



ASPECTS IN FENGSHUN HAKKA SPOKEN IN THAILAND: PERFECTIVE, EXPERIENTIAL, AND INCHOATIVE

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Abstract

This research is part of my dissertation ‘A Study of Hakka Aspectual System’ for Mahidol University and Thailand Research Fund¹. It aims to explain the syntactic and semantic structures of Perfective, Experiential, and Inchoative aspects of Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand. The Hakka aspectual system generally can be divided into two major categories: bounded and unbounded. According to Chappell (1989a, b), the bounded aspect refers to an event containing either the beginning or the end point, while the unbounded aspect refers to an event without a time limit. The bounded situations can be subcategorized into Perfective, Experiential, and Inchoative aspects. To add an interesting view to this study, the Miaoli Hakka dialect spoken in Taiwan, Jieyang Chaozhou, and Mandarin have been compared with the Fengshun dialect to point out real characteristics of the Hakka aspectual system. The comparison with the Miaoli dialect spoken in Taiwan demonstrates how the three bounded aspects of the two Hakka dialects are expressed. The language contact with Chaozhou in Fengshun Hakka is probably pointed out as one factor by which the bounded aspects in Fengshun Hakka are distinguished from those in the Miaoli dialect.

Keywords: aspect, Hakka, Perfective, Experiential, Inchoative

ISO 639-3 language codes: hak, cmn, tha

1. Introduction

Languages in the Sinitic group have rich aspectual systems and are different from Indo-European languages in which tense plays a more outstanding role than aspect to determine temporal relations. Xiao and McEnery (2004:2) broadly classify languages as tense and aspect languages. In tense languages, such as English and French, tense is morphologically combined with aspects such as English Past Simple and French Imparfait. The English Past Simple and the French Imparfait provide Perfective sense and relate the time of an action to the speech moment. On the contrary, tense in aspect languages, such as Mandarin Chinese, is presented by content lexicons such as adverbs of time, while aspect is denoted by aspect markers. A number of aspect markers have evolved from lexicons. In terms of diachronic study, Bybee et al. (1994:55) state that most aspect markers denoting past actions or relevant senses have evolved from verbs: stative verbs (especially ‘have,’ ‘remain,’ and ‘wait’) and dynamic verbs (especially verbs of movement and ‘finish’). The markers that express ongoing events, repeated actions, or present situations are usually derived from locative words, such as postpositions or prepositions, verbs of posture, ‘be at,’ ‘stay,’ ‘live,’ or ‘reside.’

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This aspectual study will provide an overview of Perfective, Experiential, and Inchoative aspects of Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand. To add a clearer view of the Hakka aspectual system, and to clarify the various features of Hakka dialects, another Hakka dialect, which is spoken in Miaoli in Taiwan, is compared with the Fengshun Hakka. Since Fengshun Hakka has experienced language contact with Chaozhou and Thai, while Miaoli Hakka has had language contact with Min Nan and Mandarin, the bounded aspects of both dialects are likely to have interestingly different characteristics due to those contacts. This study primarily discusses the aspect markers used to signal the three bounded aspects in Fengshun Hakka and their co-occurrence with verb classes, as well as a comparison with the aspectual system of the Miaoli dialect. Examples of Chaozhou dialect and Mandarin are also compared to show the shared aspectual features among Chaozhou, Mandarin, and Fengshun Hakka.

2. Hakka People

Norman (1988:182-183) proposes that there are three major groups of Chinese languages. The first group, referred to as the Northern group, contains Beijing, Xian, and Kunming. The second group, or Southern group, is composed of Meixian, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, and Jianou. This group includes three languages: Kejia, Yue, and Min. Lastly, Suzhou, Wenzhou, Changsha, Shuangfeng, and Nanchang are categorized as the Central group and include Wu, Gan, and Xiang. Among these three groups, the Northern group is spoken by the majority in China. The languages in this Northern group share similar linguistic characteristics and are less diverse than the languages in the Southern and Central groups, particularly in terms of phonology and lexicon. The most diverse group appears to be the Southern group.

Hakka or Kejia is considered to belong to the Southern dialect group because many of Hakka's linguistic characteristics are similar to other Southern dialects (Norman 1998:222). The most crowded region where Hakka people live is in Meixian. Hakka people also live in other provinces, including Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangxi, Guangdong, Sichuan, Hainan, and Taiwan. Ramsey (1987:111) states 'the dialect spoken around Meixian is considered to be standard Hakka.' Hakka is widely spoken in China, Taiwan, and in many countries in Southeast Asia. Chappell (2001:15) suggests that the Hakka population accounts for 3.7 percent of China's population. The Hakka population in mainland China seems relatively low compared to other groups, but a significant number resides outside China.

A number of Hakka people have migrated to Thailand. According to Smalley (1994: 207-213), the Hakka population accounts for the second largest Chinese group in Thailand, following the Chaozhou population. Chinese people migrated to Thailand a long time ago, and it has been recorded that Chinese have lived in the Tai kingdom since the Sukhothai period. A massive influx of Chinese people occurred in the nineteenth century, when mine laborers were needed. Nowadays, most Chinese Thais live in metropolitan areas. The total number of native Chinese speakers in cities and towns is estimated to 3,621,000 people: 2,200,000 speak Teochew, Swatow, or Chaozhou; 580,000 speak Hakka; 379,000 speak Hainanese; 275,000 speak Cantonese; 150,000 speak Hokkien; and 37,000 speak Taiwanese. Mandarin speakers constitute a much smaller number, less than 1% in cities and towns. The largest Chinese group, which represents some 60% of the Sino-Thai population, is Chaozhou people, whose language is the most widely spoken Chinese dialect in Thailand. Interestingly, Mandarin is the second most important language, rather than Hakka, which is spoken by more people. This is because many educated Chinese descendants are encouraged to study Mandarin. The third most important languages are Hakka and Cantonese, followed by Hainanese, Hokkien and Taiwanese.

The Hakka people in Thailand have migrated mostly from Fujian and Guangdong and live in every part of the country, but particularly in Bangkok and in the southern provinces of Songkla and Yala. Hakka people in Thailand speak various dialects that reflect the speakers' original hometowns. These dialects may be classified into two dominant groups: the first Hakka group, or Chim Khak, speaks dialects from Meixian, Dabu, Xingning, Wuhua, and Pingyuan; the second group, or Pan San Khak, speaks dialects such as Hongsun and Jieyang, which are areas where the Chaozhou people live in China (Ungsitipoonporn 2007:2-4). The Chim Khak group lives in its own areas and communities and experiences less contact with other languages, whereas the Pan San Khak group lives together with the Chaozhou people. Due to the influence of the Chaozhou language, the Pan San Khak group, which includes Jieyang and Fengshun, contains unique linguistic features that distinguish it from the Chim Khak group in terms of pronunciation and lexicon.

3. Methodology

This study focuses on the Fengshun Hakka dialect spoken in Thailand; it is considered a Pan San Khak dialect. The Fengshun Hakka dialect was originally spoken in Meizhou, Guangdong province in China. Fengshun is the name of a county in Meizhou, which is situated near Jieyang and Chaozhou municipalities. In this study, the Fengshun Hakka data was collected first-hand from a questionnaire as well as from natural speaking occurrences of three Hakka speakers who live in Narathiwat province in southern Thailand.

The questionnaire contains basic sentences plus needed aspectual expressions. Most sample sentences were developed and adapted from Li and Thompson (1981), Yue-Hashimoto (1993), and Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005). The sentences retrieved from those sources were chosen from the examples in aspect chapters to make sure that they are all relevant to aspects. The first informant was interviewed with the questionnaire along with the explanation of each sentence situation so that the informants could understand the context of each sentence. Due to the fact that the selected sentences might influence the outcome of the research, the natural speaking data were collected. For the collection of natural speaking data, sample topics for conversation and narration (such as a trip to Laos, a money transfer to China, and a Chinese festival) were suggested to the second and third informants. However, some conversations naturally occurred because the two informants live in the same house and often speak Hakka at home.

After collecting the Fengshun Hakka data in Thailand, Miaoli Hakka data was collected in Taiwan. The same questionnaire was used in the interview with the two Miaoli Hakka informants. The contents of conversations and narrations with the Thai informants were explained to the two Miaoli informants before staging interviews. Both Miaoli Hakka informants were asked to speak in their own Hakka dialect to present the same meanings.

4. Aspect and Situation Types

Comrie (1976), Bybee et al. (1994) and Smith (1991) agree that two major aspectual categories are comprised of Perfective and Imperfective, which are distinguished by an event boundary. Perfective is considered as a completed action that presents the beginning, middle, and end of a situation as a single whole, but Imperfective views a situation which is not completed or is in progress. However, there is another way to classify aspects, which is introduced by Chappell (1989a:96, 1989b:117). According to Chappell's aspect categorization, the situation is divided into bounded and unbounded aspects. The bounded aspect, which has a close meaning to Perfective aspect, refers to a situation defined with either a beginning or an endpoint; the unbounded aspect refers to a situation with no time limit or ongoing event. The Perfective versus Imperfective framework cannot neatly fit in some aspectual categories, such as Inchoative (the beginning of a new situation). In the bounded versus unbounded aspectual classification, the Inchoative aspect can be put into the bounded aspect group that not only encodes the end of an event or state but also the beginning of an event or state. Under this kind of aspectual categorization, the Inchoative aspect is classified as a bounded aspect.

It is inevitable that aspect is associated with situation types that depend on verbs and have a great influence on the occurrence of aspect markers. Vendler (1967:97-121) points out that verbs and time are closely related. In addition to tenses, verbs involve more subtle temporal meanings, since verbs imply time schemata that elaborate on each type of verb. He describes the time schemata of English verbs that process verbs and non-process verbs play an important role in determining four main time schemata: *activity*, *accomplishment*, *achievement*, and *state*. The contrast between telic and atelic, and between process and non-process, distinguishes those verb classes. The termination and completion of an action in telic situations distinguish *accomplishment* and *achievement* from *activity* and *state*; process and non-process distinguish *activity* and *accomplishment* from *achievement* and *state*.

In addition to the classic work on verb classes by Vendler (1967), Smith (1991:55) and Van Valin (2005:33) elaborate more on situation types by adding a new situation type, *semelfactive*, which refers to a punctual or instantaneous event without any result state, such as 'blink,' 'knock,' and 'sneeze.' According to Smith (1991:28), the situation types are categorized by the semantic properties, static versus dynamic, telic versus atelic, and durative versus instantaneous. States are viewed as a single static event while dynamics are relevant to the processes of an action. The telic and atelic situations are distinguished by the event termination which yields the outcome or goal of the event. Telic situations contain a natural endpoint, but

atelic situations do not indicate any terminal point of the event. The distinction between durative and instantaneous depends on whether or not the event lasts momentarily.

According to Smith's (1994:108-109) classification, five groups of situation types are classified by the above mentioned semantic contrasts: static versus dynamic, telic versus atelic, and durative versus instantaneous.

<i>Activity:</i>	dynamic, atelic, durative <i>zǒu</i> 'walk', <i>tīng</i> 'listen'
<i>Accomplishment:</i>	dynamic, telic, durative <i>gài yīzuò qiáo</i> 'build a bridge'
<i>Semelfactive:</i>	dynamic, atelic, instantaneous <i>tī</i> 'kick', <i>qiāo mén</i> 'knock at the door'
<i>Achievement:</i>	dynamic, telic, instantaneous <i>dǎ-pò</i> 'break', <i>shuì-zháo</i> 'fall asleep'
<i>State:</i>	static, durative <i>cúnzài</i> 'exist', <i>zhīdào</i> 'know'

The distinction of aspect and situations types have been discussed for many years. Comrie (1976:3) defines that 'aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.' The situation types here concern about the inherit meanings of verbs indicating situation characteristics—dynamic or stative, telic or atelic, durative or punctual (See also Smith 1991:28-33, Xiao and McEnery 2004:14). The situation types play an important role in possible aspectual interpretations. Vendler (1967:99) gives some examples of English verbs that are not allowed in continuous tenses; for example, 'I am knowing/loving/recognizing' is not an acceptable answer for the question 'What are you doing?', but 'I am running/writing/working' is acceptable. Such stative verbs—'know, love, or recognize'—are non-process or non-dynamic verbs which are not allowed to co-occur with continuous tense focusing on an ongoing process. Thus, in general, the stative verbs are not used in Progressive sense referring to a continuing situation. On the other hand, 'run, write, or work' have an inherit meaning of a process, so they are naturally found in Progressive situations.

The relationship between aspect and situation types is also found in Chinese languages. In Mandarin, the Perfective marker *le* regularly tells a completed situation (such as *chī le* = 'already ate'); however, the appearance of *le* following a state verb or an adjective introduces the beginning of a new state or Inchoative aspect (such as *piàoliàng le* = 'become beautiful'). It can be concluded that different types of verb allow different aspectual interpretations and different uses of aspect marker.

In this Hakka aspectual study, the concept of bounded and unbounded aspects by Chappell (1989a, b) and Smith's (1991, 1994) situation types are applied in the aspect classification and the co-occurrence of aspect markers with each verb class.

5. Perfective

The Perfective aspect refers to an event completed at some point of time. Under this aspectual category, there are some relevant terms, such as Resultative Verb Compound (RVC) and Current Relevant State (CRS). RVCs are adjectives or verbs that show the state resulted from the thoroughly complete action in the preceding verb. The completive and terminative notion is implied in RVCs. CRS is the term used by Li and Thompson (1981:240) whereby the sentence final particle *le* in Mandarin shows the current state relevant to a past action. In other words, CRS is similar to Perfect in English.

In Fengshun Hakka, the most common Perfective markers are *liau*⁴² and *lɔ*⁴² (5.1), Resultative Verb Compound (RVC) (5.2), and *jiu*³³ (5.3).

5.1 *liau*⁴² and *lɔ*⁴²

The Perfective marker *liau*⁴² is assumed to have grammaticalized from *liau*⁴² 'finish,' which is an RVC showing a result state after the completeness of an activity, such as *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴² 'ate up' and *mai*¹¹ *liau*⁴² 'sold up.' The Perfective *liau*⁴² can be variantly pronounced as *lɔ*⁴². When *liau*⁴² appears at the post-verbal

position, especially after *activity* verbs, it can function as either a Perfective marker or an RVC depending on the context. When *liau*⁴² functions as an RVC, it is never pronounced *lɔ*⁴²; only the Perfective *liau*⁴² has a variant *lɔ*⁴².

- (1) a: *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴² *maŋ*²⁴
eat RVC NEG
'Did you eat up?'
- b: *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴²
eat RVC
'(I) ate up.'
- (2) a: *sit*⁵⁵ *maŋ*²⁴
eat NEG
'Did you eat?'
- b: *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴²
eat PFV
'(I) already ate.'

From the above examples, it should be noted that one informant tried to explain the difference between *liau*⁴² and *lɔ*⁴² by specifying that *liau*⁴² should be used only to refer to the completeness of an action or as an RVC while *lɔ*⁴² should be used as a Perfective marker denoting that the activity took place at some point in the past but did not emphasize the result of the complete action. In example (1), the consumption has already been completed thoroughly. All of the food had been eaten and no food had been left. In example (2), the food was eaten, but it does not mean that all of the food is gone. In fact, it was found in her natural speaking, and in other natural conversations among other informants, that *liau*⁴² is also used in Perfective notion, and at the same time *lɔ*⁴² can replace *liau*⁴² in Perfective sense. Either *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² yields Perfective aspect. Only full-form pronunciation *liau*⁴² can also serve as an RVC.

The Perfective *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² usually appears at the sentence-final position. In a single clause, the Perfective *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² is always found at the end of the sentence. In a complex sentence, the Perfective *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² appears at the end of the first clause. In summary, there are two common positions of *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² in the sentence: at the sentence-final in a single clause (5.1.1.) and at the clause-final in the independent clause in a complex sentence (5.1.2).

5.1.1 *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in a Single Clause

The marker *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² always appears after a predicate. If a verb is followed by an object like in verb-object compounds, *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² is located after the object or the compounds. Li and Thompson (1981:73) indicate that the VO compound is the combination of a verb and its direct object and is considered as a bound morpheme. In Fengshun Hakka (also in Miaoli Hakka and Mandarin), there are a number of VO compounds, such as *wan*¹¹ *tehian*²⁴ ('pay' + 'money') 'make a payment,' *sɔi*¹¹ *muk*¹¹ ('sleep/lay' + 'eye') 'sleep' and *sit*⁵⁵ *fan*¹¹ ('eat' + 'rice') 'have a meal.' With the transitive verbs and VO compounds, the Perfective marker *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² mostly appears at the end of a sentence (see Examples (3) and (4)).

- (3) *ku*²⁴ *wan*¹¹ *tehian*²⁴ *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴²
3SG pay money PFV/CRS
'He/She made/has made a payment.'
- (4) *ku*²⁴ *sit*⁵⁵ *fan*¹¹ *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴²
3SG eat rice PFV/CRS
'He/She had a meal/has had a meal.'

The sentence-final position of *liau*⁴² not only denotes Perfective notion but also Current Relevant State (CRS) at the same time. In those above examples (3) and (4), *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² presents a completed event and also expresses that the completed event yields some current relevance. In example (3), he/she already paid and now he/she does not have pay anymore. In example (4), he/she already had a meal and now he/she is not hungry. The CRS, similar to Anterior mentioned in Bybee et al (1994:54), is distinguished from Perfective. Perfective refers just to the completion of an event rather than implying any relevance of a past action and a current situation, whereas the CRS exhibits the persisting result of a complete action. Nonetheless, the Perfective and CRS naturally semantically overlap each other. According to the grammaticalization process mentioned in Bybee et al (1994:61), the Perfective is developed from Anterior or CRS, so there is an area that both still share. The loss of current relevance in CRS leads to the interpretation of a past action or Perfective event. Hence, it is not unusual that *liau*⁴² can mark both CRS and Perfective. In Fengshun Hakka, the Perfective and CRS are not visibly distinguished from each other, especially if no specific time of an event is mentioned.

It can be clearly seen that the position of Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in examples (3) and (4) differs from that of Perfective *le* in Mandarin, which can be placed right after the verb and before the object (between verb and object) as shown in Mandarin examples (5) and (6).

- (5) *tā* *fù* *le* *qián*
 3SG pay PFV money
 ‘He/She made a payment.’

- (6) *tā* *chī* *le* *fàn*
 3SG eat PFV rice
 ‘He/She had a meal.’

In terms of co-occurrence with verb classes, the post-verbal *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in a single clause, which illustrates a completed event, can occur with both telic and atelic situations. The co-occurrence with *state* verbs will be discussed later in the Inchoative aspect section. The following examples will show the co-occurrence of Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² with *activity*, *accomplishment*, *achievement*, and *semelfactive*.

When *activity* verbs such as ‘write’ and *accomplishment* verbs such as ‘drink a tea,’ which contain the semantic features of durative and dynamic situations, occur with Perfective *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴², they are sometimes followed by phrases denoting quantity and frequency or duration of the action. An expression denoting quantity and frequency or duration indicates how long an event lasted. In the examples (7) and (8), the number of object (7) and that of hour (8) limit the duration of the situations.

- (7) *ku*²⁴ *sia*⁴² *kai*¹¹ *kai*⁴² *tehu*¹¹ *teho*⁴² *liau*⁴²
 3SG write that CL word wrong PFV
 ‘He/She wrote that word wrongly.’

- (8) *su*⁴² *teha*³³ *jit*¹¹ *tiam*⁴² *teuŋ*³³ *lɔ*⁴²
 drive car one hour PFV
 ‘(I) drove for an hour.’

The *achievement* verb class is telic and instantaneous in itself, such as ‘wake up’ and ‘die.’ Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² is also compatible with *achievement* verbs to express that the event is completed.

- (9) *ŋai*¹¹ *theu*¹¹ *khi*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 1SG get up PFV
 ‘I already got up.’

- (10) *khiu*¹¹ *nian*²⁴ *ku*²⁴ *su*⁴² *khu*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 last year 3SG die go PFV
 ‘He/She died last year.’

Another instantaneous situation is the *semelfactive* situation, which is a punctual event without any result state, such as ‘cough’ and ‘jump.’ Mostly a phrase defining duration of a situation is added to present how long the action had been running. In the example (11) below, the speaker coughed all night and now she does not cough anymore

- (11) *ŋai*¹¹ *tɛhuk*¹¹ *wan*²⁴ *ya*¹¹ *lɔ*⁴²
 1SG cough whole night PFV
 ‘I coughed a whole night.’

In summary, *liau*⁴² in the Fengshun dialect can function as an RVC ‘finish’ and a Perfective marker. The appearance of *liau*⁴² in a single clause can be considered as either Perfective or RVC. The reduced form of *liau*⁴², which is *lɔ*⁴², shows only Perfective or CRS but cannot refer to event completeness.

It is found that a Perfective marker in Chinese languages such Mandarin, Jieyang Chaozhou, and Miaoli Hakka is situated right after a verb when a phase denoting quantity, frequency, or duration of an action is shown up. However, the appearance of the Perfective *liau*⁴² at the final position of a predicate is usually found only in Fengshun Hakka, different from the position of Perfective markers in Mandarin, Jieyang Chaozhou and Miaoli Hakka.

- (12) Fengshun Hakka
*ŋai*¹¹ *sun*⁴² *liɔŋ*⁴² *sam*³³ *fuŋ*³³ *sin*⁴² *pun*³³ *ŋi*¹¹ *liau*⁴²
 1SG send two three CL letter give 2SG PFV
 ‘I sent you a couple of letters.’

- (13) Miaoli Hakka
*ŋai*¹¹ *ki*⁵⁵ *e*¹¹ *liɔŋ*³¹ *sam*²⁴⁻¹¹ *foŋ*⁵⁵ *ɛin*⁵⁵ *e*¹¹ *pun*²⁴ *ŋ*¹¹
 1SG send PFV two three CL letter give 2SG
 ‘I sent you a couple of letters.’

- (14) Jieyang Chaozhou
*ua*⁵³ *taŋ*⁵³⁻³⁵ *liau*⁵³⁻³⁵ *puã*²¹³⁻⁵³ *kai*⁵⁵⁻¹¹ *tseŋ*³³ *t’au*⁵⁵
 1SG wait PFV half CL hour
 ‘I waited for half an hour.’

(Xu 2007:126)

- (15) Mandarin
wǒ *děng* *le* *bàn* *ge* *xǎoshí*
 1SG wait PFV half CL hour
 ‘I waited for half an hour.’

The clause-final position of the Perfective marker *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka such as (12) may be resulted from the language contact with Thai. In Thai word order, the Perfective marker *lɛ̀w* is allowed to appear at the clause-final position whether a quantifier phrase is added or not.

- (16) Thai
kin *khâw* *săam* *caan* *lɛ̀w*
 eat rice three CL PFV
 ‘I ate three dishes of rice.’

5.1.2 *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in a Complex Sentence

In complex sentences, *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² occurs at the end of the first clause in a complex sentence to signal the sequence of events. That is, the event in a clause followed by *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² has happened before another event. Boundedness of the first event is noted by the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴², which tells the order of two successive events.

- (17) *sam*³³ *khu*⁴² *tehau*³³ *liau*⁴², *tehiu*¹¹ *na*³³ *lɔi*²⁴ *teap*¹¹
 shirt pants dry PFV, then take come fold
 ‘When the clothes have dried, then fold them.’
- (18) *ku*²⁴ *tehut*¹¹ *khu*⁴² *liau*⁴², *ŋai*¹¹ *ham*⁴² *ŋa*³³ *tehit*⁵⁵ *kiak*¹¹*kiak*¹¹
 3SG out go PFV, 1SG call POSS niece quickly
*so*⁴² *mun*¹¹
 lock door
 ‘When she got out, I called my niece to quickly lock the door.’

The Perfective *liau*⁴² in this Hakka dialect is similar to *liau*⁵³ in Jieyang Chaozhou and *le* in Mandarin. For instance, the Perfective *liau*⁵³ in Jieyang Chaozhou (Xu 2007:129) also appears at the clause final position in the first clause of a complex sentence to express the boundedness of the first event. In Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1981:198), the verbal *le* is used to express the sequence of the events.

- (19) Jieyang Chaozhou
*ua*⁵³ *tsok*⁵⁻² *tsaɿ*²-*ŋiap*⁵⁻² *liau*⁵³_{sub} *tsiã*²¹³⁻⁵³ *k’u*²¹³⁻⁵³ *haɿ*⁵⁻²*hau*³⁵
 1SG do homework PFV then go school
 ‘I will go to school after doing my homework.’ (Xu 2007:129)
- (20) Mandarin
wǒ *chī* *wán* *le* *nǐ* *chī*
 1SG eat finish PFV 2SG eat
 ‘After I have finished eating, then you eat.’ (Li and Thompson 1981:198)

Similarly, the Miaoli Hakka Perfective marker *e*¹¹ or *le*¹¹ appears at the end of the first clause in a complex sentence to show the sequence of events, as illustrated in (21).

- (21) Miaoli Hakka
*sui*³¹ *kun*³¹ *e*¹¹, *tsaŋ*⁵⁵ *pion*⁵⁵ *tsu*²⁴ *ŋiuk*²
 water boil PFV, then put pork meat
 ‘The water is boiled, then add pork.’

5.1.3 *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² and Past Tense

Tense is used to specify ‘the relationship between the event frame and a reference locus in time’ (Chung and Timberlake 1985:213). Past tense refers to an event that occurred before the moment of speaking. Semantically, past tense and Perfective point out the completion of an action in the past and signal the sequence of events in narration. Moreover, they both share the same lexical sources and develop through the anteriority stage (Bybee et.al. 1994:82). With the close relationship between past tense and Perfective, it seems possible that a Perfective marker can denote the notion of past tense.

However, a Perfective marker in many Chinese languages should not be classified as a past tense marker because it can express completion in the future, and the presence of Perfective marker is not always needed to note past tense. Li and Thompson (1981:213) do not define the Perfective *le* in Mandarin as a past tense marker. They indicate that *le* is found in many sentences that are not associated with past tense, such as in imperative sentences, as in (22) and even in sentences referring to future (23). Also, many sentences

without *le* note past events, as in (24). The following Mandarin examples are retrieved from Li and Thompson (1981:213-214).

- (22) *hē le tā*
drink PFV 3SG
'Drink it.'
- (23) *míngtiān wǒ jiù kāichú le tā*
tomorrow 1SG then expel PFV 3SG
'I will expel him/her tomorrow!'
- (24) *zuótiān tā tiào zài chuáng shàng*
yesterday 3SG jump at bed on
'Yesterday, he/she jumped onto the bed.'

Xu (2007:131) points out that the Perfective *liau*⁵³ in Jieyang Chaozhou does not always encode past tense. In a negative sentence, the Perfective *liau*⁵³ is not allowed due to its incompatibility with an event that has not occurred, as shown in (25). Furthermore, *liau*⁵³ is not always needed when an adverb of time appears to encode a past action, as shown in (26).

- (25) **ua⁵³ bo⁵⁵⁻¹¹ t'oi⁵³⁻³⁵ liau⁵³⁻³⁵ tsi⁵³⁻³⁵ puŋ⁵³⁻⁵⁵ tsu³³*
1SG NEG read PFV this CL book
'I did not read this book.'
- (26) *ua⁵³ ho² tsa⁵³ tsu³⁵⁻²¹ ts'e⁵³*
1SG very early then wake up
'I woke up very early.'

Similar to Mandarin and Jieyang Chaozhou, the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka is not always used to denote a past event. There are several times when the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴² appears in a sentence noting future completion. Neither does it occur in a negative sentence that an event has not happened. When a phrase defining the time of a past action is added, the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴² is not required.

- (27) *thian³³ kuəŋ³³ ɲit¹¹ ɲai¹¹ tɕən⁴² wuk¹¹ kha³³ liau⁴²*
tomorrow 1SG return house PFV
'I will arrive home tomorrow.'
- (28) **ɲai¹¹ mɔ²⁴ ta⁴² mun¹¹ liau⁴²*
1SG NEG hit door PFV
'I did not knock the door.'
- (29) *tɕhian¹¹ pun²⁴ ɲit¹¹ ku²⁴ lo²⁴ thet¹¹ man¹¹*
yesterday 3SG come over late
'Yesterday, he/she came late.'

As shown in the examples above, the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴² cannot be considered a past tense marker since it is used in many situations that are not relevant to an event in the past. Temporal adverbials or phrases specifying the actual time an event occurred can provide the notion of past tense regardless of the presence of the Perfective marker *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴².

5.2 Resultative Verb Compound (RVC)

Resultative verb compounds, or RVCs, usually are adjectives or verbs following a verb and indicate the state resulting from the thoroughly complete action in the preceding verb. The fact that RVCs express the resulting state of the prior verb yields the completive and terminative meaning and leads to event boundedness. The Perfective aspect, thus, can be provided by RVCs.

Some researchers (e.g. Smith 1991:344; Chao 1968:446) classify Mandarin RVCs as morphemes or phrase markers relevant to Perfective aspect. For example, in Mandarin, RVCs such as *wán*, *hǎo* and *guò* are said to be optional morphemes that can infer Perfective viewpoint by showing completion and termination.

- (30) Mandarin

<i>wǒ</i>	<i>zuótiān</i>	<i>xiě-wán-le</i>	<i>yī</i>	<i>fēng</i>	<i>xìn</i>
1SG	yesterday	write-RVC-le	one	CL	letter

 ‘Yesterday I wrote a letter (and finished).’ (Smith 1994:113)

In Jieyang Chaozhou (Xu 2007:132), RVCs such as *liau*⁵³ ‘finish,’ *ho*⁵³ ‘good/finish,’ *tek*⁵ ‘straight/finish’ and *uaj*⁵⁵ ‘complete/finish’ indicate completive and terminative meanings, and express Perfective aspect. Each RVC has a specific inherent meaning that delimits its co-occurrence with some kinds of verbs.

- (31) Jieyang Chaozhou

<i>ko</i> ²¹³⁻⁵³	<i>iam</i> ⁵⁵	<i>eŋ</i> ¹¹	<i>liau</i> ⁵³ / <i>uaj</i> ⁵⁵	<i>lau</i> ⁵³⁻²¹³
CL	salt	use	RVC	CRS

 ‘(We) have used up the salt.’ (Xu 2007:133)

In this research, I also treat RVCs in Fengshun Hakka as morphemes relevant to Perfective aspect that denote completive and terminative notions to an event. Verbs such as *loi*²⁴ ‘come,’ *khu*⁴² ‘go,’ and *to*⁴² ‘arrive’ as well as adjectives such as *ho*⁴² ‘good’ are used as RVCs situated at the post-verbal position. These RVCs indicate that the action of the verb is finished and results in the current state. For example, *teha*³³ *su*²⁴ *li*¹¹ *ho*⁴² ‘car repair good’ means the car has already been repaired and now it is in good condition; *thai*¹¹ *loi*²⁴ ‘grown up come’ means a child has grown up, and is not a child anymore; *mai*¹¹ *khu*⁴² ‘sell go’ means something has been sold and it is not with the agent anymore; *teon*⁴² *to*⁴² ‘return arrive’ means the action of returning is finished and the agent has arrived at the destination. As mentioned earlier, the RVC *liau*⁴² ‘finish’ demonstrates the completeness of an event. Although all these RVCs share the same meaning of completion or ‘finish,’ each of them is compatible with different verbs due to their inherent meanings.

The RVCs discussed in the following sections are *loi*²⁴ ‘come,’ *khu*⁴² ‘go,’ *ho*⁴² ‘good,’ and *to*⁴² ‘arrive.’

5.2.1 *loi*²⁴ ‘come’

The directional verb ‘come’ is a common lexical source of anteriors, which then can develop to code Perfective aspect (Bybee et al. 1994:56). For instance, the verb ‘come’ in some Wu dialects can express Perfective aspect at the post-verbal position (Lamarre 2001:109). Likewise, in Fengshun Hakka, the post-verbal *loi*²⁴ ‘come’ denotes an event that has happened at some point in the past before the speech moment. In (32), the RVC *loi*²⁴ indicates where the referent went. If the RVC *loi*²⁴ is replaced by the Perfective *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴², the meaning in (32) changes to where the referent goes. That is, someone or something has disappeared, then another person asks where he/she/it has gone. The RVC *loi*²⁴ in example (33) notes that the referent went to a competition and now he/she is back. The RVC *loi*²⁴ in (34) is used to encode the sequence of events in a complex sentence like *liau*⁴²/*lo*⁴² in a complex sentence.

- (32) *khu*⁴² *nai*⁴² *loi*²⁴
 go where RVC
 ‘Where did you go?’

- (33) *ku*²⁴ *khui*⁴² *pi*⁴²*soi*⁴² *loi*²⁴ *liau*⁴²
 3SG go compete RVC CRS
 ‘He/She has already joined a competition.’
- (34) *ku*²⁴ *thai*¹¹ *loi*²⁴ *wa*¹¹ *m*¹¹ *then*³³
 3SG grown up RVC say NEG listen
 ‘He has grown up and he does not listen to me anymore.’

The verb ‘come’ denoting a completed event is not only found in Hakka and Wu, it is also widely used in some Southeast Asian languages such as Thai (35) and Mon (36). *maa* in Thai and *klɿŋ* in Mon which mean ‘come’ express the same aspectual meaning as the verb *loi*²⁴ ‘come’ in Fengshun Hakka.

- (35) Thai
pay *nǎy* *maa*
 go where RVC
 ‘Where did you go?’
- (36) Mon
a *lɔ* *klɿŋ*
 go where RVC
 ‘Where did you go?’

5.2.2 *khui*⁴² ‘go’

The RVC *khui*⁴² ‘go’ in Fengshun Hakka also denotes completive notion and Perfective aspect. As an RVC, *khui*⁴² signals the disappearance of something after the action is completed. Its appearance with certain verbs, such as *activity* and *accomplishment*, shows that an action is done and the object disappears.

- (37) *ŋai*¹¹ *sit*⁵⁵ *khui*⁴² *liɔŋ*⁴² *liap*⁵⁵ *ɟɔk*⁵⁵
 1SG eat RVC two CL medicine
 ‘I have eaten two tablets of medicine.’
- (38) *ŋai*¹¹ *jim*⁴² *khui*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 1SG drink RVC CRS
 ‘I have drunk it.’

Note that the RVC *khui*⁴² ‘go’ emphasizes on the disappearance of object after an action is completed, but the RVC *loi*²⁴ ‘come’ only marks a completed situation happened before the time of speaking, whether or not something is gone. In other words, the RVC *khui*⁴² ‘go’ will be spoken when something must be gone or changes its state after a completed action, so *khui*⁴² ‘go’ cannot replace *loi*²⁴ ‘come’ in the examples (32), (33), and (34). However, *loi*²⁴ ‘come’ can replace *khui*⁴² ‘go’ in the example (37) and (38) since *loi*²⁴ and *khui*⁴² share the same meaning of event completion but *loi*²⁴ does not focus on the disappearance of object.

5.2.3 *tɔ*⁴² ‘arrive’

The RVC *tɔ*⁴² ‘arrive’ points out that the process of doing something is completed and has reached the goal when it occurs with *activity* situation types. If it appears with perception verbs, such as *then*³³ *tɔ*⁴² ‘listen arrive’ and *khɔn*⁴² *tɔ*⁴² ‘look/watch arrive,’ it encodes the occurrence of perception state.

- (39) *ŋai*¹¹ *tɕhim*¹¹ *tɔ*⁴² *tɕhian*²⁴ *lɔ*⁴²
 1SG search RVC money CRS
 ‘I have found money.’

- (40) *khɔn*⁴² *tɔ*⁴² *ʔɔi*⁴² *ʔɛw*⁴²
 look/watch arrive want throw up
 ‘When I saw it, I wanted to throw up’

The RVC *tɔ*⁴² also occurs with other action verbs such as ‘walk’ and ‘return,’ which denote that the goal of the action is completed.

- (41) *ku*²⁴ *haŋ*¹¹ *tɔ*⁴² *hɔk*⁵⁵*thɔŋ*¹¹ *liau*⁴²
 3SG walk RVC school CRS
 ‘He/She has arrived school by walk.’

- (42) *ku*²⁴ *tɔn*⁴² *tɔ*⁴² *wuk*¹¹*kha*³³ *liau*⁴²
 3SG return RVC home CRS
 ‘He/She has returned home.’

5.2.4 *hɔ*⁴² ‘good’

The RVC *hɔ*⁴² ‘good’ at the post-verbal position, normally following *activity* verbs, denotes both the completion and success of an action. The post-verbal *hɔ*⁴² is considered as an RVC expressing the completed action, while the pre-verbal *hɔ*⁴² is a modal ‘should.’ In general, *hɔ*⁴² is found as an adjective meaning ‘good,’ as in *hɔ*⁴² *ŋin*¹¹ ‘good person,’ as well as an adverb meaning ‘well, very,’ such as *hɔ*⁴² *siak*¹¹ ‘very cute.’ At the pre-verbal position, it sometimes serves as a modal indicating the possibility or ability to do something and give a suggestion.

*hɔ*⁴² *juŋ*¹¹
 good use
 ‘can be used’

*hɔ*⁴² *tɕhut*¹¹ *khui*⁴²
 good exit go
 ‘should get out’

*ŋi*¹¹ *hɔ*⁴² *khɔi*³³
 NEG good open
 ‘should not open’

As the post-verbal position, *hɔ*⁴² is known as an RVC and indicates that an event is successfully done. In the following example (43), the RVC *hɔ*⁴² can be replaced by the RVC *liau*⁴² ‘finish’ since they both share the meaning of completion. Nevertheless, the RVC *liau*⁴² ‘finish’ also holds the meaning of ‘something has completely gone.’ The verbs that usually co-occur with the RVC *liau*⁴² are the *activity* verbs that require an object. When verbs such as *sit*⁵⁵ ‘eat,’ *jim*⁴² ‘drink,’ and *juŋ*¹¹ ‘use’ appear with *liau*⁴² ‘finish,’ they also imply ‘eat up,’ ‘drink up,’ and ‘use up,’ apart from the notion of complete action. After an action such as eating, drinking, and using, something completely disappears. That is, the whole objects disappear after the action. On the other hand, the occurrence of such verbs with *hɔ*⁴² signals only the termination of an action. In (44), the whole amount of food is already consumed, but in (45), the action of eating is terminated without the implication of the disappearance of food.

- (43) *ta*⁴² *pan*⁴² *hɔ*⁴²/*liau*⁴² *ŋi*¹¹ *hɔ*⁴² *tɕut*¹¹ *khui*⁴² *liau*⁴²
 dress RVC 2SG good out go CRS
 ‘When you have already put on clothes, you should go out.’

- (44) *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 eat RVC CRS
 ‘(I) have eaten up.’

- (45) *sit*⁵⁵ *hɔ*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 eat RVC CRS
 ‘(I) have finished eating.’

The RVC *liau*⁴² is unique in the Pan San Khak group. In Jieyang Hakka (Shiwaruangrote 2008:230), a Pan San Khak dialect, *liau*³¹ can present a resultative state, similar to *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka. It is assumed that the RVC *liau*⁴² in the Pan San Khak group has evolved to a Perfective marker. In the Miaoli dialect spoken in Taiwan, the verb *thet*² ‘kick’ is used as an RVC while *e*¹¹ or *le*¹¹ serves as a Perfective marker. Therefore, *sit*⁵ *thet*² *e*¹¹ in Miaoli dialect means ‘(I) have eaten up’ and is equivalent to *sit*⁵⁵ *liau*⁴² *lɔ*⁴² in Fengshun dialect. Since the Fengshun dialect is a Hakka dialect spoken in the Chaozhou area, it is possible that *liau*⁴² ‘finish’ as an RVC and a Perfective marker has been influenced by the Chaozhou language. As shown in the example of RVC in Jieyang Chaozhou in (31), the function of the RVC *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka is similar to that of the RVC *liau*⁵³ in Jieyang Chaozhou. The Perfective marker *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka and *liau*⁵³ in Jieyang Chaozhou were grammaticalized from their RVC ‘finish’. The word *thet*¹¹ in Fengshun Hakka also exists but only means ‘kick’ and cannot serve as an RVC to refer to the completeness of a situation.

All in all, it can be clearly seen that RVCs can express Perfective aspect without the appearance of a Perfective marker. The appearance of *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² at the end of sentence, instead, notes the current relevant state. Perfective meaning is already exhibited by RVCs.

5.3 *jiu*³³ ‘have’

The verb *jiu*³³ ‘have,’ a verb of possession and existence, can signal Perfective aspect. As an auxiliary, it is situated before the verb phrase and notes that the action is completed at some point prior to the time of speaking. The negator of *jiu*³³, *mɔ*²⁴ ‘not have’ is used to denote the negation of a past event and also serves as a question marker in a Perfective situation.

- (46) a: *ku*²⁴ *jiu*³³ *ta*⁴² *pan*⁴² *mɔ*²⁴
 3SG PFV dress NEG
 ‘Did she get dressed?’
 b: *jiu*³³
 PFV
 ‘Yes, she did.’

Although *liau*⁴² and *jiu*³³ are similar in terms of Perfective illustration, *liau*⁴² and *jiu*³³ are not exactly the same in all functions. The first and most noticeable difference is that *liau*⁴² is post-verbal whereas *jiu*³³ is pre-verbal. Second, the appearance of *jiu*³³ not only expresses Perfective aspect, but also highlights that an action really took place or affirmative. The affirmative function of *jiu*³³ distinguishes *jiu*³³ from the Perfective marker *liau*⁴² because the affirmative sense is not implied in *liau*⁴². Another interesting fact is that the Perfective marker *liau*⁴² is not allowed in negative sentences. Only the negator *mɔ*²⁴ ‘not have’ is used to negate a Perfective event.

Like Southern Min spoken in Taiwan, the verb ‘have’ is also used to express a completed action. Chappell (1989b:119) states that Southern Min uses the verb ‘have’ to show affirmative notion in a future context and also Perfect notion. Apart from these notions, it also expresses event completion or a past event. Kubler (1982:162) also mentions that the appearance of the verb ‘have’ in Taiwanese Mandarin is the result of the influence of Southern Min. In this paper, only examples of aspectual Perfect situation and completed action are identified and discussed.

- (47) Southern Min
û k'ì Pāk'kiã
 have go Beijing
 '(They)'ve gone to Beijing.' (Chappell 1989b:119)
- (48) Southern Min
lì û k'uã:kĩ: ĩ buê?
 2SG PFV see 3sg NEG
 'Did you see her?' (Kubler 1982:162)

The verb *û* in Southern Min in (47) and (48) presents a past action that was already completed, so it provides the Perfective notion. In Taiwanese Hakka, such as the Miaoli dialect, the verb *iu*²⁴ 'have' preceding VP also provides Perfective meaning as illustrated in (49).

- (49) Miaoli Hakka
 a: *ki*¹¹ *toŋ*²⁴⁻¹¹ *tsu*⁵⁵ *iu*²⁴⁻¹¹ *soi*⁵⁵ *muk*² *mo*¹¹
 3SG at noon PFV sleep NEG
 'Did he take a nap at noon?'
 b: *ki*¹¹ *iu*²⁴⁻¹¹ *soi*⁵⁵ *muk*² / *ki*¹¹ *mo*¹¹ *soi*⁵⁵ *muk*²
 he/she PFV sleep / he/she NEG sleep
 'Yes, he did/ No, he didn't.'

Sometimes the verb *iu*²⁴ is used to express Experiential aspect when it co-occurs with Experiential marker *ko*³³. This is a difference between Fengshun Hakka and the Miaoli dialect. The verb *jiu*³³ 'have' in Fengshun Hakka can only express Perfective aspect, but the verb *iu*²⁴ in the Miaoli dialect can denote both Perfective and Experiential aspects. This difference will be discussed later in the following section.

6. Experiential

Experiential aspect, which is called Experiential Perfect in Comrie (1976:58), refers to an experience or action which was done in the past and has become an experience of the agent. Experiential aspect in Fengshun Hakka can be presented by two markers, *kuo*⁴² 'pass' and *sit*¹¹ 'know,' in three syntactic structures:

verb + *kuo*⁴²
*sit*¹¹ + verb
*sit*¹¹ + verb + *kuo*⁴²

6.1 *kuo*⁴² 'pass'

The marker *kuo*⁴² 'pass or cross' is a movement verb that is used as an Experiential aspect marker indicating an action or event has been experienced at least once. The Experiential marker *kuo*⁴² is situated at the post-verbal position, like *guò* in Mandarin.

- (50) Fengshun Hakka
*ŋai*¹¹ *khui*⁴² *kuo*⁴² *thoŋ*¹¹ *san*³³
 1SG go EXP China
 'I have been to China.'
- (51) Mandarin
wǒ qù guò zhōngguó
 1SG go EXP China
 'I have been to China.'

In terms of co-occurrence with verbs, the marker *kuɔ*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka mostly appears with dynamic verbs such as *activity*, *semelfactive*, and *accomplishment* situation types, but it will not follow *state* and *achievement* verbs and RVCs as shown in (52) and (53).

- (52) **ŋai*¹¹ *ʔɔi*⁴² *kuɔ*⁴² *ku*²⁴
 1SG love EXP 3SG
 ‘I used to love him/her.’

- (53) **ŋai*¹¹ *thɛu*¹¹*khi*⁴² *kuɔ*⁴²
 1SG get up EXP
 ‘I used to get up.’

6.2 *sit*¹¹ ‘know’

The marker *sit*¹¹ ‘know’ also denotes an action or event that has been done in the past. Different from the post-verbal *kuɔ*⁴², *sit*¹¹ is placed at pre-verbal position. The marker *sit*¹¹ expresses the same Experiential meaning as *kuɔ*⁴² does, despite their different position.

- (54) *ŋai*¹¹ *sit*¹¹ *khu*⁴² *thɔŋ*¹¹*san*³³
 1SG EXP go China
 ‘I have been to China.’

In contrast to *kuɔ*⁴², the marker *sit*¹¹ can be used with *state* and *achievement* verbs (55) and then yields the meaning of ‘used to.’

- (55) *ŋai*¹¹ *sit*¹¹ *ʔɔi*⁴² *ku*²⁴
 1SG EXP love him/her
 ‘I used to love him/her.’

6.3 *sit*¹¹ ‘know’ and *kuɔ*⁴² ‘pass’

Both *sit*¹¹ and *kuɔ*⁴² can appear together in the same sentence to denote Experiential aspect.

- (56) *ŋai*¹¹ *sit*¹¹ *khu*⁴² *kuɔ*⁴² *thɔŋ*¹¹*san*³³
 1SG EXP go EXP China
 ‘I have been to China.’

All three structures express the same meaning of having done something in the past. In brief, the Experiential aspect in the Fengshun dialect can be expressed by either *sit*¹¹ or *kuɔ*⁴². The presence of both markers is also acceptable and still indicates a past experience.

As mentioned earlier concerning another Hakka dialect spoken in Taiwan, the Experiential aspect in Miaoli can be expressed by the existential verb *iu*²⁴ ‘have,’ yet in Fengshun Hakka, only *kuɔ*⁴² and *sit*¹¹ can encode the Experiential aspect. In the Miaoli dialect, three markers denote Experiential: *ko*⁵⁵, *sit*⁵ and *iu*²⁴. The markers *ko*⁵⁵ and *sit*⁵ are used in the same way as the markers *kuɔ*⁴² and *sit*¹¹ in the Fengshun dialect. The verb *iu*²⁴ in Miaoli Hakka can denote the Experiential aspect if the Experiential marker *ko*⁵⁵ follows a verb, see (57). Without the appearance of *ko*³³, the verb *iu*³³ contributes Perfective meaning, as shown in (58).

- (57) Miaoli Hakka
*ŋ*¹¹ *iu*²⁴⁻¹¹ *hi*⁵⁵ *ko*⁵⁵ *pet*²*kin*²⁴ *mo*¹¹
 2SG EXP go EXP Beijing NEG
 ‘Have you been to Beijing?’

- (58) Miaoli Hakka
 η^{11} iu^{24-11} hi^{55} $pet^2 kin^{24}$ mo^{11}
 2SG PFV go Beijing NEG
 ‘Did you go to Beijing?’

Kubler (1982:162) and Chappell (1989b:119) indicate that due to the influence of Southern Min, the verb ‘have’ usually is found in Taiwanese Mandarin to express a completed action. Thus, the use of the verb ‘have’ to note Experiential aspect in Miaoli Hakka might also have been influenced by Southern Min, which is the mother language of the Taiwanese majority and also uses the verb ‘have’ to refer to a past event. That illustrates the difference in the Experiential aspect between Fengshun Hakka and Miaoli Hakka.

7. Inchoative

Inchoative is a term used to explain the change of state and the continuation of a new state. Comrie (1976:19) calls it Ingressive, which refers to the inception of a new state. In Fengshun dialect, Inchoative aspect is shown when adjectives or *state* verbs are followed by *liau*⁴² ‘finish.’ The Perfective marker *liau*⁴² or *lɔ*⁴² following *activity* verbs usually refers to bounded event or Perfective aspect, but those following *state* verbs or adjectives indicate that there is a complete change of state and a new state has been suggested. In (59), the agent was unclear about something but now understands it. In (60), the agent’s look has changed from plain to beautiful, and *lɔ*⁴² at the sentence-final position is considered a sentence-final particle to express some annoyance of the speaker who did not want to wait anymore.

- (59) ηai^{11} $min^{11} phak^{55}$ $liau^{42}$
 1SG understand INC
 ‘I have understood.’
- (60) $kiau^{42} liau^{42}$ $lɔ^{42}$, η su^{42} $ta^{42} pan^{42}$ $lɔ^{42}$
 beautiful INC, NEG have to dress SFP
 ‘You have become beautiful, so you don’t have to dress up anymore.’

Like *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in Fengshun dialect, *e*¹¹/*le*¹¹ in Miaoli dialect also allows Inchoative aspect at the post-verbal position of *state* verbs or adjectives. As shown in (61), a new state of a person has been achieved: the color of of his/her face has changed.

- (61) Miaoli Hakka
 kia^{11} $mian^{55}$ fuj^{11} e^{11}/le^{11}
 POSS face red INC
 ‘His/Her face has turned red.’

8. Conclusion and Discussion

This preliminary analysis of the bounded aspects in Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand has exhibited both syntactic and semantic functions of Perfective, Experiential, and Inchoative aspects. In some constructions, the comparison among the Miaoli Hakka dialect, Mandarin, and Jieyang Chaozhou provides an overview of those three bounded aspects in Chinese languages. It has also been shown that Perfective, Experiential, and Inchoative aspects in Fengshun Hakka share some features with those in Chaozhou and in Miaoli Hakka. The following table summarizes the comparisons of the three bounded aspects in the Fengshun dialect and the Miaoli Hakka.

Bounded Aspects	Fengshun Hakka	Miaoli Hakka
Perfective	<i>liau</i> ⁴² / <i>lɔ</i> ⁴² ‘finish’	<i>e</i> ¹¹ / <i>le</i> ¹¹ ‘finish’
	<i>jiu</i> ³³ ‘have’	<i>iu</i> ²⁴ ‘have’
	Resultative Verb Compounds: <i>lɔi</i> ²⁴ ‘come,’ <i>khui</i> ⁴² ‘go,’ <i>tɔ</i> ⁴² ‘arrive,’ <i>hɔ</i> ⁴² ‘good,’ <i>liau</i> ⁴² ‘finish’	Resultative Verb Compounds: <i>loi</i> ⁵⁵ ‘come,’ <i>hi</i> ⁵⁵ ‘go,’ <i>to</i> ⁵⁵ ‘arrive,’ <i>ho</i> ⁵⁵ ‘good,’ <i>thet</i> ² ‘finish’
Experiential	<i>kuɔ</i> ⁴² ‘pass’	<i>ko</i> ⁵⁵ ‘pass’
	<i>sit</i> ¹¹ ‘know’	<i>sit</i> ² ‘know’
	<i>sit</i> ¹¹ + Verb + <i>kuɔ</i> ⁴²	<i>sit</i> ² / <i>iu</i> ²⁴ + Verb + <i>ko</i> ⁵⁵
Inchoative	<i>liau</i> ⁴² / <i>lɔ</i> ⁴² ‘finish’	<i>e</i> ¹¹ / <i>le</i> ¹¹ ‘finish’

Although many of the bounded aspect markers in both Fengshun Hakka and Miaoli Hakka are used similarly, differences between the two Hakka dialects can be noted.

First, *thet*², which means ‘finish’ in Miaoli, serves as an RVC to indicate event completeness, yet in Fengshun Hakka, *liau*⁴², a Perfective marker, is also used as an RVC showing event completeness just as *thet*² in Miaoli does. Because of the close contact with the Chaozhou language, e.g. the Jieyang Chaozhou, which also uses *liau*⁵³ as an RVC, Fengshun Hakka uses *liau*⁴² to code the completeness of a situation rather than *thet*².

Second, in the presence of a quantifier phrase, the Perfective marker *e*¹¹/*le*¹¹ in Miaoli is situated in post-verbal position, but the Perfective marker *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka appears after the quantifier phrase. The occurrence of *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka at clause-final position could possibly be influenced by the Thai Perfective Marker *léew*, which can locate after a quantifier phrase.

Another interesting feature of *e*¹¹ in Miaoli Hakka is the fact that *e*¹¹ is used as a sentence-final particle (SFP) more often than *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka. In addition to denoting the current relevant state, the SFP *e*¹¹ signals the closure of a sentence. That is, the appearance of the SFP *e*¹¹ makes a sentence sound complete and the speaker does not want to say anything further.

- (62) Miaoli Hakka
*sui*³¹ *kun*³¹ *ten*⁵⁵ *e*¹¹
 water boil PROG SFP
 ‘The water is boiling.’

From the above example, the SFP *e*¹¹ can appear at the end of the sentence containing the Progressive marker *ten*⁵⁵ which actually means ‘wait’ because it just signals the end of the sentence not the end of the event. This particular use of SFP *e*¹¹ distinguishes the characteristics of *e*¹¹ in Miaoli Hakka from those of *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka. The sentence-final *liau*⁴²/*lɔ*⁴² is only used to note the current relevant state and it does not appear with Progressive markers. It can be seen that the grammaticalization of particle *e*¹¹ in Miaoli Hakka is more advanced than that of *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka.

Finally, *jiu*³³ ‘have’ in Fengshun Hakka can express only Perfective aspect but *iu*²⁴ ‘have’ in Miaoli can be used as both Perfective marker and Experiential marker. The function of *iu*²⁴ ‘have’ as an Experiential marker in Miaoli is most likely influenced by contact with Southern Min and Taiwanese Mandarin, which use the verb ‘have’ to encode an experience.

As a Pan San Khak Hakka dialect, Fengshun Hakka typically has several features shared with Chaozhou. In terms of an aspectual system, it is also found that several aspectual characteristics in Fengshun Hakka are more similar to Chaozhou than Mandarin, and Thai. Although Fengshun Hakka is spoken in Thailand where Thai language is the most predominant language, the language contact between these two languages does not have much effect on the Fengshun Hakka aspectual system. Due to the fact that Hakka is usually spoken in a family domain and Chaozhou is preferable in a business domain, the contact with Thai mostly generates language borrowing in the lexical level rather than the grammatical level in Fengshun

Hakka. However, it is found in the collected natural occurrence data that a grammatical unit borrowed from Thai is *kô* ‘then, so, too’. It can serve many functions and express many meanings: it can be used as a conjunction, topic marker and interjection. In fact, Fengshun Hakka has the equivalent word *ja*³³ which is used similarly to the Thai word *kô*, but in natural conversations the word *ja*³³ is sometimes substituted by *kô*.

- (63) *tehian*²⁴ *kô* *mɔ*²⁴, *mak*¹¹*kai*⁴² *kô* *mɔ*²⁴
 money too NEG, what too NEG
 ‘She does not have money or anything.’

Thai and Fengshun Hakka share some aspectual features in common. For example, the Perfective marker *léew* in Thai and *liau*⁴² in Fengshun Hakka are possibly from the same word. They both follow the VO compound, not in between the verb and the object. Semantically, they can express the completion of an event and the current relevant state in the Perfective aspect, and they can refer to the beginning of a new state in the Inchoative aspect.

- (64) Fengshun Hakka
*kiau*⁴²*liau*⁴² *lɔ*⁴²
 beautiful INC
 ‘You have become beautiful.’

- (65) Thai
sǔay *léew*
 beautiful INC
 ‘You have become beautiful.’

Moreover, the directional verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’ are also used as Resultative Verb Compounds in Thai to imply the resulting state from a thoroughly complete action. The directional verb ‘come’ in Thai and Fengshun Hakka refers to a completed action (as shown in 5.2.1). The directional verb ‘go’ of both languages is used to show the disappearance of something after the action is completed (as shown in 5.2.2).

In conclusion, the aspectual system of Fengshun Hakka shares several aspectual features with Chaozhou and some with Thai. The influence of Chaozhou and Thai of Fengshun Hakka spoken in Thailand distinguishes the aspectual features of Fengshun Hakka from those of Miaoli Hakka spoken in Taiwan.

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