' or 'here/there.is'. The first three syntactic types are more common cross-linguistically, but the last type only exists in some languages, according to Diessel (1999).

Since a referent can be identified either by indicating the location or by describing its properties (Lyons, 1977), the semantics of demonstratives is regarded as possessing an internal dual structure that consists of deictic and qualitative features. Deictic features denote the location of the referent vis-à-vis the deictic center, including parameters of distance, visibility, elevation, geographical features and directions of movement. Qualitative features indicate the category of the referent, including parameters of ontology, animacy, humanness, sex, number and boundedness. While such semantic features are selectively encoded in different languages, the deictic feature of distance and the qualitative feature of ontology are typically encoded in languages including Chinese.

The distance feature concerns whether the referent is near or far from the deictic center.[4] Different languages make different distinctions along the scale of distance, forming two-term ('proximal-distal'), three-term ('proximal-medial-distal', 'proximal-distal-yonder' or 'close-proximal-distal') or even greater systems, although the two-term and three-term systems are the most prevalent patterns of distance contrasts in languages of the world (Diessel, 2005). In

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[4] Cross-linguistically, the deictic center is set in two ways: a) distance-oriented systems take the location of the speaker as the deictic center; b) person-oriented systems consider the location of both the speaker and the hearer (Fillmore, 1982; Diessel, 1999).

this regard, demonstratives can be classified into proximal, distal, medial, close and yonder demonstratives. However, there are also demonstratives in some languages that exhibit no distance contrast; these are referred to as neutral demonstratives.

Ontological features indicate whether a demonstrative refers to an individual or entity (an object or a person), location, time, degree or manner. In this regard, demonstratives can be classified into individual, locative, temporal, degree and manner demonstratives. As 'individual demonstrative' is not a commonly used term in typological studies,[5] and references to individuals (objects and persons) are generally expressed by adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan, we employ the term 'adnominal demonstrative' to replace 'individual demonstrative'.

A demonstrative can be either a mono-morphemic or multi-morphemic word. The morphological structure of multi-morphemic demonstratives may correspond to the dual semantic structure, with the demonstrative root encoding the deictic feature and the co-occurring morpheme encoding the ontological feature. A demonstrative that can form expressions of different ontological categories can be called a basic demonstrative, such as *zhè* 這 and *nà* 那 in Modern Standard Chinese.

The syntactic classification is inadequate to serve as the basis for the analysis of demonstratives in Lianhua Gan for several reasons. First, there is no identificational demonstrative in Lianhua Gan. Second, pronominal demonstratives generally refer to locations but not entities, as shown by sentences (1) - (3). Third, adverbial demonstratives mainly incorporate manner and degree demonstratives, as well as a part of the uses of locative demonstratives. Therefore, we adopt the semantic classification of demonstratives, the ontological categories in particular, to analyze demonstratives in Lianhua Gan. In the

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[5] The corresponding expression of 'individual demonstrative' in Chinese is 個體指示詞, and it is commonly used by Chinese linguists to refer to individuals.

following section, we introduce locative, adnominal, temporal, degree and manner demonstratives in Lianhua Gan one by one, with a special focus on adnominal and locative demonstratives.

2.2.2 Locative Demonstratives

There are multiple forms of locative demonstratives in Lianhua Gan; the proximal set includes $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國, $ku\varepsilon^{35}ku\ t\tilde{o}^{53}$ 國固壋, $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{o}^{35}$ 國壋 and $ku^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 固頭, and the corresponding distal set includes $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡, $k\tilde{o}^{35}ku\ t\tilde{o}^{53}$ 岡固壋, $k\tilde{o}^{42}t\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡壋 and $k\tilde{o}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭. Among these multiple forms , $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡 are the basic pair of locative demonstratives; other pairs –$ku\varepsilon^{35}ku\ t\tilde{o}^{53}$ 國固壋 / $k\tilde{o}^{35}ku\ t\tilde{o}^{53}$ 岡固壋, $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{o}^{35}$ 國壋 / $k\tilde{o}^{42}t\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡壋 and $ku^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 固頭 / $k\tilde{o}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭-- are syntactically or morphologically derived and retain specific semantic content of the locational morpheme. For this reason, only the basic pair, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡, can be used to express the progressive aspect -- '$ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{44}$ 在國 / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{44}$ 在岡+VP', which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The proximal $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and the distal $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡 corresponds to *here* and *there* in English respectively. Unlike *here* and *there*, which usually function as locative adverbials, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡 mainly serve as the subject and object of a sentence. They combine with the preposition $ts^h\alpha^{44}$ 在 to form a prepositional phrase to function as locative adverbials. In fact, these are the characteristics of locative demonstratives in Chinese. For example, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 岡 in sentences (6) and (7) function as the subject, and those in sentence (8) serve as the object of the existential verb $ts^h\alpha^{44}$ 在. In sentence (9), they function as the object of the preposition $ts^h\alpha^{44}$ 在, and the prepositional phrases $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 and $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 在岡 serve as locative adverbials.

(6)　　**國**　是　　圖書館，　　**岡**　　是　　　食堂。

kuɛ³⁵ sɛ⁴⁴   tu¹³ɕy⁴⁴kuã⁵³ kɔ̃³⁵   sɛ⁴⁴   sɛ²¹hɔ̃¹³

DEM COP   library   DEM COP   canteen

'Here is the library; there is the canteen.'

(7)　　國　　還　　在　　落雨，　　　岡　　恁　　落　　哩。

kuɛ³⁵ hai¹³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ lo²¹y⁵³   kɔ̃³⁵   lɛ̃³⁵   luo²¹ li

DEM still   PROG rain   DEM   NEG   rain   PFT

'It is still raining here; it stopped raining there.'

(8)　　碗　　在　　國，　筷子　　　在　　岡。

uã⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kuɛ³⁵   kʰuai²¹tsʅ   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kɔ̃³⁵

bowl at   DEM   chopsticks   at   DEM

'Bowls are here; chopsticks are there.'

(9)　　我　　在　　國　　看　　電視，　　　渠　　在　　岡　　睏。

uo³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kuɛ³⁵   kʰɔ̃²¹   tʰiɛ̃²¹sʅ²¹   tɕi⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kɔ̃³⁵   fɛ̃²¹

1SG at   DEM   watch TV   3SG   at   DEM   sleep

'I am watching TV here; he is doing homework there.'

The second pair - *kuɛ³⁵ku tɔ̃⁵³* 國固墰 / *kɔ̃³⁵ku tɔ̃⁵³* 岡固墰, as shown in sentence (10), and the third pair - *kuɛ⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 國墰 / *kɔ̃⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 岡墰, as shown in sentence (11), are similar in meaning. Due to the locational morpheme *tɔ̃⁵³* 墰 'place', these two pairs of locative demonstratives carry the meaning of 'this place/that place' rather than the general locative meaning of 'here/there' expressed by *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡. *kuɛ³⁵ku tɔ̃⁵³* 國固墰 and *kɔ̃³⁵ku tɔ̃⁵³* 岡固墰 are the locative possessive structure with the literal meaning of 'the place of here/there', where the locative demonstratives *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 serve as the possessor. The locative possessive structure will be further discussed in Chapter 2.2.3. *kuɛ⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 國墰 and *kɔ̃⁴²tɔ̃³⁵* 岡墰 consist of the adnominal demonstratives *kuɛ³⁵* 國/ *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 and the locational

morpheme *tʃ̃⁵³* 壏. Tone sandhi occurs when the two morphemes form a compound with *kuɛ³⁵*
tʃ̃⁵³ and *kɔ̃³⁵tʃ̃⁵³* becoming *kuɛ⁴²tʃ̃³⁵* and *kɔ̃⁴²tʃ̃³⁵* respectively.

(10) 國　　固　　壏　　放　　電視，　　岡　　固　　壏　　放　　冰箱

ku ɛ³⁵　ku　　tʃ̃⁵³　fʃ̃²¹　tʰiɛ̃²¹sɹ²¹　　kɔ̃³⁵　ku　　tʃ̃⁵³　fʃ̃²¹　pĩ⁴⁴ɕiɔ̃⁴⁴

DEM　DEM　place　put　television　　DEM　DEM　place　put　refrigerator

'Put the television here; put the refrigerator there.'

(11) 國壏　　　洗　乾淨　　哩，　岡壏　　還　恁。

kuɛ⁴²tʃ̃³⁵　ɕi⁵³　kɔ̃⁴⁴tɕʰĩ⁵³　li　kɔ̃⁴²tʃ̃³⁵　hai¹³　lɛ̃³⁵

DEM　　　wash　clean　　PFV　DEM　　still　NEG

'This place is washed and cleaned and that place is not.'

The last pair of locative demonstratives, *ku⁵³lœ¹³* 固頭 and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭, as shown by
sentences (12) and (13), consists of the adnominal demonstratives *ku³⁵* 固 / *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 and the
locative suffix *lœ¹³* 頭.[6] Tone sandhi also happens when the two morphemes form a
compound with *ku³⁵lœ¹³* and *kɔ̃³⁵lœ¹³* becoming *ku⁵³lœ¹³* and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* respectively. The
proximal *ku⁵³lœ¹³* 固頭 refers to the side of a particular zone near the speaker, and the distal
kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³ 岡頭 makes reference to the other side away from the speaker. In addition to the
location of the speaker, this set of locative demonstratives also presupposes a target zone,
such as 固隻園 'this garden' in (12) and 岡 'there' in (13); *ku⁵³lœ¹³* 固頭 and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭
refer to the proximal and distal side of the target zone concerned respectively.

(12) 固　　隻　　園　　　固頭　　　作　菜，

ku³⁵　la⁴⁴　yã¹³　　ku⁵³lœ¹³　　tsuo⁴⁴　tsʰœ²¹

DEM　CL　garden　DEM　　　plant　vegetable

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[6] The other proximal nominal demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵* 國 does not occur in this compound. This may be due to the
fact that *kuɛ⁵³lœ¹³* is homophonous with the common word *kuɛ⁵³lœ¹³* 骨頭 'bone'.

岡頭　　　　種　　西瓜。

kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³　　　tɕyŋ²¹　ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴

DEM　　　　　plant　watermelon

'This garden will be used to plant vegetables at this end and watermelon at that end.'

(13)　A：　昨暝　　　是　　在　　哪處　　　出　　個　　車禍？

tsʰo²¹mã⁴⁴　　sɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴ lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴　　tɕʰyɛ⁴⁴ko⁵³　tsʰa⁴⁴fo⁵³

yesterday　　COP　at　　where　　　occur　FOC　accident

'Where did the car accident take place yesterday?'

B：　在　　岡。

tsʰœ⁴⁴ kɔ̃³⁵

at　　DEM

'Over there.'

A：　是　　國　　勒？

sɛ⁴⁴　　kuɛ³⁵　lɛ²¹

COP　　DEM　　NEG

'Was it here?'

B：　勒，　還　　在　　固頭/　　　　岡頭。

lɛ³⁵　　hai¹³　tsʰœ⁴⁴ ku⁵³lœ¹³　　kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³

NEG　　still　　at　　DEM　　　　DEM

'No, it was nearer/beyond there.'

It should be noted that due to usages like (13), when *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 co-occurs with *kɔ̃³⁵*

岡 in the same context, *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 becomes a general locative demonstrative and produces

a yonder reference. In such cases, *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 refers to a distal location and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 a

yonder one. For example, in sentences (14) and (15), *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 and *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 are the distal

and yonder locative demonstratives, respectively. However, when it is used alone or co-occurs with proximal demonstratives, $k\tilde{ɔ}^{53}lœ^{13}$ 岡頭 refers to a general distal location. For example, in sentences (16) and (17) , $k\tilde{ɔ}^{53}lœ^{13}$ 岡頭 is merely a distal locative demonstrative.

(14)   **國**   是   一   班，   **岡**   是   二   班，

kuɛ^{35} sɛ^{44} iɛ^{44} pã^{44} kɔ̃^{35} sɛ^{44} o^{21} pã^{44}

DEM   COP   NUM   class   DEM   COP   NUM   class

岡頭   是   三   班。

kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13} sɛ^{44} sã^{44} pã^{44}

DEM   COP   NUM   class

'Here is Class One; there is Class Two; beyond there is Class Three.'

(15)   **岡**   是   桃   樹，   **岡頭**   是   梨   樹。

kɔ̃^{35} sɛ^{44} hao^{13} ɕy^{21} kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13} sɛ^{44} li^{13} ɕy^{21}

DEM   COP   peach   tree   DEM   COP   pear   tree

'The trees over there are peach trees; beyond there are pear trees.'

(16)   **岡頭**   有   一   隻   超市。

kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13} iu^{53} iɛ^{44} la^{44} tsʰao^{44}sʅ^{21}

DEM   have   NUM   CL   supermarket

'There is a supermarket over there.'

(17)   我   在   **國**   看   書，   渠   在   **岡頭**   看   書。

uo^{35} tsʰœ^{44} kuɛ^{35} kʰɔ̃^{21} ɕy^{44} tɕi^{53} tsʰœ^{44} kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13} kʰɔ̃^{21} ɕy^{44}

1SG   at   DEM   watch   book   3SG   at   DEM   read   book

'I was reading here; he was reading over there.'

When the distal form and the yonder form are distinguished by the sole parameter of distance, the yonder term makes sense only if the general distal term also exists. Therefore,

when the yonder form is used alone or in contrast with proximal demonstratives, it only denotes the ordinary distal meaning; it can indicate the yonder meaning only when it is contrasted with other distal locative demonstratives. This is the answer to the fourth question raised in Chapter 2.1 on how and why $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 can be used as the distal and yonder locative demonstratives.

Based on the above analysis, the three basic locative demonstratives, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭, in Lianhua Gan form a double-layered, two-term system with a 'proximal-distal' contrast on the primary level and a 'distal-yonder' contrast on the secondary level, as illustrated by Figure 2. The three distinctions of 'proximal-distal-yonder' are made under a certain circumstances. In particular, whether $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 denotes the general distal or the yonder reference is conditioned by the context. Only when there is a need to identify two distant places, two distal demonstratives, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭, co-occur, and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 produces a yonder reference; otherwise, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 is merely a distal demonstrative in the general sense.

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              /\
             /  \
            /    \
      proximal   distal
                  /\
                 /  \
              distal  yonder
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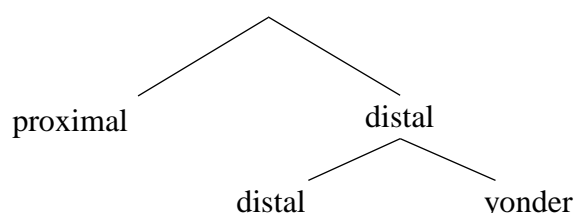
Figure 2 The Double-layered, Two-term Locative Demonstrative System in Lianhua Gan

This phenomenon has also been observed by Liu and Liu (2005) in the Wu dialect of Chongming 崇明. Similar to $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 in Lianhua Gan, 埃 in Chongming Wu refers to a distal location when used alone, as shown in sentence (18); 埃 refers to a yonder location when co-occurring with the distal demonstrative 港, as shown in sentence (19).

(18) 我   要   買   **埃**   張   寫字台，   伊   弗   肯。

　　　1SG   want   buy   DEM   CL   writing desk 3SG   NEG   willing

'I wanted to buy that writing desk, (but) he refused.' (p. 103)

(19) 吉/　講　　隻　位子　我　　咯，　葛/　港　　隻　　位子　爾　　咯，

　　　DEM DEM CL　　seat　1SG　POSS　DEM DEM CL　　seat　2SG　POSS

　　　埃　　隻　　位子　伊　　咯。

　　　DEM CL　　seat　3SG　POSS

'This seat is mine; that seat is yours; the seat over there is his.' (p. 103)

The diagnostic test for identifying whether a demonstrative system is single-layered or multi-layered is to determine whether there are deictic features other than distance encoded in the semantics of the demonstratives concerned, such as the parameter of visibility. It can be predicted that when there is only one deictic feature of distance encoded in the demonstratives, then the three distinctions of 'proximal-distal-yonder' form a double-layered two-term system with the distinction of 'proximal-distal' being the primary layer and the distinction of 'distal-yonder' being the secondary layer; when other deictic features, such as visibility, are encoded in addition to distance, then the three distinctions of 'proximal-distal-yonder' form a single-layered system. For example, according to Chen (2015), in some Gan dialects spoken in the town of Yugan County 余干縣, Nanfeng Town 南豐鄉 in Duchang County 都昌縣, the yonder demonstratives have a fixed meaning of invisibility in addition to the indication of distance, while the distal demonstratives refer to visible entities in the distance. For the yonder demonstratives in these dialects, when they are used in non-contrastive situations or in contrast with the proximal or the distal demonstratives, they always exhibit the deictic feature of invisibility in addition to the distance meaning. In such cases, the demonstrative system should be treated as a single-layered three-term one. In contrast, the difference between $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 in Lianhua Gan lies only in the distance contrast. When a set of demonstratives only encodes the deictic feature of distance, then the distinction between the distal and the yonder only exists in a relative sense. In other

words, when there are only two terms, a proximal and a distal, (or one if the proximal is understood from the context), there is no need to speak of the yonder reference. Therefore, the locative demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan is better treated as a double-layered, two-term one.[7]

2.2.3 Adnominal Demonstratives

There are three adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan: the proximal *ku³⁵* 固 / *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and the distal *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡. *ku³⁵* 固 and *kuɛ³⁵* 國 are interchangeable, as shown by sentence (20)a. The reference to an entity is usually expressed by the structure of 'DEM-CL-N' or 'DEM-CL'. These adnominal demonstratives can neither directly modify nouns as a determiner nor function as a pronoun. Sentences (20)b and (20)c are ungrammatical in Lianhua Gan. It is worth noting that, when *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 are used as a pronoun alone, they are locative demonstratives, as sentence (20)d shows.

(20) a.

固/	國	本	書	是	我	個，
ku³⁵	kuɛ³⁵	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	1SG	POSS

岡	本	是	你	個。
kɔ̃³⁵	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

'This book is mine; that one is yours.'

b.

*固/	國	書	是	我	個，
ku³⁵	kuɛ³⁵	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³

---

[7] According to the criteria proposed by Chen (2015) to identify whether a yonder demonstrative is a marked or an unmarked form, *kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 in Lianhua Gan should be treated as an unmarked yonder demonstrative, and thus the locative demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan should be regarded as a single-layered, three-term one. However, Chen's (2015) analysis is the same with ours that the key factor lies in the existence of a distincted deictic feature in addition to the distance.

DEM   DEM   book   COP   1SG   POSS

岡   書   是   你   個。

$k\tilde{ɔ}^{35}$ $ɕy^{44}$ $sɛ^{44}$ $\tilde{i}^{35}$ ko^{53}

DEM   book   COP   2SG   POSS

Intended meaning: 'This book is mine; that book is yours.'

c.   *固/ 國   是   我   個，   岡   是   你   個。

ku^{35} $kuɛ^{35}$ $sɛ^{44}$ uo^{35} ko^{53} $k\tilde{ɔ}^{35}$ $sɛ^{44}$ $\tilde{i}^{35}$ ko^{53}

DEM   DEM   COP   1SG   POSS   DEM   COP   2SG   POSS

Intended meaning: 'This is mine; that is yours.'

d.   國   是   我   個，   岡   是   你   個。

$kuɛ^{35}$ $sɛ^{44}$ uo^{35} ko^{53} $k\tilde{ɔ}^{35}$ $sɛ^{44}$ $\tilde{i}^{35}$ ko^{53}

DEM   COP   1SG   POSS   DEM   COP   2SG   POSS

'This place is mine; that place is yours.'

The structure 'DEM-CL' is interpreted as singular, but the numeral $iɛ^{44}$ 一 'one' cannot be inserted, as in sentence (21)a. This phenomenon is contrasted with that of Modern Standard Chinese, where *yi* 一 'one' can optionally appear in the 'DEM-CL' structure, as in sentence (21)b. It should be noted that numerals with a value of more than one can be inserted in 'ku^{35} 固 / $kuɛ^{35}$ 國 + CL' but not in '$k\tilde{ɔ}^{35}$ 岡 + CL', as shown by the two sentences in (22). The locative possessive structure is employed to refer to multiple entities in a distal location, which will be discussed later.

(21) a.   固/ 國   （*一）   本   書   是   我   個，

ku^{35} $kuɛ^{35}$ $iɛ^{44}$ $p\tilde{e}^{53}$ $ɕy^{44}$ $sɛ^{44}$ uo^{35} ko^{53}

DEM   DEM   NUM   CL   book   COP   1SG   POSS

岡   （*一）   本   是   你   個。

kɔ̃³⁵	iɛ⁴⁴	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	NUM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

Intended meaning: 'This book is mine; that one is yours.'

b. 這　（一）　本　書　是　我　的，

zhe	yi	ben	shu	shi	wo	de
DEM	NUM	CL	book	COP	1SG	POSS

那　（一）　本　是　你　的。

na	yi	ben	shi	ni	de
DEM	NUM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

'This book is mine; that one is yours.'

(22)　a.　固/　國　兩　本　書　是　我　個。

ku³⁵	kuɛ³⁵	liɔ̃⁵³	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	NUM	CL	book	COP	1SG	POSS

'These two books are mine.'

b.　*岡　兩　本　書　是　你　個。

kɔ̃³⁵	liɔ̃⁵³	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	NUM	CL	book	COP	2SG	POSS

Intended meaning: 'Those two books are yours.'

In addition to being used as a demonstrative, *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 can also mean 'the other', corresponding to *lìng* 另 in Modern Standard Chinese. This usage is exemplified by sentence (23), as the two hands do not exhibit distance contrast. It is the extended use of the distal demonstrative. In such cases, *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 can co-occur with numerals, such as 岡三本書 in sentence (24) meaning 'the other three books'.

(23)　固　只　手骨　　乾淨，　　岡　只　手骨　　　冇　乾淨。

ku³⁵	la⁴⁴	sœ⁵³kuai¹³	kɔ̃⁴⁴tɕʰĩ	kɔ̃³⁵	la⁴⁴	sœ⁵³kuai¹³	mao²¹	kɔ̃⁴⁴tɕʰĩ
DEM	CL	hand	clean	DEM	CL	hand	NEG	clean

'This hand is clean; the other hand is not clean.'

(24) 岡　三　本　書　是　哪個　個？

kɔ̃³⁵	sã⁴⁴	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	lai¹³ko²¹	ko⁵³
DEM	NUM	CL	book	COP	who	POSS

'Whose are the other three books?'

In addition to the 'DEM_NOM-CL-N' structure that is commonly used in Chinese, there is another strategy to refer to entities in Lianhua Gan - the locative possessive structure of 'DEM_LOC-*ku* 固-CL-(N)', in which a locative demonstrative serves as the possessor, and the possessee is the referent. For example, in sentence (25), the locations (here and there) expressed by the locative demonstratives *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 serve as the possessors, the referents (the books) located at the location are the possessees.

(25) 國　固　本　書　是　我　個，

kuɛ³⁵	ku	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	1SG	POSS

岡　固　本　是　你　個。

kɔ̃³⁵	ku	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

'This book is mine; that book is yours.'

In this locative possessive structure, the deictic meanings expressed by the locative demonstratives contribute to locate the referents. All of the locative demonstratives introduced in Chapter 2.2.2 can be used as the possessor in this structure, as shown by sentences (26) - (28). Since the locative demonstrative system can be a marked three-term one in specific contexts, this structure can help to refer to entities at yonder places, as in

sentence (26).

(26)

國	固	本	書	是	我	個，	岡	固	本	是
kuɛ³⁵	ku	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	uo³⁵	ko⁵³	kɔ̃³⁵	ku	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	1SG	POSS	DEM	DEM	CL	COP

你	個，	岡頭	固	本	是	渠	個。
ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³	kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³	ku	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	tɕi⁵³	ko²¹
2SG	POSS	DEM	DEM	CL	COP	3SG	POSS

'This book is mine; that book is yours; the book beyond there is his.'

(27)

國墥	固	本	書	是	你	個，
kuɛ⁴²tɔ̃³⁵	ku	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	2SG	POSS

岡墥	固	本	是	渠	個。
kɔ̃⁴²tɔ̃³⁵	ku³⁵	pẽ⁵³	sɛ⁴⁴	tɕi⁵³	ko²¹
DEM	DEM	CL	COP	2SG	POSS

'This book is yours; that book is his.'

(28)

固頭	固	本	書	是	你	個，
ku⁵³lœ¹³	ku	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	ĩ³⁵	ko⁵³
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	2SG	POSS

岡頭	固	本	書	是	渠	個。
kɔ̃⁵³lœ¹³	ku	pẽ⁵³	ɕy⁴⁴	sɛ⁴⁴	tɕi⁵³	ko²¹
DEM	DEM	CL	book	COP	3SG	POSS

'The book at this end is yours; the book at that end is his.'

As the locative possessive structure in Lianhua Gan is not commonly used in Chinese, it is necessary to introduce it here. In Modern Standard Chinese, the structural particle *de* 的 is

used to link the attributive expression and the head noun. The semantic type of the modifier may denote possession, property or activity, such as 我的書 'my book(s)', 很重的書 'heavy book(s)' and 我寫的書 'book(s) I wrote'. It is the same case when the head is a demonstrative noun phrase, such as 我的那本書 'that book of mine', 很重的那本書 'that heavy book' and 我寫的那本書 'that book I wrote'. However, Lianhua Gan employs two different ways to associate the attributive expression and the head, depending on the property of the reference of the head. When the head is a generic noun that is kind-denoting, the associative particle *ko* 個 is used between the modifier and the head noun, such as 我個書 'my book(s)', 蠻重個書 'heavy book(s)' and 我寫個書 'book(s) I wrote'. In such cases, the head noun does not present any information about the individuality of the object, and the whole noun phrase denote the kind of the object with the attributive properties. When the head has a definite reference, the associative particle *ko* 個 is no longer present, and the structure of 'attribution + *ku* 固 + CL + noun' is used, such as 我固本書 'the book of mine', 蠻重固本書 'the heavy book' and 我寫固本書 'the book I wrote'. It should be note that the demonstrative *ku* 固 in this structure takes on the neutral tone and distance-neutral meaning. An interesting phenomenon is that when *ku* 固 takes on the citation tone (*ku*^{35}) after the relative clause, the whole structure becomes a 'predicate-object' phrase and the demonstrative *ku* 固 takes on the proximal meaning. The constrast can be seen in sentences (29) and (30).

(29) 我　看　固　本　書。

uo^{35}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　ku　pẽ^{53}　ɕy^{44}

1SG　read　DEM　CL　book

'The book I read.'

(30) 我　看　固　本　書。

uo^{35}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　ku^{35}　pẽ^{53}　ɕy^{44}

1SG   read   DEM   CL   book

'I read this book.'

As for possession, the protypical relationship is that an animate possessor have the ownership of an inanimate object; the possessor is often expressed by pronouns or genitives. In a broader sense, a location can also be regarded as the possessor. For example, in (31) and (32), the possessor are expressed by pronouns and locative demonstratives respectively regardless of the reference property of the head.

(31) a. 我   個   書   恁   看得   哩。

   uo^{35} ko   ɕy^{44} lẽ^{35} kʰɔ̃^{21}tɛ   li

   1SG   POSS   book   NEG   see   PFT

   'My book(s) is/are missing.'

  b. 我   固   本   書   恁   看得   哩。

   uo^{35} ku   pẽ^{53} ɕy^{44} lẽ^{35} kʰɔ̃^{21}tɛ   li

   1SG   DEM   CL   book   NEG   see   PFT

   'My book is missing.'

(32) a. 國   個   水   好   喫。

   kuɛ^{35} ko   ɕy^{53} hao^{53} tɕʰia^{44}

   DEM   POSS   water   good   drink

   'The water here is good to drink.'

  b. 國   固   碗   水   是   你   個。

   kuɛ^{35} ku   uã^{53} ɕy^{53} sɛ^{44} ĩ^{35} ko

   DEM   DEM   CL   water   COP   2SG   POSS

   'This bowl of water is yours.'

The locative possessive structure examined in this study refers to 'DEM_LOC-*ku* 固-CL-N', where the possessor is a location expressed by a locative demonstrative and the head

noun refers to a definte object. In this structure, when the referent is singular, the numeral 一 'one' cannot be inserted, which is the same with the 'DEM_{NOM}-CL-N' structure. However, numerals with a value of more than one can be freely inserted before the classifier to indicate the number information of the possessee, as shown by sentence (33).

(33) **國/** 岡 固 兩 本 書 是 你 個。

     kuɛ³⁵ kɔ̃³⁵ ku liɔ̃⁵³ pẽ⁵³ ɕy⁴⁴ sɛ⁴⁴ ĩ³⁵ ko

    DEM DEM DEM NUM CL   book COP 2SG POSS

    'These/those two books are yours.'

The citation tone of the demonstrative 固 is a rising tone (ku^{35}), but it is weakened towards a neutral tone (*ku*) in the locative possessive structure. This structure consists of a locative demonstrative and the 'ku^{35} 固-CL-N' structure before the weakening process. Although ku^{35} 固 is used as a proximal adnominal demonstrative in modern Lianhua Gan, it was previously a neutral adnominal demonstrative, which will be explained in Chapter 2.3.1. The deictic meanings encoded in the locative demonstratives help locate the referent expressed by 'ku^{35} 固-CL-N'. Since the locative demonstratives take on the deictic function, ku^{35} 固 tends to experience a semantic loss accompanied by a phonological loss. This is why it usually takes on the neutral tone in this structure.

However, it should be noted that the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固 can be pronounced with the citation tone in some cases. When ku^{35} 固 takes on its citation tone, its deictic meaning is also retained, and it is still a part of the structure 'ku^{35} 固-CL-N' in terms of the internal structure (DEM_{LOC}//-ku^{35}-CL-N). In this case, the referent should exist in the immediate speech situation. For this reason, sentence (34) is self-contradictory and thus ungrammatical, as one cannot utter that a book near him in the speech site is missing. When ku^{35} 固 is weakened towards the neutral tone as *ku*, its deictic meaning is bleached, and it is

attached to the preceding locative demonstrative (DEM_{LOC}-*ku*//-CL-N). In this case, it is not

necessary that the referent should appear in the speech site, as sentence (35) shows.

(34) *國　固　本　書　恁　看得　哩。

kuɛ³⁵ ku³⁵ pẽ⁵³ ɕy⁴⁴ lẽ³⁵ kʰɔ̃²¹tɛ li

DEM　DEM　CL　book　NEG　see　PFT

'This book is missing."

(35) 國　固　本　書　恁　看得　哩。

kuɛ³⁵ ku pẽ⁵³ ɕy⁴⁴ lẽ³⁵ kʰɔ̃²¹tɛ li

DEM　DEM　CL　book　NEG　see　PFT

'This book is missing.'

In summary, the basic adnominal demonstratives are the proximal *ku³⁵* 固/ *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and

the distal *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡, which are used in the 'DEM_{NOM}-CL-N' structure to refer to entities.

Moreover, the locative possessive structure of 'DEM_{LOC}-*ku*-CL-N' is also employed in

Lianhua Gan to refer to entities at different places referenced by locative demonstratives.

2.2.4 Other Ontological Categories

This section briefly introduces how references to time, manner and degree are expressed.

In general, the basic demonstratives *ku³⁵* 固, *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 are applied to form

demonstrative expressions of different ontological categories.

The temporal reference also adopts the form 'DEM-CL-N', distinguishing the distance

contrast of 'proximal-distal'. The proximal temporal demonstrative phrase generally refers to

the speech time, while the distal one usually refers to non-speech time; this is the mapping

from spatial to temporal distance. 固/國個時候 in both (36) and (37) refer to the speech time

regardless of whether the topic time is present or non-present. 岡個時候 in sentence (38)

refers to a past time, and the one in sentence (39) refers to a future time.

(36) 卦下　　　　**固**　**個**　**時候**　　落雨　　　　多。

kua²¹ha²¹　　ku³⁵　ko²¹　sๅ¹³hœ²¹　　lo²¹y⁵³　　　to⁴⁴

now　　　　　DEM　CL　time　　　rain　　　　much

'It rains a lot at this time.'

(37) 昨暝/　　　明暝　　**固**　**個**　**時候**　　在　　落雨。

tsʰo²¹mã⁴⁴　miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　ku³⁵　ko²¹　sๅ¹³hœ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴ lo²¹y⁵³

yesterday　tomorrow　DEM　CL　time　　　PROG　rain

'It was raining at this time yesterday./ It will be raining at this time tomorrow.'

(38) **岡**　**個**　**時候**　　我　　還　恁　畢業。

kɔ̃³⁵　ko　sๅ¹³hœ²¹　uo³⁵　hai¹³　lẽ³⁵　piɛ⁴⁴iɛ⁴⁴

DEM　CL　time　　　1SG　still　NEG　graduate

'I had not graduated at that time.'

(39) **岡**　**個**　**時候**　　我　有　可能　　還　恁　畢業。

kɔ̃³⁵　ko　sๅ¹³hœ²¹　uo³⁵　iu⁵³　kʰo⁵³lẽ¹³　hai¹³　lẽ³⁵　piɛ⁴⁴iɛ⁴⁴

DEM　CL　time　　　1SG　have　possibility　still　NEG　graduate

'I may still not graduate at that time.'

The reference to manner is expressed by the adverbial $tsʰu^{44}ku^{35}$ 做固, meaning 'like this, in this way', as shown by sentence (40). The same form of $tsʰu^{44}ku^{35}$ 做固 can be juxtaposed to produce the semantic contrast of 'in this way' and 'in that way', such as sentence (41). A stress on the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 can contribute to emphasizing the contrasted meaning.

(40) 我　**做固**　　　寫　做得　　冇？

uo³⁵　tsʰu⁴⁴ku³⁵　ɕia⁵³　tsu²¹tɛ⁴⁴　mao²¹

1SG　DEM　　　　write　okay　　　NEG

'Is it okay that I write in this way?'

(41)　渠　　**做固**　　　也　不，　**做固**　　　也　不。

tɕi⁵³　tsʰu⁴⁴ku³⁵　ia³⁵　pɛ⁴　tsʰu⁴⁴ku³⁵　ia³⁵　pɛ⁴⁴

3SG　DEM　　　also　NEG　DEM　　　also　NEG

'He does not agree either in this way or in that way.'

The reference to degree is expressed by ku^{35} 固, which functions as an adverbial that modifies the following adjective, as shown by sentences (42) and (43). The strategy of lengthening and stressing the sound of ku^{35} 固 would increase the degree accordingly.

(42)　你　考　得　**固**　好！

ĩ³⁵　kʰao⁵³ tɛ　ku³⁵　hao⁵³

2SG　test　COMP DEM　good

'You did so well in the exam!"

(43)　今暝　　　買　個　西瓜　　有　**固**　大　一　個。

tɕĩ⁴⁴mã⁴⁴　mai⁵³ ko　ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴　iu⁵³　ku³⁵　hai²¹　iɛ⁴⁴　ko²¹

today　　　buy　RC　watermelon　have　DEM　big　NUM　CL

'The watermelon bought today is this big."

Based on the above description, the demonstrative system in Lianhua can be summarized in Table 4. The distinction of demonstratives of different ontological categories conforms to the implicational universal generalized by Chu and Deng (2003) and reformulated by Liu and Liu (2005): degree/manner ⊃ time ⊃ entity ⊃ location. That is, if one category of demonstrative has an N-way distinction for distance, then the category on its right side should have at least an N-way distinction, and the one on its left side would by no means have an N+1-way distinction. As we can see from Table 4, a) locative demonstratives have the most distinctions along the scale of distance, marking a three-way distinction of 'proximal-distal-yonder' when necessary; b) while adnominal demonstratives form a two-

term system of 'proximal-distal', references to entities can mark a three-way distinction of 'proximal-distal-yonder' by way of locative demonstratives; c) temporal reference can only have a two-way distinction; d) there is no distinction for manner and degree demonstratives.

Table 4 The Demonstrative System in Lianhua Gan

	Proximal	Distal	Yonder
Locative	$kuε^{35}$, $kuε^{42}tɔ̃^{35}$	$kɔ̃^{35}/kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13}$	
		$kɔ̃^{35}$	$kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13}$
Adnominal	$ku^{35}/kuε^{35}$-CL-N	$kɔ̃^{35}$-CL-N	
	$kuε^{35}/kuε^{42}tɔ̃^{35}$-ku-CL-N	$kɔ̃^{35}$-ku-CL-N	$kɔ̃^{53}lœ^{13}$-ku-CL-N
Temporal	$ku^{35}/kuε^{35}$-CL-N	$kɔ̃^{35}$-CL-N	
Manner	$tsʰu^{44}ku^{35}$		
Degree	ku^{35}		

2.3 The Diachronic Development of Demonstratives in Lianhua Gan

As discussed above, the synchronic demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan, the adnominal and locative demonstratives in particular, is complex. In regard to the four questions raised in Chapter 2.1, except for the fourth question that has been accounted for in Chapter 2.2.2, the remaining three questions require further explanations. We repeat them as follows:

1) Given that 'DEM-CL-N' is the common way to refer to entities in Chinese, why is the locative possessive structure also used in Lianhua Gan?

2) Why do $kuε^{35}$ 國 and $kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡 function as the locative demonstrative and the adnominal demonstrative at the same time?

3) Why are there two forms for the same demonstrative category (i.e., ku^{35} 固 and $kuε^{35}$

國 are proximal adnominal demonstratives; $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國增 are proximal locative demonstratives; $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 are distal locative demonstratives.)?

We argue that the synchronic complexity is a result of diachronic development of the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan. Since there are no historic materials regarding Lianhua Gan (nor for other Gan dialects), we make reference to the regularities of linguistic change, relevant studies of Middle Chinese and cross-dialectal evidences to reconstruct the changing process of demonstratives in Lianhua Gan.

2.3.1 Evolutionary Pathways of Locative and Adnominal Demonstratives

As Table 4 shows, all the demonstratives in Lianhua Gan have the velar plosive *k-* as the initial. Demonstratives with the velar plosive initial *k-* are common in southern dialects, including Wu, Gan, Xiang, Hakka and Yue; they can be traced back to the distance-neutral demonstrative 箇/個/个 in Middle Chinese, which was held to have evolved from the classifier usage (Zhao, 1999; Wang, 2008; Liang, 2015, 2018; among others).

We assume that there are derivational relations among the demonstratives in modern Lianhua Gan and further propose that the demonstrative ku^{35} 固, inherited from the neutral demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese, is the source of all the derivations. In other words, the forms of all the demonstratives in the synchrony are morphologically derived from the basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固. In early Lianhua Gan, the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 was distance-neutral and was the sole adnominal demonstrative. It was also the basic demonstrative that combined with different locational morphemes to form complex locative demonstratives that indicated distance contrast.

The proximal locative demonstrative $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 is the fusion of the demonstrative root ku^{35} 固 and the locational suffix $u\varepsilon^{44}$ 處, and it preserves the initial and the tone of ku^{35} 固 and

the final of *uɛ⁴⁴* 處. The locational morpheme *uɛ⁴⁴* 處 is still used in the interrogative locative pronoun *lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴* 哪處, meaning 'where', and the quantificational adverb *uɛ⁴⁴uɛ⁴⁴* 處處, meaning 'everywhere'. The distal locative demonstrative *kʒ̃³⁵* 岡 is the fusion of the demonstrative root *ku³⁵* 固 and the locational suffix *tʒ̃³⁵* 壋, and it retains the initial and the tone of *ku³⁵* 固 and the final of *tʒ̃³⁵* 壋. The locational morpheme *tʒ̃³⁵* 壋, meaning 'place', is widely used in southern Chinese dialects, such as Wu (Pan & Tao, 1999). The distance contrast of the proximal locative demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and the distal *kʒ̃³⁵* 岡 was previously distinguished by different locational suffixes, i.e., *uɛ⁴⁴* 處 and *tʒ̃³⁵* 壋.

Having determined the probable relationship between the adnominal demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固 and the locative demonstratives *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kʒ̃³⁵* 岡 in Lianhua Gan in the early stages, the question arises of how to refer to entities of distance contrasts with a distance-neutral adnominal demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固. Neutral demonstratives have also been reported in other Chinese dialects (Chen, 2010), and in world languages. There are seven languages in Diessel's (2005) sample in which the adnominal demonstratives have no indication of distance contrast. One example is German, in which the adnominal demonstratives *dieser* and stressed *der*, *die* and *das* are distance neutral. The strategy is to add the distance-contrasted adverbial demonstratives *hier* and *da* to the neutral forms.

(44) **Das** *Bild*   **hier**   *gefällt mir   besser als*   **das**   **da**

      DEM picture   DEM:PROX   like   me   better than   DEM   DEM:DIST

      'I like this picture better than that one (over there).' (Diessel, 2005:170)

The same strategy is applied to Lianhua Gan. The locative demonstratives are employed to contribute to the meaning of distance contrast when referring to entities, forming the locative possessive structure with the location as the possessor and the referent as the possessee. Therefore, the reason the locative possessive structure ('DEM_LOC-*ku*-CL-N') is employed in

Lianhua Gan (Question 1) is that it is the strategy to refer to entities of distance contrast, while the sole adnominal demonstrative (ku^{35} 固) is distance-neutral.

As introduced in Chapter 2.2.3, the locative possessive structure is formed as 'DEM_LOC-ku 固-CL-N', in which the source of ku 固 is the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固. Since the deictic meaning is expressed by the locative demonstrative and ku^{35} 固 was previously a distance-neutral demonstrative as we have discussed above, ku^{35} 固 is vulnerable to weakening, or it may even be dropped. When ku 固 is dropped, the locative possessive structure becomes 'DEM_LOC-CL-N', which shares the same form of 'DEM-CL-N'. Then, the locative demonstrative (DEM_LOC) in the syntactic structure of 'DEM-CL-N' is reanalyzed as an adnominal demonstrative. Therefore, the locative demonstratives $kuε^{35}$ 國 and $kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡 in the syntactic context of '$kuε^{35}$ 國/$kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡-CL-N' are reanalyzed as the adnominal demonstratives. This is why $kuε^{35}$ 國 and $kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡 can be both locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives (Question 2).

A feature of linguistic change in Chinese is that the old form remains after the new form develops. This is the case for the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固. Although the proximal adnominal demonstrative $kuε^{35}$ 國 and the distal $kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡 have developed, ku^{35} 固 is still used as an adnominal demonstrative. However, it should be noted that its deictic meaning has developed from the distance-neutral to the proximal. This may be due to the fact that the proximal demonstrative is unmarked in Chinese compared to the distal demonstrative, which can be seen from the contrast between Chinese and English. The proximal demonstrative *zhe* 這 in Chinese, which can be called a non-distal demonstrative, is unmarked and is used more frequently than the distal demonstrative *na* 那; this contrasts with English in that the distal demonstrative *that*, also termed the non-proximal demonstrative, is unmarked and is used more frequently than the proximal *this* (Lu & Xie, 2002; Shen, 1999; Zhang, 2006). For this

reason, the previous neutral adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固 in Lianhua Gan tends to be used to refer to proximal entities, which turns it into a proximal demonstrative. This phenomenon also exists in Taihe 泰和 Gan (Dai, 1999). This is why there are two proximal adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan, ku^{35} 固 and $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 (Question 3).

Since $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 have developed into adnominal demonstratives, they, together with ku^{35} 固, can further combine with locational suffixes to form new locative demonstratives, such as $ku^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 固頭 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭, and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國壋 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡壋. Regarding the first pair of locative demonstratives, $ku^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 固頭 is restricted to the meaning of 'this side', but $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 has developed as a general locative demonstrative meaning 'there' in addition to the meaning of 'that side'. Perhaps due to the developed use of the distal $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 and the narrow use of the proximal $ku^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 固頭, the proximal $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國壋 is frequently used but the distal $k\tilde{\jmath}^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡壋 is seldom used. This is why $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國壋 are interchangeable as proximal locative demonstratives, and both $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 are distal locative demonstratives, although $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 are the basic and unmarked forms, and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國壋 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 are the derived and marked forms (Question 3). This can also account for the fact that, when the two distal locative demonstratives $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 co-occur, it is $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 that expresses the yonder meaning with a marked function.

Based on the above analysis, four stages of the development of the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan can be reconstructed as shown in Table 5. Since there are no historical materials concerning Lianhua Gan, the four stages have no indication regarding the temporal information of diachronic changes; rather, they reveal different strata of the demonstratives in Lianhua Gan.

Table 5 Reconstruction of the Diachronic Stages of Demonstratives in Lianhua Gan

	Adnominal demonstratives	Locative demonstratives	Referring to entities
Stage 1	ku^{35} (neutral)	$ku^{35}u\varepsilon^{44}$ (proximal) $ku^{35}t\tilde{\jmath}^{53}$ (distal)	ku^{35}-CL-N $ku^{35}u\varepsilon^{44}+ku^{35}$-CL-N $ku^{35}t\tilde{\jmath}^{53}+ku^{35}$-CL-N
Stage 2	ku^{35}	$ku\varepsilon^{35}$ (proximal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ (distal)	ku^{35}-CL-N $ku\varepsilon^{35}+ku^{35/0}$-CL-N $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}+ku^{35/0}$-CL-N
Stage 3	old: ku^{35} new: $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ (proximal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ (distal)	$ku\varepsilon^{35}$(proximal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ (distal)	ku^{35}-CL-N $ku\varepsilon^{35}$-(ku)-CL-N $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$-(ku)-CL-N
Stage 4	ku^{35}, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ (proximal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ (distal)	$ku\varepsilon^{35}$, $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$(proximal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ (distal) $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ (distal/yonder)	DEM {ku^{35}, $ku\varepsilon^{35}$, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$}-CL-N DEM$_{LOC}$\{$ku\varepsilon^{35}$, $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$\}-$ku$`-CL-N

In Stage 1, 1) ku^{35} 固 is the sole adnominal demonstrative and is distance-neutral; 2) ku^{35} 固 is a basic demonstrative that constitutes the demonstrative root of locative demonstratives; 3) the distance contrast of the two locative demonstratives, the proximal $ku^{35}u\varepsilon^{44}$ 固處 and the distal $ku^{35}t\tilde{\jmath}^{53}$ 固墇, is distinguished by different locational suffixes; 4) the locative possessive structure '$ku^{35}u\varepsilon^{44}$ 固處/ $ku^{35}t\tilde{\jmath}^{53}$ 固墇+ ku^{35} 固-CL-N' is employed to refer to entities with distance contrast.

In Stage 2, the new development is that the locative demonstrative compounds ($ku^{35}u\varepsilon^{44}$

固處 and *ku³⁵tʒ⁵³* 固塴) are fused into one syllable, forming new locative demonstratives

(*kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kʒ³⁵* 岡).

In Stage 3, the locative demonstratives (*kuɛ³⁵* 國 and *kʒ³⁵* 岡) are reanalyzed as

adnominal demonstratives in the syntactic structure '*kuɛ³⁵* 國/ *kʒ³⁵* 岡-CL-N'. As a result, in

addition to the distance-neutral demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固, the two new adnominal

demonstratives, the proximal *kuɛ³⁵* 國 and the distal *kʒ³⁵* 岡, can mark distance contrast.

In Stage 4, the previous neutral demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固 is used as a proximal

demonstrative. The three adnominal demonstratives combine with locational suffixes to form

new locative demonstratives, and the distal locative demonstrative *kʒ⁵³lœ¹³* 岡頭 can produce

the yonder reference in some contexts. At this stage, the demonstrative system in modern

Lianhua Gan forms.

2.3.2 Directionality of Change

Based on the four stages presented in Table 5, we can see the evolution processes

between locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives, as Figure 3 shows. It seems

that adnominal demonstratives can develop towards locative demonstratives, and locative

demonstratives can develop towards adnominal demonstratives. The evolution from Stage 1

to Stage 4 forms a cycle, as the process from Stage 3 to Stage 4 is the same as that between

Stage 1 and Stage 2.

| Stage 1 Adnominal demonstrative *ku³⁵*	→	Stage 2 Locative demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵*; *kʒ³⁵*	→	Stage 3 Adnominal demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵*; *kʒ³⁵*	→	Stage 4 Locative demonstrative *kʒ⁵³lœ¹³*
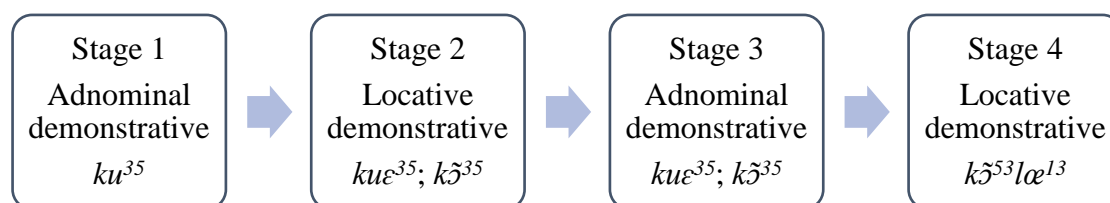
Figure 3 Evolution between Locative Demonstratives and Nominal Demonstratives in Lianhua Gan

This cyclic evolution raises the question of whether the evolution between locative

demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives is bidirectional. In fact, there are two different views concerning the directionality of change between the two demonstrative categories, as previous work disputed (Himmelmann, 1996; Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Brown, 1985; Woodworth, 1991; Dixon, 2003; etc.). On one hand, the localism argues for the basicness of space and the central status of locative demonstratives; thus, the diachronic change from locative demonstratives to adnominal demonstratives is proposed. Himmelmann (1996) held that "the adverbial function seems to be the most basic of all demonstrative functions in that adnominal and/or pronominal forms are often historically derived from adverbial ones and that the adverbial uses are the most frequent ones" (p. 246). It is also well attested that 'locative demonstrative > adnominal demonstrative' is a cross-linguistic pathway of grammaticalization, as Heine and Kuteva (2002) have summarized regarding 'HERE > DEMONSTRATIVE' (p.172) and 'THERE > DEMONSTRATIVE' (p.294). Heine and Kuteva (2007) described the grammaticalization process as follows: "adverbial modifiers typically denoting proximal ('here') and distal ('there') location are added appositionally to nouns (e.g., 'the house here/there') and grammaticalize to nominal determiners ('this/that house')" (p. 84).

On the other hand, it has been held that locative demonstratives are more complex than adnominal demonstratives and the former are often derived from the latter. Brown (1985) found that *this* and *here* as well as *that* and *there* are related via polysemy or overt marking (a base form + an overt marker) in many languages he surveyed; further, he held that overt marking indicates the direction of polysemous development. He proposed that the principle direction of polysemous development between *this*/*that* and *here*/*there* is from *this* to *here* and from *that* to *there* because it is more common for *this*/*that* to combine with overt markers to form *here*/*there*. Woodworth (1991) also found that, in 15 out of 22 languages he investigated, adnominal demonstratives are similar to or form a part of locative

demonstratives. Dixon (2003) also noted that locative demonstratives are morphologically derived from adnominal demonstratives in most languages.

I argue that these two different views in fact concern different aspects of language change. Specifically, the direction of 'locative demonstrative > adnominal demonstrative' is a case of grammaticalization that mainly takes place with semantic change from the spatial domain to the non-spatial domain, or syntactic change from adverbial to adnominal uses, while that of 'adnominal demonstrative > locative demonstrative' refers to morphological or lexical change. In other words, the grammaticalization and the morphological change between the two demonstrative categories are different, and I disagree with Brown (1985) that overt marking (morphological change) suggests semantic change.

Let me illustrate this with the data of Lianhua Gan. The development from adnominal demonstratives to locative demonstratives, represented by the processes from Stage 1 to Stage 2 and from Stage 3 to Stage 4, is a morphological change process that forms new locative demonstratives by combining an adnominal demonstrative with a locational suffix. In contrast, the development from locative demonstratives to adnominal demonstratives, represented by the process from Stage 2 to Stage 3, is a grammaticalization process that involves reanalysis in a critical syntactic environment. In Lianhua Gan, the 'DEM-CL-N' structure provides a context for locative demonstratives to be reanalyzed as adnominal demonstratives.

Different languages may adopt different strategies for these two kinds of change between locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives. In regard to the morphological change from adnominal demonstratives to locative demonstratives, some languages drop the locational element, leaving the adnominal demonstrative to function as a locative demonstrative (Heine & Kuteva, 2002). Moreover, the strategy adopted in the Wu dialects is to drop the demonstrative root, making the locational suffix the new locative

demonstrative (Sheng, 2015). In terms of the grammaticalization process from locative demonstratives to adnominal demonstratives, in many languages, the locative demonstratives, generally used as the adverbial, grammaticalize towards the adnominal demonstratives when their syntactic distribution extends to adnominal usages.

To summarize, the evolutionary relationships between locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan include two types of changing process: the unidirectional grammaticalization process from locative demonstratives to adnominal demonstratives and the morphological process from adnominal demonstratives to locative demonstratives.

2.3.3 Cross-dialectal Evidence

There are some important features of the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan. For example, all the demonstratives have the velar plosive *k-* as the initial; the locative possessive structure is used to refer to entities; locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives share the same form, etc. Based on the data presented by Chen, Sun and Chen (2003), similar patterns were also found in the demonstrative systems in some other Gan dialects spoken in the town of Ninggang 寧岡 County, the town of Yongxin 永新 County, Yaotou 窯頭 in Wan'an 萬安 County, the town of Wan'an 萬安 County and Wanhe 萬合 in Taihe 泰和 County. Relevant data for these dialects taken from Chen, Sun and Chen (2003) are shown as follows.[8]

		proximal	distal
a. Ninggang 寧岡	Locative	$kə^1li/kiəu^1$	$kə^1lə/kiəu^1$
	Adnominal	$kə^1tsa$	$kə^1tsa$

---

[8] The original data provided in Chen, Sun and Chen (2003) only presents the tone category marked by symbols of Chinese dialectal studies. For convenience, we change those symbols into numbers. The numbers from 1 to 8 represents yīnpíng 陰平, yángpíng 陽平, yīnshǎng 陰上, yángshǎng 陽上, yīnqù 陰去, yángqù 陽去, yīnrù 陰入 and yángrù 陽入. Neutral tones are presented with no number.

b. Yongxin 永新	Locative	$kie^1t\tilde{o}$	$k\tilde{o}^5l\varepsilon u$
	Adnominal	ku^5la	$k\tilde{o}^5ku^5la$
c. Yaotou, Wan'an	Locative	$ko\textipa{P}^7no\eta$	$ke\textipa{P}^7le$
窯頭 萬安	Adnominal	$ko\textipa{P}^7no\eta\ ke^3tsa$	$ke\textipa{P}^7le\ ke^3tsa$
d. Wan'an 萬安	Locative	$k\tilde{o}n^3l\tilde{o}n^2le$	$kiai^5le$
	Adnominal	$kiai^5tsa$	$kiai^5tsa$
e. Wanhe, Taihe	Locative	ka^2mo	ko^3ti
萬合泰和	Adnominal	kai^2ke	$ko^3ti^0\ kai^2ke$

All the demonstratives in these five dialects have the velar plosive *k-* as the initial. In the dialect spoken in the town of Wan'an 萬安, the adnominal demonstrative and the distal locative demonstrative share the same form; in the other four dialects, the locative possessive structure is also used to refer to entities. In this sense, these dialects probably have also experienced or are going through changes similar to the ones we proposed for Lianhua Gan.

In addition to the Gan dialects, the Wu dialects also show similar changes according to Sheng (2015). Sheng (2015) proposed a 'locative morpheme-demonstrative' cycle in the Wu dialects, which is similar to what has been proposed for Lianhua Gan. Locative demonstratives in the Wu dialects also consist of a basic demonstrative and a locational suffix, which form a compound. However, it is common in the Wu dialects for the demonstrative to be omitted, making the locational suffix a new locative demonstrative. While 'CL-N' has a definite reference in the Wu dialects, the possessive structure is formed as 'possessor-CL-N'. When the possessor is a location expressed by locative demonstratives, the possessive structure 'DEM$_{LOC}$-CL-N' shares the same surface structure with 'DEM$_{NOM}$-CL-N', in which the locative demonstratives are then reanalyzed as adnominal demonstratives. The evolutionary pathway of demonstratives in the Wu dialects is diagrammatized in Figure 4 based on Sheng (2015).
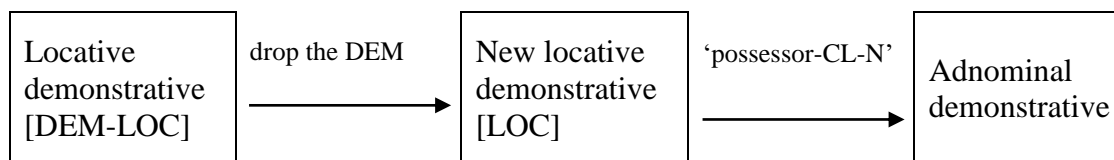
Figure 4 Evolutionary Path of Demonstratives in the Wu Dialects

When comparing Lianhua Gan with the Wu dialects, we can see that there are similarities and differences concerning the diachronic development of demonstratives.

(i) The changes start with the complex locative demonstratives consisting of a demonstrative and a locational morpheme. However, Lianhua Gan fuses the two morphemes into a monosyllabic locative demonstrative, while the Wu dialects drop the basic demonstrative leaving the locational morpheme as the new locative demonstrative.

(ii) In the locative possessive structure, the locative demonstrative is reanalyzed as an adnominal demonstrative in the syntactic context of 'DEM-CL-N'. However, in Lianhua Gan, it is the dropping of *ku* 固 in 'DEM-*ku* 固-CL-N' that makes the locative possessive structure share the same surface structure with 'DEM-CL-N', while the locative possessive structure in the Wu dialects directly takes the form of 'DEM-CL-N' because of the definite structure of 'CL-N'.

(iii) Lianhua Gan goes further; the new adnominal demonstrative combines with the locational suffix to form another new set of locative demonstratives. This has not yet been attested in modern Wu dialects.

The evidence from the Wu dialects support the reconstruction of the diachronic development of the demonstrative system proposed Lianhua Gan.

2.4 Summary

This chapter examines the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions. The complex synchronic demonstrative system, particularly the locative and adnominal demonstratives, is accounted for through the reconstruction of its

diachronic development. Different demonstratives at the synchronic level may represent different strata of the diachronic development. The evolutionary relationships between locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives incorporate the grammaticalization process from locative demonstratives to adnominal demonstratives and the morphological process from adnominal demonstratives to locative demonstratives. The proposed diachronic change is supported by cross-dialectal data, such as Wu.

Chapter 3 The Quasi-definite Article *ko* 個

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the (quasi-) definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan; it examines its syntactic properties and pragmatic functions and reconstructs its grammaticalization process. Chapter 2 discussed the lexical forms of the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan and proposed that the forms of all the locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives are morphologically derived from the basic demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固. Since the definite article and the demonstrative are diachronically related (Greenberg, 1978b; Diessel, 1999; Heine & Kuteva, 2002), the relationship between *ko* 個 and *ku³⁵* 固 is also examined in this chapter.

According to Lyons (1999), not all languages have the grammatical category of definite article. Therefore, cross-linguistically, languages can be divided into those with and without articles. English belongs to the former, such as the definite article *the*, and Modern Standard Chinese is claimed to be the latter. While the definite article *the* in English is obligatorily used for definite nouns or noun phrases, bare nouns in Modern Standard Chinese can produce definite reference, although there are claims arguing that the demonstratives *zhe* 這 and *na* 那 have developed some uses of the definite article (Lü, 1990; Huang, 1999). [9]

Do Chinese dialects lack the category of the definite article, as Modern Standard Chinese does? It has been claimed that some Chinese dialects have developed definite articles: the proximal demonstrative *zhe* 這 in the Beijing 北京 dialect has been grammaticalized towards a definite article (Fang, 2002), and *a⁴⁵* 阿, which originates from the general classifier *tsa⁴⁵* 隻 in Yiyang 益陽 Xiang, functions as a quasi-definite article (Xia,

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[9] However, as Chen (2004) pointed out, "[w]hile it is clear that *zhe* and *na* have started on the path of grammaticalization into definite articles, there is evidence which suggests that they are still far from reaching the endpoint yet" (p. 1154).

2013). In addition, classifiers in some southern dialects, such as Suzhou Wu (Shi & Liu, 1985; Shi, 1999) and Guangzhou Yue (Shi, 1996a; Zhou, 1997), can modify nouns directly and express definiteness, although the category of classifiers cannot be treated as definite articles. A typological pattern of the development of the definite article has been found in Chinese dialects in which northern dialects tend to drop the classifier in the 'DEM-CL-N' structure, making the demonstrative develop into a definite article, while southern dialects tend to drop the demonstrative in 'DEM-CL-N', with the classifier expressing definiteness (Fang, 2002; Liu, 2002; Chen, 2007).

We also find a morpheme *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan that directly modifies nouns indicating definiteness, although bare nouns can also produce definite reference. For example, in sentences (1) and (2), 個書記 and 個衫服 corresponds to 'the secretary' and 'the clothes' in English respectively.

(1) 你　　　拿　　得　　**個**　　**書記**。

$\tilde{i}^{35}$　　$n\tilde{a}^{44}$　　tɛ　　ko　　$ɕy^{44}tɕi$

2SG　　take　DAT　DEF　secretary

'You give (it) to the secretary.'

(2) **個**　　**衫服**　　　放　　拉　　在　　沙發上，　　記得　　　　帶。

ko　　$s\tilde{a}^{44}fu$　　$fɔ̃^{21}$　　la　　$tsʰœ^{44}$ $sa^{44}fa^{44}lɔ̃$　　$tɕi^{21}tɛ$　　tai^{21}

DEF　　clothes　　put　PRT　PREP　sofa-LOC　　remember　take

'The clothes were put on the sofa. Remember to take them.'

According to our analysis, which will be presented in Chapter 3.2, *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan can be treated as a quasi-definite article. The question then becomes: How did the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan develop? Does its development follow the pattern of northern dialects or southern dialects? Since the demonstrative is a common source for the definite article (Diessel, 1999; Heine & Kuteva, 2002), and the adnominal demonstrative *ku*^{35}

固 and this definite marker *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan share the same initial *k*-, was the definite

marker *ko* 個 evolved from the adnominal demonstrative *ku*^{35} 固? Given that classifiers in

southern dialects including Wu and Yue can modify nouns directly and produce definite

reference, and this definite marker *ko* 個 shares the same syllable as the general classifier *ko*^{21}

個 in Lianhua Gan, with the only difference in the tone - the definite marker has a neutral

tone and that of the classifier is *qùshēng* 去聲, a low falling tone - did the definite marker *ko*

個 directly develop from the classifier *ko*^{21} 個? This chapter is going to examine the

properties of *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan, including its syntactic properties and pragmatic uses, and

reconstructs its pathway of grammaticalization.

3.2 *Ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan

Based on the properties of the definite article summarized in previous work (Greenberg,

1978b; Hawkins, 1978), a morpheme that can be treated as a definite article should fulfill

three criteria: a) it possesses the typical pragmatic uses of the definite article, especially the

larger situation use and the associative anaphoric use that are the distinctive uses of the

definite article; b) it is obligatorily used to refer to identifiable entities; c)it is a determiner

that modifies nouns or noun phrases directly. Therefore, this section examines the pragmatic

uses and syntactic properties of *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan. The analysis of its pragmatic uses

aims to investigate whether *ko* 個 expresses the four major uses of definite articles

summarized by Hawkins (1978). Although demonstratives can also exhibit some functions of

definite articles, most of their pragmatic uses are different (Hawkins, 1978; Himmelmann,

1996). In this regard, we also compare *ko* 個 and the adnominal demonstrative *ku*^{35} 固 to

confirm that *ko* 個 is not a demonstrative. The investigation of its syntactic properties

includes the syntactic distribution of *ko* 個 and '*ko* 個 + NP' as well as the syntactic and

semantic types of the NP it modifies.

3.2.1 Pragmatic Uses of '*ko* 個 + NP'

Hawkins (1978) summarized four major usage types of definite articles: immediate situation use, anaphoric use, larger situation use and associative anaphoric use. In Lianhua Gan, *ko* 個 can be used in all these four cases. I will discuss each use of *ko* 個 and compare it with the adnominal demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固.

The immediate situation use of the definite article refers to an entity that exists in the immediate speech situation. Although the demonstrative also has this use, the situation use of the demonstrative is to instruct the hearer to locate the specific referent in the speech context and is often accompanied by pointing gestures; however, the use of the definite article is only to refer to an identifiable entity that exists in the context of utterance. This is due to their difference in terms of the main function: the main function of the demonstrative is its deictic reference, and that of the definite article is to mark identifiable or unique referents. For this reason, the use of 個臺 in sentence (3) is to mark the table that is known by the speaker and the hearer but not necessarily visible in the speech situation, but the use of 固隻臺 in sentence (4) is to direct the hearer to locate the specific table, which is usually visible.

(3) 鎖匙　　放　　拉　　在　　個　　臺上。

　　so⁵³sʅ　　fɔ̃²¹　　la　　tsʰœ⁴⁴ ko　　hœ¹³lɔ̃

　　key　　put　　PRT　　PREP　DEF　　table-LOC

　　'Put the key on the table.'

(4) 鎖匙　　放　　拉　　在　　固　　隻　　臺上。

　　so⁵³sʅ　　fɔ̃²¹　　la　　tsʰœ⁴⁴ ku³⁵　　la⁴⁴　　hœ¹³lɔ̃

　　key　　put　　PRT　　PREP　DEM　CL　　table-LOC

　　'The key was put on the table.'

When there is more than one referent of the same kind that cannot be identified by the

hearer, the definite article cannot be used, as shown by sentence (5); when there is more than one referent of different classes in the context, the definite article can be used to mark each identifiable referent, as exemplified by sentence (6). However, demonstratives can be used in both situations but always take on deictic meanings, as in sentences (7) and (8).

(5) *個　　書　　是　　你　　個，　　個　　書　　是　　我　　個。

ko　　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　$\tilde{\text{i}}^{35}$　　ko^{53}　　ko　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　uo^{35}　　ko^{53}

DEF　　book　COP　2SG　POSS　DEF　book　COP　1SG　POSS

Intended meaning: '*The book is yours; the book is mine.'

(6) 個　　書　　是　　我　　個，　　個　　水　　是　　你　　個。

ko　　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　uo^{35}　　ko^{53}　　ko　　ey^{53}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　$\tilde{\text{i}}^{35}$　　ko^{53}

DEF　　book　COP　1SG　POSS　DEF　water　COP　2SG　POSS

'The book is mine; the water is yours.'

(7) 固　　本　　書　　是　　你　　個，　　固　　本　　書　　是　　我　　個。

ku^{35}　　$\text{p}\tilde{\varepsilon}^{53}$　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　$\tilde{\text{i}}^{35}$　　ko^{53}　　ku^{35}　　$\text{p}\tilde{\varepsilon}^{53}$　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　uo^{35}　　ko^{53}

DEM　　CL　　book　COP　2SG　POSS　DEM　CL　　book　COP　1SG　POSS

'This book is yours; this book is mine. (with gesture pointing to two different books)'

(8) 固　　本　　書　　是　　我　　個，　　固　　瓶　　水　　是　　你　　個。

ku^{35}　　$\text{p}\tilde{\varepsilon}^{53}$　　ey^{44}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　uo^{35}　　ko^{53}　　ku^{35}　　$\text{p}^{\text{h}}\tilde{\text{i}}^{13}$　　ey^{53}　　$\text{s}\varepsilon^{44}$　　$\tilde{\text{i}}^{35}$　　ko^{53}

DEM　　CL　　book　COP　1SG　POSS　DEM　CL　　water　COP　2SG　POSS

'This book is mine; this bottle of water is yours.'

The anaphoric use of the definite article refers back to a previously mentioned NP in the preceding discourse context. For example, 個西瓜 in sentence (9) anaphorically refers back to 一個西瓜 in the preceding discourse. Both the definite article and the demonstrative have the anaphoric use of referring to a prior NP. Thus, 個西瓜 in sentence (9) can be also

replaced by the demonstrative phrase 固個西瓜.

(9) 我　　　日裡　切　　哩　　一　　個　　西瓜。　　　渠　　下界　　　把

uo³⁵　　iɛ⁵³li　tɕʰiɛ⁴⁴　li　　iɛ⁴⁴　ko²¹　ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴　tɕi⁵³　ha²¹kai²¹　pa⁵³

1SG　　noon　cut　　PFV　NUM　CL　　watermelon　2SG　afternoon　BA

個西瓜/　　　　　　固個西瓜　　　　　　　一下　　　喫　　滑　　哩。

ko- ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴　　ku³⁵-ko²¹- ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴　　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹　　tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ　li

DEF-watermelon　　DEM-CL-watermelon　　all　　　eat　DIAO　PFV

'I cut a watermelon at noon. He ate up the watermelon in the afternoon.'

　　The larger situation use of the definite article refers to the first-mentioned referent based on general or common knowledge shared by the speaker and the hearer. The general knowledge of the existence of a certain referent in a certain situation characterizes the larger situation use of the definite article. The referent is usually unique in that situation. Based on the general knowledge, people know the existence of 書記 'secretary' in a village, 主席 'president' in a nation or 日頭 'sun' on the earth. Therefore, although they do not appear in the speech context or in the preceding discourse, the first-mentioned nouns, 書記 'secretary' in sentence (10), 主席 'president' in sentence (11) and 日頭 'sun' in (12), can be marked by *ko* 個. The demonstrative does not have this use and *ku³⁵* 固 is not allowed in these sentences.

(10)　你　　拿　　得　　**個**　　**書記**。

ĩ³⁵　　nã⁴⁴　tɛ　　ko　　ɕy⁴⁴tɕi

2SG　　take　DAT　DEF　secretary

'You give (it) to the secretary.'

(11)　你　　看得　　　　**個**　　**主席**　　　恁？

ĩ³⁵　　kʰɔ̃²¹tɛ　　　ko　　tɕy⁵³ɕiɛ　　lẽ³⁵

2SG　　see　　　　DEF　president　NEG

'Did you see the president?'

(12) 你　　固　　有　　本事，

ĩ³⁵　　ku³⁵　　iu⁵³　　pẽ⁵³

2SG　　DEM　　have　　ability

你　　去　　喊　　**個**　**日頭**　不要　　　出來　　　哩　　嘍。

ĩ³⁵　　kʰɛ²¹　　hã⁵³　　ko　　iɛ⁴⁴lœ　pɛ⁴⁴iao²¹　　tɕʰyɛ⁴⁴lœ¹³　　li　　ləu

2SG　　go　　ask　　DEF　　sun　　NEG　　　DIR　　　PFT　　SFP

'Since you are so capable, you go ask the sun not to come out.'

The associative anaphoric use of the definite article refers to a first-mentioned noun or noun phrase that is associated with a previously mentioned noun or noun phrase. The association is built on indirect reference either by the frame-based association or the part-whole relationship. In sentence (13), 收銀機 'cash register' connects with the noun 超市 'supermarket' in the preceding sentence through frame-based association. In (14), 剎車 'brake' is a part of the 腳車 'bicycle' that occurs in the preceding sentence. The demonstrative also does not have this use, and the adnominal demonstrative *ku³⁵* 固 thus cannot be used in these sentences.

(13) 我　正　到　超市，　**個**　**收銀機**　有　問題。

uo³⁵　tɕiã²¹　tao²¹　tsʰao⁴⁴sɿ　　ko　　sœ⁴⁴ĩ¹³tɕi⁴⁴　iu⁵³　uẽ²¹tʰi

1SG　ADV　arrive　supermarket　DEF　　cash register　have　problem

'I went to the supermarket just now; something went wrong with the cash register.'

(14) 幫　我　修　下　固　張　腳車，　**個**　**剎車**　冇用。

pɔ̃⁴⁴　uo³⁵　ɕiu⁴⁴　ha　ku³⁵　tsɔ̃⁴⁴　tɕio⁴⁴tsʰa⁴⁴　ko　sa⁴⁴tsʰa⁴⁴　mao²¹yŋ²¹

help　1SG　repair　DIM　DEM　CL　bicycle　　DEF　brake　　useless

'Help me repair this bicycle. The brake does not work.'

To summarize, *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan possesses all the pragmatic uses of a definite article, including the larger situation use and the associative anaphoric use that the demonstrative does not have. Moreover, in regard to the immediate situation use, *ko* 個 differs from the demonstrative in that it does not have the deictic reference. Therefore, *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan can be treated as a definite article in terms of its pragmatic uses.

3.2.2 Syntactic Properties of '*ko* 個 + NP'

The morpheme *ko* 個 has a neutral tone and cannot be stressed. It cannot be used alone as a pronoun but must co-occur with a noun or a noun phrase. These properties reflect that *ko* 個 is a determiner and matches the property of the definite article in this respect. In addition, *ko* 個 cannot not be treated as an adnominal demonstrative, as classifiers cannot be inserted in '*ko* 個 + NP'.

3.2.2.1 Syntactic Position of '*ko* 個 + NP'

The noun phrase '*ko* 個 + NP' often appears in (but is not limited to) the syntactic positions that are inclined to be definite, such as the subject of the predicate or the object of *ba* 把 in the disposal construction. The subject marked by *ko* 個 can either be the agent or the patient. For example, the agent 個客 'the guest' in sentence (15) and the patient 個衫服 'the clothes' in sentence (16) serve as the subject; the patient 個衫服 'the clothes' in sentence (17) serves as the object of the disposal marker *ba* 把.

(15) **個　　客**　　一下　　　　到　　哩。

　　　ko　　kʰa⁴⁴　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹　　tao²¹　li

　　　DEF　guest　all　　　　　arrive　PRF

　　　'All the guests arrived.'

(16) **個　　衫服**　　　　放　　拉　　在　　沙發上，　　記得　　　　帶。

ko	sã⁴⁴fu	fɔ̃²¹	la	tsʰœ⁴⁴	sa⁴⁴fa⁴⁴lɔ̃	tɕi²¹tɛ	tai²¹
DEF	clothes	put	PRT	PREP	sofa-LOC	remember	take

'The clothes were put on the sofa. Remember to take them.'

(17)　把　**個**　衫服　　放　拉　沙發上。

pa⁵³	ko	sã⁴⁴fu	fɔ̃²¹	la	sa⁴⁴fa⁴⁴lɔ̃
BA	DEF	clothes	put	PRT	sofa-LOC

'Put the clothes on the sofa.'

However, the syntactic position of '*ko* 個 + NP' is not restricted to these definiteness-inclined positions; it can also serve as the object of the predicate. A definite patient expressed by '*ko* 個 +NP' can serve as the subject and the object of the predicate verb or of the preposition. As shown by the four sentences in (18), 個包 'the bag' can function as the object of the predicate (sentence c) and the object of a preposition (sentence d) in addition to the subject of the predicate (sentence a) and the object of the disposal marker (sentence b).

(18)　a.　**個**　**包**　恁　看得　　哩。

ko	pao⁴⁴	lẽ³⁵	kʰɔ̃²¹tɛ	li
DEF	bag	NEG	see	PFV

'The bag is missing.'

b.　渠　把　**個**　**包**　拿　拉　在　手裡。

tɕi⁵³	pa⁵³	ko	pao⁴⁴	nã⁴⁴	la	tsʰœ⁴⁴	sœ⁵³-li
3SG	BA	DEF	bag	take	PRT	PREP	hand-LOC

'He took the bag in hand.'

c.　渠　拿　到　哩　**個**　**包**。

tɕi⁵³	nã⁴⁴	tao	li	ko	pao⁴⁴
3SG	take	COMP	PFV	DEF	bag

'He has taken the bag.'

d.	錢		放	拉	在	**個**	包裡。

tɕʰiɛ̃¹³		fɔ̃²¹	la	tsʰœ⁴⁴	ko	pao⁴⁴-li
money		put	PRT	PREP	DEF	bag-LOC

'The money was put in the bag.'

3.2.2.2 Semantic and Syntactic Properties of NP in '*ko* 個 + NP'

The investigation of the semantic properties of the noun phrase in '*ko* 個 + NP' concerns whether the referent expressed by NP is countable or uncountable, singular or plural, individual or generic, and whether the NP can be proper nouns and abstract nouns. As with a typical definite article, there is no restriction on the number of the referent expressed by NP, which can be countable or uncountable, singular or plural, and its interpretation relies on the context. For example, 空調 in sentence (19) refers to a single air conditioner, but in sentence (20), it refers to more than one air conditioner, which are quantified by the adverb 一下 'all'. 鹽 'salt' in sentence (21) is an uncountable noun.

(19) 房裡　　　惡熱　　　個，　把　**個**　空調　　　　　開　　起。

fɔ̃¹³li	o⁴⁴œ²¹	ko²¹	pa⁵³	ko	kʰuŋ⁴⁴tʰiao¹³	kʰœ⁴⁴	ɕi⁵³
room-LOC	very hot	ATTR	BA	DEF	air conditioner	open	COMP

'It is too hot in the room. Turn on the air conditioner.'

(20) 惡熱　　　個，　把　**個**　空調　　　　　一下　　　開　　起。

o⁴⁴œ²¹	ko²¹	pa⁵³	ko	kʰuŋ⁴⁴tʰiao¹³	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹	kʰœ⁴⁴	ɕi⁵³
very hot	ATTR	BA	DEF	air conditioner	all	open	COMP

'It is very hot. Turn on all the air conditioners.'

(21) 你　　把　**個**　**鹽**　放　　拉　　在　　　哪處？

ĩ³⁵	pa⁵³	ko	iɛ̃¹³	fɔ̃²¹	la	tsʰœ⁴⁴	lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴

2SG	BA	DEF	salt	put	PRT	PREP	where

'Where did you put the salt?'

The noun marked by *ko* 個 can either have an individual reference or a generic one. In the sentences listed above, the nouns marked by *ko* 個 all have an individual reference and refer to identifiable individuals. When the noun marked by *ko* 個 has a generic reference, it refers to a whole class rather than a specific entity. For example, 研究生 'postgraduate' in sentence (22) refers to the whole class of postgraduates rather than a particular postgraduate; 外國人 'foreigner' in sentence (23) refers to the whole class of foreigners rather than a particular foreigner.

(22)

固	隻	題目	連	**個**	**研究生**	都	做	唔	出。
ku^{35}	la^{44}	ti^{13}mo liẽ^{13}	ko	iẽ^{53}tɕiu^{21}sẽ^{44}	tsɿ^{44}	tsu^{21}	ĩ	tɕʰyɛ^{44}	
DEM	CL	test	PREP	DEF	postgraduate	adv	do	NEG	COMP

'Even the postgraduates do not know how to answer this test.'

(23)

個	**外國人**	要得	把	筷子。
ko	wai^{21}kuɛ^{44}ĩ^{13}	iao^{21}tɛ^{44}	pa^{53}	kʰuai^{21}tsɿ
DEF	foreigner	not know	use	chopsticks

'Foreigners do not know how to use chopsticks.'

Therefore, a noun phrase of "*ko* 個 + NP" may have individual or generic reference in different contexts. For example, 油將鹽 'oil and salt' and 皮 'skin' have individual reference in sentences (24)a and (25)a and generic reference in sentences (24)b and (25)b.

(24) a.

個	**油**	**將**	**鹽**	放	拉	在	臺上。
ko	iu^{13}	tɕʰiɔ̃^{44}	iẽ^{13}	fɔ̃^{21}	la	tsʰœ^{44}	hœ^{13}lɔ̃
DEF	oil	CONJ	salt	put	PRT	PREP	table-LOC

'The oil and salt are put on the table.'

b.　　燒菜　　　　**個**　**油**　**將**　**鹽**　要　　少　　下。

ao⁴⁴tsʰœ²¹　　ko　　iu¹³　　tɕʰiɔ̃⁴⁴ iɛ̃¹³　　iao²¹　sao⁵³　ha⁵³

cook　　　　　DEF　oil　　CONJ　salt　need　little　put

'Add less oil and salt when cooking.'

(25)　a.　固　　隻　　魚　　我　　把　　**個**　　**皮**　　喫　　滑　　哩。

ku³⁵　la⁴⁴　ŋ̍¹³　uo³⁵　pa⁵³　ko　　pʰi¹³　tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ　　li

DEM　CL　　fish　1SG　　BA　　DEF　skin　eat　　DIAO　PFV

'I ate up the skin of this fish.'

b.　　渠　　喫　　魚　　歡喜　　　　喫　　**個**　　**皮**。

tɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴ ŋ̍¹³　kʰuã⁴⁴ɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴ ko　　pʰi¹³

3SG　　eat　　fish　like　　　　eat　　DEF　skin

'He likes eating the skin when eating fish.'

In the sentences presented above, the nouns modified by *ko* 個 are all common nouns. In fact, *ko* 個 can also modify proper nouns, including the names of persons and places, as well as abstract nouns. 老三 in sentence (26) and 南昌 in sentence (27) are proper nouns. 人品 'character' in sentence (28) and 態度 'attitude' in sentence (29) are abstract nouns.

(26)　渠　　暝暝　　　罵　　起　　**個**　　**老三**　　　叫。

tɕi⁵³　mã⁴⁴mã⁴⁴　ma²¹　ɕi　　ko　　lao⁵³sã⁴⁴　tɕiao²¹

3SG　　everyday　　scold　COMP　DEF　Lao San　　cry

'He scolds Lao San until he cries every day.'

(27)　**個**　　**南昌**　　　六月　　　　要得幾　　　　　惡熱。

ko　　nã¹³tsʰɔ̃⁴⁴　lio²¹yɛ²¹　iao²¹tɛ⁴⁴tɕi⁵³　　o⁴⁴œ²¹

DEF　Nanchang　　summer　　not know how　　very hot

'Nanchang is very hot in summer.'

(28)

個	人品		不行，	長	得	好看		也	冇用。
ko	lẽ¹³pʰĩ⁵³		pɛ⁴⁴ɕĩ¹³	tiɔ̃⁵³	tɛ⁴⁴	hao⁵³kʰɔ̃²¹		ia³⁵	mao²¹yŋ²¹
DEF	character		not good	grow	COMP	good-looking		also	no use

'It is of no use to be good-looking, if the character is not good.'

(29)

個	態度		端正，	正	學	得	好。
ko	tʰai²¹tu²¹		tɔ̃⁵⁵tsẽ²¹	tɕiã²¹	ho²¹	tɛ⁴⁴	hao⁵³
DEF	attitude		positive	ADV	learn	COMP	well

'The attitude should be positive, then you could learn well.'

The investigation of the syntactic properties of NP concerns what kinds of noun phrases can be marked by *ko* 個 in addition to bare nouns. Although *ko* 個 most often modifies bare nouns, it can also be the determiner of some noun phrases, such as the coordinative noun phrase either with or without a conjunction, the nominalized phrase 'V+ *ko* 個', as well as the 'NUM-CL-N' structure. For example, 手機（將）錢包 in sentence (30) is a coordinative noun phrase formed by the juxtaposition of two nouns; 將 'and', which can be omitted, is a coordinative conjunction. 賣肉個 'butcher' in sentence (31) is a nominalized phrase that consists of the verb phrase 賣肉 'sell meat' and the nominalizer 個. 兩隻手機 'two mobile phones' in sentence (32) is a 'NUM-CL-N' structure. 兩個賣肉個 in sentence (33) is also a 'NUM-CL-N' structure with a nominalized phrase 賣肉個 being the N.

(30)

把	個	手機	（將）	錢包	拿	得	過來。
pa⁵³	ko	sœ⁵³tɕi	tɕʰiɔ̃⁴⁴	tɕʰiẽ¹³pao	nã⁴⁴	tɛ⁴⁴	kuo²¹lœ¹³
BA	DEF	cellphone	CONJ	wallet	take	COMP	DIR

'Bring the cellphone and the wallet.'

(31)

個	賣	肉	個	今暝	恁	來。
ko	mai²¹	yo⁴⁴	ko⁵³	tɕĩ⁴⁴mã⁴⁴	lẽ³⁵	lœ¹³

| | DEF | sell | meat | NMLZ | today | | NEG | come | | |

'The butcher did not come today.'

(32)

個	兩	隻	手機	我	一下	放	拉	在	臺上。
ko	liɔ̃⁵³	la⁴⁴	sœ⁵³tɕi	uo³⁵	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹	fɔ̃²¹	la	tsʰœ⁴⁴	hœ¹³lɔ̃
DEF	NUM	CL	cellphone	1SG	all	put	PRT	PREP	table-loc

'I put the two mobile phones on the table.'

(33)

個	兩	個	賣	肉	個	今暝	一下	恁	來。
ko	liɔ̃⁵³	ko²¹	mai²¹	yo⁴⁴	ko⁵³	tɕĩ⁴⁴mã⁴⁴	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹	lẽ³⁵	lœ¹³
DEF	NUM	CL	sell	meat	NMLZ	today	all	NEG	come

'The two butchers did not come today.'

There are some restrictions on the 'NUM-CL-N' structure. The numeral cannot be $iɛ^{44}$ 一 'one', nor can it be omitted to form '*ko* 個 + CL + N'. Therefore, when the noun is singular, only '*ko* 個 + N' can be used but not '*ko* 個 + $iɛ^{44}$ 一 + CL + N' or '*ko* 個 + CL + N'; when the quantity of the referent is more than one, either '*ko* 個 + N"or '*ko* 個 + NUM-CL-N' can be used depending on whether there is a need to indicate the quantity of the referent. For example, 杯哩 'cup' in sentence (34) refers to a single cup; *ko* 個 can only mark the bare noun 杯哩 but not （一）隻杯哩 'one cup'. In contrast, 杯哩 'cup' in sentence (35) refers to more than one cup, and it is quantified by the adverbs 一下 'all'. Thus *ko* 個 can either modify the bare noun to indicate a plural meaning or modify a 'NUM-CL-N' structure to indicate the specific quantity of the referent, as shown by the two sentences in sentence (35).

(34) a.

你	把	個	杯哩	打	爛	哩。
ĩ³⁵	pa⁵³	ko	pœ⁴⁴li	ta⁵³	lã²¹	li
2SG	BA	DEF	cup-DIM	hit	COMP	PFV

'You broke the cup.'

b.　　*你　把　**個**　（一）　**隻　杯哩**　　打　爛　哩。

　　ĩ³⁵　pa⁵³　ko　iɛ⁴⁴　la⁴⁴　pœ⁴⁴li　ta⁵³　lã²¹　li

　　2SG　BA　DEF　NUM　CL　cup-DIM　hit　COMP　PFV

Intended meaning: 'You broke the cup.'

(35)　a.　你　把　**個**　**杯哩**　一下　打　爛　哩。

　　ĩ³⁵　pa⁵³　ko　pœ⁴⁴li　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹　ta⁵³　lã²¹　li

　　2SG　BA　DEF　cup-DIM　all　hit　COMP　PFV

'You broke all the cups.'

b.　你　把　**個**　四　**隻　杯哩**　打　爛　哩。

　　ĩ³⁵　pa⁵³　ko　sη²¹　la⁴⁴　pœ⁴⁴li　ta⁵³　lã²¹　li

　　2SG　BA　DEF　NUM　CL　cup-DIM　hit　COMP　PFV

'You broke the four cups.'

It is necessary to compare *ko* 個 and the adnominal demonstrative with regard to the quantity of the referent. As introduced in Chapter 2, the adnominal demonstrative cannot modify NP directly to form "DEM-N" regardless of the quantity of the referent, and its grammatical use is 'DEM-(NUM)-CL-N'. However, *ko* 個 can be used in '*ko* 個 ＋ N' and '*ko* 個 ＋ NUM ＋ CL ＋ N'. It is interesting that both *ko* 個 and the adnominal demonstrative cannot co-occur with the numeral *iɛ⁴⁴* 一 'one'. When the referent is singular, the grammatical uses are 'DEM-CL-N', as in sentence (36), and '*ko* 個 ＋ N', as in sentence (34).

(36)　你　把　**固**　(*一)　隻　杯哩　打　爛　哩。

　　ĩ³⁵　pa⁵³　ku³⁵　iɛ⁴⁴　la⁴⁴　pœ⁴⁴li　ta⁵³　lã²¹　li

　　2SG　BA　DEM　NUM　CL　cup-DIM　hit　COMP　PFV

Intended meaning: 'You broke this cup.'

When the referent is plural, both *ko* 個 and the adnominal demonstrative can modify the 'NUM-CL-N' structure, as shown by sentences (37) and (38) respectively. In such cases, their major difference lies in the semantic functions. Specifically, *ko* 個 in sentence (37) only conveys the definite reference, but the demonstrative in sentence (38) has a deictic meaning that can be accompanied by the pointing gesture.

(37) 個　四　隻　杯哩　　是　渠　個。

　　　ko　sŋ²¹　la⁴⁴　pœ⁴⁴li　sɛ⁴⁴　tɕi⁵³　ko²¹

　　　DEF　NUM　CL　cup-DIM　COP　3SG　POSS

　　　'The four cups are his.'

(38) 固　四　隻　杯哩　　是　渠　個。

　　　ku³⁵　sŋ²¹　la⁴⁴　pœ⁴⁴li　sɛ⁴⁴　tɕi⁵³　ko²¹

　　　DEM　NUM　CL　cup-DIM　COP　3SG　POSS

　　　'These four cups are his.'

The reason *ko* 個 can modify the 'NUM-CL-N' structure is that the referent expressed by the 'NUM-CL-N' structure can have either definite or indefinite reference in different contexts. When it refers to identifiable entities, it can be marked by *ko* 個; in contrast, when it refers to non-identifiable entities and focus on the information of quantity, it cannot be marked by *ko* 個. For example, 兩個伢哩 'two kids' in sentences (39) and (40), which serve as the object of existential verbs, are indefinite and cannot be marked by *ko* 個, but the one in sentence (41), which functions as the subject, is definite and thus can be marked by *ko* 個.

(39) 來　哩　（*個）　兩　個　伢哩。

　　　lœ¹³　li　ko　liɔ̃⁵³　ko²¹　a¹³li

　　　come　PFV　DEF　NUM　CL　child

　　　'There come two children.'

(40) 有　　（＊個）　　兩　　個　　伢哩　哭　　哩。

iu⁵³　　　　ko　　　　liɔ̃⁵³　ko²¹　a¹³li　tɕiao²¹li

have　　DEF　　　NUM　　CL　　child　cry　　PFV

'Two children cried.'

(41) 個　　兩　　個　　伢哩　哭　　哩。

ko　　liɔ̃⁵³　ko²¹　a¹³li　tɕiao²¹li

DEF　　NUM　　CL　　child　cry　　PFV

'The two children cried.'

According to the analyses presented above, the referents expressed by NP in the noun phrase 'ko 個 + NP' are identifiable based on contextual information or shared knowledge. However, it should be noted that identifiable referents are not obligatorily marked by ko 個. Bare nouns and noun phrases in Lianhua Gan can also have definite interpretations. Therefore, all the sentences in Lianhua Gan presented above are also grammatical without the marking of ko 個. There is no division of labor between 'ko+N' and definite bare noun. Based on my judgement, 'ko+N' is more likely to appear in the object positions including the object of the predicate verb and the preposition than the subject position. This may be due to the fact that the subject position tends to be definite while the object positions have no such inclination. Therefore, the object positions need the definite marker ko to make the definite reference explicit. However, even in the object positions, ko can be omitted and the bare noun encodes definiteness.

In summary, the investigation of the pragmatic uses of ko 個 in Lianhua Gan shows that it possesses all the typical pragmatic uses of a definite article, especially the larger situation use and the associative anaphoric use, which are the distinctive uses of a definite article and cannot be expressed by a demonstrative. The syntactic properties of ko 個 show that it is a

determiner that marks the definiteness of its co-occurrent nouns or noun phrases and cannot be treated as a demonstrative. However, the only criterion to identify a definite article that *ko* 個 does not conform to is the obligatory use. Considering all these factors, I propose to treat *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan as a quasi-definite article.

3.3 Grammaticalization of the Quasi-definite Article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan

This section explores how the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan developed. As discussed in Chapter 3.1, many Chinese dialects have some grammatical devices to express definiteness, forming a north-south contrast. The northern dialects tend to use demonstratives for definiteness-marking, such as the proximal demonstrative *zhe* 'this' in Beijing Mandarin (Fang, 2002), while the southern dialects, especially Wu and Cantonese, employ the category of classifier to mark definiteness (Liu, 1999; Liu, 2002; Pan & Tao, 1999; Sheng, 2016, 2017; Sheng, Tao & Jin, 2016; Shi, 1999; Shi & Liu, 1985; Shi, 1996a; Zhou, 1997; among others). Fang (2002) proposed that there are two paths for the development of the definite article in Chinese dialects: one is represented by Beijing Mandarin, in which the demonstrative grammaticalizes as a definite article with the omission of the classifier in the 'DEM-CL-N' structure; the other is represented by the southern dialects of Wu and Yue, in which classifiers develop towards definite markers as the demonstrative drops from the 'DEM-CL-N' structure. In this regard, the northern dialects are claimed to be demonstrative-dominant, and the southern dialects are classifier-dominant in terms of the marking of definite nouns (Liu, 2002).

With this background, the question of whether the development of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan follows the pattern of northern or southern dialects remains to be answered. Given that the form of *ko* 個 is similar to both the basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固 and the general classifier ko^{21} 個, and given that Lianhua Gan belongs to the middle dialect group

that bridges northern and southern dialects, did *ko* 個 originate from the general classifier

ko²¹ 個, following the pattern of southern dialects, or did it develop from the demonstrative

ku³⁵ 固, as northern dialects do? According to Xia (2013), Yiyang 益陽 Xiang, which also

belongs to the middle dialect group, has a quasi-definite article *a⁴⁵* 阿, which is claimed to

have originated from the general classifier *tsa⁴⁵* 隻, following the grammaticalization pattern

of southern dialects. Taking all these into consideration, I am going to reconstruct the

grammaticalization process of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan through internal

reconstruction with reference to historical materials of Chinese and cross-dialectal evidence.

3.3.1 Source of *ko* 個

3.3.1.1 *ko²¹* 個 CL > *ko* 個 DEF?

The quasi-definite article *ko* 個 shares the same syllable with the general classifier (*ko²¹*

個), and the only difference is the tone; the definite marker has a neutral tone, and that of the

classifier is *qùshēng* 去聲, a low falling tone. In this sense, it may be easy to argue that the

definite marker *ko* 個 evolved from the general classifier *ko²¹* 個, following the pattern of

southern dialects. However, unlike Wu and Yue, classifiers in Lianhua Gan cannot modify

nouns directly to express definiteness. 'CL-N' in Lianhua Gan can only produce indefinite

reference in the object position, as shown in sentence (42); it cannot have a definite reference

even in the subject position, as shown in sentence (43).

(42)　我　　買　　　　哩　　本　　書。

　　　uo³⁵　mai⁵³　　　li　　pẽ⁵³　ɕy⁴⁴

　　　1SG　bought　　PFV　CL　book

　　　'I bought a book.'

(43)　*本　書　　在　　臺上。

pẽ⁵³   ɕy⁴⁴   tsʰœ⁴⁴   hœ¹³lɔ̃

CL   book   at   table-LOC

Intended meaning: 'The book is on the table.'

Moreover, as presented in Chapter 3.2.2, *ko* 個 can modify various types of nouns and noun phrases, which is far beyond the scope of the classifier ko^{21} 個. For example, the classifier ko^{21} 個 is not compatible with the noun 臺 'table' and 一個 CL臺 is ungrammatical; however, the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 can modify the noun 臺, and 個 DEF臺 means 'the table'. Unlike the definite 'CL-N' in Yue and Wu, which can only express a singular meaning,[10] '*ko* 個 + N' in Lianhua Gan can refer to singular, plural or uncountable entities. It should also be noted that there is another general classifier la^{44} 隻 in Lianhua Gan; ko^{21} 個 and la^{44} 隻 co-occur with different types of nouns in general. However, la^{44} 隻 cannot directly modify nouns expressing definiteness, and the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 can also modify the nouns that are individualized by the classifier la^{44} 隻.

Considering these facts, I argue that the classifier ko^{21} 個 is not be the direct source of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個.

3.3.1.2 ku^{35} 固 > *ko* 個 DEF?

Given that demonstratives are the most common sources of definite articles (Diessel, 1999; Heine & Kuteva, 2002), is it possible that the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan originated from a demonstrative? As proposed in Chapter 2.3.1, the forms of all the demonstratives are derived from the basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固. In addition, the form of the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固 is more similar to that of *ko* 個 than the other two adnominal demonstratives ($ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $kɔ̃^{35}$ 岡). In this regard, *ko* 個 is more likely to

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[10] The classifier here excludes the plural classifier, such as 啲 in Yue.

develop from ku^{35} 固 rather than $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 岡.

In order to prove that the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 was evolved from the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固, it is important to find out the briging context that allows for reanalysis. Since the syntactic structure of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 is '*ko* 個 + N', 'ku^{35} 固 + N' should exist if 'ku^{35} 固 > *ko* 個 DEF' is the pathway of grammaticalization. However, adnominal demonstratives in Lianhua Gan cannot directly modify nouns and the classifier must appear to form the 'DEM-CL-N' structure, as introduced in Chapter 2.2.3. Without the bridging context to prove the occurrence of grammaticalization, it is difficult to assume that the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 developed from the demonstrative ku^{35} 固. Moreover, it is also difficult to account for the sound change from ku^{35} to *ko*.

Without sufficient evidence for the grammaticalization pathways of 'ko^{21} 個 CL > *ko* 個 DEF' and 'ku^{35} 固 > *ko* 個', I propose that the development of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 followed neither the pattern of northern dialects nor that of southern dialects. Next I am going to explore another possible source of *ko* 個 by making reference to the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese.

3.3.1.3 個 DEM in Middle Chinese > 個 DEF in Lianhua Gan

Demonstratives with the initial *k-* in modern southern dialects can be traced to the demonstrative 個 in Middle and Early Modern Chinese,[11] which was used in southern dialects at that time (Cao, 1995; Li, 2016; Liang, 2015, 2018; Lü, 1944/1984; Lü, 1985). Therefore, before exploring the development of *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan, it is necessary to examine the demonstrative 個 in the history of Chinese. The earliest use of the demonstrative 個 can be

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[11] It is generally held that the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese originated from the classifier 個 by omitting the numeral 一 'one' from the 'NUM+CL' structure of 一個 (Cao, 1995; Lü, 1944/1984; Liang, 2015, 2018; Li, 2016). However, Peyraube (2019) has argued that the demonstrative 個 was not derived from the classifier 個 but resulted from omitting 這 from 這個, in which 個 is not a classifier.

traced to Middle Chinese at the end of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and 個 DEM was then frequently used in the Tang and Song dynasties (Lü, 1985). It mainly co-occurs with adnominal phrases to form "個+NP" and seldom functions as a pronoun in copular sentences. According to Li (2016), the demonstrative 個 was grammaticalized to a definite article in the Ming Dynasty.

Since 'demonstrative > definite article' is a cross-linguistically well-attested pathway of grammaticalization, and the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 has *k-* as the initial, I propose that *ko* 個 was grammaticalized from the demonstrative 個 in early Lianhua Gan, which was inherited from the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese. This grammaticalization pathway makes sense in terms of the syntactic structure, semantic function and sound change. First, as in Middle Chinese, the demonstrative 個 in early Lianhua Gan also modifies nouns directly; 個 in the syntactic structure of '個 + N' was grammaticalized from a demonstrative to a quasi-definite article. Second, according to Liang (2015, 2018), 個 in Middle and Early Modern Chinese is a neutral demonstrative with no distance marking, which can explain why the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan does not convey any deictic meaning of distance marking. This semantic property of *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan contrasts with the definite article *zhe* 這 in the Beijing dialect, which preserves the proximal deictic meaning. Third, in terms of the phonetic features, 個 in Middle Chinese belonged to the *jian* 見 initial consonant group, the *guo* 果 rhyme group in Division I and being open-mouthed (開口), and the *qu* tone (去聲); thus, the segmental part of 個 in early Lianhua Gan should be *ko*, according to the phonological changing rules. The phonological weakening in this grammaticalization process of '個 DEM in Middle Chinese > 個 DEF in Lianhua Gan' resulted in reducing to a neutral tone while retaining the segmental part.

Therefore, the development of the quasi-definite article in Lianhua Gan follows the grammaticalization pathway of 'demonstrative > definite article'; however, the source is not the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 in modern Lianhua Gan, but the demonstrative 個 in early Lianhua Gan, which was inherited from Middle Chinese.

3.3.1.4 Relationship Between ku^{35} 固 and ko 個

Although the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 is not the source of the quasi-definite article ko 個, do they have any relation? I further propose that the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 in modern Lianhua Gan can also be traced to the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese. As introduced above, early Lianhua Gan inherited the demonstrative 個 and its use of "個+N" from Middle Chinese. As the 'DEM-C-L' structure is the dominant demonstrative phrase in Chinese, the '個 DEM-N' structure was reformulated as '個 DEM-CL-N' resulting from the analogy of the dominant structure in Chinese. As introduced above, based on the phonological properties of 個 in Middle Chinese and the phonological changing rules of Lianhua Gan, the segmental part of 個 in early Lianhua Gan should be ko. Moreover, the guo 果 rhyme group in division I and being open (開口) would not develop into a close (合口) vowel in the Gan dialects (Liu, 1999: 255). In other words, the final of the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese cannot become u in Lianhua Gan. In addition, the qu tone in Middle Chinese should be still the same category in Lianhua Gan, but the tone of ku^{35} 固 is a $yangshang$ (陽上) tone. Therefore, the form of the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 remains further examination.

I propose that the irregular phonological properties of the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 result from the ambiguity of $ko^{qu}ko^{qu}$ 個個,[12] which can be interpreted as a demonstrative phrase of '個 DEM 個 CL' or a quantificational phrase of '個 CL 個 CL' meaning 'every, each'. When "個

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[12] As the exact tone value of 個 in early Lianhua Gan is unknown, I mark it with the tone category: qu (去).

DEM-N" is analogized as "個 DEM-CL-N", a frequently used expression would be '個 DEM 個 CL', as 個 is a general classifier. In order to eliminate the ambiguity of $ko^{qu}ko^{qu}$ 個個 and strengthen the deictic reference of '個 DEM 個 CL', 個 DEM changed from the low falling tone to the high rising tone *yangshang* (陽上), with the tone value of 35 in modern Lianhua Gan,[13] and the final *o* of 個 DEM raised to a high vowel *u*, thus forming ku^{35}. When the new sound ku^{35} 個 DEM has extended from $ku^{35}ko^{21}$ 個 DEM 個 CL to all the 'DEM-CL' phrases, then the demonstrative ko^{21} 個 DEM completely became ku^{35} 固. A similar phonological change has also been found in early Yue; the form of the distal demonstrative $kɔ^{33}$ 個 became $kɔ^{35}$ 嗰, with the tone changing to a high rising one in order to distinguish the demonstrative phrase "個 DEM 個 CL" from the universal quantificational phrase of '個 CL 個 CL' (Cheung, 2006).

Therefore, the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 and the basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固 are the evolutionary results along different pathways of the demonstrative 個 in early Lianhua Gan, which was inherited from the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese. The pathways of grammaticalization are diagrammatized in Figure 5.

In summary, the grammaticalization process of the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 differs from the northern and southern patterns. Since neither the demonstrative nor the classifier in the 'DEM-CL-N' structure can be deleted in Lianhua Gan to convey definite meanings, the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 cannot result from the omission of the demonstrative or the classifier in the 'DEM-CL-N' structure. I propose that it was grammaticalized from the demonstrative 個 in the '個 DEM + N' structure in early Lianhua Gan, which was inherited from Middle Chinese following the cross-linguistically recurrent pathway of 'demonstrative

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[13] The tone category of *yangshang* 陽上 is rare in the Gan dialects (Liu, 1999). In Lianhua Gan, the number of characters with the yangshang 陽上 tone is relatively small and most are colloquial pronunciations (白讀) (Wang, 2015).

> definite article'. This evolutionary process of the quasi-definite article in Lianhua Gan is not an isolated case. The next section provides cross-dialectal evidence from early Wu and Yue.
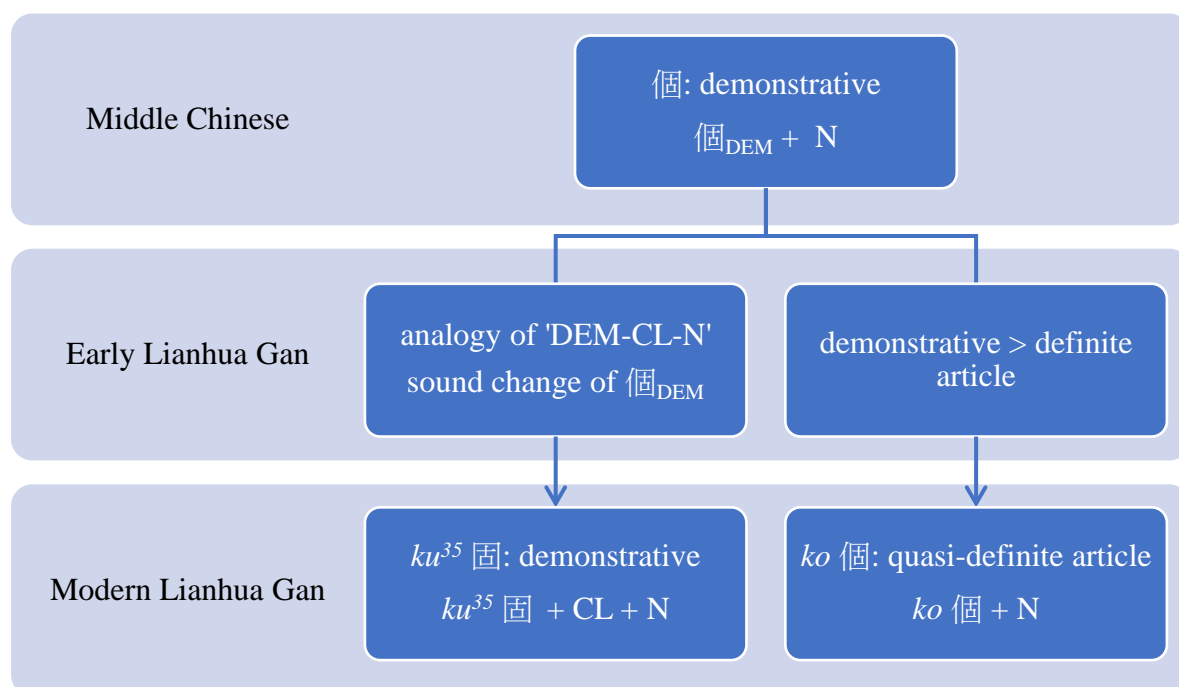
*Figure 5 The Diachronic Development of the Quasi-definite Article ko 個 and the Demonstrative ku³⁵ 固 in Lianhua Gan*

3.3.2 Cross-dialectal Evidence

Lin (2018) proposed the development of the demonstrative 個 in the early Wu dialects with historical materials published between the mid-19th and early 20th centuries, as Figure 6 shows.
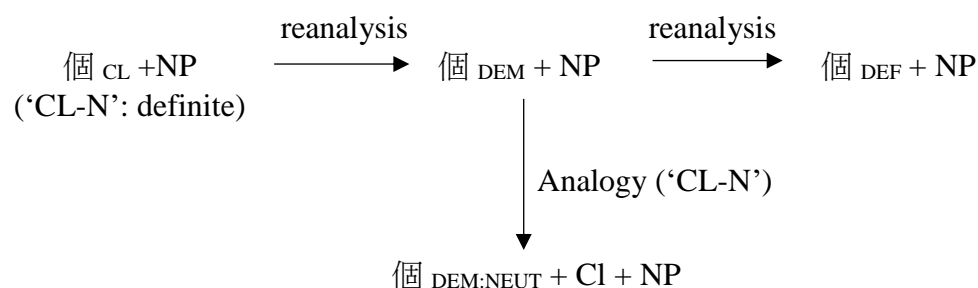

Figure 6 Grammaticalization of 個 in Early Wu (Lin, 2018: 226)

According to Lin (2018), it is common for the early Wu dialects to use the demonstrative 個 in the syntactic structure of '個 DEM + NP'. She held that '個 DEM + NP' in early Wu was directly related to the definite 'CL+N' and was reanalyzed from the definite '個 CL + NP'; the demonstrative 個 in '個 DEM + NP' developed towards a definite article and a neutral demonstrative in two directions; 個 DEM was reanalyzed as 個 DEF following the pathway 'demonstrative > definite article'; '個 DEM + NP' became '個 DEM + CL + NP' by the analogy with the 'CL+N' structure.

The grammaticalization process of the demonstrative 個 in early Wu proposed by Lin (2018) is similar to our reconstruction of the development of the demonstrative ku^{35} 固 and the quasi-definite article ko 個 in Lianhua Gan in two aspects. First, 個 DEM was grammaticalized towards a definite article 個 DEF in the structure of '個 DEM + NP' following the pathway of 'demonstrative > definite article'. Second, '個 DEM + NP' became '個 DEM + CL + NP' by analogy.

However, two points about this grammaticalization process should be noted. First, '個 CL + N', an instantiation of the definite 'CL+N' structure, may not be the source of the grammaticalization of '個 DEM + NP'. According to Lin (personal communication), only the definite "個 DEM + N" is found in her materials on early Wu of the late Qing period, and the definite 'CL+N' consisting of common classifiers is not found until the Republican period (1912-1949). In other words, there is no definite 'CL + N' in early Wu. In this case, it is not possible that '個 DEM + NP' can develop from the definite 'CL + N' ('個 CL + N'). Therefore, the proposal for Lianhua Gan in this thesis may be applicable to early Wu that '個 DEM + NP' in early Wu was also inherited from Middle Chinese and is not related to the definite 'CL + N' structure in modern Wu. Second, '個 DEM + NP' became '個 DEM + CL + NP' by the

analogy with 'DEM+CL+N' rather than 'CL+N', as 'DEM+CL+N' is the dominant demonstrative structure across northern and southern dialects.

In addition to early Wu, a similar development is also found in early Yue. Jin (2017) investigated the development of the 'CL+N' structure in Guangzhou 廣州 Yue based on materials published since the 19th century and summarized that, in the 1820s, 'CL+N' only appeared in the object position to indicate indefiniteness; in the 1840s, 'CL+N' in the object position started to convey definiteness in addition to indefiniteness; in the 1850s 'CL+N' started to appear in the subject position to express definiteness. It should be noted that, because 個 $_{CL}$ and 個 $_{DEM}$ shared the same form in the early 19th century, Jin's (2017) investigation did not incorporate the uses of '個 + N' in this period.

According to my observation on early Yue,[14] '個 $_{DEM}$ + N' was used in the 1920s, the period in which Jin (2017) did not find the definite 'CL + N', as exemplified by sentences (44) - (47), which are taken from *A Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect* published in 1928.[15] Since the definite 'CL + N' did not appear in this period, 個 in these sentences cannot be treated as a classifier, and I propose that it is a demonstrative. As shown by (44), both '個 $_{DEM}$ + NP' and '呢/個 $_{DEM}$ + CL + NP' were used in early Yue. In fact, it is the same case with early Wu, as Lin (2018) mentioned that both '個 $_{DEM}$ + NP' and 'DEM-CL-NP' co-existed in early Wu.

(44) a. 個世事點估得中呀。

'That affair how was it possible to guess it?'

  b. 個件事令我嚇一驚。

'That affair caused me threatened one alarm: That has made me quite afraid.'

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[14] I used the Early Cantonese Colloquial Texts: A Database developed in Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (see http://database.shss.ust.hk/Candbase/). Access date: June 2018.
[15] The English translations of sentences (44) - (50) are taken from the source text.

(45) 個人唔講得上口嘅。

'That person cannot be spoken of with the mouth; he is not worthy of being mentioned.'

(46) 你去較準個鐘呀。

'You go and put right that clock.'

(47) 貪字似個貧。

'The word Tam (covetous) resembles the word Pán (Poor).'

Furthermore, the referent expressed by '個 + N' can be plural. For example, the nouns in '個 + N' in sentences (48) - (50), taken from *Chinese Chrestomathy in the Canton Dialect* published in 1941, are translated into the plural forms in English. This fact confirms that 個 cannot be treated as a classifier, as '個 $_{CL}$ + N' can only refer to a singular entity. 個 $_{DEM}$ in '個 $_{DEM}$ + NP' was probably grammaticalized as a definite article, as it was translated by *the* in some cases, such as 個賊 'the thieves' in sentence (50).

(48) 掩埋**個書櫃門**。

'Shut the doors of that book-case.'

(49) 你念得過**個薄書**，唔念得呢？或者做得。

'Are you able to rehearse those volumes? Perhaps I can.'

(50) **個賊**冇（扌兜）起門閂咁就開門。

'The thieves, even without lifting up the bar across the doors, burst them open.'

Usages of 個 $_{DEF}$ are found in early Yue. For instance, 個天 in sentence (51), taken from the Cantonese translation of *Robinson Crusoe* 辜蘇歷程 written by William C. Burns published in 1902,[16] confirms that 個 $_{DEM}$ did grammaticalize towards 個 $_{DEF}$ in early Yue,

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[16] The Chinese version of this novel is also known as 魯賓遜漂流記. My thanks to Dr. Shin Kataoka for sharing the electronic version of this book with me.

since the demonstrative cannot modify unique objects (i.e., the larger situation use of the definite article).

(51)　　忽然**個天**好黑。落大雨。（1902《辜蘇歷程》）

　　　　'Suddenly it became dark. It rained heavily.'

Therefore, I propose that, similar to Lianhua Gan and early Wu, early Yue also inherited '個 DEM + N' from Middle Chinese, which became '嗰 DEM + CL + N' and was grammaticalized towards '個 DEF + N' in early Yue.

3.4 Summary

This chapter argues for the existence of a quasi-definite article *ko* 個 in Lianhua Gan, as its syntactic properties and pragmatic functions match those of a typical definite article. It does not evolve from the classifier ko^{21} 個 or the basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固 in modern Lianhua Gan. Rather, it is grammaticalized from 個 DEM in the structure of '個 DEM + N' in early Lianhua Gan, which was inherited from Middle Chinese. The basic demonstrative ku^{35} 固 also developed from 個 DEM in early Lianhua Gan when '個 DEM + N' became '個 DEM + CL + N' by analogy and the form of 個 DEM changed into ku^{35} 固 in order to differentiate '個 DEM 個 CL' ('this') from '個 CL 個 CL' ('every'). Similar developments of 個 DEM are found in early Wu and Yue.

Part 2 Tense, Aspect and Modality

While Part 1 focuses on definiteness that contributes to the understanding of the characteristics of nouns or noun phrases, this part investigates tense, aspect and modality that can help shed light on the regularities of verbs or verb phrases by examining the interaction between TAM and syntax. Tense, aspect and modality interact with each other, forming a super-category that is usually abbreviated as TAM. Tense and aspect concern the temporal information of the event from external and internal perspectives, respectively; modality concerns the factual status of the proposition. Chinese is often held to be a tenseless language. However, there are many devices indicating temporal reference, despite a lack of morphological tense markers. It is accepted that Chinese is prominent in aspect and modality. This part cannot examine the entire TAM system and thus will focus only on the perfective aspect (Chapter 4), the imperfective aspects (Chapter 5) and the TAM functions of the HAVE-possessive (Chapter 6).

Chapter 4 Perfective

4.1 Introduction

It is generally accepted that prototypical uses of the perfective aspect are to view a situation as a single, bounded, unanalyzed whole, without paying attention to the internal phases of the situation (Comrie, 1976; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994; among others). However, languages may still vary in how they delimit the perfective aspect (Dahl, 1985), and there is variability in what the perfective aspectual markers indicate cross-linguistically (Tenny, 1987). Moreover, the delimitation of the perfective aspect in different dialects of the same language family may also vary, and different strategies may be employed by different dialects to indicate the perfective aspect. This is the case for Chinese. The strategies of expressing the perfective aspect vary across Chinese dialects and Modern Standard Chinese, and there are controversies about the grammatical meaning of the perfective aspectual markers. The complexity of the perfective aspect makes it one of the most pressing topics in studies of Chinese grammar.

In Modern Standard Chinese, the verbal suffix *le* 了 is generally held to be the perfective aspectual marker,[17] but there are controversies about its grammatical meaning. Traditionally, it is claimed to express completed action (Lü, 1980; Chao, 1968; Wang, 1959; among others). For example, sentence (1) indicates the completion of the event of 'writing three letters'; sentence (2) indicates the completion of the event of 'throwing away that bottle of wine'. However, some argued that the grammatical meaning of the verbal suffix *le* 了 should be termed 'realization' (Liu, 1988; Sybesma, 1999) or 'termination' (Smith, 1991) because the events expressed by sentences with the postverbal *le* 了 may not be completed, and the

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[17] Lin (2003, 2006, 2010, 2017) argued that the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese is a dual marker of aspect and tense.

completion meaning can be cancelled, as shown by sentence (3).

(1) 我　　寫　了　三　　封　　信。

   wo　　xie　le　san　feng　xin

   1SG　　write　PFV　NUM　CL　letter

   'I wrote three letters.'

(2) 他　　扔　了　那　瓶　酒。

   ta　　reng　le　na　ping　jiu

   3SG　throw　PFV　DEM　CL　wine

   'He threw away that bottle of wine.'

(3) 他　　上午　　　喝　了　那　瓶　酒，還　沒　喝　完。

   ta　shangwu　he　le　na　ping　jiu　hai　mei　he　wan

   3SG　morning　drink　PFV　DEM　CL　wine　still　NEG　drink　finish

   'He drank that bottle of wine in the morning, but he did not finish it.'

    However, the perfective aspect expressed by the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese is conveyed by two separate forms in Lianhua Gan: *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩.[18] In some cases, their combination *uɛ li* 滑哩 is used. Each of these three forms has its regular syntactic distributions; they are interchangeable in some cases. Sentences (1) - (3) in Modern Standard Chinese correspond to sentences (4) - (6) in Lianhua Gan, respectively. In sentence (4), both *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 can be used, but the combination *uɛ li* 滑哩 is excluded; in sentence (5), contrary to sentence (4), only *uɛ li* 滑哩 is allowed, and neither *uɛ* 滑 nor *li* 哩 can be used; in sentence (6), both *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 are acceptable, but *uɛ* 滑 is not allowed. It should be noted that there are differences in the grammatical meaning when two forms are syntactically interchangeable, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.3.

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[18] The underlying forms of *uɛ* and *li* are unclear; 滑 and 哩 are their homophones.

(4) 我　　　寫　哩/　　滑/　　*滑哩　　　三　　封　　信。

　　　uo³⁵　　ɕia⁵³　li　　uɛ　　　uɛ li　　　sã⁴⁴　fəŋ⁴⁴　ɕĩ²¹

　　　1SG　　write　PFV　DIAO　DIAO PFV　NUM　CL　　letter

　　　'I wrote three letters.'

(5) 渠　　　丟　　　滑哩/　　　*哩/　　*滑　岡　　瓶　　　酒。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　tiu⁴⁴　uɛ li　　　　li　　uɛ　　kɔ̃³⁵　pʰĩ¹³　tɕiu⁵³

　　　3SG　　throw　DIAO PFV　PFV　DIAO　DEM　CL　　wine

　　　'He threw away that bottle of wine.'

(6) 渠　　　上界　　　喫　哩/　　滑哩/　　　*滑　岡　　瓶　　酒。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　sɔ̃²¹kai²¹　tɕʰia⁴⁴ li　　uɛ li　　　uɛ　　kɔ̃³⁵　pʰĩ¹³　tɕiu⁵³

　　　3SG　　morning　　eat　PFV　DIAO PFV　DIAO　DEM　CL　　wine

　　　'He drank (up) that bottle of wine in the morning.'

　　It may be argued that *uɛ* 滑 in Lianhua Gan is a resultative complement, as it may correspond to *diao* 掉 'away, off' in Modern Standard Chinese, and *li* 哩 in Lianhua Gan is the equivalent of the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese. For example, *uɛ li* 滑哩 in sentences (5) and (6) can be translated into *diao le* 掉了 in Modern Standard Chinese, as shown by sentences (7) and (8).

(7) 他　　　上午　　　喝　掉　　了　　那　　瓶　　酒。

　　　ta　　　shangwu　　he　diao　le　　na　　ping　jiu

　　　3SG　　morning　　drink　COMP　PFV　DEM　CL　　wine

　　　'He drank up that bottle of wine in the morning.'

(8) 他　　　丟　掉　　了　　那　　瓶　　酒。

　　　ta　　　diu　diao　le　　na　　ping　jiu

　　　3SG　　threw　COMP　PFV　DEM　CL　　wine

'He threw away that bottle of wine.'

For this reason, the counterparts of *uɛ* 滑 in other dialects have been categorized as the DIAO type in some previous studies (Wang, 2010; Weng & Li, 2010).[19] The counterparts in other dialects reported in previous work include 潑 in Nanchang 南昌 Gan, 刮 in Taihe 泰和 Gan, *ka* 咖 in Changsha 長沙 Xiang, 脫 in Suzhou 蘇州 Wu, 爻 in Wenzhou 溫州 Wu, 嗦 in Quanzhou 泉州 Min, 撇 in Meixian 梅縣 Hakka, and among others. These DIAO type morphemes tend to appear after verbs of *deletion*, *loss* or *disappearance*, such as 賣 'sell' in sentence (9), 走 'run' in sentence (10) and 脫 'take off' in sentence (11).

(9) Taihe 泰和 Gan (Dai, 1996: 102)

渠	前日		賣	刮	一	板車	穀。
3SG	day before yesterday		sell	DIAO	NUM	dray	rice

'He sold out a dray of rice the day before yesterday.'

(10)   Liancheng 連城 Hakka (Xiang, 1996: 52)

賊牯	走	撇	呃。
thief	run	DIAO	PFT

'The thief has run away.'

(11)   Changsha 長沙 Xiang (Wu, 2006: 79)

把	鞋子	脫	咖。
BA	shoes	take off	DIAO

'Take off the shoes.'

Previous studies focused on summarizing the meaning of these DIAO type morphemes. Most studies held that these morphemes are used to indicate completed actions or are the

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[19] This is why I use DIAO to gloss *uɛ* 滑 in Lianhua Gan and its counterparts in other dialects.

perfective aspectual marker that accompanies negative semantic features of *loss* or *disappearance* (Dai, 1996; Liu, 1996a, 1996b; Pan, 1996; Zhang, 2005; Wu, 2006; Hu, 2008; Li, 2014; Chen, 2018; Xia, 2018; among others). Different from these studies, Lu (2010) held that *ka* in Changsha Xiang is an event boundary marker, and Lu (2017) further argued that the function of *ka* in Changsha Xiang is to double an endpoint.

However, based on the observations on the perfective expressions in Lianhua Gan, we find that *uɛ* 滑 is neither simply a resultative complement nor a pure perfective particle. Its syntactic distributions are more complex than expected, and thus a single generalization of its grammatical meaning can hardly cover all of its uses. First, it can be used in both realis and irrealis situations. For example, sentence (12)a describes an actualized event, but sentence (12)b expresses a future event. It can also co-occur with the negator of perfective, as shown by sentence (12)c.

(12) a. 我　　做　　滑　　哩　　作業。

　　　　uo^{35}　tsu^{21}　uɛ　　li　　tsuo^{44}ie^{44}

　　　　1SG　　do　　DIAO　PFV　homework

　　　　'I finished doing homework.'

　　b. 我　　有　　做　　滑　　作業。

　　　　uo^{35}　iu^{53}　tsu^{21}　uɛ　　tsuo^{44}ie^{44}

　　　　1SG　　will　do　　DIAO　homework

　　　　'I will finish the homework.'

　　c. 我　　恁　　做　　滑　　作業。

　　　　uo^{35}　lẽ^{35}　tsu^{21}　uɛ　　tsuo^{44}ie^{44}

　　　　1SG　　NEG　do　　DIAO　homework

　　　　'I did not finish the homework.'

Second, it can be interchangeable with *li* 哩 in some situations. For example, while *li* 哩

cannot be replaced by *uɛ* 滑 in sentences (13)a, they are interchangeable in sentence (13)b.

(13)　a.　　我　　喫　　*滑/　哩　　酒。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　　tɕiu⁵³

　　　　　　1SG　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　　wine

　　　'I drank wine.'

　　　b.　　我　　喫　　滑/　　哩　　兩　　杯　　酒。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　　liɔ̃⁵³　pœ⁴⁴　tɕiu⁵³

　　　　　　1SG　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　　NUM　CL　　wine

　　　'I drank two cups of wine.'

Third, it can be combined with *li* 哩 in some situations, as exemplified by sentences (14)a and

(14)b.

(14)　a.　　我　　喫　　滑　　哩　　酒。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　　tɕiu⁵³

　　　　　　1SG　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　　wine

　　　'I finished drinking wine.'

　　　b.　　我　　喫　　（*滑）　哩　　兩　　杯　　酒。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰia⁴⁴　　uɛ　　　li　　liɔ̃⁵³　pœ⁴⁴　tɕiu⁵³

　　　　　　1SG　　eat　　　DIAO　　PFV　NUM　CL　　wine

　　　'I drank two cups of wine.'

Fourth, while it is obligatorily used in some situations, it cannot be used in others, and it is

optional in some other situations, as shown by the three sentences in (15) and (16). Moreover,

the predicates in the two sets of sentences in (15) and (16) are adjectives and resultative verb

compounds respectively, indicating that *uɛ* 滑 cannot simply be treated as a resultative

complement.

(15) a. 菜　　咸　　＊（滑）　　哩。

tsʰœ²¹ hã¹³　　uɛ　　li

dish　salty　DIAO　PFV

'The dish is too salty.'

b. 西瓜　　　熟　　（＊滑）　　哩。

ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴　ɕio²¹　　uɛ　　li

watermelon　ripe　DIAO　PFV

'The watermelon got ripe.'

c. 渠　個　頭髮　　白　　（滑）　　哩。

tɕi⁵³　ko　hœ¹³uo²¹　pʰai²¹　uɛ　　li

3SG　POSS　hair　　white　DIAO　PFV

'His hair turned grey.'

(16) a. 我　個　腳骨　　坐　麻　＊（滑）　　哩。

uo³⁵　ko　tɕio⁴⁴kuai　tsʰo²¹　ma¹³　uɛ　　li

1SG　POSS　leg　　sit　COMP　DIAO　PFV

'My legs got numb.'

b. 電腦　　跌　爛　（＊滑）　　哩。

tʰiẽ²¹nao⁵³　tiɛ⁵³　lã²¹　　uɛ　　li

computer　drop　COMP　DIAO　PFV

'The computer was broken.'

c. 照片　　縮　細　（滑）　　哩。

tsao²¹pʰiẽ⁴⁴　so⁴⁴　ɕi²¹　　uɛ　　li

photo　　zoom　COMP　DIAO　PFV

'The photo was zoomed out.'

The counterparts of *li* 哩 in other dialects, such as *ta* 噠 in Xiang, are generally held to be the full-fledged perfective aspectual markers that equal the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese. However, as in the sentences presented above, *li* 哩 in Lianhua Gan is not an equivalent of the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese. In fact, the simple treatment of making rough correspondences between Chinese dialects and Modern Standard Chinese sometimes causes misunderstanding that there are few variations in Chinese grammar.

Previous work focused too much on summarizing the grammatical meaning of the perfective-related particles, but few studies concerned their distributions, except those of Lu (2017) and Xia (2018), which argued that *ka* in Changsha 長沙 Xiang and Yiyang 益陽 Xiang can only be used in bounded situations. In view of the complex situation of the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan, this chapter examines the syntactic distributions and semantic functions of *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 and their combination *uɛ li* 滑哩 in Lianhua Gan, and pays special attention to *uɛ* 滑 with an aim to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan. The analysis of these perfective-related forms in Lianhua Gan is also expected to provide a fine-grained analytical framework for the investigation of the perfective aspect in other dialects that show similar patterns. Furthermore, the question of whether *uɛ li* 滑哩 in Lianhua Gan is a simple combination of *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 or has become a compound is also examined. The comparisons of the perfective aspect between Lianhua Gan and Modern Standard Chinese also shed light on the understanding of the functions of the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese.

4.2 Classification of Verbs/Verb Phrases

Before going to the detailed analysis of the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan, I propose a revised classification of verbs or verb phrases in this section, with an aim to more clearly

delienate the interaction between aspect and syntax, and to reveal the regularities of the

aspectual markers in question. Considering the characteristics of the perfective aspect of

Lianhua Gan and also those of other Chinese dialects, we classify verbs or verb phrases based

on two features: the temporal structure of the situation and the affectedness of the action

expressed by the main verb on the internal argument.

4.2.1 Temporal Structure

The temporal structure of the situation, referred to as the situation aspect or lexical

aspect, has been much discussed in Western philosophy and linguistics. The earliest

classification can be traced back to Aristotle, who classified verbs into three categories –

state, energeia and kinesis. The last two categories are distinguished based on logical

entailments, specifically, whether 'X is V-ing' implies 'X has V-ed'. This distinction

concerns the presence or absence of a definite endpoint, which forms one important

parameter for the aspectual classification in subsequent studies.

The most influential classification of situation types of verbs is the one proposed by

Vendler (1957/1967), consisting of a four-fold classification of verb classes: activities,

accomplishments, achievements and states, based on the duration of the event, the presence

or absence of a definite terminus and the applicability of the progressive form, as shown by

Table 6.

Table 6 The Vendlerian Situation Types

	duration	terminus	progressive
activity	+	-	+
accomplishment	+	+	+
achievement	-	+	-
state	+	-	-

Specifically, activities are events that last for an indefinite period of time and do not

have an inherent terminus, such as 'run', 'walk, 'swim' or 'push a cart'; accomplishments are

events that last for a definite period of time and have a definite terminus, such as 'draw a

circle', 'run a mile', 'grow up', or 'recover from illness'; achievements are events that have a

terminus but happen instantly, such as 'recognize', 'find, 'reach the top' or 'win a race';

states last for an indefinite period of time, such as 'know', 'believe', 'love' or 'have'. In

addition to the event features of duration and terminus, the progressive form is used to

distinguish activities and accomplishments from states and achievements. Vendler's

categories form the basis or the starting point of subsequent studies in this area. In spite of

some refinements, duration and terminus (often called 'telicity' in current studies) remain the

two generally established distinguishing features for the aspectual classification of verbs or

verb phrases.

On the basis of the Vendlerian categories, Smith (1991/1997) distinguished five

situation types based on three binary semantic features of [±dynamic], [±durative] and

[±telic], adding a new situation type of semelfactive with the parameters of [+dynamic], [-

durative] and [-telic], as Table 7 shows. This classification system has been widely applied to

Chinese aspectual studies.

Table 7 Temporal Features of the Situation Types (Smith, 1997: 20)

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

Without regard to semelfactives, the four Vendlerian categories redefined by Smith

(1991/1997) can be diagrammatized by a partial ordering binary tree, as Figure 7 shows. The

four categories are positioned at three levels on this hierarchical structure. States can be distinguished from the other situation types based on the feature of dynamicity on the primary level; activities can be distinguished from achievements and accomplishments based on the feature of telicity at the secondary level; achievements and accomplishments can be differentiated based on the feature of durativity at the lowest level.
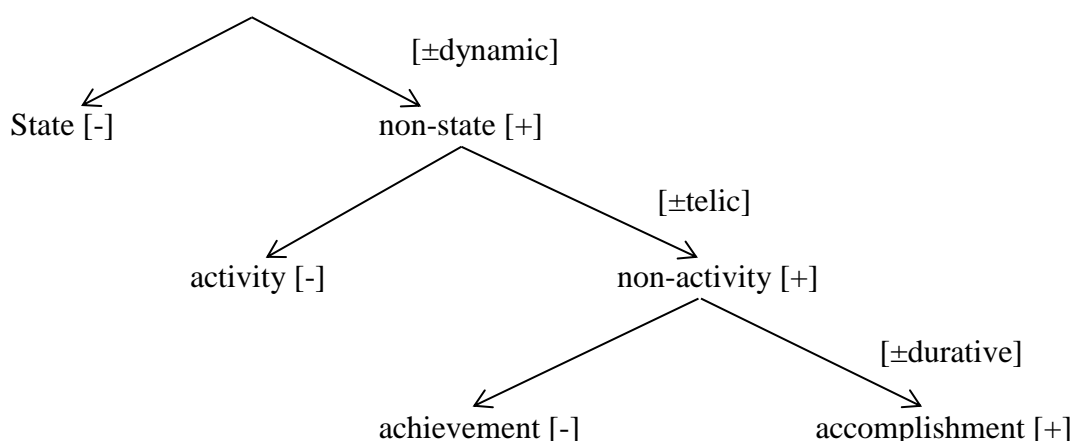

Figure 7 The Vendlerian Situation Types in a Partial Ordering Binary Tree

However, the distinction that achievements are events that happen instantaneously, and accomplishments are events that extend over a period of time has been questioned. Accomplishments may take a short time interval, such as the situation expressed by 'type a letter P'. More importantly, it is not difficult to see that achievements can also take the progressive form, which requires the verb with the feature of [+duration]. Degree-achievements, a type of achievements involving a scale, have been acknowledged, although the question of whether they are true achievements has been much discussed in previous studies (Lin, 2004; Kearns, 2007; Rothstein, 2004). Therefore, the real distinction between achievements and accomplishments may not be the feature of durativity. In order to account for the interaction between lexical aspect and grammatical aspect, an adaption of the Vendlerian classification system is proposed in this study by taking into consideration the characteristics of the aspectual system in Chinese and Lianhua Gan in particular.

In terms of building a classification system, the first step is to select a set of parameters. In addition to the three established binary distinguishing features of [±dynamic], [±durative] and [±telic], we add a new feature of [±result-entailed], which concerns whether the verb entails a certain result as its inherent semantic feature. Yang, Huang and Wang (2009) and Yang (2011) re-interpreted accomplishments and achievements as 'leading to result' and 'encoding result' respectively and argued that the real distinction between them lies in whether the verb encodes a result. I follow their proposal and set [±result-entailed] as an additional distinctive feature.

The second step is to build a hierarchical system with these distinguishing features. As in previous work, the primary level distinguishes states and non-states based on the feature of [±dynamic], and non-states are classified into activities and non-activities in the secondary level based on the feature of [±telic]. However, in contrast to previous studies, non-activities are divided into accomplishments and achievements in the third level based on the feature of [±result-entailed] rather than [±durative]. At the lowest level, achievements are classified into degree and non-degree based on the feature of [±durative]. The revised classification system is graphed as Figure 8.
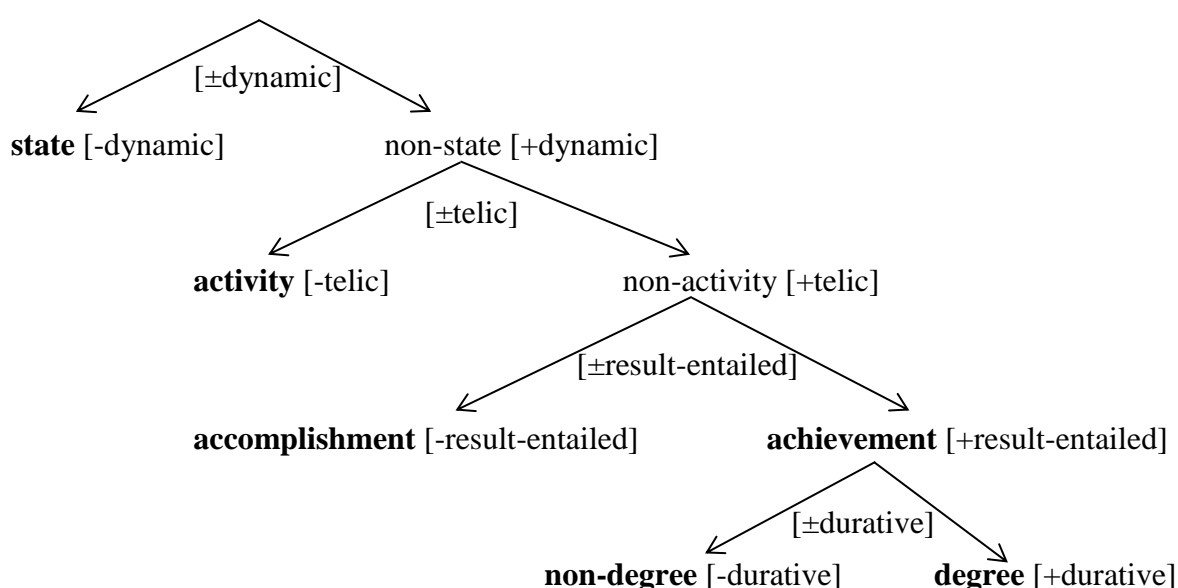

Figure 8 The Revised Classification System of Situation Types in a Partial Ordering Binary Tree

As this partial ordering binary tree shows, the four parameters are hierarchically positioned so that there are implicational relations among them. Specifically, [+durative] implies [+result-entailed]; [+result-entailed] implies [+telic]; and [+telic] implies [+dynamic]. Therefore, only non-degree achievements are [-durative]; the remaining situation types are [+durative]. However, although durativity is the common feature of most situation types, the properties of the time interval of different situations may vary. In other words, the durativity between states and non-states, between activities and non-activities, as well as between accomplishments and achievements, shows different properties due to other distinctive features, which interact with the progressive aspect in different ways (see Chapter 5).

While Vendler (1957/1967) noticed the role of the objects in the temporal structure of the verbs, more and more studies have shown awareness of the compositional feature of aspect and argued that the situation aspect should also take into consideration the arguments and adjuncts of the predicate verbs (Verkuyl, 1972, etc.). Therefore, the situation types refer to the classification of verbs and verb phrases. For example, the verb 吃 'eat' and the verb phrases 吃蘋果 'eat apples' are actitivities; the verb 到 'arrive' and the verb phrase 到學校 'arrive at school' are achievements. However, the situation type of accomplishments is generally expressed by verb phrases in Chinese, such as the verb phrase 吃兩個蘋果 'eat two apples', as there are no accomplishment verbs in Chinese.

It should be noted that my treatment of the accomplishments differs slightly from previous studies. One important type of accomplishments is quantified verb phrases,[20] in which the quantified functions as the object or the complement of the predicate verb. Prior work generally held that situations expressed by the 'V-DEM-CL-N' phrase belong to accomplishments, which is the same with the 'V-NUM-CL-N' phrase. The reason is that the

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[20] Non-quantified accomplishments are usually expressed by 'V + PP' phrases, such as 'walk to the school' in English and 走向學校 in Modern Standard Chinese.

entity expressed by the 'DEM-CL-N' phrase is definite and thus bounded; in this regard, it provides an endpoint to the event as the quantity expressed by the 'NUM-CL-N' phrase does. Take Modern Standard Chinese as an example. In sentence (17)a, the event of 看這兩本書 'reading these two books' can be seen as a bounded event, as the completion of the last page of the two books marks the completion of the whole event. Therefore, 看這兩本書 in sentence (17)a and 看兩本書 in sentence (17)b are treated the same.

(17) a. 我   看   了   這   兩   本   書。

  wo   kan   le   zhe   liang   ben   shu

  1SG   read   PFV   DEM   NUM   CL   book

  'I read these two books.'

  b. 我   看   了   兩   本   書。

  wo   kan   le   liang   ben   shu

  1SG   read   PFV   NUM   CL   book

  'I read two books.'

However, although the entity expressed by the noun phrase 'DEM-CL-N' is definite and bounded, it does not obligatorily add an inherent endpoint, as the quantified phrase does. Instead, the 'V-DEM-CL-N' phrase is similar to the verb phrase 'V-N' in that both have an arbitrary endpoint; as a result, the termination of the event does not imply the completion meaning. For this reason, the perfective form of the 'V-DEM-CL-N' phrase and that of the 'V-N' phrase do not entail the completion of the action. For example, in sentence (18), the perfectivity of sentence (18)a with a definite object and that of sentence (18)b with a bare noun as the object does not imply the completion of the event, which can be cancelled by a subsequent clause; rather, the perfectivity of sentence (18)c with a quantified object implies the completion meaning, which cannot be cancelled.

(18) a. 我   上午   看   了   這   兩   封   信,

wo	shangwu	kan	le	zhe	liang	feng	xin
1SG	morning	read	PFV	DEM	NUM	CL	letter

還　　沒　　看　　完。

hai	mei	kan	wan
still	NEG	read	COMP

'I read these two letters, but I have not finished.'

b.　我　上午　　看　了　信，還　沒　看　完。

wo	shangwu	kan	le	xin	hai	mei	kan	wan
1sg	morning	read	pfv	letter	still	neg	read	comp

'I read letters in the morning, but I have not finished.'

c.　*我　上午　　看　了　兩　封　信，

wo	shangwu	kan	le	liang	feng	xin
1SG	morning	read	PFV	NUM	CL	letter

還　　沒　　看　　完。

hai	mei	kan	wan
still	NEG	read	COMP

Intended meaning: 'I read two letters in the morning, but I have not finished.'

Therefore, in contrast to the quantificational feature, the definiteness of the object does not make a difference for the perfectivity of an event in Chinese. For this reason, I only treat the 'V-NUM-CL-N' phrase as the quantified accomplishments and incorporate the 'V-DEM-CL-N' phrase into activities.

4.2.2 Affectedness

The temporal structure of verbs or verbal phrases is insufficient to account for the interaction between aspect and syntax in Chinese, at least in Lianhua Gan and many other southern Chinese dialects. In addition to the aspectual characteristics of verbs or verb

phrases, the semantic feature of affectedness also plays an important role in the distribution of perfective-related makers. The term 'affectedness' in this study refers to the impairment, loss or disappearance of the internal argument caused by the action. The internal argument normally refers to the patient of transitive verbs and the only argument of accusative verbs, and it is affected in a certain way upon the completion of the action. Therefore, the perfectivity of some verbs may indicate both the completion of an action and the affectedness of the internal argument. We can take Modern Standard Chinese as an example. In sentence (19), the patient 蛋糕 'cake' was affected in that it disappeared when the action of 吃 'eating' was completed. In sentence (20), the only internal argument 房子 'house' of the accusative verb 塌 'collapse' fell down and was no longer in its original state when the event came to an end.

(19)　　蛋糕　　　　我　　吃　　了。

　　　　dangao　　　wo　　chi　　le

　　　　cake　　　　1SG　　eat　　PFV

　　　　'I ate up the cake.'

(20)　　房子　　　　塌　　　　　了。

　　　　fangzi　　　ta　　　　　le

　　　　house　　　collapse　　　PFV

　　　　'The house fell down.'

　　　Considering the interaction between aspect and syntax, I classify dynamic verbs (activity verbs and achievement verbs) into three types regarding the semantic feature of affectedness. The three types interact with syntax in different ways when marked in perfective forms. The first type is achievement verbs, which entail a certain affectedness on the internal argument, such as 死 'die', 斷 'break', 倒 'fall off', 沉 'sink', etc. The second type is non-achievement

verbs, which may (but do not necessarily) affect the patient, such as incremental verbs like 吃 'eat', 看 'watch', 寫 'write', etc. The third type is dynamic verbs that exert no such affectedness on the internal argument, including achievement verbs such as 到 'arrive' and non-achievement verbs such as 打 'hit', 敲 'knock', etc.

The importance of affectedness in Chinese has been noted in previous work. For example, Tai (1984) argued that Chinese is a patient-oriented language and "looks at the ending point from the viewpoint of an affected patient" (p. 295). In other words, Chinese tends to concentrate on the effect of an action on the patient. Fan (2014) also addressed the anticipated result of an event on the internal argument when examining the perfective aspect and made a subtle classification of dynamic verbs: result-oriented verbs, result-entailed verbs, potential-result verbs, no-result verbs, no-result activity verbs, persistence-of-state verbs and no-result achievement verbs. Fan (2018) also established a verb category of 'resultative verbs' (結果型動詞) when examining the two variants of the verbal -LE in the Xingtai 邢台 dialect.

These two semantic classifications of verbs or verb phrases, based on temporal structure and affectedness, will be considered in the investigation of the syntactic distributions of the perfective-related forms in Lianhua Gan in the next section.

4.3 Syntactic Distribution of *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩, and *uɛ li* 滑哩[21]

The investigation of their syntactic distribution is conducted by examining the (ir)realis status of the situation and the property of the predicate, i.e., the temporal features and the affectedness.

4.3.1 Realis vs. Irrealis

The situations expressed by sentences containing these three markers can be divided into

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[21] The possible lexical origin of *uɛ* is 過 'pass', which is reconstructed in studies on Xiang dialects (Peng, 1999). In modern Lianhua Gan, *uɛ* can only function as verb complement or suffix but not the main predicate verb.

two categories: realis and irrealis, based on whether a situation exists or has been realized in the real world. Prototypical uses of the perfective aspect generally indicate completed events in the past (Dahl, 1985), which are realis situations. Thus, realis situations are the unmarked context for perfective aspectual markers. All three forms in Lianhua Gan - *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩, *and uɛ li* 滑哩 - can be used in realis situations, as shown by sentences (21) - (23), although they are subject to different syntactic and semantic restrictions, which will be discussed in the following.

(21)　渠　　看　　滑　　一　　工　　電視。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　kʰɔ̃²¹　　uɛ　　iɛ⁴⁴　　kuŋ⁴⁴　　tʰiɛ̃²¹sʅ²¹

　　　3SG　　watch　DIAO　NUM　day　　television

　　　'He watched TV for a day.'

(22)　渠　　看　　哩　　電視。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　kʰɔ̃²¹　　li　　tʰiɛ̃²¹sʅ²¹

　　　3SG　　watch　PFV　　television

　　　'He watched TV.'

(23)　渠　　看　　滑　　哩　　電視。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　kʰɔ̃²¹　　uɛ　　li　　tʰiɛ̃²¹sʅ²¹

　　　3SG　　watch　DIAO　PFV　　television

　　　'He finished watching TV.'

However, *uɛ* 滑 can also be used in irrealis situations, such as imperatives and futures. In contrast, *li* 哩 *and uɛ li* 滑哩 cannot be used for these situations. For example, sentence (24) expresses a command; sentence (25) is oriented towards the future; and sentence (26) expresses the intention of the speaker.

(24)　把　　個　　藥　　　　喫　　滑/　　*哩/　　*滑哩！

pa⁵³ ko yo²¹ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ li uɛ li

BA DEF medicine eat DIAO PFV DIAO PFV

'Take the medicine.'

(25) 我 有 喫 滑/ *哩/ *滑哩 藥。

uo³⁵ iu⁵³ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ li uɛ li yo²¹

1SG will eat DIAO PFV DIAO PFV medicine

'I will take the medicine.'

(26) 我 想 洗 滑/ *哩/ *滑哩 鞋。

uo³⁵ ɕiõ⁵³ ɕi⁵³ uɛ li uɛ li hai¹³

1SG want wash DIAO PFV DIAO PFV shoes

'I want to wash shoes.'

The use of *uɛ* 滑 in irrealis situations is lexically selective; it usually follows verbs of *consumption*, *removal* or *disappearance*, other than verbs of *attainment* or *occurrence*, and indicates the consumption, removal or disappearance of the entity expressed by the object, normally the patient of the action, as shown by the contrast of 剝 'take off' and 著 'take on' in (27) and 關 'turn off' and 開 'turn on' in (28). In this sense, it is easy to conclude that *uɛ* 滑 resembles the resultative complement *diào* 掉 'away, off' in Modern Standard Chinese.

(27) a. 把 衫服 剝 滑！

pa⁵³ sã⁴⁴fu po⁵³ uɛ

BA clothes take off DIAO

'Take off the clothes.'

b. 把 衫服 著 *滑/ 起！

pa⁵³ sã⁴⁴fu tio⁴⁴ uɛ ɕi⁵³

BA clothes put on DIAO COMP

Intended meaning: 'Put on the clothes.'

(28)　a.　關　　滑　　電視！

　　　　kuã⁴⁴　uɛ　　tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹

　　　　close　DIAO　television

　　　　'Turn off the television.'

　　b.　開　　*滑/　起　　電視！

　　　　kʰœ⁴⁴　uɛ　　ɕi⁵³　tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹

　　　　open　DIAO　COMP　television

　　　　Intended meaning: 'Turn on the television.'

Even when *uɛ* 滑 is attached to verbs of attainment, it still denotes a meaning of loss or removal of an entity from its original state, such as 買 'buy' in sentence (29)b and 著 'take on' in sentence (30)b. In such cases, *uɛ* 滑 is similar to the resultative complement *zǒu* 走 'away' in Modern Standard Chinese.

(29)　a.　賣　　滑　　固　　隻　　豬！

　　　　mai²¹　uɛ　　ku³⁵　la⁴⁴　tiu⁴⁴

　　　　sell　DIAO　DEM　CL　　pig

　　　　'Sell this pig.'

　　b.　買　　滑　　固　　隻　　豬！

　　　　mai⁵³　uɛ　　ku³⁵　la⁴⁴　tiu⁴⁴

　　　　buy　DIAO　DEM　CL　　pig

　　　　'Buy this pig.'

(30)　a.　剝　　　　滑　　固　　件　　衫！

　　　　po⁵³　　　　uɛ　　ku³⁵　tɕʰiẽ⁴⁴　sã⁴⁴

　　　　take off　　DIAO　DEM　CL　　coat

‘Take off this coat.’

b.　著　　滑　　固　　件　　衫！

tio⁴⁴　　uɛ　　ku³⁵　　tɕʰiẽ⁴⁴ sã⁴⁴

put on DIAO　DEM　CL　　coat

‘Put on this coat.’

However, the applicability of *uɛ* 滑 in Lianhua Gan is not restricted to such verbs. It can also be used after some verbs of creation or attainment, where the resultative complement *diào* 掉 in Modern Standard Chinese cannot occur. In such cases, *uɛ* 滑 is oriented towards the phase of the action expressed by the preceding main verb, which may correspond to the resultative complement *wán* 完 in Modern Standard Chinese. For example, in sentences (31) - (33), in which the former sentences (a) are Lianhua Gan and sentences (b) are Modern Standard Chinese. The predicate verbs in these three sets of sentences, 寫 ‘write’, 領 ‘collect’ and 娶 ‘marry’, are verbs of creation and attainment. It is obvious that *uɛ* 滑 in Lianhua Gan corresponds to *wán* 完 ‘finish’ in Modern Standard Chinese rather than *diào* 掉.

(31)　a.　快　　　　寫　　滑　　論文。

kʰuai²¹　　　ɕia⁵³　　uɛ　　lẽ²¹uẽ¹³

quickly　　　write　DIAO　thesis

‘Finish the thesis quickly.’

　　　b.　快　　　　寫　　*掉/　完　　論文。

kuai　　　　xie　　diao　wan　　lunwen

quickly　　　write　COMP　COMP　thesis

‘Finish the thesis quickly.’

(32)　a.　明暝　　　　去　　領　　　　滑　　工錢。

miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　　kʰɛ²¹　lĩ⁵³　　　　uɛ　　kuŋ⁴⁴tɕʰiẽ¹³

          tomorrow   go   collect   DIAO   salary

          'Go to collect the salary tomorrow.'

b.   明天   去   領   *掉/ 完   工錢。

     mingtian   qu   ling   diao wan gongqian

     tomorrow   go   collect   COMP COMP salary

     'Go to collect the salary tomorrow.'

(33) a.   明年   要   討 滑   老婆。

     miɛ̃^{13}iɛ̃   iao^{21} hao^{53} uɛ   lao^{53}po

     next year   should   marry DIAO wife

     '(You) should marry a wife next year.'

b.   明年   要   娶 *掉/ 完   老婆。

     mingnian   yao   qu   diao wan laopo

     next year   should   marry comp comp wife

     '(You) should marry a wife next year.'

To summarize, only *uɛ* 滑 can appear in irrealis situations that function as a resultative complement; the resultative meanings can either be the affectedness or the completion of the action. In realis situations, the selection of *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 depends on the syntactic and semantic properties of the predicate, including the main verb, the argument and the complement, which will be discussed next. In addition, certain sentence patterns, such as disposal sentences, passive sentences, patient-subject sentences and locative inversion sentences, also make a difference in the selection of perfective aspectual markers.

4.3.2 Quantified vs. Non-quantified Events

The quantificational feature of the event plays an important role in the selection of perfective aspectual markers in Lianhua Gan. When there is a quantified phrase, either serving as the object or the complement, both *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 can be used but *uɛ li* 滑哩

cannot. For example, 兩碗飯 'two bowls of rice' in sentence (34) is the object of the predicate; 兩個小時 'two hours' in sentence (35) is the complement that describes the temporal duration of the event; 兩次 'twice' in sentence (36) is the complement that measures the frequence of the event; *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 are allowed in these sentences, but not *uɛ li* 滑哩.

(34)　我　　喫　　滑/　　哩/　　*滑哩　　　兩　　碗　　飯。

uo³⁵　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　uɛ li　　　liɔ̃⁵³　uã⁵³　fã²¹

I　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　DIAO PFV　NUM　CL　　rice

'I ate two bowls of rice.'

(35)　我　　喫　　滑/　　哩/　　*滑哩　　　兩　　個　　小時。

uo³⁵　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　uɛ li　　　liɔ̃⁵³　ko²¹　ɕiao⁵³sɹ¹³

I　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　DIAO PFV　NUM　CL　　hour

'I ate for two hours.'

(36)　我　　喫　　滑/　　哩/　　*滑哩　　　兩　　次。

uo³⁵　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　　uɛ li　　　liɔ̃⁵³　tsʰɹ²¹

I　　eat　　DIAO　PFV　DIAO PFV　NUM　CL

'I ate two times.'

The semantic function of *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 in quantified sentences differ slightly; quantified sentences with *li* 哩 simply report the objective quantity of the event, but those with *uɛ* 滑 express the speaker's subjective evaluation of the quantity, which is considered to be (too) large. For this reason, the former cannot be quantified by the adverb *only*, as illustrated by sentence (37), nor can *uɛ* 滑 co-occur with a quantified phrase denoting a very small amount, as shown by sentence (38).

(37)　我　　只　　喫　　*滑/　哩　　兩　　碗　　飯。

uo³⁵ pʰi³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ li liɔ̃⁵³ uã⁵³ fã²¹

I only eat DIAO PFV NUM CL rice

Intended meaning: 'I only ate two bowls of rice.'

(38) 我 喫 *滑/ 哩 一巴哩。

uo³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ li iɛ⁴⁴pa li

I eat DIAO PFV DIM

Intended meaning: 'I only ate a little.'

For the perfectivity of non-quantified events, only *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be used,

excluding *uɛ* 滑, as shown by sentence (39), because non-quantified sentences with *uɛ* 滑

cannot stand alone due to the incompleteness effect, which has also been observed in the

verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese. This incompleteness effect can be eliminated

through various strategies of tense anchoring (Tang & Lee, 2000; Tsai, 2008). The addition

of quantified elements is one of the solutions. Further, the addition of temporal adverbs, such

as the sentence-final 正 'first' in sentence (40) and the preverbal 正 'just' in sentence (41),

can also help *uɛ* 滑 to achieve tense anchoring, thus cancelling the incompleteness effect.

(39) 我 喫 *滑/ 哩/ 滑哩 飯。

uo³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ li uɛ li fã²¹

I eat DIAO PFV DIAO PFV rice

Intended meaning: 'I had a meal.'

(40) 我 喫 滑 飯 正。

uo³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ fã²¹ tɕiã²¹

I eat DIAO rice ADV

'Let me have a meal first.'

(41) 我 正 喫 滑 飯。

uo³⁵   tɕiã²¹ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ   fã²¹

I   ADV   eat   DIAO   rice

'I just finished meal.'

It should be noted that 正 in Lianhua Gan has two uses: the temporal adverbial

corresponding to 剛剛 'just' and the temporal noun 剛才 'just now' in Modern Standard

Chinese. In non-quantified sentences with the temporal adverbial 正, only *uɛ* 滑 can be used

but not *li* 哩 or *uɛ li* 滑哩; in those with the temporal noun 正, *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be

used but not *uɛ* 滑, as exemplified by the two sentences in (42), respectively.

(42) a.   我   正   喫   滑/   *哩/   *滑哩   飯。

           uo³⁵   tɕiã²¹ tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ   li   uɛ li   fã²¹

           I   just   eat   DIAO PFV   DIAO PFV   rice

           'I just finished meal.'

      b.   我   正   喫   *滑/   哩/   滑哩   飯。

           uo³⁵   tɕiã²¹   tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ   li   uɛ li   fã²¹

           I   just now   eat   DIAO PFV DIAO PFV   rice

           'I had a meal just now.'

Based on the above investigation, it is proper to argue that *uɛ* 滑 in quantified sentences

functions as an independent aspectual marker. This can be supported by three pieces of

evidence. First, quantified sentences with *uɛ* 滑, which express the completion of the event

with a certain quantity, are complete and grammatical. Second, while *uɛ li* 滑哩 cannot co-

occur with quantified elements, 'resultative compounds + *li* 哩' can express the perfectivity

of quantified events, as shown by sentences (43) and (44). This indicates that *uɛ* 滑 is not a

resultative complement or a phase complement when used in quantified situations.

(43) 我   喫   完   哩   兩   碗   飯。

uo³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ fã¹³ li liɔ̃⁵³ uã⁵³ fã²¹

I eat COMP PFV NUM CL rice

'I ate up two bowls of rice.'

(44) 我　　喫　　滿　　哩　　兩　　個　　小時。

uo³⁵ tɕʰia⁴⁴ mɔ̃⁵³ li liɔ̃⁵³ ko²¹ ɕiao⁵³sʅ¹³

I eat COMP PFV NUM CL hour

'I spent two hours on eating.'

Third, the restriction that *uɛ* 滑 is lexically selective in irrealis situations disappears when it is used in the perfectivity of quantified events. As sentences (45)-(47) show, 開 'turn on', 著 'put on' and 留 'keep' cannot take *uɛ* 滑 in imperatives but they can take *uɛ* 滑 to express the perfectivity of quantified events.

(45) a. *開　滑　電視！

kʰœ⁴⁴ uɛ tʰiẽ²¹sʅ²¹

open DIAO television

Intended meaning: 'Turn on the television.'

b. 渠　開　滑　三　次　電視。

tɕi⁵³ kʰœ⁴⁴ uɛ sã⁴⁴ tsʰʅ²¹ tʰiẽ²¹sʅ²¹

3SG open DIAO NUM CL television

'He turned on the television three times.'

(46) a. *把　衫服　　著　滑！

pa⁵³ sã⁴⁴fu tio⁴⁴ uɛ

BA clothes wear DIAO

Intended meaning: 'Put on the clothes.'

b. 渠　著　滑　兩　件　衫服。

tɕi⁵³　tio⁴⁴　uɛ　liɔ̃⁵³　tɕʰiɛ̃⁴⁴ sã⁴⁴fu

3SG　wear　DIAO　NUM　CL　clothes

'He wore two pieces of clothing.'

(47)　a.　*留　滑　個　工資。

liu¹³　uɛ　ko　kuŋ⁴⁴tsɿ⁴⁴

keep　DIAO　DEF　salary

Intended meaning: 'Keep the salary.'

　　b.　我　留　滑　兩　個　月　個　工資　　得　你。

uo³⁵　liu¹³　uɛ　liɔ̃⁵³　ko²¹　yɛ²¹　ko　kuŋ⁴⁴tsɿ⁴⁴　tɛ⁴⁴　ĩ³⁵

1SG　keep　DIAO　NUM　CL　month ATTR　salary　　DAT　2SG

'I kept two months' salary for you.'

In fact, quantified events are expressed by quantified accomplishments. Therefore, accomplishments and non-accomplishments in Lianhua Gan interact with perfective aspectual markers in different ways.

4.3.3 Verb Types

As examined above, in realis situations with no quantified phrases, only *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be used. The selection of *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 largely depends on the semantic properties of the predicate verb, including the temporal structure and the affectedness of the action, which were proposed to add to classificatory system of verbs in Chapter 4.2. These two semantic features of verbs can be integrated to classify dynamic verbs into four types: affected achievement verbs, non-affected achievement verbs, non-affected activity verbs, and potentially affected activity verbs.

4.3.3.1 Affected Achievements

The perfectivity of affected achievements can only be expressed by *uɛ li* 滑哩, and *li* 哩

cannot be attached to this type of dynamic verbs. However, it should be noted that affected achievements in irrealis situations also require the use of *uɛ* 滑. This may be due to the fact that the affectedness of the internal argument must be explicitly expressed and thus overtly marked *uɛ* 滑. As the result of the action is inherent in the lexical meaning of achievements, *uɛ* 滑 is then obligatorily used for affected achievement verbs.

(48) a. 雞　　　死　　滑哩/　　*哩。

　　　　tɕi⁴⁴　　sʅ⁵³　uɛ li　　　li

　　　　chicken　die　DIAO PFV　PFV

　　　　'The chicken died.'

　　b. 雞　　　有　　死　　滑　　個。

　　　　tɕi⁴⁴　　iu⁵³　sʅ⁵³　uɛ　　ko⁵³

　　　　chicken　will　die　DIAO　SFP

　　　　'The chicken will die.'

(49) a. 繩　　斷　　滑哩/　　*哩。

　　　　sɛ̃¹³　hɔ̃²¹　uɛ li　　　li

　　　　string　break　DIAO PFV　　PFV

　　　　'The string broke.'

　　b. 繩　　有　　斷　　滑　　個。

　　　　sɛ̃¹³　iu⁵³　hɔ̃²¹　uɛ　　ko⁵³

　　　　string　will　break　DIAO　SFP

　　　　'The string will break.'

4.3.3.2 Non-affected Achievements

Contrasted with affected achievements, the perfectivity of non-affected achievements can only be expressed by *li* 哩 but not *uɛ li* 滑哩. This confirms that the function of *uɛ* 滑

after affected achievements is to mark the affectedness of the internal argument. Therefore, the perfectivity of non-affected achievements denoting obtainment, such as 得 'obtain' in sentence (50), or those denoting movement, such as 到 'arrive' in sentence (51) and 去 'leave' in sentence (52), is simply expressed by *li* 哩 rather than *uɛ li* 滑哩.

(50)　渠　　得　　哩/　*滑哩　　　　獎。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　tɛ⁴⁴　li　　　uɛ li　　　tɕiɔ̃⁵³

　　　　3SG　get　PFV　DIAO PFV　prize

　　　　'He got the prize.'

(51)　渠　　到　　哩/　*滑哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　tao²¹　li　　　uɛ li

　　　　3SG　arrive　PFV　DIAO PFV

　　　　'He arrived.'

　　The contrast between affected achievements and non-affected achievement can be seen from the comparison of sentences (52) and (53), where the verb 去 expresses different meanings: 'to go' and 'to leave' respectively. Different perfective aspectual markers are required based on the lexical meaning of the verb 去. When it means 'to go' as a non-affected achievement verb in sentence (52), only *li* 哩 is allowed to express the perfectivity; when it means 'to leave' as an affected achievement verb in sentence (53), indicating the departure of the subject that causes a meaning of disappearance, only *uɛ li* 滑哩 is allowed for the perfectivity.

(52)　渠　　去　　哩/　*滑哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　kʰɛ²¹　li　　　uɛ li

　　　　3SG　go　PFV　DIAO PFV

　　　　'He went (to someplace).'

(53)　　渠　　去　　　*哩/　滑哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　kʰɛ²¹　li　　uɛ li

　　　　3SG　leave　PFV　DIAO PFV

　　　　'He left.'

Another piece of evidence for the contrast between affected achievements and non-affected achievements is that the non-affected achievement verb 贏 'win' can be followed by *li* 哩 or by *uɛ li* 滑哩 in different contexts, as shown by the first two sentences in (54). In sentence (54)b, *uɛ li* 滑哩 also indicates the meaning of affectedness, only the real suffering participant is not the subject and does not appear in the surface structure of the sentence. Sentence (54)c is an example to show that the real suffering object is 我個錢 'my money'; the affectedness can be interpreted as 'my money was away from me'.

(54)　a.　　渠　　贏　　哩。

　　　　　　tɕi⁵³　iã¹³　li

　　　　　　3SG　win　PFV

　　　　　　'He won.'

　　　b.　　渠　　贏　　滑　　哩。

　　　　　　tɕi⁵³　iã¹³　uɛ　　li

　　　　　　3SG　win　DIAO　PFV

　　　　　　'He won something. / He beats someone.'

　　　c.　　我　　個　　錢　　　　得　　渠　　贏　　滑　　哩。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　ko　　tɕʰiɛ̃¹³　　tɛ⁴⁴　tɕi⁵³　iã¹³　uɛ　　li

　　　　　　1SG　POSS　money　　PASS　3SG　win　DIAO　PFV

　　　　　　'My money was won by him.'

Therefore, it can be concluded that, for the perfectivity of achievement verbs, affected

achievement verbs take *uɛ li* 滑哩, and non-affected achievement verbs take *li* 哩. In addition to dynamic verbs, adjectives, resultative verb compounds and directional verb compounds are also achievements. They interact with the perfective aspect in a way similar to achievement verbs with slight differences, which will be discussed next.

Adjectives

Most adjectival predicates take *li* 哩, rather than *uɛ li* 滑哩, to express the achievement of a change of state. These adjectives also appear in the structure of '太 'too' +ADJ+ *uɛ li* 滑哩', which expresses the subjective evaluation denoting the excessive degree of the state, and the degree adverb 太 'too' cannot be omitted, as shown by sentences (55) - (57). This is the same case with '太 + ADJ + *le* 了' in Modern Standard Chinese.

(55) a. 西瓜   熟   哩/   *滑哩。

ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴   ɕio²¹ li   uɛ li

watermelon   ripe   PFV   DIAO PFV

'The watermelon got ripe.'

  b. 西瓜   太   熟   滑   哩。

ɕi⁴⁴kua⁴⁴   hɛ⁴⁴ ɕio²¹ uɛ   li

watermelon   too   ripe   DIAO PFV

'The watermelon is too ripe.'

(56) a. 燈泡   光   哩/   *滑哩。

tẽ⁴⁴pao   kuɔ̃⁴⁴   li   uɛ li

bulb   lighten   PFV   DIAO PFV

'The bulb got lightened.'

  b. 燈泡   太   光   滑   哩。

tẽ⁴⁴pao   hɛ⁴⁴ kuɔ̃⁴⁴ uɛ   li

bulb　　　　too　　bright DIAO　PFV

'The bulb is too bright.'

(57)　a.　水　　滚　　哩/　　*滑哩。

ɕy⁵³　　kuẽ⁵³　　uɛ　　uɛ li

water　hot　　PFV　　DIAO PFV

'The water got hot.'

　　b.　水　　太　　滚　　滑　　哩。

ɕy⁵³　　hɛ⁴⁴　　kuẽ⁵³　　uɛ　　　li

water　too　　hot　　DIAO　PFV

'The water is too boiled.'

However, some adjectives can take either *li* 哩 or *uɛ li* 滑哩, indicating the achievement of the property expressed by the adjective, as shown by 白 'white' and 暗 'dark' in sentences (58) and (59). Compared to 'ADJ + *li* 哩', 'ADJ + *uɛ li* 滑哩' adds a meaning of the complete achievement of a certain property. This is due to the fact that different degrees of the property denoted by the adjective form a scale, and *uɛ li* 滑哩 indicates the achievement of the full scale of this property. This is an extension of the completion meaning when *uɛ li* 滑哩 follows an activity verb, which is introduced below.

(58)　頭發　　　　白　　哩/　　滑哩。

hœ¹³uo　　　　pʰɛ²¹　　li　　　uɛ li

hair　　　　　white　PFV　　DIAO PFV

'The hair turned grey (completely).'

(59)　天　　暗　　哩/　　滑哩。

tʰiẽ⁴⁴　　ɔ̃²¹　　li　　　uɛ

sky　　dark　　PFV　　DIAO PFV

'It got dark (completely).'

Some adjectives can only be followed by *uɛ li* 滑哩, and they express an unexpected or

undesirable meaning that the state exceeds the standard or the expectation, as shown by

sentences (60) and (61). It is the subjective evaluation by the speaker, rather than the dynamic

change of state. In these cases, the degree adverb 太 'too' can appear optionally without

influencing the grammaticality and meaning of the sentence. The excessive meaning should

be an extension of the complete achievement meaning.

(60) 我　　個　　褲　　　　長　　滑哩/　　　*哩。

uo³⁵　ko　fu²¹　　　tsʰɔ̃¹³　uɛ li　　　li

1SG　POSS　trousers　long　DIAO PFV　PFV

'My trousers are too long.'

(61) 菜　　咸　　滑哩/　　　*哩。

tsʰœ²¹ hã¹³　uɛ li　　　li

dish　salty　DIAO PFV　PFV

'The dish is too salty.'

In summary, attaining a change of state is usually expressed by "ADJ + *li* 哩", and the

emphasis of the complete attainment of a change of state is expressed by "ADJ + *uɛ li* 滑哩".

The meaning of completeness or totality expressed by "ADJ + *uɛ li* 滑哩" yields the meaning

of excessiveness.

Resultative Verb Compounds

The perfectivity of resultative compounds normally employs *li* 哩 after the resultative

complement. Theoretically speaking, resultative compounds cannot take *uɛ li* 滑哩, since *uɛ*

滑 occupies the same syntactic position as the complement. For, example,

(62) a.　手機　　　跌　　爛　　哩。

sœ⁵³tɕi   tiɛ⁵³   lã²¹   li

cellphone   drop   COMP   PFV

'The cellphone was broken.'

b.   手機   跌   滑   哩。

sœ⁵³tɕi   tiɛ⁵³   uɛ   li

cellphone   drop   DIAO   PFV

'The cellphone was missing.'

c.   *手機   跌   爛   滑   哩。

sœ⁵³tɕi   tiɛ⁵³   lã²¹   uɛ   li

cellphone   drop   COMP   DIAO   PFV

Intended meaning: 'The mobile phone was broken.'

However, it has been found in Lianhua Gan that some resultative compounds can take *uɛ li* 滑哩. There are different situations; some resultative compounds can either take *li* 哩 or *uɛ li* 滑哩, causing no obvious semantic differences, such as the resultative compounds 印反 and 喫醉 in sentences (63) and (64). However, it should be noted that the addition of *uɛ li* 滑哩 brings an undesirable meaning due to the affectedness carried by *uɛ* 滑. This can be compared with those resultative compounds carring positive meanings which cannot take *uɛ li* 滑哩, as shown by the contrast between the resultative compounds 算對 and 算錯 in (65).

(63)   身份證   印   反   哩/   滑哩。

sɛ̃⁴⁴fɛ̃⁵³tsɛ̃²¹   ĩ²¹   fã⁵³   li   uɛ li

identity card   print   COMP   PFV   DIAO PFV

'The identity card was printed into an inverted image.'

(64)   渠   喫   醉   哩/   滑哩。

tɕi⁵³   tɕʰia⁴⁴   tɕiu²¹   li   uɛ li

3SG	eat	COMP	PFV	DIAO	PFV

'He got drunk.'

(65) a.

個	賬	算	錯	哩/	滑哩。
ko	tsɔ̃²¹	sɔ̃²¹	tsʰao²¹ li		uɛ li
DEF	account	calculate	COMP	PFV	DIAO PFV

'The account was miscalculated.'

b.

個	賬	算	對	哩/	*滑哩。
ko	tsɔ̃²¹	sɔ̃²¹	tœ²¹	li	uɛ li
DEF	account	calculate	COMP	PFV	DIAO PFV

'The account was calculated in the right way.'

Some resultative compounds can take *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 to express different meanings. The addition of *li* 哩 means 'become A-er', while the use of *uɛ li* 滑哩 means 'too A' with an undesirable meaning of excessiveness, usually exceeding the expectation, as shown by sentences (66) - (70).

(66) a.

褲	剪	短	哩。
fu²¹	tɕiẽ⁵³	tɔ̃⁵³	li
trousers	cut	COMP	PFV

'The trousers got shorter.'

b.

褲	剪	短	滑	哩。
fu²¹	tɕiẽ⁵³	tɔ̃⁵³	uɛ	li
trousers	cut	COMP	DIAO	PFV

'The trousers are too short.'

(67) a.

菜	燒	咸	哩。
tsʰœ²¹	ao⁴⁴	hã¹³	li

dish cook salty PFV

'The dish got saltier.'

b.　菜　　燒　　咸　　滑　　哩。

tsʰœ²¹ ao⁴⁴ hã¹³ uɛ li

dish cook salty DIAO PFV

'The dish is too salty.'

(68) a.　渠　行　快　　　哩。

tɕi⁵³ hẽ¹³ kʰuai²¹ li

3SG walk COMP PFV

'He walked faster.'

b.　渠　　行　　快　　滑　　哩。

tɕi⁵³ hẽ¹³ kʰuai²¹uɛ li

3SG walk COMP DIAO PFV

'He walked too fast.'

(69) a.　圍墻　　　砌　　高　　哩。

uœ¹³ɕiɔ̃ ɕi⁵³ kao⁴⁴ li

wall build COMP PFV

'The wall got higher.'

b.　圍墻　　　砌　　高　　滑　　哩。

uœ¹³ɕiɔ̃ ɕi⁵³ kao⁴⁴ uɛ li

wall b uild COMP DIAO PFV

'The wall is too high.'

(70) a.　固　個　眼　挖　深　　哩。

ku³⁵ ko²¹ ã⁵³ uai⁴⁴ sẽ³⁵ li

DEM CL hole dig deep PFV

'The hole got deeper.'

b.　固　　個　　眼　　挖　　深　　滑　　哩。

ku³⁵　ko²¹　ã⁵³　uai⁴⁴　sẽ³⁵　uɛ　li

DEM　CL　hole　dig　deep　DIAO　PFV

'The hole is too deep.'

It should be noted that when marked by *li* 哩, the meaning of the resultative compound

cannot contradict the meaning of 'become A-er' in the real world. For example, 挖淺 in

sentence (71)a cannot take *li* 哩 because a hole cannot get shallower while digging. But there

is no such restriction for the use of *uɛ li* 滑哩, as shown by sentence (71)b.

(71)　a.　固　　個　　眼　　挖　　淺　　　　　*哩。

　　ku³⁵　ko²¹　ã⁵³　uai⁴⁴　tɕʰiẽ⁵³　　li

　　DEM　CL　hole　dig　shallow　　PFV

　　Intended meaning: 'The hole got shallower.'

　　b.　固　　個　　眼　　挖　　淺　　　　　滑哩。

　　ku³⁵　ko²¹　ã⁵³　uai⁴⁴　tɕʰiẽ⁵³　　uɛ li

　　DEM　CL　hole　dig　shallow　　DIAO PFV

　　'The hole got too shallow.'

It is also found that some resultative compounds can only take *uɛ li* 滑哩, thus

expressing the attainment of unexpected or undesirable resultant states, as exemplified by

sentences (72) - (75). These resultant states are usually caused uncontrollably or unwillingly

by the subject/agent. This is why they cannot take *li* 哩, which indicates a change of state or

'become A-er', as people generally do not produce these undesirable resultant states.

(72)　渠　　讀　　書　　讀　　蠢　　滑哩/　　　*哩。

　　tɕi⁵³　ho²¹　ɕy⁴⁴　ho²¹　tɕʰyẽ⁵³uɛ li　　　li

3SG   study book study silly DIAO PFV   PFV

'He got silly as a result of attending school.'

(73) 我   個   腳骨   坐   麻   滑哩/   *哩。

uo³⁵   ko   tɕio⁴⁴kuai   tsʰo²¹ ma¹³ uɛ li   li

1SG   POSS leg   sit   numb DIAO PFV   PFV

'My legs are numb.'

(74) 渠   固   兩   年   長   慫   滑哩/   *哩。

tɕi⁵³   ku³⁵   liɔ̃⁵³ iẽ¹³ tiɔ̃⁵³ səŋ¹³ uɛ li   li

3SG   DEM   NUM   year grow ugly DIAO PFV   PFV

'He became ugly in the last two years.'

(75) 渠   個   眼珠 叫   腫   滑哩/   *哩。

tɕi⁵³   ko   ã⁵³tɕy tɕiao²¹ tɕyŋ⁵³   uɛ li   li

3SG   POSS eye   cry   swollen   DIAO PFV   PFV

'His eyes got swollen.'

In summary, generally speaking, resultative compounds cannot take *uɛ li* 滑哩, as *uɛ* 滑 occupies the same syntactic position with the resultative complement. However, in some cases, *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be used. When the resultative compounds take *li* 哩 to express the perfective aspect, it usually expresses the achievement of a change of state or the meaning of 'become A-er'. When the resultative compounds take *uɛ li* 滑哩, it can indicate an excessiveness of the degree of the property or state, or the complete achievement of a change of state, or the attainment of undesirable resultant states. It can be seen that the perfective meaning marked by *li* 哩 is more objective, while the one marked by *uɛ li* 滑哩 carries some quantificational and subjective meanings.

Directional Compounds

In contrast to resultative verb compounds, the perfectivity of directional verb compounds is expressed by inserting *li* 哩 or *uɛ* 滑 after the main verb and adding *li* 哩 after the directional compounds, as shown by sentences (76) - (78).

(76)　渠　　行　　哩/　　滑　　去　　哩。

　　　tɕi⁵³　hẽ¹³　li　　uɛ　　kʰɛ²¹　li

　　　3SG　walk　PFV　DIAO　DIR　PFV

　　　'He has walked away.'

(77)　東西　　　　提　　滑/　哩　　上去　　　　哩。

　　　təŋ⁴⁴ɕi⁴⁴　　tʰia¹³　uɛ　　li　　sɔ̃³⁵kʰɛ⁵³　　li

　　　stuff　　　　lift　　DIAO　PFV　DIR　　　　PFV

　　　'The stuff has been taken upstairs.'

(78)　鎖匙　　　　丟　　哩/　滑　　下去　　　哩。

　　　so⁵³sɿ tiu⁴⁴　li　　uɛ　　ha²¹kʰɛ⁵³　　li

　　　key　　　　throw PFV　DIAO　DIR　　　　PFV

　　　'The key has been thrown down.'

There are some restrictions on the selection of *li* 哩 and *uɛ* 滑 after the main verb. The use of *li* 哩 and *uɛ* 滑 depends on whether the motion is desirable to the speaker or relevant participants, which is related to the disappearance or removal of a participant due to the motion. If the motion is undesirable, then *uɛ* 滑 is used; if the motion is desirable, then *li* 哩 is used. In other words, the use of *uɛ* 滑 indicates the meaning of affectedness. Since the motion expressed by sentences (76) - (78), although it is controllable by the agent, can be either desirable or undesirable depending on the context, both *li* 哩 and *uɛ* 滑 can be used. However, in sentences (79) and (80), the motion is controllable by the subject but is undesirable to the speaker or relevant participants, *uɛ* 滑 is used instead of *li* 哩. Moreover, in

sentences (81) and (82), the motion is neither controllable nor desirable, thus *uɛ* 滑 is used

instead of *li* 哩.

(79)　渠　　走　　滑　　去　　哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　tsœ⁵³　uɛ　　kʰɛ²¹　li

　　　　3SG　　run　　DIAO　DIR　　PFV

　　　　'He has run away.'

(80)　鴿子　　　　飛　　滑　　去　　（滑）　　哩。

　　　　ko⁴⁴tsɿ　　ɕy⁴⁴　uɛ　　kʰɛ²¹　　uɛ　　　li

　　　　pigeonfly　fly　　DIAO　DIR　　DIAO　　PFV

　　　　'The pigeon flew away.'

(81)　手機　　　　跌　　滑　　下去　　　哩。

　　　　sœ⁵³tɕi　　tiɛ⁵³　uɛ　　ha²¹kʰɛ⁵³　li

　　　　cellphone　drop　DIAO　DIR　　　　PFV

　　　　'The cellphone was dropped.'

(82)　衫服　　　　吹　　滑/　*哩　去　　（滑）　　哩。

　　　　sã⁴⁴fu　　tɕʰy⁴⁴　uɛ　　li　kʰɛ²¹　　uɛ　　　li

　　　　clothes　　blow　DIAO　PFV　DIR　　DIAO　　PFV

　　　　'The clothes blew away.'

　　It can be concluded that *uɛ* 滑 after the main verb in the perfectivity of the directional verb

compounds can indicate the completion of the motion and the affectedness of the participant.

4.3.3.3 Affected Activity Verbs

　　Affected activity verbs are those for which the action can make the patient impaired or

disappear, such as 吃 'eat', 喝 'drink', 賣 'sell', 丟 'throw (away)' and 殺 'kill'. However,

the affectedness is not inherent in the lexical meaning of affected activity verbs. The

affectedness meaning can be but is not necessarily realized in the linguistic representation, making affected activity verbs interact with the perfective aspect in a different way from affected achievement verbs. In addition, the temporal structure of affected activity verbs also interacts with the perfective aspect. In general, the perfectivity of affected activity verbs can take either *li* 哩 or *uɛ li* 滑哩, depending on semantic requirements whether the meanings of completion or affectedness need to be expressed.

The suffixation of *li* 哩 expresses the realization or existence of a past event, with no concern over the affectedness of the internal argument or the phase of the action, as shown in sentence (83). It should be noted that the perfective sentences with a bare noun as the object, such as sentence (83), are complete sentences. This is different from Modern Standard Chinese, in which the corresponding sentences are incomplete, such as 他吃了藥. The addition of *uɛ li* 滑哩 expresses more grammatical meanings, including the affectedness of the action on the patient and the completion of an action. For example, sentence (83) asserts that the activity of taking medicine was actualized in the past; sentence (84) reports the completion of the activity of taking medicine; sentence (85) concentrates on the affectedness of the patient.

(83)　渠　　喫　　哩　　藥。

　　　tɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴ li　　yo²¹

　　　3SG　eat　　PFV　medicine

　　　'He took the medicine.'

(84)　渠　　喫　　滑　　哩　　藥。

　　　tɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ　　li　　yo²¹

　　　3SG　eat　　DIAO　PFV　medicine

　　　'He finished taking the medicine.'

(85)　渠　　把　　個　　藥　　　　喫　　滑　　哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　pa⁵³　ko　　yo²¹　　　tɕʰia⁴⁴ uɛ　li

　　　　3SG　　BA　　DEF　medicine　　eat　　DIAO　PFV

　　　　'He has taken the medicine.'

In fact, the meanings of completion and affectedness are related. On the one hand, the completion of an action expressed by affected activity verbs implies that the patient has been affected by the action; on the other hand, the affectedness of the patient implies the applicability of the action to the entire object and thus the completion of the action. However, the implied meanings generally stay in the background and are not the speaker's focus. Take sentences (84) and (85) as examples. Sentence (84) expresses that the activity of taking medicine has been completed and it also implies the medicine that the subject/agent took no longer exists at the same time; sentence (85) expresses the complete consumption of the medicine by using the disposal construction, and it also implies that the activity of taking medicine has been completed.

Therefore, the speaker selects different sentence patterns for different semantic and pragmatic needs. When there is a need to emphasize the affectedness of the patient, special sentence patterns, such as disposal sentences, passive sentences and patient-subject sentences, are used. In such cases, *uɛ li* 滑哩 must be used to express the perfectivity and to overtly mark the affectedness; *li* 哩 cannot be used in these sentences. For example, the three sentences in (86), which are the disposal sentence, passive sentence and patient-subject sentence respectively, express the affectedness of the patient 頭髮 'hair' by using *uɛ li* 滑哩 but not *li* 哩.

(86)　a.　　我　　把　　頭髮　　　剪　　滑哩/　　　　*哩。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　pa⁵³　hœ¹³uo²¹　tɕiɛ̃⁵³ uɛ li　　　li

　　　　　　1SG　　BA　　hair　　　cut　　DIAO PFV　　PFV

'I got my hair cut.'

b.　頭髮　　　得　　我　　剪　　滑哩/　　　*哩。

　　hœ¹³uo²¹　　tɛ⁴⁴　uo³⁵　tɕiẽ⁵³　uɛ li　　　li

　　hair　　　　PASS　1SG　cut　　DIAO PFV　　PFV

'My hair was cut by me.'

c.　我　　個　　頭髮　　　剪　　滑哩/　　　*哩。

　　uo³⁵　ko　　hœ¹³uo²¹　　tɕiẽ⁵³　uɛ li　　　li

　　1SG　POSS　hair　　　　cut　　DIAO PFV　　PFV

'My hair was cut.'

In contrast, the unmarked word order of SVO is preferred to simply report the phase of the action. In this case, *uɛ li* 滑哩 is used to indicate the completion of the activity; *li* 哩 can be used but only asserts the existence of the actualized event without indication of its phase, as shown by the two sentences in (87).

(87)　a.　我　　剪　　滑　　哩　　頭髮。

　　　　uo³⁵　tɕiẽ⁵³　uɛ　　li　　hœ¹³uo²¹

　　　　1SG　cut　　DIAO　PFV　　hair

'I finished haircutting.'

b.　我　　剪　　哩　　頭髮。

　　uo³⁵　tɕiẽ⁵³　li　　hœ¹³uo²¹

　　1SG　cut　　PFV　　hair

'I had haircutting.'

The realization meaning marked by *li* 哩 does not presuppose the achievement of the endpoint; thus, the non-completion meaning can be overtly expressed by a subsequent clause. However, the completion meaning marked by *uɛ li* 滑哩 cannot be cancelled. For example,

(88) a.　渠　喫　哩　藥，　　還　恁　喫　滑。

tɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴　li　yo²¹　　hai¹³　lẽ³⁵　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ

3SG　eat　PFV　medicine　still　NEG　eat　DIAO

'He took the medicine but has not finished.'

b.　*渠　喫　滑　哩　藥，　　還　恁　喫　滑。

tɕi⁵³　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　li　yo²¹　　hai¹³　lẽ³⁵　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ

3SG　eat　DIAO　PFV　medicine　still　NEG　eat　DIAO

Intended meaning: 'He took the medicine but has not finished.'

4.3.3.4 Non-affected Activity Verbs

Three types of non-affected activity verbs can be identified. One type is non-affected activity verbs of high transitivity. The perfectivity of this type is similar to that of the affected activity verbs in that both *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be used and *li* 哩 indicates the realization or existence of a past action. However, in contrast to affected activity verbs, the perfectivity of non-affected activity verbs marked by *uɛ li* 滑哩 can only indicate the completion of an action. It is the temporal feature of [+durative] that interacts with the perfective aspect. The contrast between the perfectivity of this type of non-activity verbs marked by *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 is illustrated by the four sets of sentences in (89) - (92). 看 in sentence (89) and 跑 in sentence (90) can be treated as incremental theme verbs with the completion of the action isomorphic to the applicability of the object. In other words, once the action has covered the entire object, then the action is completed. 租房 'renting a house' and 提水 'lifting water' in sentences (91) and (92) can be treated as event verbs representing events with a series of sub-events.

(89) a.　渠　看　哩　電視。

tɕi⁵³　kʰɔ²¹　li　tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹

3SG   watch PFV   television

'He watched TV.'

  b.   渠　　看　　滑　　哩　　電視。

tɕi⁵³   kʰɔ²¹   uɛ   li   tʰiẽ²¹sʅ²¹

3SG   watch DIAO   PFV   television

'He finished watching TV.'

(90) a.   渠　　跑　　哩　　步。

tɕi⁵³   pʰao²¹ li   pʰu²¹

3SG   run   PFV   step

'He ran.'

  b.   渠　　跑　　滑　　哩　　步。

tɕi⁵³   pʰao²¹ uɛ   li   pʰu²¹

3SG   run   DIAO   PFV   step

'He finished running.'

(91) a.   渠　　租　　哩　　房。

tɕi⁵³   tsu⁴⁴   li   fɔ̃¹³

3SG   rent   PFV   house

'He rented a house.'

  b.   渠　　租　　滑　　哩　　房。

tɕi⁵³   tsu⁴⁴   uɛ   li   fɔ̃¹³

3SG   rent   DIAO   PFV   house

'He finished renting a house.'

(92) a.   我　　提　　哩　　水。

uo³⁵   tʰia¹³   li   ɕy⁵³

1SG   lift   PFV   water

'I lifted water.'

b. 我　　提　　滑　　哩　　水。

uo³⁵　　tʰia¹³　　uɛ　　li　　ɕy⁵³

1SG　　lift　　DIAO　　PFV　　water

'I finished lifting water.'

The verbs 租 'rent' in sentence (91) and 提 'lift' in sentence (92) also belong to the second type of non-affected activity verbs, which are of low transitivity and of strong stativity, concerning the continuous state that causes no change to the patient. Such situations are only compatible with *li* 哩 and express the resultant state generated upon the realization of the event.

(93) 渠　　在　　市裡　　租　　哩/　　*滑哩　　房。

tɕi⁵³　　tsʰœ⁴⁴　　sɿ²¹li　　tsu⁴⁴　　li　　uɛ li　　fɔ̃¹³

3SG　　at　　city-LOC　　rent　　PFV　　DIAO PFV　　house

'He rented a house in the city.'

(94) 我　　手裡　　提　　哩/　　*滑哩　　水桶。

uo³⁵　　sœ⁵³-li　　tʰia¹³　　li　　uɛ li　　ɕy⁵³hən⁵³

1SG　　hand-LOC　　lift　　PFV　　DIAO PFV　　bucket

'I lifted a bucket in my hand.'

This can explain why the perfectivity of locative inversion sentences that describes the resultant state of entities at a particular location site is only compatible with the realization meaning of *li* 哩. The location serving as the subject and the topic cannot initiate a completed action, making *uɛ li* 滑哩 incompatible with locative inversion sentences irrespective of the verb type. In addition, the function of the locative inversion sentences is not to report the progress of a specific event but to describe stative characteristics to provide background

information.

(95)　門上　　　背　哩/　*滑哩　　　對。

　　　mẽ¹³lɔ̃　　pœ²¹　li　uɛ li　　　tœ³⁵

　　　door-LOC　paste　PFV　DIAO PFV　couplet

　　　'Couplets were put on the door.'

(96)　門前　　　停　哩/　*滑哩　　　車。

　　　mẽ¹³tɕʰĩẽ　tʰĩ¹³　li　uɛ li　　　tsʰa⁴⁴

　　　door-LOC　park　PFV　DIAO PFV　car

　　　'A car was parked at the front of gate.'

　　　The third type is non-affected semelfactive verbs. The perfectivity of this kind can only be expressed by *li* 哩 but not *uɛ li* 滑哩, as shown by the first sentences in (97) and (98), which is due to the semantic feature of [-durative]. The action expressed by these verbs may exert some influence on or even damage the patient, but such resultant states are not the affectedness of an action defined in Chapter 4.2, and they should be expressed by specific resultative complements, as shown by the second sentences in (97) and (98).

(97)　a.　渠　打　哩/　*滑哩　　　人。

　　　　　tɕi⁵³　ta⁵³　li　uɛ li　　　ĩ¹³

　　　　　3SG　beat　PFV　DIAO PFV　people

　　　　　'He beat people.'

　　b.　渠　把　別個　　　打　拉　哩。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　pa⁵³　pʰiɛ²¹ko²¹　ta⁵³　la　li

　　　　3SG　BA　others　　　beat　COMP　PFV

　　　　'Do not beat others to death.'

(98)　a.　渠　踩　哩/　*滑哩　　　我。

　　　　　tɕi⁵³　tsʰai⁵³　li　uɛ li　　　uo³⁵

    3SG   step   PFV   DIAO PFV   1SG

    'He stepped on me.'

    b.   渠   把   我   個   鞋   踩   污   哩。

    tɕi⁵³   pa⁵³   uo³⁵   ko   hai¹³   tsʰai⁵³   u   li

    3SG   BA   1SG   POSS   shoe   step   COMP   PFV

    'He tracked up my shoe.'

Under normal circumstances, the perfectivity of semelfactives can only be expressed by *li* 哩 because semelfactives are non-durative and the action usually does not exert any affectedness on the patient. However, semelfactives can be coerced into activities, as the repetition of single actions forms a durative activity. In this case, the perfectivity of semelfactives can be marked by *uɛ li* 滑哩. Semelfactives are thus not singled out from activities in this study. For example,

(99)   渠   眨   哩/   滑哩   眼珠。

    tɕi⁵³   tsa⁵³   li   uɛ li   ã⁵³tɕy

    3SG   blink   PFV   DIAO PFV   eye

    'He blinked. /He finished blinking.'

(100)   渠   敲   哩/   滑哩   門。

    tɕi⁵³   tɕʰiao⁴⁴   li   uɛ li   mẽ¹³

    3SG   knock   PFV   DIAO PFV   door

    'He knocked on the door. /He finished knocking on the door.'

(101)   渠   咳   哩/   滑哩。

    tɕi⁵³   kʰẽ⁵³   li   uɛ li

    3SG   cough   PFV   DIAO PFV

    'He coughed. /He finished coughing.'

In summary, for the perfectivity of activity verbs, *li* 哩 is used to report the existence of actualized events in the past; *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be used to express the completion of an action or the affectedness of an action caused to the patient. This can also be considered the other way around: when the speaker simply reports the existence of an actualized event, *li* 哩 is used; when the speaker needs to express the completion meaning or the affectedness meaning, then *uɛ li* 滑哩 is used.

4.4 Syntactic Nature and Grammatical Meanings of *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩

The syntactic nature and the grammatical meanings of the perfective-related forms in Lianhua Gan, *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 *and uɛ li* 滑哩, are clearer with the detailed investigation on their syntactic distributions as presented above.

It can be concluded that *li* 哩 is a full-fledged perfective aspectual marker, whose function is to assert the realization of an event in the past. It should be noted that it is not a complete equivalent of the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese. Through the comparison between the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan and that in Modern Standard Chinese, it can be seen that the verbal suffix *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese is not a homogeneous morpheme, which Fan (2014) has also claimed. Take the comparisons of the four sets of sentences in (102) - (105) as examples, where the first sentence is Modern Standard Chinese and the second is the corresponding expressions in Lianhua Gan. *le* 了 corresponds to *uɛ* 滑 in (102); the double *le*s (the verbal suffix *le* 了 and the sentential *le* 了) correspond to the verbal suffix *li* 哩 in (103); *le* 了 corresponds to *uɛ* 滑 in (104); and *le* 了 corresponds to *uɛ li* 滑哩 in (105). This phenomenon reflects the fact that the delimitation of the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan and that in Modern Standard Chinese are not paralleled.

(102) a. 　　#我　　吃　　了　　飯。

wo   chi   le   fan

1SG   eat   PFV   meal

Intended meaning: 'I had a meal.'

b. #我   喫   滑   飯。

uo^{35} tɕʰia^{44} uɛ   fã^{21}

1SG   eat   DIAO   meal

Intended meaning: 'I had a meal.'

(103) a.   我   吃   了   飯   了。

wo   chi   le   fan   le

1SG   eat   PFV   meal   PFT

'I had a meal.'

b.   我   喫   哩   飯。

uo^{35} tɕʰia^{44} li   fã^{21}

1SG   eat   PFV   meal

'I had a meal.'

(104) a.   你   可以 把   它   扔   了。

ni   keyi   ba   ta   reng   le

2SG   can   BA   3SG   throw   PFV

'You can throw it away.'

b.   你   可以   把   渠   丟   滑。

ĩ^{35} kʰo^{35}i^{53} pa^{53} tɕi^{53} tiu^{44} uɛ

2SG   can   BA   3SG   throw   DIAO

'You can throw it away.'

(105) a.   雞   死   了。

ji   si   le

chicken   die   PFV

'The chicken died.'

b.   雞   死   滑   哩。

tɕi^{44} sʅ^{53} uɛ   li

chicken   die   DIAO PFV

'The chicken died.'

According to the syntactic distributions of *uɛ* 滑, it is hard to summarize all the uses into one category. I propose that it possesses at least three different usages in Lianhua Gan: resultative complement, phase complement/completive marker, perfective aspectual marker. The resultative complement *uɛ* 滑 indicates the resultant state of an action, such as the loss or disappearance of an entity, i.e., the affectedness. The phase complement *uɛ* 滑 marks the completion of an action; thus, it can also be called a completive marker. The perfective aspectual marker *uɛ* 滑 only appears in quantified sentences. These three uses are diachronically related. The developmental path of *uɛ* 滑 can be dynamicized from the synchrony as "resultative complement > phase complement > perfective aspectual marker", which is a common view in the development of Chinese perfective aspectual markers (Wu, 1998, etc.).

In terms of the syntactic nature of *uɛ li* 滑哩, the question arises as to whether it is the simple combination of *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩 or has developed into a compound. According to its syntactic distributions, I propose that *uɛ li* 滑哩 can be the combination of the resultative complement *uɛ* 滑 and the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩, or the combination of the phase complement *uɛ* 滑 and the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩 when the grammatical meaning is analyzable and transparent; it has developed into a compound in some situations in which its semantic function is no longer the combination of the functions of *uɛ* 滑 and *li* 哩. When *uɛ li*

滑哩 denotes the evaluative meaning of excessiveness after certain adjectival predicates or resultative verb complements, it can be treated as a compound.

4.5 Summary

This chapter examines the expressions of the perfective aspect by investigating the syntactic distributions of *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 in Lianhua Gan with a special focus on *uɛ* 滑. The perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan emphasizes the affectedness of the action caused onto the patient in addition to the temporal structure of the event, which is marked by *uɛ* 滑 in irrealis situations and *uɛ li* 滑哩 in realis situations. The synchronic syntactic distributions and grammatical functions of *uɛ* 滑 and *uɛ li* 滑哩 in Lianhua Gan can be dynamicized as their diachronic extensions. Generally speaking, the path of grammaticalization of *uɛ* 滑 can be dynamicized from synchrony as "resultative complement > phase complement > perfective aspectual marker"; *uɛ li* 滑哩 developed from be the combination of the resultative complement *uɛ* 滑 and the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩, via the combination of the phase complement *uɛ* 滑 and the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩, and further to a compound with the grammatical meaning no longer analyzable and transparent.

Chapter 5 Imperfective

5.1 Introduction

In contrast with the perfective aspect, the imperfective aspect views the temporal

structure of a situation from an internal viewpoint, concerning only part of the situation. This

chapter examines two types of imperfective aspects: the progressive and the continuous

aspects. The progressive aspect concerns the medial part of dynamic situations. It usually

interacts with dynamic verbs or verb phrases, denoting on-going activities. In some

languages, there is a grammatical category of the continuous aspect that interacts with stative

verbs or verb phrases and concerns the durativity of states. For example, in English, "*be* + V-

ing" is the progressive expression, and there is no separate continuous form, although the

progressive form indicates the continuous meaning in some situations, such as *He is sitting*

on the chair. However, it is common for Chinese, including Modern Standard Chinese and

Chinese dialects, to apply different grammatical devices to distinguish the progressive aspect

and the continuous aspects.

There are two imperfective aspectual markers in Modern Standard Chinese: the

preverbal adverbial *zai* 在 and the postverbal particle *-zhe* 著. It is generally held that *zai* 在

and *-zhe* 著 differ in the semantic contrast of dynamicity and stativity; specifically, while *zai*

在 indicates the internal stages of dynamic on-going activities, *-zhe* 著 focuses on the

continuousness or durativity of states without change (Li & Thompson, 1981; Smith, 1991;

Teng, 1979; Xiao & McEnery, 2004). Thus, *zai* 在, as in sentence (1), is generally regarded

as a progressive aspectual marker; *-zhe* 著, as in sentence (2), is taken as a continuous

aspectual marker. However, *-zhe* 著 can also follow dynamic verbs to indicate that a dynamic

event is ongoing, as in sentence (3), although it is not totally interchangeable with the

progressive aspectual marker *zai* 在 in all occasions to express the progressive meaning. Many previous studies distintuished these two kinds of functions of *zhe* 著 (Chen, 1980; Dai, 1991, Fang, 2000; Guo, 1993; Kimura, 1983; Liu, 2008; Lü, 1980; Wang, 2011b, 2012; Zhu, 1982). Therefore, in Modern Standard Chinese, while the adverbial *zai* 在 can only mark the progressive aspect, the postverbal particle *-zhe* 著 can mark both the progressive and the continuous aspects.

(1) 他 在　　跑步。

    ta zai　　paobu

    3SG　　PROG run

    'He is running.'

(2) 門口　　坐　　著　　一　　個　　人。

    menkou zuo zhe yi ge ren

    gate　　sit CON NUM CL people

    'There is a man sitting at the gate.'

(3) 他　　　正 跑 著 步。

    ta　　　zheng pao zhe bu

    3SG　　ADV run PROG step

    'He is running.'

   In addition to Modern Standard Chinese, different devices are also employed in Chinese dialects. According to the cross-dialectal investigation conducted by Wang (2005), there are four patterns of grammatical devices for Chinese dialects to differentiate the progressive and the continuous aspects:

   (i) zero form for the progressive aspect and a postverbal particle for the continuous

      aspect: this pattern is found in Beijing Mandarin;

(ii) a preverbal locative prepositional phrase for the progressive aspect and a sentence-final locative prepositional phrase for the continuous aspect: this pattern is found in Suzhou Wu;

(iii) different postverbal particles for the progressive and the continuous aspects respectively: this pattern is found in Guangzhou Yue;

(iv) a preverbal locative prepositional phrase for the progressive aspect and a postverbal particle for the continuous aspect: this pattern is found in Nanjing Mandarin.

These four types are exemplified by the four sets of sentences in (4) - (7).

(4) Beijing Mandarin

    a. 他　　開　　門　　呢。

       3SG　open　door　SFP

       'He is opening the door.'

    b. 他　開　**著**　門　　呢。

       3SG　open　CON　door　SFP

       'He opened the door and the door is open.'

(5) Suzhou Wu

    a. 我　**勒海**　著　毛衣。

       1SG　PROG　wear　sweater

       'I am putting on a sweater.'

    b. 我　毛衣　　　著　**勒海**。

       1SG　sweater　　wear　CON

       'I am wearing a sweater.'

(6) Guangzhou Yue

    a. 佢　著　**緊**　件　紅　衫。

       3SG　wear　PROG　CL　red　coat

He is putting on a red coat.

b. 佢　　著　　**住**　　件　　紅　　衫。

    3SG   wear CON CL   red   coat

    'He is wearing a red coat.'

(7) Nanjing Mandarin

a. 他　　**在**　　關　　窗子。

    3SG   PROG close window

    'He is closing the window.'

b. 他　　天天　　　　關　　**著**　　窗子　　　　睡覺。

    3SG every day   close CON window   sleep

    'He goes to sleep with the window closed every day.'

However, the strategies for expressing the progressive and the continuous aspects in Lianhua Gan seem to be a blend of type (ii) and type (iv). In Lianhua Gan, sentences with the progressive aspect are expressed by the preverbal prepositional phrase $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 1 / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 1[22] or the preverbal $ts^hœ^{44}$ 在, while sentences with the continuous aspect may contain both the postverbal particle *tao* 倒 and the sentence-final prepositional phrase $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 2 / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 2. For example,

(8) a. 我　　在國 1　　　著　　衫服。

    uo^{35} $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ tio^{44} $sã^{44}fu$

    1SG PROG   wear clothes

    'I am putting on clothes.'

---

[22] The locative demonstratives 國/岡 have different tones when used in the prepositional phrase expressing different functions, thus they are marked by numbers for easy reference: 國 1/岡 1 representing $kuɛ^{44}$ / $kɔ̃^{44}$ in the progressive phrase, 國 2/岡 2 representing $kuɛ^{21}$ / $kɔ̃^{21}$ in the sentence-final phrase; 國 3/岡 3 representing ku^{35} / $kɔ̃^{35}$ in the locative phrase.

b. 我　　著　　倒　　羊毛衫　　　　　在國₂，　　冇　　惡冷。

uo³⁵　　tio⁴⁴　tao　iɔ̃¹³mao¹³sã⁴⁴　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　mao²¹ o⁴⁴lã³⁵

1SG　　wear　CON　woolen sweater　　SFC²³　　　NEG　cold

'I wear a woolen sweater; I am not cold.'

Our questions concern whether the continuous aspect in Lianhua Gan is different from other Chinese dialects, and whether both the postverbal *tao* 倒 and the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ are markers of the continuous aspect. This chapter thus mainly investigates the expressions of the progressive and the continuous aspects by examining the properties of these forms and their interaction with syntax in Lianhua Gan, with the aim to determine whether the sentence-final prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is a continuous aspectual marker by examining its syntactic distribution and discourse functions, as well as to explore its pathway of grammaticalization.

5.2 The Progressive and the Continuous Aspects in Lianhua Gan

The progressive aspect in Lianhua Gan is mainly expressed by the preverbal prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁, which is derived from the locative prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃; *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 is the preposition meaning 'at' and *kuɛ³⁵* 國 ₃ / *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 ₃ are the proximal and distal locative demonstratives as introduced in Chapter 2. In addition, *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 can also function as the adverbial to express the progressive meaning. In most situations, *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 is interchangeable with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁. In such cases, *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 should be derived from *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁ by dropping the locative demonstratives as the locative meaning bleaches. However, some progressive sentences can only be marked by *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 rather than *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴*

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²³ The property of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴ kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ remains to be determined in this chapter, thus it is glossed as sentence-final compound (SPC) for convenience.

在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁, which will be introduced below.

Regarding the continuous aspect, it has been observed that some sentences with the continuous aspect may contain both the postverbal particle -*tao* 倒 and the sentence-final prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. It is safe to treat the postverbal particle -*tao* 倒 as the continuous aspectual marker, as it is common for southern Chinese dialects to apply the corresponding forms to express the continuous aspect. However, since the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is not obligatorily required in all sentences with the continuous aspect, its properties and functions remain to be further explored, although most previous studies have analyzed it as a continuous aspectual marker.

This section examines the usages of these forms in order to explore how the progressive and the continuous aspects are expressed in Lianhua Gan and to determine their properties, with a special focus on the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. It is necessary to introduce the locative prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃ before the analysis of the progressive aspectual marker *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁ and the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. In Chinese, the locative prepositional phrase can either precede or follow the predicate verb to serve as the locative adverbial or the locative complement respectively. Different syntactic positions correspond to different meanings in that "while the function of a Chinese preverbal place adverbial is to denote the location of an action or a state of affairs, that of a postverbal one is to denote the location of a participant of an action as a result of the action" (Tai, 1975: 175). The case is the same for the locative prepositional phrase in Lianhua Gan, as shown by 在樓上 'upstairs' in sentence (9) and 在櫃子裡 'in the closet' in sentence (10).

(9) 我　　　在　　樓上　　　收　　衫服。

　　uo³⁵　　　tsʰœ⁴⁴ lœ¹³lɔ̃　　　sœ⁴⁴　sã⁴⁴fu

1SG PREP floor-LOC collect clothes

'I am picking up clothes upstairs.'

(10) 衫服   收 合 在 櫃子裡。

   sã⁴⁴fu   sœ⁴⁴ ho tsʰœ⁴⁴ kʰœ²¹tsɿ-li

   clothes   collect COMP PREP closet-LOC

   'The clothes are placed in the closet.'

  The locative demonstrative prepositional phrase in Lianhua Gan, which consists of the preposition *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 and the proximal locative demonstrative *kuɛ³⁵* 國 ₃ or the distal *kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 ₃, exhibits more diverse functions. It can be placed in preverbal, postverbal and sentence-final positions. When the locative demonstrative prepositional phrase is used in different syntactic positions, it expresses different meanings, including locative and non-locative meanings, and its form, the tone of the locative demonstrative in particular, varies accordingly. In general,

  (i) when it denotes the locative meaning in preverbal or postverbal positions, the locative demonstrative takes on the original high rising tone (*kuɛ³⁵*/*kɔ̃³⁵*), as shown in sentences (11) and (12);

  (ii) when it expresses the progressive meaning in the preverbal position, the locative demonstrative is changed from the high rising tone to the high level tone (*kuɛ⁴⁴*/*kɔ̃⁴⁴*), as illustrated by sentence (13);

  (iii) when it expresses the non-locative meaning in the sentence-final position, the locative demonstrative is changed from the high rising tone to the low falling tone (*kuɛ²¹*/*kɔ̃²¹*), as in sentence (14).

(11) 渠 在國 ₃ / 在岡 ₃   打 電話。

   tɕi⁵³ tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵ ta⁵³ tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

   3sg PREP-DEM PREP-DEM make call

   'He is making a phone call here/there.'

(12) 衫服　　　收　合　　在國₃/　　　　在岡₃。

　　　sã⁴⁴fu　　　sœ⁴⁴　ho　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵　　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

　　　clothes　　　collectCOMP PREP-DEM　　　PREP-DEM

　　　'The clothes are put away here/there.'

(13) 渠　在國₁/　　在岡₁　　打　電話。

　　　tɕi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　ta⁵³　tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

　　　3SG　PROG　　　PROG　　　make　call

　　　'He is making a phone call.'

(14) 衫服　　　收　合　哩　在國₂/　　在岡₂。

　　　sã⁴⁴fu　　　sœ⁴⁴　ho　li　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

　　　clothes　　　collectCOMP PFV　SFC　　　SFC

　　　'The clothes were put away.'

　　　Our discussion will focus on the preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ and the

sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ and compares them with the preverbal

and postverbal locative *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ when necessary.

5.2.1　The Progressive *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ and *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在

5.2.1.1 *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ vs. *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃

　　　The preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ expresses the progressive meaning,

and it can be distinguished from the preverbal locative adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ /

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵ 在岡₃ in terms of their forms and meanings, although they appear in the same

syntactic position. The preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ is used to indicate on-

going activities, while the preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ denotes the event

site, as shown by the two sentences in (15).

(15) a.　　渠　在國₁/　　在岡₁　　打　電話。

	tɕi⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴	ta⁵³	tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹
	3SG	PROG	PROG	make	call

'He is making a call.'

b. 渠　在國₃/　在岡₃　打　電話。

	tɕi⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵	ta⁵³	tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹
	3SG	PREP-DEM	PREP-DEM	make	call

'He is making a call here/there.'

However, it should be noted that, although the progressive expression can be differentiated from the locative expression in terms of the form and function, the lexical meaning of the locative demonstratives, the deictic meaning of distance marking in particular, still remains in the progressive aspectual marker *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁. For this reason, the selection of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ or *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ depends on the distance between the event site and the speaker. In other words, the use of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ and *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ implies whether the event site is close to or away from the speaker. On the other hand, although the locative expression *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ is mainly used to denote the event site, it can also imply the progressive meaning when used as the locative adverbial of the main predicate verb. In this sense, the sentence with the progressive aspect, such as sentence (15)a, implies the deictic meaning of distance, and the locative adverbial sentence, such as sentence (15)b, can also imply the progressive meaning. This can be further illustrated by the fact that the progressive *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁ cannot co-occur with locative adverbials in the same sentences, regardless of their relative position, as shown by (16).

(16)　a.　*渠　在　房裡　　在岡₁　　打　電話。

	tɕi⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴ fɔ̃¹³li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴	ta⁵³	tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

	3SG	PREP	room-LOC	PROG		make	call

Intended meaning: 'He is making a phone call in the room.'

b.   *渠   在岡 1   在   房裡   打   電話。

tɕi^{53}	tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}	tsʰœ^{44}	fɔ̃^{13}li	ta^{53}	tʰiɛ̃^{21}fa^{21}

3SG	PROG	PREP	room-LOC	make	call

Intended meaning: 'He is making a phone call in the room.'

Further evidence is that both *tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}* 在國 1 / *tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}* 在岡 1 and *tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{35}* 在國 3 / *tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{35}* 在岡 3 can serve as the main predicate, whereas the former means "be in" but the latter means "be here/there". Take sentences in (17) as an example. Sentence (17)a, meaning 'he is in', implies whether he is close to or away from the speaker depending on the selection of *tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}* 在國 1 or *tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}* 在岡 1; Sentence (17)b, meaning 'he is here/there', in fact also implies 'he is in'.

(17)   a.   渠   在國 1 /   在岡 1。

	tɕi^{53}	tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}	tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}

	3SG	PREP-DEM	PREP-DEM

     'He is in.'

     b.   渠   在國 3 /   在岡 3。

	tɕi^{53}	tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{35}	tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{35}

	3SG	PREP-DEM	PREP-DEM

     'He is here/there.'

The locative demonstratives basically indicate the spatial distance, where the reference center is usually the location of the speaker. This spatial deictic meaning can be mapped into the marking of the temporal distance, whereas the reference center is shifted to the utterance time. Therefore, the progressive *tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}* 在國 1 and *tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}* 在岡 1 can convey the

implication of distance-marking spatially or temporally, especially when they are used in contrast. The selection of $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 $_1$ or $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 $_1$ partly depends on the spatial or temporal distance between the referent and the reference center.

In present situations, the deictic center can only be the spatial location of the speaker; '$ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 $_1$ + VP' denotes that the action expressed by VP takes place near the speaker; on the contrary, "$ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 $_1$ + VP" indicates that the location of the action is away from the speaker. For this reason, in present situations, the subject/agent of the first person cannot co-occur with $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 $_1$, as shown by (18), since the action initiated by the speaker can never take place at a distance from him. There is no such restriction for the non-first-person subject.

(18) A： 你　　跟　　你　　弟弟　　　在岡 $_1$　　做　　拉嘎？

　　　　ĩ^{35}　　kẽ^{44}　　ĩ^{35}　　t^{h}i^{21}t^{h}i　　ts^{h}œ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}　　tsu^{21}　　la^{21}ka^{44}

　　　　2SG　CONJ　2SG　brother　　PROG　　　do　　what

　　　　'What are you and your younger brother doing?'

　　　B： 我　　在國 $_1$ /　　*在岡 $_1$　　做　　作業，

　　　　uo^{35}　　ts^{h}œ^{44}kuɛ^{44}　　ts^{h}œ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}　　tsu^{21}　　tsuo^{44}ie^{44}

　　　　1SG　　PROG　　　　PROG　　　do　　homework

　　　　弟弟　　　　在國 $_1$ /　　在岡 $_1$　　打　　遊戲。

　　　　t^{h}i^{21}t^{h}i　　　ts^{h}œ^{44}kuɛ^{44}　　ts^{h}œ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}　　ta^{53}　　iu^{13}ɕi

　　　　brother　　　PROG　　　　PROG　　　play　　game

　　　　'I am doing homework; my brother is playing games.'

In non-present situations, including past and future situations, the reference center may be the spatial location of the speaker or the utterance time. Both $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 $_1$ and $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 $_1$ can be used in non-present situations depending on the selection of

reference center. This can be illustrated by progressive sentences with the first person as the subject. When the reference center is the utterance time, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁, instead of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁, is expected to be used in sentences with the first person subject due to the temporal distance that the event time is far away from the reference time. The reference center can be shifted to the topic time, and then the spatial location of the speaker in the event becomes the reference center. In such cases, the first person subject matches with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁. Therefore, in sentences (19) and (20), either *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ and *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁ can be used. Moreover, as the proximal demonstrative is unmarked compared to the distal one, which has been introduced in Chapter 2, the distribution of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ is wider than expected, and *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ tends to be used when there is no need to imply the meaning of distance marking.

(19) 固　　個　　時裡，　　　　我　　在國 ₁ /　　在岡 ₁　　　讀　　小學。

ku³⁵　ko²¹　sʅ¹³li　　　uo³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　　ho²¹　ɕiao⁵³ho²¹

DEM　CL　time　　　　1SG　PROG　　　PROG　　　　study　primary school

'At that time, I was studying at primary school.'

(20) 下回　　　　我　　在國 ₁ /　　在岡 ₁　　打　　電話　　　　個　　時哩，

ha²¹fœ²¹　　uo³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　ta⁵³　tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹　　ko　sʅ¹³li

next time　1SG　PROG　　　PROG　　　make　call　　　　RC　time

不要　話事。

pɛ⁴⁴ɕiao²¹　　ua²¹sʅ²¹

NEG　　　　talk

'Next time when I am making a phone call, do not talk.'

5.2.1.2 Progressive Aspectual Marker *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在

The locative demonstratives in the progressive *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁ can

be omitted, making the preposition *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 function as an adverb that modifies the main

verb directly and express the progressive meaning. In most situations, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ /

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴ 在岡 ₁ and *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 are interchangeable with slight differences that the lexical

origin of the deictic meaning may remain in *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁, but the

adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 shows no implication of the locative meaning. For example, sentence

(21)a does not indicate the event site, but sentences (21)b and (21)c imply deictic meanings.

However, when the ongoing event does not take place at a specific site and expresses a

change of state, only the adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 is employed to express the progressive meaning,

as shown by sentence (22). This type of progressive sentences is introduced in more details in

the next section discussing the interaction between the progressive aspect and lexical aspect.

(21) a.   我   在   看   電視，   渠   在   打   電話。

            uo³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kʰɔ̃²¹ tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹   tɕi⁵³ tsʰœ⁴⁴ ta⁵³ tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

            1SG PROG watch TV   3SG PROG make call

            'I am watching TV; he is making a phone call.'

      b.   我   在國 ₁   看   電視，   渠   在國 ₁   打   電話。

            uo³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴ kʰɔ̃²¹ tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹   tɕi⁵³ tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴ ta⁵³ tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

            1SG PROG   watch TV   3SG PROG   make call

            'I am watching TV (here); he is making a phone call (here).'

      c.   我   在國 ₁   看   電視，   渠   在岡 ₁   打   電話。

            uo³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴ kʰɔ̃²¹ tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹   tɕi⁵³ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴ ta⁵³ tʰiẽ²¹fa²¹

            1SG PROG   watch TV   3SG PROG   make call

            'I am watching TV (here); he is making a phone call (there).'

(22) 頭髮   在   干。

      hœ¹³uo²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴ kɔ̃⁴⁴

hair   PROG   dry

'The hair is drying'

5.2.1.3 Interaction between the Progressive aspect and Situation Types

Similar to typical progressive aspectual markers, the progressive $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 ₁ /

$ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 ₁ and the adverbial $ts^hœ^{44}$ 在 in Lianhua Gan usually modify predicates with

the temporal features of [+dynamic], [+durative] and [-telic]. The most common situation

types that can be used in the progressive form are activities and semelfactives. For example,

做作業 'do homework' in sentence (23) and 叫 'cry' in sentence (24) are activities; 咳

'cough' in sentence (25) is a semelfactive verb. Although semelfatives are [-durative], when

marked by the progressive aspectual marker, they are coerced to indicate the repetition of

instantaneous actions that forms an on-going activity with a certain duration.

(23)   渠   在國 ₁ /   在岡 ₁ /   在   做   作業。

     tɕi⁵³ $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}$ tsu²¹   tsuo⁴⁴ie⁴⁴

     3SG   PROG   PROP   PROG   do   homework

   'He is doing homework.'

(24)   渠   在國 ₁ /   在岡 ₁ /   在   叫。

     tɕi⁵³ $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}$ tɕiao²¹

     3SG   PROG   PROP   PROG   cry

   'He is crying.'

(25)   渠   在國 ₁ /   在岡 ₁ /   在   咳。

     tɕi⁵³ $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ $ts^hœ^{44}$ k^hɛ̃⁵³

     3SG   PROG   PROP   PROG   cough

   'He is coughing.'

As introduced in Chapter 4, quantified elements that form the situation aspect of

accomplishments only refer to the 'V-NUM-CL' phrase but exclude the 'V-DEM-NUM-CL'

phrase. This treatment can also be supported by their interactions with the progressive aspect. Situations quantified by 'NUM-CL' phrases cannot have the progressive form, as shown by sentence (26). This should be attributed to the perfective property of quantified elements that are indecomposable in regard to its internal structure, which contradicts the core property of the progressive viewpoint. However, although entities expressed by 'DEM-NUM-CL' phrases are definite and bounded themselves, they do not contribute to the quantification of the situation. For this reason, sentences with 'DEM-NUM-CL' phrases as the object can have the progressive form, as illustrated by sentence (27).

(26) *渠　在國 1 /　　在岡 1 /　　在　喫　兩　碗　飯。

tɕi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴ tɕʰia⁴⁴ liɔ̃⁵³　uã⁵³　fã²¹

3SG　PROG　　PROG　　PROG eat　NUM　CL　rice

Intended meaning: 'He is eating two bowls of rice.'

(27) 渠　在國 1 /　　在岡 1 /　　在　喫　岡　兩　碗　飯。

tɕi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴ tɕʰia⁴⁴ kɔ̃³⁵ liɔ̃⁵³　uã⁵³　fã²¹

3SG　PROG　　PROG　　PROG eat　DEM　NUM　CL　rice

'He is eating that bowl of rice.'

In contrast to Modern Standard Chinese, in which achievements are strictly incompatible with the progressive aspectual marker *zai* 在, some achievements in Lianhua Gan are compatible with the adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在. As has been introduced in Chapter 4, two types of achievements are identified based on the parameter of [±durative]: degree achievements and non-degree achievements. Degree achievements denote a changing process of a certain gradable property toward a climax (Dowty, 1979; Hay, Kennedy & Levin, 1999; Kennedy & Levin, 2007; Pinon, 2008). With the semantic feature of [+durative], degree achievements may take the progressive form in some languages. The prototype of degree achievements is change-of-state verbs, which are usually derived from gradable adjectives, such as *widen*,

cool, *dry*. Such change-of-state verbs can interact with the progressive aspect in some languages (but not all languages), as the scale formed by gradable degrees denoted by the base adjective can be dynamicized as the changing process of an event. For example, the change-of-state verb *dry* can take the progressive form of 'be + V-ing' in English, as in sentence (28); in contrast, the adjectival verb 干 in Modern Standard Chinese cannot be directly modified by the adverbial *zai* 在, as shown by sentence (29).

(28)   His hair is drying.

(29)   *他　的　　頭髮　在　　乾。

　　　 ta　　de　　toufa　zai　　gan

　　　 3SG　POSS　hair　　PROG　dry

　　　 Intended meaning: 'His hair is drying.'

On the contrary, non-degree achievements denote events that are expressed by the resulted-entailed verbs or verb phrases that are instantaneously achieved, such as *win the game*, *arrive*, *reach the top*. Theoretically speaking, non-degree achievements cannot appear in the progressive form, since they lack the feature of [+durative], which is a requisite feature of the progressive aspect. However, it has been found in some languages that non-degree achievements can occur in the progressive form, such as in English. In such cases, the progressive aspect refers to the preparatory phase that leads up to the instantaneous point of the change of state. For example,

(30)   He is winning the game.

(31)   He is arriving.

(32)   He is reaching the top.

In summary, it is possible for degree and non-degree achievements to occur in the progressive form, but they behave differently in the aspectual composition. The former refers to the changing process of a certain property that consists of continuous points dynamicized

from the scalar structure of the base adjectives; the latter denotes the continuous process of the preparatory stage of a change of state.

Both degree achievements and non-degree achievements in Lianhua Gan can take the progressive form in Lianhua Gan, the adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 in particular. For example, sentences (33) - (35) are the progressive form of degree achievements: 乾 'dry', 紅 'red' and 冷 'cool', denoting the changing process of becoming drier, redder and cooler, respectively. These degree achievements are derived from adjectives that can be modified by degree adverbials.

(33)　頭髮　　　　在　　乾。

　　　hœ¹³uo²¹　　　tsʰœ⁴⁴ kɔ̃⁴⁴

　　　hair　　　　PROG　dry

　　　'The hair is drying'

(34)　桃　　在　　紅。

　　　hao¹³　tsʰœ⁴⁴ fəŋ¹³

　　　peach PROG　red

　　　'The peach is turning red.'

(35)　湯　　在　　冷。

　　　hɔ̃⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴ lã³⁵

　　　soup　PROG　cool

　　　'The soup is cooling.'

Moreover, some resultative verb compounds (RVCs) in Lianhua Gan, a type of degree achievements, can also appear in progressive sentences marked by *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在. For example,

(36)　渠　在　長　高。

　　　tɕi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴ tiɔ̃⁵³　kao⁴⁴

3SG   PROG   grow   tall

'He is growing taller.'

(37)   渠　　在　　攤　　平　　個　　床單。

tɕi⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴   hã⁴⁴   pʰiã¹³   ko   tsʰɔ¹³tʰã⁴⁴

3SG   PROG   spread COMP   DEF   sheet

'He is smoothing out the sheet.'

This phenomenon can be explained by the event semantics of resultative verb compounds. It has been proposed in some previous work that the verb in the RVCs specifies the manner that causes a certain result and has no contribution to the event structure of the RVCs (Huang, 2006; Wang, 2011a). Wang (2011a) argued that the resultative complement determines the event semantics of the whole RVCs in terms of the features of telicity and durativity. If the achievement of the result expressed by the resultative complement requires a gradual changing process, then the situation is durative and then the RVCs can take the progressive form. In this regard, RVCs are similar to change-of-state verbs to some extent in terms of the capability to occur in the progressive aspect. The main verbs 長 'grow' and 攤 'spread' in sentences (36) and (37) are the manner of the result, and 長 'grow' can even be seen as a dummy verb that contributes little semantic content. The scale denoted by the resultative complements 高 'tall' and 平 'flat' contribute to the durative meaning.[24]

Sentences (38) - (40) are examples of non-degree achievements that take the progressive form, denoting the preparatory phase of the change of state. The predicate verbs 倒 'collapse', 死 'die' and 黑 'blind' are not deadjectival change-of-state verbs, and the situations they denote are instantaneous.

(38)   墙　　在　　倒。

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[24] It should be noted that the durative meaning in sentence (37) can be interpreted in two ways.

ɕiɔ̃¹³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ tao⁵³

wall   PROG fall down

'The wall is falling down.'

(39)   有   隻   雞   在   死。

iu⁵³   la⁴⁴   tɕi⁴⁴   tsʰœ⁴⁴ sʅ⁵³

have CL   chicken   PROG die

'A chicken is dying.'

(40)   左面   固   隻   眼珠 在   黑。

tso⁵³miẽ   ku   la⁴⁴   ã⁵³tɕy tsʰœ⁴⁴ hɛ⁴⁴

left   DEM CL   eye   PROG blind

'The left eye is becoming blind.'

However, it should be noted that the typical non-degree achievement that expresses the arrival event cannot take the progressive form in Lianhua Gan to indicate the preparatory stage before the final destination.

(41)   *渠 在   到   火車站。

tɕi⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ tao²¹   fo⁵³tsʰa⁴⁴tsã²¹

3SG   PROG arrive railway station

Intended meaning: 'He is arriving at the railway station.'

It is important to note that the progressive aspect of achievements can only be marked by the adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 rather than the preverbal prepositional phrase *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國/ *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡. This may be due to the fact that the change of state occurs without occupying any tangible space, while an event should take place at a certain site. For this reason, only *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在, which has no indication of locative meaning, is used to indicate a change process of a certain state over a range of time. However, this may raise the question of whether *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在

is derived from the prepositional phrase $ts^hæ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 ₁ / $ts^hæ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 ₁ when marking

the progressive aspect of achievements. One possibility is that as $ts^hæ^{44}kuɛ^{44}$ 在國 ₁ /

$ts^hæ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}$ 在岡 ₁ is frequently used to mark on-going dynamic activities, $kuɛ^{44}$ 國 ₁ / $kɔ̃^{44}$ 岡 ₁

can be omitted and $ts^hæ^{44}$ 在 takes on the function of marking the progress aspect of dynamic

activities. As a result of lexical diffusion, the range of predicates marked by $ts^hæ^{44}$ 在 extends

from dynamic verbs to change-of-state verbs, from activity verbs to achievement verbs.

5.2.2 Postverbal *-tao* 倒

The postverbal particle *-tao*, often represented by the character 倒 in previous work, is

widespread in southern Chinese dialects. According to Luo (2004a), the continuous aspectual

marker *-tao* 倒 is mainly used in Southwestern Mandarin, Xiang and Gan, and it is also found

in Zhongyuan 中原 Mandarin, Jianghuai 江淮 Mandarin, Wu, Hakka, Yue and Min.

The postverbal *-tao* 倒 in Lianhua Gan shares some functions with but differs from *-tao*

倒 in some of the above-mentioned dialects and *-zhe* 著 in Modern Standard Chinese. It has

been observed that *-tao* 倒 in some dialects, such as the Southwestern Mandarin of Xiangfan

襄樊, and *-zhe* 著 in Modern Standard Chinese, can appear after dynamic verbs. However,

this is ungrammatical for *-tao* 倒 in Lianhua Gan, as illustrated by sentence (44).

(42)　　Xiangfan 襄樊 Southwestern Mandarin (Luo, 2004b: 105)

　　　　我　　　做　　　倒　　　飯　　　在。

　　　　1SG　　make　PROG　meal　SFP

　　　　'I am cooking.'

(43)　　Modern Standard Chinese

　　　　我　　　做　　　着　　　飯　　　呢。

　　　　wo　　zuo　　zhe　　fan　　ne

1SG   make PROG meal SFP

'I am cooking.'

(44)   Lianhua Gan

   *   我   做   倒   飯。

     uo^{35} tsu^{21} tao   fã^{21}

     1SG   make   CON   meal

     Intended meaning: 'I am cooking.'

Moreover, when *-zhe* 著 is attached to verbs that can denote either an action or a resultant state associated with the completed action, such as verbs of posture and placement, it is ambiguous in that both interpretations of the progressive and the continuous aspects are possible. Take sentence (45) in Modern Standard Chinese as an example.

(45)   山上   架   著   炮。

     shanshang   jia   zhe   pao

     hill-LOC   mount   PROG/CON   cannon

     Reading 1: People are mounting a cannon on the hill.

     Reading 2: There is a cannon mounted on the hill.

However, 'V-*tao* 倒' in Lianhua Gan does not refer to the dynamic action and thus will not cause ambiguity, as *-zhe* 著 in Modern Standard Chinese does. The progressive reading of sentences (45) and (47)a in Modern Standard Chinese should be expressed by the preverbal *tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{44}* 在國 $_1$ / *tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44}* 在岡 $_1$ in Lianhua Gan, as shown by sentences (46) and (47)b.

(46)   嶺上   （有   人）   在岡   架   炮。

     liã^{13}lɔ̃   iu^{53} ĩ^{13} tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{44} ka^{21} pʰao^{21}

     hill-LOC   have   people   PROG   mount cannon

     'People are mounting cannon on the hill.'

(47) a.　鍋裡　　　　煮　著　餃子。

　　　　guoli　　　　zhu　zhe　jiaozi

　　　　pot-LOC　　　cook　CON　dumpling

　　　　'The dumplings are being boiled in the pot.'

　　b.　鍋箕裡　　　　　　在國₁ /　　在岡₁　　煮　餃子。

　　　　uo²¹tɕi li　　　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　tɕy⁵³　tɕiao⁵³tsɻ

　　　　pot-LOC　　　　　PROG　　　PROG　　cook　dumpling

　　　　'The dumplings are being boiled in the pot.'

The postverbal particle *-tao* 倒 in Lianhua Gan is merely a continuous aspectual marker, as it only appears in stative situations to denote the durativity of a state. Stative verbs that denote relation or property and exhibit no dynamic meaning, such as *shi* 是 'be', *dengyu* 等於 'equal to', cannot take *-tao* 倒 to form the continuous aspect, as they refer to permanent states by themselves. Instead, *-tao* 倒 normally follows verbs that can either denote a dynamic activity or a durative state, such as verbs of posture and placement (Li & Thompson, 1981). According to Smith (1991), "verbs of posture and location can often appear in both stative and non-stative sentences. As statives they focus on a position or posture; as non-statives they focus on earlier stages of the causal chain" (p. 40). 'V-*tao* 倒' captures the durative state or the resultant state that arises from the completion of the activity but has no concern with the dynamic change that forms the state.

When the subject is the agent of the predicate verb, sentences with the continuous aspect marked by *-tao* 倒 denote the continuous posture of the agent at a location. Verbs that can occur in such cases are often verbs of posture, such as 立 'stand', 坐 'sit', 睏 'lie', 碰 'lean', 趴 'grovel', 跪 'kneel', 躲 'hide', 擔 'carry (on shoulder)', 扛 'carry (by more than one person)', 抱 'hold', 拖 'pull', 提 'lift', 踩 'tramp', etc.

(48) 渠　　坐　　倒　　　在國 ₂。

tɕi⁵³　tsʰo²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹

3SG　sit　CON　SFC

'He is sitting.'

(49) 渠　提　倒　一　个　包。

tɕi⁵³　tʰia¹³　tao　iɛ⁴⁴　ko²¹　pao⁴⁴

3SG　carry　CON　NUM　CL　bag

'He is carrying a bag.'

When the subject or the topic is the patient of the main verb, sentences with the continuous aspect marked by -tao 倒 express the physical resultant state of an entity at a location upon the completion of a previous activity. Verbs that can appear in such situations are usually verbs of placement, such as 放 'put', 吊 'hang', 裝 'pack', 停 'stop', 綁 'tie', 兜 'carry (in pocket)', 蓋 'cover', 存 'keep', 蒸 'steam', 夾 'clip', 挊 'hide', 掛 'hang', 貼 'paste', 浸 'soak', etc.

(50) 車子　　　停　倒　在　門前。

tsʰã⁴⁴tsɻ　　tĩ¹³　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴　mẽ¹³tɕʰiẽ

car　　　park　CON　PREP　door-LOC

'The car is parked outside.'

(51) 衫服　　　浸　倒　在　桶裡。

sã⁴⁴fu　　tɕĩ²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴　həŋ⁵³li

clothes　　soak　CON　PREP　bucket-LOC

'The clothes are soaked in the bucket.'

(52) 飯　在　爐灶上　蒸　倒　在岡 ₂。

fã²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴　lu¹³tsao lɔ̃　tsẽ⁴⁴　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹

rice   PREP   stove-LOC   steam   CON   SFC

'The rice is being steamed on the stove.'

(53) 魚   在   塘裡   養   倒   在岡 ₂。

$ŋ̩^{13}$ $tsʰœ^{44}$ $hɔ̃^{21}li$ $iɔ̃^{53}$ tao $tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$

fish   PREP   pond-LOC   keep   CON   SFC

'The fish is kept in the pond.'

Given that both situations refer to the durative state of an entity, either the agent or the patient, at a certain location, the above durative sentences can also be expressed as the locative inversion sentences depending on the perspective of narration.

(54) 鋪上   睏   倒   一   個   病人。

$pʰu^{44}lɔ̃$ $fẽ^{21}$ tao $iɛ^{44}$ ko^{21} $pʰiã^{21}ĩ^{53}$

bed-LOC   lie   CON   NUM   CL   patient

'A patient is lying on the bed.'

(55) 桶裡   浸   倒   一   桶   衫服。

$həŋ^{53}li$ $tɕĩ^{21}$ tao $iɛ^{44}$ $həŋ^{53}$ $sã^{44}fu$

bucket-LOC   soak   CON   NUM   CL   clothes

'Clothes are soaked in the bucket.'

It should be noted that the continuous aspectual marker -*zhe* 著 in Modern Standard Chinese can follow some dynamic activity verbs to denote the resultant state in existential sentences and can be replaced by the perfective aspectual marker -*le* 了, but such situations should be only expressed by the perfective aspectual marker -*li* 哩 in Lianhua Gan, as -*tao* 倒 in Lianhua Gan can never be attached to pure dynamic activity verbs.

(56) 黑板上   畫   著/   了   一   隻   貓。

heibanshang   hua   zhe   le   yi   zhi   mao

blackboard-LOC   paint CON PFV   NUM   CL   cat

'A cat was painted on the blackboard.'

(57)　黑板上　　　　　畫　*倒/　哩　　一　　隻　　貓。

hɛ⁴⁴pã⁵³lɔ̃　　　fa²¹　　tao li　　iɛ⁴⁴　la⁴⁴　mao⁴⁴

blackboard-LOC   paint CON PFV   NUM   CL   cat

'A cat was painted on the blackboard.'

There are also some stative verbs that express the durative state but not the resultant state when taking the postverbal -*tao* 倒, such as 陪 'accompany', 將 'take around', 住 'live', 等 'wait', etc. For example,

(58)　你　　先　　打　　固　　間　　房裡　　　住　　倒　　正。

ĩ³⁵　　ɕiɛ̃⁴⁴　ta⁵³　ku³⁵　kã⁴⁴　fɔ̃¹³li　　tɕʰy²¹ tao　tɕiã²¹

2SG　first　PREP　DEM　CL　room-LOC　live　CON　ADV

'You live in this room at present.'

(59)　我　　在　　門前　　　等　　倒　　在國₂，　你　　快　　　　出來。

uo³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴ mɛ̃¹³tɕʰiɛ̃　tɛ̃⁵³ tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　ĩ³⁵　kʰuai²¹　　tɕʰyɛ⁴⁴lœ¹³

1SG　PREP　door-LOC　wait　CON　SFC　　2SG　quickly　　DIR

'We are waiting outside; you come out quickly.'

In addition to simple sentences, 'V-*tao* 倒' can also appear in serial verb sentences and serves as the first predicate verb, indicating the manner or the accompanying state of the action expressed by the second predicate verb. As in the existential sentences, -*tao* 倒 in serial verb sentences cannot be used after a pure dynamic activity verb, which is feasible for the continuous aspectual marker -*zhe* 著 in Modern Standard Chinese.

(60)　渠　　戴　　倒　　眼鏡　　　尋　　　　眼鏡。

tɕi⁵³　tœ²¹　tao　ã̃⁵³tɕiã²¹　tɕĩ²¹　　ã̃⁵³tɕiã²¹

2SG   wear CON glasses   look for   glasses

'He is looking for the glasses while wearing them.'

(61)   渠   歡喜   睏   倒   看   書。

tɕi⁵³   kʰuã⁴⁴ɕi⁵³   fẽ²¹   tao   kʰɔ̃²¹   ɕy⁴⁴

2SG   like   lie   CON read book

'He likes lying down when reading.'

(62)   *渠 笑   倒   看   電視。

tɕi⁵³   ɕiao²¹ tao   kʰɔ̃²¹ tʰiẽ²¹sɿ²¹

3SG   smile CON   watch TV

Intended meaning: 'He smiles when watching TV.'

(63)   他   笑   著   看   電視。

ta   xiao zhe   kan   dianshi

3SG   smile CON   watch TV

'He smiles when watching TV.'

Sentences with the continuous aspectual marker -*tao* 倒 often cannot stand alone due to the incompleteness effect. Such incomplete sentences are not rare in Chinese, which has been thoroughly described in traditional descriptive studies (Hu & Jin, 1989; He, 1994, Huang, 1994; Jing, 1996; Kong, 1994; and among others), and explained from different perspectives in modern studies (Guo, 2015; Hu & Shi, 2005; Lu & Wen, 2018; Tang & Lee, 2000; Tsai, 2008, and among others). The syntactic behaviors of the continuous aspectual marker -*tao* 倒 and the completive aspectual marker -*uɛ* 滑, as examined in Chapter 4, are similar in this regard. There are various devices to eliminate the incompleteness effect, such as the use of the sentence-final adverb 正 in sentence (64) and the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴ kuɛ²¹* 在國 $_2$ in sentence (65).

(64) 你　先　打　固　間　房裡　　住　倒　正。

ĩ³⁵　　ɕiẽ⁴⁴　ta⁵³　ku³⁵　kã⁴⁴　fɔ̃¹³li　　tɕʰy²¹　tao　tɕiã²¹

2SG　first　PREP　DEM　CL　room-LOC　live　CON　ADV

'You live in this room at present.'

(65) 我　在　門前　　等　倒　在國₂，　你　快　　出來。

uo³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴　mẽ¹³tɕʰiẽ　tẽ⁵³　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　ĩ³⁵　kʰuai²¹　　tɕʰyɛ⁴⁴lœ¹³

1SG　PREP　door-LOC　wait　CON　SFC　　2SG　quickly　DIR

'We are waiting outside; you come out quickly.'

When 'V-*tao* 倒' is used in imperative sentences, it can stand alone. For example,

(66) 坐/　立/　睏　倒！

tsʰo²¹　liɛ²¹　fẽ²¹　tao

sit　stand　lie　CON

'Sit/Stand/Lie down!'

There is another -*tao* 到 in Lianhua Gan that should be distinguished from the continuous aspectual marker -*tao* 倒. It can be attached to dynamic verbs, indicating the achievement of a certain result from the activity denoted by the predicate verb. For example, -*tao* 到 in (67), following the dynamic activity verb 尋 'look for', indicates the result of the seeking event. It has potential forms. This postverbal -*tao* 到 should be treated as a resultative complement. The syntactic distribution of the resultative complement -*tao* 到 obviously differs from that of the continuous aspectual aspect -*tao* 倒. In fact, the resultative complement -*tao* 到 is equal to *zhao*³⁵ 著 in Beijing Mandarin, which also differs from the aspectual marker -*zhe* 著. According to Lü (1999), *zhao*³⁵ 著 in Beijing Mandarin can only be attached to a few verbs, such as 淋 'drench', 碰 'touch', 嗆 'choke', 切 'cut', 傷 'hurt', 燒 'burn', 摔 'drop', 燙 'burn' and 噎 'choke'.

(67) a.

渠	個	錢包	尋	到	哩。
tɕi⁵³	ko	tɕʰiẽ¹³pao	tɕĩ²¹	tao	li
3SG	POSS	wallet	look for	COMP	PFV

'His wallet has been found.'

b.

我	尋	得/	唔	到。
uo³⁵	tɕĩ²¹	tɛ	ĩ	tao
1SG	look for	can	NEG	COMP

'I can find it/I cannot find it.'

5.2.3 Sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂

5.2.3.1 Is It a Continuous Aspectual Marker?

As can be seen from the sentences with the continuous aspect of Lianhua Gan listed above, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ may appear at the end of the sentences that contain the continuous aspectual marker -*tao* 倒. Given that it is common for Chinese dialects, especially southern dialects, to employ sentence-final locative prepositional phrases to denote the continuous aspect, it is tempting to regard the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ in Lianhua Gan as a continuous aspectual marker. In fact, it is a common practice in most previous work to treat the corresponding forms in different southern dialects as the continuous aspectual marker (Chu, 2004; Shi, 1985, 2013, etc.).

However, although some continuous sentences in Lianhua Gan contain the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂, it is not obligatorily used in all the sentences with the continuous aspect. As introduced in the last section, 'V-*tao* 倒' cannot form an independent sentence by itself, and thus it needs some devices to eliminate the incompleteness. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is one of such devices. On the other hand, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ cannot

indicate the continuous meaning without the occurrence of *-tao* 倒. Moreover, in addition to sentences with the continuous aspect marked by *-tao* 倒, the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ has a much wider distribution. In this sense, the main function of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ may not lie in the expression of the continuous aspect; thus, it cannot be treated as a continuous aspectual marker, or at least not as a pure continuous aspectual marker. Then the question comes as what the function of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ is.

This problem is similar to the one in Modern Standard Chinese. While it is well-accepted that the postverbal particle *-zhe* 著 is a continuous aspectual marker, there are controversies about the status of the sentence-final *ne* 呢. In traditional reference grammar, *ne* 呢 was generally held to be used as a continuous aspectual marker (Lü, 1982/2010; Zhu, 1982). However, many subsequent studies argued that *ne* 呢 is not an aspectual marker but belongs to the mood category (Fang, 2016; Hu, 1981; Qi, 2002; Ren, 2017; among others). Some studies, such as Shi (2010), proposed that *ne* 呢 developed the modal function from the continuous aspect. I agree with the view that the main function of *ne* 呢 in Modern Standard Chinese is not to indicate the continuous aspect but to express modal meanings of the speaker, and the continuous meaning is the pragmatic inference emerged from the context. I propose that the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ in Lianhua Gan is similar to *ne* 呢 in Modern Standard Chinese.

Next I mainly investigate the syntactic distribution of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ and then re-examines its syntactic properties as well as semantic and pragmatic functions.

5.2.3.2 *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ vs. *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ³⁵* 在岡 ₃

Unlike the preverbal progressive aspectual marker *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁,

in which *kuɛ⁴⁴* 國 ₁ / *kɔ̃⁴⁴* 岡 ₁ is not obligatorily required, *kuɛ²¹* 國 ₂ / *kɔ̃²¹* 岡 ₂ in the

sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ cannot be omitted. Before considering the

distribution of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂, it is necessary to

differentiate it from the postverbal locative *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃, as the

postverbal complement may also appear at the end of sentence. They can be distinguished in

many aspects in addition to the difference in the tone of the locative demonstratives.

First, the locative complement should be expressed as "V+*la* 拉+*kuɛ³⁵* 國 ₃ /*kɔ̃³⁵* 岡 ₃" in

imperatives and "V+*la* 拉+ *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃" or "V + resultative

complement + *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃" in declarative sentences; the sentence-

final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ cannot appear in imperatives, and it is directly

attached to the preceding clause.

(68) a. 鎖匙 掛 拉 國 ₃ / 岡 ₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ la kuɛ³⁵ kɔ̃³⁵

key hang PRT DEM:LOC DEM:LOC

'Hang the key here/there.'

b. 鎖匙 掛 拉 在國 ₃ / 在岡 ₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ la tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

key hang PRT PREP-DEM:LOC PREP-DEM:LOC

'The key was hung here/there.'

c. 鎖匙 掛 起 在國 ₃ / 在岡 ₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ ɕi tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

key hang comp PREP-DEM:LOC PREP-DEM:LOC

'The key was hung up here/there.'

    d.   鎖匙　掛　起　（哩）　在國₂／　在岡₂。

so⁵³sꞱ kua²¹ ɕi   li   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

key   hang   COMP   PFV   SFC   SFC

'The key has been hanging.'

Second, their semantic functions are different, and the focus of the sentence and the restrictions on the semantic feature of the main verb vary accordingly. The postverbal locative *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ denotes the resultant locational place or the directional end of a participant (either the agent or patient) of the event that usually involves a change of location; the locative complement is usually the new information or the focus of the whole sentence. In contrast, the function of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ does not lie in expressing locative meaning, as it can be used when the situation expressed by its preceding clause does not involve a location. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ focuses on the whole situation expressed by the preceding clause rather than on a participant.

(69) a.   渠　坐　倒　在國₃。

         tɕi⁵³   tsʰo²¹   tao   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵

         3SG   sit   CON   PREP-DEM:LOC

         'He is sitting here.'

      b.   渠　坐　倒　在國₂。

         tɕi⁵³   tsʰo²¹   tao   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹

         3SG   sit   CON   SFC

         'He is seated.'

(70) a.   *燈　一下　光　起　哩　在國₃。

tẽ⁴⁴	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹		kuʒ⁴⁴	ɕi⁵³	li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵
lamp	all		light	COMP	PFV	PREP-DEM:LOC

Intended meaning: 'Here all the lamps have been turned on.'

b. 燈　一下　　光　起　哩　在國₂。

tẽ⁴⁴	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹		kuʒ⁴⁴	ɕi⁵³	li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹
lamp	all		light	COMP	PFV	SFC

'All the lamps have been turned on.'

Accordingly, the postverbal locative *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ can only follow verbs or resultative verb compounds that possess the semantic feature of [+motion], but this is not a requirement for sentences with the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂. For example, in (69), the main verb is 坐 'sit', which involves a location, so both the locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ and the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ can be used; however, the first sentence, which contains the locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃, indicates the location of the subject, but the second sentence, which contains the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂, focuses on the subject's state of being seated. The situation expressed by (70) does not involve a change of location; thus, the locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ is not allowed. However, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ can be used to bring this state into the foreground.

Therefore, in sentences with the locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃, the locative demonstratives can be contrasted because they act as new information or the focus, as shown by sentence (71). However, in sentences with the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂, such as sentence (72), this prepositional phrase does not take on the focus of the sentence; rather, it helps make the realis situation expressed by the preceding clause prominent.

(71) 渠　　坐　　倒　　在國₃，　　　　　　我　　坐　　倒　　　在岡₃。

tɕi⁵³　tsʰo²¹　dao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵　　　uo³⁵　tsʰo²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

3SG　sit　CON　PREP-DEM:LOC　　1SG　sit　CON　PREP-DEM:LOC

'He sat here; I sat there.'

(72) 渠　　冇　　力　　　　哩，　坐　　倒　　在國₂／　　在岡₂。

tɕi⁵³　mao²¹　liɛ²¹　　li　tsʰo²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　NEG　strength　PFT　sit　CON　SFC　　　SFC

'He is out of strength, (so) he is seated.'

Third, their scopes are different. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ has the whole preceding clause as its scope, and normally, the predicate cannot be a bare verb but always contains objects, adverbials, complements or even aspectual markers. In contrast, the locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ is only attached to the main predicate verb, and they cannot be separated by the object or aspectual particles. For example, in (73) and (74), when the object is placed behind the predicate verb, or when the perfective aspectual marker occurs after the resultative verb compound, the postverbal locative complement *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ is not allowed; however, these do not influence the use of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂.

(73) a.　　我　　提　　倒　　菜　　　在國₂／　　＊在國₃。

uo³⁵　tʰia¹³　tao　tsʰœ²¹　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵

1SG　carry　CON　vegetables　SFC　　　PREP-DEM:LOC

'I am carrying vegetables.'

b.　　菜　　　　我　　提　　倒　　在國₂／　　在國₃。

tsʰœ²¹　　　uo³⁵　tʰia¹³　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵

vegetables　1SG　carry　CON　SFC　　　PREP-DEM:LOC

'As for vegetables, I am carrying them (right here).'

(74) a. 鎖匙 掛 起 哩 在國₂/ *在國₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ ɕi li tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵

key hang COMP PFV SFC PREP-DEM:LOC

'The key has been hung up.'

b. 鎖匙 掛 起 在國₂/ 在國₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ ɕi tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵

key hang COMP SFC PREP-DEM:LOC

'The key is hanging (here).'

When the predicate is a verb-resultative complement compound and the main verb is [+motion], the postverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡₃ and the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ may occupy the same position. However, despite the same surface structure, they show differences in both the deep syntactic relation and the semantic focus. Concerning the deep syntactic structure, the former sentence is more like a serial verb construction, in which the resultative verb compound and the locative prepositional phrase are the predicates of the subject, while in the latter, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ scopes over the preceding clause. Semantically, the former focuses on the spatial location, but the latter focuses on the situation expressed by the preceding clause.

(75) a. 渠 坐 倒 在國₃/ 在岡₃。

tɕi⁵³ tsʰo²¹ tao tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

3SG sit CON PREP-DEM PREP-DEM

'He is sitting here/there.'

b. 渠 坐 倒 在國₂/ 在岡₂。

tɕi⁵³ tsʰo²¹ tao tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG   sit   CON   SFC   SFC

'He is seated.'

(76)   a.   鎖匙 掛   起   在國₃∕   在岡₃。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ ɕi   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

key   hang COMP PREP-DEM   PREP-DEM

'The key is hanging here/there.'

       b.   鎖匙 掛   起   在國₂∕   在岡₂。

so⁵³sɿ kua²¹ ɕi   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

key   hang COMP SFC   SFC

'The key has been hung up.'

Fourth, when there is a locative phrase in the preceding clause, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂∕

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ 在岡₂ can still be used at the end of the sentence but *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵*

在岡₃ cannot, as shown by the contrast of the two sentences in (77).

(77)   a.   渠   在   沙發上   睏   倒   在國₂∕   在岡₂。

tɕi⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ sa⁴⁴fa⁴⁴lɔ̃   fẽ²¹ tao   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG PREP sofa-LOC   lie CON SFC   SFC

'He is lying on the sofa.'

       b.   *渠   在   沙發上   睏   倒   在國₃∕   在岡₃。

tɕi⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ sa⁴⁴fa⁴⁴lɔ̃   fẽ²¹ tao   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

3SG PREP sofa-LOC   lie CON PREP-DEM:LOC   PREP-DEM:LOC

Intended meaning: 'He is lying on the sofa.'

Therefore, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ discussed here is

neither a continuous aspectual marker nor a locative complement. Since the identification of

its properties and functions should be based on its usages, the distribution of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國

₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ is explored in the next section.

5.2.3.3 Distribution of the Sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂

The investigation of the distribution of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ is conducted in various dimensions of the properties of its preceding clause, including situation aspect, grammatical aspect, temporal reference and sentence type.

(i) *Situation Aspect*

Situation aspect can be classified into states and non-states on the primary level based on the semantic feature of [±dynamic]. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ can be used in both states, as in sentence (78), and non-states, as in sentence (79).

(78) 渠　　就是　　　歡喜　　　喫　　肉　　在國 ₂，

teɪ⁵³　　ɕiu²¹sɛ⁴⁴　　kʰuã⁴⁴ɕi⁵³　　tɕʰia⁴⁴ yo⁴⁴　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹

3SG　　only　　　like　　　eat　　meat　　SFC

你　　還　　淨光　　　買　　蔬菜　　　不　　買　　肉。

ĩ³⁵　　hai¹³　teɕʰĩ²¹kuɔ⁴⁴　　mai⁵³　su⁴⁴tsʰœ　　pɛ⁴⁴　　mai⁵³ yo⁴⁴

2SG　　still　only　　　buy　　vegetables　NEG　buy　　meat

'He only likes eating meat, (but) you still just buy vegetables rather than meat.'

(79) 渠　　又　　在　　喫煙　　　在國 ₂ /　　在岡 ₂，

teɪ⁵³　　iu³⁵　　tsʰœ⁴⁴ tɕʰia⁴⁴iɛ̃⁴⁴　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹

3SG　　again　PROG　smoke　　　SFC　　　SFC

昨暝　　　正　　話　　滑　　要　　戒　　煙。

tsʰo²¹mã⁴⁴　　teɪã²¹　ua²¹　uɛ　iao²¹　kai²¹　iɛ̃⁴⁴

yesterday　　just　say　DIAO　will　quit　cigarette

'He is smoking again; yesterday he just said that he would quit smoking.'

The occurrence of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ in non-states

can clearly be seen in the next part of the investigation of its interaction with the grammatical

aspect. Here we introduce more on the use of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹*

在岡 ₂ in stative sentences. One typical kind is the adjective-predicated sentence, in which the

predicate is an adjective or an adjectival phrase. Adjectives in Chinese can be divided into

two types: qualitative adjectives (性質形容詞) and descriptive adjectives (狀態形容詞).

Both types of adjectives in Lianhua Gan can function as the predicate modified by the degree

adverbial 要得幾 with the literal meaning of 'not know how' and corresponds to *hen* 很

'very' in Modern Standard Chinese. In addition, "descriptive adjectives+*ko* 個" is another

structure for adjective-predicated sentences in Lianhua Gan. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在

國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ can appear at the end of these adjective-predicated clauses. For

example,

(80) 渠　　　要得幾　　　　　　聰明　　　在國 ₂／　　在岡 ₂，

tɕi⁵³　iao²¹tɛ⁴⁴tɕi⁵³　　　tsʰən⁴⁴mĩ　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　not know how　　　smart　　SFC　　　SFC

哪處　　　　還　　要　　你　　教　　渠。

lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴　　hai¹³　iao²¹　ĩ³⁵　　kao²¹　tɕi⁵³

where　　　still　need　2SG　teach　3SG

'He is very smart; there is no need for you to teach him.'

(81) 渠　　個　　面朵　　　　要得幾　　　　　　墨黑　　　在國 ₂／　　在岡 ₂，

tɕi⁵³　ko　　miẽ²¹to　　iao²¹tɛ⁴⁴tɕi⁵³　　　mɛ²¹hɛ⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3sg　poss　face　　　　not know how　　　black　　SFC　　　SFC

活像　恁　　洗　　面。

fɛ²¹ɕiɔ̃⁵³　　lẽ³⁵　　ɕi⁵³　miẽ²¹

like　　　NGE　wash　face

'His face is very dirty; it seems that he did not wash his face.'

(82) 渠　　個　　腦殼　飛滾　　　個　　在國 2／　　在岡 2，

ʨi⁵³　ko　　lo⁵³ho ɕy⁴⁴kuẽ⁵³　ko　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　POSS　head　hot　　　　ATTR　SFC　　　　SFC

快　　　　　送　　渠　　去　　醫院。

kʰuai²¹səŋ²¹　ʨi⁵³　kʰɛ²¹　i⁴⁴yẽ

quickly　　　send　3SG　go　hospital

'His head is very hot; send him to the hospital quickly.'

In addition, situations expressed by verb-complement sentences can also be regarded as states, as the action expressed by the verb is old information that indicates the manner of the complement, and the new information or the focus is the state, degree or potential of the action expressed by the complement. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 2 / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 2 can co-occur with all types of complements. For example,

State complements

(83) 渠　　　　行　　得　　要得幾　　　　　慢　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

ʨi⁵³　　　hẽ¹³　tɛ　　iao²¹tɛ⁴⁴ʨi⁵³　　　mã²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　　　walk　COMP　not know how　　slow　SFC　　　　SFC

'He is walking very slowly.'

(84) 渠　　叫　　個　　冇　　停　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

ʨi⁵³　ʨiao²¹ko　　mao²¹ tʰĩ¹³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　cry　PRT　NEG　stop　SFC　　　　SFC

'He is crying all the time.'

Degree complements

(85) 渠　　病　　到　　喫　　唔得　飯　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

ʨi⁵³　pʰiã²¹　tao　　ʨʰia⁴⁴　ĩ tɛ　fã²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG	sick	COMP	eat	NEG	meal SFC SFC

'He is so sick that he cannot eat.'

(86) 渠　　笑　　起　　肚子　　　　痛　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

tɕi⁵³　　ɕiao²¹　ɕi　　tu⁵³tsʅ　　　hən²¹　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　laugh　COMP　tummy　　hurt　SFC　　　　SFC

'He laughed so hard that his tummy hurt.'

Potential complements

(87) 渠　　做　　得　　事　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。　　感冒　　　好　　　　　哩。

tɕi⁵³　tsu²¹　tɛ　　sʅ　　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　kã⁵³mao²¹　hao⁵³　　　li

3SG　do　COMP　stuff　SFC　　　SFC　　　　cold　　　recover　　PFV

'He is capable of working, (so) he has recovered from his cold.'

(88) 我　　要　　請假，　　還　　下　　　　　唔得　床　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

uo³⁵　iao²¹　tɕʰiã⁵³ka⁵³　hai¹³　ha²¹　　　ĩ tɛ　tsʰɔ̃¹³　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰɶ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

1SG　need　ask for leave　still　get out of　NEG　bed　SFC　　　SFC

'I need to ask for leave, (because) I cannot get out of bed.'

Moreover, situations expressed by negative sentences can also be treated as states to some extent. There are six negators in Lianhua Gan: $lɛ^{35}$ (negation of copular), $lɛ^{35}$ (prohibitive), $pɛ^{44}$ 不 (negation of volition), mao^{21} 冇 (negation of future, psychological verbs), $nɛ̃^{35}$ (negation of perfective), and $ĩ$ 唔 (negation of potential complement). Except for the first two (because the first is usually used to negate permanent relations or properties, and the second is used in imperatives), the remaining negators can co-occur with the sentence-final $tsʰɶ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 2 / $tsʰɶ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 2, which has its scope over the negators. The reason the negator of copular $lɛ^{35}$ and the prohibitive $lɛ^{35}$ cannot co-occur with the sentence-final $tsʰɶ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 2 / $tsʰɶ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 2 may be due to the fact that the former is usually the

negation of a particular part of the sentence, but $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ has the whole preceding clause as its scope; the latter is used in imperatives in which $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ cannot appear.

(89) 渠   不   去   上課   在國 $_2$/   在岡 $_2$。

  $t\varepsilon i^{53}$ $p\varepsilon^{44}$ $k^h\varepsilon^{21}$ $s\tilde{ɔ}^{21}k^ho^{21}$ $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$

  3SG   NEG   go   attend class   SFC   SFC

  'He does not want to attend class.'

(90) 渠   冇   去   讀書   哩   在國 $_2$/   在岡 $_2$。

  $t\varepsilon i^{53}$ mao^{21} $k^h\varepsilon^{21}$ $ho^{21}\varepsilon y^{44}$ li $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$

  3SG   NEG   go   attend school PFT   SFC   SFC

  'He will not go to school anymore.'

(91) 渠   今暝   恁   喫飯   在國 $_2$/   在岡 $_2$。

  $t\varepsilon i^{53}$ $t\varepsilon\tilde{i}^{44}m\tilde{a}^{44}$ $l\tilde{e}^{35}$ $t\varepsilon^h ia^{44}f\tilde{a}^{21}$ $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$

  3SG   today   NEG   have meal   SFC   SFC

  'He did not have a meal today.'

(ii) *Grammatical Aspect*

   As the preceding clause may contain aspectual markers, it is necessary to investigate the types of grammatical aspect with which the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ can co-occur. It is observed that the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ can appear in sentences with the perfective, progressive, continuous and habitual aspects that cover both perfective and imperfective aspects.

   Perfective

   When $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{ɔ}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ appears in perfective sentences, the situation type of the preceding clause can be activities, accomplishments or achievements. The

preceding perfective clause should be well-formed and fulfills the requirements of common perfective sentences. For example, some single verbs cannot take the perfective aspectual marker -*li* 哩 directly; rather, they should combine with resultative complements or *uɛ* 滑 (discussed in Chapter 4). In other words, the preceding clause can stand alone as an independent grammatical sentence before combining with the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. For example,

(92)

我	喫	哩	藥	在國 ₂，	喫	唔得	茶。
uo³⁵	tɕʰia⁴⁴	li	yo²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴	ĩ tɛ	tsʰa¹³
1SG	eat	PFV	medicine	SFC	eat	NEG	tea

'I took medicine, (so) I cannot drink tea.'

(93)

我	喫	滑	三	碗	飯	在國 ₂，	不行	再	喫	哩。
uo³⁵	tɕʰia⁴⁴	uɛ	sã⁴⁴	uã⁵³	fã²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	pɛ⁴⁴	tsœ²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴	li
1SG	eat	DIAO	NUM	CL	rice	SFC	NEG	ADV	eat	PFT

'I have eaten three bowls of rice, (so) I cannot eat anymore.'

(94)

我	還	只	喫	一	碗	飯	在國 ₂，
uo³⁵	hai¹³	pi³⁵	tɕʰia⁴⁴	iɛ⁴⁴	uã⁵³	fã²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹
1SG	still	only	eat	NUM	CL	rice	SFC

還	要	喫	上	一	碗。
hai¹³	iao²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴	sən	iɛ⁴⁴	uã⁵³
still	want	eat	PRT	NUM	CL

'I have only eaten one bowl of rice, (so) I want to eat another bowl of rice.'

(95)

衫服	收	*（合）	哩	在國 ₂，	不要	擔心。
sã⁴⁴fu	sœ⁴⁴	ho	li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	pɛ⁴⁴iao²¹	tã⁴⁴ɕĩ⁴⁴
clothes	collect	COMP	PFV	SFC	NEG	worry

'The clothes have been picked up, (so) do not worry.'

(96) 數據線　　　　斷＊　（滑）　　哩　在國₂，　　冇　用　哩。

su²¹tɕy²¹ɕiɛ̃²¹　　hɔ̃²¹　　uɛ　　li　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　mao²¹　yŋ²¹　li

data line　　　　break　DIAO　　PFV　SFC　　　　NEG　use　PFT

'The data line is broken, (so) it is of no use anymore.'

(97) 飯　熟　哩　在國₂，　喫　滑　飯　再　去。

fã²¹　ɕio²¹　li　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tɕʰia⁴⁴　uɛ　fã²¹　tsœ²¹　kʰɛ²¹

rice　ready　PFV　SFC　　　　eat　DIAO　meal　ADV　go

'The rice is ready, (so) go after the meal.'

Progressive

The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ can appear in progressive

sentences. It should be noted that the selection of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ or *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂

should match the progressive expression; *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ can only co-occur with

tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴ 在國₁ and *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ only co-occurs with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡₁, as shown by

sentences (98)a and (98)b. However, the progressive adverbial *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 can co-occur with

either *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ or *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂, as in sentences (98)c - (100). This indicates that

the deictic meaning of locative demonstratives also remains in the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹*

在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂.

(98) a.　渠　又　在國₁　　喫煙　　在國₂　　＊在岡₂。

tɕi⁵³　iu³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴　tɕʰia⁴⁴iɛ̃⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG　again　PROG　　　smoke　　SFC　　　SFC

'He is smoking again.'

　　b.　渠　又　在岡₁　　喫煙　　在岡₂　　＊在國₂。

tɕi⁵³　iu³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴　tɕʰia⁴⁴iɛ̃⁴⁴　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹

	3SG	again	PROG		smoke		SFC		SFC	

‘He is smoking again.’

c. 渠　　又　　在　　喫煙　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

tɕi⁵³	iu³⁵	tsʰœ⁴⁴	tɕʰia⁴⁴iɛ̃⁴⁴	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹
3SG	again	PROG	smoke	SFC	SFC

‘He is smoking again.’

(99)　蘋果　　　在　　爛　　在國 2／　　在岡 2，　　喫　　唔得　哩。

pʰĩ¹³kuo⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴	lã²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴	ĩ tɛ	li
apple	PROG	rot	SFC	SFC	eat	NEG	PFT

‘The apple is rotting, (so) it is inedible.’

(100)　飯　　在　　熟　　在國 2／　　在岡 2，　　頓時　　　喫飯。

fã²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴	ɕio²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	tɛ̃⁴⁴sɿ¹³	tɕʰia⁴⁴fã²¹
rice	PROG	ready	SFC	SFC	soon	have meal

‘The rice is ready; we will eat soon.’

Moreover, sentences with locative adverbials can also imply the progressive meaning, and *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 2 / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 2 can be used at the end, as shown by sentences (101) and (102).

(101)　渠　　在　　樓上　　　打　　遊戲　在岡 2，　　不　　下來。

tɕi⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴	lœ¹³lɔ̃	ta⁵³	iu¹³ɕi	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	pɛ⁴⁴	ha²¹lœ¹³
3SG	PREP	floor-LOC	play	game	SFC	NEG	DIR

‘He is playing games upstairs; he does not come downstairs.’

(102)　渠　　在　　廚房裡　　燒菜　　在岡 2，　　不得　　　閒。

tɕi⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴	tɕʰy¹³fɔ̃-li	ao⁴⁴tsʰœ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	pɛ⁴⁴tɛ⁴⁴	hã¹³
3SG	PREP	kitchen-LOC	cook	SFC	NEG	idle

'He is cooking in the kitchen; he is not available.'

Continuous

As introduced in the last section, continuous sentences marked by the postverbal particle *-tao* 倒 are incomplete and one strategy is to add the sentence-final $ts^hœ^{44}kuε^{21}$ 在國 ₂ / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 ₂ to eliminate this incompleteness. Moreover, verbs of posture and placement that takes the perfective aspectual marker *-li* 哩 can also express durative states as a result of a completed action. The sentence-final $ts^hœ^{44}kuε^{21}$ 在國 ₂ / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 ₂ can appear in such sentences. For example,

(103) 渠　　立　　倒　　在國 ₂，　　掇　　隻　　凳　　來。

　　　$tɕi^{53}$　$liε^{21}$　tao　$ts^hœ^{44}kuε^{21}$　to^{44}　la^{44}　$tẽ^{21}$　$lœ^{13}$

　　　3SG　stand　CON　SFC　　　bring　CL　chair　DIR

'He is standing, (so) bring a chair.'

(104) 渠　　背　　倒/　哩　　書包　　　在岡 ₂，

　　　$tɕi^{53}$　$pœ^{44}$　tao　li　$ɕy^{44}pao^{44}$　$ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$

　　　3SG　carry　CON　PFV　schoolbag　SFC

　　　喊　　渠　　裝　　減　　些　　書。

　　　$hã^{53}$　$tɕy^{53}$　$tiɔ̃^{44}$　$kã^{53}$　$ɕiε^{44}$　$ɕy^{44}$

　　　ask　3sg　hold　comp　cl　book

'He is carrying a schoolbag, (so) ask him to hold some books.'

It is also common for $ts^hœ^{44}kuε^{21}$ 在國 ₂ / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 ₂ to appear in existential sentences that either contain the perfective aspectual marker *-li* 哩 or the continuous aspectual marker *-tao* 倒, and expresses the continuous resultant state. For example,

(105) 門上　　　　貼　　哩　　對　　　　在國 ₂，　　撕　　滑　　吧？

　　　$mẽ^{13}lɔ̃$　　$t^hε^{44}$　li　$tœ^{35}$　　$ts^hœ^{44}kuε^{21}$　$sɿ^{44}$　uε　pa

| door-LOC | paste | PFV | couplets | | SFC | | tear | DIAO | Q |

'The door is pasted with couplets; can I tear them off?'

(106) 桶裡　　　裝　　哩　　水　　在國 ₂，　　衫服　　　放　　哪處？

| hɜŋ⁵³li | tiɔ̃⁴⁴ | li | ɕy⁵³ | tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ | sã⁴⁴fu | fɔ̃²¹ | lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴ |

| bucket-LOC | hold | PFV | water | SFC | clothes | put | where |

'The bucket is filled with water, (so) where could I put the clothes?'

(107) 門前　　　停　　哩　　隻　　車　　在岡 ₂，　　我　　倒　　唔得　車。

| mẽ¹³tɕʰiẽ | tʰĩ¹³ | li | la⁴⁴ | tsʰa⁴⁴ | tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ | uo³⁵ | tao²¹ | ĩ tɛ | tsʰa⁴⁴ |

| door-LOC | park | PFV | CL | car | SFC | 1SG | back | NEG | car |

'A car is parked outside, (so) I cannot reverse my car.'

Habitual

In addition to the above episodic sentences that express different grammatical aspects, it has been found that the sentence-final $tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 ₂ / $tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 ₂ can also appear in one kind of characterizing sentences: habitual sentences with temporal adverbials such as 暝暝 'every day', 年年 'every year', as shown by sentences (108) and (109).

(108) 渠　　暝暝　　　要　　輸錢　　　在岡 ₂，

| tɕi⁵³ | mã⁴⁴mã⁴⁴ | iao²¹ | ɕy⁴⁴tɕʰiẽ¹³ | tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ |

| 3SG | every day | will | lose money | SFC |

你　　勒　　指靠　　　渠　　還錢　　　哩。

| ĩ³⁵ | lɛ³⁵ | tsʅ⁵³kʰao²¹ | tɕi⁵³ | fã¹³tɕʰiẽ¹³ | li |

| 2SG | NEG | expect | 2SG | pay back | PFT |

'He loses money every day, (so) you should not expect him to pay you back.'

(109) 年年　　　發　　大水　　　在國 ₂，　　作田　　　難　　　　作。

| iẽ¹³iẽ | fa⁴⁴ | hai²¹ɕy⁵³ | tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ | tso⁴⁴tʰiẽ¹³ | nã¹³ | tso⁴⁴ |

every year	occur	flood	SFC	farm	difficult	farm

'It is flooded every year, (so) it is difficult to farm.'

(iii) ***Temporal Reference***

Similar to aspectual types, it seems that the sentence-final $ts^hœ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 2 / $ts^hœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 2 also has no restriction on the temporal reference of the event or state of affairs, which can be oriented in the past, the present and the future. For example,

Past

(110) 先　　飯　　都　　喫　　唔　　飽　　在岡 2，

ɕiã⁴⁴	fã²¹	tsʅ⁴⁴	tɕʰia⁴⁴	ĩ	pao⁵³	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹
before meal	ADV	eat	NEG	full	SFC	

哪處　　　　還　　有　　錢　　買　　衫服。

lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴	hai¹³	iu⁵³	tɕʰiɛ¹³	mai⁵³	sã⁴⁴fu
where	still	have	money	buy	clothes

'We could not even get enough to eat before, (so) we had no money to buy clothes.'

(111) 我　　本來　　　就　　惡躁　　　在國 2，　　你　　還　　罵　　我。

uo³⁵	pẽ⁵³lœ¹³	ɕiu²¹	o⁴⁴tsao²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	ĩ³⁵	hai¹³	ma²¹	uo³⁵
1SG	originally	ADV	angry	SFC	2SG	still	scold	1SG

'I was very angry, (but) you still scold me.'

Present

(112) 國　　　　　在　　落雪　　　在國 2，　　我　　不　　出去　　　　哩。

kuɛ³⁵	tsʰœ⁴⁴	lo²¹ɕiɛ⁴⁴	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	uo³⁵	pɛ⁴⁴	tɕʰyɛ⁴⁴kʰɛ²¹	li
DEM:LOC	PROG	snow	SFC	1SG	NEG	go out	PFT

'It is snowing here, (so) I am not going out.'

(113) 房價　　　　一直　　　　　在　　漲　　在國 2，　　買　　唔　　起。

fɔ̃¹³ka²¹   iɛ⁴⁴tsʰɛ²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴ tsɔ̃⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   mai⁵³ ĩ   ɕi⁵³

housing price all the time   PROG   rise   SFC   buy   NEG   COMP

'The housing price is rising all the time, (so) (I) cannot afford it.'

Future

(114) 渠　　要　　叫　　去哩　在國₂，　　你　　勒　　逗　　渠　　哩。

tɕi⁵³   iao²¹   tɕiao²¹ kʰɛ²¹li tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   ĩ³⁵   lɛ³⁵   tœ⁴⁴   tɕi⁵³   li

3SG   will   cry   PFT   SFC   2SG   NEG   tease   3SG   PFT

'He is about to cry, (so) you should not tease him anymore.'

(115) 明暝　　　　落雪　　　在國₂，　　你　　還　　恁　　買　　羽絨衫。

miɛ̃²¹mã⁴⁴   lo²¹ɕiɛ⁴⁴   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   ĩ³⁵   hai¹³   lɛ̃³⁵   mai⁵³ y⁵³yŋ¹³sã⁴⁴

tomorrow   snow   SFC   2SG   still   NEG   buy   down jacket

'It will snow tomorrow, (but) you still have not bought a down jacket yet.'

(iv) *Sentence Type*

The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ cannot be used in imperative and exclamatory sentences, as shown by sentences (116) and (117), respectively.

(116) 立　　倒　　（*在國₂／　在岡₂）！

liɛ²¹   tao   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

stand   CON   SFC   SFC

'Stand!'

(117) 渠　長　得　真　標緻　　　（*在國₂／　在岡₂）！

tɕi⁵³   tiɔ̃⁵³   tɛ   tsɛ̃⁴⁴   piao⁴⁴tsʅ⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹   tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

3SG   grow   COMP ADV   beautiful   SFC   SFC

'How beautiful she is!'

Regarding interrogatives, it can appear in the neutral interrogative sentences with 嗎 at

the end and in "VP-NEG" with the perfective negator *lẽ* 恁. However, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ in interrogative sentences tends to imply place deixis, and when the situation involves no place, it usually does not have the interrogative form.

(118) 渠　　立　　倒　　在國 ₂ /　　在岡 ₂　　　恁/　　嗎？

ȵi⁵³　liɛ²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　lẽ　mã

3SG　stand　CON　SFC　　　　SFC　　　　NEG　Q

'Is he standing?'

(119) 燈　　一下　　　光　　起　　在國 ₂ /　　在岡 ₂　　　恁/　　嗎？

tẽ⁴⁴　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹　kuɔ̃⁴⁴　ȵi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　lẽ　mã

bulb　all　　　light　COMP　SFC　　　　SFC　　　　NEG　Q

'Are all the bulbs turned on?'

(120) *　渠　　　惡躁　　　個　　在國 ₂ /　　在岡 ₂　　　嗎？

ȵi⁵³　　o⁴⁴tsao²¹　ko²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　mã

3SG　　angry　　　ATTR　SFC　　　　　SFC　　　　Q

Intended meaning: 'Is he angry?'

(121) *　明暝　　　就　　放假　　　　　在國 ₂ /　　在岡 ₂　　　嗎？

miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　ȵiu²¹　fɔ̃²¹ka⁵³　　　　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　mã

tomorrow　ADV　take a holiday　SFC　　　　SFC　　　　Q

Intended meaning: 'Does the holiday start tomorrow?'

The most common and unmarked environment for *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ should be narratives, as shown by the examples listed above. In narrative sentences, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ can co-occur with typical mood particles and should be placed before them. Take the mood particle *lei* 勒 as an example. It corresponds to the mood particle *a* 啊 in Standard Chinese.

(122) 渠　　睏　　倒　　在國₂　　　勒，　得　　渠　　休息　　　　一下哩。

tɕi⁵³　fɛ̃²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　lei　tɛ⁴⁴　tɕi⁵³　ɕiu⁴⁴ɕiɛ⁴⁴　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹li

3SG　lie　CON　SFC　　　　SFP　lei　2SG　rest　　　DIM

'He is lying down, let him take a rest.'

(123) 燈　　一下　　　　光　　起　　在岡₂　　　勒，　冇　　墨黑。

tɛ̃⁴⁴　iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹　　kuɔ̃⁴⁴　ɕi⁵³　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹　lei　mao²¹　mɛ²¹hɛ⁴⁴

bulb　all　　　　light　COMP　SFC　　　SFP　NEG　dark

'All the bulbs are turned on, (so) it would not be dark.'

(124) 我　　蒸　　哩　　飯　　在國₂　　　勒，　放心　　　　有　　飯　　喫。

uo³⁵　tsɛ̃⁴⁴　li　fã²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　lei　fɔ̃²¹ɕĩ⁴⁴　　iu⁵³　fã²¹　tɕʰia⁴⁴

1SG　steam　PFV　rice　SFC　　　　SFP　reassure　　have　rice　eat

'I have steamed rice, (so) be reassured that we have rice to eat.'

(125) 渠　　惡躁　　　個　　在國₂　　　勒，　你　　少　　話　　兩　　句。

tɕi⁵³　o⁴⁴tsao²¹　ko²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　lei　ĩ³⁵　sao⁵³　ua²¹　liɔ̃⁵³　tɕy²¹

3SG　angry　　　ATTR　SFC　　　　SFP　2SG　less　speak　NUM　sentence

'He is very angry, (so) you should speak less.'

Moreover, it should be placed after the sentence-final perfect particle -li 哩, which marks a change of state that is currently relevant and corresponds to the sentence-final -le 了 in Modern Standard Chinese.

(126) 渠　　不　　去　　哩　　在國₂，　　喊　　哪個　　　去？

tɕi⁵³　pɛ⁴⁴　kʰɛ²¹　li　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　hã²¹　lai¹³ko²¹　kʰɛ²¹

3SG　NEG　go　PFT　SFC　　　　ask　who　　　go

'He won't go any more, (then) who can I ask to go?'

(127) 恁　　落雨　哩　　在國₂／　　在岡₂，　我人　去　　得　　　哩。

lẽ³⁵	lo²¹γ⁵³ li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	uo³⁵ĩ	kʰɛ²¹	tɛ⁴⁴	li
NEG	rain PFT	SFC	SFC	1PL	go	COMP	PFT

'It does not rain, (so) we can go now.'

(128) 桃　在　紅　哩　在岡₂，　下　個　月　喫　得。

tsʰœ⁴⁴	tsʰœ⁴⁴	fəŋ¹³	li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	ha²¹	ko²¹	yɛ²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴	tɛ⁴⁴
peach	PROG	red	PFT	SFC	next	CL	month	eat	COMP

'Peaches are turning red, (so) they are edible next month.'

(129) 渠　跑　滑　一　個　小時　　來哩　在國₂／　在岡₂。

tɕi⁵³	pʰao⁵³	uɛ	iɛ⁴⁴	ko²¹	ɕiao⁵³sɿ¹³	lœ¹³li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹
3SG	run	DIAO	NUM	CL	hour	PFT	SFC	SFC

'He has run for one hour.'

Therefore, the syntactic position of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ is

lower than typical mood particles but higher than the aspectual sentence-final particle *-li* 哩.

Based on these facts, we can probably tell that the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ /

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ 在岡₂ is (or is grammaticalizing towards) a sentence-final particle. However, since

it is a two-syllable compound, we label it a sentence-final compound, abbreviated as SFC.

5.2.3.4 Functions of the Sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂

It can be seen from the above investigations that the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ /

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ 在岡₂ has a rather wide distribution and few syntactic restrictions. Since it can

occur in sentences of all different types of aspect and temporal reference, it should not be

treated as an aspectual marker, such as the continuous aspectual marker, as many previous

studies have proposed, nor can it be a tense marker, as proposed by Lu (2017) that *tsai²¹ko²⁴*

in Changsha Xiang is the present-tense marker. To this point, the further question arises:

What is the function of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂?

Semantically, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ does not express specific content as the postverbal locative complement sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃ does. Syntactically, sentences with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ at the end are complete in the syntactic sense, as *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ can help eliminate the incompleteness effect of the preceding clause, and many preceding clauses can in fact stand alone and act as independent sentences. In this sense, *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ equals or can be regarded as a sentence-final particle.

However, sentences with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ are not independent units at the discourse level; rather, they are dependent on the context. We argue that the use of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is mainly driven by discourse needs. The function of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is to remind the hearer of the existence of the situation expressed by the preceding clause, and this situation is the background or basis for the speaker's stance. This is why sentences with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ are always followed by other sentences, which show the communication purpose of the speaker. In other words, events or states of affairs expressed by sentences with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ serve as the factual basis for the speaker's real communication purpose, which may either be explicitly expressed or be able to be interpreted by the hearer in the specific context. The logic entailed in the context can be paraphrased as "Due to the fact that…, …". This is why most sentences with the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ listed above are followed by subsequent clauses, and the logical relation between the two clauses is "cause-effect" in the broad sense. Therefore, we propose that the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is a discourse particle, whose main function is to remind the hearer of a situation that forms the factual basis for the

speaker's communication purpose.

Untill now, we have determined what the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ is in terms of its syntactic distribution and discourse function. A further question remains to be addressed concerning how the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ forms such a wide syntactic distribution and develops the discourse function. Although the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ can be differentiated from the postverbal locative complement $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 $_3$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{35}$ 在岡 $_3$ at the synchronic level, what is their relationship in the diachronic sense? Although we have confirmed that the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ is not a continuous aspectual marker, is it possible that its present use is derived from an existing use of marking the continuous aspect? Is there any relation between the function of the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ and the continuous aspectual meaning? These possibilities will be accounted for by examining its grammaticalization in the next section.

5.3 Grammaticalization of the Sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$

The grammaticalization of the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ can be conducted in three approaches: internal reconstruction, cross-dialectal comparison and evidence from historical materials. These three approaches require different kinds of language data. Both internal reconstruction and cross-dialectal comparison is to reconstruct the diachrony from the synchrony. However, the former can be done based on data from a single language/dialect, while the latter requires a large amount of data from many different dialects. As long as the use of a form in a language/dialect exhibits enough variations, it is effective to conduct internal reconstruction based on universal principles of the grammaticalization theory. Regarding the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{\sigma}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ in Lianhua Gan, its different uses and its relationship with the postverbal locative

complement *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵* 在國 ₃ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵* 在岡 ₃ at the synchronic level can contribute to the reconstruction of its grammaticalization pathway.

Since the sentence-final locative prepositional phrase is also used in other dialects, such as 勒海 in Suzhou Wu, 来动 in Shaoxing Wu, 勒霍 in Haiyan Wu and 在处 in Quanzhou Min, and they should exhibit variations to different degrees, it is possible to make cross-dialectal comparisons to reconstruct their pathways of grammaticalization with the typological tool of the Semantic Map Model. However, due to the inadequate data from other dialects, the approach to performing cross-dialectal comparison cannot serve as the main method for the time being. With regard to the third approach, although the corresponding form of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ has been found in historical materials, data provided in historical materials may not reflect the complete picture at that time and some usages may not be recorded. In this sense, this approach also cannot serve as the main method for this question. Therefore, the reconstruction of the pathway of the grammaticalization of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ would mainly be obtained through internal reconstruction.

The uses of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ are in fact heterogeneous, so different uses in the synchronic dimension can be arranged based on the degree of grammaticalization and thus be dynamicized into the changing process in the diachronic sense. The reconstruction of the grammaticalization of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ should be conducted in two aspects: (i) to ascertain the origin of the grammaticalization and (ii) to explore the process of the grammaticalization. Regarding (i), it is important in the studies of grammaticalization to identify the bridging context where both the origin and the target forms can be used. Regarding (ii), the first step is to differentiate different usages in the synchrony and then identify the process of the grammaticalization, which can be reflected in the extension from the origin in terms of

syntactic distribution, semantic and discourse function. Based on the hypothesis of the unidirectionality of the grammaticalization theory, a particular use of the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ that exhibits an obvious connection with that of the origin should be less grammaticalized. One diagnostic test to determine the degree of grammaticalization of the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ is to examine whether it shows some connection with the origin or how far the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ diverges from the source.

We argue that the origin of the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ is the locative prepositional phrase $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 $_3$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 在岡 $_3$ located in the sentence-final position. Two bridging contexts in which both the postverbal locative complement $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 $_3$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 在岡 $_3$ and the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ can occur have been observed.

One bridging context is sentences in which the predicate is a resultative verb compound with the semantic feature of [+motion]. In such cases, the postverbal $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 $_3$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 在岡 $_3$ and the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ may occupy the same position. They are distinct in terms of their functions. While the focus of sentences with the postverbal $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 在國 $_3$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{35}$ 在岡 $_3$ is the locative complement that indicates the locational place of a participant after an action involving a change of location, that of sentences with the sentence-final $ts^h\alpha^{44}ku\varepsilon^{21}$ 在國 $_2$ / $ts^h\alpha^{44}k\tilde{o}^{21}$ 在岡 $_2$ is the realis situation expressed by the entire preceding clause. In other words, the former refers to the existence of a participant at a spatial location, and the latter reports that a realis situation exists at the reference time. Despite this difference, they are connected in that the existence in the temporal dimension is a map from the spatial location at a time. Moreover, the fact that the existence of a spatial location entails that the situation exists at a time makes such mapping

reasonable.

(130) a.　渠　　坐　　倒　　在國 3 /　　在岡 3。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　tsʰo²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

　　　　3SG　sit　CON　PREP-DEM　　PREP-DEM

　　　　'He is sitting here/there.'

　　b.　渠　　坐　　倒　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　tsʰo²¹　tao　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

　　　　3SG　sit　CON　SFC　　　SFC

　　　　'He is seated.'

(131) a.　鎖匙　掛　　起　　在國 3 /　　在岡 3。

　　　　so⁵³sɿ　kua²¹　ɕi　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

　　　　key　hang　COMP　PREP-DEM　PREP-DEM

　　　　'The key is hanging here/there.'

　　b.　鎖匙　掛　　起　　在國 2／　　在岡 2。

　　　　so⁵³sɿ　kua²¹　ɕi　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

　　　　key　hang　COMP　SFC　　　SFC

　　　　'The key has been hung up.'

Since the existence of a situation at a time does not require a location, the predicate of such sentences with *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 2 / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 2 may extend to resultative verb compounds with the semantic feature of [-motion], which makes the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 2 / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 2 further diverge from the postverbal locative complement.

(132) a.　衫服　　　收　　合　　在國 3／　　在岡 3。

　　　　sã⁴⁴fu　　sœ⁴⁴　ho　tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵　tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

clothes collect COMP PREP-DEM PREP-DEM

'The clothes are put away here/there.'

b. 衫服 收 合 在國₂／ 在岡₂，

sã⁴⁴fu sœ⁴⁴ ho tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹

clothes collect COMP SFC SFC

你 折 正 放 拉 櫃子裡。

ĩ³⁵ tse⁴⁴ tsã fɔ̃²¹ la kʰœ²¹tsɻ̩ li

2SG fold COMP put PRT closet-LOC

'The clothes have been put away; you fold them and put them in the closet.'

(133) a. *衫服 買 正 在國₃／ 在岡₃。

sã⁴⁴fu mai⁵³ tsã tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

clothes buy COMP PREP-DEM PREP-DEM

Intended meaning: 'The clothes are bought and they are here/there.'

b. 衫服 買 正 哩， 在國₃／ 在岡₃。

sã⁴⁴fu mai⁵³ tsã li tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ³⁵ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵

clothes buy COMP PFV PREP-DEM PREP-DEM

'The clothes are bought and they are here/there.'

c. 衫服 買 正 在國₂／ 在岡₂， 你 勒 叫 哩。

sã⁴⁴fu mai⁵³ tsã tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹ tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ ĩ³⁵ lɛ³⁵ tɕiao²¹ li

clothes buy COMP SFC SFC 2SG NEG cry PFT

'The clothes have been bought, (so) do not cry anymore.'

While 'S+RVC+ *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂' is a real-time report that shows a

current state, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡₂ reports a past event as a

currently relevant state when the perfective aspectual marker *-li* 哩 is attached to the RVC. In

fact, 'S+RVC+*li* 哩' is an independent sentence, and there is no difference in the meaning regardless of the occurrence of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. The use of *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ after 'S+RVC+*li* 哩' is discourse-oriented, indicating the speaker's subjective mood, which diverges further from the locative prepositional phrase.

(134) a.

渠	�倒	在國 ₂ /	在岡 ₂,	站	起	唔得。
tɕi⁵³	hẽ⁵³tao²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	tsã²¹	ɕi⁵³	ĩ tɛ
3sg	fall down	SFC	SFC	stand	COMP	NEG

'He has fallen down, and he cannot stand up.'

b.

渠	跌倒	哩	在國 ₂ /	在岡 ₂,	站	起	唔得。
tɕi⁵³	hẽ⁵³tao	li	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹	tsã²¹	ɕi⁵³	ĩ tɛ
3SG	fall down	PFV	SFC	SFC	stand	COMP	NEG

'He fell down and cannot stand up.'

The other bridging context is existential sentences. The sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ in existential sentences may exhibit ambiguity; it can simply be an anaphora to the location mentioned in the preceding clause, but it may also be closer to a sentence-final particle that expresses the speaker's mood or contributes to the logical expression of the discourse.

(135)

凳上	放	哩	件	衫服	在岡 ₃,	你	去	試	一下。
tẽ²¹lɔ̃	fɔ̃²¹	li	tɕʰiẽ⁴⁴	sã⁴⁴fu	tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃³⁵	ĩ³⁵	kʰɛ²¹	sŋ²¹	iɛ⁴⁴ha²¹
chair-LOC	put	PFV	CL	coat	SFC	2SG	go	try	once

'There is a coat on the chair; you go to have a try.'

(136)

凳上	堆	滿	哩	衫服	在國 ₂,	我	坐	哪處?
tẽ²¹lɔ̃	tœ⁴⁴	mɔ̃⁵³	li	sã⁴⁴fu	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	uo³⁵	tsʰo²¹	lai²¹uɛ⁴⁴

chair-LOC	pile	COMP	PFV	clothes	SFC	1SG	sit	where

'The chair is fully piled up with clothes, (so) where do I sit?'

When the situation expressed by the preceding clause involves no location, and the sentence final mainly serves as a discourse marker that presents a currently relevant state, the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ is grammaticalized to a full-fledged discourse marker. This criterion concerns the identification of the more grammaticalized use of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂. The addition of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ²¹* 在岡 ₂ is to set the background information for the speaker's real communication purpose, which is usually explicated by a subsequent sentence. This use is highly discourse-oriented and subjective.

(137)

我	不得	閑	在國 ₂，	你	自家	去	喫飯。
uo³⁵	pɛ⁴⁴tɛ⁴⁴	hã¹³	tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹	ĩ³⁵	sɿ²¹ka⁴⁴	kʰɛ²¹	tɕʰia⁴⁴fã²¹
1SG	NEG	idle	SFC	2SG	oneself	go	have meal

'I am not available, (so) you go have meal by yourself.'

Yap, Wang and Lam (2010) summarized four major pathways for the development of sentence-final particles that have been identified in previous work:

   (i) the grammaticalization of nominalizers, such as *de* in Mandarin and *ge* in Cantonese;

   (ii) the grammaticalization of verbs that have evolved tense-aspect-mood functions, such as *le* in Mandarin;

   (iii) the grammaticalization of verbs of saying, such as *shuo* in Mandarin, *waa* in Cantonese and *kong* in Taiwanese;

   (iv) the integration of subjective constituents in the second clauses as the sentence-final particle of the preceding clause, such as the sentence-final interrogative negator *bu* in Mandarin.

If our analysis about the grammaticalization of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ /

tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹ 在岡 ₂ is tenable, a fifth pathway for the development of the sentence-final particle

that evolves from postverbal locative prepositional phrase can be established. This requires

more cross-dialectal/cross-linguistic evidence.

5.4 Summary

This chapter investigates the expressions of the progressive and the continuous aspects.

The preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ⁴⁴* 在國 ₁ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃⁴⁴* 在岡 ₁and *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 can be used to mark on-

going activities; the preverbal *tsʰœ⁴⁴* 在 can also modify achievements that denote the

changing process of gradable properties and the on-going process of the preparatory stage of

a change-of-state. The postverbal *-tao* 倒 is a pure continuous aspectual marker that can only

follow stative verbs to denote the durative state. According to our investigation of the

distribution of the sentence-final *tsʰœ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰœ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂, we hold that it is not a

continuous aspectual marker; rather, it should be regarded as a pragmatic discourse particle or

compound. It is mainly used to express the speaker's stance by reminding the hearer of the

situation expressed by its preceding clause, which serves as the factual basis of the speaker's

communication purpose.

Chapter 6 HAVE-possessive

6.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the multiple functions of the HAVE-possessive verb iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan in the domains of tense, aspect and modality from a typological perspective.

The HAVE-possessive, a type of predicative possession,[25] is prototypically encoded by the sentence structure 'NP$_{possessor}$ + HAVE + NP$_{possessee}$', in which (1) HAVE is the transitive verb marking the possessive relation, (2) the possessor is construed as the subject/agent and (3) the possessee is construed as the object/patient (Stassen, 2009). The HAVE-possessive verb in this study refers to the counterpart of the English *have* in Lianhua Gan, iu^{53} 有, which is the cognate of *you* 有 in Chinese. When the HAVE-possessive verb extends from 'NP + HAVE + NP' to 'NP + HAVE + VP', it can derive temporal, aspectual and modal meanings. For example, *have* in English can express the perfect aspect in the structure of '*have* + V-ed' and the deontic modality in '*have to* VP'.

It is common for the HAVE-possessive verb *you* 有 to function as a transitive verb to express possession in Chinese.[26] For example, in Modern Standard Chinese, *you* 有 is used in the structure of 'NP$_{possessor}$ + *you* 有 + NP$_{possessee}$' to express possession, as shown by sentence (1). In addition, *you* 有 is used in the locative inversion construction of 'NP$_{location}$ + *you* 有 + NP$_{object}$' to express the existence of an entity in a specific location, as shown by sentence (2).

(1) 我　　　有　　一　　輛　　車。

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[25] The term *predicative possession* refers to the possession that is expressed by a sentence. According to Stassen (2009), there are four types of predicative possession: locational possessive, with-possessive, topic possessive and HAVE-possessive; the first three types are expressed by the copular BE or the existential verb EXIST.

[26] Since Chinese dialects share the same cognate 有 for the HAVE-possessive verb, I employ the *hanyu pinyin* 漢語拼音 *you* of 有 in Modern Standard Chinese to represent the HAVE-possessive verb in different Chinese dialects. For the convenience of cross-dialectal comparisons, the *hanyu pinyin* 漢語拼音 *you*, together with the IPA iu^{53}, is also used for the HAVE-possessive verb in Lianhua Gan.

wo   you   yi   liang   che

1SG   HAVE   NUM   CL   car

'I have a car.'

(2)   門口   有   一   輛   車。

menkou you   yi   liang   che

gate   HAVE   NUM   CL   car

'There is a car at the door.'

    In many southern dialects, including Yue, Min, some southern Wu dialects that are close to Min and some Hakka dialects spoken outside of the Jiangxi Province, *you* 有 can function as an auxiliary to modify a verb phrase, affirming that an event took place in the past.[27] For example,

(3)   Shantou 汕頭 Min (Shi, 1996b: 26)

我   有   食飯。

1SG   HAVE   eat meal

'I had a meal.'

(4)   Guangzhou 廣州 Yue (Li et al. 1995: 576)

琴日   我哋 有   去   過   阿嫲   嗰度。

yesterday 1PL   HAVE go   EXP   grandma   DEM:LOC

'We went to grandma's yesterday.'

(5)   Wenzhou 溫州 Wu (You, 1999: 182)

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[27] Many studies have focused on summarizing the grammatical meaning of this usage of *you* 有 in southern dialects. It is widely held that the function of *you* 有 is to indicate the occurrence or existence of a particular event or state in the past (Zheng, 1985; Li, 1986; Cao & Zheng, 1995; Shi, 1996b; Chen & Chen, 2006; and among others). Yue-Hashimoto (1993) called this use of *you* 有 the affirmative past, and Yue (2010) treated it as a marker of the past time. Fan (2017) summarized the core property of *you* 有 in southern dialects as a realis-existential modal, which involves the three categories of tense (realis), aspect (existential) and modality (affirmation). Moreover, Cao (2008) labelled it as a perfective aspectual marker; Chen and Wang (2010) categorized it as the perfect marker.

我　　　前日　　　　　　　　　有　　上課。

1SG　　　day before yesterday　　　HAVE　attend class

'I attended class the day before yesterday.'

However, "*you* 有 + VP" in Lianhua Gan is used to predict that an event will take place in the future, as shown by sentence (6). The corresponding expression of "*you* 有 + VP" in Yue and Min should be expressed by the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩 instead of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan, as shown by sentences (7) and (8).

(6) 明暝　　　　　有　　落雨。

　　 miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　　　iu⁵³　　lo²¹y⁵³

　　 tomorrow　　　HAVE　rain

　　 'It will rain tomorrow.'

(7) a. ＊　　我　　有　　喫飯。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　iu⁵³　　tɕʰia⁴⁴fã²¹

　　　　　　1SG　　HAVE　eat meal

　　　　　　Intended meaning: 'I had a meal.'

　　 b. 我　　喫　　哩　　飯。

　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰia⁴⁴　li　　　fã²¹

　　　　1SG　　eat　　PFV　　rice

　　　　'I had a meal.'

(8) a. ＊　　我　　前暝　　　　　　　有　　上課。

　　　　　　uo³⁵　　tɕʰiẽ¹³mã　　　　　iu⁵³　　sɔ̃²¹kʰo²¹

　　　　　　1SG　　day before yesterday　　HAVE　attend class

　　　　　　Intended meaning: 'I attended class the day before yesterday.'

　　 b. 我　　前暝　　　　　　　上　　哩　　課。

uo³⁵   tɕʰiɛ̃¹³mã   sɔ̃²¹   li   kʰo²¹

1SG   day before yesterday   attend PFV   class

'I attended class the day before yesterday.'

Despite the opposition in terms of the temporal reference, *you* 有 in those typical southern dialects and in Lianhua Gan share a common function of marking habitual events. For example, *you* 有 in sentences (9) - (11), taken from Shantou Min, Guangzhou Yue and Lianhua Gan, respectively, mark the same type of habitual events that occur repetitively during a period of time.

(9) Shantou Min (Shi, 1996b: 26)

伊   日日   有   拍   太極拳。

3SG   every day   HAVE do   Tai Chi

'He does Tai Chi every day.'

(10)   Guangzhou Yue (Li et al. 1995: 576)

防火   措施   都   有   經常   強調   嘅。

fire prevention   measure   ADV   HAVE often   stress   SFP

'The fire prevention measures are often stressed.'

(11)   Lianhua Gan

渠   暝暝   有   跑步。

tɕi⁵³   mã⁴⁴mã⁴⁴   iu⁵³   pʰao⁵³pʰu²¹

3SG   every day   HAVE run

'He runs every day.'

The future reference expressed by *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan is usually expressed by the auxiliary *hui* 會 in Modern Standard Chinese and other dialects, which have multiple functions and share some functions with *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan. Take *hui* 會 in Modern

Standard Chinese as an example. In addition to the future temporal reference, as in sentence (12), *hui* 會 can also function as a verb to indicate mental ability meaning "to know how to do", as in sentence (13), and "be good at doing", as in sentence (14). Moreover, it can also function as an auxiliary to express epistemic modality, as in sentence (15), and the habitual meaning, as in sentence (16).

(12)　　　明天　　　　會　　下雨。

　　　　　mingtian　　hui　　xiayu

　　　　　tomorrow　　HUI　　rain

　　　　　'It will rain tomorrow.'

(13)　　　他　　會　　開車。

　　　　　ta　　hui　　kaiche

　　　　　3SG　　HUI　　drive

　　　　　'He can drive.'

(14)　　　他　　很　　會　　說話。

　　　　　ta　　hen　　hui　　shuohua

　　　　　3SG　　very　　HUI　　talk

　　　　　'He is a good talker.'

(15)　　　他　　還　　小，　還　　會　　長　　高　　的。

　　　　　ta　　hai　　xiao　hai　　hui　　zhang　gao　　de

　　　　　3SG　　still　　young　still　　HUI　　grow　　tall　　SFP

　　　　　'He is still young, so he will grow taller.'

(16)　　　他　　每週　　　會　　去　　打　　羽毛球。

　　　　　ta　　meizhou　　hui　　qu　　da　　yumaoqiu

　　　　　3SG　　every week　HUI　　go　　play　　badminton

　　　　　'He goes to play badminton every week.'

In Lianhua Gan, *fœ⁵³* 會, the cognate of *hui* 會 in Chinese, can only mean 'be good at doing something', as in sentence (17). Other functions of *hui* 會 in Modern Standard Chinese are marked by the auxiliary *you* 有 except for mental ability, which is expressed by the verb *xiaode* 曉得 'to know', as in sentence (18). The functions of future temporal reference, epistemic modality and habituality are marked by *you* 有 rather than *fœ⁵³* 會 in Lianhua Gan, as illustrated by sentences (19) - (21), respectively.

(17)　渠　　會　　話事。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　fœ⁵³　　ua²¹sɿ²¹

　　　3SG　　HUI　　talk

　　　'He is a good talker.'

(18)　渠　　曉得　　　　開車。

　　　tɕi⁵³　　ɕiao⁵³tɛ　　　kʰœ⁴⁴tsʰa⁴⁴

　　　3SG　　know　　　　drive

　　　'He can drive.'

(19)　明暝　　　有/　*會　落雨。

　　　miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　　iu⁵³　　fœ⁵³　　lo²¹y⁵³

　　　tomorrow　　HAVE　HUI　　rain

　　　'It will rain tomorrow.'

(20)　渠　還　細，　還　有/　*會　長　高　個。

　　　tɕi⁵³　hai¹³　ɕi²¹　hai¹³　iu⁵³　fœ⁵³　tiɔ̃⁵³　kao⁴⁴　ko

　　　3SG　still　young　still　HAVE　HUI　grow　tall　SFP

　　　'He is still young, so he will grow taller.'

(21)　渠　個個　　禮拜　　有/　*會　去　打　羽毛球。

　　　tɕi⁵³　ko²¹ko²¹　　li⁵³pai²¹　　　iu⁵³　fœ⁵³　kʰɛ²¹　ta⁵³　y⁵³mao¹³tɕʰiu¹³

| 3SG | every | week | HAVE HUI | go | play | badminton |

'He goes to play badminton every week.'

It should be noted that *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan can serve as an auxiliary is uncommon in other Gan dialects. Based on the observations described above, it can be seen that the HAVE-possessive verb *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan exhibits some peculiar features compared to the other Chinese dialects. First, it is rare to employ the HAVE-possessive verb to express future temporal reference in Chinese, and the main device is the auxiliary *hui* 會. Second, the expression of future temporal reference of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan is in contrast with the common phenomenon in southern dialects, in which *you* 有 is used to affirm the occurrence of events in the past. It remains to be explained why the cognates of the HAVE-possessive verb *you* 有 in Chinese dialects indicate opposite temporal references. Third, it is also necessary to account for why *you* in Lianhua Gan and other southern dialects can share the same function of marking the habitual given that they indicate opposite temporal references.

This chapter is arranged as follows. Chapter 6.2 describes the grammatical functions of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan in more detail. Chapter 6.3 explores the development of the grammatical functions of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan through a comparison with its cognates in Yue and Min, supported by cross-linguistically attested generalizations of the grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive verb and its negative counterpart. It should be noted that while the HAVE-possessive verb has many other extended functions outside of the domains of tense, aspect and modality, this chapter only examines the TAM functions.

6.2 Grammatical Functions of *iu⁵³* 有 in Lianhua Gan

In Lianhua Gan, *iu⁵³* 有 can express multiple functions in the domains of TAM, including future temporal reference, circumstantial necessity, deontic modality (permission), epistemic modality, and the habitual. These functions can be divided into two categories in

terms of the temporal deixis of the events expressed by sentences with iu^{53} 有: the future use

and the non-future use. Among these functions, the habitual use entails that the events have

taken place in the past or at present, while other usages do not have the entailment of

actuality and generate future projections.

The negative form of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan is mao^{21} 冇.[28] All of the negative

expressions of iu^{53} 有, regardless of whether it functions as a verb or as an auxiliary is to

replace iu^{53} 有 with mao^{21} 冇. Therefore, the grammatical functions of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua

Gan can also be exhibited by sentences with mao^{21} 冇.

6.2.1 Future[29]

I follow the working definition of the future proposed by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca

(1994) that the focal use of the future is "equivalent to a prediction on the part of the speaker

that the situation in the proposition, which refers to an event taking place after the moment of

speech, will hold" (p. 244). Dahl (2000) has distinguished three types of future time

reference: intention-based, prediction-based, and schedule-based. The intention-based future

is prototypically restricted to a human subject's intention about the future, which is due to the

semantic retention of its diachronic source. The prediction-based future is the speaker's

prediction about the future, which typically concerns the occurrence of an event that is not

within the control of the speaker, such as the natural events. The scheduling-based future

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[28] The negative counterpart of *you* 有 (called the *negative existential* in previous work), often represented by the characters of 冇, 冒 or 無 in previous work, is the fusion of 無, the negative existential in Archaic Chinese, and the verb of existence/possession 有. This is a common phenomenon in the southern dialects of Min, Yue, Hakka and Xiang (Qin, 2003, 2007). According to Qin (2003), the tone of the negative existential in different southern dialects has three types: *yangshang* 陽上 or *shangsheng* 上聲 in Yue, *yangqu* 陽去 or *qusheng* 去聲 in Xiang and Gan, and *yangping* 陽平 in Min and Hakka. The tone of *mao*²¹ 冇 in Lianhua Gan is *qusheng* 去聲.

[29] Cross-linguistically, the future time can be expressed either by inflectional markers or by periphrastic marking devices, such as auxiliaries and particles. Traditionally, only the former is regarded as the form of the future tense, as grammatical categories such as tense and aspect are usually taken as morphological categories. Thus, Chinese is generally claimed to be a tenseless language. However, we follow the treatment of typological studies to depart from semantic categories that are expressed by grammatical devices that incorporate morphological and syntactic forms. Therefore, it is proper to treat *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan as an auxiliary that indicate the future temporal reference.

refers to events that are pre-arranged or planned, which is also referred to as the expected future by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994).

In Lianhua Gan, iu^{53} 有 can be used in prediction-based and schedule-based futures but not in the intention-based future, since its lexical source is not a verb of intention. For example, the raining event in sentence (22) is predicted to take place in the future; the inspection event in (23) is scheduled to be conducted in the future.

(22)　下　　個　　禮拜　　　有　　落雪。

　　　ha²¹　ko²¹　li⁵³pai²¹　　iu⁵³　lo²¹ɕiɛ⁴⁴

　　　next　CL　　week　　　　HAVE　snow

　　　'It will snow next week.'

(23)　明暝　　　　書記　　　有　　來　　檢查。

　　　miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴　ɕy⁴⁴tɕi　　iu⁵³　lœ¹³　tɕiẽ⁵³tsʰa

　　　tomorrow　secretary　　HAVE　come　inspect

　　　'The secretary will come for inspection tomorrow.'

It should be noted that iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan cannot be used to report the immediate occurrence of an scheduled event, and the addition of iu^{53} 有 in immediate future situations is to make a prediction, as shown by the contrast of the two sentences in (24). This phenomenon is parallel to that in English, where the former is expressed by present tense and the latter is expressed by *will*. Therefore, the future use of iu^{53} 有 is compatible to the definition by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994) that the focal use of the future is a prediction by the speaker.

(24)　a.　火車　　　還　　有　　兩　　分鐘　　　到。

　　　　　fo⁵³tsʰa⁴⁴　hai¹³　iu⁵³　liɔ̃⁵³　fẽ⁴⁴tɕɤŋ⁴⁴　tao²¹

　　　　　train　　　still　have　NUM　minute　　　arrive

'The train arrives in two minutes.'

b. 火車　　　還　有　兩　分鐘　　　有　到。

fo⁵³tsʰa⁴⁴　　hai¹³　iu⁵³　liɔ̃⁵³　fɛ̃⁴⁴tɕyŋ⁴⁴　iu⁵³　tao²¹

train　　　still　have　NUM　minute　　　HAVE　arrive

'The train will arrive in two minutes.'

Since the auxiliary *you* 有 functions as an existential operator, sentences with it convey a sense of affirmation or even emphasis of the truth value of the proposition, and this affirmative meaning exists in all the usages of '*you* 有 + VP' in Chinese dialects, including the future use in Lianhua Gan and the past use in southern dialects, especially when *you* 有 can be omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. In this regard, although they have opposite temporal references, *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and typical southern dialects of Min and Yue shares the same semantic feature of affirming the existence of an event. Therefore, I agree with Fan (2017) that the function of *you* 有 in Min and Yue is a mix of tense, aspect and modality (see footnote 27) and accept the term of 'affirmative past' proposed by Yue-Hashimoto (1993). Accordingly, the future use of *iu⁵³* 有 in Lianhua Gan can also be affirmed as 'affirmative future'.

6.2.2 Circumstantial Necessity

In addition to the prediction of a specific event, *iu⁵³* 有 in Lianhua Gan can also be used to make predictions of general truths or rules. It can be paraphrased as "if the condition x exists, then it is necessarily predictable that the event or the state y will come about". It is a law-like statement that a dynamic event always holds true without temporal constraints. It is often but not necessarily structured in conditional sentences. Fan (2017) described it as 'circumstantial necessity', one subtype of the habitual-generic category. Bybee (1988) categorized this usage as a type of marking 'characteristic behavior'. This usage can be seen

as an extension of the future use, extending from the prediction of a specific event to the predictability of a generic rule, and it also tends to be expressed by the future marker in other languages, such as *will* in English.

(25) 低　　於　　零　　度　　水　　就　　有　　結冰。

ti^{44}　y^{44}　li^{35}　t^{h}u^{21}　ɕy^{53}　ɕiu^{21}　iu^{53}　tɕiɛ^{44}pĩ^{44}

low　PREP　zero　degree　water　ADV　HAVE　freeze

'Water will freeze if the temperature is below zero.'

(26) 是　　人　　就　　有　　得　　病。

sɛ^{44}　ĩ^{13}　ɕiu^{21}　iu^{53}　tɛ^{44}　p^{h}iã^{21}

COP　people　ADV　HAVE　get　sick

'People would get sick.'

6.2.3 Deontic Modality

The auxiliary *iu^{53}* 有 in Lianhua Gan can also yield the deontic modality of permission in the sentence structure of 'subject + *iu^{53}* + VP', which can be interpreted as 'the subject is allowed to...', as in sentence (27). Therefore, "*iu^{53}* + VP" may be ambiguous that both the future meaning and the permission reading are possible, as shown by sentence (28)

(27) 你　　有　　看　　電視，　　　渠　　冇　　看。

ĩ^{35}　iu^{53}　k^{h}ɔ^{21}　t^{h}iẽ^{21}sɿ^{21}　tɕi^{53}　mao^{21}　k^{h}ɔ^{21}

2SG　HAVE　watch　TV　　　3SG　NEG　watch

'You can watch TV; he cannot.'

(28) 我/　你/　渠　　有　　喫飯。

uo^{35}　ĩ^{35}　tɕi^{53}　iu^{53}　tɕ^{h}ia^{44}fã^{21}

1SG　2SG　3SG　HAVE　have a meal

Reading 1: 'I/you/he can have a meal.'

Reading 2: 'I/you/he will have a meal.'

The initiator of permission cannot be represented in sentences with "*iu*^{53} + VP", but can only be implied in the conversation. In contrast, in sentences with the causative verb *tɛ*^{44} 得 or the causative compound *iu*^{53} *tɛ*^{44} 有得, the initiator and the receiver of permission can be represented by the subject and the object of *tɛ*^{44} 得 or *iu*^{53} *tɛ*^{44} 有得 respectively, as shown in sentences (29) and (30). As for the causative compound *iu*^{53} *tɛ*^{44} 有得, it can modify the verb phrase directly and the subject is the receiver of permission, as in sentence (30).

(29)　渠　　得　　我　　看　　電影，　　　不得　　　　我　　看　　電視。

　　　tɕi^{53}　tɛ^{44}　uo^{35}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　tʰiẽ^{21}ĩ^{53}　　pɛ^{44}tɛ^{44}　　uo^{35}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　tʰiẽ^{21}sʅ^{21}

　　　3SG　allow　1SG　watch　movie　　　not allow　　1SG　watch　TV

　　　'He allows me to watch movies, (but) does not allow me to watch TV series.'

(30)　我　　有得　　　渠　　看　　電影，　　　冇得　　　渠　　看　　電視。

　　　uo^{35}　iu^{53}tɛ^{44}　　tɕi^{53}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　tʰiẽ^{21}ĩ^{53}　　mao^{21}tɛ^{44}　tɕi^{53}　kʰɔ̃^{21}　tʰiẽ^{21}sʅ^{21}

　　　1SG　allow　　　3SG　watch　movie　　　not allow　　3SG　wathc　TV

　　　'I allow him to watch movies, (but) not allow him to watch TV series.'

(31)　你　　有得　　　看　　電視，　　渠　　冇得　　　看。

　　　ĩ^{35}　iu^{53}tɛ^{44}　　kʰɔ̃^{21}　tʰiẽ^{21}sʅ^{21}　　tɕi^{53}　mao^{21}tɛ^{44}　kʰɔ̃^{21}

　　　2sg　allow　　　watch　TV　　　3sg　not allow　watch

　　　'You are allowed to watch TV; he is not allowed to.'

6.2.4 Epistemic Modality

In addition to the relatively objective prediction on future events that are either uncontrollable or pre-arranged, which is the pure future use defined above, *iu*^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan can also express the subjective inference of the speaker that he or she believes an event or a state will come about in the future based on personal judgement, one type of epistemic modality (Palmer, 2001). For example, 'he will grow taller' expressed in sentence (32) is

inferred by the speaker based on the information that 'he is still young'. The degree of how convinced the speaker is of the inference can be indicated by degree adverbials, such as 可能 'possibly' in (33) and 肯定 'certainly' in (34).

(32) 渠　　還　　細，　還　　有　　長　　高。

　　　tɕi⁵³　hai¹³　ɕi²¹　　hai¹³　iu⁵³　tiɔ̃⁵³　kao⁴⁴

　　　3SG　　still　　young　still　　HAVE　grow　tall

　　　'He is still young, so he will grow taller.'

(33) 渠　　可能　　　　還　　有　　長　　高。

　　　tɕi⁵³　kʰo⁵³lẽ¹³　　hai¹³　iu⁵³　tiɔ̃⁵³　kao⁴⁴

　　　3SG　　possibly　　　still　　HAVE　grow　tall

　　　'He will possibly grow taller.'

(34) 渠　　肯定　　　　還　　有　　長　　高。

　　　tɕi⁵³　kʰẽ⁵³tʰĩ²¹　　hai¹³　iu⁵³　tiɔ̃⁵³　kao⁴⁴

　　　3SG　　certainly　　　still　　HAVE　grow　tall

　　　'He will certainly grow taller.'

Prototypically, the pure future use of *iu⁵³* 有 concerns the occurrence of an expected event that will be attested in the future, although not necessarily, while the subjective judgement by the epistemic use of *iu⁵³* 有 eventually may not turn out to be true. This is why the degree of belief expressed by the epistemic modal *iu⁵³* 有 can be indicated by adverbs. They also differ in the evidence from which the prediction is drawn. In general, the prediction-based future and the schedule-based future usually have an objective basis, while the epistemic modality tends to be based on personal experience or knowledge. For example, *iu⁵³*有 is a future marker in sentence (35), in which the prediction is based on the weather forecast, and *iu⁵³*有 is a marker of epistemic modality in sentence (36), in which the speaker

makes an inference based on his knowledge.

(35) 我   看   哩   天氣   預報，   明暝   有   落雨。

uo³⁵   kʰɔ̃²¹   li   tʰiɛ̃⁴⁴tɕʰi   y²¹pao²¹   miɛ̃²¹mã⁴⁴   iu⁵³   lo²¹y⁵³

1SG   see   PFV   weather   forecast   tomorrow   HAVE   rain

'I have watched the weather forecast; it will rain tomorrow.'

(36) 今暝   冇   星星，   我   猜   明暝   有   落雨。

tɕɛ̃⁴⁴mã⁴⁴   mao²¹   ɕɛ̃⁴⁴ɕɛ̃⁴⁴   uo³⁵   tsʰɛ⁴⁴   miɛ̃²¹mã⁴⁴   iu⁵³   lo²¹y⁵³

today   NEG   star   1SG   guess   tomorrow   HAVE   rain

'There is no star tonight; I guess it will probably rain tomorrow.'

It should be noted that the epistemic use of *iu⁵³* 有 in Lianhua Gan can only be used in future situations that predict the probability of the occurrence of an event; it cannot appear in non-future situations as the English *will* does, as shown by the contrast between sentences (37) and (38). The future-orientation of the epistemic use suggests that it extends from the future use of *iu⁵³* 有.

(37)   It's nine o'clock. John will be in his office now. (Palmer, 2001:28)

(38)   *渠 掛下   有 在 辦公室。

tɕʰi⁵³ kua³⁵xia²¹   iu⁵³   tsʰœ⁴⁴ pã²¹kuŋ⁴⁴se⁴⁴

3SG   now   HAVE   at   office

Intended meaning: 'He will be in the office now.'

6.2.5 Habitual

The habitual sentence describes a generalization about the characteristics of an extended period based on the repetitive occurrence of a given situation (Comrie, 1976, 1985). While Comrie (1976) has categorized the habitual as a subtype of the imperfective aspect, Comrie (1985) mentioned that '[h]abituality can also be modal, since it involves induction from limited observations about the actual world to a generalization about possible worlds' (p. 40).

In Lianhua Gan, *iu⁵³*有 can appear in habitual sentences. For example, sentence (39)

describes that the subject has a habit of smoking based on his past behaviors.

(39)　渠　　有　　　喫煙。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　iu⁵³　　tɕʰia⁴⁴iẽ⁴⁴

　　　　3SG　HAVE　smoke

　　　　'He smokes.'

　　One important feature of the habitual is that the generalization of habitual actions entails

actualized instances of the given situation in the real world. The frequency of the occurrence

of the instances can be explicitly indicated by temporal adverbials, such as 暝暝 'everyday'

in sentence (40), 時時 'often' in sentence (41) and 有時 'sometimes' in sentence (42).

Lamarre (2016) classified habitual sentences into two types based on the frequency of the

occurrence of the event: habitual use (high frequency) and sporadic use (low frequency),

since they may be expressed by different expressions in some languages. Given that there is

no distinction in the marking form of the habitual in Lianhua Gan regardless of the frequency

of specific instances and the occurrence of adverbials of frequency, as shown by sentences

(40) - (42), I do not make further distinctions concerning the habitual sentences.

(40)　渠　　暝暝　　　　有　　喫煙。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　mã⁴⁴mã⁴⁴　　iu⁵³　　tɕʰia⁴⁴iẽ⁴⁴

　　　　3SG　every day　　HAVE　smoke

　　　　'He smokes every day.'

(41)　渠　　時時　冇　　關　　燈。

　　　　tɕi⁵³　sɿ¹³sɿ　mao²¹　kuã⁴⁴　tẽ⁴⁴

　　　　3SG　often　NEG　close　light

　　　　'He often does not turn the light off.'

(42) 爸爸　　　有時　　　有　　洗　　碗。

pa⁴⁴pa　　　iu⁵³sɿ¹³　　iu⁵³　ɕi⁵³　uã⁵³

Dad　　　　sometimes　HAVE wash bowl

'Dad washes the dishes sometimes.'

It should be noted that a sentence with '*iu⁵³* + VP' in Lianhua Gan may express the

future meaning or the habitual meaning. Take sentence (39) as an example. In addition the

habitual meaning that 'he has a habit of smoking', it can also express the future meaning of

'He will smoke'. There are three main differences between them. First, the temporal

reference of the situation is different. In contrast with the future use, the habitual use is

oriented towards non-future time, as it describes a typical situation that exists in the past or at

present. Second, in the habitual use, the situation described by the sentence has a generic

reference. In other words, 喫煙 'smoke' in the habitual use does not refer to a specific

episodic of smoking activity. On the contrary, the future use refers to a specific event that

will take place in the future. If *iu⁵³*有 in sentence (39) is interpreted as a future marker, then

喫煙 'smoke' refers to a specific smoking activity.

Third, the habitual use and the future use have different entailments concerning the

actuality of instances of the event in question. As the definition of the habitual suggests, the

characteristic expressed by the habitual sentence is generalized based on the occurrence of

the instances of the situation. Therefore, instantiations of the situation have been actualized in

the past or at present, and this entailment of actuality cannot be cancelled. On the contrary,

future sentences are mere predictions about prospective events that will come about, and thus

they have no indication of the actuality of the event. For example, the habitual sentence 固根

繩時時有斷 'This string often breaks' in sentence (43) entails 'it has been broken before',

and this entailment cannot be cancelled by a subsequent sentence such as 還恁斷過 'it has

not ever been broken'. Therefore, if 渠有喫煙 is interpreted as the habitual meaning, the actuality of the smoking event cannot be cancelled, as shown by sentence (44)a; if it refers to a future event, the actuality of the smoking event does not make a difference, as shown by sentence (44)b.

(43) a.

固	根	繩	時時	有	斷，	斷	過	幾	次	來哩。
ku^{35}	kɛ̃^{44}	sɛ̃^{13}	sɹ^{13}sɹ	iu^{53}	hɔ̃^{21}	hɔ̃^{21}	kuo	tɕi^{53}	tsʰɹ^{21}	lœ^{13}li
DEM	CL	string	often	HAVE	break	break	EXP	NUM	CL	PFT

'This string often breaks; it has been broken for several times.'

b.

*	固	根	繩	時時	有	斷，	還	恁	斷	過。
	ku^{35}	kɛ̃^{44}	sɛ̃^{13}	sɹ^{13}sɹ	iu^{53}	hɔ̃^{21}	hai^{13}	lɛ̃^{35}	hɔ̃^{21}	kuo
	DEM	CL	string	often	HAVE	break	still	NEG	break	EXP

Intended meaning: 'This string often breaks; it has not been broken.'

(44) a.

*	渠	有	喫煙，	不過	還	恁	喫	過。
	tɕi^{53}	iu^{53}	tɕʰia^{44}iɛ̃^{44}	pɛ^{44}kuo^{21}	hai^{13}	lɛ̃^{35}	tɕʰia^{44}	kuo
	3SG	HAVE	smoke	but	still	NEG	smoke	EXP

Intended meaning: 'He smokes; but he has never smoked.'

b.

渠	有	喫煙，	不過	還	恁	喫	過.
tɕi^{53}	iu^{53}	tɕʰia^{44}iɛ̃^{44}	pɛ^{44}kuo^{21}	hai^{13}	lɛ̃^{35}	tɕʰia^{44}	kuo
3SG	HAVE	smoke	but	still	NEG	smoke	EXP

'He will smoke, but he has never smoked.'

In summary, the HAVE-possessive verb *iu^{53}* 有 in Lianhua Gan can be used to indicate the future time reference, circumstantial necessity, permission, epistemic modality and the habitual meaning. I treat circumstantial necessity and epistemic modality as extensions of the future use, as analyzed above. The next section will examine how the HAVE-possessive verb

in Lianhua Gan developed usages of indicating permission, future and habitual meanings as well as the relationship among these grammatical functions, which can account for the unusual usages of the HAVE-possessive verb in Lianhua Gan with respect to its cognates in other southern dialects.

6.3 Grammaticalization of *iu*^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan

This section explores the grammaticalization of *iu*^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan, the permission use, the future use and the habitual use in particular, from a typological perspective by comparing the counterparts of *iu*^{53} 有 in other southern dialects and making reference to cross-linguistic generalizations about the grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive in the domains of tense, aspect and modality.

6.3.1 Unusual Polysemous Patterns of *iu*^{53} 有 and *mao*^{21} 冇 in Lianhua Gan

As introduced in Chapter 6.1, the HAVE-possessive verb *you* 有 in southern dialects including Min, Yue, Wu and Hakka, can modify verb phrases affirming that an event took place in the past, and it is an unusual case for Lianhua Gan to employ the HAVE-possessive verb to express that an event will take place in the future. It is unexpected that the cognates of *you* 有 in different Chinese dialects indicate opposite temporal references.

Before the reconstruction of its pathway of grammaticalization, we need to identify whether it is possible that *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and other southern dialects may follow the same pathway of grammaticalization, and that the functions of *iu*^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan are influenced by language-external factors. Fan (2017) reconstructed the pathway of semantic change path for *you* 有 in Min and Yue as 'existence and possession → realized existence → habitual → future situations'. If the grammaticalization of *iu*^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan also follows this pathway, then it should have the function of marking the realized existence of events in the past in addition to the habitual use and the future use. Otherwise, it violates the

unidirectional principle of the grammaticalization theory that changes are gradual as well as the Connectivity Hypothesis of the Semantic Map Model. Perhaps iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan previously had the function of marking realized existence in the past, and this function was lost during the process of language contact or was replaced by the perfective *li* 哩.

However, there is not enough evidence to verify or falsify the occurrence of language contact. On one hand, Lianhua Gan has not contact history with Wu, Min and Yue. On the other hand, the usage of '*you* + VP' to affirm past events is not found in other Gan dialects, Hakka spoken in Jiangxi Province and Xiang dialects spoken in Eastern Hunan Province, which may have contact with Lianhua Gan. Moreover, the future use of *you* 有 in Min, which will be re-examined in Chapter 6.3.2, indicates that it is unlikely that u^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan follows the same pathway of grammaticalization as the counterparts in Min and Yue. One more piece of evidence is that, as I will introduce below, the multifunctionality of mao^{21} 冇 in Lianhua Gan, the negative counterpart of iu^{53} 有, suggests that the functions of iu^{53} 有 and mao^{21} 冇 should be the result of language-internal change.

The negative counterpart of *you* 有 in previous work is usually referred to as the negative existential in previous work[30] (Veselinova, 2013; Xu, 2017; Zhang, 2002). The negative existential mao^{21} 冇 in Lianhua Gan also forms a contradiction to the polysemous pattern of the negative existentials in other southern Chinese dialects. Recent studies have discovered that it is common for the negative existentials in southern dialects to be used for standard negation,[31] when the syntactic distribution extends from 'NEG +NP' to 'NEG +VP' and the semantic function extends from the negation of existence and possession to a wider

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[30] Since *you* 有 in Chinese can express possession and existence, it is also proper to refer to it as the existential verb. However, for the convenience of making reference to language universals, I follow the terminology of 'HAVE-possessive' in previous typological studies (Heine & Kuteva, 2002; Stassen, 2009). Thus, the positive form is termed the HAVE-possessive verb and the negative form is termed the negative existential.

[31] Veselinova (2013) has described 'standard negation' as 'the negation strategy used in main declarative sentences where the predicate is a full lexical verb' (p. 108).

range of notions, including aspect, property and modality (Zhang, 2002; Chen & Guo, 2017; Xu, 2017). Take the negative existential 冇 in Zhaoqing 肇慶 Yue investigated by Xu (2017) as an example. In addition to the basic use of negating existence and possession, it can also be used to negate the perfective, experiential and habitual aspects, as shown by the sentences below.

(45)   Negation of existence

屋　　入面　冇　　人。

room LOC   NEG   people

'There are no people in the room.'

(46)   Negation of possession

我　　冇　　兄弟　　　姊妹。(p. 8)

1SG   NEG   brother   sister

'I have no brother or sister.'

(47)   Negation of perfective

我　　琴日　　　　冇　　出門。(p. 2)

1SG   yesterday   NEG   go out

'I did not go out yesterday.'

(48)   Negation of experiential

我　　冇　　去　　過　　香港。

1SG   NEG   go   EXP   Hong Kong

'I have not been to Hong Kong.'

(49)   Negation of habitual

我　　平時　　　　唔/　冇　　做　　運動　　　　個。

1SG   usually   NEG   NEG   do   exercise   SFP

'I usually do not do exercise.'

Based on the comparisons of cross-dialectal data, Xu (2017) reconstructed three paths of negative existentials in southern dialects: a) negation of existence and possession → negation of perfective → negation of habitual → negation of volition; b) negation of existence and possession → negation of perfective → negation of copular → negation of necessity; c) negation of existence and possession → negation of perfective → negation of property. Chen and Guo (2017) have also proposed an evolutionary model for the semantic change of negative existentials, as shown by Figure 9. Despite several different treatments, both Xu (2017) and Chen and Guo (2017) have argued that the negation of the perfective should be the first, essential stage for negative existentials to extend from the existential and possessive negation to standard negation in other domains. In other words, it can be assumed that, if a negative existential has developed any other functions from the existential and possessive negation, it must have the function of negating the perfective.
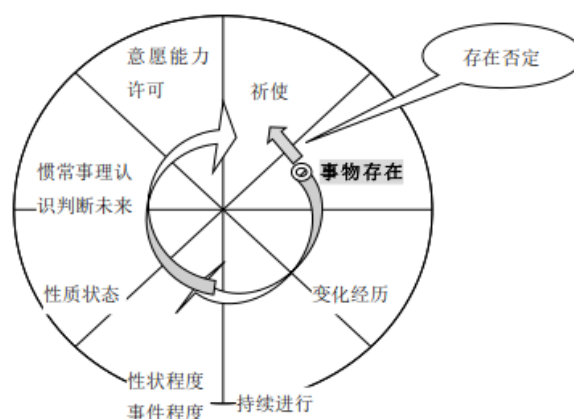

Figure 9 The Evolutionary Model of Negative Existentials in Chinese (Chen & Guo, 2017)

However, the negative existential *mao²¹* 冇 in Lianhua Gan has developed many functions, such as the negation of property, state, habituality, epistemic modality, future, volition and permission, except for the negation of perfective that is expressed by the negator *lẽ³⁵* 恹³², as shown in the sentences below. Therefore, the grammaticalization of the negative

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³² *lẽ³⁵* 恹 is the fusion of 無曾.

counterpart of the *have*-possessive verb *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan also does not match the

pathways of semantic change generalized based on other southern dialects.

(50) Negation of property

西瓜　　　冇　紅，　也　　冇　　甜。

$\text{ɕi}^{44}\text{kua}^{44}$　　mao^{21} fəŋ^{13}　ia^{35}　　mao^{21} $\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{iẽ}^{13}$

watermelon NEG red also NEG sweet

'The watermelon is neither red nor sweet.'

(51) Negation of state

今暝　　　　冇　　惡熱。

$\text{tɕĩ}^{44}\text{mã}^{44}$　　mao^{21} $\text{o}^{44}\text{œ}^{21}$

today　　　NEG　hot

'It is not hot today.'

(52) Negation of habitual

我　平時　　　冇　睏　午　覺。

uo^{35}　$\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{ĩ}^{13}\text{sɿ}^{13}$　　mao^{21} fẽ^{21}　u^{53}　kao^{21}

1SG usually　　neg sleep noon nap

'I usually do not take a nap at noon.'

(53) Negation of epistemic modality

渠　二十　　　幾　　　　來哩，　　冇　　長　高　　哩。

tɕi^{53}　$\text{o}^{21}\text{sɛ}^{21}$　　tɕi^{53}　　　$\text{lœ}^{13}\text{li}$　　　mao^{21} tiɔ̃^{53} kao^{44} li

3SG twenty　　several　PFT　　　NEG grow tall PFT

'He is over 20; he will not grow taller.'

(54) Negation of future

明暝　　　我　冇　去　　上班。

miẽ²¹mã⁴⁴   uo³⁵   mao²¹   kʰɛ²¹   sɔ̃²¹pã⁴⁴

tomorrow   1SG   NEG   go   work

'I will not go to work tomorrow.'

(55)   Negation of volition

我   冇   想   去   上班。

uo³⁵   mao²¹   ɕiɔ̃⁵³   kʰɛ²¹   sɔ̃²¹pã⁴⁴

1SG   NEG   want   go   work

'I do not want to go to work.'

(56)   Negation of permission

你   冇   喫飯。

ĩ³⁵   mao²¹   tɕʰia⁴⁴fã²¹

2SG   NEG   have a meal

'You are not allowed to have a meal.'

(57)   Negation of perfective

我   恁/   *冇   去   上班。

uo³⁵   lẽ³⁵   mao²¹   kʰɛ²¹   sɔ̃²¹pã⁴⁴

1SG   NEG   NEG   go   work

'I did not go to work.'

It should be noted that other Gan dialects mainly use the negative existentials, the cognates of *mao²¹* 冇 in Lianhua Gan, to negate the perfective aspect, and they generally have no further extensions. In this regard, it is unlikely that *mao²¹* 冇 in Lianhua Gan previously possessed the function of perfective negation and developed many other functions before it was replaced, while in other dialects, it retains the function of perfective negation but has no other extensions. Without further reliable evidence of language-external influence, we treat the functions of *iu⁵³* 有 and *mao²¹* 冇 in Lianhua Gan as the result of independent language-

internal development.

6.3.2 Re-examination of *you* 有 in Southern Chinese Dialects

As introduced above, Fan (2017) has proposed the pathway of semantic change *you* 有 in Min and Yue as 'existence and possession → realized existence → habitual → future situations'. According to her investigation, *you* 有 in some Min dialects can be used in future situations. Given that the main use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan is the future use, it is necessary to re-examine the future use of *you* 有 in the Min dialects.

That *you* 有 in Fuzhou 福州 Min and Wenzhou 溫州 Wu can be used in past and future situations has been reported by Zheng (2003) and You (1999) respectively. In this regard, "*you* 有 + VP" in these dialects may be ambiguous in certain circumstances. For example, in Fuzhou 福州 Min, *you* 有 in sentence (58)a and sentence (58)b is oriented towards the past and the future time, respectively, without ambiguity because of the temporal adverbials; however, since 今旦 'today' may refer to the past time or the future time, the situation marked by *you* 有 in (58)c can have two possible interpretations in terms of the temporal reference. The same case occurs in Wenzhou 溫州 Wu, as shown by the two sentences in (59).

(58)   Fuzhou 福州 Min (Zheng, 2003: 10)

a.   蜀冥　　　伊　　有　　去，　我　　無　　去。

yesterday　　3SG　　HAVE　go　　　1SG　　NEG　　go

'He went yesterday; I did not go.'

b.   明旦　　　伊　　有　　去，　我　　無　　去。

tomorrow　　3SG　　HAVE　go　　　1SG　　NEG　　go

'He will go tomorrow; I will not go.'

c.　今旦 伊　有　　去， 我　　無　　去。

　　　today　3SG　HAVE　go　　1SG　　NEG　　go

　　　Reading 1: 'He went today; I did not go.'

　　　Reading 2: 'He will go today; I will not go.'

(59)　Wenzhou 溫州 Wu (You, 1999)

a.　我　昨夜　　　有　走出　　　嬉。(p. 182)

　　　1SG　last night　have　go out　　　play

　　　'I went out for fun last night.'

b.　后日　　　　　是　元旦，　　　　學堂裡　　有　放假。(p.189)

　　　day after tomorrow　cop　New Year's Day　school-LOC　HAVE　on holiday

　　　'It is the New Year's Day the day after tomorrow; the school will be on holiday.'

　　Fan (2017) merged the future use of *you* 有 in Min and *hui* 會 in southern dialects into the same function node of 'future situations' in the semantic map of the habitual-generic category. As introduced in Chapter 6.1, *iu^{53}* 有 in Lianhua Gan corresponds to *hui* 會 in Modern Standard Chinese and other dialects in terms of the future use. However, I argue that the future use of *iu^{53}* 有 in Lianhua Gan and *hui* 會 in Chinese is different from the use of *you* 有 in Min and Wu. According to Lin (2013), in Putian 莆田 Min, when "*you* 有 + VP" is used in future situations, it refers to pre-arranged events and cannot indicate unplanned or uncontrolled events, as shown by sentence (60). According to my investigation, in Fuqing 福清 Min, "*you* 有 + VP" cannot be used to express epistemic modality with the future time reference, which should be expressed by *hui* 會. Therefore, the future use of *you* 有 in Min is not equivalent to that of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and *hui* 會 in southern dialects. Based on the conditions of the future use of *you* 有 in Min, I propose that it is an extension from marking the realis situation in the physical world into the assumed realis situation in the possible

world that the speaker predetermines. In this regard, the future use of *you* 有 in Min and Wu

may be derived from the past use rather than the habitual use, as both the future and the past

uses express episodic or specific events, but the habitual use indicates generic events.

(60)   Putian 莆田 Min

    *   明旦   有   落雨。(Lin, 2013: 35)

        tomorrow   HAVE rain

        Intended meaning: 'It will rain tomorrow.'

(61)   Fuqing 福清 Min

    *   你   還   小，   還   有   長。

        2SG   still   young still   HAVE grow

        Intended meaning: 'You are still young; you will grow.'

Furthermore, *you* 有 in some Min dialects can also co-occur with the auxiliary that

marks the future time, as shown by sentence (62). This further indicates that the future

meaning is not expressed by *you* 有, and the main function of *you* 有 in such situations is to

affirm the truth of a proposition but not to mark the future time.

(62)   伊   明旦   有   卜   出差。（他明天是要出差的。）

    3SG   tomorrow   HAVE will   on business

    'He will go on a business trip tomorrow.' (Fan, 2017:575)

Since the future use of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and some Wu and Min dialects is not the

same, it is proper to propose that iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan may not follow the semantic change

pathway of *you* 有 in Yue and Min as proposed by Fan (2017). The next section explores the

grammaticalization of the future use and the habitual use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan by

making reference to typological generalizations about the grammaticalization of the HAVE-

possessive and the potential sources of the habitual.

6.3.3 Grammaticalization Pathways of the HAVE-possessive

This section explores the pathways of grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive by making reference to cross-linguistic generalizations and cross-dialectal comparisons, with an aim to reconstruct the development of the permission, future and habitual uses of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan.

6.3.3.1 Temporal references of the grammaticalized HAVE-possessive verb

As discussed above, it is unusual for cognates of the HAVE-possessive in different Chinese dialects to have opposite temporal references. A special focus thus lies in accounting for the opposite temporal reference of the cognates of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and southern dialects of Min and Yue.

Although the mainstream of *you* 有 in modern Chinese dialects is to be used to affirm the existence of realized events in the past, '*you* 有 + VP' in Archaic Chinese was also used to express that an event is certain to take place (Li, 1994; Zhang, 2002). According to the sentences that are cited in Li (1994) and Zhang (2002), the event expressed by '*you* 有 + VP' can be an individual event that is directed towards the future time or be a generic event that is not restricted by specific time. For example, sentences (63) - (65) describe individual events. Among these, sentence (63) describes a scheduled future event; *you* 有 in sentence (64) expresses epistemic modality that the speaker believes the recovery will come true in the future; sentence (65) describes a hypothetic situation, where people would die. Sentences (66) and (67) express habitual or generic events, and *you* 有 is used to make generalizations and also predictions. Situations described in these sentences are all expressed by 'iu^{53} 有 in modern Lianhua Gan. This further confirms that it is normal to employ *you* 有 to indicate the future time in Lianhua Gan, although it seems unusual in contrast to other southern dialects.

(63)　　十八年春，公將**有行**。（左傳·恆公十八年）(cited in Li,1994:146)

'The duke was going to travel in the spring of 18.'

(64)　幸矣！子之先生遇我也，**有瘳**矣。（莊子·應帝王）(cited in Li, 1994:146)

'It is fortunate that your teacher met me; he will recover.'

(65)　寧事齊楚，**有亡**而已，蔑從晉矣。（左傳/成 16）(cited in Zhang, 2002:595)

'It would be better to serve Qi and Chu, which would just result in death. Do not submit to Jin.'

(66)　夫人不言，言必**有中**。（論語 11.14）(cited in Zhang, 2002:595)

'He seldon talks. Once he talks, he will make a good point.'

(67)　自古皆**有死**，民無信不立。（論語·顏淵）(cited in Li,1994:146)

'From of old, people will die; if people have no faith in their rulers, there is no standing for the state.'

Moreover, according to Heine and Kuteva (2002), one of the cross-linguistic pathways of the grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive is 'HAVE-possessive > future', which is generalized based on the HAVE-possessive in Bulgarian; the Romance languages of Spanish, French and Portuguese; as well as the Kru languages of Nyabo, Neyo, Lakota Dida and Vata. On the one hand, this cross-linguistic generalization can justify the development of the future use of the HAVE-possessive verb iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan, which is not an isolated case under the typological background; on the other hand, Lianhua Gan, which is genetically and areally different from these languages, adds another case for this cross-linguistic generalization, although the mechanism of grammaticalization may vary in different languages.

Due to the lexical meaning, the auxiliary *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and southern dialects of Yue and Min can be treated as an existential operator that expresses existence. In other words, when '*you* 有 + NP' extends to '*you* 有 + VP' in the syntactic sense, semantically, the existence of an object extends to the existence of an event. Theoretically speaking, the

existence of an event can be anchored towards any part of the time flow in the real world, past, present or future. Thus, different languages/dialects may employ it to indicate different temporal references. This can explain why iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan is used to mark the future time, while *you* 有 in Yue and Min is used to mark the past time. Furthermore, according to the cross-linguistic study conducted by Veselinova (2013) on negative existentials, while they are used as the standard negator for the perfective or the experiential aspect in two languages (i.e., Mandarin and Jakaltek), there are three languages (i.e., Babole, Diola Fogny and Nivkh) that employ the negative existentials as the standard negator for future constructions.

However, semantic change usually takes place in a certain syntactic context, so does the future use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan. An intermediate stage between the possessive meaning expressed by verb iu^{53} 有 and the future meaning expressed by the auxiliary iu^{53} 有 is probably the permission use. In Lianhua Gan, iu^{53} 有 functioning as a possessive verb, can be used as the first predicate in serial verb constructions, indicating that the subject have something to do. But this serial verb construction can also mean the subject is allowed to do something. For example, sentence (68) has two interpretations.

(68)　　我　　有　　飯　　喫。

　　　　uo^{35}　　iu^{53}　　fã^{21}　　tɕʰia^{44}

　　　　1SG　　HAVE　　meal　　eat

　　　　Reading 1: I have meal to eat.

　　　　Reading 2: I am allowed to have meal.

The object of iu^{53} 有 can be old information known by the speaker and the hearer, and thus can be omitted as in sentence (69). This is how the permission use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan was developed. The permissible action expressed by iu^{53} 有 is usually the intention of the subject and can be interpreted as the future action by pragmatic inference. For example,

sentence (69) have two readings: the subject is allowed to eat and the subject will eat. Therefore, the development of the permission use and the future use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan can be reconstructed as 'possessive > permission > future'.

(69)　我　　有　　吃。

　　uo^{35}　iu^{53}　tɕʰia^{44}

　　1SG　HAVE　eat

　　Reading 1: I am allowed to eat.

　　Reading 2: I will eat.

6.3.3.2 Sources of the habitual

Having reconstructed the development of the permission use and the future use of *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan, I next explore the grammaticalization of the habitual use and, attempt to address the question of why they can share the same function of marking the habitual. The answer lies in the characteristics of the habitual category.

Cross-linguistically, the habitual meaning can either be marked by realis markers or irrealis markers. Givon (1994) has argued that the habitual has the features of both the realis and the irrealis, as he put it:

From a communicative perspective, habitual-marked clauses tend to be strongly asserted, i.e. pragmatically like realis. Semantically, however, they resemble irrealis in some fundamental ways. To begin with, unlike realis, which typically signals that an event has occurred (or state persisted) at some specific time, a habitual-marked assertion does not refer to any particular event that occurred at any specific time. (p.270)

Fan (2017) treated the habitual as the bridge between the realis and irrealis; on one hand, the habitual entails actualized instances; on the other hand, it does not report episodic events in a specific space and time but generalizes about facts. In the latter sense, habituals can also be regarded as a kind of prediction of past events, as Lamarre (2007) has argued that the

condition of *hui* 會 and *yao* 要 in Chinese expressing the habitual is to shift the time of the situation from the future to the past time.

Given these properties of the habitual,[33] it is understandable why iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan, an irrealis marker, and *you* 有 in Min and Yue, a realis marker, can share the same function of marking the habitual meaning. The two different profiles of the habitual are respectively encoded by *you* 有 in Min and Yue and iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan. In other words, *you* 有 in Min and Yue focuses on the existence of actualized instances in the past, while iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan concentrates on the speaker's generalization or 'prediction' about past instances. Therefore, the development of the habitual use is 'future > habitual'[34] in Lianhua Gan and 'past > habitual' in Min and Yue.

In addition, according to Bybee (1988), future grams can be used to mark characteristic behavior, which incorporate the circumstantial necessity in this thesis (such as "Water will boil at 100 degrees centigrade") and habitual actions (such as the movement-derived future za in Hausa); the use of marking characteristic behavior is an extension of the prediction use.

This hypothesis is supported by Dahl's data, which show an exceptionless implicational relation between characteristic behavior and prediction uses. All the languages with characteristic behavior uses in his sample also have prediction uses, but languages with prediction uses to not necessarily have characteristic behavior uses. Moreover, futures from any source may have the characteristic behavior reading (desire-derived, obligation-derived, movement-derived). (Bybee, 1988:373)

To summarize, the grammaticalization of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan can be 'possession >

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[33] Different languages may employ other strategies to express the habitual based on its other properties. For example, it is also common that the present tense is used to express the habitual, such as English. As Comrie (1985) has explained, 'the habit does hold at the present moment, and that is why the present tense is in principle an appropriate tense to use in describing this habitual situation' (p.39).

[34] The pathway of grammaticalization of 'future > habitual' is not found in Heine and Kuteva (2002), but it may also represent a language universal, as *hui* 會 'will' and *yao* 要 'will' in Chinese can also be used in habitual sentences in addition to iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan.

permission > future > habitual'.

6.4 Summary

This chapter examines the functions and the grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive verb iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan in the domains of tense, aspect and modality, with a special focus on the comparison of the cognates of the HAVE-possessive verb in Lianhua Gan and other southern dialects of Min and Yue. It is well-known that *you* 有 in Min and Yue can modify verb phrases that express that an event happened in the past. In Lianhua Gan, the HAVE-possessive verb iu^{53} 有 can also function as an auxiliary, but it mainly indicates the future time reference. The future use of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan is the extension of the permission use, which is derived from the possessive verb. I also propose that the auxiliary *you* 有 in all Chinese dialects functions like an existential operator that affirms the existence of a situation, which may either exist in the past or in the future. Due to the characteristics of the habitual category, iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan and *you* 有 in Min and Yue can share the same function of marking the habitual meaning. The grammaticalization of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan is reconstructed as 'possession > permission > future > habitual'.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Major Findings

This thesis examines the grammar of Lianhua Gan in both synchronic and diachronic dimensions, covering some important grammatical morphemes and functional categories including demonstratives, the definite article, the perfective aspect, the imperfective aspects (the progressive and the continuous aspects), and the Have-possessive. Diachronic change contributes to accounting for synchronic states. As there is no historical material from early Lianhua Gan, the approach to the diachronic study is to dynamicize synchronic uses based on regularities in linguistic change, comparative evidence across dialects or languages, as well as studies on historical materials of Chinese.

Chapter 2 examines the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan, focusing on the lexical forms of locative and adnominal demonstratives. Demonstratives in modern Lianhua Gan form a complex situation, which is reflected in four areas. First, one demonstrative category has two different forms, i.e., ku^{35} 固 and $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 are proximal adnominal demonstratives; $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 and $ku\varepsilon^{42}t\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 國墇 are proximal locative demonstratives; and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 and $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 are distal locative demonstratives. Second, one form has two different functions, i.e., $ku\varepsilon^{35}$ 國 is the proximal locative and adnominal demonstrative; $k\tilde{\jmath}^{35}$ 岡 is the distal locative and adnominal demonstrative. Third, $k\tilde{\jmath}^{53}l\alpha^{13}$ 岡頭 can be used as the distal and also the yonder locative demonstrative in different contexts. Fourth, in addition to the 'DEM-CL-N' structure, the common way to refer to entities in Chinese, the locative possessive structure is also employed in Lianhua Gan. We propose that this complex synchronic situation is the result of diachronic development over different stages. By referring to relevant studies of Middle Chinese and evidence from the Wu dialects, I reconstruct four diachronic stages of

the demonstrative system in Lianhua Gan, which forms an evolutionary cycle between locative demonstratives and adnominal demonstratives.

Chapter 3 examines the properties of the grammatical morpheme *ko* 個 that expresses definiteness in Lianhua Gan. I hold that it can be treated as a quasi-definite article in terms of its pragmatic and syntactic properties. It possesses all the major pragmatic uses of a typical definite article and is distinguished from the adnominal demonstrative in the same way that a typical definite article is differentiated from demonstratives. However, due to the fact that *ko* 個 is not obligatorily used to mark definite nouns or noun phrases, it is reasonable to treat it as a quasi-definite article. Given the strong tendency that Chinese lacks the category of (definite) article, this chapter also addresses the question of how the quasi-definite article *ko* 個 develops. I reconstruct the diachronic change process of *ko* 個, which also demonstrates its relationship with the adnominal demonstrative ku^{35} 固. They are the evolutionary results along different pathways from the demonstrative 個 in early Lianhua Gan that was inherited from Middle Chinese. The grammaticalization process of *ko* 個 is neither the pattern of northern Chinese that omits the classifier in 'DEM-CL-N' nor that of southern Chinese that omits the demonstrative in 'DEM-CL-N'. Evidence from early Wu and Yue also supports this reconstruction.

Chapter 4 examines the syntactic distributions and semantic properties of the perfective related markers *uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩 and their combination *uɛ li* 滑哩 in Lianhua Gan and pays more attention to *uɛ* 滑, with the aim of providing a fine-grained analytical framework for the corresponding forms in southern Chinese dialects. The corresponding forms of *uɛ* 滑 in other southern dialects, such as *ka* in Xiang dialects, are generally held to be the perfective aspectual marker. However, based on the investigation of the uses of *uɛ* 滑, we find that it is not a homogeneous aspectual marker in that its different uses cannot be covered by a single

term, and in fact, they are diachronically related. The analysis of the perfective aspect in Lianhua Gan can also enhance the understanding of the verbal *le* (了 ₁) in Modern Standard Chinese.

Chapter 5 investigates the expressions of the progressive and continuous aspects in Lianhua Gan with a special focus on the sentence-final prepositional phrase *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂. In addition to examining the interaction between the progressive and continuous aspects and syntax, this chapter also aims to affirm whether the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ in Lianhua Gan is a continuous aspectual marker, as the corresponding forms in many other southern dialects are claimed to denote the continuous aspect. I find that the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ has a rather wide distribution in terms of the situation aspect, grammatical aspect, temporal reference and sentence type of its preceding clause. I propose that the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is a discourse marker whose main function is to remind the hearer of a realis situation that forms the factual basis of the speaker's communication purpose. The grammaticalization of the sentence-final *tsʰæ⁴⁴kuɛ²¹* 在國 ₂ / *tsʰæ⁴⁴kɔ̃²¹* 在岡 ₂ is also discussed to determine how its discourse function develops.

Chapter 6 examines the multifunctionality and grammaticalization of the HAVE-possessive verb *iu⁵³* 有 'have' in Lianhua Gan, which can express future-related meanings and the habitual meaning in the domains of tense, aspect and modality. However, it is well known that the cognates of *you* 有 in typical southern Chinese dialects, such as Min and Yue, are used to express affirmative past and the habitual meaning. In order to account for the contradictory situation that the cognates in Lianhua Gan and other southern dialects show opposite temporal references (future vs. past) but can express the same meaning of marking the habitual, this chapter also explores the pathways of the grammaticalization of the HAVE-

possessive verb in the domains of tense, aspect and modality from a typological perspective. It is found that the uncommon polysemous pattern of iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan, i.e. 'HAVE-possessive > Future', is, in fact, a universal grammaticalization pathway. The intermediate stage between the possessive meaning and the future meaning is the permission meaning. Habitual sentences are generalizations about past events, which can also be seen as a kind of prediction. This is why *you* 有 in Lianhua Gan and its cognates in Yue and Min can be used in habitual sentences, although they have opposite temporal references.

To conclude, it proves to be effective to study the grammar of a dialect from typological and diachronic perspectives. The synchronic states can be well explained by dynamicizing them as successive diachronic stages and placing them within the cross-linguistic/cross-dialectal context.

7.2 Future Work

This thesis is the starting point of studying the grammar of Gan. Future work will be conducted in two directions. First, I will apply the investigation frameworks of different topics proposed in this thesis to investigate other Gan dialects and other Chinese dialects, with the aim of comparing cross-dialectal variations and thus enhancing the understanding of the Gan dialects. Second, on the basis of collecting more data, the analysis of each category will be conducted in more depth. Each topic is proposed to be further studied as follows.

As for the forms of demonstratives, it is necessary to investigate other Gan dialects in more details,such as those Gan dialects spoken in Ninggang 寧岡 County, Yongxin 永新 County, Wan'an 萬安 County, and Taihe 泰和 County, in which all the demonstratives have the velar plosive *k-* as the initial. According to my proposal in Chapter 2, these demonstratives should be derived from the demonstrative 個 in Middle Chinese if they have *k-* as the initial. The reconstruction of the formation of the demonstrative system in modern Lianhua Gan proposed in Chapter 2 can be improved or verified with more comparative data.

For the (quasi-) definite article, further investigations will be conducted to see whether it exists in other Gan dialects, In addition to this, a question to be addressed is the relationship between the demonstrative phrase of '個 + N' in early Wu and Yue that was inherited from Middle Chinese and the definite structure of 'CL + N' in modern Wu and Yue. According to Shen, Tao and Jin (2016) and Sheng (2017), there are two types of definite 'CL + N' structures: the quasi-article type and the quasi-demonstrative type. As Sheng (2017) pointed out, while the quasi-demonstrative type of definite 'CL + N' structures are derived from the 'DEM + CL + N' structure via omitting the demonstrative, the source of the quasi-article type remains further research. Considering the role of '個 + N' in southern dialects, I will explore its relationship with the quasi-article type of definite 'CL + N' structures.

Chapter 4 mainly focused on how the perfective aspect is expressed in Lianhua Gan and the interaction between the perfective related forms, (*uɛ* 滑, *li* 哩, *and uɛ li* 滑哩) and syntax, but did not touch on the perfect aspect, which is prominent grammatical category in Chinese and is expressed by the sentential *le* 了 in Modern Standard Chinese and other sentence final particles in Chinese dialects. The perfect aspect in Lianhua Gan is also expressed by *li* 哩, sharing the same form with the perfective aspect. Different from Modern standard Chinese, the perfective form of 'V + *li* + O' can form a complete sentence even when the object is a bare noun, such as 我喫哩飯 'I had a meal'. Moreover, *li* 哩 tends to follow the predicate verb when there are objects or complement instead of appearing at the end of the sentence; thus, there is no sentence with double *li*s in Lianhua Gan as the double *le*s in Modern Standard Chinese. Therefore, the perfect marker *li* 哩 is restricted and the perfective aspectual marker *li* 哩 is relatively more dominant in Lianhua Gan. However, the division of the perfective *li* 哩 and the perfect 哩 *li* and how the perfect meanings are expressed in Lianhua Gan require further examination.

While examining the imperfective aspects in Lianhua Gan, Chapter 5 identified the sentence-final $tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{21}$ 在國 ₂ / $tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{21}$ 在岡 ₂.as a pragmatic marker in terms of its syntactic distribution and pragmatic function, and proposed that it was derived from the locative complement $tsʰœ^{44}kuɛ^{35}$ 在國 ₃ / $tsʰœ^{44}kɔ̃^{35}$ 在岡 ₃. Its pragmatic function and mechanisms of grammaticalization can be examined in more depth from the functional perspective, such as making use of the notion of intersubjectivity (Traugott, 2003; Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

In addition to the functions in the domains of TAM, the HAVE-possessive verb iu^{53} 有 in Lianhua Gan can also modify adjectives to affirming the existence of a kind of property or state, parallelling to 'be + ADJ' in Indo-Euroupean languages. This phenomenon is also found in the *Book of Odes* and the modern Min dialects (Yue, 2011). Therefore, the relationship among '*you* 有 + N', '*you* 有 + V' and '*you* 有 + ADJ' as well as a more comprehensive understanding of the functions of *you* 有 in Chinese can be obtained based on more synchronic and diachronic materials.

Moreover, since the Gan dialects are surrounded by many other Chinese dialects, including Xiang, Hakka, Min, Wu, Hui and Mandarin, it is possible that language contact may take place in the border areas. Having focused on variations of the forms and functions of each grammatical category, I will also consider language contact, which may be the potential factor of language change.

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