

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary of The Study

This study is a preliminary investigation of tense and aspect in Chinese, conducted within the theoretical framework of Lexicase grammar as advocated by Stanley Starosta. In the study, we set out to identify the tensal and aspectual properties of a selected set of aspect markers in Chinese; to prove whether tense in Chinese is a grammatical category and to investigate whether tense and aspect in Chinese have been integrated into a coherent system.

It is generally believed that Chinese is a tenseless language, and that it only has aspect as a grammatical category. Scholars who think that there is tense in the language believe that only the marker *le* indicates the relative or past tense. It is irrational that an event can take place within a time frame (aspect) without referring to its sequential occurrence (tense). This has led the researcher to start investigating the correlation or the condition for the co-occurrence of tense and aspect in the present study.

The word 'tense' in this study refers to time orientation in Rohsenow (1978a), rather than syntactic 'tense' as found in English and many other languages, and 'past' refers to the incident or event that has occurred before a designated reference time, which may or may not be the speech time.

In the introductory chapter of this study, we provided some background information on the issues of tense and aspect in general, before describing in detail the history, the literature and the controversies related to tense and aspect in the field of Chinese linguistics.

Chapter Two gives a brief account of the theoretical structure and the properties of Lexicase grammar. This includes how syntax is represented in terms of stemma notation or structural trees, and concepts related to the Patient Centrality and Trinue Sign principles. The difference between Lexicase grammar and other contemporary theories such as Fillmore's approach to case assignment is highlighted. While the latter analyses and performs case assignment according to the situation of an event, Lexicase is grammatical-oriented and assigns case by perception. In the second half of the chapter, it is explained how Lexicase grammar is applied in this study.

Since the study of aspect in Chinese focuses traditionally on verbs and their inherent lexical properties, in Chapter Three, we classified certain verbs according to their aspectual properties, with the aim of showing how tense and aspect are integrated. The subcategorisation is, again, conducted within the framework of Lexicase. In the subcategorisation, we have established thirteen major types of sentence constructions in Chinese. The constructions enable us to make a preliminary observation of the properties of the markers, and the syntactic significance of each type of construction.

Chapter Four forms the core of this study. In the chapter, we first conducted a comprehensive analysis of the tensal properties of the markers selected for this study. It is shown that the markers indicate absolute as well as relative tenses. We provided a figurative representation to demonstrate how tense in Chinese can be explained

schematically as a whole. This representation led to our findings which will be summarised in the next section.

Chapter Five focuses on how syntax interacts with semantics in the study of aspect in Chinese. Using sentence constructions found in Chapter Three as examples for discussion, we tested the aspectual properties of the markers in terms of the lexical and propositional levels proposed by Chung and Kimberlake (1985). We also tested perfectivity according to the criteria given by Comrie (1976), Li and Thompson (1981) as well as in Lexibase. Finally, we were able to verify whether the syntactic functions of the markers as aspect markers are consistent with their functions as tense markers.

6.2 Significance of the Study

Findings in this dissertation are significant in several aspects:

6.2.1 On Tense

We have identified one type of tense in Chinese which we have termed as the Extended Absolute-Relative Tense. This is a variety developed from the Absolute-Relative Tense defined by Comrie (1976). The tense can be schematically represented in Figure 6.1 below (reproduced from Figure 4.5).

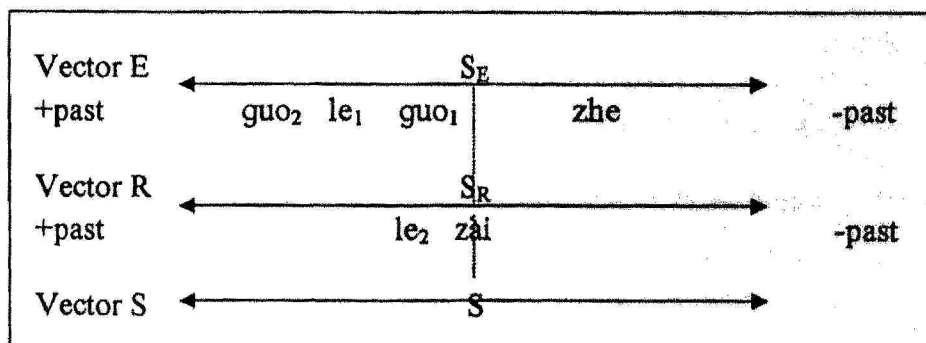


Figure 6.1

This multi-tier representation of tense in Chinese is a modified version of the time schema proposed by Reichenbach (1947). We have proposed this model because we realized that the linear representation of Reichenbach for English cannot be applied to Chinese. Tense in Chinese is far more complicated.

With the modal, we have shown in Chapter Four that: While *le*₁, *guo*₁/*guole*, *guo*₂ and *zhe* mark the relative tense at the verbal or lexical level at Vector E, *le*₂ and *zài* are \pm past tense markers at the higher sentential level at Vector R. In other words, the \pm past property of tense in Chinese is mainly determined by the presence or absence of sentence final *le*₂.

Linguists such as Comrie (1976) and Lin (2000) have claimed that *le*₁ is a relative tense marker and *le*₂ indicates the past tense. The findings in this study show that their claims are not invalid, but they have only captured one out of the many properties available in the tense system of Chinese.

The regular and consistent behaviour of the tense markers in our findings led us to claim that Chinese has tense as a grammatical category and it forms an integral system, in spite of the fact that in some cases, the markers do not occur or they are mutually interchangeable in a sentence.

6.2.2 On Aspect

We do not question the identity of the markers as they have long been defined as aspect markers. Our focus is on the interface between semantics and syntax through the functions manifested by the aspect markers.

Since aspectual properties are believed to be present at different levels of the sentence structure (Fan 1984; Chung and Kimberlake, 1985), we employed the same strategy to locate the markers using a two-level schema. The results show that there are indeed two levels. The *le*₁, *guo*₁/*guole*, *guo*₂ and *zhe* indicate ±prfc (perfective) marking the lexical aspect at the verbal level, while *le*₂ and *zài* are ±prfc markers of the grammatical aspect at the sentential level as shown in Table 5.2. (reproduced as Table 6.1 below)

Table 6.1
Distribution of Aspect Markers

	Perfective	Imperfective
lexical level	<i>le</i> ₁ , <i>guo</i> ₁ / <i>guole</i>	<i>zhe</i>
Propositional level	<i>le</i> ₂	<i>zài</i>

Since the syntactic distribution of the markers of tense and aspect in Figure 6.1 and Table 6.1 are located at identical positions in the schematic representations proposed in our study, it allows us to combine the two figures into one as in Table 6.2. This also confirms that the markers serve as tense as well as aspect markers and they form a coherent system.

Table 6.2

Interface between Tense and Aspect Markers in Chinese

	Perfective / past	Imperfective/ Non-past
Lexical Level/ Lexical Aspect	<i>guo₂ le₁ guo₁/guole</i>	<i>zhe</i>
Propositional Level/ Grammatical Aspect	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
	S	

Hence, we have proposed in this study a formal explanation of the complex behaviour of tense and aspect of Chinese in a simple but comprehensive integral system.

6.2.3 On The Markers

Besides establishing the identity and the roles of the markers as tense and aspect markers, this research has also succeeded in verifying other syntactic properties of the markers which is part of our objectives mentioned in Chapter One of this study.

The most controversial debate on *le* in Chinese linguistics is the identity of the sentence final *le* that is preceded by an intransitive or telic verb, such as the intransitive *lái* 'to come' in *Tā lái le* 'He is coming/ He has come'. Syntactically, the verb requires an obligatory *le₁* but semantically, being sentence final, the *le* should be the *le₂* that signifies a current relevance state. Linguists such as Chao (1968) define the *le* as the

haplology of the two *le*. We can explain this phenomenon as the interface of semantic and syntax. *Le*₁ is redundant because its scope is encompassed by *le*₂ which, in this case, also marks +prfc or +past.

There is also a rule pertaining to markers in Chinese which states that markers should not be placed adjacent to each other. Another rule that applies that the form *V-zhe* cannot be followed by *le*₁, as found in the Type H construction.

We have also provided some explanations on the interchangeability between markers, for example, in *Wǒ chīguole fān le* / *Wǒ chīle fān le* 'I have eaten'. The markers are interchangeable because semantically they both refer to a past event.

The peculiar behaviour of the markers is a barrier to the understanding of the nature of tense and aspect in Chinese. It is an important fact that markers are necessary but not obligatory in the language.

6.2.4 On The Grammar

This study shows that Lexicase is, on the whole, capable of capturing the significance of tense and aspect in Chinese, except in the case where it cannot be used to explain the ungrammaticality of sentences that distinguish +present/-present as mentioned in Chapter Four. The grammar only distinguishes +past/-past.

We have also deduced several rules to demonstrate that the Word Formation Strategy in the Seamless Morphology of Lexicase can define tense and aspect analogically. It shows that, on the one hand, Lexicase may appear to be generating numerous V+ marker forms in the study of grammar, but on the other hand, it is also

capable of combining sets of the related verbs into different groups, thus making the grammar more generative.

6.3 Problems in the Study of Tense and Aspect in Chinese

Chinese linguistics as a discipline has existed for a long time, but the study of tense and aspect in Chinese is still full of controversies. In Chapter One, we have explained four fundamental problems in Chinese linguistics, namely, (a) the traditional attitude of Chinese linguists; (b) confusion over the use of, as well as the definitions of grammatical terms; (c) residual problems from archaic Chinese, and (d) the impact of pragmatics, semantics and phonology in syntax.

We have mentioned in Chapter One that the problem could be due to the fact that the study of tense and aspect in Chinese is full of controversies. The study of tense and aspect is a long existing tradition in the west. Since the semantic properties of the verbs in Chinese are believed to be closer to that of Slavic grammar than any other Indo-European languages, Chinese is 'assumed' to be a language of aspect similar to the aspectual system in Russian, the prototypical example of an aspectual system. The system in Russian is very complex and full of controversial issues (Bache, 1995). It is natural, therefore, that the Chinese system is also confusing and linguists tend to focus solely on the study of aspect. This study shows that tense is equally significant in Chinese and aspect can also be effectively explained syntactically.

Secondly, the terms are never clearly defined in the western tradition. There is no clear distinction between definitions of terms like 'aspect', '*aktionsarten*', 'phase' and 'verbal aspect' (Binnick, 1991). Also, there is no consistency in determining whether aspect is present in the meaning of terms such as 'perfect/perfective',

'completed/completion', and 'progressive/durative'. This confusion in western terminology leads to more serious problems when a term or concept is translated into Chinese, a language that is full of homonyms. The subcategorisation of verbs in Chapter Three reflects the confusion that verbs in Chinese could cause.

In Chapter Five, we faced a problem with the use of terms. As the term of 'perfective' is defined in terms of grammatical aspect (or viewpoint aspect) in the theories of Comrie and Starosta, the problem arose when we dealt with the aspectual property of verbs that is lexical (or situational) in nature. Grammatical aspect requires the relevance of the outcome of a past event till speech time, but the scope of the lexical aspect only covers the verb in the clause or sentence. Consequently, we had to rely on the definition provided by Li and Thompson (1981) to supplement our explanation of perfectivity.

Hence, on the one hand, we see the shortcomings in the theories of Comrie and Starosta, but on the other, we find that the definition of perfectivity given by Li and Thompson is too general. It reflects the general truth that no grammar is perfect for any designated study, and we may need to broaden our theories to accommodate both the grammatical and lexical aspect.

It cannot be ignored that the intrinsic problem comes from the Chinese tradition and the language itself. The study of syntax is traditionally the most insignificant field of study in the history of Chinese linguistics. The study of modern Chinese grammar only began in late 19th century. It can be seen from our discussion, Chinese syntax is very much controlled by semantics, pragmatics, phonology constraints. A common practice in Chinese is that any information that is redundant will turn out to be optional or delectable. For example, we have found that the *le* in

the “V + *le*₁ + NP + *le*₂” construction is optional if the V is telic. However, it will be retained when the action denoted by the V needs to be emphasised. Meanwhile, the tense or aspect markers are mutually interchangeable if the semantic meaning of two sentences is identical. For instance, we may use either *zhe* or *le* in an existential sentence like *Qióngshang guàzhe/guàle yīfú huà* ‘There is a painting hanging on the wall’. This practice of the Chinese has resulted in the lack of transparency, consistency and generality in the surface structures of sentences. Consequently, it is not easy to explain the grammaticality of a sentence, especially in sentences dealing with aspect that is semantic in nature. Nonetheless, it does not mean that these irregularities cannot be explained syntactically. In this study, we have put forward several conditions that lead to the omission of markers in the grammar. Given the conditions, the omission will not jeopardize the application of the theories.

6.4 Topics for Future Studies

The conclusions arrived at in this study are in no way the absolute solution to the study of tense and aspect in Chinese. There are still problems that need serious attention within the field. We have mentioned in Chapter One that there are several related topics that are not covered in this study. For instance, some linguists believe that the directional complements in Chinese, such as *qǐlái* ‘get up’ and *xiàqu* ‘go down’ are aspect markers because they contain aspectual notions of inception and continuation of the designated events. Hence, it will be interesting if these so-called aspect markers are tested against the criteria set in this study.

The use of tense and aspect in the different Chinese dialects is worth exploring. It has been pointed out in Chapter Five that the identity of sentence final *le* in Chinese is controversial because syntactically, it is difficult to justify whether the *le* is the *le*₁ or *le*₂. But in dialects like Cantonese, the distinction is clear. The dialect possesses two separate morphemes, *coh* as *le*₁ and *lhoh* as *le*₂. Studies on dialects will certainly enhance the understanding of the system of tense and aspect in Chinese.

The study of aspect is traditionally semantic in nature. Syntactic investigations like this study are very limited in number. Scholars can also conduct their research using other syntactic frameworks. Such studies will further develop or test the validity of the findings established in this work.

We are aware of the fact that the aspect markers *le*, *guo* and *zhe* can also be attached to verb groups besides being suffixed to a single verb. The sentences below are examples found in Zuo (1998) and Fan (1984) respectively. In the examples, words in square brackets are verb groups that are governed by the marker that follows:

- (1) Sifu men céngjīng bùzhǐ yīcǐde [pīpíng bāngzhù]guo tā
 'The masters have [criticised and helped] him several times.'
- (2) Tā jǐshínián lái yīzhí zài [sīsuǒ, yànzhèng, tànqiú] zhe fāzhǎn kēxué de xīn fāngfǎ.
 'He continues [thinking, experimenting, and exploring] new methods in the development of sciences in the past decades.'

The use of the markers with these verb groups is natural to native speakers of Chinese. However, syntactically, how would this be represented? Since Lexibase focuses mainly on simple sentence constructions, we are not able to verify verb groups

unless the grammar is further developed. Perhaps, future studies could focus on these issues.

Last but not least, the most challenging areas for future research are perhaps contrastive studies of Chinese and other languages, especially between Chinese and Classical Arabic where tense and aspect are concerned. No linguist seems to have paid attention to the astonishing discovery made by Comrie (1976, 1985, 1999), perhaps not even Comrie himself.

Comrie does not say much about Chinese. It is quite obvious that his information on the language is secondary, based mainly on limited references provided by Slavonic linguists. It is interesting to note that, on several occasions, he discusses Classical Arabic and he says that Chinese possesses similar properties. For instance, in section 4.4 on combined tense/aspect oppositions in Comrie (1976), he argues that the Arabic opposition of Imperfective/Perfective is not purely aspectual but incorporates relative tense. As shown in the examples below, the perfective ('Pfv', Comrie's notation) must precede the imperfective ('Ipfv', Comrie's notation) in terms of sequence of occurrence of events. This behaviour of verbs is precisely the same as that which indicate the relative tense:

- (3) ʔaǰiʔu (Ipfv.) -ka ʔidā ʔħmarra (Prv.) 'l-busru
I come to-you when it-ripen the unripe-date
'I will come to you when the unripe date ripens.'

- (4) ʔarsala (Pfv.) yuʔlimu (Ipfv.) -hu bi- ǰālika
he-sent he-inform him about this
'He sent (someone) in order to inform him about this.'

According to Comrie, “an opposition similar to that of Arabic is also found in Chinese” (1976:81-82). He gives two examples. In the sentences that he provided, the perfective *xiěle* ‘wrote’ and *sǐle* ‘died’ indicate past situations with respect to the present speech time in (5) and to the imperfective *zuò (héshang)* ‘to become (a monk)’ in (6).

- (5) Xiāo duǐzhǎng xiěle yīfēng xìn
Xiao commander write-mrk one-CL letter
‘Commander Xiao wrote a letter.’

- (6) Nǐ sǐle, wǒ zuò héshang
you die-mrk I be monk
‘When you die, I shall become a monk.’

Hence, both languages have the similiar properties:

the ‘imperfect’ may be analyzed as a relative non past tense; in the absence of a contextual indication to the contrary, the present moment will be taken as the reference... Similarly, the so-called ‘perfect’ may be analyzed as a relative past tense; in the absence of any other contextually given reference point, it will be interpreted as referring to a time before the present moment. (Comrie, 1999:366)

In his discussion of A-R Tense, it is clear that Comrie regards Classical Arabic as one of the languages that contain main clause verbs that receive relative time reference (1985:63). He does not mention Chinese in this respect. However, we have proven in Chapter Four that tense in Chinese is an extended form of the A-R Tense. Moreover, as shown in sentences (7) and (8) below, we suspect that Classical Arabic may also possess the extended A-R Tense. The Chinese sentences are parallel structures of the Arabic sentences in (3) and (4) given earlier.

- (7) Zǎozi shúle wǒ jiù lái zhǎo nǐ
 dates ripe-mrk I then come look-for you
 'I will come to you when the unripe date ripens.'
- (8) Tā pàile₁ rén qū tōngzhī tā zhèjiàn shì le₂
 he sent people inform he this-CL matter mrk
 'He sent (someone) in order to inform him about this.'

Does it imply that the two languages share some common features in tense and aspect? It would be very interesting indeed if more research could be conducted in the area.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

This study shows that the problem of tense and aspect in Chinese is very complicated. Chinese tense is a combination of absolute and relative tenses. We have defined it as the Extended Absolute-Relative Tense. Aspect in Chinese is combined with tense to form a coherent system. Comrie (1976) defines this type of aspect as Combined Tense/Aspect Oppositions.

In this study, we have successfully captured the characteristics of tense and aspect in Chinese and presented them in form into a schematic representation.

Another significant finding in this study is the consistency found in the properties of the markers. The markers can be divided into two different sets: the V-markers (*le*₁, *guo*/*guole* and *zhe*) that mark relative tense and lexical aspect and the sentential markers *le*₂ and *zài* that indicate absolute tense and grammatical aspect, irrespective of the fact that tense markers may be omitted in the sentence.

We have also demonstrated the interface between and syntax in tense and aspect in Chinese. The use of syntax is a relevant approach to the study of aspect in the language. It clarifies many controversies, especially the role of tense on aspect, and it explains the distinctive roles played by the markers in lexical aspect and grammatical aspect.

We believe that controversies in this field of study can be minimized if scholars are aware of the peculiar properties of Chinese. Our findings, on tense in particular, are only preliminary, but we believe that this pioneer study has succeeded in providing answers to many questions, such as whether *zài* is an aspect established the identity of in *le*₂ simple intransitive sentences.

APPENDIX I

TYPES OF SENTENCE CONSTRUCTIONS (ENGLISH)

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
A	<p>√ Tā tǎngzhe kànshu le 'He reads while lying down.'</p> <p>Tā kǎizhe dēng sh uǐ jiào le 'He sleeps with the light on.'</p>	<p>√ Tā tǎngzhe kànshu 'He reads while lying down.'</p> <p>Tā kǎizhe dēng shuǐ jiào 'He sleeps with the light on.'</p>	x	x	x	x
B	<p>√ Qiángshang guà zhe yǐfú huà le 'There is a painting hanging on the wall.'</p> <p>Chuángshang tǎng zhe bìnggrén le 'There is a patient lying on the bed.'</p>	<p>√ Qiángshang guàzhe yǐfú huà le 'There is a painting hanging on the wall.'</p> <p>Chuángshang tǎngzhe bìnggrén 'There is a patient lying on the bed.'</p>	<p>√ Qiángshang guàle yǐfú huà 'There was a painting hanging on the wall.'</p> <p>Chuángshang tǎngle yīgè bìnggrén 'There was a patient lying on the bed.'</p>	x	<p>√ Zhèdào qiángshang guàguo yǐfú huà 'There had been a painting hanging on this wall.'</p>	x

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zai
C1	√ Tā fēi wǒ yíjiǎo le 'He kicked me once.' Tā yíng le wǒ liǎng pán qí le 'He won two sets in the chess game against me.'	x	√ Tā fēi wǒ yíjiǎo 'He kicked me once.' Tā yíng le wǒ liǎng pán qí 'He won two sets in the chess game against me.'	x	√ Tā fēi wǒ yíjiǎo 'He has kicked me once.' Tā yíng le wǒ liǎng pán qí 'He had won two sets in the chess game against me.'	x
C2.1	√ Tā gěi wǒ nàběn shū le 'He has given me that book.' Tā mài gei wǒ yí zhī bǐ le 'He sold me a pen.'	x	√/x Tā gěi wǒ nàběn shū 'He has given me that book.' * mài gei le	x	x	x
C2.2	√ Tā gào su wǒ men nà ge xīn xī le 'He has told us that news.' Tā wèn wǒ nà ge wèn tí le 'He has asked me that question.'	√/x Tā zhèng wèn zhe wǒ nà ge wèn tí ne 'He is asking me that question.' * gào su zhe	√ Tā gào su wǒ men nà ge xīn xī 'He told us that news.' Tā wèn wǒ nà ge wèn tí 'He has asked me that question.'	x	√ Tā gào su wǒ men nà ge xīn xī 'He told us that news before.' Tā wèn wǒ nà ge wèn tí 'He asked me that question before.'	√/x Tā zài wèn wǒ nà ge wèn tí 'He is asking me that question.' * zài gào su

	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
D1	<p>✓ Tā hēn ài tā lē 'He loves her now.'</p> <p>Tā xǐhuan wǒ le 'He likes me now.'</p> <p>Dàjiā dōu hēn xīnshǎng nàfū huà 'Everybody admires that painting.'</p> <p>* xǐhuan zhe</p>	<p>✓/x Tā àizhe tā 'He loves her.'</p> <p>Dàjiā dōu xīnshǎng zhe nàfū huà 'Everybody is admiring that painting.'</p> <p>* xǐhuan zhe</p>	<p>✓/x Dàjiā dōu xīnshǎnle nà fū huà 'Everybody has admired that painting.'</p> <p>* ài le * xǐhuan le</p>	x	<p>✓ Tā àiguo tā 'He loved her once.'</p> <p>Tā xǐhuan guo wǒ 'He has had liked me.'</p> <p>Dàjiā dōu xīn shǎng guo nàfū huà 'Everybody has admired that painting.'</p>	<p>✓/x Dàjiā dōu zài xīnshǎng nàfū huà 'Everybody is admiring that painting.'</p> <p>* zài ài * zài xǐhuan</p>
D2	<p>✓ Wǒ rènshi tā le 'I knew him.'</p> <p>Wǒ zhīdao nàjiàn shì le 'I knew about that incident'</p>	x	<p>✓ Wǒ rènshile tā le 'I have known him.'</p> <p>Wǒ zhīdao le nàjiàn shì le 'I have known that incident'</p>	x	x	x
E1.1	<p>✓ Tā dǐ gǔ le 'He is beating the drum now.'</p> <p>Tā qiāo mén le 'He is knocking at the door.'</p>	<p>✓ Tā dǎzhe gǔ ne 'He is beating the drum now.'</p> <p>Tā qiāozhe mén ne 'He is knocking at the door.'</p>	<p>✓ Tā dǎle gǔ le 'He has played the drum.'</p> <p>Tā qiāole yīxià mén le 'He has knocked at the door once.'</p>	<p>✓ Tā dǎguole gǔ cái tán 'He had played the drum before he played the guitar.'</p> <p>Tā qiāoguole mén cái jīn qù 'He knocked the door before he went in.'</p>	<p>✓/x Tā dǎguo gǔ 'He had played the drum before.'</p> <p>* qiāoguomen</p>	<p>✓ Tā zài dǎguo 'He is playing the drum.'</p> <p>Tā zài qiāomén 'He is knocking at the door.'</p>

	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
E1.2	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ diūle qián le</i> 'I lost my money.'</p> <p><i>Tā sīle fùqin le</i> 'He has lost his father.'</p> <p><i>Wǒmen yíngle nà chǎng bǐsài le</i> 'We have won that match.'</p>	x	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ diūle qián le</i> 'I lost my money.'</p> <p><i>Tā sīle fùqin</i> 'He lost his father.'</p> <p><i>Wǒmen yíngle nà chǎng bǐsài</i> 'We won that match.'</p>	<p>✓/x <i>Wǒmen yíngguo le nà chǎng bǐsài jiù qù hē jiǔ</i> 'After winning, we will go for a drink.'</p> <p>* <i>diūguo le</i> * <i>síguo le</i></p>	x	x
E2.1	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ xiěwán nàfēng xìn le</i> 'I have finished writing that letter.'</p> <p><i>Wǒ zhǎodào nà fēng xìn le</i> 'I found that letter.'</p>	x	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ xiěwánle nàfēng xìn le</i> 'I finished writing that letter.'</p> <p><i>Wǒ zhǎodàole nàfēng xìn le</i> 'I have found that letter.'</p>	x	x	x

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zai
E1.2	<p>✓ Wǒ diūle qián le 'I lost my money.'</p> <p>Tā sǐle fùqin le 'He has lost his father.'</p> <p>Wǒmen yíngle nà chǎng bǐsài le 'We have won that match.'</p>	x	<p>✓ Wǒ diūle qián le 'I lost my money.'</p> <p>Tā sǐle fùqin 'He lost his father.'</p> <p>Wǒmen yíngle nà chǎng bǐsài 'We won that match.'</p>	<p>√/x Wǒmen yíngguo le nà chǎng bǐsài jiù qù hē jiǔ 'After winning, we will go for a drink.'</p> <p>* diūguo le * sǐguo le</p>	x	x
E2.1	<p>✓ Wǒ xiěwán nǎfēng xìn le 'I have finished writing that letter.'</p> <p>Wǒ zhǎodào nà fēng xìn le 'I found that letter.'</p>	x	<p>✓ Wǒ xiěwánle nǎfēng xìn le 'I finished writing that letter.'</p> <p>Wǒ zhǎodàole nǎfēng xìn le 'I have found that letter.'</p>	x	x	x

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo / guole	guo ₂	zai
E2.2	<p>✓ Wǒ chī fàn le 'I eat rice/ I am going to eat.'</p> <p>Tā chuān yīfu le 'He is putting on his suit.'</p> <p>Wǒ mǎi nàběn shū le 'I bought that book.'</p>	<p>✓/× Wǒ chīzhe fàn 'I am eating rice.'</p> <p>Tā chuānzhe nàjiàn xīn yīfu 'She is wearing that new dress'</p> <p>• mǎizhe</p>	<p>✓ Wǒ chīle fàn le 'I have eaten rice.'</p> <p>Tā chuānle nàjiàn xīn yīfu le 'She was wearing that new dress.'</p> <p>Wǒ mǎile nàběn shū jù háijiā 'I will go home after buying that book.'</p>	<p>✓/× Wǒ chīguole fàn le 'I had eaten rice.'</p> <p>Wǒ mǎiguole nàběn shū jù háijiā 'I will go home after I have bought that book.'</p> <p>• chuānguole</p>	<p>✓ Tā chīguo fàn le 'I have had eaten rice.'</p> <p>Tā chuānguò nàjiàn xīn yīfu 'She has had worn that new suit.'</p>	<p>✓ Wǒ zài chī fàn 'I am eating rice.'</p> <p>Tā zài chuān yīfu 'He is putting on his suit.'</p>
F	<p>✓ Wǒ kàn shū kànle yíge xiǎoshí le 'I have read for an hour.'</p> <p>Tā yóuyǒng yóule liǎngcì 'He has swam twice.'</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>✓ Wǒ kàn shū kànle yíge xiǎoshí 'I read for an hour.'</p> <p>Tā yóuyǒng yóule liǎngcì 'He swam twice.'</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>

	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
G	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ zài Zhōngguó zhùle sānnián le</i> 'I had stayed in China for three years.'</p> <p><i>Tā zài chuáng shàng tǎngle wǔge xiǎoshí le</i> 'He has been lying on the bed for five hours.'</p>	x	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ zài Zhōngguó zhùle sānnián</i> 'I had stayed in China for three years.'</p> <p><i>Tā zài chuángshàng tǎngle wǔge xiǎoshí</i> 'He has been lying on the bed for five hours.'</p>	x	<p>✓ <i>Wǒ zài Zhōngguó zhùguo sānnián</i> 'I have had stayed in China for three years.'</p> <p><i>Tā zài chuángshàng tǎngguo wǔge xiǎoshí</i> 'He had been lying on the bed for five hours.'</p>	x
H	<p>✓ <i>Nàzhāng huà zài qiángshàng guà zhe le</i> 'That painting has been hanging on the wall.'</p> <p><i>Bīnggrén zài chuángshàng tǎngzhe le</i> 'The patient has been lying on the bed.'</p>	<p>✓ <i>Huà zài qiángshàng guàzhe</i> 'The painting has been hanging on the wall.'</p> <p><i>Bīnggrén zài qiángshàng tǎngzhe</i> 'The patient is lying on the bed.'</p>	x	x	x	x

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
I	✓ Tā lái zhè'ér le 'He has come (here).' <p>Tā dào zhè'ér lái le 'He has come.'</p>	x	✓ Tā lái zhè'ér le 'He has come.' <p>Tā dào zhè'ér lái 'He has come.'</p>	✓/x Láiguole zhè'ér tā jiù huí Rìběn qù 'He will return to Japan after come here.' <p>Tā dào zhè'ér lái le 'He had been here.'</p> <p>x</p>	✓/x Tā lái zhè'ér 'He has had come (here).' <p>* Dào zhè'ér lái guo</p>	x
J	✓ Dìdì gāole yīcùn le 'Younger brother has grown taller by one inch.' <p>Tā lái liǎngtiān le 'He has been here for two days.'</p> <p>Tā pàngle yī gōng jīn le 'He has put on a kilogram.'</p> <p>Tā pǎole yīge xiǎo shí le 'He has run for an hour.'</p>	x	✓ Dìdì gāole yīcùn le 'Younger brother has grown taller by one inch.' <p>Tā lái liǎngtiān le 'He has come for two days.'</p> <p>Tā pàngle yīgōngjīn 'He puts on a kilogram.'</p> <p>Tā pǎole yīge xiǎoshí 'He ran for an hour.'</p>	✓/x Tā lái liǎngtiān 'He had been here for two days.' <p>Tā pànguo yīgōng jīn 'He has had put on a kilogram.'</p> <p>Tā pǎoguò yīge xiǎo shí 'He has had run for an hour.'</p> <p>* gāoguò</p>	x	

	le ₂	zhe	le ₁	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
K1	<p>✓ Tā liǎn yě hóng le 'She is blushing.'</p> <p>Tā pàng le 'He has put on weight.'</p> <p>Tā (bǐ yǐqián) piào liang le 'She is prettier (than before) now.'</p>	<p>✓/x Tā liǎn hóngzhe ne 'She is blushing.'</p> <p>Tā pàngzhe ne 'He has put on weight.'</p> <p>* piàoliang zhe</p>	<p>✓ Tā liǎn yě hóng le 'She is blushing.'</p> <p>Tā pàng le 'He has put on weight.'</p> <p>Tā (bǐ yǐqián) piào liang le 'She is prettier (than before) now.'</p>	x	<p>✓/x Tā yě piàoliang guo 'She was pretty before.'</p> <p>Tā pàngguo 'He was fat once.'</p> <p>* (liǎn) hóngguo</p>	x
K2	<p>✓ Tā (bǐ yǐqián) cōng ming le 'She is smarter (than before) now.'</p> <p>Wǒ dǒng le 'I understand.'</p> <p>Huā hóng le 'The flower has turned red.'</p> <p>Tā (kànqilai bǐ yǐqián) niánqīng le 'He looks younger (than before).'</p>	x	<p>✓ Tā (bǐ yǐqián) cōngming le 'She is smarter (than before) now.'</p> <p>Wǒ dǒng le 'I understood.'</p> <p>Huā hóng le 'The flower has turned red.'</p> <p>Tā (kànqilai bǐ yǐqián) niánqīng le 'He looked younger (than before).'</p>	x	<p>✓/x Tā yě niánqīng guo 'She was younger before.'</p> <p>* cōngming guo</p> <p>* dǒngguo</p> <p>* hōngguo</p>	x

	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
L1	√ <i>Zhàdàn bàozhà le</i> 'The bombs exploded.' <i>Tā pǎozhe le</i> 'He was running.'	√ <i>Zhàdàn yǐkè yǐkè de bàozhà zhe</i> 'The bomb is exploding one by one.' <i>Tā pǎozhe</i> 'He runs.'	√/x <i>Zhàdàn bàozhà le</i> 'The bombs exploded.' * <i>Tā pǎozhe le</i>	x	x	√/x <i>Tā zài pǎozhe ne</i> 'He is running.' * <i>zài bàozhà</i>
L2	√ <i>Tā lái le</i> 'He has come /He is coming.' <i>Nàge xiǎotōu pǎo le</i> 'The petty thief has run away.' <i>Wǒmen yíng le</i> 'We were winning.'	x <i>Tā lái le</i> 'He came.' <i>Nàge xiǎotōu pǎo le</i> 'The petty thief run away.' <i>Wǒmen yíng le</i> 'We have won.'	√ <i>Tā lái le</i> 'He came.' <i>Nàge xiǎotōu pǎo le</i> 'The petty thief run away.' <i>Wǒmen yíng le</i> 'We have won.'	x	√/x <i>Tā lái guo</i> 'He has come.' * <i>pǎo guo</i> * <i>yíng guo</i>	x
M1	√ <i>Tā hēnǐ le</i> 'He is drunk.' <i>Yīfu xǐgānjìng le</i> 'The clothes have been cleaned.'	x <i>Tā hēnǐ le</i> 'He is drunk.' <i>Yīfu xǐgānjìng le</i> 'The clothes have been cleaned.'	√ <i>Tā hēnǐ le</i> 'He was drunk.' <i>Yīfu xǐgānjìng le</i> 'The clothes were cleaned.'	x	x	x

	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
M2.1	<p>✓ <i>Chīfān le</i> 'It's time to eat.'</p> <p><i>Xiàyǔ le</i> 'It's raining.'</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>	<p>×</p>
M2.2	<p>✓ <i>Tā gōngzuò le</i> 'He is working now.'</p> <p><i>Dìdì kǎi le</i> 'Young brother cries.'</p> <p><i>Tā kāishǐ pǎo le</i> 'He begins to run now.'</p>	<p>✓/×</p> <p><i>Dìdì kǎizhe ne</i> 'Young brother is crying.'</p> <p><i>Tā pǎozhe ne</i> 'He is running.'</p> <p>* <i>gōngzuò zhe</i></p>	<p>✓</p> <p><i>Tā gōngzuò le</i> 'He worked.'</p> <p><i>Dìdì kǎi le</i> 'Young brother cried.'</p> <p><i>Tā kāishǐ pǎo le</i> 'He began running.'</p>	<p>✓/×</p> <p><i>Kúguole jiù méi shǐ le</i> 'Everything will be fine after crying.'</p> <p><i>Pǎoguole jiù bú bǐ zài pǎo le</i> 'No need to run anymore after running.'</p> <p>* <i>gōngzuò guò le</i></p>	<p>✓/×</p> <p><i>Tā cóngwèi wèi zhè jiàn shì kǔguo</i> 'He has never cried over this incident.'</p> <p>* <i>gōngzuòguo</i></p> <p>* <i>pǎoguo</i></p>	<p>✓/×</p> <p><i>Dìdì zài kǎi ne</i> 'Young brother is still crying.'</p> <p><i>Tā zài gōngzuò</i> 'He is working.'</p> <p>* <i>zài pǎo</i></p> <p>* <i>zài xià</i></p>

APPENDIX II

Types of Sentence Constructions (Chinese)

Transitive Verbs

Type		Verbs	<i>le</i> ₂	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le</i> ₁
A	+trns +xtns -lctn	chàng ₂ 'sing' 唱 ₂ chī ₂ 'eat' 吃 ₂ kàn ₂ 'read' 看 ₂ shuì ₂ 'sleep' 睡 ₂	✓ 她站着吃饭了 他躺着看书了 他拍着手唱歌了 他开着灯睡觉了	✓ 他躺着看书 她站着吃饭 他拍着手唱歌 他开着灯睡觉	×
B	+trns +lctn -crsp +sttv	fàng ₂ * 'put' 放 ₂ * guà ₂ * 'hang' 挂 ₂ * ná ₂ * 'hold' 拿 ₂ * tǎng ₃ * 'lie' 躺 ₃ * zhù ₂ * 'live' 住 ₂ * zuò ₃ * 'sit' 坐 ₃ *	✓ 墙上挂着一幅画了 他手里拿着一本书了 床上躺着病人了 院子里住着两个人了	✓ 墙上挂着一幅画 他手里拿着一本书 床上躺着病人 院子里住着两个人	✓ 墙上挂了一幅画 他手里拿了一本书 床上躺了一个病人 院子里住了两个人
C1	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv +pnct	dǎ ₂ * 'punch' 打 ₂ * dǎpò ₂ * 'broke' 打破 ₂ * fēi ₂ * 'kick' 踢 ₂ * yíng ₂ * 'win' 赢 ₂ *	✓ 妈妈打了他一顿 他打破了我三个杯子了 他踢了我一脚了 他赢了我两盘棋了	×	✓ 妈妈打了他一顿 他打破了我三个杯子 他踢了我一脚 他赢了我两盘棋
C2.1	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	gěi 'give' 给 màigěi 'sell to' 卖给 sòng 'give (as present)' 送	✓ 他给我那本书了 他卖给我一支笔了 他送我一束花了	×	✓/× 他给了我那本书 他送了我一束花 *卖给了
C2.2	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv -pnct -telc	gàosu 'tell' 告诉 jiāo 'teach' 教 wèn 'ask' 问	✓ 他告诉我们那个消息了 他教我们中文了 他问我那个问题了	✓/× 他正问着我那个问题呢 *告诉着 *教着	✓ 他告诉了我们那个消息 他教了我们中文 他问了我那个问题

Transitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
A	-trns +xtns -lctn	chàng ₂ 'sing' 唱 ₂ chī ₂ 'eat' 吃 ₂ kàn ₂ 'read' 看 ₂ shuǐ ₂ 'sleep' 睡 ₂	×	×	×
B	+trns +lctn -crsp +sttv	fàng ₂ * 'put' 放 ₂ * guà ₂ * 'hang' 挂 ₂ * ná* 'hold' 拿* tǎng ₃ * 'lie' 躺 ₃ * zhù ₂ * 'live' 住 ₂ * zuò ₃ * 'sit' 坐 ₃ *	×	✓ 这道墙上挂过一幅画 去年这儿住过两个人	×
C1	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv +pnct	dǎ ₂ * 'punch' 打 ₂ * dǎpō* 'broke' 打破* fēi ₂ * 'kick' 踢 ₂ * yíng ₂ * 'win' 赢 ₂ *	×	✓ 妈妈打过他一顿 他踢过我一脚 他赢过我两盘棋	×
C2.1	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	gěi 'give' 给 màigěi 'sell to' 卖给 sòng 'give (as present)' 送	×	×	×
C2.2	+trns -lctn +crsp -sttv -pnct -telc	gàosu 'tell' 告诉 jiāo 'teach' 教 wèn 'ask' 问	×	✓ 他告诉过我们那个消息 他教过我们中文 他问过我那个问题	✓/× 他在教我们中文 他在问我那个问题 *在告诉

Transitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	le ₂	zhe	le ₁
D1	+trns -lctn -crsp +sttv +rvrs	ài 'love' 爱 xiǎng 'thinking of' 想 xǐhuan 'like' 喜欢 xīnshǎng 'admire' 欣赏	✓ 他很爱她了 他想他女朋友了 他喜欢我了 大家都很喜欢那幅画了	✓/× 他爱着她 他想着他女朋友 大家都欣赏着那幅画 *喜欢着	✓/× 大家都欣赏了那幅画 *爱了 *想了 *喜欢了
D2	+trns -lctn -crsp +sttv -rvrs	liǎojiě 'understand' 了解 rènshi 'know someone' 认识 zhīdao 'know' 知道	✓ 我了解他的为人 我认识他了 我知道那件事了	×	✓ 我了解了他的为人 我认识了他了 我知道了那件事了
E1.1	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct +trtv	dǎ ₁ 'beat (the drum)' 打 ₁ qiāo ₁ 'knock' 敲 ₁ tī ₁ 'kick' 踢 ₁	✓ 他打鼓了 他敲门了 他踢球了	✓ 他打着鼓呢 他敲着门呢 他踢着球呢	✓ 他打了鼓了 他敲了一下门 他踢了球了
E1.2	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct -trtv	diū* 'lost' 丢* sǐ* 'lost' 死* wàng* 'forget' 忘* yíng* 'win' 赢*	✓ 我丢了钱了 他死了父亲了 他忘了我了 我们赢了那场比赛了	×	✓ 我丢了钱了 他死了父亲了 他忘了我了 我们赢了那场比赛了
E2.1	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	dǎpò ₁ 'break' 打破 ₁ xiěwan ₁ 'finished writing' 写完 ₁ xuéhui 'learnt' 学会 zhǎodao 'found' 找到	✓ 他打破杯子了 我写完那封信了 他学会法文了 我找到那封信了	×	✓ 他打破了杯子 我写完了那封信了 我写完了信就回家 他学会了法文了 我找到了那封信了
E2.2	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc	chàng ₁ 'sing' 唱 ₁ chī ₁ 'eat' 吃 ₁ chuān ₁ 'put on' 穿 ₁ kàn ₁ 'read' 看 ₁ mǎi ₁ 'buy' 买 ₁ shuì ₁ 'sleep' 睡 ₁ xiě ₁ 'write' 写 ₁	✓ 我吃饭了 她穿衣服了 他看电视了 我买那本书了 他写信了	✓/× 我吃着饭 她穿着那件新衣服 他看着电视呢 他写着信呢 *买着	✓ 我吃了饭了 她穿了那件新衣服了 他看了电视了 我买了那本书了 我买了那本书就回家 他写了信了

Transitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
D1	+trns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv +rvrs	ài 'love' 爱 xiǎng 'thinking of' 想 xǐhuan 'like' 喜欢 xīnshǎng 'admire' 欣赏	×	✓ 他爱过她 他想过他女朋友 他喜欢过我 大家都欣赏过那幅画	✓/× 他在想他女朋友 大家都在欣赏那幅画 *在爱 *在喜欢
D2	+trns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv -rvrs	liǎojiě 'understand' 了解 rènshi 'know someone' 认识 zhīdao 'know' 知道	×	×	×
E1.1	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct +trtv	dǎ ₁ 'beat (the drum)' 打 qiāo ₁ 'knock' 敲 tī ₁ 'kick' 踢	✓ 他打过了鼓才弹吉他 他敲过了门才进去 他踢过了球就回家	✓/× 他打过鼓 他踢过足球 *敲过门	✓ 他在打鼓 他在敲门 他在踢球
E1.2	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct -trtv	diū* 'lost' 丢* sǐ ₃ * 'lost' 死 ₃ * wàng* 'forget' 忘* yíng ₃ * 'win' 赢 ₃ *	✓/× 我们赢过了那场比赛就去喝酒 *丢过了 *死过了 *忘过了	×	×
E2.1	+trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	dǎpò ₁ 'break' 打破 xiěwan ₁ 'finished writing' 写完 xuéhui 'learnt' 学会 zhǎodao 'found' 找到	×	×	×
E2.2	+trns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc	chàng ₁ 'sing' 唱 chī ₁ 'eat' 吃 chuān ₁ 'put on' 穿 kàn ₁ 'read' 看 mǎi ₁ 'buy' 买 shuì ₁ 'sleep' 睡 xiě ₁ 'write' 写	✓/× 我吃过了饭了 他看过了电视了 我买过了那本书就回家 他写过了信了 *穿过了	✓ 他吃过狗肉 她穿过那件新衣服 他看过法国电视片	✓ 我在吃饭 她在穿衣服 他在看电视 我在买书 他在写信

Intransitive Verbs

Type		Verbs	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>
F	-tns +xtns +crsp	chī ₃ * 'eat' 吃 ₃ * kàn ₃ * 'read' 看 ₃ * xǐ* 'wash' 洗* yóu* 'swim' 游*	✓ 我看书看了一个 小时了 他洗衣服洗了 半天了 他游泳游了两 个小时	×	✓ 我看书看了一个 小时 他洗衣服洗了半 天 他游泳游了两个 小时
G	-tns -xtns +lctn +crsp	zhù ₁ * 'live' 住 ₁ * tǎng ₂ * 'lie' 躺 ₂ * zuò ₂ * 'sit' 坐 ₂ *	✓ 我在中国住了三 年了 他在床上躺了五 个小时了 他在那儿坐了一个 早上了	×	✓ 我在中国住了三 年 他在床上躺了五 个小时 他在那儿坐了一个 早上
H	-tns -xtns +lctn -crsp +sttv	fàng ₁ * 'put' 放 ₁ * guà ₁ * 'live' 挂 ₁ * tǎng ₁ * 'lie' 躺 ₁ * zuò ₁ * 'sit' 坐 ₁ *	✓ 那张画在墙上挂 着了 病人在床上躺 着了 他在那儿坐着 了	✓ 画在墙上挂 着 病人在床上 躺着 他在那儿坐 着了	×
I	-tns -xtns +lctn -crsp -sttv	lái ₃ * 'come' 来 ₃ qù ₁ * 'go' 去 ₁ lái ₄ * 'come' 来 ₄ qù ₂ * 'go' 去 ₂	✓ 他来这儿了 他去北京了 他到这儿来了 他到北京去了	×	✓ 他来了这儿了 他去了北京了 他到这儿来了 他到北京去了
J	-tns -xtns -lctn +crsp	gāo ₂ * 'tall' 高 ₂ * gōngzuò ₂ * 'work' 工作 ₂ * lái ₂ * 'come' 来 ₂ * pàng ₂ * 'gain weight' 胖 ₂ * pǎo ₄ * 'run' 跑 ₄ * sǐ ₂ * 'die' 死 ₂ *	✓ 弟弟高了一寸 了 我们工作了一 整天了 他来两天了 他胖了一公斤 了 他跑了一个小 时了 他死了三天了	×	✓ 弟弟高了一寸了 我们工作了一 整天 他来了两天了 他胖了一公斤 他跑了一个小时 他死了三天了

Intransitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
F	-tns +xtns +crsp	chī ₃ * 'eat' 吃 ₃ * kàn ₃ * 'read' 看 ₃ * xǐ* 'wash' 洗* yóu* 'swim' 游*	x	x	x
G	-tns -xtns +lctn +crsp	guà ₁ * 'live' 挂 ₁ * tǎng ₁ * 'lie' 躺 ₁ * zuò ₁ * 'sit' 坐 ₁ *	x	✓ 我在中国住过三年 他在床上躺过五个小时	x
H	-tns -xtns +lctn -crsp +sttv	fàng ₁ * 'put' 放 ₁ * guà ₁ * 'live' 挂 ₁ * tǎng ₁ * 'lie' 躺 ₁ * zuò ₁ * 'sit' 坐 ₁ *	x	x	x
I	-tns -xtns +lctn -crsp -sttv	lái ₃ 'come' 来 ₃ qù ₁ 'go' 去 ₁ lái ₄ 'come' 来 ₄ qù ₂ 'go' 去 ₂	✓/x 来过了这儿他就回日本去 去过了北京他就去日本 *到这儿来过了 *到北京去过了	✓/x 他来过这儿 他去过北京 *到这儿来过 *他到北京去过	x
J	-tns -xtns -lctn +crsp	gāo ₂ * 'tall' 高 ₂ * gōngzuò ₂ * 'work' 工作 ₂ * lái ₂ * 'come' 来 ₂ * pàng ₂ * 'gain weight' 胖 ₂ * pǎo ₄ * 'run' 跑 ₄ * sǐ ₂ * 'die' 死 ₂ *	x	✓/x 他来过两天 他胖过一公斤 他跑过一个小时 *高过 *工作过 *死过	x

Intransitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	<i>le₂</i>	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le₁</i>
K1	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv +rvrs	è* 'hungry' 饿* hóng ₂ * 'flush' 红 ₂ * pàng ₁ * 'fat' 胖* piàoliang* 'pretty' 漂亮* zui* 'drunk' 醉*	✓ 孩子饿了 她脸也红了 他胖了 她(比以前)漂亮了 他醉了	✓/× 孩子饿着呢 她脸红着呢 他胖着呢 他醉着呢 *漂亮着	✓ 孩子饿了 她脸也红了 他胖了 她(比以前)漂亮了 他醉了
K2	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv -rvrs	cōngmíng* 'clever' 聪明* dǒng* 'understand' 懂* gāo ₁ * 'tall' 高 ₁ * hóng ₁ * 'red' 红 ₁ * lǎo* 'old' 老* niánqīng* 'young' 年轻*	✓ 他(比以前)聪明了 我懂了 他(比以前)高了 花红了 我老了 (他看起来比以前)年轻了	×	✓ 他(比以前)聪明了 我懂了 他(比以前)高了 花红了 我老了 (他看起来比以前)年轻了
L1	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct +trtv	bàozhà* 'exploding' 爆炸* dī* 'dripping' 滴* pǎo ₃ * 'running' 跑 ₃ * qiāo ₂ * 'knocking' 敲 ₂ * tiào* 'jumping' 跳*	✓ 炸弹爆炸了 水滴了 他跑着了 他跳着了 钟敲了	✓ 炸弹一颗一颗地爆炸着 水滴着 他跑着 他跳着 钟不停地敲着	✓/× 炸弹爆炸了 水滴了 他跳着了 钟敲了 *跑着了
L2	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct -trtv	lái ₁ * 'come' 来 ₁ * miè* 'extinguish' 灭* pǎo ₂ * 'escape' 跑 ₂ * sǐ ₁ * 'die' 死 ₁ * yíng ₁ * 'win' 赢 ₁ * zǒu 'left' 走	✓ 他来了 火灭了 那个小偷跑了 小猫死了 我们赢了 他已经走了	×	✓ 他来了 火灭了 那个小偷跑了 小猫死了 我们赢了 他已经走了

Intransitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	guo ₁ /guole	guo ₂	zài
K1	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv +rvrs	è* 'hungry' 饿* hóng ₂ * 'flush' 红 ₂ * pàng ₁ * 'fat' 胖 ₁ * piàoliang* 'pretty' 漂亮* zuì* 'drunk' 醉*	x	✓/x 她也漂亮过 他胖过 他醉过一次 *饿过 *脸)红过	x
K2	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp +sttv -rvrs	cōngmíng* 'clever' 聪明* dǒng* 'understand' 懂* gāo ₁ * 'tall' 高 ₁ * hóng ₁ * 'red' 红 ₁ * lǎo* 'old' 老* niánqīng* 'young' 年轻*	x	✓/x 他也年轻过 *聪明过 *懂过 *红过 *老过	x
L1	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct +trtv	bàozhà* 'exploding' 爆炸* dī* 'dripping' 滴* pǎo ₃ * 'running' 跑 ₃ * qiāo ₂ * 'knocking' 敲 ₂ * tiào* 'jumping' 跳*	x	x	✓/x 水在滴着呢 钟在敲着呢 他在跑着呢 他在跳着呢 *在爆炸 *(钟)在敲
L2	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv +pnct -trtv	lái ₁ * 'come' 来 ₁ * miè* 'extinguish' 灭* pǎo ₂ * 'escape' 跑 ₂ * sǐ ₁ * 'die' 死 ₁ * yíng ₁ * 'win' 赢 ₁ * zǒu 'left' 走	x	✓/x 他来过 *灭过 *跑过 *死过 *赢过 *走过	x

Intransitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	<i>le</i> ₂	<i>zhe</i>	<i>le</i> ₁
M1	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	bìyè* 'graduate' 毕业* chénggōng* 'success' 成功* hēzuì* 'drunk' 喝醉* xǐgānjìng* 'wash-clean' 洗干净* xiěwán ₂ * 'finished writing' 写完 ₂ *	✓ 我们毕业了 他们成功了 他喝醉了 衣服洗干净了 信写完了	×	✓ 我们毕业了 他们成功了 他喝醉了 衣服洗干净了 信写完了
M2.1	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc +cmpn	chīfàn* 'eating' 吃饭* guāfēng* '(wind) blowing' 刮风* shuǐjiào* 'sleeping' 睡觉* xiàoyǔ 'raining' 下雨	✓ 吃饭了 刮风了 睡觉了 下雨了	×	×
M2.2	-tns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc -cmpn	gōngzuò ₁ * 'work' 工作 ₁ * ku* 'cry' 哭* pǎo ₁ * 'run' 跑 ₁ * xiào* 'laugh' 笑*	✓ 他工作了 弟弟哭了 他开始跑了 他笑了	✓/× 弟弟哭着呢 他跑着呢 他笑着呢 *工作着	✓ 他工作了 弟弟哭了 他开始跑了 他笑了

Intransitive Verbs (Continued)

Type		Verbs	<i>guo₁/guole</i>	<i>guo₂</i>	<i>zài</i>
M1	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct +telc	bìyè* 'graduate' 毕业* chénggōng* 'success' 成功* hēzuì* 'drunk' 喝醉* xǐgānjìng* 'wash-clean' 洗干净* xiěwán ₂ * 'finished writing' 写完 ₂ *	x	x	x
M2.1	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc +cmpn	chīfàn* 'eating' 吃饭* guāfēng* '(wind) blowing' 刮风* shuǐjiào* 'sleeping' 睡觉* xià yǔ 'raining' 下雨*	x	x	x
M2.2	-trns -xtns -lctn -crsp -sttv -pnct -telc -cmpn	gōngzuò ₁ * 'work' 工作 ₁ * ku* 'cry' 哭* pǎo ₁ * 'run' 跑 ₁ * xiào* 'laugh' 笑*	✓/x 哭过了就没事了 跑过了就不必再跑了 笑过了就算了 *工作过了	✓/x 他从未为这件事哭过 *工作过 *跑过 *笑过	✓/x 弟弟在哭呢 他在工作 *在跑 *在笑