

## Perfective Aspect Marker LE in Chinese: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

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There are generally five aspect markers in Chinese: *zài*, *zhe*, and *ne* to indicate imperfective aspect and *le* and *guò* to indicate perfective aspect (Duff & Li, 2002; Erbaugh, 1992). The focus of this study, *le*, is the mostly widely studied. In addition to perfective aspect marker to indicate action completion, *le* can also serve as sentence final particle to indicate a currently relevant state (C. N. Li & Thompson, 1981). It is obligatory in some situations but optional in others. Also, because both verb suffix *le* and particle *le* can be sentence final, the picture is even more complicated.

So far, some studies examined first language acquisition of *le* (P. Li & Bowerman, 1998; P. Li & Shirai, 2000; P. Li, 1990), some investigated second language acquisition of *le* or reacquisition of *le* by heritage speakers (Cui, 2008; Jia & Bayley, 2008; Teng, 1999; Wen, 1995; 1997), and others approached it from the perspective of descriptive grammar (Li & Thompson 1981; Liu 2002; Tan, 2004; Zhang 2003). There have been few studies that document how Chinese native speakers actually use *le* and this study intends to fill the gap.

This study investigates how Chinese native speakers use *le* in oral discourse and the factors that influence their use. The data were collected from three discourse contexts including informal conversations, elicited narratives, and teacher classroom speech. Multivariate analysis of 2,359 tokens revealed that verb complement type and position of *le* have the strongest effects, followed by verb type, serial verb relationship, discourse context, time word presence/absence and sentence type. LE position in serial verbs, sentence polarity, speaker gender and occupation did not reach significance.

The results showed that the general patterns are

- 1) Quantitative complement of the verb (.79) and no complement (.55) favor overt *le*, while complement of degree (.43), resultative complement (.41), directional complement (.32), and temporal complement (.14) favor *le* omission;
- 2) Sentence final *le* – one-word sentence (.87) and multiple-word sentence (.64) – favor *le* but postverbal within sentence *le* (.33) favors *le* omission;
- 3) Modal verbs (.64), existential verbs (.58) and action verbs (.51) favor *le*, whereas mental activity verbs (.48), verbal adjectives (.46), copula verbs (.18), and verbal nouns (.17) favor *le* omission;
- 4) LE is obligatory in verb duplication structures. Instrumental, parallel, causal, explanatory relationship of the verbs in serial verb structures and no-serial-verb sentences favor *le* but verb-object and temporal sequence relationship of the verbs favor *le* omission;
- 5) Classroom context favors *le* (.57), followed by elicited narrative (.51) and conversations (.45).
- 6) Time word absence slightly favors *le* (.53) but time word presence slightly disfavors *le* (.46).
- 7) LE is obligatory in exclamatory sentences. Declarative sentences favor *le* (.52) but questions favor *le* omission (.35).

Overall, this study reveals that *le* use is best explained from multiple perspectives and linguistic factors are the main constraints. The findings of this study help better understand linguistic and sociolinguistic variability in Chinese and provide a resource for future variation studies of L1 and L2 Chinese.

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